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Politeness in Libyan Arabic: A Third-Wave Perspective

MAY RAMADAN ASSWAE

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

April 2018

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Abstract

This study examines politeness and ritualistic forms of politeness from a third-wave perspective, using empirical data from Libyan Arabic, in order to contribute to our understanding of these phenomena. The objectives of this study are threefold. First, it aims to find out the most dominant norms of Libyan politeness. Second, it aims to examine the role of religion, if any, in the understandings of Libyan politeness. Third, it aims to investigate the relationship between politeness and rituals and how rituals are used to occasion politeness in Libyan culture. In order to address these aims, authentic discourse is explored using Kádár and Haugh's (2013) analytical framework to politeness. Further to the fact that this framework draws from multiple loci of understanding, i.e. there is not one single understanding of politeness, it allows the researcher to cover the macro-aspects of politeness, without losing sight of the micro aspects. This study also benefited significantly from consulting other relevant views to (im)politeness and ritual including Kádár's (2013) typology of relational rituals as well as Haugh's (2013) view of (im)politeness as a social practice, Culpeper's (2011a) concept of impoliteness, and Goffman's (1967) notion of face.

Encounters of spontaneous interactional data and post-interviews data produced by native speakers of Arabic of both genders and of different age groups were recorded in various secular and institutional settings. The mundane data includes interactions among friends, family members, and tribal members, whereas institutional discourse is gathered from three Libyan workplaces. For organisational purposes, data analysis is presented in four analytical chapters (5, 6, 7, and 8) in an increasing scale of formality. A qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data revealed a number of significant findings including: 1) hospitality and politeness are closely related in Libyan Arab culture; and therefore, it represents one of the most dominant norms of Libyan politeness; 2) religion is the prime-mover of most of the cultural aspects of Libyan society, where religious teachings are clearly reflected in most daily life interactions, such as understanding and expressing politeness; 3) there is a strong relationship between politeness and rituals, where religious rituals in particular play a silent role in occasioning politeness.

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Dedication

***This doctoral thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents
with my wholehearted love***

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List of Phonetic Symbols Adopted in Transliteration

1. Phonetic Symbols for Arabic Consonants

Arabic letter	Phonetic Symbol	Phonetic Description
ا	ʔ	Voiced glottal stop
ب	b	Voiced bilabial stop
ت	t	Voiceless dento-alveolar stop
ث	θ	Voiceless interdental fricative
ج	dʒ	Voiced alveo-palatal affricate
ح	ħ	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	x	Voiceless uvular fricative
د	d	Voiced dento-alveolar stop
ذ	ð	Voiced interdental fricative
ر	r	Voiced alveo-palatal trill
ز	z	Voiced alveolar fricative
س	s	Voiceless alveolar fricative
ش	ʃ	Voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
ص	s ^ʕ	Voiceless velarized alveolar fricative
ض	d ^ʕ	Voiced dento-alveolar emphatic fricative
ط	t ^ʕ	Voiced velarized dento-alveolar stop
ظ	ð ^ʕ	Voiced velarised interdental fricative
ع	ʕ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	ɣ	Voiced uvular fricative
ف	f	Voiceless labiodental fricative
ق	q	Voiceless uvular stop
ك	k	Voiceless velar stop
ل	l	Voiced alveolar lateral
م	m	Voiced labial nasal
ن	n	Voiced alveolar nasal

ه	h	Voiceless glottal fricative
و	w	Voiced labiovelar glide
ي	j	Voiced palatal glide

2. Phonetic Symbols for Arabic Vowels

Arabic Character	Phonetic Symbol	Phonetic Description
فتحة	a	Short front half-open unrounded
كسرة	i	Short front open spread
ضمة	u	Short front close rounded
مد بالألف	a:	Long front open unrounded
مد بالياء	i:	Long front close unrounded
مد بالواو	u:	Long front close rounded

This transliteration symbol guide is based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)

Academic Biography

I graduated from the Department of English Language and Literature, Azawia University, in Libya in 2006. Being one of the most successful students in the department, I was selected to work as a teaching assistant department. I have been teaching EFL in Libya since graduation until 2008. I have been also working in collaboration with members from the British Council in Tripoli to run the English Language Centre. At the same time, I joined the Centre for Postgraduate research to pursue my postgraduate studies and received my Postgraduate Diploma in Applied Linguistics in 2008. In the same year, I was awarded a scholarship to study abroad and I travelled to the UK where my academic journey started. I received my MA in ELT and Applied Linguistics from King's College London in 2010.

I joined the University of Huddersfield in 2013 to work on my PhD in the field of Linguistics under the supervision of Prof. Dániel Kádár and Dr. Jim O'Driscoll. I had a special interest in politeness studies, so the Centre for Intercultural Politeness Research at the university was my perfect choice. My areas of interest include politeness and impoliteness studies, relational rituals, face studies, discourse analysis, and intercultural communication.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study: Aim and Rationale

The aim of this thesis is to study Libyan Arabic politeness from a post-discursive point of view, by looking into different understandings of politeness in Libyan culture, rather than singling out a particular understanding (Kádár & Haugh, 2013). I have chosen to study Libyan Arabic politeness for several reasons. First, it is a regrettably neglected area of research, and so, this study fills a knowledge gap in the field. Second, the few studies of Libyan politeness in particular, and the studies of Arabic politeness in general, have examined single speech acts, i.e. greetings, requests, apologies, or refusals, rather than exploring politeness as a holistic interactional phenomenon, which I intend to do with this study. Third, being an Arabic-speaking researcher who was brought up in Libya, I believe that I can offer an insightful contribution to the area of Libyan politeness, especially in relation to culture and religion.

In addition to other relevant views and notions of (im)politeness and ritual (see chapter 3), I adopt Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework to politeness particularly the idea which suggests that "because there are multiple ways of understanding politeness, we need to start talking of *understandings* of politeness, rather than of any single understanding" (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 83). This framework is believed to offer an insightful and productive analysis of politeness because of its informative nature. As a Libyan Arabic researcher, I believe that in order to gain a reliable and full picture of Libyan politeness, we need to distance ourselves from models that represent an "objective" understanding of politeness in a certain language. Instead, we need to admit that we as researchers or analysts have our own situated understandings of this phenomenon, and that a framework can only capture politeness in our target culture if we look into a nexus of understandings of politeness.

Kádár and Haugh (2013) revisited and developed the first-order politeness (the lay user's perspective) and second-order politeness (the theoretical perspective) distinction, by going beyond this binary understanding of this notion. They emphasise the fact that any approach to politeness necessarily draws from multiple loci of understanding. This framework situates

understandings of politeness relative to four key loci of understanding, which are summarised as follows:

1. participant/metaparticipant understandings (first-order)
2. emic/etic conceptualisations (first-order)
3. analyst/lay-observer understandings (second-order)
4. theoretical/folk-theoretic conceptualisations (second-order)

(Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 86)

Each of these four loci includes a number of different ways of understanding in and of themselves. They work in connection to one another and sometimes only a few of them are relevant, depending on the type of data or the nature of interactional discourse observed, and further on the type of questions asked, as we will see in the data analysis chapters.

1.2. Research Questions and Hypotheses

This thesis explores politeness from both a linguistic and cultural perspective. While mainly adopting the multiplicity of understandings view that is suggested in Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework, this study is framed around a number of assumptions and aims to address the following hypothetical research questions:

1. What are the most dominant norms of Libyan Arabic politeness?
2. Supposing that religion plays a role in the understandings of Libyan Arabic politeness, what kind of role does it play? And how is this role reflected in interactional discourse?
3. In light of the assumption that there is a strong relationship between rituals and politeness in the Libyan Arab culture, how is this relationship manifested over longer stretches of talk, and in what forms is it manifested?

These research questions will be addressed through an analysis of various sets of Libyan Arabic data. Among all the other large varieties of Arabic dialects, the data studied here is mainly a Libyan Arabic discourse, from both linguistic and cultural perspectives. The specific types of data used in this study are described in more detail in the methodology chapter.

1.3. Significance of the Study

This research study and its empirical findings are expected to contribute original knowledge to the field of (im)politeness research in particular, and Arabic socio-pragmatics in general. To the best of my knowledge, it would be the first study to investigate (im)politeness within a broader domain in Arabic in general and Libyan Arabic in particular, from a post-discursive perspective. Kádár and Haugh's framework (2013) has been tested on English, Hungarian, Japanese, and Chinese. However, to the best of my knowledge, it is the first time to be applied on Libyan Arabic in an extended empirical study. In contrast to this study, I have noticed that the majority of the previous Arabic politeness studies have adopted Brown and Levinson's (1987) model in order to study single "speech acts", such as greetings, apologies, or refusals. Furthermore, role-plays, Discourse Completion Tests or questionnaires (where anticipated situations are created by the researcher), were the dominant methods for studying Arabic politeness. Conversely, naturally-occurring data and post-event interviews are chosen over other methods in this study, where (im)politeness is studied as a social interactional phenomenon and not limited to one specific speech act or particular linguistic form.

1.4. The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of ten chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the thesis and its contents, with an emphasis on the rationale behind the study, its aims and objectives, research questions, and the importance of the study. Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature in order to introduce the concept of politeness and how it has developed over time. More specifically, this chapter presents a critical review of what is defined as the 'first-wave' theories of politeness, as well as the 'discursive turn' and its role in developing politeness research. This chapter also discusses the most recent and influential developments in politeness research by scholars, whose approaches can be regarded as 'post-discursive', and also known as the 'third-wave' of (im)politeness research, e.g. (Terkourafi, 2007; Culpeper, 2011a; Kádár & Haugh, 2013). Other related notions to politeness, such as impoliteness, rituals, culture, face, community of practice and social networks, are also covered in this chapter. Finally, it offers a critical review of relevant previous studies on Arabic politeness and how they compare with the present study in terms of focus and methodology.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the research methodology, with reference to particular relevant research concepts. This chapter also offers a description of the data used in this study, and how it has been collected as well as the approach adopted in analysing the data. Chapter 4 offers a background to the Libyan context with focus on religion in relation to politeness and ritual. It discusses the understandings of politeness in religion by examining the religious normative principles at the macro level, and how this may feed into the manifestations of Libyan politeness and rituals in interactional discourse. The next four analytical chapters (5, 6, 7, and 8) are devoted to the data analysis and empirical findings where the focus is on (im)politeness in relation to ritual. To be systematic and easy to follow, these four analytical chapters are presented, in my view, in an increasing scale of formality, but they are not necessarily clear-cut categories. More specifically, chapter 5 examines interactions among friends, chapter 6 examines family interactions, chapter 7 explores tribal interactions, and chapter 8 investigates data in workplace/institutional settings. Chapter 9 presents the main findings in a more detailed discussion and summarises the answers to the hypothetical research questions that have been covered in the previous four analytical chapters. Finally, chapter 10 concludes the research by re-visiting the key findings of the study, presenting the main contributions of the study as well as its limitations, while offering implications and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction: Definitions of Politeness

The notion of politeness, which was introduced to the field of pragmatics more than thirty years ago (Culpeper, 2011b), is undoubtedly an important one for the study of those aspects of human interaction whose primary role lies in maintaining and sustaining interpersonal relationships. When it comes to the meaning of politeness, many may associate it with the use of conventional expressions, such as ‘thank you’ and ‘please’ or particular deferential terms of address. However, politeness is not only about the implementation of highly deferential language, or being nice to people, but as defined by Kádár and Haugh (2013),

[politeness] covers something much broader, encompassing all types of interpersonal behaviour through which we take into account the feelings of others as to how they think they should be treated in working out and maintaining our sense of personhood as well as our interpersonal relationships with others (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 1).

As mentioned earlier, key to this study is the above third-wave view of politeness offered by Kádár and Haugh (2013) and their analytical framework to the analysis of politeness across time and space. It is also worth including other significant definitions of politeness offered by scholars and theorists in the field in order to see how politeness has been viewed over time. That is to say, one may notice that during the time when first-wave or classical theories were dominating the field, politeness was defined from a pragmatic perspective, more in terms of a conflict-avoidance or face-saving strategy. Leech (1980), for instance, defines politeness as “strategic conflict avoidance” (p. 109). For Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness can be described as “a complex system for softening face threats.” (p. 13). In the same line, Lakoff (1989) states that “politeness can be defined as a means of minimizing confrontation in discourse - both the possibility of confrontation occurring at all, and the possibility that a confrontation will be perceived as threatening” (p. 102), and that “[politeness is] developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction” (p. 64).

Discursive or second-wave politeness theorists, such as Mills (2011a), Culpeper (2011a), Harris (2011), Mullany (2011), and many others had a tendency towards asserting the evaluative nature of politeness. For example, Mills (in Introduction by the Linguistic Research Group, 2011) defines politeness in two separate ways:

As a person, relating to other people, I use politeness to refer to behaviour which I see as showing concern for others and which fits in with, and shows respect for, wider social norms. As a theorist, however, I feel we need to both be aware of the judgements which are made about people when we use the term politeness, and also to develop a working definition which will encompass this judgmental use of the term and also other uses of politeness...There is no simple definition of politeness from this theoretical perspective, but for me, politeness consists of language choices which negotiate the indexing of social status and which attempt to include or exclude members of social groups (Mills in Introduction by the Linguistic Research Group, 2011, pp. 2-3).

In the same vein, Culpeper (2011b) defines politeness as:

(a) an attitude consisting of particular positive evaluative beliefs about particular behaviours in particular social contexts, (b) the activation of that attitude by those particular in-context-behaviours, and (c) the actual or potential description of those in-context-behaviours and/or the person who produced them as polite, courteous, considerate, etc. (p. 31).

It might be true that politeness is reflected through all languages and known in almost all societies; however, it manifests itself in different forms and degrees. Since the same thing can be perceived as polite in one culture, while being impolite in another, this is a fact which necessitates an analysis of the relevant role of culture and any culture-specific manifestations of politeness. For instance, while asking others (often repeatedly) about their wellbeing and family is perceived as polite in Libyan Arab Culture, it can be considered impolite or imposing over privacy in some other cultures, because it can be seen as prying into one's privacy and personal life.

Furthermore, perceptions and evaluations of politeness can also differ from one group to another and among individuals within the same group. That is why "we need to start talking of understandings of politeness rather than of any single understanding" (Kádár and Haugh, 2013, p. 83)

2.2. An Overview of Politeness Research

Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962) and Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle formed the basis of early studies on politeness research. Several interpretations of politeness theory have been developed by renowned linguists (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Fraser, 1990; Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983). The most influential theory of politeness was proposed by Brown and

Levinson (1987). Since the emergence of their model, many researchers started to investigate politeness and there have been numerous publications in this area. However, almost all of them were restricted to Brown and Levinson's view of politeness. Nearly two decades later, the view of politeness has taken another direction, and researchers began to look into politeness from a discursive point of view. Throughout this chapter, we will see how the field of politeness has developed over time since it has become a subject of interest up to the present time.

Politeness has gone through different phases of research through which it has been viewed and theorised differently by different scholars. Theories of politeness proposed by scholars in the field of sociolinguistics and pragmatics include Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987; 1978), who represent the 'first-wave' theories of politeness (Culpeper, 2011b). Most of these theories are built on the work of the philosopher Paul Grice (1989; 1975) on pragmatic meaning, or the 'Cooperative Principle (CP)'. For instance, Brown and Levinson (1987) restricted politeness to a 'self-mitigation act', where politeness is primarily employed for face-saving purposes; however, it continues to be regarded as the most influential 'first-wave' theory of politeness.

The first-wave was followed by a second-wave. After almost two decades of dominance by the 'first-wave' theories of politeness, particularly Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, a new range of views emerged. These views are often referred to by the umbrella term 'discursive turn'. It is often argued that the discursive turn emerged with the publication of Eelen's (2001) *A Critique of Politeness Theories*. Although Eelen's work was not an actual theory in itself, it significantly urged researchers in the field to think about alternative theories of politeness.

From a discursive perspective, (im)politeness is viewed as a discursive notion that is continuously co-constructed and evaluated over the course of interaction; therefore, it goes beyond the utterance level. Discursive approaches to (im)politeness call for a methodological shift towards interactional discourse, where politeness should be studied through looking into the interactants' own evaluations of (im)politeness over 'longer stretches' of discourse (Mills, 2011a). The discursive view also emphasises that politeness is not a characteristic of the

utterance itself, but is an outcome of investigating the interactants' evaluations and reactions over interactional discourse.

The field of politeness has also witnessed significant developments by post-discursive scholars including Terkourafi (2005a), Spencer-Oatey (2008), Culpeper (2011a , 2011b), Kádár and Haugh (2013), and others; therefore launching a third-wave of (im)politeness research. For instance, *Understanding Politeness* by Kádár and Haugh (2013) offers a multidisciplinary framework to politeness. Being a third-wave adherent myself, I have adopted Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework to this study of Libyan Arabic politeness, which offers a way to systematically look into a nexus of understandings of politeness, without placing a greater emphasis on one particular understanding such as that of the hearer or the speaker within the course of interaction. More importantly, it is also possible to include the analyst's understanding under the use of this framework.

The theories relevant to the field of politeness, first-wave theories of politeness, second-wave politeness research, as well as third-wave frameworks to (im)politeness will be reviewed and discussed in a more detail throughout the coming sections, in order to follow the developments and changes in the way politeness and other related phenomena have been viewed over time.

2.3. Ground Pragmatic Theories for Early Politeness Research

Early or classic politeness theories of the pioneering scholars in the field, i.e. Brown and Levinson (1987), Lakoff (1973), and Leech (1983), draw extensively on both Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962) and the Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1975), as we will see throughout the following sections.

2.3.1. Speech Act Theory: Pros and Cons

Speech Act Theory was introduced by philosopher J. L. Austin in 1962 in "*How to Do Things with Words*", which was taken as a good attempt at understanding the philosophy of language and pragmatics. The principal idea of Austin's theory is that words do not only represent information, but also carry action; speech acts are actions performed through words. He further argues that what is usually said is not the same as what is meant, so it is important

for individuals to familiarise themselves with languages and cultures that are new for them, along with understanding the appropriate time and context of using a particular speech act.

Austin (1962) classified speech acts into three acts that can be performed through utterances. (1) Locutionary act: the utterance of a sentence with a determinate sense and reference, such as *I will visit you tomorrow*. (2) Illocutionary act: the making of a statement such as *I promise*; such a statement is meant and performed as soon as it is uttered. (3) Perlocutionary act: when the speaker performs an utterance in order to affect the addressee, such as when A says something to make B relieved or worried.

In 1969, the speech act theory was further developed by philosopher J. R. Searle who classified speech acts in a quite similar way to Austin, with some modifications. Searle (1969) argues that speech acts can be of several types, such as assertives, directives, Commissive, expressives, or declaratives, as well as direct and indirect speech acts. For instance, indirect speech acts involve one speech act being brought about indirectly by performing another, and their interpretation varies depending on the situation, the manner of speaking and the people present at the time of interaction.

It is undeniable that speech act theory has played an influential role in the field of pragmatics in general and early politeness research in particular. It has also been taken as a fundamental basis for many politeness theories, such as Brown and Levinson's (1987; 1978) theory of politeness, which is still adopted in present day politeness studies. However, speech act theory has been widely criticised by many leading scholars in the field, including Levinson (1983), Mey (1993), Flowerdew (1990), and Geis (1995). Some of these criticisms will be addressed briefly in the following paragraphs, along with indications why this theory does not apply to the present study of Libyan (im)politeness.

Levinson (1983) asserts that speech act theory does not account for the influential role of the context, i.e. the situation in which an interaction is taking place. The restricted forms and specific classification of acts assumed by speech act theory have also been criticised, such as taking "I'm sorry" as one of the fixed forms for offering apology. Flowerdew (1990) argues that a single act can be realised by less than a phrase or a sentence, whereas a single sentence can express more than one act. For instance, an utterance such as "it's getting dark" can be interpreted as a factual statement that describes a situation, can contain warning implications

from the speaker, or can be a request for a lift. Furthermore, Levinson (1983) points out that the variety of actual usage consequently represents a significant challenge to the theory, which assumes that there is a simple form to perform different speech acts. Alternatively, he found that "what people do with sentences seems quite unrestricted by the surface form of the sentences uttered" (p. 264).

Speech act theory has also been criticised in terms of dismissing cross-cultural perspectives. That is to say, most research that has been conducted uses English as the main data source, while dismissing the idea that what can be applicable to English might not be applicable to other languages, such as Arabic. For example, in Arabic, apologies and compliments do not take fixed forms, but can be expressed in different ways; in other words, they can be one word, a sentence, reaction, or even an indirect indication over the course of interaction. Furthermore, a compliment might not be perceived as a compliment by the hearer, or it might take a conventional form of a compliment on the surface structure, while the speaker intends something else.

Mills (2011a) has also criticised speech act theory in terms of conventional linguistic realisations used to express different speech acts, such as an apology. That is to say, studies that adopt the classical speech act theory in their analysis will consider "I am sorry" as an apology, regardless of its intended meaning, while excluding other apology realisations that are not expressed in this form, thus "giving an incomplete view of the way interactants apologise" (Mills, 2011a, p. 22). Such problematic issues can be addressed through looking into interactional data, which is encouraged by both second and third-wave theorists. This involves examining what is said while observing all the relevant understandings in interaction, which is exactly what third-wave frameworks apply in studying politeness. As the present study explores politeness from a third-wave perspective, a detailed section will be devoted to this view in section 2.6.3 in this chapter.

2.3.2. Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP)

Politeness research, and first-wave approaches in particular, have been significantly influenced by the work of Grice (1989; 1975), which is known as the "Cooperative Principle". In Grice's perspective, based on normative expectations of interactions, interactants are able to infer meaning and make sense of what others are intending to say in a

logical way, even when it is left unspoken. These normative expectations are included in the "Cooperative Principle", henceforth CP, which is read as follows: "Make your contribution such as 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, p. 45).

The CP manifests itself in four conversational maxims: the Maxim of Quality (the expectation that the individual will provide true information), the Maxim of Quantity (the expectation that the individual will produce the right amount of contribution, and will not be more informative than required), the Maxim of Relevance (the expectation that the individual will supply relevant information), and the Maxim of Manner (the expectation that the information provided will be obvious and clear). According to Grice (1975; 1989), social interactions are based on the CP, where participants manifest their wish to co-operate in social interactions in order to establish relationships. Based on background knowledge and previous conversations, we as interactants have assumptions about what others are going to say and how they are going to say it at the time of interaction. In other words, interactants are supposed to bring their contribution to any type of interaction which should be a contribution expected by others, and simultaneously, it should correspond to the aim of the communicative act. The element of cooperation is also supposed to exist even when interactants are not socially cooperative, such as in the case of arguments.

Despite the CP's imperative formula, Grice (1975; 1989) emphasised that these are maxims and not rules, and these maxims are open to flouting even more so than grammatical or phonological rules. Furthermore, pragmatic meaning can still be achieved even through the "flouting" of one or more of the four maxims (Grice, 1975). This leads to another phenomenon, i.e. "implicature", where the speaker says something while meaning something different, as indicated in the following example:

A: Do you know where can I find the nearest HSBC branch?

B: It is almost 5:30pm now! {Based on Grice's (1989) example}

The contribution of speaker B might sound irrelevant, but in fact, B is being cooperative by "flouting" the maxim of relevance indicating that the bank is already closed. For Grice, therefore, pragmatic meaning can be inferred through the normative expectation that the CP

is being observed in general, which depends on the observance or non-observance of the four suggested maxims.

In relation to politeness, Grice mentioned that the CP could be maintained with reference to other normative expectations, such as the maxim of “be polite” (Grice, 1975; 1989). For instance, a speaker may flout the maxim of quantity, while trying to be polite when asking for a favour. In this context, the speaker occasionally starts with one or more introductory sentences in order for his/her request to be less direct, such as "I am sorry to bother you, but I am wondering if you could lend me some money" instead of directly saying "I need some money". The speaker here flouts the maxim of quantity by providing more information than required in order to observe the maxim of "being polite". Therefore, the assumption which is suggested by the Gricean's model is that speakers flout one or more of the other four maxims, not to be uncooperative, but to be polite where both speakers and hearers are aware of the purpose of this contravention. It can be concluded that due to this assumption, Grice's CP along with speech act theory, form the basis for the majority of the classic theories of politeness.

2.4. Classic Theories of Politeness

Classic or, as ascribed by Culpeper (2011b), “first-wave” approaches of politeness have a clear tendency towards a pragmatic view of politeness - namely, how individuals use strategies of communication in order to maintain social harmony. Drawing on aspects from Speech Act Theory and Grice’s CP, the most well-known “CP-based” first-wave theories of politeness include:

- Lakoff’s (1972; 1973) Maxim-based View of Politeness
- Leech's (1983) Maxim-based Model to Politeness
- Brown and Levinson’s (1987) Theory of Politeness

2.4.1. Lakoff’s Maxim-based View of Politeness

Robin Lakoff (1972; 1973) was the first to propose a maxim-based view of politeness, offering an influential theoretical framework of politeness (Culpeper, 2011b; Pan & Kádár, 2011). Lakoff presented her earlier ideas on linguistic politeness in her 1972 paper, in which she argues that "what may differ from language to language, or culture to culture or from

subculture to subculture within a language is the question of WHEN it is polite to be polite, to what extent, and how it is shown in terms of superficial linguistic behaviour" (Lakoff, 1972, p. 911).

Similar to Grice's idea of conversational maxims, Lakoff argues that there are "rules" of politeness. Reflecting on Grice's CP, Lakoff proposes two extra rules of Pragmatic Competence: (1) Be clear; (2) Be polite. The first rule, "the rules of conversation", belongs to Grice, and Lakoff (1973) argues that Grice's four maxims can be included under the "be clear" rule as his maxims are primarily concerned with clarity and orderliness in conversations. She also argues that rules of clarity are a "subcase of the rules of politeness" (pp. 297-305). The second rule "be polite" is divided into three rules: "Don't impose" (Rule 1), "Give options" (Rule 2), and "Make A feel good, be friendly" (Rule 3) (p. 298). The observance of these rules is associated with the flouting of the conversational maxims. That is to say, the conversational maxims are flouted when the rules of politeness are observed. The way Lakoff's rules of politeness operate implies that the speaker is working in favour of the other, and any mistake may lead to confusion and a communication breakdown. Lakoff (1973) also argues that "it is more important in a conversation to avoid offense than achieve clarity" (p. 297).

Regarding the notion of universality, which has been central to most first-wave theories, Lakoff (1973) indicates that politeness can be explained at a universal level, or universally, while claiming that the only differences between different cultures lies in the rules being emphasised; namely, "the rules of politeness may differ dialectally in applicability, but their basic forms remain the same universally" (p. 303). That is, particular rules will receive more attention or emphasis than others. She found out, for instance, that Asian cultures have a tendency towards Rule 1 "do not impose", whereas Rule 3 "Make A feel good, be friendly" or "the strategy of camaraderie" is favoured in Australian culture. However, this claim for universality could be challenged on the basis of the operation of these proposed rules, i.e. they are not as simple as first suggested when we consider culture variability. In the same vein, Tannen (1984) argues that some notions within Lakoff's framework, such as 'informal' and 'aloof' are culture-specific.

2.4.2. Leech's Maxim-based Model of Politeness

The idea behind the Politeness Principle by Leech (1983) is more or less similar to Lakoff's in the terms that politeness is based on the assumption of cooperation between interactants and interpersonal rhetoric. However, Leech (1983) offers "a much more developed maxim-based approach to politeness" (Culpeper, 2011b, p. 5). Leech (1983), who defines politeness as "conflict avoidance", introduced the Politeness Principle and its function "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (p. 82). In other words, the function of politeness is to establish good relations between interactants, which depend on the interlocutors' collaboration. Simultaneously, speaking or being silent at the wrong moment, such as interrupting someone's speech or refraining from saying anything while you are expected to contribute carries impolite implications.

According to Leech (1983), politeness primarily involves maximising the benefit, while minimising the cost to the hearer, with more of a focus on the latter. He proposed six maxims of the so-called Politeness Principle, which are all built around the idea of cost and benefit. These six maxims are: (1) The Maxim of Tact (a. minimise cost to the other; b. maximise benefit to the other), (2.) The Maxim of Generosity (a. minimise benefit to self; b. maximise cost to self), (3) The Maxim of Approbation (a. minimise dispraise of the other; b. maximise praise of the other), (4) The Maxim of Modesty (a. minimise praise of self; b. maximise praise of other), (5) The Maxim of Agreement (a. minimise disagreement between self and other; b. maximise agreement between self and other), and (6) The Maxim of Sympathy (a. minimise antipathy between self and other ; b. maximise sympathy between self and other). Leech also relates these maxims to a number of pragmatic scales: the "cost/benefit" scale, the "optionality" scale, and the "indirectness" scale.

Leech's model considers politeness as a means of conflict avoidance, which functions through decreasing the cost and increasing the benefit for the hearer, while increasing the cost and decreasing the benefit for the speaker. In other words, an utterance is considered polite when it carries less "cost" and more "benefit" to the hearer, which means that it is almost the speaker who is in charge of politeness. As with other 'first-wave' approaches, Leech's (1983) approach also seems to have an implicit claim for universality. However, Leech (1983) was

more cautious in his claims regarding the universality of his approach, in which he suggests that the proposed Politeness Principle maxims and the way they function may be weighted differently in different cultures. For instance, the Generosity Maxim might be a stronger feature of some Mediterranean cultures in comparison to other cultures (Culpeper, 2011b).

Despite its contribution to the field of pragmatics in general and to some aspects of politeness research in particular, Leech's model has been criticised mainly for not offering enough guidance on how to apply the suggested maxims, aside from the maxim of tact and that his list of maxims is open-ended, which therefore makes it subject to proliferation.

2.4.3. Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness: Key Notions

Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness was first published in (1978), *Some Universals in Language Usage*, in which they theorise politeness on the assumption of conflict avoidance through the violation of the conversational maxims. It was an outcome of investigating three different languages and cultures, particularly English, Tamil, and Tzeltal (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

In 1987, it was revised, along with a justification of some of its previous arguments, and since then, it has been taken to be the most influential first-wave theory of politeness. Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory inspired many researchers in the field of politeness and gained the attention of scholars from different disciplines, including linguistics, pragmatics, sociology, and anthropological studies. However, it was also broadly criticised by many others, mainly for its claim for universality and for being a theory of "facework", rather than a theory of politeness.

Both the notions of 'universality' and 'face' are central to Brown and Levinson's work. The latter results in what is described as face-threatening acts. In order to understand the basis of this theory and the way it operates, let us visit each of its main concepts and notions independently, and in a greater detail.

2.4.3.1. The Concept of Universality

The notion of universality is central to Brown and Levinson's framework, as well as to all other first-wave approaches. Universality refers to "the claim that linguistic politeness can be systematically described across languages and cultures using the same underlying theoretical

framework" (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 16). The use of universal parameters in describing the different aspects and features of language (and language use) is argued to have its roots in Chomsky's theory of Generative Grammar (e.g. 1957; 1965) which claims that a grammar is based on a finite number of observed sentences (the linguist's corpus) and Generative Grammar "projects" this set to an infinite set of grammatical sentences by establishing general "laws" (grammatical rules) framed in terms of such hypothetical constructs as the particular phonemes, words, phrases, and so on, of the language under analysis (Chomsky, 1965).

That is to say, theoretical descriptions of the syntactic features of any language can be generated by analysing the underlying competence of speakers, instead of observing their actual performance. As argued by Kádár and Haugh (2013), the initiative behind studying specific utterances within the first-wave theoretical frameworks of politeness was mainly adopted by politeness leading scholars who were influenced by Chomsky's school of thought. The idea of observing politeness through the flouting of the conversational maxims is akin to the idea of using universal grammatical parameters to study and describe language syntactic properties. For instance, Brown and Levinson (1987; 1978) claim for universality of their framework where politeness operates universally as a way of conflict avoidance and face mitigation. Although they refer to the fact that the ways in which politeness manifests itself may differ from one culture to another, they believe that underpinning it are the same operational assumptions as their claim of the universal notion of face.

2.4.3.2. The Notion of Face

Face is defined by Goffman (1967) as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact... an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes" (p. 5). This definition asserts the value of face and its importance for each individual and his/her desire to be respected by others. Being regarded by others does not mean that an individual only likes to be respected by others, rather it means that s/he also needs to be self-respected; in other words, not to have doubts about his/her self-esteem or image. This is because if someone lacks the respect for himself, s/he is less likely to be respected or regarded by others, regardless of the line s/he has taken.

According to Goffman (1967), face is emotionally exposed to be damaged, embarrassed, humiliated or dishonoured. In other words, self is associated with 'vulnerability', because it can be easily lost. He argues that this vulnerability can have two possible overtones: tragic or comic. The former occurs when an individual's claim for respect is doubted by him or rejected by others, whereas the latter is a result of pretence exposure. Face loss can also be compensated through remedies or repair work over the flow of an interaction.

Furthermore, an individual may be described as being 'in face' or 'out of face'. On one hand, when the line that a person is performing reflects a closer image of his/her entire self, then he is said to be in face or maintaining face. On the other hand, being 'out of face' means that a person is involved in an interaction with other participants where s/he does not have a particular kind of line that is usually expected to be taken in such a situation. A person can also be described as being in 'the wrong face' or having 'no face' when there is no consistency between his/her real social image and the line that has been assigned to him/her (Goffman, 1967).

For Goffman (1967), there are two potential orientations: a *defensive orientation* for saving one's face and a *protective orientation* for saving the other's face (p. 14). Some interactions or situations are said to be primarily defensive, whereas others are said to be primarily protective, but this does not mean that the two orientations cannot occur in parallel, at the same time. However, it is not an easy process to achieve, because a person who is engaged in others' face-saving should take his own face into consideration as well; that is, avoid damaging his own face for the sake of the other's face-protection. On the other hand, he should be careful not to hurt or damage the other's face while he is trying to save his own face. To summarise, a balance between the two orientations will more likely lead to a successful interaction with few or no 'victims'.

It is also argued that in our social life there can be three different types of responsibility that an individual may have towards face-threats, which are caused by his actions (Goffman, 1967, p. 14). Firstly, the person unintentionally causes an offence to others, who in their turn can feel that the offence is not meant and he would have avoided it if he had been aware of the consequences. Secondly, the offences are maliciously performed by the offender in order to hurt, insult, or offend someone. Thirdly, there is the occurrence of incidental offence,

where the person does not plan to cause offence, though it is expected from the nature or type of interaction (Goffman, 1967).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the notion of face is defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p. 61). All competent adult members of a society are assumed to have "face" and there is no such thing as 'faceless' interaction. Brown and Levinson (1987) further argue that face consists of two types of wants or desires, which interactants attribute to one another: the desire to be appreciated and approved of, i.e. "positive face", and the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions, i.e. "negative face".

Similarly, Brown and Levinson (1987) propose two types of politeness: positive politeness, which is defined as the "redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants should be thought of as desirable" (p. 121); and negative politeness, which is described as the "redressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded" (p.129). For example, someone who knocks at his neighbour's door and says, "I am sure I can get your lawn mower for a moment", and grabs it straight away, will be performing a positive politeness, whereas if he says, "I am wondering if it would be possible by any means to borrow your lawnmower for some time", he will be doing negative politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) and other first-wave theorists, the notion of face is also claimed to allow for a universal theorisation of politeness, because it enables the researcher to draw distinctions between cultures and smaller groups of language users depending on their preference of politeness, which appeals to the other's positive face or negative face; in other words, 'positive politeness' and 'negative politeness' cultures (Kádár & Haugh, 2013).

2.4.3.3. Face Threatening Acts (FTAs)

Face threatening acts refer to the unpleasant outcome of actions that may threaten one's face. Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that some acts are intrinsically face-threatening; for instance, a criticism threatens positive face, whereas a request threatens negative face. It is assumed that acts which tend to obstruct or restrict the addressee's freedom of action are more likely to threaten their "negative face", while acts that appear to reject or disapprove their wants are expected to threaten their "positive face" (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Therefore, politeness is perceived as the speaker's intention to mitigate face threats carried by certain face threatening acts.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), interactants are stimulated to avoid conveying FTAs and are expected to minimise the face-threat caused by their acts in their interactions with others through politeness strategies. Interactants often have to prioritise three face wants: the want to communicate the content of an FTA, the want to be competent or efficient, and finally the want to save or maintain the hearer's or the addressee's face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Taking these three wants into account, interactants will have the option of choosing one or two of five strategies ranging from strategy type 5, which is taken as the most desirable case, i.e. "don't do the face threatening act FTA" to the worst strategy type 1, i.e. "do the FTA and go on record as doing so baldly, and without any redressive action". If the participant goes on record as doing the FTA, s/he can soften the blow by carrying out two types of redressive action, (a) by choosing a strategy aimed at enhancing the addressee's positive face (strategy type 2) or (b) by choosing a strategy which will soften the encroachment on the addressee's freedom of action or freedom from imposition (strategy type 3) (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 60).

As explained by Brown and Levinson (1987), the risk of losing face increases as one moves up the scale of strategies, from (1) to (5) with strategy (1) as the least polite, and strategy (5) as the most polite. In other words, these five strategies are dependent on the degree of risk involved in losing face. It is also argued that the level of the risk of face-threatening acts is determined by the impact of three 'universal' social variables. These social variables are: "D: the social 'distance' between the participants; P: the relative 'power' between them; R: the absolute 'ranking' of imposition in a particular culture" (p. 74). In other words, a speaker may intend to be more polite if his/her relationship with the addressee is formal, such as a teacher-student or employer-employee relationship, while less polite or even non-polite with friends and with those who are closer; from Brown and Levinson's perspective, using negative politeness in the former situation, while performing positive politeness in the latter. In practice, these three variables can overlap with one another depending on the situation and the type of talk, among other relevant parameters.

2.4.3.4. Rationality

According to Brown and Levinson, rationality refers to “the application of a specific mode of reasoning...which guarantees inferences from ends or goals to means that will satisfy those ends” (1987, p.64). As with the notion of face, rationality is claimed to be universalistic. The two notions are tied closely together to explain the theoretical assumptions behind politeness, or more specifically, face-mitigation. Human beings are attributed the universal property of face, because they are considered rational, and therefore responsible for their choices. For instance, whenever a speaker chooses a specific form of politeness to address the other's, or the hearer's face needs, s/he is taken to make a rational choice to observe the ‘face-wants’ of the hearer. The observance or respect of the other's face and face-wants is considered a rational act upon which we base our reasoning about the behaviour of others. Rationality, thus, is a step towards conflict avoidance, which is of key importance within Brown and Levinson's theory.

The notion of rationality also makes the integration of the Gricean CP into Brown and Levinson's framework relatively justifiable. That is to say, it is rational for the hearer to believe that the speaker is trying to be polite, which results in implicature, when s/he is flouting one or more of the conversational maxims. For Brown and Levinson (1987), the assumption of rationality, which is means-end in nature, makes the theorisation of politeness possible. In other words, it can help researchers to study fluctuating manifestations of politeness in a systematic way. However, as argued by Kádár and Haugh (2013), this focus on 'relationality' blurs the distinction between ‘positive’ and 'negative' face, as described by Brown and Levinson (1987), because negative face implies that people are discrete, autonomous individuals, rather than relationally involved.

2.4.4. A Critique of Brown and Levinson's Theory

Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework is considered the most influential work in the field of politeness research in its time. However, their entire theory has been challenged and criticised based on various aspects, and for different reasons. While Brown and Levinson's (1987) main idea was to offer a universal framework of politeness, it was this idea of universality in relation to face that was mostly challenged. For instance, it has been argued that Brown and Levinson's emphasis on individualism is a reflection of Anglo-Saxon culture,

and is not necessarily a universal feature. Its claim to universality was heavily criticised by Asian scholars in particular and those whose cultures are different from the Anglo-Americans examined in Brown and Levinson's framework. The way face and rationality are viewed by Brown and Levinson (1987) implies their own understanding of the human psyche, which is different and does not necessarily apply to Asian and non-Western cultures.

The Japanese sociolinguist Sachiko Ide (1989) made one of the most prominent critiques against the universality of Brown and Levinson's framework. She criticised the idea of having politeness as a result of flouting conversational maxims through the means-ends rationality of interactants. Ide (1989) asserts that in Japanese, one's behaviour is considered polite when s/he successfully discerns the appropriate communal norm at the time of interaction. Therefore, she invalidates individual rationality and overrides the assumption that we reason about the behaviour of others through rationality. The Japanese pragmatician Yoshiko Matsumoto (1988) further argues that Brown and Levinson's framework does not account for the complexity of deference that is expressed by using Japanese honorifics. Japanese offers multiple registers, spanning from modest to deferential, which are performed through a range of diverse honorific forms that do not fit into Brown and Levinson's "universalistic" framework.

Another influential criticism against the claim to universality with particular reference to the notion of face was made by the Chinese scholars Yueguo Gu (1990) and Mao (1994). In Chinese, *mianzi*/face is not a property of the individual, as presented by Brown and Levinson, but it is a societal property. For this reason, their framework fails to accommodate for Chinese politeness (Gu, 1990). Therefore, it is inappropriate to apply individualistic universals to communalistic cultures, such as Chinese. Similarly, Mao (1994) emphasises the communal value of Chinese face and the importance of group harmony over individual freedom. This means that the individual value and respect lay in the group, rather than in his/her individualistic self; the so-called "communal face".

Brown and Levinson's framework was also criticised for its pessimistic view of social interaction and its concern with facework, rather than politeness. For instance, Nwoye (1992) claims that, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), "social interaction becomes an activity of continuous monitoring of potential threats to the faces of the interactants" (Nwoye, 1992,

p. 311). Brown and Levinson (1987) were also blamed for not paying attention to interactions which do not involve a predetermined goal, as in the case of enjoying a casual conversation, which very often does not have a pre-planned goal, or example, two passengers, chatting for first time on board a plane.

In the same line, Locher and Watts (2005) also assert that Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness is, in fact, a theory of Facework, not a theory of Politeness, since it only deals with the mitigation of face-threatening acts (Locher & Watts, 2005). Alternatively, Locher and Watts (2005) argue that we should consider the study of politeness as going beyond FTA mitigation in order to explain the norms that govern polite behaviour in interactional discourse. In fact, politeness and face (or facework) are two different concepts, but they are interrelated to some extent. In this respect, O'Driscoll (2011) argues that "face and politeness are not the same thing simply because one is a trait of interactants, while the other is a trait of interaction. One is something interactants have; the other something they do" (p. 22). In other words, they are both abstracts that only become explicit over the course of interaction.

For Brown and Levinson (1987), an individual acts politely because he wants to save his face. This is true to some extent, but it also leaves the explanation or the cause for impoliteness unanswered. If interactants express politeness and consideration only for face-saving purposes, do they then perform impoliteness for face-threatening purposes? The answer is yes and no: yes if we are talking about facework, and no if we are discussing politeness and impoliteness separately from face and facework, which is quite a challenging task.

According to O'Driscoll (2011), politeness can be regarded as one of the possible aspects of facework. For example, a person may tend to be polite in order to avoid face-threatening situations. However, politeness can be also performed for many other social reasons, e.g. maintaining good relationships, respecting each other, or appreciating someone, or even for personal and self-serving reasons that sometimes seem to be superficial, such as attracting someone's attention or receiving compliments.

Furthermore, the methodology used by Brown and Levinson (1987) to examine politeness was also a source of heavy critique by many scholars. Specifically, they were criticised for taking single utterances of language as sufficient for the study of politeness, while

disregarding the fact that most single utterances are components of larger stretches of talk. This leads Brown and Levinson to miss many important features of discourse, such as "back-channelling" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

2.5. The Discursive Turn: Key Second-wave Conceptualisations and Approaches to Politeness

After almost two decades of dominance by the "first-wave" approaches of politeness, particularly Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, a new view emerged, namely, the discursive turn. It is true that politeness received a considerable amount of research since the emergence of Brown and Levinson's (1978; 1987) theory. However, as we have seen, their view of politeness was criticised widely by many discursive theorists, as well as by other researchers. This section is not concerned with addressing these critiques per se, as they have already been covered in the previous section, but rather the intention is to overview the discursive turn, or the second-wave research of (im)politeness and its key concepts.

As stated earlier, Eelen's (2001) *Critique of Politeness Theories* marked a turning point in politeness research (Mills, 2011a). Despite the fact that Eelen offered a self-reflexive critique, rather than a theory of politeness, he successfully encouraged researchers to go beyond Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory and other classical works by raising different issues and asking significant questions, which remained unanswered as long as the same models are continued to be adopted without any fundamental change. More importantly, Eelen (2001) addressed the fundamental question about how linguistic politeness should be conceptualised.

2.5.1. First-order vs Second-order Politeness

One of the discursive approaches to politeness premises was to distinguish between 'politeness1' and 'politeness2'. That is to say, to differentiate clearly between politeness, as it is perceived by participants or lay people in real interactions (politeness1), and politeness as it is theorised and observed by researchers and analysts (politeness2). Watts et al. (2005) suggests an influential distinction between first-order and second-order politeness, referring to the former as "the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups" whereas the latter is the "theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage" (Watts et al., 2005, p. 3).

However, Eelen (2001), who underlined the need for a clearer distinction, argues that there is a usually unclear distinction between politeness¹ and politeness² when it comes to the empirical analysis. Specifically, the participant or lay member of a community's view has been theoretically emphasised and distinguished from the analyst's view, but practically, these two distinctive views seem to be mixed within the analysis of politeness. Eelen (2001) also proposes that politeness¹ should be the focus of politeness research. In other words, in analysing (im)politeness, the focus should be on what is perceived and evaluated as polite or impolite by the interactants themselves.

In line with Eelen's (2001) argument, Watts (2003) suggests that "what a theory of politeness should be able to do is to locate possible realisations of polite or impolite behaviour and offer a way of assessing how the members themselves may have evaluated that behaviour" (Watts 2003, pp. 19-20). From a discursive point of view, although interactants do not usually evaluate one another in explicit ways, their perception of politeness¹ in action can be deduced through a careful examination of their reactions and responses in interactions. To be precise, this is done by following the flow of their spoken discourse over longer turns of talk. In order to achieve this, a clearer distinction between first-order and second-order politeness is needed, both in theory and practice.

As argued by Kádár and Haugh (2013), the first-order and second-order distinction has given a crucial boost to the field, because it has challenged the prominence of prescriptive approaches to politeness, where only certain usages of politeness have been accepted as 'appropriate'. However, it is important to move beyond this binary distinction to a more multifaceted method that can offer an enhanced understanding of politeness (Kádár & Haugh, 2013).

2.5.2. Interactional Discourse vs Single Utterances

Discursive approaches to (im)politeness call for a methodological shift towards interactional discourse, or in other words, to study politeness within the interactants' own perceptions and evaluations of (im)politeness over 'longer stretches' of discourse. In contrast to 'first-wave' approaches, in which politeness was studied by looking into single utterances, discursive approaches aim to look into politeness as an ongoing interactional phenomenon that can be studied by examining the hearers' reactions and evaluations of the speakers' produced

behaviour. Therefore, discursive theorists go beyond the utterance level by underlining the importance of discourse and the interactants' evaluations.

It is argued by discursive theorists that (im)politeness phenomenon is better investigated in authentic situations where the participants engage in longer instances of conversations. Mills (2011a) further explains the relationship between (im)politeness' evaluative nature and longer stretches of interactional discourse, by stating that "it is clear that politeness and impoliteness are, amongst other things, judgements of linguistic phenomena, and judgements are generally constituted over a number of turns or even over much longer stretches of interaction" (Mills, 2011a, p. 26).

This probably justifies why the use of naturally-occurring data is favoured by both second and third-wave scholars of (im)politeness. It enables the analyst to observe (im)politeness in more natural settings, and to investigate the complexities of these linguistic phenomena over extended spoken discourse. That is why, I believe that an empirical analysis of (im)politeness that makes use of ethnography and naturally-occurring data can offer richer (im)politeness data, even with smaller sizes of data.

While first-wave approaches to politeness placed importance on the speaker over the hearer, second-wave approaches emphasise the role of the hearer. The discursive view does not only focus on how the speaker produces fragments of talk, but also on how those phrases are interpreted and evaluated by the hearer over the course of interaction. However, Eelen (2001) argues that "in everyday practice (im)politeness occurs not so much when the speaker produces behaviour, but rather when the hearer evaluates that behaviour" (Eelen, 2001, p. 109). This argument implies that the hearer is given more importance than the speaker, which again could lead to the danger of studying politeness from only one perspective, while disregarding other equally significant understandings. In this regard, Watts (2003) and Mills (2003) assert a necessity for a balance between the speaker's contribution and the hearer's evaluation.

In contrast to the assumptions within early classical politeness research, which assumes that some utterances are inherently polite, discursive theorists believe that politeness does not exist in the utterance itself, but as argued by Mills (2003), it is rather perceived through the investigation of the hearer's evaluation and reaction to the spoken discourse. In the same line,

Locher and Watts (2007) argue that “no linguistic behaviour that is inherently polite or impolite” (Locher & Watts, 2007, p. 78). For example, if someone is simply using “thank you” and “please”, this does not mean that s/he is being polite or is conveying politeness only, because those linguistic formulae are inherently polite or because politeness unquestionably resides in them. It rather depends on the way they are being said and how they have been perceived over the course of interaction.

2.5.3. Context

Depending on whether or not interactions are taking place in formal settings such as institutional talk, or informal settings such as mundane interactions among family members or friends, this can affect the way we speak and behave in relation to one another. While context is seen as an important element in pragmatics, it seems that there is no agreement around its content. For example, Levinson (1983) points out that “pragmatics is the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with the contexts in which they would be appropriate” (p. 24). Leech (1983) defines context as “any background knowledge assumed to be shared by S and h and which contributes to h’s interpretation of what S means by a given utterance” (p. 13). The former definition highlights the role of context without giving a clear definition of its content, whereas the latter refers to what context is only at the utterance level, without identifying the nature of the shared knowledge or the relevant features of the utterance in terms of its interpretation.

However, Akman and Bazzanella (2003) offer a more comprehensive definition of context, in which they suggest that context can include a global level and a local level, where a priori or interaction-independent features, and sociolinguistic parameters (such as age and status) as well as interaction-dependent features (such as gestural deixis) are covered. In Akman and Bazzanella’s (2003) words,

The global level corresponds to a priori features and to sociolinguistic parameters such as age, status, the social roles of participants, the type of interaction, time and space localization. This information is independent of the ongoing conversational interaction.

The local level corresponds to parameters that are selected because of their relevance and activated by the ongoing interaction itself (e.g., the kind of action being performed, gestural deixis, focusing). This information closely depends on the ongoing conversational interaction (pp. 324-325).

The discursive view to politeness significantly emphasises the role of context in the study of politeness, where politeness and impoliteness manifestations are seen as context-dependent. As argued by Mills (2011a), “discursive theorists focus on contextual analysis which is concerned with the way the social plays out in individual interaction, and the way those individual interactions feed back into the construction of wider social norms” (Mills, 2011a, p. 46). In other words, instead of creating disembodied examples, sections of conversation in context are utilised where contextual components are used to clarify the meaning of those features which are believed to contribute to politeness or impoliteness judgements (Mills, 2011a). For instance, “that was so helpful!” if taken out of context, this would certainly be evaluated as a polite compliment. However, if it is being said by someone to his colleague who left an important document at home, it would not be interpreted as so, because the message conveyed has a completely different meaning. Similarly, a speaker can be impolite by being overly polite depending on the context, the situation, and more importantly, this is based on the hearer's perception and evaluation.

Another issue within politeness research that many discursive advocates are concerned with is how to avoid generalisations when investigating politeness. Therefore, discursive researchers like Mills (2003) suggests that (im)politeness might be better perceived and observed through the analysis of the community members' communicative behaviour in particular contexts. This contextual analysis of (im)politeness is emphasised by the discursive approaches to (im) politeness, as indicated earlier. Therefore, it is pertinent to discuss from, where, and how the 'concept of community of practice' (CofP) has been generated and developed, with reference to its importance within the study of (im)politeness from a discursive perspective.

2.5.4. Community of Practice (CofP)

The community of practice notion, henceforth CofP, was originally developed by Wenger (1988) where it was used to investigate apprenticeship as a learning theory. Once the term comes to practice, they found that these communities can exist everywhere. This means in both in formal as well as informal settings. As Wenger (1998) emphasises, “communities of practice exist in any organization. Because membership is based on participation, rather than

on official status, these communities are not bound by organisational affiliations; they can span institutional structures and hierarchies” (p. 3).

Wenger (1988) defines communities of practice as a group of people who come together for a shared activity in order to do things and learn how to do them better, while they interact regularly, which is, as explained later, all part of 'relational work' and directly applies to discursive politeness research. The notion of CofP has gained popularity in discursive politeness research, as well as other disciplines (such as gender studies) because it is claimed to give researchers the opportunity to examine politeness in a relatively contextualised way. From a discursive point of view, CofP is considered to be useful in investigating politeness through practices that are established in relation to the group. In this line, Mills (2003; 2011a) argues that an emphasis on linguistic (im)politeness as a practice within communities of practice may offer a more profound understanding of this phenomenon. Her conceptualisation of (im)politeness from a CofP perspective appears as follows:

Politeness cannot be understood simply as a property of utterances ... but rather as a set of practices or strategies which communities of practice develop, affirm, and contest, and which individuals within these communities engage with in order to come to an assessment of their own and others' behaviour and position within the group (Mills, 2003, p. 9).

In other words, politeness does not reside in linguistic phrases, but it is rather a group of practices that are established and developed by CofPs through which the members of the group evaluate and judge their own style of talking and other members' linguistic behaviour.

In reference to the analysis of (im)politeness, Mills (2003) further argues that the community-based approach can offer a way that lends importance to discourse, context, and individuals within different communities of practice. Discursive theorists also believe that CofP represents a dynamic approach to the meaning of both politeness and impoliteness, through investigating them in particular contexts, rather than trying to propose a universal view.

Mills (2003) refers to Culpeper (1996)'s study of impoliteness in the military context in order to explain how CofPs can enable theorists to gain a deeper view of the phenomena that takes the participants' assessments into consideration. In his study of female army recruiters, Culpeper (1996) asserts that impoliteness is an inevitable feature of the military context. However, Mills (2003) claims that members of this distinct CofP of military training are less

likely to evaluate one another's behaviour as impolite, because it is an expected norm in such a context.

Nonetheless, the notion of CofP is not without problems. As noted by Kádár and Haugh (2013), the CofP value is relatively limited, since it presupposes specific contact between interactants, and there are many interactional relationships that do not fall under the category of community of practice (Kádár & Haugh, 2013), which I consider among one of the valid reasons why it was inadvisable to pursue a radically discursive line in the present study of Libyan politeness.

There are many other significant second-wave concepts and approaches, but it would not be possible to cover them all in depth in this chapter. However, I will discuss “relational work” by (Locher & Watts, 2005; 2007; Locher, 2006; Watts, 2003), since it is considered one of the most representative contributions to the discursive research (Kádár, 2011; Van Der Bom & Grainger, 2015). Despite their diversity and difficulties surrounding classifying them, discursive works have some shared trends, such as being interaction-based and observing politeness in longer chunks of discourse. Thus, reviewing relational work is believed to make it easier to understand the broader idea of the discursive approach, and at the same time, makes it possible to know more about relational work, how it works in relation to politeness, and its drawbacks (or, why it was not adopted in this study). It might be worth mentioning here that relational work by Locher and Watts has not been classified by all scholars in the field as discursive or pure discursive, e.g. (Culpeper, 2011b). However, I believe that Locher and Watts's work could be still labelled as discursive, due to the fact that it has more shared than different characteristics that can fit under the broader sense of the discursive approach. This agrees with the classification followed by Haugh (2007) and Kádár and Haugh (2013).

2.5.5. Locher and Watts' Relational Work

Relational work is defined as "the work individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others, which includes impolite as well as polite or merely appropriate behaviour" (Locher & Watts, 2005, p. 9). This definition implies that politeness is viewed as part of relational work and just like other forms of personal meaning, it emerges through the process of negotiating interpersonal relationships. Locher and Watts (2005) argue that relational work can be useful in exploring the discursive struggle over politeness. In their perspective, politeness is a

discursive notion that occurs in the interactants' real perceptions and evaluations of a given linguistic behaviour.

Relational work represents a continuum of verbal behaviour, ranging from impolite to polite actions, indicating that impolite behaviour is just as important as polite or politic behaviour in labelling relationships (Locher, 2004). As shown in the figure below, relational work involves impolite, non-politic/inappropriate and over-polite behaviour as well as polite, politic/appropriate behaviour. Referring to how these different forms of behaviour are perceived and judged by interactants within the concept of relational work, Locher (2004) and Locher and Watts (2005) argue that interactants do not show evaluative comments regarding unmarked/politic/appropriate behaviour, because this behaviour is considered the norm, whereas behaviour which breaches social norms is perceived to be impolite and negatively marked

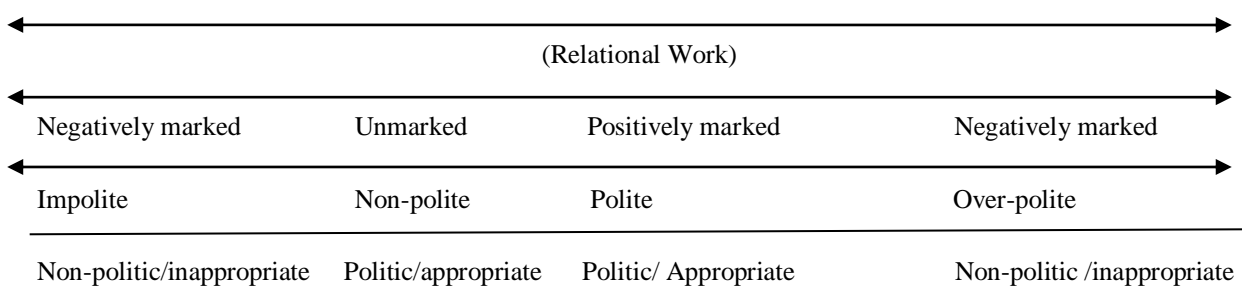


Figure 2.1. Relational work, Locher & Watts (2005, p. 12)

On the one hand, politic/appropriate and non-polite behaviour are more likely to go unnoticed or unmarked within the course of interaction, as shown in column 2. On the other hand, marked behaviour is open to interpretation in three different ways: it will be negatively marked if it is evaluated as impolite, non-politic, or inappropriate as indicated in column 1. The negative marked behaviour judgement also applies to over-polite, non-politic or inappropriate behaviour, as shown in column 4, whereas polite, politic or appropriate behaviour is perceived as positively marked, as indicated in column 4 (Locher & Watts, 2005).

Central to the notion of relational work is the term “politic behaviour” which was initiated by Watts (2003). Politic behaviour is "linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be appropriate

to the social constraints of the ongoing interaction [which usually goes unmarked]" (Watts, 2003, p. 19). Proposing politic behaviour was primarily inspired by Bourdieu's (1990) theory of practice and the notion of 'habitus' in particular, which is defined as "the dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 12). Both 'habitus' and 'politic behaviour' are closely related in terms of performing behaviour that is socially appropriate and accepted, but without following certain stated or written rules.

As part of relational work, politic behaviour is viewed differently from polite behaviour, which goes beyond what is appropriate and expectable within the discourse (Watts, 2003). Polite behaviour can be always politic; however, politic behaviour can also be interpreted as non-polite behaviour, indicating that these categories are interrelated and are open to discursive negotiation (Locher & Watts, 2005). In other words, relational work suggests that whether certain behaviour is polite, impolite or appropriate depends on the evaluations of the interactants, which are decided on the basis of the norms and expectations of the members within a given community.

Relational work also suggests a return to Goffman's (1967) notion of face, which is defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for [himself or herself] by the line others assume [he or she] has taken during a particular contact" (p. 5). According to Watts (2003), face is discursively generated according to the line that each person has assigned to him/herself during the contact with other members of the group. For example, if an interactant is taking a line to be conservative in his/her interactional contribution, he/she should satisfy that by fulfilling the role expected by others, say, by using no taboo or swearing words. Locher and Watts (2005) further argue that "appropriateness [politic behaviour] is determined by the frame or the habitus of the participants within which face is attributed to each participant by the others in accordance with the lines taken in the interaction" (Locher & Watts, 2005, p. 17).

Despite the popularity of relational work, it is also not without its problems. The use of the term 'relational work' instead of 'politeness' is in itself found to be problematic. Although it is implicitly stated that politeness is seen as a category under the umbrella of relational work, politeness is not clearly defined. According to Kádár (2011) "this theorisation implies that

second-order terminology should not include ‘politeness’... researchers are expected to select from a menu of scientific terms such as ‘relational work’ (Watts, 1989, 2003; Locher 2004), ‘rapport-management’ (Spencer-Oatey, 2008), and ‘facework’ (Goffman, 1967; 2005; Kádár, 2011, p. 251).

The suggested categorisation or continuum of verbal behaviour has also raised some issues that have an impact on the validity and applicability of relational work. As argued by Haugh (2007),

One epistemological issue arising from this categorization is that it is not clarified in what sense these different manifestations of relational work are positively or negatively marked. In what ways is this positive marking, for example, related to face, identity, distancing/alignment, showing sincerity, or (un)intentional behaviour (p. 300)?

Another problem with the proposed categorisation is whether or not it is taken as a first-order representation of the hearer’s perceptions of the speaker’s behaviour or as the analyst’s second-order interpretation (Haugh, 2007).

There are other approaches that also emerged as a reaction to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory, mainly a discontent in its cross-cultural scope. These approaches intended to modify it, rather than completely reject it. Arguably, Spencer-Oatey’s (2008) rapport management is among one of the most significant works in this regard, and will be discussed in further detail below. This framework does not seem to match all of the discursive characteristics, however, it is tempting to classify rapport management under the discursive label for the reason that it moves beyond Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory. While I am generally placing rapport management within this section for the sake of sequencing, I would rather follow Culpeper’s (2011b) classification by defining it more as relational in particular.

2.5.6. Spencer-Oatey's Rapport Management Framework

Spencer-Oatey (2008) proposes a second-order framework for cross-cultural comparisons. This framework of rapport management has a clear focus on interpersonal relations. As stated by Spencer-Oatey (2008):

I propose a modified framework for conceptualising face and rapport. I maintain that Brown and Levinson’s (1987) conceptualization of positive face has been underspecified, and that the concerns they identify as negative face issues are not

necessarily face concerns at all. I propose instead that rapport management (the management of harmony–disharmony among people) entails three main interconnected components: the management of face, the management of sociality rights and obligations, and the management of interactional goals (p. 13).

Spencer-Oatey's (2008) rapport management framework is based on Goffman's (1967) definition of face: "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [sic] by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p. 13).

This framework consists of three face types; namely, "quality", "relational" and "social identity". Quality face, which refers to one's self as an individual, is defined as "we have a fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities, e.g. our confidence, abilities, appearance, etc" (Spencer-Oatey, 2002, p. 540). Relational face, which is associated with one's self in relation with others, is described as "[s]ometimes there can also be a relational application; for example, being a talented leader and/or a kind-hearted teacher entails a relational component that is intrinsic to the evaluation" (p. 15). Social identity face, which refers to one's self as a group member, is explained by Spencer-Oatey (2002) as "we have a fundamental desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles" (p. 540).

Sociality rights, which are defined as the "fundamental social entitlements that a person effectively claims for him/herself in his/her interactions with others" (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 13), are central to the rapport management framework. They are subdivided into "equity rights" and "association rights". The former refers to "[our] fundamental belief that we are entitled to personal consideration from others, so that we are treated fairly... we are not taken advantage of or exploited" (p.16), whereas the latter is concerned with "[our] fundamental belief that we are entitled to social involvement with others, in keeping with the type of relationship that we have with them." (p.16)

As argued by Spencer-Oatey (2008), rapport management also accounts for interactional goals that people often have when they engage in an interaction. These goals, which are independent of face, can either be relational - such as establishing a relationship with someone, or transactional - such as doing a task. Failure to achieve such goals or wants is assumed to negatively affect peoples' perception of rapport, e.g. disappointment. Spencer-

Oatey (2008) also offers an ample explanation for how the three key components of rapport: namely, face, rights, and goals are associated to linguistic, pragmatic as well as contextual attributes or features. Given the three components of rapport management outlined above, threats to positive rapport among people can be linked to face, rights, or interactional goals. In contrast to Brown and Levinson (1987), Spencer-Oatey's (2008) rapport management is not limited to "counterbalancing threats" (Culpeper, 2011b, p. 25). Furthermore, she suggests that there are four categories of orientation:

1. Rapport enhancement orientation: a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors;
2. Rapport maintenance orientation: a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors;
3. Rapport neglect orientation: a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors (perhaps because of a focus on self);
4. Rapport challenge orientation: a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations between the interlocutors (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 32).

2.5.7. A Critique of the Discursive Approach to Politeness

The discursive view to politeness represents one of the most significant challenges to the dominance of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory to date, as well as to the continuing viability of the field of politeness research (Haugh, 2007). However, it has been a subject of critique particularly for not proposing a unifying framework of politeness.

As the discursive view is a number of research stances and concepts, rather than a united theory of politeness, identifying approaches with discursive trends has become a problem. Kádár and Haugh (2013) argue that no clear overarching theory has emerged since Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, and call for the unification of existing theoretical concepts and methodological approaches into one coherent framework (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 56). However, discursive theorists did not take this on board and alternatively claim that they should not aim to produce a theoretical framework of analysis similar to that of Brown and Levinson (Locher & Watts, 2005; Watts, 2005). Because, in their perspective, Brown and Levinson's theory "could not in fact capture the complexity of the way that negotiations

around politeness and impoliteness are handled within interaction” (Van Der Bom & Mills, 2015, pp. 189-190).

Critics have also observed that the discursive approach is unsystematic, vague, and difficult to implement when analysing data. Discursive advocates argue that this is due to the fact that unlike traditional approaches, the discursive approach to politeness is not as concerned with individual linguistic features. Alternatively, it focuses more on discursive interaction between participants, as well as on interlocutors’ judgements with reference to politeness or types of behaviour relevant to politeness, such as requesting or thanking. But then, its focus on participants’ judgements and interpretations has also raised a concern, e.g. (Terkourafi, 2005a; Haugh, 2007). That is to say, under the discursive approach to politeness, it is not possible to identify something as polite or impolite while considering a first-order politeness definition.

The first-order and second-order politeness distinction has also attracted criticism. For instance, Haugh (2007) questions whether the discursive approach to politeness is capable of making a clear distinction between politeness 1 and politeness 2, and whether it does not run into the danger of conflating the participant’s and analyst’s evaluations of politeness (Haugh, 2007, p. 298).

Another significant issue is how analysts are supposed to recognise instances or behaviours of politeness and impoliteness without imposing their own understandings. Namely, the discursive approach calls for a methodology built on the participants’ evaluations and interpretations, whilst distancing the analyst’s understanding. According to discursive theorists, the role of the analyst is not to impose a theoretical view of politeness, but rather to identify the participant’s understandings of politeness, e.g. (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; 2005; Locher, 2006). Haugh (2007) welcomes a focus on the participant, yet this raises concerns regarding the status of the analyst vis-à-vis the participants (Haugh, 2007). In other words, the role of the analyst is reduced to only identifying the perceptions of the participants, while he himself has his own theoretical understandings that are considered valuable.

Another concern regarding the discursive approach to politeness, e.g. (Locher, 2004; 2006; Locher & Watts, 2005; Watts, 2005), is that it advocates displacing the actual notion of

politeness in politeness research by moving towards other terms, such as “politic behaviour” or “relational work” and in that case there will ultimately be no more politeness research as an independent field of study (Haugh, 2007; Kádár, 2011).

These problematic issues with the discursive approach to politeness made it inadequate for me to use in the present study of Libyan politeness. Specifically, as researchers, we have our own situated understandings of politeness and impoliteness, and therefore it is not ideal to adopt a view that calls for achieving objective understanding of politeness in a certain language or culture without offering a systematic way to conduct that. Along with the above, being a researcher of a culture i.e. Libyan culture, which has remained understudied in terms of (im)politeness research, I was encouraged to look for a more systematic framework to politeness. Also, this approach would not restrict me to a single understanding of politeness, but rather allow me to cover all relevant understandings within the data, including my own situated understanding as an analyst. Namely, Kádár and Haugh’s (2013) third-wave framework which will be discussed thoroughly in section 2.6.3.

2.6. Third-wave Politeness Research

Generally speaking, I use the term “third-wave politeness research” to refer to trends and frameworks that are post-discursive, or those that have moved beyond the discursive view. However, some of these are not easy to classify, since they have characteristics from both second and third waves of politeness. For example, Terkourafi’s approach has been classified differently by several scholars. Mills (2011a) argues that Terkourafi’s work could be classified as “discursive because she is attempting to move beyond Brown and Levinson’s work by focusing on contextual variation” (Mills, 2011a, p. 29). Culpeper (2011b) devotes an independent category for Terkourafi’s framework; that is, “frame-based”. In my own perspective, the frame-based approach can be broadly classified as post-discursive due to the fact that it offers an alternative approach to politeness. We can also find scholars who went discursive at first, but then chose to be part of the third-wave, mainly due to the issues pointed out in the previous section, and more importantly, to offer a better understanding of politeness.

Due to the limitations of this study, I will not be able to cover all post-discursive frameworks here. However; I will outline Terkourafi’s (2005a) frame-based approach, Haugh’s (2007;

2008; 2013) framework, and then Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework of politeness with a more in-depth discussion being key to this study. In this section, we will see what post-discursive or third-wave theorisations are concerned with, and how they differ from classical and discursive approaches.

2.6.1. Terkourafi's (2005) Frame-based Approach

According to Terkourafi (2005a), second-wave approaches have two premises in common with the first-wave or classical theories of politeness. "The first premise is that both types of theory are theory-driven...the second premise shared by both traditional and post-modern views is their analysis of politeness on the pragmatic level as a particularized implicature" (Terkourafi, 2005a, p. 246). Therefore, Terkourafi proposes what she describes as a data-driven approach. That is to say, a frame-based approach to the analysis of politeness that was an outcome of examining a large corpus of around 60,000 words of Cypriot Greek data in three different settings: informal home and social gatherings, work settings, and formal broadcast talks on radio and TV, e.g. (Terkourafi, 2001; 2002; 2003; 2005a).

A frame is defined as "a set of expectations which rests on previous experience" (Geyer, 2008, p. 38) or as pointed out by Terkourafi (2005a), "frames may be thought of as psychologically real implementations of the habitus" (Terkourafi, 2005a, p. 253). This means that the way interactants interact in the past form a frame for how to interact in the present. Therefore, this approach works through establishing patterns of co-occurrence between linguistic or semantic lexes and their schematic contexts of use in a specific language group. In other words, based on a quantitative analysis, this approach allows for describing statistical norms within groups or communities by measuring the regularities or the degree to which particular forms occur in particular contexts. According to the frame-based approach, such regularities are defined as polite because they are regular. Terkourafi (2005a) argues that "politeness resides, not in linguistic expressions themselves, but in the regularity of this co-occurrence... to the extent that these expressions go by unchallenged by participants, they *are* polite" (Terkourafi, 2005a, p. 248). For example, if an expression has been perceived as a request in real-life, it would be identified as request, and if it has gone unchallenged (verbally, prosodically, or kinetically), then it is considered as a polite request in this context.

While Culpeper (2011b) describes Terkourafi's work as "a coherent, rich, pragmatic account of politeness" (p. 27), discursive theorists criticise her data-driven approach, without denying its noteworthiness. Namely, the patterns of co-occurrence found in the data are limited to offering and requesting speech acts, while the context is reduced to macro-sociological classifications of speaker and addressee by sex, age, social class, relationship, and predetermined setting. They argue that it is the analyst who predetermines how linguistic meaning and context are constructed or negotiated in discourse, rather than looking into the local dynamics of the interaction to reach an interpretation of such notions (Van Der Bom & Mills, 2015). However, as argued by Terkourafi (2005a), this issue is addressed so long as the classification of any particular utterance as realising a particular act type (and also as a polite realisation of that act) is guided by the interactants' own observable responses in the data (Terkourafi, 2005a).

2.6.2 Haugh's View of (Im)politeness as Social Practice

Drawing on works from discursive psychology and ethnomethodology, Haugh (2013) proposes that "im/politeness evaluations are intimately inter-related with the interactional achievement of social actions and pragmatic meanings vis-à-vis the moral order, and thus evaluations of im/politeness can be ultimately understood as a form of social practice" (Haugh, 2013, p. 52). Social practice here refers to the ways in which persons as social beings are constituted through, as indicated by Schatzki, "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organised around shared practical understanding", which constitute a "field of practice" across groups, institutions, societies and so on (as cited in Haugh, 2013, p. 54). This theorisation of treating politeness as a social practice also necessitates situating politeness evaluations in relation to the broader participation framework (Goffman, 1981) in interactions that are distributed, variable and cumulative in nature. This has main implications for how we as analysts situate ourselves in relation to the participation order.

Central to theorising (im)politeness as a social practice is the concept of moral order. As explained by Kádár and Haugh (2013), moral order refers to the "taken for granted" by members of a sociocultural group or relational network or the "seen but unnoticed", which are both "socially standardised and standardising", expected, background features of everyday scenes (Garfinkel, 1967, pp. 35-36). This background to evaluation and

interpretation is not just a matter of common knowledge, but lies at the core of what social actions and meanings members consider as good/bad, appropriate/inappropriate, polite/impolite, or over-polite and so on (Kádár & Haugh, 2013; Haugh, 2013). This is because; as argued by Garfinkel (1967), “for members not only are matters so about familiar scenes but they are so because it is morally right or wrong that they are so” (p. 35).

Another important claim within Haugh’s theorisation of (im)politeness as social practice is that evaluations differ from one individual to another within different social groups, as well as within the same social group, and even the same individual is likely to have different evaluations over time. In other words, (im)politeness evaluations are open to dispute, because the moral order, which is also open to change, is not necessarily always constituted in the same way by individuals. As stated earlier, this theorisation requires a closer attention to how evaluations are reflexively occasioned by social actions and meanings, which are recognisable to participants on account of the ways they build on interactional practices, i.e. ways of formulating both talk and conduct, which are perceived by participants as doing and meaning certain things. As pointed out by Haugh (2013), “to be reflexively occasioned means that evaluations of (im)politeness themselves also have the potential to occasion evaluative social actions and meanings (e.g. evaluating someone as impolite can occasion a complaint or negative assessment” (p. 59).

In contrast to previous views of politeness, i.e. traditional and discursive where there is a tendency towards focusing on the speakers or the hearers, the view of (im)politeness as a social practice does not restrict itself to the evaluations or hearers or speakers, but it rather embraces the evaluations of all of the involved participants in a given interaction, as well as any potential meta-participants, as shown in Kádár and Haugh (2013). Furthermore, viewing evaluations of (im)politeness as a social practice emphasises the point that something or someone is polite, impolite or otherwise, not because they used a certain linguistic form or because of a particular behaviour they have done. Therefore, the crucial question in the analysis of (im)politeness evaluations in interaction should not just be whether a talk or conduct is im/polite, im/proper, or otherwise, but rather for whom is this polite, impolite and so on (Haugh, 2013, p. 61).

It is also argued that for the analysis of (im)politeness evaluations to be grounded in the understandings of participants, the notion of participant itself needs to be theorised more carefully. For instance, not to masquerade the analyst's evaluations as those of the participants, to be aware of the multiple potential footings in which the participants' evaluations themselves may be grounded. Examining evaluations of (im)politeness vis-à-vis the participation order indicates that such evaluations are distributed across multiple participation footings; and therefore, variable and cumulative over interactional sequences. Thus, the analysis and theorisation of (im)politeness needs to deal with such evaluations at the level of locally situated participation orders (Haugh, 2013). Taking into consideration that the instantiation of participation orders in particular talk-in interaction instances inevitably draws from the interactants' broader relational histories, "scientific theorisation needs to deal with (im)politeness not only at a local interactional level but also at the level of multiple interactions between participants across social or relational networks" (Haugh, 2013, p. 68-69).

2.6.3. Kádár and Haugh's (2013) Analytical Framework to Politeness

Daniel Kádár and Michael Haugh, who contributed significantly to the field of (im)politeness in general and to the third-wave politeness research in particular, together proposed a multidisciplinary framework for the analysis of multiple understandings of politeness. Their previous research, which includes Kádár's work on historical Chinese politeness (e.g. Culpeper, J. and Kádár 2010, Kádár, Pan and Kádár 2011; Kádár 2012), as well as his theorisation of relational rituals (Kádár, 2013) along with Haugh's approach of (im)politeness as social practice, where he analysed politeness vis-à-vis the moral order and previously in relation to intentions and implicatures (e.g. Haugh, 2007; 2008; 2013), all formed a substantial part of this framework. Before introducing this framework further, it is worth mentioning here that as stated earlier in the introduction, this framework with particular focus on the multiplicity of understandings, while viewing politeness as a social practice, is adopted in the present study in order to be able to capture the macro aspects of (im)politeness without losing sight of the micro aspects.

Central to Kádár and Haugh's (2013) third-wave framework is the assumption that any approach to politeness necessarily draws from multiple loci of understanding. They call for

politeness to be studied from different perspectives, i.e. there is no one single understanding of politeness. Kádár and Haugh (2013) built on and developed the first-order (the lay user's perspective) and second-order (the theoretical perspective) politeness distinction, by going beyond this simplistic binary understanding of this notion. Kádár and Haugh (2013) further argue that "any productive understanding of politeness is necessarily rooted in both, consistent with well-developed understandings of social practice in ethnomethodology and related fields" (Kádár and Haugh, 2013, p.3). Therefore, this framework situates understandings of politeness relative to four key loci of understanding that can be summarised from Kádár and Haugh (2013) as follows:

1. *Participant/metaparticipant understandings (first-order)*

Participants' understandings refer to the view of people who are involved in the evaluative moments through which politeness arises. Metaparticipants' understandings refer to the view of people whose evaluations of politeness arise through being involved in the interaction e.g. watching it on TV or viewing it on the internet. These understandings are classified as first-order perspectives, since they involve some kind of participation in the evaluative moments.

2. *Emic/etic conceptualisations (first-order)*

Emic refers to a member or cultural insider's understanding, whereas an etic perspective involves an understanding of a cultural outsider. With reference to who is defined as a member, Kádár and Haugh (2013) point out that "a member is an individual (or group of individuals) who assumes, or claims, an insider perspective on the background, and generally unnoticed, expectations that constitute a certain moral order"; more specifically, "a member is a person who holds both themselves and others accountable to this moral order" (p. 85). Emic and etic perspectives are both identified as first-order understandings, since each of them constitute a set of expectancies that practically inform the very evaluative moments that give rise to politeness.

3. *Analyst/lay-observer understandings (second-order)*

The understanding of an analyst involves a formalised and systematic way of observing and interpreting moments through which politeness arises, whereas lay-observer understandings refer to the interpretation of those who can observe such moments spontaneously in an ad hoc manner. For example, we can all be lay observers when it comes to politeness, since we engage in social interactions both as participants and metaparticipants. These perspectives are described as second-order, as they involve observation, rather than participation in the social world.

4. *Theoretical/folk-theoretic conceptualisations (second-order)*

The theoretical understandings of politeness are explicitly defined and formalised accounts of politeness which can be shared amongst scientific observers. This means that they are restricted to particular group, i.e. a group of scientific observers. Folk-theoretic understandings of politeness involve sociocultural accounts of interpersonal phenomena e.g. politeness, which are developed and shared amongst ordinary users of a language. Theoretical and folk-theoretic understandings are regarded as second-order, because they include conceptualisations, rather than a participation in the social world.

According to Kádár and Haugh (2013), not all of these different loci of understandings or perspectives are relevant all of the time. They depend on the type of questions being asked and the nature of discourse or data being observed. However, one person may have more than one understanding of politeness at the same time. In fact, each of these four different loci includes a number of different ways of understanding in and of themselves, but not all of them are discussed here due to the limitation consideration. However, in chapter 3, I will discuss what understandings are more relevant in terms of the studied data. I will also explain why this framework has been adopted for the analysis of Libyan politeness, and what implications it has. The four key loci of politeness understandings explained above are also represented the following figure:

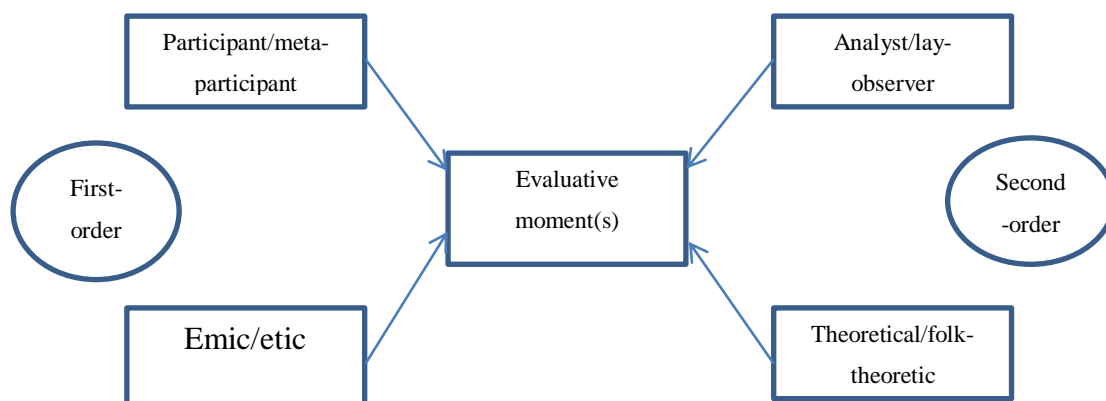


Figure 2.2 Loci of understandings of politeness (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, pp. 84-87)

While no inherent greater value is placed on any one of these perspectives, it is argued that in principle all of these perspectives can contribute to a more holistic approach to the understanding and analysis of politeness (Kádár & Haugh, 2013). Rather than simply focusing on the use of linguistic forms, this model claims to allow analysts to go beyond the boundaries of language. That is to say, it also aims to offer a way to study politeness as a social behavioural phenomenon. Another key claim within this framework is that politeness must be described in relation to time and space. As argued by Kádár and Haugh (2013), “while politeness in interaction involves an understanding in the here-and-now, this here-and-now can also be understood in the sense of a current moment of talk being constrained and afforded by prior and subsequent talk” (p. 4). Here-and-now refers to “the way in which particular social actions and meanings are evaluated vis-à-vis politeness by participants in the very moment in which they arise” (p. 266).

Related to time is space, which is used here to refer to social space in particular. Social space represents the relationship between the individual and the society s/he lives in; therefore, this offers a suitable basis for analysing politeness in relation to cognition and culture. Since associating politeness significantly with particular linguistic forms or certain behaviours can result in overgeneralising, Kádár and Haugh (2013) emphasise that politeness should be traced to “the self-organising” and “emergent properties” of the complex system, which is established through ongoing interactions among individuals over time and social space (p. 4).

In essence, Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework aims to offer a systematic approach to the analysis of multiple understandings of politeness, which inevitably arises when politeness is perceived as a social practice vis-à-vis time and social space. Therefore, a working model through which we can possibly study and analyse politeness in different contexts or settings without falling into the trap of overgeneralising (Kádár and Haugh, 2013).

2.7. The Notion of Impoliteness within this Study

There has been a variety of views among researchers on whether or not impoliteness should be analysed separately from politeness and whether or not we should be using completely different and independent frameworks. For instance, discursive theorists argue that impoliteness can operate in different ways from politeness and it is necessary for them to be analysed separately, e.g. (Bousfield & Locher, 2008; Bousfield, 2008; Culpeper, 2011a). However, at the same time, they highlight the fact that these phenomena are closely linked, and therefore it is also important to analyse politeness in relation to impoliteness and vice-versa. Although exploring this lies outside the scope of this study, I do not believe it is possible to talk about politeness without referring to impoliteness. This is in line with both Culpeper's (2011a) remark, "it cannot be denied that impoliteness phenomena are intimately connected with politeness" (p. 28), as well as Kádár and Haugh's (2013) view, "to focus exclusively on 'politeness or 'impoliteness' ignores the multitude of other kinds of understandings vis-à-vis politeness that evidently arise in interaction" (p. 5).

Politeness is discussed in much detail in this research due to focus and limitation reasons, but instances of impoliteness are also analysed and discussed as they occur within the data. Therefore, it is pertinent to include a brief review of impoliteness research. As there is no space here to offer an extensive review of all the important literature on impoliteness, I will only focus on works of impoliteness which I believe have contributed significantly to the field of impoliteness research, e.g. (Bousfield, 2008; Culpeper, 2011a).

2.7.1. Impoliteness Research in Essence

Despite the fact that impoliteness research has quite long history (e.g. the study of swearing by Montagu (2001) and later Lachenicht's (1980), interest in this phenomenon has been minimal when compared to politeness research. For more than three decades, politeness has

been considered to be one central explanatory concept governing and underpinning face-to-face interaction by many pragmatic and sociolinguistic studies of interaction (Bousfield, 2008).

Important impoliteness research also includes the studies of Lakoff (1989), Austin (1990), Beebe (1995), Culpeper (1996), Kienpointner (1997), Tracy and Tracy (1998), Culpeper et al. (2003), Mills (2003), and Culpeper (2005). It can be argued that with the arrival of Culpeper's (2005; 1996) work, impoliteness developed into an independent field of study vis-à-vis politeness. In 2008, the field witnessed the arrival of its first monograph by Bousfield (2008), its first volume of papers by Bousfield and Locher (2008), and first journal special issue devoted to impoliteness: "Impoliteness: Eclecticism and Diaspora", (*Journal of Politeness Research* 4 (2), edited by Bousfield and Culpeper) (Culpeper, 2011b, p. 27). Since then, impoliteness has begun to stimulate more academic interest which has increased significantly over the past ten years or so.

2.7.2. Definitions of Impoliteness

Impoliteness is not easy to define, primarily because it is a situation-dependent notion. As argued by Culpeper (2011b), "impoliteness is very much in the eye of the beholder; it depends on how you perceive what is said and how it relates to the situation" (p. 22). For example, shouting and using potentially offensive language to an older person living in a quiet cul-de-sac could be perceived as extremely impolite, whereas the same behaviour in the midst of a football crowd might not be taken as impolite at all (Culpeper, 2011a). Impoliteness has been defined differently by different scholars and even differently by the same scholars over time. Along with other definitions, one may notice here how Culpeper's definitions of impoliteness evolved over time:

"[Impoliteness is defined] as the use of strategies [utterances or actions] that attack one's interlocutor and cause disharmony and social disruption" (Culpeper, 1996, pp. 349-350).

"[Impoliteness is defined as] communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony" (Culpeper et al., 2003, p. 1564).

“Impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)” (Culpeper, 2005, p. 38).

“Impoliteness is behaviour that is face-aggravating in a particular context” (Bousfield & Locher, 2008, p. 3).

“Impoliteness constitutes the communication of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal face-threatening acts (FTAs) which are purposefully delivered: (1) unmitigated, in contexts where mitigation is required, and/or, (2) with deliberate aggression, that is, with the face threat exacerbated, 'boosted', or maximised in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted” (Bousfield, 2008, p. 72).

Verbal impoliteness is a “ linguistic behaviour assessed by the hearer as threatening her or his face or social identity, and infringing the norms of appropriate behaviour that prevail in particular contexts and among particular interlocutors, whether intentionally or not” (Holmes et al., 2008, p. 196).

Marked rudeness or rudeness proper occurs when the expression used is not conventionalised relative to the context of occurrence; following recognition of the speaker's face-threatening intention by the hearer, marked rudeness threatens the addressee's face... impoliteness occurs when the expression used is not conventionalised relative to the context of occurrence; it threatens the addressee's face ... but no face-threatening intention is attributed to the speaker by the hearer (Terkourafi, 2008, p. 70).

It is evident from the above cited definitions that impoliteness went through approximately the same developments as politeness. Initially, impoliteness was viewed as the opposite of politeness, which was perceived as employing a set of communicative strategies to promote social harmony and avoid conflict, e.g. (Leech, 1983; Lakoff, 1989). Similarly, the notion of face, an emotionally sensitive concept of the self (Goffman, 1967; Brown & Levinson, 1987), is also central to the understanding of impoliteness. That is to say, impoliteness strategies are oriented towards attacking face.

Intentionality also seems to play a role in defining impoliteness; that is, whether an offence is intended or not. This is in itself an issue, since it is not possible to determine if impolite behaviour was done intentionally, only in situations where the offender explicitly expresses

it, which again is not a common case. With particular reference to Terkourafi's definition, impoliteness and rudeness are used interchangeably. There are numerous synonyms to impoliteness, but they can vary in their usage. For example, Culpeper (2008) notes that the terms 'rude' or 'rudeness' tend to be more common among lay-member conceptualisations of what constitutes linguistic offence.

The various definitions reviewed above also reveals the challenge scholars have had in order to reach a unified and satisfactory definition of impoliteness. However, as the above quotations suggest, there seems to be no actual agreement regarding what exactly constitutes impoliteness.

2.7.3. Approaches to Impoliteness

The face-attack "flip-side" of Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework is one of the first systematic approaches to the study of impoliteness. It was first proposed by Culpeper (1996) and then was revised and developed by Culpeper et al. (2003) and Culpeper (2005). Originally, Culpeper (1996) proposed a model of impoliteness that is parallel, but opposite to that of Brown and Levinson's (1987). Namely, Culpeper (1996) built on the idea of politeness strategies by Brown and Levinson (1987), and proposed impoliteness strategies, i.e. (1) Bald on record impoliteness, (2) Positive impoliteness, (3) Negative impoliteness, (4) Sarcasm or mock politeness, (5) Withhold politeness.

These concepts are all designed to attack face, and Culpeper (1996) argues that these strategies are opposites in terms of orientation to face, but they are not necessarily opposites pragmatically speaking (p. 356-357). However, this does not prevent the problem of carrying over the weaknesses of Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework. Therefore, Culpeper et al. (2003) revisited the proposed model and addressed some of these issues with particular attention to looking into how impoliteness can be both deployed and countered over longer sections of discourse, with relevance to context instead of single speech acts. Culpeper et al. (2003) and specifically Culpeper (2005) also explored prosody as a way of communicating impoliteness.

Bousfield (2008) proposes that a descriptive and data-driven approach to impoliteness is built on the premise that impoliteness can only be regarded as 'successful' when the producer or

speaker intends to offend, and/or the hearer recognises it as so and consequently gets offended. For him, impoliteness is the broad opposite of politeness and therefore is defined as:

“the communication of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal face-threatening acts (FTAs) which are purposefully delivered: (1) Unmitigated, in contexts where mitigation is required, and/or, (2) With deliberate aggression, that is, with the face threat exacerbated, ‘boosted’, or maximised in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted” (Bousfield, 2008, p. 72).

In 2010, Bousfield suggests a prototype approach to defining impoliteness/rudeness and understanding linguistic offence in order to address issues within the previous model. His model aims to draw on ‘community-wide’ (i.e. ‘socially conventionalised’) concepts, and to treat lay-users’ interpretations of them as “individually understood variations-on-a-theme” based on the specific communities of practice in which the analysis is taking place (Bousfield, 2010, p. 119). In this way, “individuals [will be able] to make judgements in relation to their understanding of norms, the norms of which are socially acquired” (p. 120)

In 2011, Culpeper revisited his previous models and offered a systematic and comprehensive impoliteness model that is both theoretically informed and data-driven. Drawing on findings from linguistic pragmatics and social psychology and using contextualised naturally-occurring data, he provided an in-depth account of how impoliteness works. Further to examining forms and functions of impoliteness and the role of creativity in communicating impoliteness, Culpeper (2011a) explored people's understandings of this phenomenon in both private and public contexts. For instance, Culpeper (2011a) reveals the emotional consequences of impoliteness, how it forms and is formed by contexts, and how it is sometimes institutionalised. Reconsidering the definitional aspects of offence and what constitutes impoliteness, Culpeper (2011a) points out that,

Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and/or beliefs about social organisation, including, in particular, how one person’s or a group’s identities are mediated by others in interaction. Situated behaviours are viewed negatively – considered ‘impolite’ – when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. Such behaviours always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least

one participant, that is, they cause or are presumed to cause offence. Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behaviour is taken to be, including for example whether one understands behaviour to be strongly intentional or not (p. 23).

This definition, I believe, represents one of the most self-evident and comprehensive views of impoliteness, and it is primarily this view which I am taking into consideration in my analysis of impoliteness instances throughout the studied data.

2.8. Politeness Research in the Arab World: A Review of Previous Studies

It is important to understand the nature and amount of politeness research that has been conducted in Arab cultures. This will give us an idea about what is going on in the field with reference to Arabic, how much research has been done so far, theories and methods which have been employed, and literature gaps, as well as identifying the most understudied areas of politeness. This review is also important in terms of understanding where the present study is situated within the literature. It might be also worth noting that previous Arabic politeness studies, which will be reviewed in some detail in the following paragraphs, mostly involve particular speech acts such as requests, apologies, refusals, compliments, etc., where the researcher usually opts to investigate a single speech act as an aspect of politeness.

Atawneh and Sridhar (1993) conducted a contrastive study using role-play methodology in order to examine the requesting strategies of native speakers of Arabic, American native speakers of English, and Arabic-English bilinguals. They adopted Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory to test its applicability in the analysis of directives used by the target participants, to ascertain what politeness strategies are used by Arabic-English bilinguals while identifying any problems they may encounter in making directives in English, and additionally to offer suggestions for the modification of the models of politeness. According to Atawneh (1991), the results of the study supported the application of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, however, the theory was not helpful in terms of making a distinction in the invitation directives rating in diverse situations, as well as in terms of silence as an indication of politeness, so he suggested that Leech's (1983) model can be applied in combination with Brown and Levinson (1987) to overcome this drawback.

Stevens (1993) investigated the speech act of refusal among speakers of Arabic and speakers of English, through the use of Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs). The results of his study show that there are similarities in the refusal strategies used by speakers of Arabic and speakers of English. These refusal strategies included acts such as giving explanations, partial acceptances, and sometimes untrue excuses or white lies. It was also found that direct refusals are rarely employed.

Nelson, El-Bakary and Al Batal (1993) examined compliments among Egyptian and American university students, using both qualitative and quantitative methods: namely, questionnaires and interviews. The data analysis focused on five aspects i.e., the form of the compliment, the subject of praising, the relationship between the compliment contributor and the addressee, and gender, as well as frequency. Their findings show that the form of compliments tends to be adjectival among both Egyptian and American participants and most of the time the compliment is towards personal appearance, with Americans scoring a higher frequency for complimenting than Egyptians, in general. However, compliments made by Egyptian participants seem to be longer than those made by Americans. Both groups were found to prefer direct means of complimenting, rather than indirect ways.

Nelson, Al-Batal and Echols (1996) conducted a comparative study to look into compliment responses among Syrian and American speakers. Interviews were used as the primary method for data collection, which they argue is useful in obtaining comparable data. The findings suggested that both groups are more likely to accept or mitigate the compliment illocutionary force than to decline it. Syrians and Americans were also found to use similar forms of compliment responses, such as showing agreement or returning compliments. However, Syrians and Americans were different in some other forms of compliment responses. For instance, Syrians opted to use acceptance followed by a formula, whereas Americans chose to use appreciation tokens rather than the acceptance + formula. It was also found that the Syrian compliments were much longer in comparison to the American's compliments.

Elarabi (1997) also examined the concept of politeness, power, and face from Brown and Levinson's (1987) perspective, which she applied to the Tunisian culture. Elarabi's (1997) study involved classifying the ways in which Tunisian males and females compare on politeness continua, within and outside the bounds of their society. Data was collected

through the use of interviews and observations to produce comparable samples from modern and traditional social networks. The findings indicated that among those groups who represent traditional Tunisia, individuals express politeness through beliefs in concepts of honour and shame. They were also found to have a tendency towards performing politeness by showing deference or using redressive acts, such as those related to the evil eye and prophylactic blessings. According to Elarabi (1997), those who belong to modern networks were more likely to seek social recognition, as well as positive face, by employing a superposed prestigious dialect. The results also suggested that factors such as age and social status proved to be more influential than gender in choosing address terms and directives in the workplace. In male dominant workplaces, women more often had to use various strategies to deal with face-threatening acts and ensure successful management.

Emery (2000) investigated three categories of politeness formulas in Omani Arabic. These categories included greeting, congratulating, and commiserating by focusing on particular linguistic routines and patterns, such as greetings and departing phrases, expressions for entering or leaving houses, and other religious formulas that are used in religious occasions, e.g. Rammadan and Eid. Emery (2000) found out that although both older and younger generations were alike in their use of the studied formulas, there were notable differences due to the fact that the former are less open to pan-Arabic influences. For instance, the study showed that in the case of greetings, the older generations (especially women) tended to be linguistically conservative, while the younger women were more open to standard and pan-Arabic forms (Emery, 2000).

Nelson, Carson, Al Batal, & El Bakary (2002) looked into similarities and differences in refusal strategies use by Egyptian Arabic speakers and American English speakers. A modified version of the DCT developed by Beebe et al. (1990) was used in their study to compare the frequency of direct and indirect refusal strategies as well as the average frequency of other specific indirect strategies employed by both groups, and also the influence of interlocutor status on strategy use among the two groups. The results showed that there are more similarities than differences between Egyptians and Americans in their strategy use, with equal frequency average in making refusals. As per the use of DCT as a data collection method, Nelson et al. (2002) suggested that DCT could be an appropriate

method for pragmalinguistic data, but it was not useful in showing sociopragmatic intricacies of face threatening acts, e.g. refusals.

Al-Khatib (2006) investigated the nature of invitation, its acceptance and/or refusals in Jordanian from a pragmatic perspective. Like many other Arab scholars investigating speech acts of politeness at that time, Al-Khatib (2006) also followed the concepts of Austin (1962), Searle (1969, 1976) on speech act theory and Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of face and FTAs in order to analyse the different strategies of inviting utilised by Jordanians and also in identifying the socio-pragmatic constraints that may govern their use. The findings demonstrated that social distance in reference to age and gender is a significant factor in specifying the strategy type used to make an invitation, by accepting it or declining it. Sharing the same socio-cultural background was found to be another important factor in understanding some special patterns of inviting in Jordanian society.

Nureddeen (2008) examined the speech act of apologising in Sudanese Arabic, through the use of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT). She looked at 10 social situations that differ in terms of the offence severity, as well as the relationship strength and power among hypothetical speakers and hearers. The findings of the study showed that participants preferred not to express their apologies explicitly, while they tended to apologise more often by the use of IFIDs and explanations in less offensive situations. The results also revealed that the respondents employed IFIDs in a ritualistic way. Needless to say, similar to many other Arab scholars during that time, Nureddeen (2008) also viewed politeness strategies of apologising in accordance with speech act theory, as well as the view of positive and negative politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987).

In a comparative study, Bataineh (2013) explored politeness strategies with a particular focus on congratulating, thanking, and apologising used by native speakers of Jordanian Arabic and native speakers of American English, using a DCT of 9 items. The findings showed that the two studied groups employ similar politeness strategies, but they vary in terms of frequencies and realisations. Bataineh (2013) noted that Jordanians have recurrent appeals to God in their responses and the politeness strategies they use, due to the influence of religion. For instance, the majority of Jordanian speakers were more likely to express their appreciation towards the

person who offered them help by appealing to God to protect or upkeep him, whereas American speakers and some Jordanians expressed gratitude using a simple 'thank you'.

Al-Khawaldeh and Žegarac (2013) conducted a cross-cultural study of thanking in Jordanian Arabic and English through the use of interviews. The results of their study showed some similarities in performing acts of gratitude, but it also showed significant cross-cultural differences in terms of the importance of thanking, the influence of relevant variables, and linguistic and paralinguistic choices, and their impact on interpreting thanking. Al-Khawaldeh and Žegarac (2013) also argue that thanking should be regarded as a means of maintaining social relationships, rather than a speech act which intrinsically threatens the speaker's negative face, as viewed by Brown and Levinson's (1987).

Bouchara (2015) investigated the speech act of greeting from a cross-cultural pragmatics framework, using data collected from natural conversations between Arabs and Germans. His study aimed at finding out the motives behind the use of the Quranic verses and religious phrases in the politeness discourse of Arabs, and Moroccans in particular. The findings demonstrated that Moroccan Arabs opt to express politeness through the use of religious lexicons when greeting each other. Invoking religion was also found to play a role in preserving the self-image of the interactants. Bouchara (2015) concluded that it is the utterance's pragmatic function that seems to govern the use and understanding of politeness strategies in Moroccan Arabic.

In their study of 'Offering Hospitality' in Arabic and English, Grainger, Kerkam, Mansor and Mills (2015) studied the conventional linguistic practices involved in everyday hospitality situations by comparing offers in Libyan Arabic and English. Drawing on a discursive approach to the analysis of politeness, Grainger et al. (2015) analysed four naturally occurring hospitality encounters in order to explore the nature of offering and receiving hospitality in two cultural groups. They found out that there are similarities in the nature of offering norms in English and Arabic. However, the interactional moves of insisting and refusing are slightly more conventionalised in Arabic.

Other previous Arabic studies relevant to politeness include works on Libyan Arabic by (Hamza, 2007; Youssef, 2012; Kerkam, 2015), Tunisian Arabic by (Maalej, 2010; Jebahi, 2011), Moroccan Arabic by (Davies, 1987; Salhi, 2015), Egyptian Arabic by (El-Sayed,

1990; Soliman, 2003; Aminah & Ma'ruf, 2016), Syrian Arabic by (Ferguson, 1976; Mohammad, 2014), Jordanian Arabic by (Al-Khatib, 1997; Bataineh, 2006; Al-Adaileh, 2011; Sawalmeh, 2015; Al-Shboul & Huwari, 2016), Iraqi Arabic by (Al-Nasser, 1993; Sattar, Lah, & Suleiman, 2010), Omani Arabic by (Rahman, Zuhair, & Abid, 2015), Yemeni Arabic by (Al-Fattah & Ravindranath, 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010; Qanbar, 2012), Saudi Arabian Arabic by (Al-Shurafa, 1997; Umar, 2004; Al-Qadi, 2009; Al-Zumor, 2011; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012; Aba-alalaa, 2014).

From what has been reviewed in this section, one may argue that a substantial amount of relevant Arabic politeness research has been conducted. However, to the best of my knowledge, only a few studies were published on Libyan Arabic, i.e. only two published studies were found, while other studies were mainly in the form of either master dissertations or doctoral theses. With the exception of the comparative study on offering hospitality in Libyan Arabic and English by Grainger et al. (2015), which followed a discursive approach to the study of politeness as well as Bouchara's (2015) study, the vast majority of Arabic studies adopted classical theories - mainly Speech Act theory (1962) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, while investigating single speech acts. In contrast, the present study will examine Libyan politeness from multiple loci of understandings, which could contribute to a more holistic approach to the analysis of politeness.

As shown in this section, the most popular methods of data collection within the previous Arabic studies are Discourse Completion Tests, role-plays or questionnaires. In the present study, no created situations or elicited data is used. Alternatively, politeness will be explored in spontaneous and naturally-occurring interactions in a variety of settings, and will be explained throughout chapter 3. Another key aspect of this study is the consideration of rituals vis-à-vis politeness. This is based on the assumption that rituals play a significant role in Arab culture. Therefore, Libyan culture is argued to be a heavily-ritualised culture where a phenomenon like politeness cannot be discussed without referring to relational rituals.

2.9. Relational Rituals

Relational rituals and religious rituals in particular, are believed to play a salient role in many Arab cultures; however, they have been understudied particularly in relation to ritual theory,

i.e. Kádár's (2013) framework/typology of relational rituals. Therefore, the present study also examines how relational rituals are used to occasion politeness in interactional settings.

2.9.1. Kádár's (2013) Framework of Relational Rituals: Definition and Typology

Kádár's (2013) second-order discursive relational framework to rituals, which is pertinent to this study, offers a broader understanding of rituals by focusing on different first-order interactional expectations. It observes the interactants' actual discursive behaviour, by analysing interactional discourse and post-interview data. Rather than presenting a ritual as a purely conventionalised form of linguistic behaviour or a formalised aspect of language, Kádár (2013) initiates a more comprehensive and discursive definition of ritual:

A relational ritual is a formalised/schematic, conventionalised and recurrent act, which is relationship forcing, i.e. by operating it reinforces/transforms in-group relationships. Ritual is realised as an embedded (mini) performance (mimesis), and this performance is bound to relational history (and related ethos). Ritual is an emotively invested action, as anthropological research has shown (Kádár, 2013, p. 138)

What is meant by “relational” here is that rituals are usually used by individuals or groups to relate to one another. That is, relational rituals can play a significant role in enhancing and strengthening the relationships among people. In other words, they can be defined as a set of constructive ritualistic phrases that are used by individuals to relate to one another in their real life discourse.

According to Kádár (2013), rituals are classified into four main types: covert ritual, personal ritual, in-group ritual, social ritual. The criteria behind this classification are the size and type of the network, which formulate the ritual and the ritual degree of transparency to outsiders. In-group rituals are core and of a particular interest in Kádár's (2013) framework, where they are studied thoroughly both on their own and in relation to other types of rituality. However, for the purpose of this research, the focus will be on religious rituals, as well as social and in-group rituals, in the light of their relationship with politeness.

2.9.2. Rituals in Arabic

The meaning of rituals in Arabic is 'normatively' associated with religion. The majority of the relevant materials would not discuss rituals without reference to religion and its ritualistic

practices. The dictionary meaning, for instance, defines a ritual as a ceremonial procedure, which is written and pronounced as *shaeera* /shai:ra/ (single); /shaair /shair/(plural) or *tukos* /tu:kos/ in Arabic. In other words, Arabic does not have an exact equivalent for the English concept of ritual. The second-order terms that are used in Arabic to refer to 'rituals', do not correspond to the modern discursive meaning of rituals. For example, the word 'shaeera' or 'shair'; in fact, refers to a group of specific religious practices such as prayers or pilgrimage. Another word for ritual is 'tokus' and is used to describe religious and non-religious ritualistic practices, with a particular connotation with habitual usages.

However, the use of terminology that implies a restrictive meaning does not mean that rituals do not have a relational importance in Arabic. Empirical evidence shows that the actual use of rituals in Arabic is far broader and inclusive than what is suggested by these second-order terms. As an element of my study of politeness, I am looking into ritualistic forms of politeness from an encompassing view, where all relevant understandings are considered, including the first-order and second-order understandings. First-order refers to the lay members' understanding of rituals, as well as their actual use and practice of those rituals in interactional discourse, while second-order describes the theoretical concept of rituals, such as the researcher's perspective. Relational rituals vis-à-vis politeness in Arab culture (Libyan in particular), are covered in more detail in Chapter 4.

2.10. Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed the literature relevant to politeness research in order to introduce the concept of politeness and how it has been developed over time. I have offered a critical review of what are defined as 'first-wave' approaches of politeness, as the roots of politeness research, as well as the 'discursive turn' and how it has contributed to developing politeness research. I also discussed the most recent and influential developments in politeness research i.e. the 'third-wave' of (im)politeness research, such as the works of Terkourafi (2005a), Haugh (2013), and Kádár and Haugh (2013). I have further devoted a section to previous Arabic politeness studies in order to see how much work has been done so far in this area, and how they differ or compare to the present study. Other relevant notions, such as face, rituals, and impoliteness have been also covered in this chapter.

Since the present study explores politeness in Arabic (Libyan in particular), a detailed review of Arabic politeness studies has been presented in section 2.8. This review has shown that a considerable amount of politeness research was conducted in Arabic in general, but Libyan politeness research in particular is quite limited. A number of important concluding remarks or observations in relation to the current study can be also made here.

On the one hand, one may notice that most of the previous research studies conducted in Arab cultures is still dominated by classical concepts such as “positive politeness” and “negative politeness”, where it is often linguistic politeness that is emphasised. In other words, there is an apparent focus on linguistic forms as indicators of politeness, and a focus on taking individual speech strategies to be inherently polite or impolite. As for the majority of Arabic studies which adopted Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory, it is usually a study of politeness from the perspective of the speaker. This means overlooking understandings of politeness of those who are directly or indirectly involved in an interaction. This is bearing in mind that Brown and Levinson’s model studies single utterances rather than interactional discourse, which of course raises another issue as explained earlier in section 2.4.4.

For those few studies that took a discursive line in their investigation of politeness in Arab contexts, although politeness is viewed in the interactions of the participants and it is not explicitly emphasised that the hearer is more important than the speaker, it is actually the hearers’ evaluations that receive more attention in these studies. This is in line with Eelen’s (2001) argument, who points out that that “in everyday practice (im)politeness occurs not so much when the speaker produces behaviour but rather when the hearer evaluates that behaviour” (p. 109). Discursive theorists, including Watts (2003) and Mills (2003), assert the necessity for a balance between the speaker's contribution and the hearer's evaluation. However, even if both the speaker and the hearer are given the same consideration in our study of politeness, the question that one may ask here is: what do we do with equally significant perspectives? Adopting this view to politeness could similarly lead us to the trap of overlooking other significant and relevant understandings of politeness.

On the other hand, the present empirical study of Libyan politeness looks into this phenomenon in a relatively different way. It examines politeness from a third-wave perspective, where not only a single understanding of politeness is involved, but rather a

nexus of understandings is taken into account, including that of the analyst'. This study also looks into how rituals relate to politeness and vice versa. Although they are not dealt with in much detail (as is the case for politeness), instances of impoliteness are also included and analysed in this study.

Whereas the classical and discursive views have a tendency towards emphasising either the role of the speaker or the hearer in understanding or evaluating politeness, the third-wave analytical framework of Kádár and Haugh (2013) which is key to the present study does not restrict itself to a particular understanding, instead it encompasses multiple of understandings including those of the involved participants in a given interaction, as well as any potential meta-participants' understandings, without overlooking that of the analyst. Therefore, I think that a third-wave approach to politeness, where politeness is viewed as a social practice in relation to time and social space, i.e. Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework is needed here. Because further to the fact that it draws from multiple loci of understanding, it also aims to allow analysts to capture the macro tendencies of politeness aspects, without disregarding the micro aspects. Using this framework on an Arabic language and culture for the first time in an extended study of various interactional settings in Libya is also hoped to test its applicability and offer implications for further developments or modifications.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In order to answer the research questions raised in Chapter 1, a multi-method approach has been employed. This study is mainly qualitative in terms of the methods of data collection i.e. naturally-occurring spoken interactions and post-event interviews, but then again it benefits from integrating quantitative characteristics into the data analysis. I also draw on a number of existing views and frameworks to the study of (im)politeness and ritual. Namely, Kádár and Haugh's (2013) analytical framework is mainly adopted in the analysis of politeness besides elements from Kádár's (2013) typology of relational rituals. Haugh's (2013) view of (im)politeness as a social practice, Culpeper's (2011a) concept of impoliteness, and Goffman's (1967) notion of face also played a significant part in this study.

This chapter begins by offering a general background to quantitative, qualitative, and mixed research methods. It also offers a critical discussion of the most commonly used and relevant research methods in the field. Then it moves to discuss the implemented methods of data collection in the present study, their pros and cons, and the mandate for choosing them. This chapter also offers a description of the studied data sets including their origin, setting, how they have been accessed and collected, and what steps have been taken to ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Finally, this chapter concludes with presenting the employed methods of data analysis and the framework(s) on which the analysis is based and their suitability for this study.

3.2. Background to Research Methods

Research methods are practical techniques that we use to conduct research from data collection to data interpretation and analysis. They are ways or mediums that assist us as researchers to find evidence and draw valid conclusions. Before moving to identify data collection methods in pragmatics and discuss my own research methods used in this study, I think it is worth going briefly through approaches to research and why it is usually recommended to combine more than one method when conducting research. This section defines quantitative and qualitative research methods, how they may differ or relate, while highlighting the benefits and limitations of using mixed research methods.

3.2.1. Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods

Quantitative and qualitative research methods are classified as empirical research or primary data collection methods. Primary data refers to data that has never existed or has never been published before, and it is usually collected by the researcher for a particular purpose, e.g. to answer research questions. Quantitative research takes a deductive approach and is generally associated with numbers, whereas qualitative research takes an inductive approach and is usually associated with in-depth descriptions. Quantitative research tends to use relatively large-scale and representative sets of data (Hughes, 1997), while qualitative research tends to focus on exploring, in as much detail as possible, smaller numbers of instances or examples which are seen as being interesting or illuminating, and aims to achieve “depth” rather than “breadth” (Blaxter, Hughes, & Tight, 1996, p. 61). To summarise what each research method consists of, I am citing the two following definitions which I believe represent a comprehensive account of qualitative and quantitative research.

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts - that all describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2).

Quantitative research uses numbers and statistical methods. It tends to be based on numerical measurements of specific aspects of phenomena; it abstracts from particular instances to seek general descriptions or to test causal hypotheses; it seeks measurements and analyses that are easily replicable by other researchers (King et al., 1994, pp. 3-4).

3.2.2. Mixed Research Methods

The stances taken by individual researchers towards qualitative and quantitative research methods vary considerably, ranging from those who see the two approaches as polar opposites and those who see that they should be entirely isolated, to those who convincingly tend to mix them. For instance, aside from looking into the possibility of developing more sophisticated methods of data collection, or developing the current ones, another effective

option that many researchers have opted for is combining qualitative and quantitative research methodologies in order to achieve the best possible results.

Despite the fact that there has been a debate around combining qualitative and quantitative research methods, many researchers such as Becker (1970), Hammersley (1992), and Erickson (2007) indicate that integrating them can be useful in conducting research. As argued by Cummings and Beebe (2006), “[researchers should] gather data through multiple approaches, since each approach has its own strengths and weaknesses” (p. 81). Employing mixed methods can also facilitate finding a convergence point across quantitative and qualitative methods and enhance the findings’ validity (Creswell, 2009). Supporting the use of mixed methods also stems from the works of its main advocates including Zoltán Dörnyei who claims that “[this approach] can offer additional benefit to the understanding of the phenomena in question” (Dörnyei 2007, p.47). He argues that establishing a combination between qualitative and quantitative research methods can lead to a number of advantages such as increasing the strengths while eliminating the weaknesses of each method, offering multi-level analysis of complex issues, improving validity, and reaching multiple audiences (Dörnyei, 2007).

Becker (1970) argues that as qualitative researchers often make quantitative claims in verbal forms by using terms such as ‘many’, ‘often’, ‘sometimes’, and so on, numbers actually have the value of making such claims more precise. He coined the term quasi statistics for simple counts of things to support terms like ‘some’, ‘usually’, or ‘most’. In the same vein, Sandelowski, Voils, and Knafl (2009) point out that “quantitizing” qualitative data is done in qualitative research “to facilitate pattern recognition or otherwise to extract meaning from qualitative data, account for all data, document analytic moves, and verify interpretations” (p. 210). Maxwell (2010) does not think that the use of numbers per se, in combination with qualitative methods and data make a study mixed-method research, however, he believes that “there are legitimate and valuable uses of numbers even in purely qualitative research” (p. 476). Sandelowski et al. (2009) point out that the intention of quantitizing in qualitative research is to “allow analysts to discern and to show regularities or peculiarities in qualitative data they might not otherwise see, or to determine that a pattern or idiosyncrasy they thought was there is not” (p. 210).

According to Tashakkori and Creswell (2007), the mixed methods paradigm either combines or integrates some characteristics of the two types of research methods, i.e. qualitative and quantitative research methods. The main difference here is the level of integration (Bryman, 2007). Tashakkori and Creswell (2007) further argue that a research study can be considered “mixed”, because it utilises qualitative or quantitative approaches in one or more of the following ways:

1. two types of research questions (with qualitative and quantitative approaches),
2. the manner in which the research questions are developed (participatory vs. preplanned),
3. two types of sampling procedures (e.g., probability and purposive)
4. two types of data collection procedures (e.g., focus groups and surveys),
5. two types of data (e.g., numerical and textual),
6. two types of data analysis (statistical and thematic), and
7. two types of conclusions (emic and etic representations, “objective” and “subjective,” etc.) (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007, p. 4).

With reference to the present study, the data collection methods are qualitative in nature, i.e. naturally-occurring data and post-event interviews. However, taking into consideration the advantages of incorporating more than one method, quantitative characteristics were integrated in the process of data analysis, i.e. identifying occurrences and regularities of the ritualised forms of politeness, which is also useful in drawing some valid generalisations. Methods of data collection used in the present study, and the rationale behind using them will be thoroughly discussed in Section 3.4.

3.3. Common Data Collection Methods in Pragmatics

Although (im)politeness studies are argued to be conceptually located in the field of pragmatics, politeness models have been implemented and sometimes refined in diverse disciplines such as anthropology, social psychology, sociology, cultural studies, literary studies and behavioural organisation (Culpeper, 2011b). Therefore, pragmatists often use data-collection methods of a multidisciplinary background including, but not limited to, authentic discourse or naturally-occurring data, elicited conversations, role-plays, questionnaires or discourse completion tests/tasks, interviews (Kasper, 1999; 2008), as well as self-reporting, introspection, diary writing, and verbal reports (Schmidt, 1993; Cohen,

1996). As every method has its pros and cons, there is still an on-going debate over their suitability, which represents a methodological challenge to pragmatists. In this line, Kasper argues that “research into adequate data gathering methodology remains a lasting concern in pragmatics research” (p. 340). In the following sections, I will critically review the most commonly employed methods of data collection in the field.

3.3.1. Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs)

Discourse Completion tasks, henceforth DCTs, which is a quantitative research method, have been one of the most employed methods of data collection in cross-cultural and pragmatics research. DCTs were initially developed by Levenston and Blum-Kulka (1978) to study lexical simplification, and were first employed by Blum-Kulka (1982) to investigate pragmatic speech act realisations to investigate realisations of the pragmatic speech act. As defined by Kasper and Dahl (1991), DCTs are “written questionnaires including a number of brief situational descriptions, followed by a short dialogue with an empty slot for the speech act under study” (p. 221).

DCTs are well known for their characteristic of gathering large amounts of data within a comparably short period of time (Beebe & Cummings, 1985; Houck & Gass, 1996). They are also convenient for controlling contextual variables (Houck & Gass, 1996; Kasper, 2000). DCTs also proved to be low cost and use less time, since they set researchers free from transcription, (Chaudron, 2005). However, DCTs have been extensively criticised, particularly for their artificiality as a method of data collection. As argued by Woodfield (2008), DCTs require participants to respond to hypothetical interlocutors in hypothetical contexts, which means that participants are not experiencing the real life situation at that time. In other words, it actually detects what participants think s/he should say, not what they would actually say in a real life situation. DCT is also more like a test, rather than natural discourse, which may have effects on what participants actually want to say (Kasper & Dahl, 1991). Unlike naturally-occurring discourse, DCTs responses do not indicate discourse or interactional features, such as conversation sequence organisation, turn-taking, adjacency pairs, opening and closing routines, prosody, repetition, and elaboration.

DCTs and other questionnaire formats might be useful in comparative studies, as argued by (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989), due to their feasibility in comparing responses from

native and non-native speakers. However, they can elicit intuitional data rather than data on language use and behaviour (Golato, 2003; Kasper, 2000; Kasper & Rose, 2002). Therefore, DCTs and questionnaires are not the appropriate methods for my study, particularly in that I am looking into a phenomenon that is more complicated and cannot be explored through asking participants how they could have reacted to an imaginative situation. DCTs tap into only what participants think they should say, not what they would actually say in authentic situations (Boxer, 1996), whereas naturally-occurring data can help study politeness as it occurs in real life interactions, an approach that is also highly emphasised by the third-wave framework of politeness by Kádár and Haugh (2013).

3.3.2. Role-play

Role-play is a method of obtaining elicited data, where the researcher requests the participants to take specified roles within particular situations (Kasper & Rose, 2002). Role-plays can be closed or open, depending on the nature of participation in the prescribed social activity. As described by Kasper (2000), “closed role-play usually consists of one turn by the role-play conductor and another one by the informant in which data in focus appear. In the open role-play, participants take turns speaking leading to the production of data in focus” (p. 3).

In comparison to written questionnaires, role-play offers more opportunity for negotiation, repetition and avoidance strategies than DCTs (Margalef-Boada, 1993). Similar to DCTs, control over social variables, along with replication is possible through role-plays. In relation to obtaining authentic data, which is a significant advantage of naturally-occurring data, the created situations in role-plays, like those in DCTS, could sometimes raise concerns over their artificiality, as they can be unrealistic to participants (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993). Cohen (1996) further indicated that “[role-play] may still make some respondents uncomfortable, at least for the first few minutes” (p. 25). Spencer-Oatey (2008) also argues that “while researchers have a range of design options to help role play interaction approximate to authentic discourse, they have to consider carefully whether role plays are actually an effective choice for the investigative purpose.” (p. 291).

3.3.3. Authentic Discourse

Authentic discourse includes any technique that does not involve the researcher's intervention in eliciting data through an invented set of questions or situations. Therefore, the source of this data is authentic, since it is gathered from real life situations. As indicated by Leech (2014), this can be done through field-notes and through naturally-occurring data, where the researcher can videotape or audiotape interactions, as well as take notes of them through observations. Each of these methods has its own strengths and weaknesses, as we will see throughout the following sections. That is why, as emphasised earlier, it is important for researchers to not restrict themselves to a single method of data collection.

3.3.3.1. Field Notes

Field notes, a standard technique that belongs to ethnography (Spradley, 1979), is usually used as part of participant observations, where the researcher keeps a note-book and in which s/he records authentic encounters relevant to the pragmatic phenomenon under study. One of the largest corpora of compliments through the use of this method was conducted by Manes and Wolfson in 1981. As argued by Spencer-Oatey (2008),

While field notes in pragmatics research can be valuable as a supplementary data source, two caveats have to be registered. First, borrowing the field-note technique from ethnography does not make a study ethnographic, secondly, what can be recorded by researcher's observation and subsequent field notes is constrained by human cognitive capacities (Spencer- Oatey, 2008, p. 285).

That is to say, the researcher's memory plays a key role in obtaining as much information as possible, while maintaining accuracy. Along this line, Leech (2014) comments on the observer's memory and the danger that an encounter or event might only be re-called sketchily before it is recorded. Other contextual, prosodic, and paralinguistic features of spoken discourse represent another challenge for the observer (Leech, 2014).

3.3.3.2. Naturally-Occurring Data

Naturally-occurring data, which is used in this study, refers to spontaneous data being collected as it occurs over longer instances of talk; therefore, it is a source of authentic discourse. Ethnographic methods of data collection, taken from interactional sociolinguistics, have been found to be appropriate (Gumperz, 1999). Naturally-occurring data has gained a

significant interest from both discursive and post-discursive researchers in the fields of politeness and impoliteness (Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003; Locher & Watts, 2005; Haugh, 2007; Kádár, 2011; Culpeper, 2011a; Kádár & Haugh, 2013).

Employing this technique usually requires researchers to either audio-tape or video-tape spontaneous real life interactions. However, more recently, researchers like Grainger (2011) and Kádár (2013) also opted to use “oral reports”, as coined by Gumperz (1982), of conversations in which the researcher is involved. This is done by listening carefully to everyday conversations and noting down relevant encounters directly after they take place. Taylor (2001) argues that naturally-occurring data refers to “informal conversation which would have occurred even if it was not being observed or recorded, and which was unaffected by the presence of the observer and/or the recording equipment” (p. 27).

Kádár and Haugh (2013) further differentiate between naturally-occurring data and elicited data by stating that “naturally-occurring data are utterances that arise in spontaneous interaction, while elicited data are utterances that arise in discourse or interaction facilitated through intervention by the researcher” (p. 29). Whereas the term “utterances” is potentially problematic when referring to naturally-occurring data (since it may suggest to the reader that even such data remains at the utterance level when one of its key features is to go beyond the utterance level), it appears to have only been used in the sense of language expressions, i.e. not essentially short or fragmented utterances. As in the glossary of the same work, naturally-occurring data is defined as “language data that arises through spontaneous interaction amongst participants” (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 269).

As emphasised earlier, one of the most significant advantages of spontaneous data is that it offers an authentic discourse, while allowing for an examination of discourse features such as turn-taking, prosody (intonation, tone, and stress), sequence organisation, and other pragmatically important features, including reluctant pauses, hesitations, overlapping, mitigation, laughter, and silence. Paralinguistic clues are another important element that can be studied through video-taped interactions.

However, naturally-occurring data has its own limitations. As noted by researchers such as Kasper & Dahl (1991), Beebe & Cummings (1996), Cohen (1996), and Félix-Brasdefer (2007), using naturally-occurring data does not allow control over sociolinguistic variables

such as age, gender, educational level, social class, and ethnic background. In comparative or contrastive studies, it is also difficult to obtain similar utterances in two or more languages using authentic data alone, since it is difficult to obtain similar utterances in two or more languages.

3.4. Methods of Data Collection Applied in this Study

In this study, I use qualitative data collection methods where politeness and ritualistic forms of politeness are examined in interactional settings, i.e. recordings of naturally-occurring interactions and post-event interviews where applicable. These methods are chosen due to their suitability to answer the research questions and address the objectives of this study. They are also hoped to offer an in-depth understanding of the studied phenomena.

As discussed in the previous section, naturally-occurring data has proven to be resourceful in the study of (im)politeness as emphasised by both discursive and post-discursive approaches to (im)politeness. For instance, Eelen (2001) argues that,

“One would also want examples of actual (im)politeness evaluations, but due to the situational embeddedness and argumentativity of politeness, they would have to derive from natural settings and occur spontaneously, as elicited evaluations and/or an experimental setting introduce particular social aspects and motivations that warrant their classification as separate social practices. This points towards the need for real-life spontaneous conversational data” (p. 255).

The implications of this in terms of research methodology are twofold. First, in order to capture the way in which (im)politeness and ritualistic forms of politeness are constructed, longer stretches of interaction must be included in the scope of the analysis. This is similar to what researchers in the areas of linguistics and psychology have been employing, in politeness studies (Watts, 2003; Locher and Watts, 2005; Mills, 2011a), relational rituals research (Kádár, 2013) and psychology and sociology (Hepburn & Wiggins, 2007). Researchers of anthropological and linguistic studies also promoted the use of naturally-occurring data (Saville-Troike, 1982; Holmes, 1990; Milroy, 1987; Wolfson, 1986; Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992). Second, analysing spontaneous interactional discourse, rather than focusing on decontextualized single utterances, is believed to offer a more comprehensive picture of these phenomena, i.e. (im)politeness vis-à-vis relational rituals.

The pros and cons of using spontaneous data have already been emphasised in the previous section, but since recordings of naturally-occurring data is key to this study, it is worth revisiting them here along with an account of what precautions I took to offset their disadvantages or limitations. The advantages of spontaneous interactions include offering authentic data as real life is its primary source, observing phenomenon (such as politeness and its complexities over extended spoken interactions and in more natural settings), helping researchers to recognise the patterns of interaction that usually go unnoticed or overlooked, providing attention to detail and accuracy of transcription associated with this approach (Leech, 2014), as well as enabling researchers to capture certain micro-level conversational characteristics associated with the phenomenon under study. Cohen (1996, pp. 391-392) lists the advantages of naturally-occurring data 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.

Naturally-occurring data, however, can be demanding in terms of effort and time, there can be difficulties in accessing data or research sites for a sufficient length of time (Spencer-Oatey, 2008), particularly in relation to institutional discourse, and we must also consider the influence that the researcher or observer's presence may have over the participants (the observer's paradox). Watts (1991) argues that,

“An omnipresent problem with the data of this kind is that of the observer's paradox. The degree to which the researcher's presence effects [sic] the behaviour of the other participants and the subsequent nature of the data is a factor which must be included in the interpretation of verbal interaction” (Watts, 1991, p. 13).

With reference to the present study, the latter problem is remedied through the use of various sets and types of data with rich and long interactional situations as well as making the recording process as natural as possible by not interfering where participants were left at ease. As per the issue of the demanding nature of naturally-occurring data, I started the data collection at an early stage of this research in order to allow enough time for accessing sites,

transcription, and interpretation, as will be discussed in more detail in the process of data collection section, i.e. Section 3.5.

In order to increase validity and reliability and offset the limitations of interactional data, the present study also makes use of some reflective accounts and post-recording interviews where applicable. Conducting a third-wave study of (im)politeness vis-à-vis relational rituals necessitates taking different perspectives into account, including that of the analyst. In the post-event interviews, the participants comment about an interaction that already took place, as indicated by Kádár and Haugh (2013), “in order to tap into their states of mind and claimed interpretations and evaluations during those interactions” (p. 270). Thus, this enriches the collected data and adds more significant understandings of (im)politeness. As emphasised earlier, one of the main reasons behind using this multi-method approach is its suitability in serving the objectives and answering the research questions of the study.

3.5. The Process of Data Collection

In line with the third-wave approach to (im)politeness, the data examined in this study involves naturally-occurring spoken interactions of Libyan Arabic in various settings and accounts of post-event interviews where applicable. However, collecting spontaneous data is not an easy or straightforward process as it involves a number of important steps that requires both time and effort. In this section, I will describe the data and explain the process of data collection, i.e., how the data was collected, how much data was collected, what amount of the collected data was transcribed, and what amount was used in this study.

The data for the present study was largely collected by audio-recording naturally- occurring spoken interactions of individuals from Libyan Arab background. Whilst not suggesting that Libyan society is homogenous, I tried to consider geographical, social, and cultural variations when collecting these interactions in order to obtain data that is somehow representative of the Libyan context. Not only different regions were covered, but also various settings. That is to say, the collected data involved recordings of ordinary conversations among friendship groups, family members, and tribal members who all belong to different regions in Libya. Institutional interactions were also collected from three Libyan workplaces which involve employer-to-employee and employee-to-employee exchanges, as well as encounters of small talk that usually takes place at work.

As noted by Drew and Heritage (1992), discourse analysts often differentiate between two types of discourse, i.e. ordinary conversation and institutional interaction. This categorisation is by no means clear-cut, but each has certain features that are significant for pragmatics research (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Spencer-Oatey (2008) further points out that,

Ordinary conversation among friends, family members, acquaintances and strangers provide a rich data source for the study of pragmatics and discourse, enabling researchers to identify activities, episodes, actions and semiotic resources - linguistic, non-verbal and non-vocal- that allow comparison between different groups. In peer conversation in particular, participants have equal discursive rights and obligations, self-manage turn-taking, take shifting discourse roles, and contingently co-construct identities and develop topics without a pre-given agenda. In contrast, institutional interaction is structured through institution-specific tasks and goals, which make certain institutional roles, topics, and actions available and impose constraints on others (pp. 282-283).

The ordinary data was mainly collected with the assistance of the researcher's circle of family, friends, and acquaintances upon their consent to voluntarily take part in the study. They then put me in touch with more people who were willing to participate in the study. I informed them about the general purpose behind conducting this study and reassured them that their participation will be anonymous, their real names will not be used, and their identity will be protected at all times.

In order to maintain the neutrality of the obtained interactions, the researcher's intervention was kept to a minimum. As the researcher's presence could lead the participants to alter their speech style or make them act differently, they were provided with a recording device to record conversations on their own without any restrictions in terms to time or theme of these interactions. This is with the exception of participating friends or those of historical contact with the researcher and to whom the researcher's presence does not seem to make any difference to them as they are used to her. This was confirmed after comparing their behaviour and speech style in the recorded conversations against their usual style of communication in general.

In most of the family interactions, the recorder was usually fixed with the families' permission in the living room or the lounge where most of the everyday talk takes place. The recordings in general indicate that the participants were interacting as spontaneous as possible. For example, there were no reservations in terms of the topics of their conversations

and it also sound that there daily life routines were carried out uninterruptedly most of the time e.g. the sound of washing dishes or watching TV. Gathering tribal or tribal-related interactions was the most challenging part in the data collection where it was not possible to record in some occasions and recollection was used.

The institutional data was accessed and collected through formal channels, such as seeking senior management approval and gaining relevant consents. Voluntarily assistance from individuals who were keen to help, as well as friends and colleagues in some cases also played an important role. The challenge encountered with accessing this genre of data was time. That is to say, it took more than three months for the paperwork to be approved and receive permission from the 1st workplace to carry out data collection, but the process was relatively straightforward with the other two workplaces as the management appreciated the fact that I had a set timeframe to conduct the study.

The proportion of the data that was originally collected comprises of 52 hours (3,120 minutes) of recorded naturally-occurring interactions that took place in both formal and informal settings. The amount of data that was initially transcribed consists of 20 hours (1,200 minutes) recordings of naturally-occurring interactions. Taking into consideration the research limitations, scope, and word count, a proportion of approximately 7.5 hours (450 minutes) of the transcribed data was used in the thesis. It is worth noting that as the data is originally in Arabic, the proportion of the data presented in its current English version may vary in length in comparison to the Arabic recorded data.

The majority of the interactional occurrences are long and extended encounters of audio-recorded data, but some of these conversations were recalled. The recalled data sets only represent a small percentage of the proportion of naturally-occurring data used in the thesis. To differentiate between recalled and recorded naturally-occurring data, recorded interactions are transcribed following Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions (see Appendix 1), whilst recalled conversations appear in a plain dialogue format. As explained by Grainger (2011) in her study of politeness, a naturally-occurring interaction or conversation does not necessarily always require gathering data through audio or video-recording. For instance, a researcher can re-call a previous conversation from memory or note it down as it occurs. As

other methods of data collection, recalling occurrences of authentic discourse has its strengths and weaknesses. According to Kádár and Haugh (2013),

One advantage of this is that it can provide extra insight into the thoughts and feelings of participants beyond what emerges in the interaction itself given the researcher has access to at least his or her own thoughts at the time. The disadvantage, of course, is that the interaction is not as open to inspection by other researchers to the same extent as recordings, and it may also be subject to inadvertent interpretation by the researcher in the very recalling of it (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 53).

Data recollection in a way is similar to collecting instances of data through observation and field-notes where there is a heavy reliance on memory which is also an associated shortcoming. “The memory of the observer, in that case, is the only guarantee of the accuracy of the record, which should ideally include not only the words spoken but details of the speakers, other contextual details, and prosodic and paralinguistic observations” (Leech, 2014, p. 256). In contrast to recorded naturally-occurring data where such micro features are available to the researcher or analyst, this is a limitation in the recalled data because it is not possible to note down everything. In the present study, macro aspects of the investigated phenomena, i.e., (im)politeness vis-à-vis rituals are as important as micro features and recalled data can still offer an insightful resource of authentic discourse particularly in terms of detecting cultural and sub-cultural values. However, due to the above noted problems which may affect the value of this type of data, the recollection of interactions was not used extensively in this study i.e., supplementary. Besides, both accuracy and attentiveness were taken into consideration when recollection of conversations was carried out.

With reference to the retrospective accounts and post-event interviews used in this study, these were conducted in a rather simple manner, where participants were asked to comment about their experiences of a particular interaction. They were not conducted after each single interaction, but only when reflective follow-ups were found to be useful for the purposes of the study. Unlike DCTs, post-event interviews are naturalistic in some sense, since the participants can relate and talk about real interaction that they have been part in, rather than unrealistic, designed events (Kádár & Haugh, 2013).

3.6. Participants' Confidentiality and Anonymity

As an important element of research ethics, participants' confidentiality in this study is preserved in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998. Wiles et al. (2006) note that data confidentiality can be understood to involve the following:

- Maintaining confidentiality of data/records: ensuring the separation of data from identifiable individuals and storing the code linking data to individuals securely.
- Ensuring those who have access to the data maintain confidentiality (e.g., the research team, the person who transcribes the data), i.e.
 - Not discussing the issues arising from an individual interview with others in ways that might identify an individual.
 - Not disclosing what an individual has said in an interview.
- Anonymising individuals and/or places in the dissemination of the study to protect their identity (p. 5).

Confidentiality and anonymity in this study are maintained by keeping any data or information that could identify the participants' identity safe. Specifically, data is saved in a personal and password-protected computer to protect the participants' privacy, and pseudonyms are used instead of the participants' real names in presenting the data. During the process of seeking permissions, participants have been also reassured that their identity will remain anonymous and the data will be treated and processed with high confidentiality.

3.7. Data Analysis

This study benefits from a qualitative analysis of naturally-occurring and post-event interviews data through the use analytic discourse methods. It also makes use of quantitative analysis where frequencies of particular recurrent forms of ritualistic behaviour or conventional politeness are detected and counted in the data. The process of data interpretation involved two steps data transcription and data translation.

3.7.1. Data Transcription

As the data used in this study is originally in Arabic (Libyan spoken dialect), the transcription technique that was used in this study involved first transcribing interactions in Arabic script, then translating them into English. Only the English version of the interactional examples is included; however, ritualistic expressions that are central to the study of Libyan politeness are

tabulated in Appendix 2, and for each ritualistic expression, other information such as its socio-religious rituals, original Arabic text, English translation, English equivalent, Basic function, and contextual function are also provided. In each interaction, the English equivalent of the ritualistic expression is given, followed by its transliteration of the Arabic pronunciation in parenthesis “{ }”.

Transcription is not only a process of representing spoken speech in written form; it also involves the transcription of conversational features and paralinguistic information, such as pauses, hesitations, overlaps, prosody, and emphasis. Thus, a researcher must decide how much of such features are required in the transcripts before starting the transcription process (Bijeikienė & Tamošiūnaitė, 2013). In the present study, audio-recorded data is transcribed following Jefferson’s (2004) transcription conventions, represented in Appendix 1, which allowed me to analyse important micro-level features of politeness, such as intonation and prosody, whilst the excerpts which I recalled from memory appear in a plain dialogue format.

Whilst transcription is a demanding task and involves a great deal of time-consuming work, this does depend on a number of factors, such as the recording’s quality, the number of participants involved in an interaction, and the researcher’s background of the language or dialect transcribed (Tagliamonte, 2006). Tagliamonte (2006) suggests that the goal of transcription should be “detailed enough to retain enough information to conduct linguistic analyses in an efficient way and simple enough to be easily readable and relatively easily transcribed” (p. 54). Being an Arabic speaker and culture insider of the Libyan context made this process relatively simple and more interesting.

3.7. 2. Data Translation

The process of generating and transcribing data produced in Arabic and presenting it in English means that the researcher must act as both a translator and analyst. As defined by Crystal (1991), the translation is “a process where the meaning and expression in one language (source) is tuned with the meaning of another (target) whether the medium is spoken, written or signed” (p. 346). The translation process underwent three stages, which can be summarised as follows:

1. I initially translated the interactional data myself, where I tried to be as transparent as possible, while ensuring that the English translation is a true reflection of the Arabic.
2. I consulted bilingual colleagues who were presented with the second-hand text (English) in order to translate it back into Arabic, which were then compared to detect any inconsistencies. This technique is termed as “backtranslation”, which is defined by Spencer-Oatey (2008) as,

“A procedure frequently used in cross-linguistic research to ensure that the research instruments, such as questionnaires, are linguistically equivalent in meaning. It involves the following steps: (i) one person translates the research instrument into the target language; (ii) another person translates the target language version back into the original language; (iii) the two versions are compared, and if there are no discrepancies, the two instruments are regarded as equivalent. If there are some differences, the procedure is repeated until all discrepancies are eradicated”.(p. 326).

3. I presented the English version to native speakers of English to see if the translated versions, particularly the idiomatic expressions, make sense to them. Definitions of particular expressions were provided for reference while they read the translated version and commented accordingly. While accuracy in translation is an ethical responsibility, it is also recommended to check and recheck transcripts against the translated versions during analysis in order to add more credibility to the research findings (Lyons & Coyle, 2007).

3.7.3. Choice of Framework

The data in this study is analysed using discourse analytic methods. This study also benefits from integrating quantitative characteristics into the data analysis. Kádár and Haugh’s (2013) analytical framework is mainly adopted to the analysis of politeness, however, this study also draws on other relevant views to (im)politeness and ritual including Kádár’s (2013) typology of relational rituals, Culpeper’s (2011a) concept of impoliteness, and Goffman’s (1967) notion of face. As Kádár and Haugh’s (2013) framework was already discussed in detail in chapter 2, here I am only presenting its main premises, why it has been chosen in this study, and how it has been implemented. Any issues or difficulties with its application and how they have been addressed will be discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

Central to Kádár and Haugh's framework (2013) is the idea that any approach to politeness necessarily draws from multiple loci of understanding. This means that politeness is neither seen as inherent to certain utterances, as was emphasised in first-wave approaches to politeness, nor is it restricted to one single understanding (e.g. a speaker or a hearer). This framework also goes beyond the discursive binary understanding of this notion, i.e. the first-order politeness (the lay user's perspective) and second-order politeness (the theoretical perspective) distinction. Alternatively, it situates understandings of politeness relative to four key loci of understanding, which primarily involve "1) participant/metaparticipant understandings (first-order); 2) emic/etic conceptualisations (first-order); 3) analyst/lay-observer understandings (second-order); 4) theoretical/folk-theoretic conceptualisations (second-order)" (Kádár & Haugh, 2013: p.86). For a detailed explanation of these understandings, please refer to section 2.6.3. Each of these four proposed perspectives consists of a number of different ways of understanding in and of themselves, they function in relation to one another, and sometimes only a few of them are relevant to a study. This depends on the type of the studied data, the nature of discourse being observed, or on the research objectives. For instance, there are a number of relevant understandings of politeness associated with the data types used in the present study.

1. First-order emic understanding (the productive/evaluative aspect when the participants are engaged in the event of interaction).
2. First-order metaparticipant understanding (when the participants comment about politeness during a given interaction).
3. Second-order emic/culture-insider understanding (my perspective as an analyst during the process of analysis).
4. Second-order emic understanding (the participants' perspective when they are commenting about the interaction in the post-event interviews)

Unlike discursive approaches to politeness, which rely extensively on the participants' perceptions or sometimes the hearer's evaluations of politeness and assign an objective role to the analyst, no specific understanding of the situated understandings within Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework is given an inherent greater value. In this framework, all understandings are taken into account in order to contribute to a more holistic approach to the analysis of politeness. That is to say, instead of emphasising a particular understanding, it

encompasses the perspectives of all the involved participants in a given interaction, as well as any potential meta-participants without overlooking the analyst's situated understanding. The key reasons behind choosing to apply Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework to the analysis of Libyan Arabic politeness can be summarised in the following points.

1. It is hoped to offer a comprehensive and systematic approach to the analysis of multiple understandings of politeness, which inevitably arise when politeness is perceived as a social practice in relation to time and social space.
2. Further to the fact that this framework draws from multiple loci of understanding, it allows the researcher to cover the macro-aspects of politeness, without losing sight of the micro features.
3. In contrast to many discursive approaches to politeness, which usually encourage an "objective" understanding of politeness in a certain context, this third-wave framework also includes and systematically theorises our situated understandings as analysts.

Extending the application of Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework to another language and different culture such as Arabic is hoped to offer insightful implications for further advances for this framework in particular and for theorisations of (im)politeness in general.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter offered a detailed account of the research methodology, according to which, the present study was conducted. It also presented the nature of the employed methodologies, their suitability to the research questions and objectives, and the rationale behind using them. It then moved to a discussion of the data types used in this study, how they have been collected, transcribed, and ethically treated. This discussion also included an account of the adopted models of data analysis and the mandate for implementing them.

Chapter 4: A Background to the Libyan Context: Politeness, Religion, and Rituals

4.1 Introduction

It might be true that politeness is reflected through all languages and known in almost all societies. However, it manifests itself in different forms. That is to say, the same thing can be perceived as polite in one culture while impolite in another, a fact which necessitates a look into the relevant role of culture and any culture-specific manifestations of politeness. It is something that this study considers as part of understanding Libyan Arabic politeness. Perceptions and evaluations of politeness can also differ from one group to another and among individuals within the same group. That is why “we need to start talking of understandings of politeness rather than of any single understanding” which is taken into consideration in this study (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 83).

Looking at the previous Arabic politeness studies covered in Chapter 2, one may conclude that empirical research on Libyan politeness is quite limited. However, religious resources and other Arabic etiquette manuals are deemed to agree, at least normatively, about the dominating norms of Arabic politeness including Libyan. This study, therefore, benefits from examining a number of historical pragmatic sources such as the Quranic literature in order to see how theoretical understandings of politeness explained in these religious sources may feed into the way Libyan politeness is enacted and constructed in everyday life interactions i.e. through looking into naturally-occurring data. Whilst the current study aims to explore Libyan politeness using authentic data and empirical evidence, one may argue that from a cultural perspective, there are two main cultural values or norms that may govern one’s behaviour; these are religious norms and social norms among others.

In this chapter, I will give a background to the Libyan context, and then I will try to cover some of the most dominant norms of Libyan politeness from both linguistic and cultural perspectives. Other cultural values and sociological factors that may influence the understandings of politeness and shape its dominant norms in the Libyan society will be also discussed throughout this chapter.

4.2. A Background to the Libyan Context

Libyans are predominantly Sunni Muslims and they follow the Imam Malik School of Thought which is dominant in most parts of North Africa. The principles of religion are reflected in most Libyan Muslims' daily life manifestations. Even those Muslims who are not very religious would normally still respect the religious principles including those relevant to good manners. Thus, in a way one almost cannot discuss any phenomenon, including politeness, without referring to religion.

The Quran and the Sunnah are the prominent legitimate sources of legalisation in Islam. The Quran is represented the Holy book of Quran which is believed to be produced and protected by Allah gainst any alterations, and it represents the major religious written text of the Islamic religion. The Sunnah is the teachings and principles of the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) and it represents a detailed explanation of Islamic practices. One of the most influential evidences that the Quran and the Sunnah are the core of Islamic religion that every Muslim should follow is the Hadith which was stated by the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) during his farewell speech on his last pilgrimage:

“I have left among you two matters by holding fast to them, you shall never be misguided: the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of his Prophet” (Riyad as-Salihin: The Book of Good Manners).

روي أن رسول الله (صلى الله عليه وسلم) قال: تركت فيكم أمرين لن تضلوا ما تمسكتم بهما: كتاب الله وسنة نبيه.

4.3. Politeness Understanding in Religion

One way of understanding Libyan politeness from both linguistic and cultural perspectives is to look into religion which forms a significant part of most Arab cultures. If culture can be broadly defined as a set of daily practices and features or values that are usually observed by a society, one may argue that the influence of religion in religiously-oriented cultures, such as Libyan culture, is stronger and more obvious than other cultural values. Therefore, I shall hypothesise that religion is the prime mover of these societies and the Libyan society is no exception.

The importance of politeness and good manners is highly emphasised in the Islamic religion. For instance, the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) says:

“Mankind has not been given anything better than good manners” (Riyad as-Salihin: The Book of Good Manners)

“خير ما أعطي الناس خلق حسن”

Since Libyan culture is religiously-oriented, Islamic teachings and beliefs tend to be clearly reflected in most of the daily life features and manifestations, e.g. in the way people speak and behave. That is to say, this religious impact may appear in forms of two layers i.e. in a lower layer implicitly in the form of linguistic insights or ritualistic expressions as reflected in the style of the Quranic discourse itself; and explicitly in an upper layer in the form of instructional teachings which eventually contribute to the overall cultural output of the Libyan society. In the following two sub-headings, section 4.5.1 will covertly present the Quranic quotations of linguistic politeness, whereas section 4.5.2 will overtly discuss some of the most politeness-related instructional teachings emphasized in the Quranic discourse.

4.3.1. Linguistic Politeness in the Quran

On the linguistic level, the Quran also includes hints of politeness in terms of its language eloquence and diction. For instance, the Quran tends to commonly euphemise words or actions such as sexual intercourse, divorce, sickness, and death, by replacing them or using words of less directness or ones that occasion politeness. In the following verses, the phrase *sexual intercourse* is expressed in euphemised words such as {touching: لَامَسْتُمْ (lamastum)}, {vestment: لباس (libas)}, and {cover, تغشاها (taghashshaha)}.

“O believers, draw not near to prayer when you are drunken until you know what you are saying, or defiled -- unless you are traversing a way -- until you have washed yourselves; but if you are sick, or on a journey, or if any of you comes from the privy, or you have **touched** women, and you can find no water, then have recourse to wholesome dust and wipe your faces and your hands; God is All-pardoning, All-forgiving” (Qur’an 4:43).

"يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَقْرَبُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَأَنْتُمْ سُكَارَىٰ حَتَّىٰ تَعْلَمُوا مَا تَقُولُونَ وَلَا جُنُبًا إِلَّا عَابِرِي سَبِيلٍ حَتَّىٰ تَغْتَسِلُوا ۗ وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ مَرَضَىٰ أَوْ عَلَىٰ سَفَرٍ أَوْ جَاءَ أَحَدٌ مِّنْكُمْ مِنَ الْغَائِطِ أَوْ لَامَسْتُمُ النِّسَاءَ فَلَمْ تَجِدُوا مَاءً فَتَيَمَّمُوا (سورة النساء 4 : آية 43).

“Permitted to you, upon the night of the Fast, is to go in to your wives; they are a **vestment** for you, and you are a **vestment** for them” (Qur’an 2:187).

"أَجَلٌ لَّكُمْ لَيْلَةَ الصِّيَامِ الرَّفَثُ إِلَىٰ نِسَائِكُمْ هُنَّ لِبَاسٌ لَّكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لِبَاسٌ لَّهُنَّ" (سورة البقرة 2 : آية 187).

“It is He who created you out of one living soul, and made of him his spouse that he might rest in her. Then, when he **covered** her, she bore a light burden and passed by with it; but when it became heavy they cried to God their Lord, 'If Thou givest us a righteous son, we indeed shall be of the thankful” (Qur’an 7:189).

"هُوَ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِّنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَجَعَلَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا لِيَسْكُنَ إِلَيْهَا فَلَمَّا تَغَشَّاهَا حَمَلَتْ حَمْلًا خَفِيًّا فَمَرَّتْ بِهِ فَلَمَّا أَثْقَلَتْ دَعَوَا اللَّهَ رَبَّهُمَا لَئِن آتَيْتَنَا صَالِحًا لَّنُكُونَنَّ مِنَ الشَّاكِرِينَ" (سورة الأعراف 7 : آية 189).

It is worth mentioning that rituals in Arabic and Libyan Arabic in particular are indeed used to occasion politeness; however, it is not always the case. That is to say, using these religious rituals to manifest politeness is one significant function among others. For instance; some of them can be used as discourse markers, which sometimes can indicate politeness, whereas other rituals may serve as an expression of exclamation. It all depends on their position in the context, and this undoubtedly indicates the significance of examining politeness over longer stretches of discourse which is encouraged by Kádár and Haugh's framework to politeness.

4.3.2. Religious Teachings

The Quranic discourse is rich of verses that convey politeness-related instructional teaching in terms of both speech and conduct. These religious instructions are assumed to have a clear role in forming the most dominant norms of Libyan politeness, etiquette, and good manners.

Examples of such religious teachings and norms are cited below

Greetings

“And when you are greeted with a greeting greet with a fairer than it, or return it; surely God keeps a watchful count over everything” (Qur’an 4:86).

"وَإِذَا حُيِّئْتُمْ بِحَيَّةٍ فَحَيُّوا بِأَحْسَنَ مِنْهَا أَوْ رُدُّوهَا إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ حَسِيبًا" (سورة النساء: 4: آية 86).

The Manners of Treating Parents

"وَقَضَىٰ رَبُّكَ أَلَّا تَعْبُدُوا إِلَّا إِيَّاهُ وَبِالْوَالِدَيْنِ إِحْسَانًا إِمَّا يَبُلُغَنَّ عِنْدَكَ الْكِبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَا أَوْ كِلَاهُمَا فَلَا تَقُلْ لَهُمَا أُفًّا وَلَا تَنْهَرْهُمَا وَقُلْ لَهُمَا قَوْلًا كَرِيمًا" (سورة الإسراء ، 17: آية 23).

“Thy Lord has decreed you shall not serve any but Him, and to be good to parents, whether one or both of them attains old age with thee; say not to them 'Fie' neither chide them, but speak unto them words respectful” (Qur’an 17:23).

No Backbiting

“O believers eschew much suspicion; some suspicion is a sin. And do not spy, neither backbite one another; would any of you like to eat the flesh of his brother dead? You would abominate it. And fear your God; assuredly God turns, and He is All-compassionate” (Qur’an 49:12).

"يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اجْتَنِبُوا كَثِيرًا مِّنَ الظَّنِّ إِنَّ بَعْضَ الظَّنِّ إِثْمٌ وَلَا تَجَسَّسُوا وَلَا يَغْتَبَ بَعْضُكُم بَعْضًا أَيُحِبُّ أَحَدُكُمْ أَنْ يَأْكُلَ لَحْمَ أَخِيهِ مَيْتًا فَكَرِهْنَاهُ وَأَتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَوَّابٌ رَّحِيمٌ" (سورة الحجرات 49 : آية 12).

Elegance

“Children of Adam! Take your adornment at every place of worship; and eat and drink, but be you not prodigal; He loves not the prodigal” (Qur’an 7:31).

"يَا بَنِي آدَمَ خُذُوا زِينَتَكُمْ عِنْدَ كُلِّ مَسْجِدٍ وَكُلُوا وَاشْرَبُوا وَلَا تُسْرِفُوا إِنَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُسْرِفِينَ" (سورة الأعراف 7 : آية 31)

Asking for Permission to Enter Someone’s Home

“O believers, do not enter houses other than your houses until you first ask leave and, salute the people thereof; that is better for you; happily you will remember” (Qur’an 24:27)

"يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَدْخُلُوا بُيُوتًا غَيْرَ بُيُوتِكُمْ حَتَّىٰ تَسْتَأْذِنُوا وَتُسَلِّمُوا عَلَىٰ أَهْلِهَا ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ" (سورة النور 24: آية 27).

Dining Etiquettes and Manners

“Children of Adam! Take your adornment at every place of worship; and eat and drink, but be you not prodigal; He loves not the prodigal” (Qur’an 7:31).

"يَا بَنِي آدَمَ خُذُوا زِينَتَكُمْ عِنْدَ كُلِّ مَسْجِدٍ وَكُلُوا وَاشْرَبُوا وَلَا تُسْرِفُوا إِنَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُسْرِفِينَ" (سورة الأعراف 7 : آية 31).

Keeping Promises

“.....And fulfil the covenant; surely the covenant shall be questioned of” (Qur’An 17:34).

"..... وَأَوْفُوا بِالْعَهْدِ إِنَّ الْعَهْدَ كَانَ مَسْئُولًا" (سورة الإسراء، 17: الآية 34).

Simplicity and Modesty

“Turn not thy cheek away from men in scorn, and walk not in the earth exultantly; God loves not any man proud and boastful” (Qur’an 31:18).

"وَلَا تُصَعِّرْ خَدَّكَ لِلنَّاسِ وَلَا تَمْشِ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَرَحًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ كُلَّ مُخْتَالٍ فَخُورٍ" (سورة لقمان، 31 : الآية 18).

Manners of Talk

“.... and lower thy voice; the most hideous of voices is the ass's” (Qur’an 31:19).

".....وَأَغْضِضْ مِنْ صَوْتِكَ إِنَّ أَنْكَرَ الْأَصْوَاتِ لَصَوْتُ الْحَمِيرِ" (سورة لقمان، 31 : الآية 19).

The Prophet (PBUH) said, "He who believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him show hospitality to his guest; and he who believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him maintain good relation with kins; and he who believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him speak good or remain silent" (Reported by Abu Hurairah [Al-Bukhari and Muslim]).

فليكرم الآخر واليوم بالله يؤمن كان من " قال وسلم عليه الله صلى النبي أن عنه الله رضي هريرة أبي عن أو خيراً فليقل الآخر واليوم بالله يؤمن كان ومن رحمه، فليصل الآخر واليوم بالله يؤمن كان ومن ضيفه، (عليه متفق) "ليصمت

Allah's Messenger said "(...), and (saying) a good word is also Sadaqa/ charity"
(Narrated by Abu Huraira).

قَالَ قَالَ - عنه الله رضى - هُرَيْرَةَ أَبِي عَنْ هَمَامٍ، عَنْ مَعْمَرٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا الرَّزَّاقُ، عَبْدُ أَخْبَرَنَا إِسْحَاقُ، حَدَّثَنِي
بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ الشَّمْسُ، فِيهِ تَطْلُعُ يَوْمَ كُلِّ صَدَقَةٍ عَلَيْهِ النَّاسِ مِنْ سَلَامِي كُلِّ " وسلم عليه الله صلى الله رسول
صَدَقَةٌ، الطَّيِّبَةُ وَالْكَلِمَةُ صَدَقَةٌ، مَتَاعُهُ عَلَيْهَا يَرْفَعُ أَوْ عَلَيْهَا، فَيَحْمِلُ دَابَّتِيهِ، عَلَى الرَّجُلِ وَيُعِينُ صَدَقَةٌ، الْإِنْتِنِ
"صَدَقَةُ الطَّرِيقِ عَنِ الْأَدَى وَيُمِيطُ صَدَقَةٌ، الصَّلَاةُ إِلَى يَخْطُوهَا خَطْوَةً وَكُلُّ

Accepting Gifts

The Prophet (PBUH), said, "Give gifts and you will love one another" (Reported
by Abu Hurayra).

عَنْ هُرَيْرَةَ، أَبِي عَنْ وَرْدَانَ، بِنِ مَوْسَى سَمِعْتُ : قَالَ إِسْمَاعِيلُ بْنُ ضِمَامٍ حَدَّثَنَا : قَالَ خَالِدٍ، بِنِ عَمْرٍو حَدَّثَنَا
"تَحَابُّوا تَهَادُوا" : يَقُولُ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَيْهِ اللهُ صَلَّى النَّبِيِّ

It is worth mentioning that rituals in Arabic and Libyan Arabic in particular are indeed used to occasion politeness; however, it is not always the case. That is to say, using these religious rituals to manifest politeness is one significant function among others. For instance; some of them can be used as discourse markers, which sometimes can indicate politeness, whereas other rituals may serve as an expression of exclamation. It all depends on their position in the context, and this undoubtedly indicates the significance of examining politeness over longer stretches of discourse which is encouraged by Kádár and Haugh's framework to politeness.

Furthermore, I hypothesise that politeness in Libyan Arabic tends to be expressed through people's beliefs in notions such as honour, shame, or deference. In a more discursive view; however, the emphasis is laid on social recognition and development of social relations among participants in different contexts. The choice of terms of address and directives in the Libyan socio-cultural context are major factors in determining politeness, as well as social status and age. Gender role is also underlined, women; for example, make use of a whole range of politeness strategies and techniques to deal with challenging situations in a workplace which is traditionally dominated by men.

In relation to the notion of face, there are many expressions which are used by interactants to describe "face loss" or "losing face" in Libyan Arabic. These include: I "lost my face", "my face fell down", "my face has been scattered to pieces", "my face has been peeled off", and "my face dried or went dry". In reference to the last expression, there is a famous saying in Arabic: "save the water of your face" which is used metaphorically to refer to the necessity of face-saving. That is to say, the water of the face is a metaphor meaning that an individual's self-esteem and social image should be regarded and respected by himself and by others as well.

Since face is the abstract entity that stands for the individual's self-image, self-respect, and self-worth, and which is associated with dignity, honesty, morality, reputation and so on, s/he is expected to save it from damage. In other words, it is one of the individual's priorities not to expose themselves to situations that may threaten his/her own face. Imagine someone by the end of each month who comes to one of his acquaintances or friends and asks them for an amount of money and says I will return it back as soon as possible; then, never keeps his promise. In this case, if he asks again and again, a reaction or response will be something like "save the water of your face". In relation to im/politeness, such a person will be considered as "shameless", "rude", or "faceless" since his behaviour is perceived as dishonest which entails impoliteness

4.4. Religious Rituals

Religious rituals can be defined as extended words, phrases, or actions of faith that individuals tend to repeat tirelessly during their daily life practices and they appear clearly in the way they relate to Allah as well as to one another. What differentiates religious rituals from non-religious rituals is that the former always includes a reference to the name of God whether explicitly or implicitly. In other words, as believers in Allah, Muslims are expected to seek help and advice from Allah in every matter which in turn reflects on their daily life practices including their actual use of rituals.

Although some people would usually use religious ritualistic expressions for communicative purposes even if they are not deeply convinced by their importance or content, but only because it gives the other party sort of comfort or credibility.

Religious rituals are meant to be deeply meaningful; that is, I shall echo Kádár's (2013) argument that there is no such a thing as an empty religious ritual as the empirical data will demonstrate throughout the four coming chapters.

In Kádár's (2013) terms, I believe that religious rituals are “relational” since individuals use them to relate to Allah. On the surface level, such rituals may seem to belong to 'covert rituals' due to their relatively deviant transparency to outsiders. However, I would argue that they cannot be described as 'covert' because Allah is neither an imaginary entity nor an entity that has been created by the individual for some psychological effect. Allah is believed to be the creator to whom Muslims show their worship and submission through the performance of ritualistic prayers and supplications. Religious rituals are also relational because they connect believers to each other.

With particular reference to the Islamic religion, the five pillars of Islam (Arkaan Al-Islam), namely, Shahada, Salat, Zakat, Syiam, and Pilgrimage represent the most significant manifestations of religious rituals in Muslim societies such as the Libyan. Every religious ritual is relational in nature because it functions as an abstract communicative tool through which the individual relates to Allah as well as to other believers. Whereas many of the religious ritualistic practices involved in the five pillars of Islam are spiritual in terms of their level and function of performance; that is, relationship-maintaining with Allah such as Salah (prayer), some others are constructive and relationship-reinforcing not only with Allah, but also among individuals such as Zakah (charity).

On the one hand, when an individual prays, s/he is not merely performing a set of prescribed movements. Instead, s/he is communicating with Allah by producing meaningful holy phrases in harmony with those movements. As its given Arabic denotation (Salah) suggests, a prayer is a link between an individual and his/her Lord through which these ideological religious rituals gain their profound meaning. On the other hand, Zakah (charity) is the act of alms-giving or charity through which individuals preserve both submission to their Lord and sustain equality in societies. In Arabic linguistics, the ritual of Zakah is derived from the verb zakka, which means “to purify”; the word Zakah also means blessing and thrive. It can be argued that this ideological religious ritual works both ways or at two levels: it promotes the spiritual relationship (the individual and his/her Lord) and reinforces the social

relationship (individual to individual and individual to society relationships). That is to say, the performance of this ritual purifies one's soul from avarice and greediness, strengthens the relationship with Allah, and brings Allah's mercy. Simultaneously, it preserves social harmony and convergence, and promotes a sense of solidarity amongst members of the society. Thus, like many other types of rituals, the ritual of Zakah can serve as "a means to reinforce social dependence or relationality" (Kádár, 2013).

4.5. Social and In-group Rituals

In spite the fact that social and in-group rituals represent two different categories of rituals, they are closely related. In-group rituals, for instance, are defined as ritualised relational practices created by smaller groups or "relational networks". A social network "relates to the community and interpersonal level of social organisation" (Milroy & Milroy, 1992, p. 2). As argued by Kádár (2013), every ritual practice is conventionalised, but it carries something more than a mere convention due to its mimetic value. That is, "in-group rituals are conventionalised, but not every in-group-specific convention is a ritual" (Kádár & Bax, 2013, p. 8).

In-group rituals come into existence if a relational network meets a particular criterion. Namely, (1) all those engaging in ritual practices have in-group status; (2) the group members have accrued a necessary extent of relational history (Kádár, 2013). In-group rituals closely interrelate with "social rituals", but they are different in terms of typology and level of functionality as shown in Table (2).

Comparable to in-group rituals, social rituals also work in the discourse of social networks; however, they tend to take a form of conventions which are ritualised in the given group (Kádár, 2013). Whereas in-group rituals are restricted to local units or groups, social rituals are extended to larger scale of social networks and therefore they often survive across generations (see Table 2).

Social rituals, specifically, play a middle role in linking religious rituals with the in-group. They have a connection with the religious rituals as they usually appear in Arabic communities in religious patterns due to the religion influence. They also have a connection with the in-group rituals in terms of their relational function in the discourse of social

networks. I; therefore, initiated the term 'integrative' to refer to religious rituals that work at both social and in-group levels.

If we go back to social and in-group rituals, we can also see a clear overlap between these two in particular.

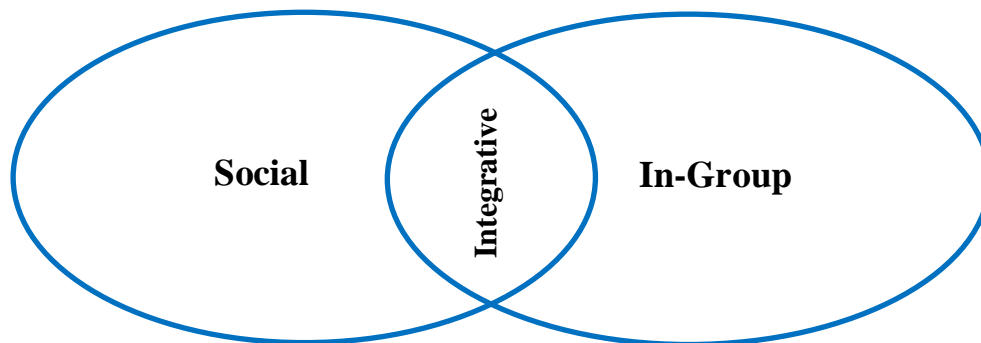


Figure 4.1 Religious rituals that work at both social and in-group levels

Whereas it can be argued that in Arabic, rituality is part of normative Islamic ideology, it is quite difficult to make a clear distinction between social and in-group rituals because they act in a relatively similar ways. However, Kádár (2013) managed to make a distinction between the two; that is, in-group rituals are sometimes initiated and conventionalised by a group whereas social rituals are social conventions which are ritualised in a particular group (Kádár, 2013).

I shall further refer back to Kádár's (2013) influential differentiation between social and in-group rituals in order to make this point clearer. The following table summarises the main differences between the two:

No.	Social Rituals	In-group Rituals
1	Transparent to outsiders	Potentially non-transparent to outsiders
2	Can transform and develop to in-group rituals	Unlikely to develop into social ones
3	Can modify over time and have a longer history as it is very likely to transfer from one generation to another	Relatively shorter lifetime and it is more likely to disappear once their given relational network stops to existing.
4	Represent an obvious form of rituality for the participants	Less likely to be identified by the members of the group (participants) as rituals as they are performed in a more spontaneous way that does not necessitate metapragmatic awareness or knowledge

Table 2 Main differences between social and in-group rituals (Kádár, 2013)

Keeping the above in mind; even social rituals may present themselves in some religious forms. That is to say, as the Libyan culture is dominated by religion, one may notice that even social occasions could be over-imposed by religious influences. As mentioned earlier, Libyan politeness ritualistic forms, according to their function and level of performance, might be classified as religious, social, or otherwise. These categories however might be overlapped as there is no clear-cut division between them especially within a culture where religion plays a crucial role. Thus, religious rituals are expected to be superimposed over the other types.

Despite the fact that religion is one of the most important factors in Libyan society that may govern one's behaviour, yet there are other important social factors within Libyan culture that may play a vital role in polite(ness) behaviour including, for example, customs, traditions (both at the macro and micro levels), and other social values such as honour, shame, reputation, status. However, I am not suggesting that Libyan society is homogenous, and this

study; therefore, takes into account the contested nature of politeness norms within the same culture.

4.5.1. Samples of Social and In-group Rituals in Relation to Politeness

A range of recorded interactional data has been examined in relation to rituals and politeness, and the initial results show various examples of social and in-group rituals. Interestingly, the majority of these rituals are ideological in nature. That is to say, most of the elaborative use of constructive social rituals tends to carry a significant meaning that is connected in a way or another with religion. The following interactional examples will make it easier to understand this unique relationship:

Example (1)

A: Did you manage to find any useful books on philosophy?

B: Yes, I found a book and two articles. I hope they will be helpful for you.

A: That is great. I really do not know how to express my thanks; *May Allah bless and protect you* (Barak Allah feek wa Rabi yohfdek) ...May Allah reward you all the best (Jazakii Allah khairaa)

A: I hope they will be of help for you. May Allah almighty help you (Rabi eyawnik)

The interaction in example (1) is extracted from a 15 minutes conversation between two close friends where A sought help from B in order to conduct some research on philosophical issues. B told A that she managed to find some references and B performed a constructive relational ritual blessing; which appears in italics, in order to indicate her thanks and appreciation. These elaborative social relational rituals carry deep meaning that works more than a thanking phrase; that is, it functions as social in-group ritual that promotes and maintains interpersonal relationships among groups. More importantly, such examples of rituals are believed to work as acts; that is, they perform something once it is uttered. Therefore, they show one's consideration towards the other.

I shall add an extra point to Kádár's distinction between social and in-group rituals with particular reference to Arabic; whereas social rituals usually tend to take religious forms most

of the time, in-group rituals usually do not tend to be restricted to religious forms as illustrated in the following interaction:

Example (2)

A: I have been to that kind of army training...em..er..where we had to travel to an empty-space area in the countryside and we had to defend ourselves against a group of well-trained warriors and.....(interrupted by B)

B: (laughing out loud) please open the window guys...it starts getting hot over here

A: You mean that I am lying (slightly tense)...err..I'm..I am saying the truth.. I swear it was exactly as I am saying...it happened. (Both A and B laugh)

The above interaction occurs in a longer set of recordings (two hours) among a group of four male friends during an afternoon chat. As indicated in the given extract, B used a certain phrase, “it starts getting hot in here”, in order to tease his friend in a friendly manner. In Kádár’s (2013) terms, this represents a formalised/schematic and conventionalised form of language among this friendship group. That is to say, this phrase is well known among B and his friends to describe someone who is lying. They developed this phrase to be used as in-group ritual, which is harmless in comparison with “you are a liar”, and it reduces the awkwardness and imposition of the situation.

From A's reaction, one may notice that A did not get seriously offended, he carried on talking and defending his story and also shared a mutual laugh at the end of the same line due to the use of the above recurrent ‘in-group ritual’ which disarms the situation and makes it relatively harmless. As argued by Kádár (2013), its 'harmlessness' resides in its mimetic value which means that when B uses the ritual “it is hot in here”, he is animating the voice of the group rather than speaking as an individual (Kádár, 2013, p. 7).

It might be worth mentioning that individuals, as shown in some of the studied interactions, are sometimes related to each other at different levels of relationship, i.e. they can be friends or family members and colleagues at the same time. Although these levels of relationship in reality are occasionally overlapped, the Data Analysis Part is organized in clear-cut categories and hence in different chapters for the sake of argument and discussion. That is to

say, due to the word-limit and the scope of this research, the studied data will be limited to four different contexts: Friends, Family, Tribal, and Institutional presented in an increasing order of formality in which normative and ritualistic practices of Libyan politeness are operationalised in actual discourse, in order to test the hypothetical claims that have been already stated throughout this chapter.

Chapter 5: Empirical Data Analysis Part (1): Interactions among Friends

Introduction

In the Libyan context, friendship is a significant and important social network that connects individuals together. Friends implicitly follow or commit to unwritten rules of friendship, and this set of rules is derived from religion, as well as from culturally accepted social norms and values that are inherited from one generation to the next. Usually, if a friend breaches one of these rules, the other involved friends would require him to pay “*ḥaq*”, and if he admits his wrong doing, he would commonly say 'Whatever *ḥaq* you want, I will take it on'. Usually, the *ḥaq* involves a gathering of the same group of friends who were involved in the situation, such as a meal, in which he would be obliged to offer them a fine meal, either through a home invitation or sometimes dining in a restaurant. It is worth mentioning that this practice is more common among males and it would hardly occur among female friends.

Further to the broader social values and the norms of politeness and good manners that everyone is expected to follow, one may summarise the most common friendship-based set of unwritten rules in the Libyan society as follows:

1. A friend is expected to offer help even without being asked. For example, if a friend intends to paint his house, he would expect his friends to come and help him. Those who do not turn up would be required to pay "*ḥaq*".
2. A friend is expected to defend his friend, support him, and stand by his side in all situations, and if it happened that he was insulted or even attacked in his presence, the friend should defend him, sometimes physically; otherwise he would be described as ‘unchivalrous’.
3. Lending money when a friend is in need, facing hardship, or even having a social event such a wedding, so that he can afford the expenses. This habit or practice could reach to the point when the friend who lent the money would not require his friend to pay it back, where he confirms that he is "forgiving that" "*?im'sa:miḥ*" or saying , ‘no, I swear with Allah’s name that this is not to be counted or even mentioned’. Therefore, it would not be considered a debt anymore.

4. Exchanging regular visits, as well as being there for one another in every occasion, whether happy or sad, such as graduations, weddings, childbirth, illness, etc.
5. It is very common that when a group of friends are coming out of a place together, that the friend who owns a car is usually obliged to give (or at least offer to other friends who do not own cars) a lift to their destinations. It is considered impolite if someone among his friends takes a taxi or uses the public transport, when he can give him a lift. Such a situation would cause a face threat to him, as he sometimes is obliged to drive his friend all the way to his destination even if this will make him late for another appointment.
6. When dining in a restaurant, a friend is expected to take the initiative in paying the bill, and should be very serious about his offer.

The following examples of real-life interactions between different groups of friends will shed light on the most dominant norms of Libyan politeness in this setting and how they are manifested over longer stretches of talk, while testing the general hypothetical socio-cultural values that have been stated in Chapter 4 and the friendship-specific values suggested above.

5.1. Interactional Example No (5.1)

5.1.1. Background

It happens among friends sometimes that one of them shows admiration for something that his other friend owns, e.g. a tie in this example. Whether the intention of the first friend is a mere compliment, or if he is trying to solicit an offer from his friend, this approach usually causes the second friend to feel face-threatened and therefore obliged to offer it. The following interaction took place between three friends Ameen, Salah, and Kareem, and it shows how Ameen reacts when Salah compliments the tie he was wearing.

5.1.2. Script

1. **Ameen:** ↑ Pea::ce be upon you {*?assa 'la:mu ʕa 'lajkum*} (.) ↑ How a::re you?
2. **Salah & Kareem:** ↑ a::nd pea::ce be upon you and ↑ Go::d's mercy and ↓ blessings be upon you {*Wa ʕa 'lajkum ?assa 'la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:hi wa barakatuhu*}(.)
Praise be to All::ah {*?al 'ḥamdu lilla:h* }

3. **Ameen:** Praise be to Alla:h {ʔal'hamdu lilla:h}
4. **Salah:** Oh:: (.) ↑what a love::y tie ↓you are wearing (0.5) ↑ which Go::d wills {ma 'fa: ʔalla:h}
5. **Ameen:** ↑ Ma::y God bless you {Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k} (.) thank you {'ʃukran}
6. **Salah:** Haven't seen you weari::ng it before (0.2) ve::ry elegant ↑ beautiful
7. **Ameen:** ↑ You like it? ((Ameen is taking off his tie to give it to Salah)) (.) it's yours now
8. **Salah:** ↑ No::: no I swea::r to God {walla:hi} that is not going to happen
9. **Ameen:** But I felt that you like it
10. **Salah:** I do ↓like it (0.3) but I did not mean to- to- to have it (.) I mean no no it is yours

The day after, the following interaction took place between Salah and their 3rd friend Kareem, who was present when the initial tie interaction took place between Salah and Ameen. Referring back to the tie situation, Kareem started as follows:

11. **Kareem:** You know (0.2) I ↑ think you put Ameen under a lot of pressure (.) you ↑ shouldn't have done that
12. **Salah:** ↑ Ho::w?
13. **Kareem:** We:ll ↓ I mean (.) regarding his beau::tiful tie
14. **Salah:** He is ↑ my friend and I wanted to te:ll him how elegant he looked (.) especially wearing that red linen tie
15. **Kareem:** Ah (0.2) ↑ are you >trying to convince me that was a compliment< rather than pushing him to offer you the tie:: ?
16. **Salah:** Ho::nestly (.) I liked his tie so much and ↓ he is really close friend to me, so <I didn't find it strange to show my true feelings towards his elegancy> a- an- and

- ↑ by the way if he felt coerced or pushed by my over compliments as you described them (.) he would not ↑ buy me a similar tie this morning
17. **Kareem:** ↑ I do appreciate your honesty Salah a::nd <I know how strong your friendship is> but you- your defensive statement I ↑ think proves my point (.) a:nd doesn't justify the pressure you put Ameen under ju- jus- just >because you liked his tie::<
 18. **Salah:** Fo::rget that he is my frie::nd (.) I felt he was so sincere and ↑ actually wanted rea- really to give it to me
 19. **Kareem:** Maybe he has done that ↑ out of kindness (.) but the thing ↓ you might not know about is that particular tie was a gift from someone who is ° so dear to his heart° so ↑ I think if he didn't feel obliged to offer th- the tie to you he wouldn't even [try to take it off]
 20. **Salah:** [O::h I SWEAR to] Go:d {walla:hi} I ↑ didn't know that or (.) or I wouldn't have even made such compliments (0.3) <you are right he must have felt obliged to make me an offer> an- and he bought me a new matching tie because he cannot offer me his gifted tie I ↓ feel so bad now (0.5) I should apologise to him
 21. **Kareem:** Do not worry, Salah >I am sure he would understand if you explain to him your point< he is a good heart and I I do not think he took any offence
 22. **Salah:** ↑ May Alla::h bless you {Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k} ↓ Kareem (0.2) I will go and talk to him right now
 23. ((Salah has approached Ameen in his room to pay him an apology))
 24. **Salah:**((door knocks)) it is ↓ Salah
 25. **Ameen:** Come in plea::se {Tafad'al}
 26. **Salah:** ↑ Peace be upon you {?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum}

27. **Ameen:** ↑ A::nd pea::ce be upon you and ↑ Go::d's mercy and ↓ blessings be upon you {Wa ʕa' lajkum ʔassa' la:m wa rahmatu 'lla:h} ↑ welcome Salah ((pleasant tone of voice)) I am ↓ watching TV ↑ come and join me
28. **Salah:** ↓ We::ll {Walla:hi}(0.5) actually < I I do not know what to say> I am =
29. **Ameen:** = Come on ↓ what is wrong Salah? >If you do not fancy watching TV< we can call Kareem and ↓ go out for a walk
30. **Salah:** Em(.) A::h (.) it is really kind of you (0.2) but but ↓ I came here to apologise to you
31. **Ameen:** ↑ Apologise?! ↑ why? >what happened?<
32. **Salah:** I:: me- mean ↓ the tie (0.2) I am so so::rry.. <I did not know it was a gift and I overwhelmed you with my compliments> I apologise (.) God willing {ʔin 'ʕa:ʔalla:h} you ↓ forgive me if I put you under any pressure or caused you embarrassment
33. **Ameen:** ↑ Do not worry at a::ll Salah (.) actually ↓ I felt bad as I was unable to offer you the tie (.) if it was not a gift <I would not even hesitate to offer it to you> bu::t I: I hope you liked ↑ the new one? it is exactly the same
34. **Salah:** ↑ I do ↑ of course (.) thank you my dear {'ʕukran ja ʔazizi} you- you're ↑ so kind which Go:d wi::lls {ma 'ʕa: ʔalla:h ʔalajk} may Allah bless ↑ you {Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k} but again please forgive me ↓ my brother
35. **Ameen:** ↑ Forget about it >no problem< {Mafi:ʃ 'muʕkilah} (.) ↑ I am glad you like it and I look- looking forward to see you wearing it (.) we have to get Kareem one and we all wear them on the same day (h) ↑ the best friends group
36. **Salah:** Y(h)es

5.1.3. Analysis

Ameen starts the conversation with a constructive religious ritual to greet the group who are expected to reply with either the long version of (Wa ʕa' lajkum ʔassa' la:m wa rahmatu 'lla:hi

wa barakatuhu), or with the abbreviated version (Wa ʕa' lajkum ʔassa' la:m), which are both religious rituals used for social purposes. This particular ritual practice is clearly mentioned in the Quran and the Sunnah, where people are instructed to use it when greeting one another. This practice, which occasions ritualistic politeness is not used as a mere ritual, but rather is a meaningful phrase that is believed to relate individuals as well as groups and enhance love and appreciation among them. This, therefore, is another vivid manifestation of politeness in religion.

(ʔal'hamdu lilla:h) is also a religious ritual that is used both religiously and socially and in greeting situations like this example, it is the expected response to "how are you?". It is worth mentioning that it is always polite to respond with (ʔal'hamdu lilla:h), even if the addressee is encountering some difficulties or problems at the time of speaking. Religiously speaking, it expresses thanks and appreciation to God in any situation one is in, regardless of whether or not it is good or bad.

In turn 4, Salah shifts straight away to something else, which is Ameen's tie. Salah compliments Ameen's appearance with a particular reference to his tie. Culturally speaking, compliments are quite common in Libyan Arabic society, particularly between male to male and female to female. However, culture and religion play an important role in restricting compliments between opposite genders.

Salah's compliment is clearly manifested in the use of positive adjectives such as "lovely" and "beautiful", with reference to Ameen's tie. Salah has also followed his compliment with the religious ritual (ma 'ja: ʔalla:h). This ritual is a very commonly used ritual that usually precedes or follows a compliment, namely when someone likes or admires someone or something, such as appearance, beauty, characteristics, possessions, etc., and it is religiously believed to protect from the 'evil eye'. Therefore, it is considered polite to use this phrase when looking, mentioning or talking about something positive.

In turn 5, Ameen seems to reluctantly accept Salah's compliment by using a religious ritual "May Allah bless you" followed by a formal thanking phrase "thank you".

In turn 6, Salah carries on complimenting Ameen's appearance, with a particular reference to the tie he was wearing. From the analyst's second-order perspective, Salah over-compliments

his friend's tie by using more positive adjectives such as "very elegant" and "beautiful" with a higher prosody, which seems to be face-threatening to Ameen, as demonstrated in his short answers. One may also notice that Ameen found himself in a situation where he has no option but to offer his tie to Salah. Although Ameen tried to offer his tie by starting to take it off, one may observe that he does not insist and submits straight after Salah expressed his refusal using a form of oathing. That is to say, he only tries to show his desire to offer the tie once. Despite the fact that Salah admires the tie he continues to refuse the offer. However, using hesitation remarks, pauses, and filling gaps remarks made it clear that Salah has barely refused the offer.

From their third friend's point of view (Kareem), Salah tried to solicit an offer from Ameen by an exaggerated use of repetitive compliments. In turns 11 and 13, one may note evident use of metacomment by Kareem. That is to say, he criticises Salah's behaviour and considers it inappropriate, particularly putting Ameen under a lot of pressure. Kareem has also referred back to Salah's use of the word "beautiful", imitating the same tone of voice. However, from a first order perspective, Salah insists that his behaviour was not out of the norm among friends. In turn 16, Salah highly emphasises the level of friendship and how Ameen could not have been threatened by his compliment, as they are very close friends.

In turn 17; however, from Kareem's point of view, being close friends does not justify Salah's exaggerated complimenting remarks only because he liked the tie. Here we may observe the degree of difference between the two friends in assessing this situation. For instance, in turn 18, Salah sees his behaviour as acceptable, not only because they are good friends, but also because he felt that Ameen was so sincere in his offer. In turn 19, we can see another metacomment by Kareem who perceives Ameen's offer of the tie as an "act of kindness". In second-order terms, this is one of the multiple understandings of politeness particularly that the tie was a gift. Here comes another piece of information that Salah does not know about "the thing that you might not know about is that particular tie was a gift from someone who is so dear to his heart".

From the analyst's second-order perspective, knowing this fact would affect the way Salah looks into his own behaviour, with reference to Ameen's tie. Culturally speaking, on the one hand, the person who has something as a gift is not expected to offer it only if s/he was in a

situation similar to this one. On the other hand, the person who likes that item is not expected even to hint that s/he likes to have it for themselves if s/he knows it was a gift. That is why from a first-order perspective, Kareem said “I think if he did not feel obliged to offer it to you he would not even tried to take it off”. From the analyst’s second-order perspective, I also think that Ameen would have not offered the tie if the obligation he felt was too high.

In turn 20, there is a clear shift in Salah's view of the situation after knowing that Ameen's tie was actually a gift. The following is another metacomment by Salah, referring back to his behaviour, "Oh, I really do not know that or I would have not even made such compliments. You are right he must have felt obliged to make me an offer". He reflects on what he has done already and thinks that he has put Ameen in an awkward situation. He further mentions "he bought me a new matching tie because he cannot offer me his gifted tie. I feel so bad now, I should apologise to him". In contrast to his previous first-order view, Salah perceives his own behaviour as inappropriate. This is apparent in his reaction, "I should apologise to him", as he decides to apologise to Ameen. From the analyst’s second-order perspective, self-reflecting one's own behaviour and rectifying the situation through apology is in itself another significant manifestation of politeness.

In turn 21, one may observe that from Kareem's first-order perspective, an apology would be a good gesture, regardless of Salah's unawareness of the gift. This is evident in his agreement and supportive remarks. Interestingly, Kareem does not think that Ameen was offended by Salah's behaviour, however, he still sees an apology as appropriate, especially for the pressure exercised over Ameen, through what Salah might see as “positive compliments”. In turn 22, Salah expresses his appreciation through constructive religious rituals that occasion politeness (Ba:raka ‘?alla:hu fi:k) ((May Allah bless you)), Kareem".

Over turns 25 and 26, the importance of the religious/social greeting ritual (?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum) is evident, even among friends whose relationship is usually based on solidarity, rather than formality. From the analyst’s second-order perspective, Salah's is encountering a kind of face-threatening due to the nature of the situation and having to initiate an apology to his friend. Ameen's warm welcoming and suggestion to go out for a walk seem to put Salah at ease.

In turn 29, Salah appreciates Ameen's kindness and demonstrates his willingness to apologise for what happened. However, from Ameen's reaction in turn 30 "Apologise?! why? what happened?", one may notice that in fact Ameen was not irritated from what has happened. However, in turn 31, Salah explicitly apologises to him using "I am sorry", providing that Ameen must have felt pressurised as the tie was a gift. Even here, there is a clear manifestation of ritualised politeness (?in 'ja:ʔalla:h) ((God's will)) you forgive me".

In turn 32, it appears that from Ameen's first-order perspective, the uneasy feeling was due to the fact that he was unable to offer his friend the tie after realising that he likes it and wishes he could have it. From the analyst's second-order perspective, this is actually another level of politeness that Ameen has experienced, because he was considerate of his friend's feelings, rather than his own. It is also worth mentioning that although Ameen was sincere in offering his own tie to Salah, he appeared to be hesitant to do so, as the tie was a gift. Ameen has also made a slight topic shift to ease the situation "But...I hope you liked the new one? It is exactly the same one". In turn 33, Salah expresses his great thanks to Ameen using both the formal thanking phrase "thank you my dear" as well as a religious/social ritual of appreciation (ma 'ja: ʔalla:h ʔalajk and Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k) ((God bless you)) for getting him a similar tie. He once again apologises to Ameen using the kinship term "brother". From the analyst's second-order perspective, there is a clear manifestation of ritualistic politeness that one would not have expected to exist among close friends.

Finally, Ameen concludes and settles the situation down with an apparent sense of humour "We have to get Kareem one and we all wear them on the same day the best friends group". It is known that humour is usually used among friends to ease pressure or to enhance the relationship and in this case the former is true. It is also worth mentioning that even in the form of joke, Ameen relates himself positively to the group "The best friends group", which indicates the level of connectivity among this group.

5.2. Interactional Example No (5.2)

5.2.1. Background

This interaction occurs between two close friends, who are also flatmates and work colleagues, and will be referred to as Firas and Nizar. This conversation demonstrates one of the important norms of politeness among friends, when Firas offers Nizar help in a critical situation without being asked which is just another way to say to him ‘I value our friendship and I will be always there for you’. In this occurrence, Nizar was travelling to Libya the following day, and have to withdraw £1000 in cash to take with him on his trip. His flight was early morning and therefore he needed to go to the bank in the same day to withdraw the cash. It was very busy in the office where they work and Nizar decided to go to the bank at the end of the working day. It might be worth mentioning here that this interaction involves two occurrences, but they are presented together due to relevance and sequence.

5.2.2. Script

1. **Nizar:** ↑ You know what? Tomorrow is my flight and ↑ I haven’t got a chance t- to withdraw cash ↓ I have to leave work a bit early to ↑ the bank a::nd if God wills {*?in 'fa:ʔalla:h*} ↓ <I find it still open>
2. **Firas:** ↑ Your flight is in the morning (.) isn’t it? So avoid any ↑ unnecessary hassle by going to the bank fi:rst thing in the morning a- a:h and >you may have to queue<
3. **Nizar:** You’re right (.) really {*Walla:hi*} (0.4) ↑ if God wills {*?in 'fa:ʔalla:h*} I should get into the bank before it closes >if I leave work at 4 pm<
4. **Firas:** ((silence))

((Nizar has to go for a meeting, and he met again with Firas just after the lunch break))
5. **Nizar:** I thought that <I could make it to the bank during the brea:k> (.) b- but ↓ the meeting continued through the break

6. **Firas:** No:: ↑ man ↑you do not need to; I have already gone to the bank during the break and withdrawn you a £1000 and all are in £50 notes (0.3) >I think is even better when it comes< to- to (.)↑ currency exchange in Libya ↑ here you a::re ((Firas hands the money to Nizar))
7. **Nizar:** ((cheerfully)) Oh::: ↑ this is rea::lly great ↑ God bless you {*ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k*} <a::nd may God have mercy upon your parents> {*ʔalla:h jarħam 'waldajk*} ↑ you saved me from rushing to the bank (0.2) thank you (.) really {*Walla:hi*}
8. **Firas:** ((Cheerfully)) No worries at all ↑ never mention it ↑ My Lord protects you {*Rabbi jahfið'ak*} a::nd God's willing (.) you go and come back safely {*ʔin 'fa:lla timfi: wi tdzi: bis 'sala:ma*}
9. **Nizar:** ↑ <May God reward you with goodness> {*ʔalla:h idza:zi:k ?ilxajr*}
- ((After 4 weeks, Firas and Nizar had a proper evening chat following Nizar's arrival from his holiday))
10. **Firas:** So did you say it was a nice trip ↑ how was everybody? ↑ <would you call it a relaxing holiday?>
11. **Nizar:** ↑ Praise be to Allah {*ʔal'ħamdu lilla:h*} it was a relaxing one indeed especially during ↓ the last few days (.) a:: a- as >I never got time on my own during the fi:rst 3 weeks< because of paying social visits
12. **Firas:** That is ↑ good too (0.2) it is <a bit of a change and escape from the work routine [and stress>
13. **Nizar:** [Yes↑ really {*Walla:hi*}(0.4) ↑>what about you? how have you been doing< have you been on your own in the flat or- or did anyone visit you?
14. **Firas:** Oh:: ↑ yes I missed my relaxing weekends as ↑ Basim has been staying with me for 3 weekends in a row(.) b- but it was wonderful too
15. **Nizar:** ah:a↑ that is great (0.2) it means that you had lots of fun
16. **Firas:** Yes↑ indeed

17. **Nizar:** Did we receive any utility bills >during the last 4 weeks?<
18. **Firas:** ↑ No bills yet (.) praise be to God { ?al'ħamdu lilla:h }
19. **Nizar:** ((got out a piece of paper with a list calculations)) a::h ↑ by the way <I reme::mber a:: th- that you lent me £20 for the bus fair and another £10 for the phone top up[here you go ((Nizar hands the money to Firas))
20. **Firas:** [↑You can keep them(.) <I- I do not need them right now>
21. **Nizar:** ↑ Thanks ↓ Firas (.) but please take them now <a- as I have cash on me and I do not want to forget about them> after a while
22. **Firas:** (h)
23. **Nizar:** (h) ↑ Is everything OK?
24. **Firas:** Everything is Ok (h) (0.5) but <ar::e not you forgetting anything else?>
25. **Nizar:** ((Trying to remember)) A:::h (0.2) <there is no God but Allah> {La: ?ila:ha ' ?illa 'la:h} I do not know rea:lly { *Walla:hi* } (.) what is it?
26. **Firas:** ↑You ↓ g(h)uess
27. **Nizar:** (0.7) ↑ Wha (h) t?
28. **Firas:** () Try::
29. **Nizar:** ↑ Oh::: MY GOD ↑ THE £1000 (.) >I totally forgot about it< if you didn't remind me>I would not remember it at all<(0.2) Oh:: no so embarrassing (.) ↑ unbelievable ↓ I do not know how you've got the courage to remind me of ↑ such a sensitive matter ((shared laughter))

5.2.3. Analysis

As previously stated, the social level of relation may overcome the religious level, regardless of the fact that it (religion) is being the prime mover that overwhelms all the daily-life manifestations. This can be clearly scrutinised in the following example, where the friendship relation moralities have been exercised at the expenses of the religious principles.

It is considered a customary tradition that Libyans lend and borrow money from each other without any written proof and they rather rely on the verbal word. This reflects the appreciation and support among them. This social support comes at the expense of the following religious instruction:

O believers, when you contract a debt one upon another for a stated term, write it down, and let a writer write it down between you justly, and let not any writer refuse to write it down, as God has taught him; so let him write, and let the debtor dictate, and let him fear God his Lord and not diminish aught of it” (Qur’an 2:282).

"يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا تَدَايَنْتُمْ بِدَيْنٍ إِلَىٰ أَجَلٍ مُّسَمًّى فَاكْتُبُوهُ وَلْيَكْتُب بَيْنَكُمْ كَاتِبٌ بِالْعَدْلِ وَلَا يَأْب كَاتِبٌ أَنْ يَكْتُبَ كَمَا عَلَّمَهُ اللَّهُ فَلْيَكْتُبْ وَلْيَمْلِكِ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ الْحَقُّ وَلْيَتَّقِ اللَّهَ رَبَّهُ وَلَا يَبْخَسْ مِنْهُ شَيْئًا" (سورة البقرة، 2: الآية 282).

Firas's gesture of politeness and appreciating the other was evident in sacrificing his break time by going to the bank and withdrawing the required cash and lending it to his friend Nizar, without him requesting it or knowing about it. As well as making the situation easier for Nizar, Firas also wanted to keep the element of surprise. He also meant to have the money in £50 notes so that Nizar can exchange them easily at the currency exchange bureaus/Black Market in Libya.

Nizar showed high accuracy, even with the small amounts of money that Firas lent to him, by recording them down in a notebook. However, as more than 4 weeks have already passed since Nizar got the £1000, and because it happened in a short time, in a hectic place of work and without a prior request, it was quite normal for him to forget about them. Even though Nizar and Firas are very good friends, Nizar felt awkward when Firas hinted to it in an indirect way. Firas also wanted to reduce the severity of the situation on Nizar by saying in Turn 20 “You can keep them; I do not need them right now”. This is a common statement between people in situations when the borrower wants to give the money back to the lender; the latter says this statement in order to avoid a face threat by accepting the money back straight-away, but it implies that the lender still wants his money back, as in some cases the lender may not accept taking the money back as a gesture of generosity.

In the last turn, Nizar made an explicit metacomment about his friend’s behaviour when he reminded him about the owed money, and evaluated it as sensitive matter. However, due to

their close friendship, Nizar does not seem to take an offence from Firas's reminder about the money which is evident in their shared laughter.

5.3. Interactional Example No (5.3)

5.3.1. Background

This example involves a conversation between three friends, to whom I chose the pseudonyms Malik, Anwar and Lateef. Anwar invited Malik and Lateef to dinner at his home, and the following interaction took place when Anwar was serving fizzy drinks ‘Miz Miz’ to his friends.

5.3.2. Script

1. **Anwar:** ↑ Here you are (.) the Miz Miz a:nd the bread (0.3) a:nd this is ↑the Miz Miz
2. **Malik:** ↑ May God bless you {?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k} a:nd ↑ may mercy be upon your parents {?alla:h jarħam 'waldajk} (.) May Go:d protect you and keep you around {?alla:h 'jaħfið'ak wi xalli:k}
3. **Anwar:** ↑ In the name of Go:d {bism '?illa:h} (.) it- thi::s reminds you of our grandmas' rice (0.3) LATEEF [pi] ck up some salt it may need- some more (.) I think ↓ it's a bit bland
4. **Lateef:** [uh]
5. **Anwar:** ()
6. **Lateef:** ↑ Rea:lly ?{ Walla:hi}=
7. **Anwar:** = don't know (.) everyone has his own taste in food (0.2) ↑ eating rice with bread (.) ↑ It is rea::lly ↓ wei::rd Malik
8. **Malik:** We::ll { Walla:hi} (.) no- no I- (.) it's ↓ fine for me
9. **Anwar:** You find it ↓ good (0.2) Lateef ↑> would you like more drink?<
10. **Lateef:** Yes ↑ plea:se
11. **Anwar:** Super or:: er- or ↓ natural?

12. **Lateef:** No (.)↑ MIZ MIZ MIZ MIZ

5.3.3. Analysis

The interaction begins with Anwar serving fizzy drinks ‘Miz Miz’ to his friends on the dinner table, which was followed with an elaborative constructive relational ritual blessing (in turn 2) by Malik in order to indicate his thanks and appreciation. This occasions a recognisable social practice of politeness through which the group’s interpersonal relationship is promoted and maintained over the course of interaction. In turn 3, Anwar himself is using a formulaic religious ritual which occasions a salient manifestation of ritualistic politeness. It is normatively impolite to start or finish eating food without mentioning God’s name. This action is described as “blessings and food appreciation etiquette” from an Islamic religious point of view.

Looking into turns 3, 4, and 5 one might have the initial understanding that Anwar exposes his face to criticism, by admitting that the rice might be a bit bland. However, a closer examination of both parties’ interaction indicates that he is using that strategically in order to avoid any expected criticism or potential face loss and this is explicitly indicated in turn 7. That is to say, his use of hedging language and his endeavour to relate that to personal preferences are evidence of being concerned about being appreciated among the group, regardless of the fact that they are very good friends.

In turn 8, Malik is being polite in his reaction to Anwar’s comment “eating rice with bread”, although such a comment from an analyst’s perspective can be open to assessment as impolite. Malik continues eating calmly while disagreeing with Anwar politely through the use of linguistic features such as hesitation and starting with the Arabic equivalent of the discourse marker ‘well’, which often indicates the disapproval of what has been said. “Well” is commonly used to indicate that the speaker is about to say something which may conflict with the assumption, or the wishes of a previous speaker (Cameron, 2001, p. 97). Malik also intends to reduce any potential face loss to Anwar by following ‘no’ with ‘it is fine for me’ to show that though he does not agree that eating bread with rice can be odd or astonishing; he attempts to express it as his own personal preference. Anwar’s prosody, falling intonation, and his emphasis of what Malik has already said in turn 8, shows that he recognises that his

previous comment was slightly inappropriate in this context, which also triggers him to make an immediate topic shift by asking Lateef if he likes more drink.

5.4. Interactional Example No (5.4)

5.4.1. Background

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter in point 4, exchanging visits between friends is a friendship pattern and a way of strengthening the relationship between them. In this instance, a friend, referred to as Anwar, hosted three of his friends and cooked dinner for them as they were all away from their wives at the time. It is common in Libyan society that the wife is often if not always the one who cooks food for the family, so if she is not there a period of time, the matter of having favourite and regular meals becomes an issue for him. In this occurrence, the friends seem to not only have enjoyed the food, but also appreciated that their friend has to cook the meal himself, so the thanks expressions are more salient here which illustrate another norm of politeness. It also demonstrates the impact of religion and culture on choosing such phrases i.e. manifested in religious ritualistic forms, which are sometimes also used to emphasise how sincere they are in expressing their appreciation.

5.4.2. Script

1. **Anwar:** Prai:::se be to ↑ Alla:h {*?al 'ħamdu lilla:h*}
2. **Malik:** EAT MORE co::me on (.) O uncle {*Ja: bu: 'xal*}=
3. **Anwar:** = ↑ I swear by the name of Go::d the greatest {*wa 'llahi ?ilʕaðʕi:m*}
4. **Malik:** () [mo::re
5. **Anwar:** [I a::m full ↑Praise be to Go:d {*?al 'ħamdu lilla:h*}(0.2) ↑May God endure this grace and save it forever {*?allahumma ?adimha: 'niʕma waħfað'ha 'mina zzawal*}
6. **Malik:** ↑ May Alla:h bless your hands {*TASLAM ?idaj:k*} for cooking this (.) it's PE:::RFECT
7. **Anwar:** I- it- i::f I got a foil (0.2) it could be better ↓ than that

8. **Malik:** Nothing wrong with it (.) it's perfect which God wills {*ma 'fa: ?alla:h*}
9. **Anwar:** O::h ↑ which God wills {*ma 'fa: ?alla:h*} ↓ g(h)ood
10. **Malik:** It's really {*Walla:hi*} DELICIOUS which God wills {*ma 'fa: ?alla:h*}
11. **Murad:** ↑Yes it is perfect <which God wills> {*ma 'fa: ?alla:h*}
12. **Anwar:** Really?{*Walla:hi*}
13. **Malik:** Praise be ↑ to Go:d {*?al'hamdu lilla:h*} and there is no God (.) ↓but only one God {*la: ?ila:ha 'illa 'la:h*}
14. **Anwar:** Live healthy {*s'ihha*} (.) eat more =
15. **Malik:** = Praise be to Go:d {*?al'hamdu lilla:h*} <May Allah increase this blessing> {*Rabbi: izi:d 'ha niṣma*}
16. **Anwar:** Have ↑ more [ma::n
17. **Malik:** [I bear witness to God the food is ple::nty {*Na'fhad billah ilxajr yalab*}{*laughing*} I feel like- like I- a::m alive now(0.2) There is no God (.) but only one God {*La: ?ila:ha 'illa 'la:h*}
18. **Anwar:** ↑I swear to Go:d {*Walla:hi*} (.) WHEN I- WE CAME IN I thought they were going to EA(h)T me (.)↑one is eating banana (.) the other is eating bread (.) then pieces of ↓ °old° bread= ((laughing loud))
19. **Malik:** =That's right () ((laughing loud))
20. **Anwar:** ((laughing loud)) ↑ LATEEF ((Lateef walked into the kitchen))
21. **Lateef:** ↑Ye::as (0.2) God bless you for this meal {*Taslam ṣal?akkil*} (.) it is very delicious <which God wills> {*ma 'fa: ?alla:h*}
22. **Anwar:** ↑ Come and eat more=
23. **Lateef:** =No:: (.) Praise be to Go:d {*?al'hamdu lilla:h*}
24. **Malik:** eat more / it- se- you ↑didn't eat enough [you finished quickly

25. **Lateef:** [N::o ↑ I swear with the name of God { 'uqsimu billah} I had plenty (.) <Praise be to Go:d> { ?al'ħamdu lilla:h }
26. **Malik:** Come o::n ↑ have a bit more
27. **Lateef:** I swe::ar to Go:d { Walla:hi } I- a:m full (0.2) ↑ Praise be to Go:d { ?al'ħamdu lilla:h }

5.4.3 Analysis

Example 5.4 reveals more manifestations of ritualistic politeness, offering, explicit thanks, and compliments. In turn 1, Anwar uses a religious ritual, i.e. (?al'ħamdu lilla:h) ((thank God)) to appreciate God's blessings and at the same time indicates that he is full and cannot accept more offers of food. However, Malik is still offering him more to eat in turn 2. A repetitive offer such as (Eat more) is common on such an occasion, and is usually said by the host to his guests. However, the opposite occurred in turn 2, due to the level of friendship. It is an expression of taking care of others and making them feel welcomed. Malik, in turn 2, also uses the expression (Ja: bu:'xal) ((O my uncle)) to address his friend Anwar. This is a polite expression that Malik used to consolidate his friendship with Anwar by adding the dimension of kinship between them. From a second-order politeness understanding, Malik wants to remind Anwar that he is not only a friend, but also from his mother's tribe.

In turns 3 and 4, Anwar politely justifies the offer refusal by using more religious rituals, and also relates to Allah, to whom he believes he should express his gratitude for the blessings.

From a second-order politeness understanding, in turn 5, Malik explicitly thanks Anwar for cooking, using a constructive religious ritual "May Allah keep your hands safe" and Anwar's reaction shows that he appreciates it as a manifestation of politeness. In turn 6, Anwar is being polite by showing modesty about his own cooking, though he knows that he always cooks good food and his friends enjoy it. In turn 12, Malik used the expression (la ?ilaha '?illa ?allah) ((there is no God, but only one God)), which represents the first pillar of the five pillars of Islam. From a second-order understanding, Malik used this to express his relief for having a proper and better meal than the ones he was having before this invitation. Compliments seem to play a major role among the group. For instance, in (turns 7, 9, 10, 20) Malik, Murad, and Lateef are engaged in elaborative sequences of compliments 'it's

PERFECT' 'it's really DELICIOUS' 'It is very delicious'. Anwar accepts his friends' repeated compliments after several denials, while his enchantment indicates that he perceives them positively.

Some researchers argue that compliments are generally intended to express politeness. However, the intention behind paying a compliment can be related to the way it is produced, the context, and more significantly, on the recipients' interpretation and evaluation. For example, compliments are sometimes used ironically so they are more likely to be judged as impolite, which proves that linguistic utterances are not inherently polite and politeness does not reside in the utterance, nor is it a characteristic of the utterance itself (Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003; Kádár & Haugh, 2013).

5.5. Interactional Example No (5.5)

5.5.1. Background

This example shows how a friend defends another friend's behaviour, even if he knows that his friend's behaviour was wrong who otherwise would perceive it negatively if he did not receive that support. In this interaction, a group of 3 friends and one work colleague went for dinner in a Middle Eastern restaurant without a pre-booking. Further to the group of the 4 men, Customer 1 brought his 17-years old daughter along. When they entered the restaurant, a waitress welcomed them and led them to a special cornered table, which the group were pleased with (Customer 1 in particular). Suddenly, another waiter (who is originally from a neighbouring country to that of Customer 1) approached the group and the following conversation took place:

5.5.2. Script

1. **Waiter:** Excuse me guys (.) this is ↑ a family corner
2. **Customer 1:** We are a family (.) >can't you see ↑ the lady with us<
3. **Waiter:** ↑ Yes (.) ↓ I can see her ↑ but this table is already reserved
4. **Customer 1:** We::ll (.)↑ you should've said that from the beginning ↑without giving other EXCUSES
5. **Waiter:** ↑ It is ↓ reser [ved
6. **Customer 1:** [↑ Ok then ((deep breath)) >CALL ME YOUR MANAGER<

((The restaurant manager, referred to as Manager, came to the scene and started by welcoming the customers))
7. **Manager:** Good evening (.) < how can I help you please?>
8. **Customer 1:** Hello ↓ sir (.) ↑ your staff member was insisting that we should leave this table an- a- and he just gave us ↑ lame excuses (0.2) ↑ this is NOT NICE at all (.) I I I'm also a regular customer and ↑ should not be treated ↑ LIKE THIS

9. **Manager:** You- you- you're ↑ right and <this should no- ↓ should not have happened> (0.3) please accept our apologies (0.3) al- also ↑ thank you for your patience (.) please enjoy your meal ((They have been offered to continue dining at the same table))
10. **Customer 1:** ↑ Thank you ↓ for your consideration
 ((The same waiter came over again to take the order))
11. **Customer 1:** ((addressing the waiter)) ↑ You can only have such a NEGATIVE behaviour back in your country ↑ <not here in the UK>
 ((It coincided that another customer, referred to as Customer 2, and his family, who are originally from the same waiter's country, were sitting on a nearby table having their dinner and overheard the previous conversation))
12. **Customer 2:** ↑ This waiter only represents himself ↑ <but you insulted our whole nation [you SHOULDN'T generalise>
13. **Customer 1:** [Sorry {?a:sif} >I did not mean to offend your nation< b- b- but this waiter ↑ SPOILED our occasion
14. **Customer 1's 1st Friend:** ↑ Forgive us ↑ our brother {Samihna: ja xu:na:} <my friend did not mean to insult your country> it is ju- (.) just the [heat of the moment
15. **Customer 2:** [Even though (0.3) ↑ wh- what has my country to do with what happened
16. **Customer 1's 2nd Friend:** Never mind ↑ our brother {ma 'ʕalajf ja xu:na:} and ↑ trust me we have ↑ no hard feelings towards your country (0.2) ↓ after all <we are all brothers> {nihna: 'kilna: xu:t}

5.5.3. Analysis

In turn 1, the waiter neither greets nor welcomes the customers, which is supposed to be part of good customer service, especially in Arabic culture. He used an excuse (this is a family

corner) to avoid face-threat and embarrassment, but his excuse was not convincing to Customer 1 and therefore the waiter's face was exposed to further face-attack. The waiter created another excuse (it is reserved) in turn 5, but again this is insufficient for Customer 1 and the waiter's reaction of sharply repeating the same excuse indicates that his attempt of face-saving was unsuccessful.

Customer 1's anger was evident in his reaction and sarcastic way of talking in turn 2. Requesting to see the restaurant manager could be interpreted in two different ways (multiple understandings) which are (1) either to avoid any further argument or clash with the waiter and/or (2) to continue embarrassing the waiter at a different level and in the presence of his manager.

Customer 1's metacomment and interpretation of the waiter's behaviour is apparent in turn 8 "this is not nice at all". According to Customer 1's expectation and his first-order understanding of politeness, the waiter's reaction was impolite, as he was expected to be treated nicely in general and with extra courtesy for being a regular customer, and a "valued customer".

From the analyst's second-order understanding, Customer 1's remark about the waiter's country was offensive and therefore impolite, as he discriminated him against his country of origin. This remark also offended the over-hearer who comes from the waiter's country. Despite the fact that Customer 2 is an over-hearer, Customer 1 tried to rectify the situation by offering an explanatory apology to Customer 2.

Being an over-hearer, there is a twofold interpretation of Customer 2's reaction: (1) whether he should interfere in the first place and would that be considered appropriate or not, (2) Customer 1 was neither aware of Customer 2's presence, his nationality, nor that he was listening to the conversation. From the analyst's second-order emic perspective, we cannot say that Customer 1 was deliberately impolite to Customer 2. That is to say, if Customer 1 knew that Customer 2 was listening and if he was also aware of his nationality, he would have probably been careful in selecting his words or made effort to make himself inaudible to Customer 2.

From the analyst's second-order perspective, the restaurant manager was extremely polite. This was evident in his warm reception which was reflected in his normative language. He offered a formal and explicit apology to the affected party and also allowed them to dine at the same table as an attempt to absorb Customer 1's anger and rectify the whole situation.

From the analyst's second-order perspective, the friends of Customer 1 were supportive to their friend, even though they knew he was not right to insult the Customer 2's country. Their support was evident when Customer 1's friends spoke to Customer 2 using the "plural" style, as if the issue was between them and Customer 2 and not between Customer 1 and Customer 2., e.g. "Forgive us" instead of "Forgive our friend" and "we have no hard feelings about your country" instead of "he has no hard feelings about your country". The friends tried to play the situation down by saying "our brother", "it is just the heat of the moment" and "after all we are all brothers".

5.6. Interactional Example No (5.6)

5.6.1. Background

The following situation took place between three friends, whose pseudonyms will be Naseem, Fadi, and Ma'an. They also work at the same institution, and the conversation first started during their lunch break. Fadi told Naseem and Ma'an that he has been to a place that makes very tasty soft-roasted chicken and he offered to take them there if they like. This interactional instance shows how friends may interact when one of them does not honour his promise for any reason, and the interaction goes as follows.

5.6.2. Script

1. **Fadi:** ↑ Pea::ce be upon you {*?assa 'la:mu ʕa 'lajkum*} [how are you today?]
2. **Naseem and Ma'an:** [And Pea::ce be upon you {*Wa ʕa 'lajkum ?assa 'la:m*} Praise be to Alla:h {*?al 'ħamdu lilla:h*} how are you?]
3. **Fadi:** I'm well ↑ Praise be to Alla:h {*?al 'ħamdu lilla:h*}
4. **Naseem:** How ar:e things?
5. **Fadi:** Everything is OK (.) a- a::nd <you know what yesterday I found out a place> th- that makes like a:: it makes a soft-roasted chicken with ↑ a very delicious taste (.) Not like- like that F&C pla(h)ce (.) the ↑ unforgettable experience >I had it for dinner< it was absolutely mouth-watering like- it was well done(.) soft (.) juicy < a::nd one among the best roasted chicken that I have ↓ ever had>
6. **Naseem:** ↑ Rea::lly? {*Wal 'la:hi*} (.) that sounds yummy
7. **Ma'an:** Oh:: you made me hungry >I cannot wait to try it<
8. **Fadi:** ↑ If you hear how I a::te it (.) I prepared le:ttuce a::nd had- I had half a lemon and squee:zed it over the hot chicken a::nd (.) started eating and of course with a glass of [iced coke]
9. **Naseem:** [A::hh I am starving now (.) ↑ your description is very mouth-watering

10. **Ma'an:** Wha::t God wills {*ma 'fa: ?alla:h*} where is th- this place? I feel like- I want to go right now
11. **Naseem:** Me too ↑ what was the name of the shop ↑ Fadi?
12. **Fadi:** I can't remember the name (0.2) <I think it is ca::lled something like Ta::ste- I can take you there (.) later if you like (0.4) I- =
13. **Naseem and Ma'an:** = Ye::s let's do that
14. **Ma'an:** But ↑ can you remember where it is?
15. **Fadi:** =I belie::ve so (0.5) could you turn on the Google map ↓ please? >I will show it to you<
16. **Ma'an:** Ok:: here we go
 ((They managed to find the place and figure the name of the shop on the Google map))
17. **Fadi:** So: shall we go later?
18. **Ma'an:** ↑ Yes (.) if that suites Naseem an::d yourself of course
19. **Fadi:** I do not have a problem <make up your mind and ↓ let me know>
20. **Naseem :** We ma::y- could go there (0.2) a::nd get the chicken a::s ↑ a take away (.) so- so (.) we can be back home before the sunset be- becau::se I promised the kids to be back home early
- ((The three friends met again at the end of the day, and while they were leaving work, the following occurrence took place))
21. **Ma'an:** Do you think Khalid is going with Fadi?
22. **Naseem:** Oh, he seems like he is going to accompany him
23. **Ma'an:** I see

((The four of them are standing at the bus stop that takes towards the chicken place, while the bus is approaching. Khalid is getting into the bus and Fadi is following too, while looking at Ma'an and Naseem))

24. **Naseem:** Ok, then Fadi, take care {*bis 'sala:ma*} and see you tomorrow

25. **Fadi:** Aren't you coming with me?

26. **Ma'an:** Emm. I do not think so, let's talk tomorrow, be safe {*Fi ?ama:n '?illa:h*}

27. **Fadi:** Ok, see you (0.2) God's willing {*in 'fa:ʔalla:h*}

((They met again in the morning, and the interaction went as follows))

28. **Ma'an:** Good mo::rning

29. **Fadi:** Good morning

30. **Ma'an:** So:: we didn't go to the chicken place yesterday (0.2) but- a:: m- do you think that we can make it today?

31. **Fadi:** To be honest (.) yesterday I was quite surprised that ↑ Naseem changed his mind >at the very last minute < (0.3) I thought that we were going ↓ together

32. **Ma'an:** A::h, emm (0.4) but you know a:: e::m (0.2) th- that is most likely ↑ because of Khalid (.) we- we both thought that (.) you were taking him to the chicken place too a:::nd
((Naseem joined in))

33. **Naseem:** Hell::o {*Mar 'ħab*} ↑ how a:re you today?

34. **Fadi** and **Ma'an:** Hello {*Mar 'ħab*} Praise be to Alla:h {*?al 'ħamdu lilla:h*}

35. **Naseem:** What a::re you discussing?

36. **Fadi:** Yesterday (.) Weren't we going to the chicken place together?

37. **Naseem:** A::h ↑ yes (.) Sorry about <the- the way I had to leave as you know> Khalid for me (.) is a colleague rather than a friend a::nd you know that- that < we

do not get on really well with each other> but (0.2) I respect the fact that he is your friend a::nd I did not want to- to put you or myself in >an awkward situation where you have to compromise< anyway sorry again

38. **Fadi:** No problem at all ↑ I understand that ↑ but I thought that Ma'an very much liked going there

39. **Naseem:** Don't worry about Ma'an ↑ I will make it up for her

40. **Ma'an:** Ok:: (.) thanks for both of you a- a::nd I was wondering if we can go today?

41. **Naseem:** If Fadi is Ok for today >we can make it< how about that ↑ Fadi?

42. **Fadi:** I'm afraid that (.) I won't be able to ↓ make it today <because I am invited for dinner> we can go o::n Thursday if you like

43. **Naseem and Ma'an:** That's absolutely fine

44. **Ma'an:** Have a good time

45. **Fadi:** ↑ Thank you ↑ you're GREAT { 'fukran ?mnaw'ri:n }

((On Thursday, both Ma'an and Naseem were emphasising that they are ready to go with Fadi to the chicken place))

46. **Ma'an:** I'm looking fo::rward to have that mouth-watering chicken

47. **Naseem:** ↑ Yes ↑ we will fulfil your wish today

48. **Fadi:** Oh (0.3) ↑ you know (.) that this morning I- I received a very tempting offer

49. **Ma'an:** What is it?

50. **Fadi:** Samir has offered to take me shopping in his car a::nd then ↓ drop me home ↑ but I didn't confirm anything with him

51. **Naseem:** Do you (.) feel like going with him?

52. **Fadi:** Emm (.) the thing is (.) that shopping is really <a big problem to me without a car> I feel exhausted from last night too (.) a::nd as- I mea:n I have to carry the bags for a quite long distance a:nd this a good chance for me
53. **Naseem:** No problem {*Mafi:f 'mufkilah*} ↑you can go with him then
54. **Ma'an:** Yes (0.) it's true that I (.) wanted to go to the chicken place today <but I of course understand ↓your situation
55. **Fadi:** I can also:: get you your favourite holy Ramadan sweet from there (0.2) a::nd you can go on your own- () <with Naseem to the [chicken place]>
56. **Naseem:** [We might just postpone it as we both want your company
57. **Ma'an:** Ye::s
58. **Fadi:** ((in a teasing manner)) ↑My company?! I don't think that it ma(h)tters (0.2) you simply left me the other day to- and carried on your way as nothing happened
59. **Naseem:** You ne(h)ver forget (.) anyway you're free to go for today a::nd we will arrange ↓ for something
60. **Fadi:** Actually there is one restaurant (0.3) somewhere nea::r the ABC shop<where you can get both a:: a roasted chicken a:nd <the- that special sweet from the ABC shop>
61. **Ma'an:** Thank you {*'fukran*} Fadi
62. **Naseem:** No problem{*Mafeesh Mushkila*} we will find out (.) enjoy your shopping a::nd be- be sure that your company is valuable to us
63. **Fadi:** No worries at all ↑ I was just tea(h)sing you (.) ↑May Alla::h bless you both {*?alla:h 'j:barik fi:kam*}

5.6.3. Analysis

Manifestations of ritualistic politeness are evident in the first two turns where the friends greet one another using religious social ritual “ʔassa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum” “Wa ʕa'lajkum ʔassa'la:m”. From turn 5 to turn 8, one may note how many positive adjectives Fadi used to make his friends willing to go to the place that sells chicken. Once they were tempted to go there, he offered to take them. Although one may perceive Fadi's action in perfectly describing food, while they all are fasting (Ramadan Month) as inappropriate, from the analyst's second-order perspective, Fadi's behaviour is not out of the norm, providing that they are close friends and the historicity of the group plays a role here as well. That is to say, Fadi has been with Naseem and Ma'an to an F&C place upon one of his friends' recommendation and it was an awful experience for them.

Therefore, Fadi might have used this tempting description to convince his friends of the quality of this place, especially since he knows that their standards of food and hygiene are really high. This can also emphasise the sincerity of his offer of taking them to the chicken place in turn 12. At the same time, he politely gave them the option to accept his offer or not, since it appears in the same turn “if you like”. Another element of sincerity appears in turn 15, when Fadi has willingly looked into the Google map with Ma'an to find out where exactly the chicken place is and what it is called.

Over turns 17, 18, 19, and 20, one can note evident manifestations of politeness that are apparent in the hedging language and the use of suggestions such as “shall we”, “if it suites you”, as well as leaving space for each one to decide what is appropriate for them. In turn 20, Naseem brings in another significant element of politeness, which is keeping one's promise, when he refers to his promise to be back home early for the kids. It might also be worth mentioning that from an analyst's second-order perspective, such a level of politeness among very close friends would not be expected, but as this interactive real life example shows, formality does play a role in enhancing friendship relations. That is why it is always important to build evidence on naturally-occurring data, rather than relating it back to one's expectation.

In turns 21, 22, 23, a side conversation takes place between Naseem and Ma'an, who do not seem happy about Khalid going with them. Therefore, in turn 24, Naseem instantly decided

not to go with Fadi. From Naseem's first-order perspective, he evaluates his behaviour as acceptable, because it is justifiable based on the thought that Fadi knows that he does not get along with Khaïd (as we will see in turn 37).

However, from Fadi's first order-perspective (and at that moment) he seems to perceive Naseem's reaction of leaving without an explanation as impolite, which appears in his short answer "OK" to Ma'an in turn 27. From an analyst's second-order perspective, Naseem has not been impolite, but he did arguably use their friendship card. That is to say, if I may use B&L's terminology, Naseem applied positive face where he took it for granted that as a close friend, Fadi would understand why he chose to step away that way. Ma'an in turn 26, seems to find herself in two minds, or in an awkward situation where she cannot leave. Naseem leaves on his own, and at the same time, she wants to implicitly indicate to Fadi her appreciation of the whole situation.

As the second day interaction is a follow up to the previous one, we can note clear evidence of historicity, time, and space. As with any morning conversation, it begins with a greeting adjacency pair, which is considered an important part of polite interactive behaviour. Again here, one may observe that Ma'an initiates the topic of going to the chicken place without referring back to the bus situation. That is to say, from an analyst's second-order perspective, she based it on friendliness and closeness, rather than formality and distance. In turn 31, Fadi reveals his true feelings towards the bus situation, which indicates his first-order understanding of the way Naseem and Ma'an left him the other day. Fadi seemed a bit unhappy about being left. However, I think that Fadi did not take serious offence, as indicated by his calm prosody (expressing surprise rather than offence). This is probably due to the nature of friendship among the three, where each one can express their own feelings freely without any unnecessary artificiality.

In turn 32, Ma'an's face threat is quite obvious in her hesitation marks and remarks used to fill gaps. She did not try to offer a formal apology, however, she implicitly saves face for Naseem and herself by providing reasons, which represents another form of politeness among friends. In turn 33, Naseem joins the conversation with a conventional social ritual of greeting "Mar'hab", and by asking Fadi and Ma'an how they are doing, which is the expected norm in this situation, even among friends. In turn 34, there appears to be another significant

manifestation of ritualistic politeness, which is the use of the religious ritual “ʔal'hamdu lilla:h”, which serves both religious and social purposes. Religiously, where the individual relates to God by thanking his blessings for being in a good health. Socially, where the individual relates to another individual or to his own group using “ʔal'hamdu lilla:h” as a greeting tool - in the above case, to enhance and reinforce the friendship.

In turn 35, due to the mutual understanding between the three, Naseem seems to understand what is implied when Fadi and Ma'an are discussing the bus situation, as indicated by his questioning. From the analyst's second-order perspective, Naseem's smile could be interpreted as admittance from Naseem that Fadi was not happy about leaving him in that way and also may have been done to calm down any hard feelings. However, in turn 36, Fadi shifts the topic back to being left behind the other day. Naseem acknowledges this with an apology, “Ah, yes. Sorry about the way I had to leave”. From the analyst's second-order perspective, Naseem is being polite to his friend, and does not only say sorry, but also follows that up with reasons and an explanation.

There is also evidence of metacomment: “I respect the fact that he is your friend and I did not want to put you or myself in an awkward situation where you have to compromise” where Naseem refers to his own behaviour from an emic point of view, as a matter of respect and in an effort to avoid embarrassment, or in a second-order terminology, a face-threatening situation. Naseem repeatedly said sorry to Fadi to indicate his sincere feelings of consideration.

In turn 38, it appears from his positive response and explicit indication of appreciation that Fadi seems to accept Naseem's apology. However, from his first-order perspective, he still sees that avoiding Khald's company has prevented Ma'an from going to the chicken place, which Fadi thinks is somewhat unfair. Nonetheless, Fadi does not explicitly say so, but as a friend, he chose to use more positive wording: “but I thought that Ma'an very much liked going there”. In turn 39, Naseem indicates his feelings of consideration for Ma'an too and suggests compensation. However, the question tags in his response, “you are not angry of me, are you?” shows that he is sure that Ma'an was not disappointed with his behaviour. From the analyst's second-order understanding, the level of distance among friends is almost bridged,

thus, as demonstrated in this example, the relationship is based on solidarity, rather than formality. Therefore, politeness manifests itself in less formal forms.

In turn 40, Ma'an's emic point of view matches Naseem's expectation, who explicitly expresses her appreciation for both of her friends. The friendly and close relationship between the three also makes it relaxed and less face-threatening for her to ask them if they can go to the chicken place. Where Naseem welcomes the idea, Fadi was compelled to refuse. However, one may note that Fadi's refusal does not lack politeness, especially with the use of the introductory phrase, "I am afraid that", providing a good reason for being unable to go on this particular day, as well as suggesting another day as an alternative. In second-order terminology, manifestations of politeness here include being considerate for the other's feelings, giving suggestions, leaving space for the other to have their own say, and giving reasons for refusals. Over turns 43, 44, 45, one may observe a mutual understanding between the three friends; however, politeness is apparent in the shared agreements and conventional forms of thanking.

On Thursday, both Ma'an and Naseem emphasised that they are ready to go with Fadi to the chicken place. This interaction, which is a continuation to the previous two days of conversation, took place on Thursday during the break time. It is worth mentioning that there was another side conversation, but my interest is in the longer stretch of talk that I have been following over more than three days. In turn 26, Ma'an initiates the topic of going to the chicken place again; and in turn 47, Naseem is emphasising that to her. The use of indirectness among friends is quite remarkable here, since she could have asked directly whether they are still going or not. From a second-order perspective, this is open to two different interpretations. She may have wanted to politely remind Naseem and Fadi that this invitation has been postponed twice; the first time by Naseem and the second time by Fadi. So from her emic first-order perspective, emphasising how much she is looking to go and get the "mouth-watering" chicken is a polite way to say 'please do not cancel or postpone it again'. The other possible interpretation is that she wanted to make sure that the offer/invitation to take her to the chicken place is still in place.

In turn 48, since he recognises how important it was for Ma'an to go to the chicken place, Fadi started to gradually introduce the fact that he might not be able to make it. That is to say,

from his first-order perspective, Fadi knows that it would be upsetting for Ma'an to cancel it again, especially at such short notice, so he wanted to first convince them that he has strong reasons to dismiss this, and in that way he would initiate their approval without directly asking for it. Particularly, in turn 52, Fadi provides detailed reasons in order to convince his friends that he badly needs a lift. His attempt to have his friends' approval was successful, as can be seen in turns 53 and 54. One may observe that the act of not making any arrangements before ensuring that they are both happy that he can go is in itself another form of politeness, if his emic understanding is consideration and appreciation of the other in this situation. At the same time, Naseem and Ma'an were both polite by understanding his situation, and happily agree for him to leave them to do his own shopping.

Furthermore, Ma'an (in turn 54) prioritises his needs over his friend's, and shows a complete understanding of Fadi's situation. From the analyst's second-order understanding, as a kind of face-saving reaction, Fadi made a further offer in turn 55 with reference to Ma'an's Ramadan favourite sweet, just before suggesting that they can go there on their own. This means that Fadi is withdrawing his previous offer/invitation to take Ma'an and Naseem to the chicken place.

In turns 56 and 57, from the analyst's second-order perspective, Naseem and Ma'an have put themselves in a face-threatening situation with Fadi, by referring back to the meaningfulness of having his own company, which they have squandered in the first place, seen in turns 25 and 26. Fadi, in turn 58, reveals his real second-order evaluation of the former situation, but in a rather friendly way, where he teases both of them with a humorous mood. Naseem's comment and laughter in turn 59, makes it clear that from Naseem's emic first-order perspective, no threat has been caused by Fadi's comment in turn 58. Ma'an's laughter in turn 61 also confirms that they both took Fadi's comment (which was disarmed by his sense of humour) with a high spirit. In turn 60, one may note that even when Fadi further suggests that they can go to another shop where they can get both a nice roasted chicken and Ma'an's favourite sweet (which means that he withdrew both offers), things went smoothly, with joint laughter. In turn 62, Naseem continued using mutual humour by referring to Fadi's company and offers an apology for misusing his precious company. Finally, in turn 63, Fadi reveals his own emic point of view, saying "no worries at all; I was teasing you, May Allah bless you both", which confirms the second-order observations in turns 59 to 61.

5.7. Interactional Example No (5.7)

5.7.1. Background

As mentioned in point no. 5 in the introduction of this chapter, there is usually a burden on the friend who owns a car. It is very common that when a group of friends are leaving a place together, the friend who owns a car is usually obliged to give (or at least offer) a lift. It is considered impolite if someone among his friends takes a taxi or uses the public transport, when he can be given a lift. Such a situation would cause a face threat to the car owner since an individual is sometimes obliged to drive his friend all the way to his destination, even if this will make him late for another appointment.

This scenario is demonstrated in the following interactional example, which took place between four friends, their pseudonyms are Fadil, Zeyad, Saleem and Aws, who also work at the same institution. The conversation goes as follows.

5.7.2. Script

1. **Fadil:** ((talking over the phone)) He:llo{*Mar'ħaba*}↑ Zeyad(.) Saleem is leaving with Khalid by car and he is offering me a lift ↑ they are waiting for me in the car<would you like to come along ↓ with us?>
2. **Zeyad:** He:llo{*Mar'ħaba*} (0.2) OK ↑ I am coming with you>please wait for me<
3. **Fadil:** ↑ Alright (.) I will be ↑ waiting for you ↓ downstairs
4. **Zeyad:** Ok:: ↑ >I won't be long<

((Zayed meets Fadil downstairs))
5. **Zeyad:** Hell::o {*Mar'ħaba*} Fadil>I am coming to join you< one second please ↓ I have a document to collect from Ameer and >↑ will join you straight after<
6. **Fadil:** No worries (0.3) ↑ I will be waiting for you outside the building to walk together to Saleem's car ((Fadil has to wait for quite long outside, while it was raining))

((Zeyad came back to Fadil and they both walked to the car, and while they are getting into the car, the following conversation took place))

7. **Saleem:** Zeyad ↑ mind you that door is locked <so you may want to use the other door> I had permanently locked it ↑ for the safety of the kids
8. **Zeyad:** OK↓ thanks { 'fukran }
9. **Saleem:** Whe:re do you need to go?
10. **Zeyad:** Please bear with me and a- a::s we move ↓ I will let you know <where to drop me>
11. **Saleem:** Alright ↓ just because I have to go to the garage (0.3) or <I ma::y go there first> then I drop you home if [you like
12. **Zeyad:** [↑ Do not worry ↓ I'll let you know

((As they are approaching Fadil's area, Zeyad asked Saleem to drop him off at the bus stop there))

13. **Zeyad:** Ok ↓ Saleem (.) please drop me off here <May Allah have mercy upon your parents> { ?*alla:h jarham 'waldajk* }
14. **Saleem:** >God bless you< { *Alla:h ?i'salmak* } (0.2) no no problem { *Mafi:f 'mufkilah* }

((The next day, Fadil met with Zeyad in the presence of Aws, their other friend, and the conversation went this way))

15. **Fadil:** What was wrong ↑ yesterda::y? I was surprised as you (.) you suddenly decided ↑ to get off the car un- until the last minute I was thinking <you will accompany us>
16. **Zeyad:** A::h I- I felt like (.) ↓ I felt that you wanted to talk about something privately a- an- a::nd that you didn't want me to be there <I felt really ↓ embarrassed (0.2) a: an- and I thought I should leave>

17. **Fadil:** ↑ I SWEAR to God {*Wal'la:hi*}th- that there ↑ was not anything (.) but you were a bit extra ↓ sensitive (0.3) Khalid and myself got off at the XYZ Cafe and- and <I wished that you were with us as I was expecting> ↑ you really missed ↑ a nice time
18. **Zeyad:** Basically (0.2) I accepted the lift offer ↑ for the sake of your company <but from the minute I step- stepped into the car I was treated ↓ like a kid> come (.) >sit down th- thi:s door side and not that one< so he can drop me off first(0.3)then he asked straight away(.)where do you need to go ↓ Honestly I- I felt that was unwanted there I thought maybe you have a secret and an:d I would rather leave you to feel free (0.4) as the well- well known saying says ↑ whoever leaves his home(.) will face disrespect {*illi jat'laf min 'da:rah ?i:qil 'miqda:rah*}
19. **Aws:** Did Saleem < really do that?> I think that was a bit harsh (0.2) If I were him ↑ I would've insisted on you to stay ↑ e- even if I had to take you with me ↓ to the garage first instead of ↑ letting you leave unhappy that way (0.5) I- I don't <think that was appropriate > and and I wouldn't expect it ↓ from Saleem
20. **Fadil:** Yes(.) actually ↑ but Saleem did make it clear wh- why <he did not want to miss his MOT appointment> and maybe he did not even notice that >Zeyad got sensitive [over it<
21. **Aws:** [I see (0.2) let's bring them a: you together then <a::nd ask Saleem why he behaved unreceptively to Zeyad>
22. **Zeyad:** No:: ↓ no ↑ for the sake of God {*Sa?altak bil'la:h*} do not do it ↓ I'm o:k
23. **Aws:** But <Saleem has to justify to us why he has done that to you> and if (.) and if we proved that he was wrong, th- then ↑ he owes you an apology by offering us a meal {*Salajh 'ħaq*}
24. **Fadil:** ↑ EXACTLY ↑ bless your mouth {*Sal'lim famak*} (.) ju- just like a semi-tribal gathering to clear the air
25. **Zeyad:** Really↑ there is no need for that {*Walla:hi ma: 'fijh da:ʕi*} ↓ it is ok for me <I forgive him and no more hard feelings>

5.7.3. Analysis

In turn 1, Fadil starts the conversation with a conventional greeting. Culturally speaking, from a religious point of view, it is always preferable to greet one another before starting any conversation even if you have just been together, and this act has been greatly emphasised in the Quran and the Sunnah, which is perceived as an essential element of politeness and good manners.

Then, Fadil who was offered a lift by his friend, Saleem, makes an offer to Zeyad, who is also a friend of Fadil, to come along. This is a good example of the Libyan proverb “d^ʕajf ladʒwa:d jid^ʕajif” which means that the guest of a generous host can invite others with him to come along without the need for permission from the host. However, from the way Fadil made this offer, one may perceive it as a brief and suggestive invitation, rather than a deep and affirmative offer. That is to say, this kind of offer could be interpreted as a result of self-obligation and consideration, rather than a must-to-accept offer that is conventionally elaborative and repetitive. Additionally, this is combined with an oathing ritual that is used to avoid any refusal to the extent that some men may impose the act of divorce on themselves in order to give the invited party no option but to accept.

However, in turn 2, Zeyad seems to over-impose the element of friendship and closeness over other elements of reinforcing the offer, by accepting Fadil's offer straight away and without any marked hesitation. This can also be observed in his relaxed and spontaneous response: “please wait for me”. From his own first-order understanding, Zeyad thinks he could comfortably make Fadil and his friends wait for him. However, from a second-order understanding, Zeyad's direct request could be face-threatening for Fadil, particularly since Saleem and Khalid are colleagues of Zeyad, rather than close friends, thus, they may perceive that as lack of consideration or impoliteness from Zeyad. Fadil, however, acted politely by accepting to willingly wait in the rain for Zeyad in order to make him feel more welcome. By doing this, Fadil accepted to take on board any face-threat that Zeyad's request may cause to him in front of his two other friends.

In turn 5, Zeyad greets Fadil once again when they met up downstairs using the social ritual “Mar'haba”. From Zeyad's first-order understanding, as a close friend to Fadil, he does not seem to feel like imposing over Fadil when he asked him to wait for him a bit more. From the

analyst's second-order understanding, despite the fact that Fadil and Zeyad are good friends and maybe because there is no space for formality between them and that Zeyad gave a reason to Fadil why he has to make him wait, this is face-threatening to Fadil, who consequently has to make his friends, Saleem and Khalid, wait for him, especially since the car is not his. This behaviour could be classified under the category of inappropriateness, rather than impoliteness, because he does not intend to cause a threat, and also because Zeyad has politely requested that Fadil should wait for him while giving a reason. Fadil's consideration of Zeyad as a valued friend appears once again in his acceptance to wait for him, even though it was raining. Therefore, if our second-order understanding of politeness here is kindness, one may conclude that Fadil's behaviour was polite.

In turns 6 and 7, one may observe that Zeyad's sensitivity over Saleem's behaviour started when Saleem asked him to use the seat on the unlocked door side, so he can drop him first. This is evident in his short response using a conventional form of thanking: "OK, thanks". Further, in turn 10, it seems that Zeyad's first-order understanding of Saleem's question in turn 9 is as inappropriate or face-threatening. In turn 11, however, from a second-order perspective, it seems that Saleem has noticed Zeyad's uneasiness, so he explained why he needs to know where Zeyad needs to get off first. From an analyst's second-order understanding, Saleem's recap here is also a manifestation of politeness. Although the reason behind Saleem's question was so he could avoid missing his MOT appointment, Zeyad seems to understand it differently. That is to say, the message received by Zeyad was to get off as soon as he can, which is what he has done as a reaction in turn 13. This situation proves that looking into politeness from multiple understandings as suggested by Kádár and Haugh (2013) is a useful way to understand politeness and its various manifestations.

From a second-order understanding, one may note that although Zeyad was unhappy with the way he was treated, he managed to hide that feeling, which is clearly demonstrated in his reaction in turn 13 when he asked Saleem calmly and politely to drop him off using "please" and a religious/social ritual "May Allah's mercy be upon your parents" to thank him for the lift. However, in turn 14, if the interpretation of Zeyad's first-order understanding was that he received Saleem's behaviour as inappropriate, then, one may understand that Saleem has not intentionally meant to hurt or insult Zeyad, as can be seen in his response in turn 14: "God

bless you” while using the appropriate religious/social ritual confirming that no offence was intended towards Zeyad.

The next day another interaction took place between Zeyad and Fadil, which could be classified as a post-event where participants express their views about what has happened. That is to say, Zeyad is explicitly evaluating Saleem’s behaviour and the whole situation in general, which also includes evidence of metacomments. As an analyst, this offers the chance to look into Zeyad’s and Fadil’s second-order understanding of the situation in general and Saleem’s behaviour in particular.

In turn 15, Fadil’s second-order understanding of Zeyad’s reaction is that Zeyad has reacted unexpectedly due to his sensitivity. Therefore, one may conclude that Fadil’s evaluation of Saleem’s behaviour is positive. However, from Zeyad’s second-order understanding, as it appears in turns 16 and 18, Saleem’s behaviour was inappropriate and caused him embarrassment. In second-order terminology, Zeyad has experienced a high face-threat while in the car (as expressed in turn 16).

In turn 17, Fadil uses a religious ritual of oathing to convince Zeyad that his expectation regarding the confidential chat was not right. From the analyst’s second-order perspective, Fadil was polite in conveying his own view to Zeyad. That is to say, manifestations of politeness are evident in the use of ritualistic politeness, euphemism, as well as indirectness. For instance, Fadil said “you were a bit sensitive” instead of plainly saying “no, you were wrong”. He further emphasised that Zeyad was most welcome: “Khalid and myself got off at the XYZ café and I wished that you were with us as we had nice time”. Therefore, Fadil has explicitly indicated to Zeyad that he is a valued friend while clarifying the misunderstanding in a smooth manner.

In turn 18, however, Zeyad’s second-order understanding of Saleem’s behaviour was negative. That is to say, Zeyad has clearly expressed his second-order view of being insulted, which is especially noticeable in his metacomment of “I was treated like a kid” and the use of the common Libyan proverb “Whoever leaves his home, will lack respect from others”, confirming that he perceived that as an insult.

The contribution of their third friend, Aws in turn 19 could be classified as a lay-observer contribution. It is true that he is part of the group, but he was not present at the time of the event and only heard the situation and understood from Fadil and Zeyad's post-conversation. As a lay observer, Aws's understanding of Saleem's behaviour correlates with Zeyad's. That is to say, Aws thinks that Saleem acted inhospitably towards Zeyad. He further emphasised that by stating that Saleem should have been more caring towards Zeyad and not leave him "unhappy". Therefore, one may conclude that in Aws's lay-observer understanding, politeness is caring for the other and their emotions. Another piece of evidence of metacomment is apparent in Aws's view of Saleem's behaviour as "inappropriate".

In turn 20, Fadil's second order understanding is somehow different from Aws and Zeyad. He partially agrees with Aws that what he states might be the case, but he tried to find an excuse for Saleem by emphasising the reason behind his behaviour, which could be interpreted as an attempt of face-saving on behalf of his friend. Culturally speaking, from a religious point of view, individuals are advised to find excuses for one another when something unexpected happens, which is also classified under good manners.

In turn 21, Aws calls for "clearing the air" between Zeyad and Saleem by inviting Saleem to a friendly meeting with Zeyad to clear any hard feelings. However, Zeyad, the affected party, politely refused. Although he used the short answer "no", and Zeyad used a form of ritualistic politeness to make his refusal less direct. In turn 23; however, Aws insisted he do so, but this time in a more humorous or less formal/serious manner. That is to say, from his own understanding, Saleem has to pay an apology to Zeyad through a dinner invitation. Fadil shows a mutual understanding and agreement in turn 24, while complimenting his friend's suggestion using both positive adjectives "excellent" and "well said", combined with a religious/social ritual of 'bless your mouth'. Fadil has also referred to tribal gatherings and their role in conflict resolution, which is also evidence of the significance of tribal networks in Libyan society, which is covered in chapter 7.

Finally, Zeyad seems to find the suggestions above face-threatening, putting him in a confrontational position with Saleem, with an obligation to sooth the air between the two. From the analyst's second order-understanding, Zeyad's refusal of his friend's suggestion could be interpreted in two different ways. Zeyad is either avoiding being in the victim

position, which may affect his self-esteem and status among the group, or, he still believes that Saleem has done something wrong in his view. However, he decided to forgive him in line with the Quran and the Sunnah, which recommends that:

"It is not lawful for a Muslim to desert (stop talking to) his brother beyond three nights, the one turning one way and the other turning to the other way when they meet, the better of the two is one who is the first to greet the other." (Al-Bukhari and Muslim: Volume 8, Book 74, Number 254).

"لا يحل لمسلم أن يهجر أخاه فوق ثلاث ليال: يلتقيان، فيعرض هذا ويعرض هذا، وخيرهما الذي يبدأ بالسلام" (رواه البخاري ومسلم).

5.8. Interactional Example No (5.8)

5.8.1. Background

The following interaction occurred between two friends who will be referred to as Suleiman and Fathi. Suleiman borrowed £800 from Fathi and they did not agree upon a date of when to return this amount back which is considered contrary to the religious norm, as previously demonstrated in Example 5.2, although it is in accordance with friendship values and expectations. One day, Suleiman managed to save this amount and phoned Fathi to tell him so and also to ask him if he can bring £200 cash with him when they meet up next time so that Suleiman can pay £1000 directly into Fathi's bank account. Fathi took £200 with him on the day he was expecting to see Suleiman. However, Fathi thought if he intuitively gives the £200 cash to Suleiman, Suleiman may see that as an obligation to pay him the £1000 straight after. Therefore, before phoning Suleiman and asking him to come over and collect his £200, Fathi decided to check his account online first to make sure that the £1000 has been deposited. He did so and found out that the amount has been paid into his account, so he phoned Suleiman and the conversation went as follows:

5.8.2. Script

1. **Fathi:** ↑ Peace be upon you {*?assa 'la:mu ʕa 'lajkum*} Suleiman ↑ how are you doing?
2. **Suleiman:** ↑ A::nd peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings ↓ be upon you {*Wa ʕa 'lajkum ?assa 'la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:hi wa barakatuhu*} ↑ <Praise be to Allah>{*?al'ḥamdu lilla:h*} ↑ and you?
3. **Fathi:** ↑ Praise be to Allah {*?al'ḥamdu lilla:h*} <I am really fine> {*Walla:hi 'bxajr*} showered with Allah's blessings {*fi 'niʕma*}
4. **Suleiman:** ↑ < Prai::se be to Allah> {*?al'ḥamdu lilla:h*}
5. **Fathi:** ↑ By the way (.) I want to tell you that I have th- the £200 cash with me <if you can come later to take them>

6. **Suleiman:** ↑ ah::a ↑ God bless you {*ba:raka 'lla:hu fi:k*} I've already paid in £1000 into your bank account
7. **Fathi:** Thank you ↑ really {*maf'ku:r walla:hi*} I've seen it through my ↓ online banking
8. **Suleiman:** HOW COME? wh- w- what do you mean you've seen it? >don't you trust me?<
9. **Fathi:** ↑ No:: no (.) not at all it is not a matter of trust <but if I give you the £200 (0.2) it- it feels as if I'm indirectly asking you to pay me my £800 back straight away

5.8.3. Analysis

From the analyst's second-order perspective, Fathi starts the conversation with a constructive religious/social ritual “?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum” and asks Suleiman about his wellbeing in general. Similarly, Suleiman greets Fathi back using the full version reply to “Assalamu alaikum” which is “Wa ʕa'lajkum ?assa'la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:hi wa barakatuhu” followed by the religious ritual (?al'ḥamdu lilla:h) ((Praise be to Allah)) that works at both religious and social level. That is to say, religiously it expresses the individual's satisfaction and content as well as thanks and appreciation to God for being in a good condition. Socially, as an expected reply to “how are you”, it has a positive impact on the other. Manifestations of ritualistic politeness can be also noticed in turn 3, as Fathi responds positively using a combination of religious rituals. The use of the phrase (Walla:hi 'bxajr) ((I am really fine)) with the declarative statement (fī 'niʕma) ((showered with Allah's blessings)) in addition to being grateful to God could be interpreted as an emphasis from Fathi that he is not in an urgent need of the money Suleiman owes to him. In other words, Fathi is trying not to cause Suleiman any face-threat, especially since money borrowing and lending can become a sensitive matter in some occasions.

Later in turn 5, Fathi uses “by the way” to introduce to the money matter. Using introductory and elaborative phrases about life in general is considered a polite way to introduce to the main topic or matter especially those of financial nature. In turn 6, Suleiman thanks Fathi for bringing the cash with him using a social ritual (*ba:raka 'lla:hu fi:k*) ((God bless you)), which

also has a religious roots and is usually used to express thanks and appreciation. However, Suleiman seems to take offence after he heard Fathi's response "I've seen it online" regarding depositing the £1000 into his bank account. From the analyst's second-order perspective, although Fathi seems to be spontaneous in his answer, which was only extra information, that followed his thanks using a conventional form of thanking '(maʃ ku:r walla:hi) ((Thank you, really)).

From Suleiman's first-order understanding, Fathi has to double check his account before talking to him about the £200 due to lack of trust, which is perceived as offensive. However, if we look into the last turn by Fathi, "it is not a matter of trust. But if I gave you the £200 as if I'm implicitly asking you to pay me my £800 back straight away", Fathi's own first-order understanding of the situation and the message he intended to pass is completely different from Suleiman's understanding. That is to say, Fathi's intention was not to offend Suleiman, but to avoid any misunderstanding or face-threat that this matter may cause to his friend, which also occasions politeness.

5.9. Interactional Example No (5.9)

5.9.1. Background

The following interaction illustrates another important norm of politeness among friends; that is, when a group of friends or even colleagues has coffee or a meal in a restaurant, each of them is expected to take the initiative in paying the bill and be very serious about his offer. In this interaction, Faris and Samir who are both friends and colleagues went to a café together. Coincidentally, Haidar, their other work colleague, was already sitting in the same café who then left his table and approached them with a warm reception.

5.9.2. Script

1. **Haidar:** ↑ *Pea::ce* be upon you {*?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum*} ↑ welcome {*marħib'tajn*} (.)↑ how ar:e you?
2. **Faris and Samir:** ↑A::nd peace be upon you and God's mercy be upon you {*Wa ʕa'lajkum ?assa'la:m wa rahmatu 'lla:h*}(.) ↑ Praise be to Allah {*?al'ħamdu lilla:h*}
3. **Faris:** ↑ Welcome {*Mar'ħaba*}↑ How a:re you ↓ doing↑ Haidar?
4. **Haidar:** ↑ Very well ↑ Praise be to Allah {*?al'ħamdu lilla:h*} I am really fine {*Walla:hi 'bxajr*}

((The three of them approached the café bar to order their hot drinks))

5. **Faris:** ↑ I think I'll go for ↓ a macchiato
6. **Samir:** A::nd I'll ha::ve <a small latte>
7. **Haidar:** ↑A:nd a:: a large cappuccino for me ↓ please ((Haidar also grabbed a piece of chocolate gateau with his order))

((The three of them were together at the till, but Haidar was given the chance to make an offer to pay the bill))

8. **Haidar:** (0.5)

9. **Faris:** ((approached the café cashier and took out his wallet to pay the bill)) ↑ how much for all three ↓ please?
10. **Haidar:** ↑ >Wai- wait [↑ wait please< Faris ((taking out his wallet))
11. **Faris:** [NO ↑ I swear to God {walla:hi} ↓ it is Ok (.) I'm-
12. **Haidar:** >Here you go< my loyalty card ↑ to add the points on
13. **Faris:** ((surprised voice tone)) ↓ OK
- ((Faris made the total payment of the order and had the points added for Haidar))
14. **Haidar:** ↑ May Allah bless you {Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k}
- ((Haidar collected his order, and went back to his table, while Faris and Samir collected their items and sat down on another table and commented on Haidar's behaviour as appears in the following interaction))
15. **Faris:** ((in a humorous manner)) that is wa::y ↓ too:: much (0.3) >he even went back to his table without asking us to join him!<
16. **Samir:** Wh- what ° a boldness!° I thought he was going ↑ to pay the bill <especially when he grabbed that ↓ expe::nsive piece of ↓ chocolate gat(h)eau>
17. **Faris:** ↓ Let alone the cost (h) it was not a problem for me(.) but what added insult to injury <was his plain request to take his loyalty card and add the points on for him>that was to::tally [unexpected
18. **Samir:** [Same (h) here (.) I (.) I would maybe blame it back to too much modernity. I me- I mean he got too much modernised >to the point he forgot our norms of hospitality< But again if I were him (.) I would not do that
19. **Faris:** At least h- he should've initiated an offer to pay and I would've st- still paid for it(0.2)but I mean so he would've done his bit and saved himself from °embarrassment°

5.9.3. Analysis

Culturally speaking, when it comes to dining outdoors at cafés, restaurants, etc., the expected norm of etiquette is that the person who is at the place first is supposed to offer to pay the bill for his friends, relatives, or colleagues who joined after him.

Although Haider received Faris and Samir with a warm welcome, where both parties exchanged constructive religious and social rituals as is normatively expected, Haider behaved against the norm when it came to the second part, which is offering to pay the bill. Over turns 5, 6, 7, all three chose what they want to have. Faris and Samir's first-order understanding is that Haider was going to initiate an offer to pay the bill, but he did not. From the analyst's second-order understanding, Faris seems to find it face-threatening as they were in the same line at the till, but Haider did not make any attempt or offer to pay. Furthermore, Haider's silence and looks at Faris and Samir could be interpreted as a message from Haider that he is waiting for one of them to pay, which makes the situation more face-threatening to Faris and Samir. Therefore, Faris makes an initiative action to pay the bill, as can be seen in turn 9.

In turn 10, Haider's reaction of taking his wallet out and requesting Faris to wait seems to be understood by Faris as an attempt from Haider to pay the bill. From Faris's first-order understanding, Haider was expected to behave according to the norms of hospitality, i.e. offering to pay the bill. Therefore, he responded with the expected reaction in such a situation, which is refusing the first offer in the expectation that the other would make a second offer. However, in this case Haider has behaved completely against the expected norm and his reaction was a rather direct and more imperative request to add the points to his loyalty card, as can be seen in turn 12. Culturally speaking, Haider's behaviour is negative and could be interpreted as impolite. In turn 14, although Haider expressed his thanks both conventionally and ritualistically to Faris, he again behaved unexpectedly when he went back to his table instead of joining Faris and Samir on the same table, especially after making Faris pay for his items.

After Haider has left Faris and Samir, the interaction was more of a reflexive and evaluative discussion of Haider's behaviour. In Goffman's terminology, the interaction shifted from "frontage" to "backstage". In turn 15, from Faris's second-order understanding, what Haider

did was inappropriate behaviour. Although Faris perceived Haidar's behaviour negatively, he expressed that in a humorous, rather than a serious manner, which could be interpreted that he was shocked rather than offended. In turn 16, Samir's second-order understanding is clearly demonstrated in his comment, "What boldness! I thought he was going to pay the bill especially when he grabbed that expensive piece of chocolate gateau". This includes an evident use of metacomment "What boldness!" which is again a negative evaluation and means that he perceived the behaviour as impoliteness. In his reference to the expensive items, Samir is raising another significant norm, which is that from a cultural point of view if someone is expected to pay for your drinks or food bill, you would normally go for a reasonably priced item. Therefore, when Haidar picked up the expensive items, both Samir and Faris thought that he was going to pay the bill.

In turn 17, Faris's metcomment appears in his reference to the equivalent idiom of "add insult to injury", as well as Haidar's use of "plain request", and "that was totally unexpected" which all entails inappropriateness. In turn 18, Samir refers to the norm of hospitality and that Haidar's observance of such values could have been ruined by his modern lifestyle. From the analyst's second-order perspective, Samir's comment has an implicit affirmation that he sees that cultural and social values such as politeness and good manners are endangered by the modern lifestyle. Finally, in turn 19, Faris refers once again to Haidar's behaviour and makes it clear that making an offer regardless of whether it was sincere or not would have saved Haidar's face.

5.10. Interactional Example No (5.10)

5.10.1. Background

This exchange is between two friends, who will be referred to as Jawad and Ehsan, and Jawad was expecting important documents on Ehsan's postal address. This phone conversation also coincides with a religious event, i.e. Eid where Ehsan makes a dinner invitation to Jawad.

5.10.2. Script

1. **Ehsan:** ↑ Hell::o{*Mar 'haba*} Jawad ↑ May Allah keep you protected every year {*Kul ʕa:m winta 'bxajr*}
2. **Jawad:** ↑ A::nd you too {*winta 'bxajr*} ↑ May Allah give you good health {*Rabbi: jaʕt'i:k as's'iħħa*} God's willing {*?in 'fa:ʔalla:h*} you have a blessed Eid {*'ʕi:d 'muba:rak*}
3. **Ehsan:** It sounds like you are outdoors (0.3) I ca:n hear ↑>some noise in the background<
4. **Jawad:** ↑ Oh:: yes ↑ I came to say to Khalil blessed Eid {*'ʕi:d 'muba:rak*} a- a::nd he insisted to invite me for a barbecue
5. **Ehsan:** A::h what God wills {*Ma 'fa: ʔalla:h*} ↑that is great
6. **Jawad:** A:h yes rea:lly {*walla:hi*} nice (0.2) you know (.) ↑>good that you phoned me< I wanted to phone you earlier this morning (.) but I ran out of credit (.) Ibrahim phoned me a- a:nd he- said ↑ he told me that my documents have been received at my previous address (0.2) I- ↑ I asked him to post them t::o to ↑ your address ↑ it's a recorded mail (0.3) s::o I expect th- they will be with you tomorrow (.) before 1:00pm ↑ May Allah keep you for us {*'ʔalla:h jixalli:k*} >let me know< as soon as you receive them (0.2) even by a text message
7. **Ehsan:** No worries at all {*Mafi:f 'muʕkilah*} ↑ please be assured regarding the documents (.) I'll bring them with me on Monday (0.2) a:nd >if you are

desperate< and need them before that (.) I can bring them to you tomorrow (.) to your flat ↑ By the way (.) before I forget ↑ the main reason for my call was to say <have a blessed Eid {‘ʕi:d ‘muba:rak} to you a::nd ↑ invite you for dinner tomorrow> I- I also:: I have a friend coming from ↓ down South (0.2) a::nd I would like to have you for dinner an- to enjoy your company

8. **Jawad:** ↑ May Allah bless you {Ba:raka ‘?alla:hu fi:k} for the dinner invitation ↑ but you know (.) I can’t be out for two days in a row a- as (.) cause I so much need to have some rest (0.2) you know ↓ due to fatigue

9. **Ehsan:** ↑ May Allah <give you good health> {?in ‘fa:lla la:ba:s ʕa ‘lajk} I hope that you can make it (0.2) rea:lly {walla:hi} ↑ it would be great if you can ↓ make it (.) please think about it

((The next day, Jawad received a text message from Ehsan informing him that he had received his documents, while asking him if he could give the dinner invitation a second thought))

10. **Jawad:** Hell:o {Marhib ‘tajn} Ehsan

11. **Ehsan:** Hell::o {Mar ‘ħaba} Jawad

12. **Jawad:** ↑ Thank you {‘fukran} for informing me about receiving my documents (0.4) a::s <for the dinner invitation> (0.2) <I’ve told you last night ↓ I feel tired and need to rest (.) especially:: since- since I stayed until very late at Khalil’s ↓ last night (0.2) For the documents ↑ please bring them with- with you on Monday a::nd if you remember (.) bring me some of the fea::st food th- that would be goodness and blessing {xajr ?u Baraka}

13. **Ehsan:** Be assured (.) if God wills {?in ‘ja:ʔalla:h} I will do my best for you on Monday

14. **Jawad:** Okay:: we agree then

15. **Ehsan:** Yes yes if God wills {?in ‘fa:ʔalla:h} in Allah’s gua:rd {fi ‘ama:n ‘?illa:h}

16. **Jawad:** Be safe {*Maʕa 'ʔssala:ma*}

5.10.3. Analysis

This interaction begins with conventional and normative ritualistic greetings of Eid. Although these special greetings might not be perceived as marked politeness, if the speaker initiates any conversation on day of Eid before exchanging these special greetings, it would be perceived as impoliteness. Therefore, it is one of the most significant manifestations of ritualistic politeness. This is also emphasised in turn 4, when Jawad mentions that he visited his friend Khalil to say (Blessed Eid) and in turn 7 by Ehsan. Ritualistic politeness is also evident in turn 5 in Ehsan's use of the religious ritual (*Ma 'ʕa: ʔalla:h*) ((God wills)).

In turn 6, Jawad compliments the barbecue gathering at Khalil's just before shifting the topic to talk about his documents. From the analyst's second-order perspective, it is considered polite that Jawad did not refer to the documents at the beginning of the conversation particularly since Ehsan's main reason behind the call was to say "Blessed Eid" to Jawad and invite him for dinner. Although they are close friends, forms of politeness are evident among them, for instance, Jawad also introduced the topic with a full explanation before his request. That is to say, his request to Ehsan to bring the documents once they are received has taken a polite formula, especially through the use of the religious ritual (*'ʔalla:h jixalli:k*) ((May Allah keep you alive)).

In turn 7, Ehsan has kindly welcomed his friend's request and without showing any affectation, he further offers to bring the documents to him the next day. From the analyst's second-order perspective, Ehsan's behaviour is polite in terms of request approval, as well as the offer of help to his friend. Ehsan also makes a dinner invitation to Jawad using positive comments such as "I would like to have you for dinner and enjoy your company", treating him as a highly valued friend. However, the dinner invitation was refused by Jawad. From a second-order understanding, although it was somehow a direct refusal, Jawad expressed his appreciation through ritualistic politeness (*Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k*) ((May Allah bless you)). Similarly, Ehsan's response in turn 9 also includes evident use of ritualistic politeness (*'ʕa:lla la:ba:s ʕa'lajk*) ((May Allah give you good health)). Despite Jawad's refusal of the dinner invitation by providing a reason, Ehsan insists for him to accept the invitation using phrases like "(*Walla:hi*) ((Really)) it would be great if you can make it" and "Please think

about it". From the analyst's second-order perspective, emphasising the invitation in that way indicates sincerity and Ehsan's willingness to host Jawad during the special occasion of Eid.

Ehsan has further repeated his offer of dinner invitation to Jawad via the text message, while informing him about the receipt of his documents. He also tried to tempt Jawad and convince him to accept his dinner invitation using the idiomatic expression "Hit two birds with one stone", which is also another evidence of sincerity. In turns 10 and 11, Jawad and Ehsan exchange greetings over the phone. Then, Jawad thanks Ehsan using a conventional form of thanking, "thank you". However, he refuses Ehsan's dinner invitation for the second time, while adding another reason: "especially since I stayed until very late at Khalil's last night" to save face.

From the analyst's second-order perspective, among friends, providing reasons to refuse an offer or invitation reduces the negative impact of refusal. Jawad has also made a friendly request to Ehsan to bring him some food. From Jawad's first-order understanding, this could be interpreted as a rectification to the invitation refusal, since culturally speaking, sharing food is considered a blessing, and would make Ehsan happy. In the last four turns, there are different manifestations of politeness including ritualistic politeness, assurance and mutual agreement, and kind wishes.

5.11. Summary

The real-life interactions analysed in this chapter have supported the general hypothetical socio-cultural values that have been assumed to manifest the main dominant norms of Libyan politeness between different groups of friends. For example, it is considered polite between friends to offer help to each other even without being asked (Examples 5.2 and 5.10); defend each other in all situations (Examples 5.1, 5.5); lend each other money when in need or in hardship (Examples 5.2, 5.8); exchange regular visits and invitations as well as being there for one another in every occasion (Examples 5.3, 5.4, 5.6, 5.7, 5.9, 5.10); give lifts to other friends with no cars (Example 5.7); and pay the bill for other friends when dining in a restaurant (Example 5.9).

Chapter 6: Empirical Data Analysis Part 2: Family Interactions

Introduction

Family is often considered the smallest social unit in most of societies. Despite the fact that families in Libya are large in number, family ties in Libyan society draw their strength from the religious emphasis given to the parents, the mother figure in particular. From a social perspective, the mother plays a key role in the family structure, due to her unique social status in linking all the family members tightly to one another. In a rough sequence of importance, siblings, and grandparents come next, and then come the other extended family members.

Politeness among family members manifests itself in various forms, the most important norm being appreciating and respecting one's parents. This politeness norm has been highly emphasised in religion, which indeed helps in building cohesive and strong family relationships based on care, love, and appreciation. As appears in the following verses:

“Your Lord has ordered you to worship none except Him, and to be good to your parents. If either or both of them attain old age with you, do not say: "Fie on you", nor rebuke them, but speak to them with words of respect. And lower to them the wing of humbleness out of mercy and say: 'My Lord, be merciful to them, as they raised me since I was little” (Qur'an 17: 23-24).

"وَقَضَىٰ رَبُّكَ أَلَّا تَعْبُدُوا إِلَّا إِيَّاهُ وَبِالْوَالِدَيْنِ إِحْسَانًا إِمَّا يَبُلُغَنَّ عِنْدَكَ الْكِبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَا أَوْ كِلَاهُمَا فَلَا تَقُلْ لَهُمَا أُفٍّ وَلَا تَنْهَرهُمَا وَقُلْ لَهُمَا قَوْلًا كَرِيمًا. وَأَخْفِضْ لَهُمَا جَنَاحَ الذَّلِيلِ مِنَ الرَّحْمَةِ وَقُلْ رَبِّ ارْحَمْهُمَا كَمَا رَبَّيَانِي صَغِيرًا" (سورة الإسراء، 17: الآيات 23-24).

In these verses, Allah has made obedience to parents close to faith in obeying Allah. That is to say, Allah instructed mankind to be kind and courteous to one's mother and father, while emphasising the importance of doing so when they grow older too. This includes not showing them dissatisfaction, anger, or even the utterance "Fie on you", as well as not showing them any bad behaviour, either in form of speech or conduct. Thus, we find that the relationship between children and parents has the distinguishable features of great respect, love, and friendliness, which is in addition to being a special relationship, both emotionally and socially, and as emphasised earlier, is seen as part of obedience to Allah. In another verse, thanking parents is associated with thanking Allah.

“And We have charged man concerning his parents -- his mother bore him in weakness upon weakness, and his weaning was in two years -- 'Be thankful to Me, and to thy parents; to Me is the homecoming” (Qur’an 31:14).

"وَوَصَّيْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ بِوَالِدَيْهِ حَمَلَتْهُ أُمُّهُ وَهْنًا عَلَىٰ وَهْنٍ وَفِصَالُهُ فِي عَامَيْنِ أَنِ اشْكُرْ لِي وَلِوَالِدَيْكَ إِلَيَّ الْمَصِيرُ"
(سورة لقمان، 31 : الآية 14) "

Another norm of politeness that can be seen in Libyan families is respecting elder siblings. This norm is more evident in families of stronger tribal relations. For instance, it is impolite and inappropriate for the younger brother to raise his tone of voice while talking. Arguing in front of others is also considered against the norms of politeness. In some families, the level of respect and appreciation of the elder brother goes far, to the point that the younger would not get married before his elder, unless he sought his permission to do so. In some families, when the father passes away, the elder brother would be regarded by the rest of the family as the successor to their father in status. Therefore, he would be treated with appreciation and his decisions would be respected.

There is another important norm of politeness, which is manifested in mutual respect for and appreciation between spouses. However, due to social factors, such as avoiding the criticism of society, a husband would not normally show appreciation or affection to his wife in the form of exchanging endearing words, such as (ħabi:btı) ((My love)) or kisses, but would rather show that in a more formal manner, such as the use of religious rituals, e.g. (Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k) ((May Allah bless you)).

Politeness norms among couples in Libyan society can be also noticed in other manifestations, such as appreciating and caring for each other's families (mostly parents). A husband is also expected to assist his wife's family financially and support them when needed, otherwise, he would be evaluated as lacking etiquette and good manners. A well-mannered husband is also expected to help his wife in the household, as a form of respect and appreciation to his wife. Religiously speaking, The Prophet (PBUH) said: "The best of you are those who are best to their family ((meaning spouses and children)), and I am the best of you to my family". The nature of the relationship between family members governs the norms of politeness and the patterns of behaviour, as shown in the following examples.

6.1. Interactional Example No (6.1)

6.1.1. Background

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, as a norm of politeness the husband is expected to assist his wife's family financially and support them when needed. However, such an act may be evaluated differently by different people in terms of politeness understanding. While the husband, in the following interaction, considered what he had done for his wife's family as an expression of his thanks for their hospitality and his appreciation and belonging to them, the sister of his wife considered the whole situation to be totally unacceptable from her family's perspective. In this example, a family of four, namely a husband, wife, 5-year son and 2-year daughter are on a 4 week family visit to Libya where they usually spend some time at the wife's family house. The visiting family makes heavy use of the washing machine, since the kids' clothes require regular cleaning. One day, the washing machine broke down and the following interaction developed.

6.1.2. Script

The washing machine went out of order

1. **Wife:** I don't kno::w what is wrong with the washing machine (.) ↓May Allah keep his veil { 'jistur ?alla:h } ((uneasy voice tone)) (.) ↓I think it broke down
2. **Husband:** Really { Walla:hi } (.) ↓I believe we use it a lot and more than anyone else in the house and I think it would be a good gesture to buy them a new one as a replacement
3. **Wife:** emm ... yeah ... why not walla:hi (0.2) I think that will be a good idea
4. **Husband:** God's willing everything will be OK { ?in 'fa:lla xajr } (0.3) I will do my best to have it here by tomorrow if God wills { ?in 'fa:lla } so no one encounters any inconvenience
5. **Wife:** ↑Thank you { 'fukran } (0.2) May Allah protect you for me { ?alla:h i:xalli:k li:ja: }

The husband approached his brother-in-law (husband of his wife's sister) to seek assistance in buying a new washing machine.

6. **Husband:** ↑hello hello {*Marhib 'tajn*}, Almahdi, ↑how are you?
7. **Brother-in-law:** ↑hello hello {*Marhib 'tajn*} Ayoub (.) Praise be to Allah {*?al 'hamdu lilla:h*}(.) I am well, how are you and how are things?
8. **Husband :** I am fine(.) praise be to Allah {*?al 'hamdu lilla:h*} (0.3) God's willing {*?in 'fa:ʔallah*} all your family is doing well
9. **Brother-in-law:** Tru::ly blessed {*fi 'niʕma*} really {*walla:hi*}
10. **Husband:** Well:: {*Walla:hi*} I'm:: I'm wondering if you could do me a favour?
11. **Brother-in-law:** ↑Of course, please do
12. **Husband:** Would you (.) be able to accompany me to buy a new washing machine?
13. **Brother-in-law:** Yes.(.) my pleasure (0.2) and we can bring it in my car
14. **Husband:** May Allah bless you {*Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k*}(0.2) Being away (.) from the country for a bit long time(0.2) I think I will need your help and I am sure you are the one who can help me choosing the best option
15. **Brother-in-law:** O:::h thank you indeed {*'fukran walla:hi*}(.) and I will do my best (.) God's willing {*?in 'fa:ʔallah*}

They both went to the appliances shop and the husband bought a washing machine and they came back to install it at his wife's family house.

The husband's sister-in-law, who is the eldest sister of his wife, knew about the new washing machine and she blamed him harshly for buying them a new washing machine.

16. **Sister-in-law:** ↑HOW come (0.3) you bought us a washing machine
17. **Husband:** Yes Yes (0.2) I hope you will like it God's willing {*?in 'fa:ʔallah*}
18. **Sister-in-law:** >↑No ↑No ↑No ↑No< ↑I MEANT you SHOULD'VE NOT bought it (.) that's NOT acceptable at all
19. **Husband:** But (.) >we are staying with you and [we're using it the most<
20. **Sister-in-law:** [↑Even though (.) >you don't have to buy us a new washing machine<
21. **Husband:** That's... that's absolutely fine, you're like my family and that's exactly what I would've done if the same thing happens in my mother's house

The husband was surprised by his sister-in-law's reaction, so he later shared his feelings with his wife.

22. **Husband:** I really {*walla:hi*} think Salwa ((his sister-in-law)) took it with oversensitivity
23. **Wife:** Do not be upset {*Ma 'ta:xiðf 'sala ða:t'arak*}(0.2) That's because she considers us guests in a way (.) and doesn't want us to bear any expenses
24. **Husband:** I appreciate that (.) but at least she shouldn't talk to me in that way
25. **Wife:** I really {*walla:hi*} totally understand your feelings (0.2) <but she is like that (.) she doesn't like anyone else out of the family to buy anything>
26. **Husband:** But I don't consider myself as an outsider (.) We're staying comfortably with your family and I consider them just like my own family (.) I'm only worried that she might have understood that as a charity (.) and that's why she got irritated (0.2) I swear to God {*Walla:hi*} my intention was appreciation towards their hospitality and duty rather than anything else and you know this
27. **Wife:** No:: No::: (.) not at all (.) It's because they're u::sed that it's only my father (.) ↓may Allah have mercy upon him {*?alla:h 'jarhamah*} or my brothers would usually buy something for the house (0.2) Please let it go for now ((in a begging voice))
28. **Husband:** >I will let it go< (.) but this situation has put me down and I will start to take every single action very carefully before doing or saying anything
29. **Wife:** I ask you with Allah's name {*Sa?altak bil'la:h*} not to say so (0.2) ↓my family loves you and you are just like their son
30. **Husband:** it's okay {*Ma:fi: l ħal*}(.) ↓don't worry {*Ma:tfi:l:f 'ham*}

6.1.3. Analysis

The husband's first-order understanding, buying his in-laws (his wife's family) a new washing machine as a replacement is a positive action that should be appreciated. Culturally speaking, hospitality is considered a vivid manifestation of Libyan politeness where the host takes care of the guest from A to Z. Motivated by her Libyan culture, his sister-in-law however does not see it as appropriate from her point of view. From the analyst's second-

order perspective, on the one hand, the given cultural feature of hospitality is valued. But on the other hand, considering her brother-in-law as a guest creates a slight level of distance.

Continuing the analysis from a second-order perspective by looking into the other participant's attitude (i.e. the husband's), it is evident from the husband's actions that he treats his wife's family as his own family and he made it clear in the last turn in his conversation with his sister-in-law "that is absolutely fine, you are like my family and that is exactly what I would have done for my mother's", which is in itself a significant sign of politeness. Furthermore, the long term hospitality by his wife's family put some pressure on the husband, which in turn calls for an action of gratitude and the breakdown of the washing machine is considered by the husband a good opportunity to express this gratitude. Looking into the husband's reaction in part 4, one may note that he assumed that his contribution would be taken as a good sign of politeness and appreciation towards their hospitality.

Back to part 4, one may note the metacomments made by the husband in reference to his sister-in-law's behaviour. However, from the analyst's second-order analyst perspective, despite the face-threat and the negative feelings that the husband encountered while talking to his sister-in-law, he was somewhat observant in communicating his real feelings to his wife, i.e. describing the behaviour of his sister-in-law. He did not describe her reaction as being "rude" or "offensive" from his point of view, but he rather said "at least she should not talk to me in that way". From the analyst's second order-perspective, the husband found the way and style used by his sister-in-law inappropriate, particularly her prosody/intonation and the confrontational words she used to refuse the new washing machine. Being somehow indirect in describing her behaviour is polite, because he appreciates her as a valued family member, as well as being his wife's sister and the age factor is also highly respected by him.

The wife tried to calm the husband down, and at the same time, save her sister's face by giving reasons behind her behaviour such as "it is alright, that is because she considers us guests in a way and does not want us to bear any expenses", "I totally understand your feelings, but she is like that does not like anyone else out of the family to buy anything" and "They are used that it is only my father, may Allah have mercy upon him, or my brothers who would usually buy something for the house who are actually living here". However, the husband seems to take offence from the comment "someone else out of the family" and made

it clear that he considers himself part of her family. At the same time, the husband shows his consideration for his sister-in-law's feelings towards his action of buying a new washing machine by explaining his actions using the religious ritual of oathing "Walla:hi" to indicate how sincere he was: "I am only worried that she might have understood that as a charity! and that is why she got irritated I swear to God that my intention was appreciation towards their hospitality and duty rather than anything else".

From the analyst's second-order-perspective, it is evident that the husband likes to be appreciated as a valued family, rather than as an outsider. He did not get aggressive or rude at the fact of being considered as an outsider, but he became emotional as his expectations, from his own first-order-perspective, were not met. The wife tried to rectify the situation by using a constructive religious ritual to beg his forgiveness and not to say that he would take every single action very carefully before doing anything "I ask you with Allah's name not to say so, my family loves you and you are just like their son". One may note how important family connections are in Libya and valuing other extended family members as part of the main family is another factor that can impact on the different manifestations of politeness.

6.2. Interactional Example No (6.2)

6.2.1. Background

Mothers normally sacrifice their time, effort and personal things they value to their children as well as to their grandchildren. In this example, a son with his wife and baby daughter is visiting his mother in her flat. The son and his wife took advantage of the mother's good heart to solicit an offer from her in a polite way as illustrated in the following interaction.

6.2.2. Script

1. **Son:** ((pretending that he is talking to his baby daughter)) < we are taking this ((referring to the bouncer)) with us (0.3) oh yes my little baby (0.3) you like it don't you (0.2) Anything you like (.) you take it (0.2) Okay? mum's house means our house>

The son left the dining room

2. **Sister-in-law:** Well {*Walla:hi*} a::: actually(.) I am thinking to get her one
3. **Mother-in-law:** Will you? (0.2) Are you thinking of Rami's? ((Rami is the sister-in-law's brother and he is also married and has a one year old baby who might not need the bouncer anymore)) I think it is a good one and still in a good condition
4. **Sister-in-law:** I really:: {*walla:hi*} don't think so (0.3) Rami said they didn't like it (.) It was such an expensive one and his baby didn't seem comfortable in it
5. **Mother-in-law:** They're a::ll the same (.) aren't they?
6. **Sister-in-law:** a::h yes (.) but I:: I think it was a bit long (.) and it didn't rock nicely
7. **Mother-in-law:** ah (0.2) I see
8. **Sister-in-law:** Oh (.) she's smiling
9. **Mother-in-law:** She's so:: cute, isn't she? (0.3) Which Go::d wills {*ma 'fa: ?allah*}

6.2.3. Analysis

From the analyst's second-order understanding, the son uses the baby to tease his mum and emotionally blackmail her in order to solicit an offer from her in a polite way. The sister-in-law continued her husband's attempt by hinting that she might need to buy a similar baby-bouncer to draw the attention of her mother-in-law to offer them her one. Looking into turns 5, 7 and 9, the mother-in-law's reaction could be interpreted in two different senses; she might have received their hint but chooses to ignore it intentionally, or she does not get the hint in the first place. Culturally speaking, it is usually quite expected to offer things to those who like them, but they in return are not supposed to take that, especially if it is a special or an expensive item. From the analyst's second-order understanding, the sister-in-law in this example found herself in an awkward situation so she directed the attention to the baby to save her face, and the topic shift was successful.

6.3. Interactional Example No (6.3)

6.3.1. Background

The following interaction occurred between a recently-married couple. Before their wedding, the husband (Ahmed) bought everything his marital home needed including furniture and kitchen appliances; however, he struggled to get a family fridge. This example shows how family members stand for each other, especially in such a situation, where the newly married couple suffered to get some basic things, e.g. a fridge which at that time was not easily available in the market. Here we find that one of the husband's brothers offered them his spare mini-fridge as a marriage gift and as an expression of respect and appreciation from brother to his brother and sister-in-law. We also find that the wife's father offered them a family-fridge, which he was keeping for his son who was a political prisoner then, but he sacrificed it in order to help the newly married couple and as an expression of love and appreciation from father to his daughter and son-in-law.

6.3.2. Script

1. **Ahmed:** By the way (.) Sawsan ((*Ahmed's sister*)) told me that your family got a big boxed fridge
2. **Arwa:** Ah:: (.) em:: (.) Well {*Walla:hi*} (0.2) but a:: that's Ibrahim's ((Arwa's brother)) (.) My parents are saving it for him once he gets out of prison safely God's willing {*bis 'sala:ma ?in 'fa:lla*}
3. **Ahmed:** >Okay then< that's understandable (.) but may Allah protect you {*?allah i:xalli:k*} do not complain about the mini fridge as that's what we will be using all the way long
4. **Arwa:** God's willing {*?in 'fa:lla xajr*} (0.3) everything will be OK (.) I will see what we can do
(Arwa is at her parents in her first visit to them after her marriage. She will talk to them about the possibility of having her brother's boxed fridge)
5. **Father:** ↑ how a::re you, Arwa?
6. **Arwa:** We're blessed {*Fi 'niḥma*} (0.2) praise be to Allah {*?al 'ḥamdu lilla:h*}

7. **Mother:** Praise be to Allah {?al'hamdu lilla:h}(0.3) May Allah bless you handsomely {*Rabbi 'jezi:dak min 'fad'lah*}
8. **Arwa:** Despite the current hard financial situation (.) Ahmed is doing his best to provide everything we need
9. **Father:** Are you sure (.) you don't need anything Arwa?
10. **Arwa:** May Allah bless you {*Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k*} my father and may Allah grant you and my mother long life {?*in fa:lla rabbi 'jet'a 'wil fi sumrak au sumr ?ummi*}(0.3) Everything is Ok (.) we're just struggling a bit with our mini fridge especially in this hot summer
11. **Father:** ↑Why didn't you tell me (0.2) You can have Ibrahim's one and ↑God's willing when he comes back safely (0.2) ↓God's blessings are plentiful {?*in fa:lla 'lamma: jird bissala:ma 'ja:ma: find ?allah min 'xajr*}
12. **Arwa:** May Allah bless you and your health {?*alla:h 'j:ba:rik fi:k ?u fi s'ihlak*} dad (.) but he:: would need to use it once he's back God's willing {?*in 'fa:alla:h*}(0.3) plea:::se do not worry we can manage
13. **Father:** >Don't worry about Ibrahim now (.)< we'll get him another one when he comes back safely God's willing {?*in 'fa:alla:h*}. ↑Where's Ahmed?
14. **Arwa:** I think he's on his way
(*After a while, Ahmed arrives at his father- and mother-in-law's house*)
15. **Ahmed:** ↑Peace be ↑upon you {?*assa 'la:mu sa 'lajkum*}
16. **Father, Mother and wife:** And may Allah's pea::ce and blessings be upon you {*Wa sa 'lajkum ?assa 'la:m wa rahmatu 'lla:*}
17. **Father and Mother:** ↑how are you, Ahmed?
18. **Ahmed:** Praise be to Allah {?al'hamdu lilla:h} (.) hope you're a::ll well. How's everyone doing?
19. **Father:** Praise be to Allah {?al'hamdu lilla:h} ↓my son, we are a::ll blessed {?*niama*}(0.2) I was just talking with Arwa about the spare fridge (0.2) of course you can have it and use it (.) It's all yours
20. **Ahmed:** I really:: {*walla:hi*} don't know what to say
21. **Mother:** You don't need to say anything (.) son
22. **Ahmed:** May Allah reward you handsomely and grant you long life {?*alla:h idza:zi:kum ?ilxajr wi t'a 'wil fi sumrkum*}

23. **Father:** >You can also use my land-rover to take the fridge home<
24. **Ahmed:** That's very kind of you (0.2) May Allah bless you both for everything {*ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:kum*}
25. **Arwa:** God bless you {*Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k walla:hi*} (0.2) May Allah protect you and grant you long life {*Rabbi 'jahfaðʕkum wi tʕawi:l fi ʕumrkum*}

6.3.3. Analysis

The husband (Ahmed) wanted to buy his wife (Arwa) a family size fridge before the wedding, but it was difficult to get one due to the country's financial problems at that time. So from a second-order-perspective, his hint about having her brother's boxed fridge was quite justifiable, therefore, it is not impolite. However, from the reaction of the wife and her use of hesitation remarks, one could note that from her first-order perspective, she finds her husband's statement, which was closer to a hint than an indirect request, somewhat face-threatening.

That is to say, although the husband expressed his interest in her brother's boxed fridge in a very indirect way that occasions politeness, she still perceives it differently due to the sensitivity of her brother's situation. One may also note that the wife was thinking about her parents' feelings and that she might upset them if she asks for the fridge, which is clearly reflected in her response to her husband's wondering statement. The husband's hint could be interpreted in two ways. He either does not know about the fact that the boxed fridge belongs to his wife's imprisoned brother and he thought that they could borrow it or he knows that fact, but due to the country's long-term problem he thought that trying would not cause any emotional damage. In both cases, the husband's behaviour is within the scales of politeness.

After the husband's first unsuccessful attempt to get his wife to solicit an offer from her parents for the boxed fridge, he tries again, in turn 3, but by leaving the matter to her through the use of emotional blackmailing in order to put her under pressure and more importantly without harming her feelings. From the analyst's second-order perspective, caring for another's feelings and emotions is a significant manifestation of politeness and this is notable throughout this example (and other examples) particularly in the wife's reaction and her implicit thought about her parents' feelings, and also through the husband's, who has carefully selected his words when talking to his wife, despite the fact that in both cases the relationship

is very close and intimate and being straight forward or plain in asking for something could be simultaneously expectable and acceptable.

In turn 4, observing the wife's silence and her promising reply, one may say that the husband's second attempt was successful. From the analyst's second-order perspective, what you can successfully achieve through politeness, whether strategic or not, is much greater than what you are likely to achieve through imperatives or even shouting (louder prosody). Another interaction takes place between the wife and her parents, and here we can examine another level of relationship (parents and daughter), which from the analyst's point of view is very deep and affectionate, but at the same time more formal than a husband and wife relationship. Formality usually encodes distance between the participants,; however, in this case it entails deference and respect, rather than distance. Family members and parents in particular are appreciated at all levels. Apart from the social culture that emphasises the valuable importance of one's family, religion also lays a great emphasis on appreciating and being kind to parents (verse), both in terms of spoken word and conduct.

In the parents and daughter's conversation, one may also observe the evident use of ritualistic politeness by both sides, and also by their son-in-law, who joined them at the end of the conversation with phrases like "Thank God", "May Allah prosper you and bless you more and more", "Allah bless you", "May Allah prosper and grow your good deeds," and "May Allah protect you". It is worth mentioning that the style of talk and therefore the way politeness is manifested differs from one situation to another, which is apparently influenced by the type of relationship, topic, and context.

In reference to the topic, from her first-order understanding, the daughter seems to find it difficult to ask her parents about having the boxed fridge, so she took an indirect and very implicit line regarding her desire to have the fridge. From the analyst's second-order perspective, it is true that indirectness does not always entail politeness, however, the daughter's indirectness here does entail politeness and consideration for her parents' feelings towards her brother, who is away in prison (which could be considered emotional for them).

Despite the fact that the father asked her more than once if everything is fine (therefore unintentionally making it easier for her to ask for the boxed fridge), the daughter hinted about her desire only in turn 5 in part 2. Not only that, her hint about the mini-fridge with reference

to the hot summer has successfully solicited an offer from her father, who kindly offered them the boxed fridge in turn 6. The son-in-law only joined at the end of the interaction, but it is apparently overwhelming for him and he expressed his thanks and appreciation through the use of constructive religious rituals.

6.4. Interactional Example No (6.4)

6.4.1. Background

Fathi lives in a small town that is closer to the countryside, so whenever he needs to do shopping or get something done, he drives to the city. Fathi used to take his wife (Samar) with him so she can spend some time with Fathi's family or with one of her married sisters who as well live in this city. In this situation, Fathi went to the city with his wife and left her at her eldest sister's house. This time, and after Fathi finished his errands in the city, he came back to pick up his wife, but knocked at the door and no one answered. Fathi guessed that Samar must have gone to her younger sister's house, which was only a stone's throw away from her eldest sister's. However, he felt that his wife behaved against their conventional agreement, he becomes furious and walks down to her younger sister's house.

The following interaction illustrates how the wife's sisters tried to calm the angry husband by reminding him with some of the common politeness norms that he should observe instead of reacting that way, e.g. it was a special occasion, where his wife's sister (Sana), the new bride, was visiting her sisters for the first time after her marriage, and her husband (Jabir), should be treated politely as he is a new family member who is visiting his sisters-in-law for the first time.

6.4.2. Script

1. **Fathi:** ((in unpleasant tone)): >Peace be upon you< {*?assa 'la:mu ʕa 'lajkum*}
2. **All:** And pea::ce and God's mercy be upon you {*Wa ʕa 'lajkum ?assa 'la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:h*}(.) ↑welcome {*mar'ḥaba*} Fathi, ↑help yourself on what's available {*Tafadʕal ʕa 'laj ma: dʒi:t*} to the tea and homemade sweets
3. **Sawsan** (Samar's eldest sister): God's willing everything's OK {*Khair ?in ʕa:lla*} Fathi?
4. **Sana (Samar's youngest sister):** ((in a begging voice)) I ask you for the sake of God to forgive us {*Bi 'lla:hi ʕalajk 'tsa:mi ḥna*} I'm so::rry Fathi (.) it was me who asked Samar to come here (0.2) as this is my first time here after marriage (0.3) a::nd you know (.) > I thought it will be nice if she can join all of us to have tea together< (0.2) as you know we:: haven't seen each other for quite long

5. **Fathi:** ((no word being uttered))
6. **Sana:** I know that you always wanted to find Samar in the place you left her at (.) but I told her as I'm a newly married bride (.) Fathi will appreciate this
7. **Fathi:** ((pointing at Sana's husband 'Jabir' angrily)) >DO YOU SEE THIS ONE< (.) ↑you can ask or convince him WITH WHATEVER YOU WANT >but ((pointing at his wife "Samar")) ↑this one (.) is MY OWN WIFE and I said to her (.) not e::ven said but we wrote together in our marriage agreement that wherever I drop her, I must find her and she SHOULD NOT LEAVE it except to grave or to her father's home
8. **Samar:** Don't you think that you're bringing out all personal stuff (0.3) please calm down
9. **Fathi:** GLORY TO ALLAH {*Subḥā:n 'ʔalla:h*} (.) I WILL HAVE A WORD WITH YOU LATER
10. **Sundus (Samar's middle sister):** I ask you with Allah's name {*Saʔaltak bil'la:h*} to calm down Fathi (.) at least for Jabir ((the groom)) who's visiting our house for the first time (0.3) Instead of making him feel welcomed you made him embarrassed
11. **Fathi:** ↑Well {*Walla:hi*} ↑this is what me and her agreed about; and ↑agreement is agreement
12. **Jabir:** ((silent))

6.4.3. Analysis

Looking into the opening of this interaction, one may note that manifestations of ritualistic politeness particularly the obligatory ones do not completely disappear even in the most awkward situations. That is to say, from the analyst's second-order perspective, although Fathi was angry at the moment of getting into his sister-in-law's house, he used the religious/social ritual "?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum" to greet everyone. The family also responded politely using the full version of "Wa ʕa'lajkum ʔassa'la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:hwa", while welcoming him using the social constructive greeting "Mar'ḥaba" which is the equivalent of "Welcome".

In turn 3, the eldest sister (Fathi's sister-in-law) used another religious/social ritual 'xajr ?in 'ja:lla' ((God's willing, everything is OK)) to ask Fathi if there is anything wrong. Culturally speaking, when you see someone in an unsettled condition, e.g., angry, worried, looking unwell, or scared, it is more polite to use the phrase " xajr ?in 'ja:lla" than just saying what is wrong? So from a second-order perspective, despite the fact that Fathi's anger was apparent to the family and his reaction is not going to be an expected one, he received the most affectionate reception as a valued family member.

In turn 4, the younger sister, Sana, tried to apologise to her brother-in-law, Fathi, in order to absorb his anger and save her sister's face. She also tried to give reasons by saying that it was her who asked her sister, Samar, to come along with them to Sundus's house, especially since she was newly married and has not seen Samar for quite long. From the analyst's second-order perspective, Sana behaved with politeness and consideration towards her brother-in-law in an attempt to save the situation. However, her attempt was unsuccessful as indicated by Fathi's long silence in turn 5, who does not seem to appreciate what Sana said.

In turn 6, Sana tried further to justify Samar's visit to Sundus' by telling Fathi how she appreciates the fact that he does not like Samar to go anywhere without seeking his permission, and further admitting that it was her own idea to invite Samar there. Furthermore, from Sana's first-order understanding, Fathi will appreciate the fact that she was a newly married bride, and he would let it go for her sake. From a second-order perspective, Sana's expectation was that she would be valued by her brother-in-law not only as his wife's sister, but also as newly married. However, as one may see in turn 7, that Fathi's reaction failed to meet her expectation, since he behaved completely out of the expected norm which is to forgive what happened for Sana's sake.

In turn 7 and after a long silence (mixed with anger), Fathi let off steam not only verbally, but also physically. Pointing at someone, while angry, is usually perceived as impolite because it is an attacking manner towards the other, especially when they are expected to be valued, as is the case here. Fathi's angry reactions reached even Sana's husband, Jabir, who did not interfere at all. So from a second-order understanding, offence is represented in attacking both Sana and her husband. However, from Fathi's first-order perspective, his aggressive behaviour is justifiable on the ground that despite the fact that there is a conventional

agreement between himself and his wife, Samar, which includes that she should stay where he asked her to stay, Samar went to her other sister's house without seeking his permission. Therefore, as a man of his word, Fathi felt that Samar behaved against his will, that is, without seeking his permission. Fathi further used an unflavoured phrase to indicate his unhappiness about Samar's behaviour "wherever I drop her, I must find her and she should not leave it except to grave or to her father's home".

In other words, his wife is not allowed to go anywhere without his permission, only if she died or they were divorced, implying unquestioned obedience. Culturally speaking, divorce for a woman means to leave her husband's house to her parents' home. From a second-order perspective, such a phrase is emotionally heartbreaking for the wife, since she feels threatened and unappreciated by her husband, especially if what she has done from her own understanding is not as serious as he thinks. Samar's face-threat in front of her family is obvious from her reaction in turn 8 "Do not you think that you are bringing out all personal stuff; please calm down".

Thus, from Samar's first-order understanding, her husband's behaviour, which was driven by anger, went far beyond her expectation to violate the norms of politeness. Her attempt to calm Fathi down has not only failed, but also caused her a further face-threat as can be seen in turn 9 "I will have a word with you later". Fathi's response indicates a verbal threat, or a warning, to his wife that he is unhappy about her initial behaviour. So again, in Fathi's first-order understanding, if Samar did not act inappropriately in the first place, they would have avoided all this inconvenience; he shifts the blame from himself to her. From a second-order perspective, triggered by his anger, Fathi over-reacted towards the whole family, where he could have saved his face and his wife's by postponing the issue until they leave. But again, that might be unavoidable in the case of anger, as he would still need to let it off.

In turn 10, Samar's middle sister's interference in calming Fathi down and drawing his attention to Jabir's (the groom) presence was somehow unsuccessful. From the analyst's second-order understanding, Sundus used the religious ritual 'Sa?altak bil'la:h' ((I ask you with Allah's name)), which occasions politeness, to ask Fathi to calm down and also reminding him that he should at least be considerate to him as a new family member and make him feel welcomed. One may also observe that Sundus here appreciates Fathi as a

valued family member whose behaviour against Jabir, who was embarrassed and face-threatened, is in the face of the whole family. However, as can be seen in turn 11, although Fathi's prosody seems to go down a bit, he is still emphasising, while using a religious ritual, that his wife should have observed their agreement.

6.5. Interactional Example No (6.5)

6.5.1. Background

As the husband works full-time from 9 am to 5 pm (commuting to work), it is usually his wife who takes their kids, 4 years old daughter (Reem) and 7 years old son (Rami) to school. As Reem is still at the pre-school stage, the wife takes her along with her brother to the same school every morning using the bus, but has to go back and pick her up at a different time 13:15. Then, she has to go back and pick up their son at 15:30. The following interaction took place the night before the husband's day off from work. Manifestations of politeness in this example are represented in the mutual appreciation between the husband and wife as well as the sincere attempts of each of them to bear the burden of taking kids to school instead of the other.

6.5.2. Script

1. **Husband:** ↑ By the way (.) since you're struggling with your knee (.) I'll take the kids to the school tomorrow ↑ you better have some rest (0.2) <a- a::nd anyway I'll be awake at that time>
2. **Wife:** ↑ No:: you should stay and relax (0.2) I will take the kids (.) at least you can feel the holiday and stay in bed you have been longing for such a morning sleep for a long time
3. **Husband:** May Allah bless you {?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k}, but I do not think that I will be able to sleep any longer once everyone is awake
4. **Wife:** I will be awake in the morning anyway as I have to make the breakfast for the kids and dress them up. You know I can't go back to sleep after waking up not like you, you can sleep at any time, God wills {ma 'fa: ?alla:h}

((In the following morning, the wife managed to convince her husband to stay and have some sleep, while she took the kids to the school. He could not go back to sleep, but at least he relaxed for some time. It was almost 11 am when it started to rain heavily and the husband decided that he is going to pick up Reem from school at 13:15 to save his wife from doing this

journey, but he had an eye appointment at 12:55, which means that he might be late at the optician and could not be on time to pick up his daughter from school))

5. **Husband:** It's a pity that my eye test appointment is at 12:55 (0.3) I would've picked Reem up (.) and saved you from this journey (.) in this miserable weather
6. **Wife:** No it's OK (.) I'll pick her up (0.2) I'm used to these journeys
7. **Husband:** You know wha::t. ↑Let me go to the optician now (.) >and see if they can postpone it for me to 14:00<
8. **Wife:** ↑It's true (.) (h) Reem will be ve::ry happy if you pick her up (0.2) but there is no need to reschedule your appointment (.) just keep it as it's
9. **Husband:** ↑No:: it is OK I swear to God {*walla:hi*} (0.2) I'll go to the optician right now (.) and if I manage to postpone the appointment >then I'll pick her up from the school<

((The husband managed to postpone his eye test appointment and went back home))

10. **Husband:** ((happily)) ↑Hello:: {*Mar 'ħaba*} Maisa ((his wife's name)).
11. **Wife:** Hello Hello {*Marħib 'tajn*}
12. **Husband:** ↑Yes (0.2) I've managed to postpone it (0.3) so just relax I'll pick the kids up today
13. **Wife:** ↑Thank you:: indeed {*'fukran walla:hi*}(0.2) May Allah protect you for me {*?allah i:xalli:k lija:*}

6.5.3. Analysis

In turn 1, the husband is being considerate or in second-order terms “*polite*”, to his wife by offering to take the kids to the school on his day off. From the analyst's second-order perspective, the husband's offer is sincere, particularly since he provided a number of reasons to convince his wife with his offer so she can relax. Firstly, he referred to her health condition, and secondly, he tried to indicate that it is not an issue, by saying that he will be awake anyway; in other words, minimising his own efforts.

Similarly, the wife in turn 2 is being considerate and polite by asking her husband to relax on his day off. From a first-order understanding, the wife recognises how tired her husband is from waking up early and commuting to his workplace every day, so she tried to convince him to have a rest while she takes the kids to the school.

In turn 3, the husband appreciates his wife's consideration, using a combination of constructive religious/social rituals 'ʔalla:h 'j:barik fi:k' ((God bless you)) to thank her. Simultaneously, he gave her another reason in order to convince her to accept his offer. His wife, in turn 4, does not refuse his offer, but likewise tried to give more reasons in order to show her willingness to take the kids to the school. Another manifestation of ritualistic politeness appears in this turn, 'ma 'ja: ʔalla:h' ((which God wills)), when the wife refers to her husband's remarkable ability to continue his interrupted sleep at any time. This social ritual has religious roots, especially since it is believed to protect from the 'evil eye' when complimenting or praising someone or something.

In part 2 of the husband and wife's conversation, and after she took the kids to the school, the husband finds himself in two minds. He wants to save his wife from another journey during the heavy rain, but he has an eye appointment. Historicity plays a role here, that is, from the husband's first-order understanding, his wife has kindly taken the kids to the school so that he can enjoy his day off. Therefore, in return, he wanted to further thank her in action by picking them up. However, his eye appointment coincides with their daughter's end of the school day. Manifestations of politeness here are represented in the husband's appreciation of his wife, as well as his sincere attempt to save her from going out in the rain. One may see that over turns 5 and 7, although he might have known that his wife would understand the situation he is in and that he has to be on time for his appointment, he tried hard to explain why he might be unable to pick up Reem from the school: "it is raining heavily today. Ah, but the problem is my eye appointment... my appointment is 12:55, and Reem finishes at 13:15. But if I did not have this appointment, I would have saved you from this journey and picked her up instead".

From a second-order understanding, the wife seems to appreciate her husband's situation, however, her short answer in turn 6, "No, it is OK" and the statement "I am used to these journeys", could be interpreted as an attempt to solicit an offer from her husband to pick up

their daughter by mentioning how happy Reem will be if he does. In turn 7, the wife's neutral reaction in turn 6 seems to be successful, as her husband offers to go and try to postpone his appointment. In turn 8, his wife implicitly showed her reluctance to refuse the offer, but did not directly refuse it. However, the husband insisted to do that, and he was also further affirmative in his offer, which could be perceived as an element of sincerity.

In turn 10 and after the husband has managed to postpone his appointment, one may note that the husband's happiness confirms the earlier observation regarding his sincere/honest offer to postpone his appointment and save his wife from a rainy journey. Finally, his wife in the last turn seems to appreciate his act by using a conventional form of thanking and religious/social ritual of appreciation.

6.6. Summary

The real-life interactions analysed in this chapter, have supported the general hypothetical socio-cultural values that have been assumed to manifest the main dominant norms of Libyan politeness among family members. For example, it is considered polite and considerate that the husband assists his wife's family financially and supports them when needed (Example 6.1); a mother sacrifices personal things that she values to her children (Example 6.2); family members stand for each other, particularly in a situation when one individual is in need of support (Example 6.3); husband and wife show mutual appreciation and respect (Example 6.5).

Chapter 7: Empirical Data Analysis Part (3): Tribal Interactions

Introduction

Libyan society can be described as a tribal-based society. The tribe has and continues to have significant social weight in most parts of Libya, whereas it has almost disappeared in some other parts, especially within the big cities, where people co-exist under the state system. However, even in these cities, the concept of the tribe has returned strongly to the stage, due to the current political conflict in Libya, as well as the lack of the state's role in maintaining safety and security. Therefore, people resort to the tribe umbrella to offer them some protection. The nature of the relationship between the state and the tribe is not part of my study, but I explore Libyan politeness norms and relational rituals through looking into the tribe's role in maintaining social interactions and resolving conflicts among tribes or tribe members as they occur in real life interactional encounters.

A tribe is a social network that belongs mostly to one ethnic origin, and at the head of each tribe there is “the Shaikh of the tribe”, who manages and runs its internal and external affairs. The Shaikh of the tribe has particular authority or power over the rest of the tribe. The Shaikh is often the oldest among the group, but there are also other important characteristics than age for him to lead the tribe, such as reputation, honesty, wisdom, stamina, courage, smartness, and other qualities of statesmanship. He should also have the ability of problem solving and crisis management. However, it is worth mentioning that the tribe's Shaikh is usually chosen from a certain family of the tribal network.

On the one hand, the tribal Shaikh has key duties, such as representing the tribe in a good manner and offering wise leadership so that the tribe can achieve its interests and meet its needs, containing or embracing all intellectual levels of the tribal members and resolving any problems or fights that may arise among them or with other tribe members, without favouring one party over another. On the other hand, he has rights over others, such as to be obeyed, highly respected, appreciated, and dignified by both elders and younger. Also, no one should interrupt him when speaking, either internally among his group, or publicly among other groups. He has to be served first during food or tea servings, unless he chooses to favour an

older or other person over himself, and furthermore, his group members must lower down their prosody or voice tone when talking to him as a sign of respect.

With reference to dispute resolution, the tribe's Shaikh is also responsible for representing his tribe in the event of a dispute between tribes or their members, which usually takes a form of peace-making gathering called 'ʔalmi:ʕad' or 'ʔalmsa:r'. 'ʔalmi:ʕad' is a customary council where a tribal rally of the concerned parties takes place in order to discuss the problem and reach a resolution, sometimes after a considerable debate and bargaining to end a conflict between the offender and the victim in the testimony of other tribes. Once the decision or a resolution is pronounced and agreed upon, it becomes binding for all. In some occasions and for the sake of keeping its good reputation, a tribe may disavow and dissociate itself from the wrong doers or those who act against the tribal norms and social values, such as lack of respect, harming others, or committing criminal acts. This action of disavowing usually takes place in a public gathering in the presence of the tribe's Shaikh and other notables, where the concerned individuals and their families are warned and informed formally of this decision. Then, this decision is circulated among all the tribes, as well as the state authorities, so that the tribe of the concerned individual is not held responsible for his unacceptable behaviour or inappropriate acts.

Arab tribes and Libyan tribes in particular are renowned for a number of social values and norms throughout history. I shall refer to those relevant to politeness and good manners, and these include but are not limited to, preserving the status of the tribe in its Shaikh, showing respect to elders as well as members of high status, offering hospitality and the highest levels of generosity to guests, appreciating and helping one another in all life situations, intolerance of taboo, and using euphemisms and idiomatic language, rather than direct and plain phrases.

Even though some of these normative values (or the way they are manifested) have changed over time, they still have a significant impact on people's daily life practices and relationships, since such norms play a significant role in governing the behaviour of tribe members and in their relations with one another, either on the level of the individual or the group. For example, hospitality or generosity is an evident normative value among other norms. It is a key feature of almost all Arab societies, as well as many other societies. However, tribes usually give extra importance to hospitality and preserving it is considered a

norm. It manifests itself in various forms, such as welcoming and receiving guests any time, whether it is day or night, offering sacrificed sheep and serving the best food. If a guest is travelling and passes by a group who is eating, he joins them for food without any invitation and no one is allowed to ask him for the reason behind his visit, only after three days of hospitality have passed.

Although generosity might not be the same as it was in the past in most of the areas in question, particularly in larger cities (due to lifestyle changes), the meaning of generosity is still deeply rooted among tribal members and inherited from one generation to another. For instance, if an individual runs across someone he knew previously and who comes from a different city, he has to invite him for a meal and even to sleep over at his home; it will be very embarrassing to the host if the guest insisted on staying the night in a hotel, since he will be considering himself remiss in the duty of hospitality. The same applies if an acquaintance (or otherwise) passes by someone close to his house - the latter has to invite him to his house even for a tea or coffee, if the guest cannot stay for a meal of course, after numerous attempts of offering a meal have been refused (i.e., tea or coffee only comes as a last resort).

Libya's tribal influence is remarkable in many different aspects of life. At the level of solidarity, social occasions such as weddings and funerals enjoy a high level of tribal support, be it financial, moral or otherwise. This tribal impact also extends towards the level of conflict resolution and peace-making among different tribes through a unique practice called 'almi:ʕad', as defined earlier. This influence maximises itself at a political level, as well as where some tribes support and vote for their members in order to win some political positions during elections. It goes without saying that most of the tribal gatherings witness some conflict among different generations. This also involves some cases where the tribal traditions overcome their religious beliefs. Needless to say, all these tribal practices and traditions control the conventional norms of politeness among tribes at both individual and group levels, as presented in the examples below.

7.1 Interactional Example No (7.1)

7.1.1 Background

This interaction represents a case of how the norms of Libyan politeness are manifested in speech and conduct. It takes place in a wedding feast, in which a group of 4 guests who belong to different generations sit together around the same meal plate, and the following conversation took place.

7.1.2 Script

1. **Haj Saad:** In the name of Allah {*bism 'illa:h*}(.) please help yourselves to food
2. **Abdallah:** I swear to God {*Walla:hi*}(.) we won't start before you
3. **Haj Saad:** ↑God bless you {*?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k*} and May Allah make your social status even higher {*?alla:hi kabbir miqda:rak*}

Haj Saad started eating first, while expecting himself to be offered the most decent piece of meat (lamb shoulder). It happened that this particular piece of meat is placed by chance in front of one of the youngsters (Faraj). Haj Saad continued his meal and waited until the time of serving refreshments, tea and almonds on this occasion, where according to stereotypical Libyan tribal culture, it is expected that he would be served ahead of the rest. The Tea Attendant was well aware of serving traditions so he started with Haj Saad. However, Haj Saad refused to take the cup of tea and asked him loudly, so he can be heard by everyone in the gathering to serve Faraj first:

4. **Tea Attendant:** Please do have {*Tafad'al ja: ha:j*} ↑the tea O Haj
5. **Haj Saad:** ↑Well (0.2) start serving this man ((meaning Faraj)) <who swallowed the shoulder piece of meat without respecting neither elderly nor wise men {*Ma:lad la kabi:r u'la sa:qla*}>

7.1.3 Analysis

This situation occurs in a particular social occasion, i.e. wedding, and in order to follow it simply, one has to take the following points into consideration: (1) the main food or meal in such occasions is rice with lamb, particularly in the Eastern region of Libya where this incident happened; and it is usually served in a large deep plate for each group of 4 people; (2) the rice is topped with 4 large-sized pieces of lamb/mutton. Although they are of approximately the same size, lamb shoulder has its own significance; (3) such a gathering usually includes different generations who belong to different sub-cultures. Thus, they may interpret the same action differently. Whilst the older generations stick to normative traditions, the younger generations may not observe these norms nor take them seriously. Therefore, if the younger violate these values, the elderly will consider it as a sign of impoliteness or disrespect; (4) one of the tribal customary traditions of the Libyan society in social occasions is that the elderly people or those of a highly ranked social status are usually given priority “by convention” in terms of appreciation. They therefore might be served with the best type of food, e.g. finest piece of meat, and when it comes to refreshments and drinks, they are usually served as the first person in the gathering.

From a first-order understanding, Haj Saad expected himself (by convention) to be served respectfully by the group, by offering him the most decent piece of meat (lamb shoulder). However, as it happened, the shoulder piece was placed in front of one of the youngsters (Faraj) who picked it up and ate it. Haj Saad’s reaction in turn 5 made it clear that he perceived Faraj’s act of eating the shoulder piece instead of offering it to him as impolite. From a second-order understanding, Haj Saad’s reaction of refusing to be served first during tea serving indicates his irritation with Faraj’s behaviour. Haj Saad’s loud teaching voice was also intended in order to teach Faraj and other youngsters a particular lesson in respecting/observing the normative manners of politeness.

Being unaware of the importance of the politeness norm in this situation, which is offering the best piece of meat to the elderly or most highly ranked, Faraj ended up eating it without any recognition that he made an unforgivable mistake in Haj Saad’s eyes. So from a first-order understanding, Faraj has violated a significant norm of politeness. However, from a second-order emic understanding, it is true that Faraj infringes the norm, but if we take into

consideration the contested nature of culture, his behaviour here could not be interpreted as impolite due to his unawareness of it. Libyan society is not homogeneous, so one should take into account the contested nature of politeness norms within the same culture, as shown in the initial data analysis. The situation in this example and many others proves the importance of talking about multiple understandings of politeness, which is proposed by Kádár and Haugh (2013).

7.2 Interactional Example No (7.2)

7.2.1 Background

This case represents an example of one of the social occasions, namely expressing condolences, where an interaction took place between a stepmother from a rural background and her three stepsons. These sons continued to live with their stepmother in an urban city after the death of their biological mother. Then the stepmother divorced from her husband (the biological father of the three sons) and moved back to her rural town. When the father of their stepmother passed away, the three sons have to travel to their ex-stepmother's town to express their condolences to her and her family. When the sons first stepped into the funeral tent, the following interaction took place between the three sons (namely Son 1, Son 2 and Son 3), their ex-stepmother and their three brothers-in-laws (namely Brother 1, Brother 2 and Brother 3). This interaction shows some manifestation of politeness on the broader tribal level, e.g. (1) condolences are a must, to the extent that some people pay condolences even to people who they have no relationship with them whatsoever; (2) on such occasions, particularly within societies with strong tribal connections, the visiting family is expected to bring a sheep to the bereaved family, which is considered as a gesture of sharing the burden of feeding all people coming to pay condolences, a financial burden which the bereaved family should bear on the top of their death loss.

7.2.2 Script

1. **Son 1:** May the blessings of Allah be upon you {*?ilbaraka fi:kum*} our condolences are mutual {*Fi 'l'aza: wa:had*}

Stepmother: (cuddling her stepsons) We hope your happiness will never change into sorrow {?allah 'laj yaji:r ʕalajk ya e3waiti. Anastona. Salmkum jaiyayah. Ta3abtu ro7kum

2. **Brother 1:** We hope your happiness will never change into sorrow {?allah 'laj yaji:r ʕalajk} ↑By Allah {Wal'la:hi} you took a lot of hassle to come from that far. We appreciate your efforts, but we won't blame you or put you under any pressure {Ma:na la:jmi:n ʕalajkum}
3. **Son 2:** On the contrary, we see this as our duty. God's willing this is the end of sorrows {?in 'fa:lla 'hadʕa had ?ilbas}
4. **Brother 2:** We have received your good intention {?'inni:ja wasʕla} . We wish you didn't take all this trouble as we know how far your place is
5. **Son 3:** May Allah make your rewards even greater{ʕaðʕama ?allahu ?dzrakum}don't mention the hassle as this is the least duty we may owe to our mother {?'it 'taʕab fi:kum muf' xsa:ra}
6. **Brother 3:** We are not only concerned about the hassle you have taken to get here, but also distressed about the fact that we might not be able to offer you the expected hospitality. As unfortunately today our tribe seniors have started the ban of lamb slaughtering in social occasions, which is nowadays still applied among most of the rural tribes. But we are pretty sure that you would understand this
7. **Son 1:** No, not at all. Don't even mention it {ʕalajk 'xabar} I swear to God {Walla:hi} we only come to emotionally support our mother in this occasion and offer her a little part of our duty towards her

((The stepmother felt embarrassed towards her stepsons. On the one hand, she felt sympathy with them as they travelled so far. Thus, she thought that she should offer them a full meal topped with large pieces of meat. On the other hand, she has to respect and comply with the decision of the wise-men of her tribe, otherwise she would violate their decision and consequently the relevant religious instructional teachings.

Therefore, the stepmother has to deal with this situation exceptionally, where she had to seek permission from her tribe-chief to host her stepsons in a separate place in order to offer them the expected and usual meal before the meat-ban rule. The stepsons followed their stepmother to the house and the following interaction took a place))

8. **The Stepmother:** Please come along inside the house for lunch

((The stepmother got to the house with her stepsons who were taken by surprise when the meal was served as their meal was topped with meat according to the usual tradition))

9. **Son 1:** How come? God's willing {*?in 'fa:lla*} we didn't embarrass you by making you break the meat ban rule

10. **The Stepmother:** No embarrassment at all, but as you know you came in the very same day where the meat is banned

11. **Son 2:** We are a family {*Ma:naf 'barra 'ni:ja*}. You should not treat us differently {*Kajfna kajf ?innas*} we followed you to the house only to have a chance to chat with you privately

12. **The Stepmother:** We appreciate that you travelled that far and it would be inappropriate to offer you a meal without meat

13. **Son 3:** There is no travel hassle whatsoever, and on the top of that we have been served with meat

((As they finished their meal and leaving the house))

14. **Son 3:** Please express our sincere condolences to the rest

7.2.3 Analysis

It is a customary tradition for the rural tribes to which the step mother's family belongs to offer meals topped with large pieces of meat to express tribal hospitality and generosity during these kinds of social occasions. However, the wise men of some of these tribes

consider such a tribal norm as a kind of a prodigal that has been denounced in the Quran, as mentioned above. Therefore, they came to a decision that they should offer meat-free meals. It coincides that the death of the step mother's father was the first occasion to implement the wise men's decision of "meat-free meals". The sons were not aware of the decision, and according to the known customary tradition, they came along with a sheep in order to participate in this occasion and express their condolences.

Son 1 used a constructive religious ritual to express their condolences, which is believed to have a stronger influence in comforting the other, which is due to the religious belief associated to it. That is to say, if someone loses a beloved one such as a family member, it is believed that God will reward him/her handsomely if s/he is patient. This is because the central belief is that the soul of the dead has been taken by its creator and has gone to a better place. When people pray for the dead to get mercy from God, it is believed that this will decrease his/her sins and bring mercy. Those who express their condolences make the affected party feel some relief through sharing their sadness. Expressing condolences is usually driven by all these religious beliefs, in addition to the shared reward between both parties.

From a second-order perspective, brother 1 seems to highly appreciate that the three sons came to pay condolences to their step-mother and her family, despite the long distance that they had to travel by saying "we appreciate your efforts, but we don't mean to put you under any pressure". Although from a second-order analyst perspective, this appreciation represents a form of politeness, one may also note that from a first-order perspective, brother 1 appears to experience a sort of face-threat for the sons' hassle in reaching the place, since he emphasises this issue twice in his reply.

However, in turn 3, Son 2 takes the pressure off brother 1, by referring to the act of expressing condolences as their duty. Politeness manifests itself in a form of the religious nature here. Culturally speaking, one's biological mother is given a high status and preference among all other family members. The mother's prominence is emphasized in both the Quran and the Sunnah and there is a very distinctive degree of politeness and kindness to preserve this right.

Therefore, from a second-order perspective, it is remarkably polite that the sons consider their own action as a duty towards their step-mother and her family, even though she is not their biological mother. Again in turns 4 and 5, brother 2 shows their appreciation towards the sons' good intentions and similarly emphasises the long distance they had to travel. Son 3 uses a religious ritual in reply to brother 2 and also asserts what Son 2 has mentioned in turn 3 by regarding their act of sympathy as a duty towards their step-mother "as this is the least duty we may owe to our mother". Furthermore, he refers to her as "our mother", as a code of address, which not only shows politeness and respect towards their step-mother, but also sincerity of sympathy.

In turn 6, brother 3 raised another concern which is also a face-threat for them as the receiving family. This concern is to go with the traditional meal that is usually served in such occasions, where lamb is most important. Brother 3 is being polite by telling the sons, who are considered as guests here, that they might not be able to serve them the expected meal, using hedging language, and also provides reasons, such as the fact that lamb has been banned by their tribe seniors during funerals. From a second-order analyst's perspective, the step-mother and her family are excused, even if they did not offer the expected hospitality, because of the occasion's nature, as well as the decision-makers' status or authority. That is to say, it would not be perceived as impolite if they did not offer them lamb with the meal, because it is a sad occasion and the decision is taken by their tribe seniors, and is somehow out of their control. From the sons' first-order perspective, this can also be noticed in Son 1's reply in turn 7, who replied on behalf of the three sons using an oathing religious ritual "we swear to God", to comfort their step-mother and her family and to not put them under any pressure.

However, from a first-order perspective, it seems that the step-mother appreciates the significance of hospitality over anything else, so she exposed herself to a face-threat to get her tribe seniors' permission and serve lamb to the sons, especially given that they came along with a sheep, they were not aware of the lamb-ban, they travelled a long distance, and of course due to the fact that they are dear to her. This also indicates that hospitality is a prominent manifestation of Libyan politeness. In turn 8, one may note that the step-mother's attempt to seek permission from her tribe seniors to cook lamb for the three sons was successful as she managed to offer them rice topped with lamb. Despite the fact that the

step-mother found herself in an awkward situation, since she was torn between her own family and her step-sons, she acted politely with both parties. That is to say, she did not breach her tribe's rules, but she sought their permission instead. The step-mother also served the three sons with the appropriate meal that meets the standards of hospitality.

In turns 9 and 10, the sons seem to positively appreciate their step-mother's hospitality, however, they politely referred to the meat-ban rule and indirectly to the face-threat that she might encounter, in order to offer them the highest levels of hospitality. From a first-order perspective, one may observe that from the step-mother's reaction and despite the sad nature of this social occasion, she still sees it as impolite if she would have not offered them lamb with their meal, considering that they travelled a long distance and especially considering that until they got there they were unaware of the meat-ban rule, which was implemented on the very day of their arrival. They also brought a sheep with them, which is also a manifestation of politeness on the broader tribal level, as they are not expected to come empty-handed. This situation, however, was different due to this particular tribe's decision, who also gave their approval as a sign of appreciation to the three sons. In turn 11, the sons demonstrate their appreciation towards what she has offered and their feeling for her own face-threat is also apparent in: "We are a family. You should not treat us differently".

In turn 12, one may note the metacomment used by the step-mother to describe politeness in terms of appropriateness and vice versa by saying, "we appreciate that you travelled that far and it would be inappropriate to offer you a meat-free meal". Son 3, in turn 13, emphasises that they did not take any trouble or hassle. From a second-order perspective, their reply is polite, and according to the norms of Libyan politeness, they would not be expected to say, for example, "Oh, yes, it was really hard to get here!". Finally, as the three sons are leaving, they used a formal form of expressing condolences "please express our sincere condolences to the rest", which again is an expected norm of politeness, as it would have been impolite if they left without this polite concluding remark.

7.3 Interactional Example No (7.3)

7.3.1 Background

Haj Saeed and Haj Saleh are two senior brothers from one of the Bedouin tribes in the East of Libya. Haj Saeed lives in a small village dominated by Bedouin features, whereas Haj Saleh lives in the city where modern aspects of life overlook the Bedouin features. One day, Haj Saeed took his family in his car and passed by his brother's house, Haj Saleh, but he was not in and found his 10 year old son, Nizar, playing football with his peers nearby their house. When Nizar saw his uncle, he approached him to shake hands and the following interaction took place.

7.3.2 Script

1. **Haj Saeed:** ((shaking hands)) How are you, Nizar? How is your family?
2. **Nizar:** ((shaking hands)) We are all fine, Praise be to Allah {*?al'hamdu lilla:h*}
3. **Haj Saeed:** Where is your dad?
4. **Nizar:** He left earlier in the car
5. **Haj Saeed:** Really {*Wal'la:hi*} ...ah.. do you know when he will be back?
6. **Nizar:** When my father leaves home, he usually does not tell us when he will be back...Maybe he will be back soon
7. **Haj Saeed:** Alright, Nizar..when he comes back, give him my best salam (regards) and tell him “My uncle, Saeed, and his family passed by, but he did not find you and hospitality has been received {*dar 'lwa:dzib*}”

A few days later, while Haj Saeed and his brother, Haj Saleh, were having tea in one of the family occasions, Haj Saeed referred back to Nizar's lukewarm reception to him and his family the other day and the interaction went as follows:

8. **Haj Saeed:** Did your son, Nizar, tell you anything?
9. **Haj Saleh:** Hope it is alright {*xajr ?in 'fa:?alla*}, is there anything wrong?

10. **Haj Saeed:** No, nothing to worry about, but the other day I was in your city with the family to visit a friend who was unwell, and I thought we would pass by you to see how are you doing and reassure about you and the family, but we only found the so-called {*Sami:jit*} Nizar. At first, he shook hands with the tips of his fingers {*Jadu:b mad ru:s s^uwabʕa*} and then he did not even say you are warmly welcome and please come in {*ʔfad^ʕa 'lau*}, as if he was thinking that we would distract him from playing football
11. **Haj Saleh:** aah..Please do not blame him, ((sarcastically speaking)) his uncles ((from his mother-side)) are (Hud^ʕu:r) ((non-Bedouin)) and he is raised up in the city where the guest and hospitality are not appreciated and cherished as much as by us
12. **Haj Saeed:** No, my brother {*ja: xuij*} Saleh, you have to pinch his ears and remind him of our customs and teach him our norms of hospitality... what uncles you are talking about, O Haj {*ja: ʔa:j*}
13. **Haj Saleh:** pinch or not, it won't work, my brother {*ja: xuij*}.. it is hard with the presence of all other things such as TV, football, and so on...You know they are kids and need to play and have fun sometimes...some seriousness with a bit of ease The middle way is the best one {*Xajru lʔumu:r ʔlwasat^ʕ*}
14. **Haj Saeed:** my brother {*ja: xuij*}, Saleh, I do not agree with you, knowledge at a young age is like engraving in a stone - Early education does not fade out {*ʔalʕilmu fi 's^ʕs^ʕiɣar ka 'nnaqfi fi 'lhadzar*}. Ask your older son, Mohsen, when he came with his friend to visit us at home the other day how my grandson, Salama, who is only 6 years old jumped on the car key and pulled it out of the ignition to make sure that Mohsen and his friend get into the house and have something to eat and relax; and they could hardly refuse his affirmative invitation

After the blame he received from his older brother, Haj Saeed, Haj Saleh went back home and called his son Nizar:

15. **Haj Saleh:** Nizar.. Where are you?

16. **Nizar:** Yes {*?inʃam*}, my father {*Ja: bu:j*}
17. **Haj Saleh:** What have you done? You have darkened my face {*saw'wadit wadʒ'hi*} in front of your uncle Saeed
18. **Nizar:** Uncle Saeed? Why? I haven't done anything wrong. What is the problem?
19. **Haj Saleh:** Did not he and his family come here the other day when I was away?
20. **Nizar:** aaah.. Yes, uncle Saeed passed by and asked about you the other day... Yes, I greeted him and told him that you're away and do not know when you'll be back
21. **Haj Saleh:** Yes, that is what I am talking about... This is your uncle, Nizar, and you know that he comes from that far and he was accompanied with his family; why did not you invite them to our home to relax and wait till I am back.. I want you always to brighten my face {*?itdʹawwi: wadʒ'hi*} in front of others
22. **Nizar:** aah, I was so busy playing a very important match with the boys and I did not want to interrupt the game.. I am sorry, my father {*Ja: bu:j*}
23. **Haj Saleh:** Be careful {*Rd ba:lak*} next time, my dear son {*Ja 'wlajdi:*}... If your uncle or any other guest visits us greet them warmly and welcome them to our home
24. **Nizar:** Yes, I will do {*Ha:dʹir*}, my father {*Ja: bu:j*}

7.3.3 Analysis

In the first part of this interaction, which is primarily between Nizar and his uncle Saeed, innocence dominates most of Nizar's answers, who is only 10 years old. However, from a second-order perspective, one may note that there are some manifestations of politeness. For instance, there are mutual greetings between the two, as well as Haj Saeed's question about Nizar and his family's health and wellbeing. Despite the young age of Nizar, his polite behaviour appears in his response "we are all fine", "*?al'ḥamdu lilla:h*" using the proper religious social ritual "*?al'ḥamdu lilla:h*" in this situation. In turn 6, Nizar's answer was closer to innocence and children's language, rather than thoughtfulness or consideration, however, his concluding remark "maybe he will be back soon" could be interpreted as polite.

His uncle, in turn 7, however, does not seem to like his nephew's behaviour. That is to say, Haj Saeed's first-order understanding is apparent in the implicit message he left to his brother, Nizar's father, "My uncle and his family passed by, but he did not find you ... and hospitality has been received" which means that Nizar's behaviour was not within the expectations of Haj Saeed, and therefore, considered negative behaviour. Haj Saeed's statement "hospitality has been received" is a sarcastic one and it means that although Nizar's city life style and norms of hospitality are not similar to the Bedouin's, Haj Saeed was still expecting Nizar to receive him and his family warmly and according to the tribal norms of hospitality.

In turn 8, another interaction took place between Haj Saeed and his brother Haj Saleh, Nizar's father, where Haj Saeed initiates the issue of Nizar's reception in an indirect remark, rather than criticising it directly without any introductory remarks, which is, from a second-order perspective, a form of politeness here. In turn 9, ritualistic politeness appears in Haj Saleh's use of the religious ritual (xajr ?in 'ja:ʔalla) ((hope it's good, God will)). In turn 10, after Haj Saeed politely drew his brother's attention to what he wanted to talk about, he referred to the behaviour of Haj Saleh's son, Nizar, using the term "the so-called" which is usually used to refer to someone when you are not happy about his/her behaviour. From Haj Saeed's first-order understanding, Nizar's reception was lukewarm and was not according to the norms of hospitality. The metacomment of Haj Saeed: "then he did not even say (tfad'a'lau) ((you are warmly welcome and please come in))", indicates what sort of behaviour or reception Haj Saeed was expecting from his nephew Nizar. However, from a second-order perspective, at Nizar's age and particularly due to being raised up in the city, he behaved politely with his uncle regardless of his reception.

In turn 11, Haj Saleh did not seem to get offended from his brother, Haj Saeed, using the term "the-so-called" to refer to his son, Nizar, as Haj Saeed is his older brother, and older brothers are usually respected and their opinions are valued even if they are being harsh or tough. Furthermore, although Haj Saleh moved to the city a long time ago, he positively associates himself with the Bedouin and their norms of hospitality, while trying to defend his son's behaviour. In turn 12, despite the non-mutual points of view between the two brothers, Haj Saeed uses the kinship term (ja: xuij) ((Oh my brother)) in order to disarm the sharpness of the discussion or disagreement, enhance solidarity, and promote respect.

Haj Saeed also offers Haj Saleh advice in regard to reminding his son of their Bedouin/tribal customs, as well as teaching him their norms of hospitality. Haj Saeed's use of the verb "remind" means that Haj Saad believes that the main customs are deeply rooted in his nephew, and all that Haj Saleh's needs to do is to maintain them, while teaching him the norms of Bedouin norms of hospitality as well. This explains Haj Saeed's negative evaluation of Nizar's behaviour earlier and why he was expecting a warmer reception from him. Using "our" in reference to the Bedouin customs also indicates that Haj Saeed strongly associates his brother with his original roots and appreciates him as a valued member of the Bedouin tribes.

In turn 13, Haj Saleh also disarms his different point of view using the kinship term (ja: xuij) ((O my brother)), which again indicates solidarity and deference at the same time. He also uses an Arabic saying "The middle way is the best one", to politely defend his own point of view. In turn 14, similarly, Haj Saeed started his response with the kinship term (ja: xuij) ((O my brother)), which occasions politeness here, as he expresses his disagreement with what his younger brother has said and alternatively tries to convince him, using another Arabic proverb "knowledge at a young age is like engraving in a stone". Furthermore, Haj Saeed gives an example to his younger brother and brings in a hospitable situation initiated by his very young grandson in order to emphasise the significance of teaching such norms to kids during childhood. Culturally speaking, from a Bedouin tribal perspective, people usually like to feel proud and praise the nobility and good manners of their children, so they can be good examples to others in life. From a second-order perspective, one may note that understandings of politeness vary from one tribe to another and also among individuals.

In turn 15, another interaction takes place between Haj Saleh and his son Nizar. Politeness manifests itself in a different form here, which is Nizar's polite response "yes, my father" to his father's calling. The use of the kinship term "Oh my father" in this way carries intimacy, closeness, and respect from the son to his father. Culturally speaking, parents are called by (ja: ?ummi:) ((Oh my mother)) or (Ja: bu:j) ((Oh my father)) and are answered with (?in?am or na?am) ((yes)) due to their social and religious status.

In turn 17, the father shifts gradually from calling his son and draws attention to blaming him using the phrase "you've darkened my face", which refers to the face-threat and

embarrassment the father has had with his brother and his family due to his son's behaviour, and his lack of warm reception and hospitality.

The father here was polite even in blaming his son, that is, instead of directly saying to his son that it was impolite or improper to receive his uncle in that inhospitable manner, he used the term "darkened my face" which also acts as a euphemism. In turn 18, the son responded politely and with a lower prosody that shows a high respect to his father, but at the same he did not seem to realise what his father is talking about as appears in his repeated questions. The father's reference to uncle Saeed's visit in turn 19, in combination with the term "you've darkened my face" seems to alert Nizar about what went wrong. Therefore, in turn 20, Nizar was both honest and polite, while reflecting on his own behaviour and mentioning the positive and appropriate things he thinks he was supposed to do with his uncle, such as greeting him and answering his questions properly.

However, as it appears in turn 21, although the father was defending his son's behaviour in front of his brother, Haj Saeed, his expectations from his son were higher than merely greetings and answering questions. That is to say, the father was expecting his son to warmly receive uncle Saeed and his family, and according to the tribal norms of hospitality, e.g. a warm reception, repeated offering and invitations and offers to entertain them, along with making sure they are happy and relaxed. The father again uses another term "I want you always to brighten my face in front of others" to describe his satisfaction and his potential content if his son has conducted the right level of hospitality.

In turn 22, the son gives a reason behind his actions, which is that he was playing an important match, to defend himself, but at the same time he apologises to his father "I am sorry my father", which occasions both good manners and respect from the son to his father and his relatives. In turn 23, the father advises his son using kind words and intimate terms of kinship to enhance solidarity and maximise the chances of having his advice accepted contently by his son. In his advice, the father teaches his son how to welcome relatives or guests, while emphasising the significance of hospitality. In the final turn, the son shows acceptance of his father's advice using the most preferred answer to parents: (Ha:d^{ir}) (Yes, I will do). The word "Ha:d^{ir}" literally means "present" which indicates that the person is

ready to do anything at any time; in other words, they are at your disposal. Therefore, it occasions a high level of politeness between the son and his father.

7.4 Interactional Example No (7.4)

7.4.1 Background

Two individuals, who belong to two different tribes, had a disagreement following a fight. ‘A’ stabbed ‘B’ with a knife causing him a serious injury. Despite reporting such incidents to the police, they usually traditionally get resolved at a tribal level in a peace-making gathering called “?almi:ʕad”, as explained in the analysis. The offender’s tribe and the victim’s tribe Chiefs as well as other participating tribe Chiefs met up, and the following interaction took place.

7.4.2 Script

1. **Tribe Chief 1 (on behalf of the victim’s tribe):** ↑Welcome {*Mar'ħaba*} our brothers {*xu:t'na*} ((followed by the tribe’s name)) (0.2) we are (.) blessed with this gatheri::ng {*?a:nas'tu:na*} (0.2) an- a::nd ↑may Go:d prevent any misfortune or trouble between us {*Rabbi ma: jidzi:b saw bajn'na*}
2. **Tribe Chief 2 (on behalf of the offender’s tribe):** ↑Welcome {*Rah'ħibbak*} (.) ↑we came here to seek refuge from you (.) a:nd ↑the:: best refuge is God’s {*qas'di:nkum wil maqs'u:d wadzħ '?allah*} to- to sort out this →small problem {*?imfajkla*} that- (.) occurred between us (0.3) a::nd ↑we would say (.) <this matter ended a::nd will not affect our relationship> {*?aħbal saw ?u t'aħan fi bi:r*} (0.2) even though (.) it was your son who initiated the attack (.) but- as we say ↓bloodshed covers the disgrace {*?iddam ?myat's't'i ?ilʕajb*}
3. **Tribe Chief 1:** ↑God’s willing everything is going to be ok {*?in 'ja:ʔalla ma 'jis'i:r ?lla 'lxajr*}(0.2) <we- we resolved problems much bigger> [↓than this ((One of the attending members of the victim’s tribe interfered))
4. **Attending Tribe member:** [No:: O Shaikh {*ja: fajx*} the- ↑the blood of our son does not get compensated ↑by rice and meat (.) In the:: 1990s (.) we had → tribal gathering {*'msa:r*} to the tribe to sort out a::

- fight caused by one of our family members a:nd they compiled us with → (peace document) {ka:ytʕ} (0.4) ↑so now it's a man for a man=
5. **Tribe Chief 2:** = ↑If you were patient (.) you would have gone on a pilgrimage {?imyajr law's'abarit rak hadʒdʒajt} (0.3) this is what I was going to do ↑if you only let the Chiefs talk as it's usually the case for →?almi:ʕad=
 6. **Another Participating Tribe Chief:** =Plea::se calm down for the sake of God {Wasʕu: 'balkum lil'la:h} (.) we gathered in this → mi:ʕad to settle everything
 7. **Tribe Chief 1:** It's ok O Shaikh {ja: fajx} we shall write down → ka:ytʕ for ka:ytʕ a:nd let's have our dinner

7.4.3 Analysis

Tribes employ a unique norm/practice called “?almi:ʕad” or “?almsa:r” in order to solve problems or sort out any issues that may occur between them or their members. “?almi:ʕad” is a tribal peace-making gathering where the offender tribe and the victim tribe as well as other applicable tribes meet up to resolve problems. This peace-making gathering is also recognised as a Customary Council. The usual normative practice is that the offender tribe Shaikh (Chief) introduces the problem, along with expressing an apology to the victim tribe as well as urging the other participating tribes to reach a mutual satisfactory solution. Then, once all parties reach a final agreement, they produce their customary decision to end the conflict between the offender and the victim in testimony of the other participating tribes, and this customary verdict becomes binding for all.

As we may note in turn 1 of this example, despite the dispute between the two tribes, the victim tribe (Chief 1) uses the addressing term “brothers” to sooth the air and enhance peace-making. That is to say, whatever problems occur between or among biological brothers, these are usually resolved. From the analyst's second-order perspective, the introductory opening by Tribe Chief 1 and the use of the term “brothers” to address the offender tribe in particular is a manifestation of politeness. Culturally speaking from a religious point of view, this also represents the religious view of opponents who are also considered brothers in Islam, where peace-making is one of the important features of a good Muslim.

In turn 2, Tribe Chief 2 is being polite by warmly greeting back Tribe Chief 1, while ritualistic politeness also manifests itself in his use of a religious social ritual "we came here

to seek refuge from you and the best refuge is Allah's" to indicate good intention for peace-making. One may also note Tribe Chief 2's strategic use of "ʔimʃajkla" (the diminutive form of problem), which occurred between the two tribes not only to enhance peace-making, but also to avoid documenting the problem on "ka:ytʔ", which could be used in the future to sort out any future offence that the victim tribe may commit.

However, from the victim tribe perspective, this could be interpreted as offensive, especially to the victim and his family, since it could mean decreasing the importance of this problem where the victim was stabbed due to verbal argument. Ritualistic politeness also appears in the use of the social ritual "these are robes of evil that fell in a well" in which Tribe Chief 2 makes a simile between the problem and the robes that Arabs in the past used in order to use to get the water from wells, by connecting these robes into a bucket and through it in the well. The intended meaning is that as those evil robes (the problem) have now disappeared in the well and have gone forever and taken all associated bad feelings away with them.

In terms of ritualistic politeness, Chief 2 further uses another social ritual "the bloodshed covers the disgrace", while referring to the fact that it was the victim tribe member who initiated the fight. According to tribal norms, it is believed that bloodshed wipes whatever preceding the offence was. Politeness also appears in the use of the term "your son" by Tribe Chief 2 in reference to the member of tribe 1, who initiated the attack. That is to say, there is a clear euphemism here which makes Tribe Chief 2's contribution more polite and less accusing, whereas using the term "son" associates the member, who started the fight, to his tribe in a polite way.

In turn 3, ritualistic politeness manifests itself in more religious social rituals as can be seen in Tribe Chief 1's response: (?in 'ʃa:ʔalla ma 'jisʔi:r ʔlla 'lxajr) ((God's will everything is going to be OK)), which again encourages and enhances peace-making between the two parties. From a second-order perspective, one may conclude that Tribe Chief 2's (the offender Tribe) talk has a positive impact on Tribe Chief 1 and proves the point that says "what one can achieve through a good word and politeness is far greater than what he can achieve through shouting and aggressive behaviour".

According to the tribal norms of behaviour in "ʔalmi:ʃad", the interference of the Attending Tribe Member in who belongs to the Victim Tribe is considered improper and impolite. That

is to say, talk in such occasions is usually limited to the Tribe's Shaikh (Chief), and even if someone needs to contribute, they have to seek permission before contributing. However, his contribution was successful in terms of compiling the Offender Tribe with a written conventional decision. That is to say, although the member's contribution was unexpected, he helped Victim Tribe Chief 1 to obtain this written agreement and in order to document the offence without the need to directly ask for it, which would have been face-threatening for Tribe Chief 1.

Based on Tribe Chief 2's first order-understanding, this member's contribution was improper interference and occasions impoliteness. This appears in his sharp response and higher prosody in turn 5, while using an Arabic proverb (?imyajr law 's'abarith rak hadzdzajt) ((If you were patient, you would have gone on a pilgrimage)) to convey the message and also a direct metacomment "This is what I was going to do if you only let the Chiefs talk as it is usually the case for ?almi:ʕad" in reference to the tribal norms of peace-making gathering. The direct reference of Tribe Chief 2 to the Attending Member's interference as inappropriate, and violating the norms could also be open to interpretation as an attempt from Tribe Chief 2 to preserve the status of his tribe, as well as teach both the interfering members and other attending members, who belong to different generations, a lesson in respecting the tribal hierarchy.

In turn 6, one of the Participating Tribes Chief tries to calm the situation down using a religious ritual that occasions politeness "Please calm down for the sake, we gathered in this mi:ʕad to settle everything", and further politely reminds everyone of the key purpose of their peace-making gathering. Finally, Tribe Chief 1 has successfully ended the talk using a polite concluding remark.

7.5 Interactional Example No (7.5)

7.5.1 Background

This incident has been narrated as one of the known stories within the tribal context. In this story, the reason for the tribal dispute is related to a sexual harassment/assault issue, where one of the tribe individuals has violated someone from a different tribe. The offender tribe

approached the victim tribe with the presence of the other participating tribes in “ʔalmi:ʕad” in order to sort out this problem. The interaction went as follows.

7.5.2 Script

1. **Tribe Chief 1:** We are coming here today to you and on your premises. We came here to seek refuge from you and the best refuge is Allah’s {*qas^ʕdi:nkum wil maqs^ʕu:d wadz^h ʔalla:h*} in order to sort out the problem. We know this problem is a deep grief in the heart {*xa:t^ʕirkum wa:dziʕkum*}, but we came here to settle it down and purify the hearts
2. **Tribe Chief 2:** Please go ahead {*Tfad^ʕalu*}, speak your minds {*Qu:lu: ajf fi ʕqu:lkum*}
3. **Tribe Chief 1:** Some time ago, there was a shepherd who is looking after sheep for his merchant and the shepherd used to take his only small part of his wages for food and drink, and keep the rest with the sheep merchant as saving for any hardship. After 3 and a half years, the shepherd decided to go on a pilgrimage and needed his money, so he went to the merchant and said “I have grown older and nothing is better than pilgrimage for someone when he grows old”. The merchant got the shepherd’s message and gave him his money and thanked him. The shepherd, then, asked him if he could teach him the pilgrimage practical rituals, so he did. However, as the pilgrimage journey takes quite long, the poor shepherd forget what to do when he arrived to Mekka. So he stood in front of the Kaaba, and said “Oh Kaaba.. I have come to you and you know why I come”
4. **Tribe Chief 2:** May Allah enrich your wisdom {*Rabbi jekamlak ʔbiʕaqlak*} and may Allah cast his veil {*Sitr ʔallah ʔbaqi:*}

7.5.3 Analysis

Culturally speaking, both from religious and social perspectives, sexual issues are considered taboo. In the tribal culture and according to their norms, such an incident (sexual harassment) would be regarded as a stigma for the whole tribe. In these settings, the Chief of the offender tribe usually has to fully explain the problem in (ʔalmi:ʕad) in order for the relevant tribe

Chief to be able to sort the problem out. However, due to the high sensitivity of this matter, one may note that the offender tribe's Chief uses an euphemism and brought in a story to avoid embarrassment and face-threat for both tribes.

In turn 1, there is evident use of ritualistic politeness by Tribe Chief 1, through the use of the social/religious ritual "we came here to seek refuge from you and the best refuge is Allah's", which serves both as a normative introductory opening, as well as a way to enhance peace-making. Furthermore, the phrase "we know that this problem is a deep grief in the heart, but we came here to settle it down and purify the hearts" represents a sort of confession and mistake admittance in a humble way; therefore, it occasions apology to the victim tribe. He also mentions clearly why they came to this gathering "?almi:ʕad", which is to rectify the situation and settle any hard feelings between the two tribes, using a positive phrase such as "to purify the hearts". From Tribe Chief 1's first-order understanding, it is evident from the way he selects his words and phrases that he believes in the saying that says what can be achieved through good wording and politeness is far greater than what could be achieved through the opposite.

In turn 2, although Tribe Chief 2's reply superficially seems brief and could appear negative to the reader, from a tribal sub-cultural perspective, this in fact is one of the normative polite expressions used to give the floor. That is to say, Tribe Chief 2 uses this in-group social ritual "speak your minds" in combination with the honorific term "Tfadʕalu", which occasions respect and deference, to give the floor to the offender tribe Chief to fully explain the problem in order for the concerned parties to devise a solution.

In turn 3, Tribe Chief 1 was given the floor to explain the problem, but due to the high sensitivity of the matter, he alternatively chose to present it indirectly through telling a story and through implicit messages.

That is to say, he believes that explaining the problem would be face-threatening for them as well as for the victim's tribe, and directness here would be perceived as impoliteness too. From a second-order perspective, politeness manifests itself in various forms here. For instance, choosing a story, which is based on real events that could convey the meaning without causing offence to anyone, making the tribal talk and explaining the issue while avoiding the use of any taboo words, and using euphemisms, plays a significant role in easing

the situation and taking pressure off too. Looking into the story itself, one may also observe different forms of tribal politeness, mainly in the shepherd's talk. The shepherd, for example, was polite with the sheep merchant even in asking for his own wages. He made his request implicitly through euphemism and the social ritual "I have grown older and nothing is better than pilgrimage for someone when he grows old". This ritual has a religious reference, but its meaning is socially known among individuals and groups. In this situation, it serves the shepherd to ask for his money in a polite way and without any face-threat.

Tribe Chief 1 communicated the reason behind his presence in this "mi:ʕad" indirectly through an implicit message, as it appears in the last statement said by the Shepherd, "Oh Kaaba.. I came to you and you know why I came to you" (*Kaaba is the holy place in Mekka as well as the point towards which the Muslims face in their prayers*). The intended meaning is that as the problem is already known to all, it is better to keep things unspoken and avoid embarrassment. Finally, Tribe Chief 2 compliments Tribe Chief 1's behaviour and the way he presented the problem using a constructive religious ritual, "May Allah enrich your wisdom and cast his veil", which not only occasions politeness, but also means that the implicit message was passed successfully and in the appropriate manner. As a result, Tribe Chief 2 got the intended meaning and both parties had a peacemaking, and the dispute was resolved in the normative way, as explained in the previous example.

7.6 Interactional Example No (7.6)

7.6.1 Background

The following exchange illustrates the allegiance and pride of an individual of his own tribe. This occurrence takes place between three friends, referred to as Anwar, Murad, and Malik, who gathered in Malik's house for dinner. The conversation was about an unfortunate incident of killing in an area close to Anwar's hometown. Anwar was very concerned and disappointed when he knew that the murderer actually belongs to his own tribe.

7.6.2 Script

1. **Malik:** ↑A::re they fighting in your area? =
2. **Anwar:** = I really {*Walla:hi*} I don't know

3. **Murad:** there is (.) the- the::y are ((trying to recall the family's name)) I- I think you know them=
4. **Anwar:** =↑Wh::o? did you kno::w (.) who is after [the murder
5. **Murad:** [No=
6. **Anwar:** = Just give me ↑the family name (0.2) we have some people (.) I'm not sure but- but it can be them (.)↑I swear to God {*Walla:hi*} ↓it isn't happy news ((breathing sound)) a::h (0.3) >but I know them as very good young men< ↑I swear to Go:d {*Walla:hi*} our people there aren't troublemakers (.) I swear to Go:d {*Walla:hi*} they are friendly people=
7. **Murad:** =do they belong to your tribe?
8. **Anwar:** A::h [ye-
9. **Murad:** ↑[Your tribe?
10. **Anwar:** ↓Yes\ ((disappointed voice tone))
11. **Murad:** Their name i::s (.) I- I mean the family name?
12. **Anwar:** They a::re ((Mentioning the family's name)) family
13. **Malik:** God is the greatest {*?alla:hu ?akbar*} (.)↑you can't control whatever is going there (.) ↓it's not your fault <good and bad are everywhere> {*?iz zajn wa lkat'ji:b fi kil maka:n*} ((breathing sound))
14. **Anwar:** ↓Ye:s (.) but those who live there are goo::d people most of them ↓themajority () their father I thi::nk is the ((mentioning his name)) he is Shikh ↓there i::n ((the city's name)) he is [the association director there
15. **Malik:** [what's their name=
16. **Anwar:** =Their family name is ((the family's name)) they have got ((naming one of the family members)) <he graduated from the university er- emmm (.) planning

and administration> a::nd another one ca:::lled (.) a::: ((naming another family member)) a::h same year as you(0.3)Malik (.) from the university

17. **Malik:** Emmm yeah

18. **Anwar:** He's working o::n his car

19. **Malik:** Ye::s

7.6.3 Analysis

In this example, Malik initiates a topic about chaos and murder in Anwar's hometown. In turns 8, 10, 14, Anwar encounters an embarrassing situation that he feels it touches him personally. From a second-order understanding, his face is unintentionally attacked by both Malik and Murad who ask him if those who committed the murder belong to his tribe and he confirms that in a disappointed tone. Anwar considers the fact that this suspected family belongs to the same social network and experiences a highly face-threatening situation which he tries to eliminate by using religious rituals like 'I swear' and 'honest to God'. Anwar also associates himself with this particular social network by saying 'our people' in turn 6, but in a very low prosody.

However, in turn 13, Malik takes the pressure off Anwar after realising that Murad and himself put Anwar in an awkward situation, which was open to be interpreted as impolite, by engaging in supportive talk "Allah is the greatest" and "you cannot control whatever is going there/ it's not your fault (-) good and bad are everywhere", and Anwar in return emphasises that the majority are good and tries to say that especially this family is educated and their father has a high social status with good reputation.

7.7 Summary

From the discussion of the elements of this category i.e. tribal, one can conclude that tribal customary tradition(s) have their own power to the extent that they might overcome religious instructions, and civil law, and also play a key role in politics, e.g. election campaigns. The high peak of the powerful influence of the tribal customary tradition manifests itself in the peace-making gathering known in Libya as "ʔalmi:ʕad".

Chapter 8: Empirical Data Analysis Part (4): Workplace Interactions

Introduction

Given the fact that institutional relationships are supposedly formal and highly normative in nature, Libyan institutions often unexpectedly exhibit informal settings of relationships. As individuals tend to impose personal relationships in institutional settings at the expense of professionalism, the established formal hierarchy can sometimes be disregarded either deliberately or otherwise. The influence of some social factors and variables such as age, gender, blood relations, and religious status, could wipe the level of formality. Workplaces in the Libyan context are characterised by several manifestations of politeness, etiquette, or good manners, which I will touch upon throughout this introduction prior to presenting the empirical examples.

I noticed that in most of Libyan workplaces I worked at, visited, or observed as part of this study, the evident use of terms of address, mainly titles such as Prof., Dr., Sir, Eng., Shaikh, or Haj plus the 1st name is of high importance in showing respect and deference among colleagues or between employers and employees, and customers. However, during my experience while studying and working in the UK, colleagues as well as students address tutors with their first names, without using any titles. For example, I call my PhD supervisor Daniel and not Professor Kádár, which I would only use if we were engaged in a highly formal meeting or while referring to him in formal written correspondences. It might be worth mentioning that when I first came to the UK and started my Master's degree, I found it peculiar and was out of my comfort zone when addressing my tutors with their first names, and it took me a while until I started to do so.

On the contrary, back in Libya neither myself nor my classmates would address a tutor or a member of staff with their first name. Even colleagues who hold equal positions at the University would still address each other with a title plus first name, unless they were very close friends. This does not mean by any means that the less frequent use of titles in such situations in British society indicates lack of respect, but it rather means that the use of titles is not as important as it is in the Arab society. In Arab societies, such the Libyan society, the norm in the workplace is to address others with the formulae (title + first name). Otherwise, it

would indicate a lack of respect or even impoliteness. Linguistically speaking, the former formula does not exist in the British context, which instead opts for (title + last name) in highly deferential situations.

In Arab and Libyan workplaces, age also plays a key role in preserving etiquette or showing politeness, while interacting or dealing with one another. For instance, it is difficult and awkward to call a colleague or a customer who is older in age with their first name, without inserting a title. This also applies to the relationship between employers or bosses and their employees who are older in age. That is to say, in most situations where the other is a PhD holder or a medicine graduate, he or she is expected to be addressed as a doctor. However, if this is not the case, the addresser has to choose an appropriate title to use such as Mr, Haj, or Sheik, and this further depends on the situation and the parties involved.

Another norm of politeness in the Libyan workplace is shaking hands with colleagues, including co-workers and managers, while exchanging elaborative forms of ritualistic greetings and asking about their health and family's wellbeing. With reference to shaking hands, it is worth mentioning that gender is important here, since due to religious reasons, men are not expected to shake hands with women and vice versa. Shaking hands and constructive greetings could be more remarkable when they see each other after a period of absence or over the weekend. However, it has been noticed that in most Libyan workplaces, this is quite evident and it occurs on a daily basis. This practice involves saying { ?assa'la:mu řa'lajkum = Peace be upon you } when seeing each other first thing in the day, when getting to each other's offices, or even when answering the phone. It is believed to enhance relationships and maintain harmony and solidarity among individuals in the workplace. This is highly influenced by religion, where people are instructed to greet one another whenever they meet during the day, and it is worth mentioning that if someone passes by without saying "Peace be upon you", s/he would be perceived as performing inappropriate behaviour or even impolite behaviour.

One of the important points that should be mentioned here is that work relationships in the workplace can significantly evolve into friendship. Therefore, we find that most workplaces are dominated by friendship politeness norms, which have been covered in Chapter 5, to the extent that some of the workplace situations or interactions do not give you the impression

that it is an institutional or highly formalised context. In the following empirical examples, we will see what the most dominant norms of politeness are, how multiple understandings of politeness are manifested in workplace discourses, and how religion and other social factors can influence this phenomenon. Manifestations of impoliteness or behaving against the norms of the workplace are also considered in these examples, in order to better understand this context in relation to politeness.

8.1 Interactional Example No (8.1)

8.1.1 Background

In this institutional interaction, the Line Manager is in charge of updating clients' information saved on the database. He was asked via an email by another employee, in which 15 other employees were copied, to edit a piece of information in the database for a letter format that has been used with one of the clients. The Line Manager replied to the email explaining that he tried to change it, but he could not, and added that the only person who could do this is Employee 1, who is responsible for programming the database. In his reply, the Line Manager replied to all employees who were originally copied in the email including Employee 1, who was apparently not happy about this email correspondence. Employee 1 approached the Line Manager in his office, and the following conversation took place.

8.1.2 Script

1. **Employee 1:** ↑ What do you mean by saying th- tha::t MR ((employee's 1 name)) is- is ↑ the ONLY one who can do this?
2. **Line Manager:** >We:ll {*Walla:hi*} (.) ↑ that's true< ↑ You're the only person who can manage that >because you're the programmer<
3. **Employee 1:** ((silence))
4. **Line Manager:** Do you think ↓ that <I intended to offend you in any way?>
5. **Employee 1:** I:: ↑ I got- got such a feeling (0.3) EVERY time people get stuck with something in- in the database (.) ↑ they start chasing me up and bla::me me

- unfairly (.) Most of ↑ the time (.) the issue is- is small and can be resolved by the employee (.) without a::ll this fuss
6. **Line Manager:** I swear to Go:d { *Walla:hi* } <I did not have any intention to offend you> ↓by any means
 7. **Employee 1:** Actua::lly (.) the way of your email an- a::nd the use of Mr and only ↓made me feel so
 8. **Line Manager:** ↑I swear with the name of Go:d the greatest { '*uqsimu billa:hi 'lʕa ɖʕi:m*' } I had ↑ no bad intention >with all the love< I hold for my kids { '*wahjat ?awla:di*' } I never intended to hurt you or anyone else (0.3) ↑do you believe me (.) or not?=
 =
 9. **Employee 1:** = It's ok it's ok (0.4) ((changing the subject)) ↑ don't you agree with me (.) tha:t- this format has been used for age::s without any complaints? I'm wondering (.) ↑ why this client in particular asked to change it now
 10. **Line Manager:** Apparently (.) this change will make the process on the client's side more efficient (.)↑ I personally (.) ha:ve no objection to this change
 11. **Employee 1:** We:ll { *Walla:hi* }(0.2) if you think we should make this change (.) put it in writing a::nd I will make the change

8.1.3 Analysis

Employee 1

It is evident from employee 1's reaction that he is not happy about the way his colleagues are dealing with him when it comes to his work. He thinks that the employees usually blame him unfairly for any technical issues related to the database, even when the issue can be easily resolved without his interference. This negative feeling made him suspicious of any request by any of his colleagues. Therefore, he was so concerned by some of the words, specifically "Mr" and "ONLY" in the line manager's email. From a first-order understanding, employee 1 thinks that the line manager wrote this email to shift the blame to him as a programmer by using these words in a sarcastic way, i.e. "mock politeness".

Line Manager

From a second-order emic understanding, the Line Manager was efficient in writing his email in terms of both clarity and politeness. By clarity, I mean that he provided a clear explanation and reasons for the need for employee 1's involvement. The Line Manager also used a highly deferential form of politeness by referring to employee 1 with the title "Mr + the name" in his email, while it is visible to the 15 other employees. It might also be worth noting that the Line Manager did not use his title, which is Dr, within his signature. From the analyst's second-order emic understanding, this could be interpreted as a gesture of politeness in order to bridge the hierarchical distance between himself, as a highly ranked authority, and the other employees. However, according to Employee 1's first-order understanding, which is evident in his response, the Line Manager's normative language, especially his use of the title "Mr", was perceived as sarcasm.

Employee 1's explicit negative evaluation of the line manager's style of talk urges the line manager to use extended constructive religious rituals, such as "I swear with the name of Allah the greatest", to emphasise that there was no intended offence. This expression reoccurred more than once and he followed it up with another cultural ritual: "I swear with the lives of my children", which is also a common social saying used to convince the other or prove a point; in this case, to indicate sincerity. The Line Manager's attempt at clarifying the situation through the use of repeated rituals seems to be successful, since Employee 1 is aware that children are the most precious thing in one's life. There is also a cultural superstition that if you swear with your children's lives and you commit a lie, you may lose your children as a result. However, Islamic religion considers this type of swearing forbidden and the only acceptable type of swearing is by the name of Allah. Nevertheless, some people still swear by their children, parents, or beloved ones.

From a second-order analyst's understanding, one may add that despite all the repeated confirmations from the Line Manager, Employee 1 does not seem to really appreciate the Line Manager's caring attitude, which occasions politeness, in relation to his emotions. This is apparent in Employee 1's brief response "it's OK... it's OK", without even offering an apology for his misinterpretation of the Line Manager's email and he only made a topic shift when he seemed to recognise that he is the one who has been provocative.

8.2 Interactional Example No (8.2)

8.2.1 Background

This interaction represents an institutional type of data where normative behaviour appears to be evident over the course of interaction. The Manager, who is referred to as Dr Bakr, is having a meeting with two line managers, who are referred to as Dr Siraj and Dr Fadi, and their teams. Those employees who are present in the meeting without taking part in the interaction, and where their names are mentioned in the context, I replaced their real names with pseudonyms as well for the purposes of anonymity and confidentiality.

8.2.2 Script

1. **Dr Bakr:** In the name of ↑Alla:h {*bism 'ʔilla:h*} (0.2) a::nd <may prayers a:nd pea:ce be upon (.) the Messenger of Go:d> {*wa 'sʔsʔala:tu wassala:mu ʔala rasu:li 'lla:h*} (0.3) we shall start our meeting for toda:y (.) by first ↑ welcoming the two new employees (.) Mr Ramzi a::nd Ms Laila who joined us (.) this week (0.2) welcome both a::nd all the best with the new post. So:: ↑ Dr Siraj (.) could you please tell us briefly (.) about last week's a::: achieved tasks?
2. **Dr Siraj:** Ye:s (0.2) Ms Sabreen an::d Ms Amira and myself have updated the brochure (.) contacted all the clients on the- the:: list =
3. **Dr Bakr:** = ↑Which Go:d wills {*ma 'ʔa:ʔallah*} Excellent (0.2) so:: a- ↑ what about the new database?
4. **Dr Siraj:** We:ll {*Walla:hi*} <we a::re half way through>
5. **Dr Bakr:** Emmm (.) but I a::m afraid we would still need this to be done (.) at least by the end of this week ↑ do you think you will manage?
6. **Dr Siraj:** A::h yes Dr Bakr (0.3) I promise (.) we will have this done by tomorrow afternoon if God wills {*ʔin 'ʔa:ʔallah*} and- a::nd I- I >do apologise for the delay<

7. **Dr Bakr:** It's o:k (0.2) you a:nd your team have been working hard ↓ this month
↑ which God wills {*ma 'fa: ?allah*} a:nd (.) I- I believe things will go fine if God
wills {*?in 'fa:ʔallah*}
8. **Mr Fadi:** Excuse me ↑ Dr Bakr (.)↑ May I add something please?
9. **Dr Bakr:** Yes Ye:s ↑ Mr Fadi (.) but- bu:t can you be brief please (.) as I have to
catch up with a:: a- another meeting outside the city
10. **Mr Fadi:** No problem (.)doctor (0.2) >if it's convenient for you< I can still put it in
writing=
11. **Dr Bakr:** = >Ok Mr Fadi< that will be great (.) a:nd if Go:d wi:lls {*?in 'fa:ʔallah*}
↑next time >will devote more time especially to discuss issues at your department<
12. **Mr Fadi:** ↑ May Go:d bless you {*Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k*} doctor
13. **Dr Siraj and other attendants:** Thank you {*'fukran*} doctor

8.2.3 Analysis

In turn 1, the manager starts the meeting with a very formal opening, where religious rituals that occasion politeness are used in an elaborative and constructive way. In the same turn, the manager carries on by welcoming the new employees in a very normatively polite way. The use of titles and deferential terms of address is also apparent along this interaction. From a normative and stereotyped perspective of Libyan culture, using titles in formal settings, as well as with those, who are older in age regardless of their position, is considered one of the standard norms of Libyan politeness.

In turns 5, 6, and 7 both the Manger and Dr. Siraj are being normatively polite. In turn 5; for instance, The Manager is using terms such as “I am afraid” and “would” in a very formal and normative way, while appreciating Dr. Siraj and his team’s hard work and even complements them in turn 3. In turn 11, the Manager is giving reasons for not carrying on the meeting and listening to Fadi. Looking into Fadi’s reply, his action seems to be interpreted as polite and appreciated by both Fadi and the others, who thank him back as a kind of appreciation for being valued by their manager. From the analyst’s second-order emic perspective, we can say

that the Manger was acting according to the dominant norms of Libyan politeness, mainly through the use of rituals to occasion politeness.

8.3 Interactional Example No (8.3)

8.3.1 Background

As the person in charge for Staff Affairs in this institution was away on holiday, Samir is the one who is covering for her and he has to receive any forms of late work start, early leave, annual leaves, and so forth, and take them to his line manager to be authorised. In this example, Maria (who lives in the same building as her colleague Samir and his family) was late due to an incident that seems to be relevant to Samir's family, and she was there to call for help. Samir met Maria at work and the interaction went as follows.

8.3.2 Script

1. **Samir:** ↑Pea::ce be upon you {*?assa 'la:mu ʕa 'lajkum*} (.) Maria
2. **Maria:** ↑And pea::ce be upon you {*Wa ʕa 'lajkum ?assa 'la:m*} (.) Samir
3. **Samir:** I'm sorry {*?a:sif*} >for what has happened< (0.2) I:: only heard about the incident this morning (.) it must have been ↑awful for you (0.2) I am sorry {*?a:sif*}
4. **Maria:** >Alla::h has decreed and what He wills He does< {*qad'dara llahu wama 'fa:ʔa faʕal*} (0.3) and God's willing {*in 'fa:ʔalla xajr*} everything is going to be ok
5. **Samir:** There is no power but ↓from Allah {*La ħawla wala 'quwata ?illa: billa:h*}(0.2) If God wills {*in 'fa:ʔalla xajr*} everything is going to be all right
6. **Maria:** I:: actually felt sorry ↓for Susan
7. **Samir:** A::h poor she, thanks to God {*?al'ħamdu lilla:h*} she was not in the flat
8. **Maria:** Yes:: (.) exactly (0.2) ↑ thanks to God {*?al'ħamdu lilla:h*} she was not in
9. **Samir:** Maria (0.3) may I ask you (.) not to tell anyone ↓about this accident

10. **Maria:** ↑Of course (.) you would upset me if you ask me that again (0.3) You know me very well (0.2) ↑we are one family
11. **Samir:** ↑I swear with Allah { 'uqsimu billa:h } that I know (.) and I didn't mean to mistrust you
12. **Maria:** ↑Don't worry (0.2) if God wills { in 'fa:ʔalla xajr } (.) everything is going to be ok
13. **Samir:** ↓If God wills { ?in 'fa:ʔallah }
14. **Maria:** And:: by the way (0.2) if I wanted to share it with anybody (.) I would've written it down in the form and submitted it as proof of lateness (0.3) but I understand and appreciate the matter, it's OK { has'al xajr }
15. **Samir:** ↑I swear to God { Walla:hi } (.) I'm sure about that (0.2) May Allah bless you { Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k } (0.3) and ↑plea::se forgive me if what I've asked caused you disappointment (0.3) and:: don't worry about that (0.2) you don't have to write down the reasons for being late in the form (.) I'll explain it to the management

Samir took Maria's completed form to submit it to his line manager. Although the form included a box for personal reasons, Maria did not list any specific reasons. While Samir was submitting the daily administrative paperwork to his line manager (Dr Hakim), the following conversation took place:

16. **Dr Hakim:** >Are there any late starters for today?<
17. **Samir:** Yes (.) Dr Hakim (0.2) there a::re quite few (.) I'm afraid
18. **Dr Hakim:** ((short silence)) em:: I see
19. **Samir:** May I say something (.) >regarding Maria's lateness this morning?<
20. **Dr Hakim:** Carry on please { Tfad's'd'al }
21. **Samir:** Em:: I think (.) Maria has strong reasons for being late

22. **Dr Hakim:** How did you know? she didn't list any specific reasons for being late
23. **Samir:** I know her ve::ry well (0.3) I swear with Allah (.) the greatest {*wa 'llahi ?ilʕað'i:m*} she's honest (0.3) I know she's got private reasons that she cannot share (0.2) but she is ve::ry reliable
24. **Dr Hakim:** I know that (.) >she doesn't usually come late< (.) unless there's something serious
25. **Samir:** Ya ya (.) that's true indeed (0.2) May Allah bless you {*ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k*}
26. **Dr Hakim:** <Generally speaking> (0.2) I respect your defensive situation regarding Mrs Maria (.) which is a positive behaviour of you (0.2) but:: I – I still do not fully understand your reasons (.) behind that
27. **Samir:** It just happens that I know she's got good reasons (0.2) and I wanted to clarify that
28. **Dr Hakim:** Ok Samir (.) thank you {*'fukran*} for that (0.2) and plea::se don't worry
29. **Samir:** May God reward you goodness {*dʒaza:ka 'lla:hu xajran*} (.) doctor
30. **Dr Hakim:** you too {*Wa '?ija:k*}

8.3.3 Analysis

In turn 1, Samir greets his colleague Maria using a religious/social ritual "?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum" and she responded using the same form of greeting. Culturally speaking, from a religious point of view, this is one of the more significant manifestations of politeness and good manners, as it is believed to maintain and strengthen relationships between people.

In turn 3, Samir apologises using the formal form of "I am sorry" to apologise to Maria as both a colleague and a family friend. From the analyst's second-order perspective, starting with apologetic language before referring to the incident itself is considered polite, and this seems to also be appreciated by Maria as this is apparent in her responses in turns 4 and 6.

One may also note that the form "I am sorry" was used twice by Samir in the same turn, which indicates his appreciation, sympathy with her in having to deal with an emergency for his family, as well as a feeling of responsibility, as she may have had to deal with a life threatening situation.

In turn 4, ritualistic politeness appears in Maria's use of the religious rituals "Allah has decreed, and what He wills, He does" and "God's willing, everything is going to be OK", whereas the former means that whatever happens is a matter of fate and has a meaning in one's life, the latter is a prayer for good consequences and is intended to relieve the other. Her response also includes consideration for Samir's feeling, saying, "it is OK" and "do not worry", which also puts him at ease. That is to say, it saves Samir from any face-threat that could have been caused by his feeling of responsibility for any inconvenience that his family accident might have caused to Maria, including being late for work.

In turn 5, one may note another manifestation of ritualistic politeness, which is apparent in Samir's use of the religious rituals "There is no power except from Allah" "If God wills, everything is going to be OK". Both of these rituals function as supportive phrases when they are said. "There is no might nor power except from Allah" indicates the speaker's sorrow for what has happened and more importantly, it is believed that Allah has the power and ability to maintain anything that breaks or goes wrong.

In turn 6, Maria shifts the attention from herself to Samir's mother-in-law. If our second-order understanding of politeness here is as kindness and good manners, then caring for Susan while she is not present represents another level of politeness. From the analyst's second-order perspective, shifting the focus here could be interpreted as an attempt to save Samir's face, who seems to be not at ease. However, this shift seems to be successful, since Samir stopped apologising and feeling sorry towards Maria and he thanks God for the safety of his family as can be seen in turn 7. In turn 8, Maria shares with Samir his feelings of happiness and appreciation, which is also defined as good manners in the Sunnah:

"No one of you becomes a true believer until he likes for his brother what he likes for himself" (Al-Bukhari and Muslim, 13).

"لَا يُؤْمِنُ أَحَدُكُمْ حَتَّىٰ يُحِبَّ لِأَخِيهِ مَا يُحِبُّ لِنَفْسِهِ"

In turn 9, Samir makes a direct request to Maria to not share the emergency situation with anyone, particularly with their colleagues at work. Despite the fact that Samir's request was asked in a polite way, Maria, in turn 10, seems to perceive that as offensive, due to the content of the request, rather than how it has been asked. From Maria's reaction "you would upset me if you ask me that again", one may conclude that according to Maria's first-order understanding, Samir's request is offensive, since it indicates a lack of trust. Maria further associates herself with Samir's family, saying, "we are one family", which also confirms that Samir's request was inappropriate. However, looking into Samir's understanding in turn 11, his request was to give him extra inner reassurance and was not due to mistrust. He also used the religious ritual of oathing: "I swear with Allah's name the greatest" to indicate sincerity. Samir further apologises using "I am sorry" and also explains the reason behind his request, which both represent forms of politeness.

In turn 12, Maria expresses her sympathy using "do not worry" and "If God wills, everything is going to be OK". The use of this religious ritual entails optimism and a strong belief that things will be better. Her use of "If God wills, everything is going to be OK" could also be interpreted as an indirect reminder to Samir that everything is in Allah's hand. Therefore, ritualistic politeness is evident in terms of both content and style. Again in turn 14, Maria's response indicates that her first-order understanding of Samir's request was negative. However, from a second-order understanding, she expressed her disappointment in a polite way "if I wanted to share it with everybody, I would have written it down and submitted it as proof of lateness, but I understand and appreciate the matter, {ḥasʿal xajr = it's OK}". The combined use of the religious ritual "ḥasʿal xajr" disarms her reaction and makes it more acceptable to the recipient. Although "ḥasʿal xajr" is equivalent to the meaning of "it's OK", it is believed to have a stronger positive impact due to its religious nature.

In turn 15, Samir gets Maria's message and understands that she was offended by his request, so he tries to rectify the situation using "oathing" "appreciation" and "apologetic language".

He further offers to help explain her situation to the management, which could be interpreted as an appreciation of her supportive situation to his family, as well as an apology to his last request, which Maria found inappropriate.

In turn 16, another interaction occurs between Samir and his line manager, Dr Hakim. One may note that the conversation takes another level of formality (employee-manager relationship). For example, Dr Hakim's question is brief and specific, along with Samir's use of the addressing title "Dr", and the phrase "I am afraid", which all entails formality and normativity. It might be worth referring to the assumption that there are no inherently polite forms, but all forms depend on the situation, topic, context, and more importantly the way things are said. However, in this situation, formality occasions politeness. In turn 19, Samir's prosody and formal way of asking for the floor to contribute/say something manifests politeness too. From the analyst's second-order perspective, looking into Dr Hakim's short silence, Samir has chosen the appropriate time to contribute motivated by this pause. From his first-order understanding, Dr Hakim's short silence could be perceived as an implicit signal for Samir to interrupt or speak/comment, so long as it is related to the form in particular, or work in general. Dr Hakim's use of the honorific form "Tfad' d'al", which does not have an exact equivalent in English, but could be translated as "you're welcome to", does not only entail highly deferential language, but also occasions politeness.

In turn 21, Samir's hesitation remarks and short pauses indicate that the situation is somehow face-threatening to Samir and it is not easy to raise it with his line manager in particular, due to the nature of the relationship. Furthermore, hedging language and uncertainty "I think" also occasions politeness in this situation. However, in turn 22, Dr Hakim's response is polite, but less formal, which again could be related back to the (employee-manager relationship). That is to say, the person in authority (manager) is not always expected to use a highly deferential language; it depends on the situation. For instance, if Dr Hakim's question, "how did you know" took a highly formal formula such as, "could you kindly explain how did you know that, Mr Samir", it could be interpreted as sarcasm, rather than politeness, especially since the topic is somehow personal/sensitive in this case. In turn 23, one may observe that Samir's style of talk is not as formal as with the previous turns, but it takes a different form.

That is to say, this is ritualistic politeness, particularly through the use of oathing “wa'llahi ?ilʕaḏ'i:m” (I swear with Allah, the greatest). Furthermore, the use of religious rituals is stronger in defending someone’s case in a less face-threatening way. From a second-order perspective, the use of the terms “this lady is honest”, “she is very reliable” could not be taken as a “compliment”, but rather are positive characteristics to defend Maria’s situation. Referring to Maria using “this lady” also entails deference and respect, which occasions politeness in this case. In turn 24, Dr Hakim’s response shows his understanding of the situation and agreement with Samir’s point of view of Maria and her performance as an employee, which results in relief for Samir, who was in an uneasy situation. Two other manifestations of politeness in Dr Hakim’s response are the use of Mrs as a term of address, instead of using only the first name, as well as implicit compliments of Maria’s performance.

In turn 25, from the analyst’s second-order perspective, Samir’s appreciation of Dr Hakim’s understanding manifests itself in ritualistic politeness (May Allah bless you) which further proves that the use of social and religious rituals is not restricted to social or less formal settings, such as a family friendship milieu. In turn 26, a metacomment appears in Dr Hakim’s response, “I respect your defensive situation regarding Mrs Maria, which is a positive behaviour”, which gives us a clear understanding of Dr Hakim’s first-order understanding. However, from a second-order perspective, Dr Hakim’s latter comment seems to be a teasing comment, rather than a serious one, and this can be understood from his positive response further in turn 26. Dr Hakim’s comment is more likely to be classified as an institutional joke that is usually not taken any further by the employee, apart from smiling or agreeing due to the level of relationship. In this case, it is apparent that Samir perceives that the comment was not a serious one. However, he chooses to refer back to Maria’s situation, rather than extending the joke. In turn 28, 29, and 30, politeness manifests itself in “thanking” “mutual agreement” and most evidently in “ritualistic forms”.

8.4 Interactional Example No (8.4)

8.4.1 Background

The following interaction is initially between two colleagues who work at the same department, and will be referred to as Marwa and Nadine. Nadine had a misunderstanding with Marwa, but never admitted that she was wrong or mean to her. Marwa was unhappy

about Nadine's behaviour and shared that with Arwa and her other colleagues, referred to as Maisan and Arwa, in this occurrence. Nadine never offered an apology to Marwa for upsetting her, and they started to have a limited contact. One day and just after the Eid holiday, Nadine offered Marwa a cupcake and the following interaction took place.

8.4.2 Script

1. **Nadine:** ((approached Marwa and put a cupcake on her desk)) Please help yourself to {*Tfad^s'd^llaj:*} the cupcake
2. **Marwa:** May Allah bless you {*Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k*} but I have just (.) I mean I had lots of [sweets today
3. **Nadine:** [No:: no >just take [it<
4. **Marwa:** [I swear to Go:d {*Walla:hi*} no:: ↑thank you {*'fukran*} (0.2) even Dr Murad offered me a:: a cake and I haven't had it yet (.) so please don't take it [personally
5. **Nadine:** [No:: >ta::ke it take it< ((Pushing the cupcake forward on Marwa's desk)) ↑come on (.) you have to take it (.) it- it's Eid sweets
6. **Marwa:** () (0.2) ((just a breathing sound with no comment))

((Nadine left the office for the lunch break and when she came back, Marwa took the cupcake and put it back on Nadine's desk and says))
7. **Marwa:** ↑ Thank you {*'fukran*}
8. **Nadine:** () ((no comment))

((Misan met with Marwa in Arwa's office, and the interaction went as follows))
9. **Marwa:** Blessed Eid ↑Misan {*'ʕi:d 'muba:rak*}
10. **Misan:** Many happy returns and ↑May Allah grant you good health {*Kul ʕa:m winta 'bxajr*} >please have a seat<
11. **Marwa:** Oh: thank you {*'fukran*}↑How are you today?=-

12. **Misan:** =Prai:se be to Alla:h (.) I'm fine {*?al'ħamdu lilla:h, 'bxajr*} (.) a::nd you?
13. **Marwa:** ↑<Praise be to Allah >I'm fine {*?al'ħamdu lilla:h, 'bxajr*} but- (.) <but you know what>today (.) I had such a:: situation with Nadine
14. **Misan:** Really? {*Walla:hi*}
15. **Marwa:** Ye::s (.) actually what is it- it was Nadine (.) she offered me a cupcake ↑not really offering (0.2) she just- just put it on my de::sk [a::nd-
16. **Misan:** [Ye::s {*ba:hi*]=
17. **Marwa:** =A::nd then (0.3) I had to refuse it in a nice way ↑you know (.) she has been so:: mean an:d bossy to me↑she also- she was- her way of talk was not nice to me even in pair tasks (0.3) after all that (.) she came to me and wanted to enforce me <to- to ha::ve her cupcake> =
18. **Misan:** = Rea:lly? {*Wallahi*} <maybe she was trying to- to apologise by a:: a-offering you >↑the cupcake< How did it go?
19. **Marwa:** We:ll {*Wallahi:*} (0.3) I might've been rude (.) but I:: thanked her ↑and also told her (.) that I didn't even manage to eat a cake offered to me by:: (0.2) Dr Murad ((her colleague)) ↓so she doesn't take it personally (0.2) but- but it's actually °personal° as- I felt she is like- like “killing someone and walking in their funeral” (0.3) <I mean when someone hurts you ↑they have to- (.) to come and apologise fi:rst and- a::nd then ↓they can make offers> but you know I didn't want to escalate the situation (0.3) so I simply (.) as if- I mean I made my refusal appear like- because to- I already had so much sweets instead of (.) mentioning my real reasons
20. **Misan:** I know what you mean (.) you- >you refused the cupcake politely<
21. **Marwa:** I tried (0.3) but again (.) not even admitting that she has done ↑something wrong a::nd if she thinks (.) by putting a cupcake over my desk, it will- all problems will bewiped (.) the::n that's what we call a “steel face” (0.2) ↑Not only tha::t(.) she we::nt to Arwa a:nd told her ↑it's me who is hard to deal with

22. **Arwa:** Oh:: ye:s that's right (0.2) Nadine came to me (.) a:nd said "Marwa is rea::lly difficult to deal with(.) I even offered her a cupcake (.)but she threw it Jat my face"

8.4.3 Analysis

In turn 1, from the analyst's second-order understanding, Nadine made an offer to Marwa using the honorific term "Tfad^sd'llaj:". This term does not have an exact equivalent in English, but the closest one in meaning is "please help yourself". Without looking deeply into the whole situation, this offer is polite. However, the recipient, Marwa, does not seem to perceive it as a polite and sincere offer, as we may note in the following turns. In turn 2, Marwa's refusal of the cupcake offer manifests itself in ritualistic politeness "May Allah bless you". She further provides a reason behind her refusal, in order to avoid any face-threat, since refusals are usually perceived as negative reactions. In turn 3, Nadine re-offers for the second time, but in a less preferred formula: "Nooo, just take it". Marwa, in turn 4, refuses again, using the religious ritual, "Walla:hi" (I swear with God's name), providing a more convincing reason to refuse: "even Dr Murad offered me a cake and I have not had it yet". Using the phrase "so please do not take it personally" sounds as polite on the surface level, but on a deeper level, it hints that there is tension between Nadine and Marwa, and they are both trying to behave considerately.

Nadine makes a third offer in turn 5 while pushing the cupcake further on Marwa's desk to indicate sincerity. However, from the analyst's second-order perspective, using repeated imperatives is not a preferred method of offering, particularly if the individuals are not in a good relationship, since this could be perceived as a forceful and fake offer, rather than sincere. Culturally speaking, referring to the occasion of Eid here "it is Eid" is positive as it could influence the other's feelings, providing that it is a very special religious and social occasion where people meet, greet, and forgive one another. In this situation; for instance, from Nadine's first-order understanding, referring to the Eid occasion could make Marwa accept her offer. However, this offer attempt was unsuccessful as well. Marwa again expresses her thanks to Nadine through ritualistic politeness, while returning the cupcake, which means that all Nadine's offer attempts have failed.

In turn 9, in the interaction between Marwa and her colleague, Misan starts with socially conventional greetings and normative ritualistic greetings of Eid such as “Blessed Eid”. Although these special greetings might not be perceived as marked politeness, if the speaker initiates any conversation on the Eid day before exchanging these special greetings, it would be perceived as impoliteness. Although Marwa and Misan seem to have a kind of friendly relationship, the normative polite behaviour is still apparent in their interaction. For instance, Misan, in turn 10, uses the conventional term “please” in offering Marwa a seat and similarly Marwa uses the conventional form of thanking “thank you” as a response. From the analyst’s second-order perspective, both forms are perceived as polite in this situation.

In turn 13, Marwa introduces to the situation what she wants to share with Misan in a strategic way, which could be interpreted as considerate, in order to see if Misan is ready to hear her and to get her attention at the same time. In turn 14, Misan shows interest in what Marwa’s wants to share, as if she did not do so, Marwa could get offended. Therefore, Misan’s indication of interest using “really” could be out of politeness, rather than interest in the matter itself.

In turn 15, one may ascertain Marwa’s second-order understanding of Nadine’s offer as she talks about it to Misan. Marwa does not perceive Nadine’s offer of the cupcake as a genuine offer, because Nadine placed it on her desk instead of giving it to her in her hand. This is regardless of the fact that Nadine did make a verbal offer to Marwa to take the cupcake. Misan, in turn 16, again shows interest and engagement through filling gap remarks, as well as the word “bahi”, which could be translated as “yes” in this context, and furthermore in this context it is used to engage with the speaker and encourage him/her to carry on.

In turn 17, there is evidence of a metacomment, when Marwa refers back to her refusal of the cupcake: “I have to refuse it in a nice way”. Marwa also explicitly evaluates Nadine’s behaviour in other occasions as “bossy” and “mean”, which clearly indicates that Marwa is angry at Nadine and the way she deals with her. From Marwa’s second-order (or post-event) understanding, Nadine’s cupcake offer is enforcement, rather than an offer in itself. In turn 18, Misan’s second-order understanding of the situation appears for the first time, where she thinks that Nadine’s offer could be interpreted as an attempt of apology through offering the cupcake; in other words, to soothe the air. In turn 19, Marwa’s use of the discourse marker

“well” as an equivalent of “walla:hi” in this context indicates some hesitation from Marwa. From the analyst’s second-order perspective, this could be interpreted as Marwa’s evaluation of her own behaviour, using a metacomment “I might have been rude”. She further refers to herself, thanking Nadine for the cupcake, without any reference to the word “politeness”.

The other interesting observation here is that in the “post-event” interaction, Marwa’s comment to Nadine, which appeared earlier in turn 4, “please do not take it personally”, proved to mean completely the opposite, but it is still perceived as polite when it was said. Marwa’s second-order understanding of Nadine’s behaviour further appears in her idiomatic use of “I felt she is like killing someone and walking in their funeral”, indicating that she perceives Nadine’s behaviour as inappropriate. From the analyst’s second-order perspective, the use of the above idiom could be also interpreted as polite, that is, rather than stating that someone has been impolite or rude, the meaning is implicitly indicated. Metacomments further appear in Marwa’s reference to the conduct of an apology, as well as an offer refusal. It might also be worth noting that politeness does not only enhance relationships, but also soothes awkward situations down. That is to say, although Marwa was unhappy with Nadine, she behaved politely according to the norms of politeness.

In turn 20, a metacomment is evident in Misan’s response, “you refused the cupcake politely”, since she refers explicitly to politeness. In turn 21, according to Marwa’s understanding of politeness, when someone offends you, they are expected to admit it and apologise before making any offers. There is also a lay understanding reference to the notion of face as “steel face”, which means that someone has a bold face and does not get embarrassed, whatever the situation is. Finally, in turn 22, Arwa’s contribution to the conversation also reveals more post-event understandings. That is to say, Nadine’s exaggerative comment in reference to Marwa’s offer refusal indicates that according to her own understanding, Marwa’s refusal in itself was offensive.

8.5 Interactional Example No (8.5)

8.5.1 Background

This situation takes place between two colleagues, Dr Elyas, who is a senior line manager, and Ibrahim, who is an employee. At the lunch break, Dr Elyas used the microwave located

in the communal kitchenette to heat up his lunch, but when he took the container out and put it on his desk, he found out that it was gluey and made a mess over his desk. So, he wrote a note on a piece of paper and put it on the microwave to politely draw his colleagues' attention to clean after use, and the note reads ((الرجاء تنظيف الميكروويف بعد الإستعمال. شهية طيبة)), which translates as ((Please clean the microwave after use ... Bon appetite)).

Ibrahim approached Dr Elyas in his office and the interaction went as follows.

8.5.2 Script

1. **Ibrahim:** ((knocks at door of Dr Elyas' office))
2. **Dr Elyas:** ↑ Please ↑co::me in {*Tfad^s'd^{al}*}
3. **Ibrahim:** ↑Pea::ce be upon you {*?assa 'la:mu ʕa 'lajkum*} (.) Elyas
4. **Dr Elyas:** A:nd pea::ce and Go:d's mercy be upon you {*Wa ʕa 'lajkum ?assa 'la:m wa rahmatu 'lla:h*}(.) welcome {*Mar'haba*} Ibrahim (.) please have a seat
5. **Ibrahim:** May Allah bless you {*?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k*} (0.2) tell me (.) was it you who wrote the note on the microwave?
6. **Dr Elyas:** ((smiling)) wh::y? (.) Was it ↑you (.) who:: (h)
7. **Ibrahim:** Well:: {*Walla:hi*} (0.2) it wa:s me and I:: should've cleaned it really (0.3) I used the microwave to heat up some milk for our brother Ahmed; he was a:: bit unwell (.) and then I stuck with Dr Naji and:: by the time I went back to take the milk out (.) it was overheated and went all over the microwave tray (0.2) I should've cleaned it (.) but ↑I swear to God {*Walla:hi*} I totally forgot (0.2) I ask you for the sake of God to forgive me {*'Billa:hi ʕalajk '?tsamiḥni:*} (0.2) I will clean it now (.) I'm so:: sorry, I swear to God {*Asif walla:hi*} (.) forgive me {*Samihni*} for the inconvenience (.) ↓I caused to you please
8. **Dr Elyas:** Ah:: ↑Really {*Walla:hi*} I didn't know it was you (0.2) it's ok Ibrahim (.) If I knew that it was you (.) I would have not written it in the first place (0.3) ↑Really {*Walla:hi*} it's ok (.) don't worry at all

9. **Ibrahim:** ↑No:: you've done the right thing (.) ↑I must admit {*Walla:hi*} (0.2) and I'm sorry I swear to God {*Asif walla:hi*}
10. **Dr Elyas:** ↑Really {*Walla:hi*} it's oka::y brother (0.3) I:: actually thought (0.2) that someone else out of our department who used the microwave carelessly (.) so I thought (.) it is ↑better to write a polite note >rather than asking everyone< face-to-face to be more careful when using the communal kitchenette (0.2) You know (0.2) I think it would be quite embarrassing
11. **Ibrahim:** May Allah bless you {*Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k*} brother (0.2) I'm sorry {*Asif*} and that won't happen again boss (h)
12. **Dr Elyas:** okay okay {*bahi bahi*} (h)

8.5.3 Analysis

In the first two turns, politeness manifests itself in asking for permission before entering someone's place. That is to say, Ibrahim knocks at Dr Elyas's office door as a non-verbal action to seek permission, whereas Dr Elyas's uses a honorific term of addressing "Tfad' d'al" (welcome) to welcome Ibrahim in. In turns 3 and 4, there is an adjacency pair of greetings, which, as emphasised in earlier examples, is a significant form of politeness and is good manners. Ritualistic politeness also appears in Dr Elyas's use of the full version of the religious social ritual of greeting "Wa ʕa' lajkum ?assa' la:m wa rahmatu 'lla:h" in addition to the social ritual of greeting "Mar'haba" (welcome), which correlates with the religious teachings. One may also note that there is some evidence of deferential language and normative behaviour, e.g. "please have a seat", assuming that Ibrahim would not have sat down until the offer was made and a way of saying to Ibrahim your visit is more welcome. Ibrahim, on the other hand, thanked Dr Elyas in return, using a religious social ritual "May Allah bless you".

However, in turn 5, Ibrahim directly asks Dr Elyas if it was he who wrote the note, and Dr Elyas smiles and responds back with another question, as can be seen in turn 6. From a second-order perspective, directness here indicates that the relationship between them is based on solidarity, rather than formality. In turn 7, Ibrahim is being polite by admitting spilling the milk in the communal microwave was his fault and apologises to Dr Elyas. At the

same time, however, one may also note that Ibrahim was also trying to defend his situation or justify what happened, by giving reasons in order to get Dr Elyas's sympathy and lend his apology more weight in order for it to be accepted. First, he mentioned that he was heating up some milk for his colleague Ahmed who was feeling unwell. Second, Ibrahim implicitly refers to his unhealthy work relationship with his line manager, Dr Naji, using the phrase "I was stuck". From an analyst's second-order perspective, Ibrahim also managed to express his feelings of discomfort towards his line manager within the limit and without any need to violate the norms of politeness. For instance, he uses the title Dr, plus his first name, instead of referring to him using his first name only.

However, this politeness could be imposed by the setting itself, i.e, institutional. Another significant manifestation of politeness is that Ibrahim's apologetic behaviour which was repetitive, appears in phrases like "*walla:hi* it was me who used the microwave and I should have cleaned it'." "I should have cleaned it, but *wallahi* I totally forgot.. So I ask you for the sake of God to forgive me" and "I am sorry, forgive me for the inconvenience I caused to you please". That is to say, from the analyst's second-order perspective, politeness manifests itself in different forms here, including: oathing, religious rituals, apology with giving reasons, and caring for the other.

From the analyst's second-order perspective, although in terms of work hierarchy and authority, Dr Elyas has a higher status than Ibrahim, one may note that their relationship is based on solidarity, rather than formality, due to the age gap. For instance, in turn 8, from Dr Elyas's face-threat it is apparent in his caring response and use of the religious ritual of oathing "*walla:hi* it's OK" and "If I knew that it was you, I would have not written it in the first place...it's OK *walla:hi*.. Do not worry". For Dr Elyas, respecting those who are older in age indicates deference and caring for the other's feelings and emotions is thoughtfulness and part of good manners. Therefore, it is another first-order understanding of "politeness".

In turn 9, Ibrahim shows agreement with Dr Elyas's note regarding cleaning the microwave after use, while repeating his apologies in the formal formula of "I am sorry", which could be perceived as being over-apologetic and therefore increases Dr Elyas's feeling of unease or face-threat. Dr Elyas, in turn 10, carries on his reassuring statements to embrace the situation using religious ritual of oathing "*walla:hi*", as well as calling Ibrahim using the term of

address “brother”, which further enhances solidarity and intimacy and causes there to be less distance between the two.

Furthermore, Dr Elyas gives reasons to justify writing the note, using a metacomment “so I thought it is better to write a polite note rather than asking everyone face-to-face to be more careful when using the communal kitchenette.. you know I think it would be quite embarrassing”. From Dr Elyas’s first-order understanding, it is easier to put an instructional note in writing, rather than saying it face-to-face. He also uses the word “polite” in referring to his note, which means that he took politeness and others’ feelings into consideration when writing the note. From a second-order perspective, Dr Elyas’s note which reads as “Please clean the microwave after use ...bon appetite” falls within the norms of politeness. However, “bon appetite” in combination with the note could be also interpreted as being conditioned with cleaning the microwave, that is, if you clean it, have a pleasant meal. This somehow reveals Dr Elyas’s annoyance of leaving the microwave unclean, yet he acted politely.

In turn 11, Ibrahim uses a religious social ritual “May Allah bless you” to thank Dr Elyas for his good intention and apologises once again, but in a more joking manner this time. Dr Elyas and Ibrahim’s mutual laugh indicates that Ibrahim’s humour of using the term “boss” in this way was successful and helps to ease the situation.

8.6 Interactional Example No (8.6)

8.6.1 Background

An English teacher, who will be referred to as Dr Asaad, has recently moved to work at a new school. Some of his colleagues have already warned him that he may face some problems with the Headmaster’s Assistant, who will be referred to as Mr Ahmed, since he interferes in every detail. Dr Asaad was assigned to teach English from grade 7 to grade 12. The Headmaster’s Assistant daughter was attending grade 9 which is considered one of the key stages in the Libyan Education System. This occurrence started when the Headmaster’s Assistant met Dr Asaad at the school, and began to give him advice and some negative comments about his approach of teaching particularly concerning the 9th grade.

8.6.2 Script

1. **The Headmaster's Assistant (Mr Ahmed):** ↑Pea:ce be upon you {*?assa 'la:mu*
ʕa 'lajkum} Dr Asaad (.) how are you?=
2. **Dr Asaad:** =A:nd pea:ce and Go:d's mercy be upon you {*Wa ʕa 'lajkum ?assa 'la:m*
wa raḥmatu 'llah} Mr Ahmed (.) praise be to Alla:h{*?al 'ḥamdu lilla:h*} ↑how are
you? =
3. **Mr Ahmed:** =Prai:se be to Alla:h {*?al 'ḥamdu lilla:h*} (.) <I am really we:ll>
{*'bxajr Walla:hi*}
4. **Dr Asaad:** Praise be to Alla:h {*?al 'ḥamdu lilla:h*}
5. **Mr Ahmed:** By the way ↓ doctor ↑ do you u::se handouts with your students? (0.2)
or- or do you ↓only stick to the textbook? ↑because I- I persona:lly think th- (.) that
<it is not healthy to stick to the textbooks only>=
6. **Dr Asaad:** =Thanks{*'fukran*}(0.3) but I think that it is a:: bit too early for these
↑technical questions and concerns ↓ please do not worry =
7. **Mr Ahmed :=** Ok ↓I see what you mean

(After a couple of days, Mr Ahmed approached Dr Asaad during the lunch break
and the interaction went as follows))
8. **Mr Ahmed:** ↑Hello {*Mar 'ḥaba*} Dr Asaad >How're you doing?<
9. **Dr Asaad:** ↑Hello {*Mar 'ḥaba*} Mr Ahmed(.) I'm fine ↑Praise be to Allah
{*?al 'ḥamdu lilla:h*}
10. **Mr Ahmed:** A::nd (.) how's teaching going?
11. **Dr Asaad:** It's going well
12. **Mr Ahmed:** I- I can <provide you with (.) previous exam papers> as- a::nd some
relevant material for the key stages (0.2) I mean a- (.) ↓year 9 and year 12

13. **Dr Asaad:** Tha:nks { 'fukran } ↑Mr Ahmed (0.3) we are still at ↑the beginning of the term(.) but I will let you know if I need to

((After nearly a week, Mr Ahmed approached Dr Asaad again in the Teachers' Room and the interaction went as follows))

14. **Mr Ahmed:** How a:re things?

15. **Dr Asaad:** Everything is fine ↑prai::se be to Alla:h { ?al'ħamdu lilla:h }

16. **Mr Ahmed:** I wanted to tell you that ↑the School Administration is- (.) is arranging for extra classes <for tho::se who are behind with the curriculum> Sha:ll we >include your name?< it will be also: coun- counted as a- an overtime

17. **Dr Asaad:** No ↓thanks { 'fukran }(.) ↑I am going we:ll with the curriculum (.) and according to my plan

18. **Mr Ahmed:** ↓I see(0.3) but- but <I thought that's going to be useful>

19. **Dr Asaad:** Thanks { 'fukran }, but I am fine rea:lly{ walla:hi } a:nd I don't think I need it (.) at the moment

20. **Mr Ahmed:** ↓O:k

((The next day, Mr Ahmed phoned Dr Asaad in the late evening and the conversation went as follows))

21. **Mr Ahmed:** Good evening { Masa:?'lxajr } Dr Asaad

22. **Dr Asaad:** Good evening { Masa:?'lxajr } Mr Ahmed. God's willing everything is ok{ ?in 'fa:ʔalla xajr }

23. **Mr Ahmed:** Nothing wrong, God's willing everything is ok { xajr xajr ?in 'fa:lla }. Praise be to Allah { ?al'ħamdu lilla:h }

24. **Dr Asaad:** Praise be to Allah{ ?al'ħamdu lilla:h }

25. **Mr Ahmed:** You know, doctor. Try to speed up a bit with your teaching, so time does not beat you. As you know the famous proverb says “time is like a sword if you do not cut it, it will cut you”
26. **Dr Asaad:** I am doing very well with that really { *Walla:hi* }
27. **Mr Ahmed:** How come you’re doing very well when you are still in unit 2
28. **Dr Asaad :** It is almost 23:30 now, so let’s talk about this tomorrow when we meet up at the school
29. **Mr Ahmed:** Yes, you are right, and I am sorry { *?a:sif* } I have not noticed that it was that late, please do not worry. Good night { *'Lajltak 'saʕi:da* }
30. **Dr Asaad:** Take care { *Maʕa '?ssala:ma* }

((Dr Asaad decided to write a formal resignation letter to the Headmaster. The resignation letter reads as: “due to the repeated negative observations and concerns that have been received in regard to my performance and teaching approach, please kindly accept my resignation, or if possible exempt me from teaching the 9th grade))

((During the lunch break and in the presence of all the other teachers, Dr Asaad submitted his letter to the headmaster. The Headmaster’s Assistant, Mr Ahmed, was in the same office, but busy on his PC. The Headmaster was reading the letter silently and the following interaction took place))

31. **The Headmaster :** Which negative observations and concerns are you talking about when you are one of the best and most qualified teachers in our school
32. **Dr Asaad:** I have been teaching English for more than 20 years. I taught primary, preparatory, secondary (both Science and Arts), specialised in secondary stage, high institutes of different specialities, including educational, commercial, vocational, and agricultural as well as university level and never ever in my life had one single negative comment from my seniors including headmasters, deans, or pro-vice chancellors, nor received any complaint regarding my academic

- performance. Then, this one comes at this time to pick up on me and criticise my performance; and to show me how to do my work with all these concerns within one month
33. **Mr Ahmed** : I did not interfere in your work or show you how to do your job
 34. **Dr Asaad** : Since I joined this school, you started giving me advice and negative comments and I was so patient. But when it gets to the point that you talk to me about which unit I am at, that is a clear interference
 35. **Mr Ahmed:** No, I swear to God {*Walla:hi*} you got me wrong, I was only doing that with the intention of offering help
 36. **Dr Asaad:** Actually I know where all your extra care comes from, it is because of your daughter. But if you are worried about her studies, I want to reassure you that all those whom I taught during my teaching career are now either at the university or already successful graduates
 37. **Mr Ahmed:** I appreciate all your experience and qualifications and I swear with Allah's name the greatest {*wa 'llahi ?il?ad?i:m*}believe me I did not mean to offend you by any means with my comments. I am sorry {*?a:sif*} I did not mean to cause you any offence with my comments
 38. **Dr Asaad:** And for your own information I am the only teacher in this school who studied fundamental educational courses, such as teaching methodology, curriculum development, and psychology. Then you come to show me how to teach my students. Not only that, I left other good job offers and chose to come to this school instead for my wellbeing due to the chronic illnesses I have. Not for you to come and cause me unnecessary headache and pressure at the end of the day
 39. **The Headmaster:** Please calm down doctor, and God's willing {*?in 'fa:?allah*} we will sort everything out
 40. **Dr Asaad:** And talking about speeding up in teaching, the start is the base and I have to be extra careful that the students understood it properly, then go gradually just like the car gear: 1st, 2nd, so on, not the highest speed at once. Finally, I want to

remind you that I am not like my other two colleagues whom you hassled with your over interference last year and they had to cope with it. When I come to this school, my expectations were way positive than what I have been through

41. **Mr Ahmed:** I repeat my sincere apologies to you and God's willing {*?in 'fa:ʔallah*} everything will be OK

42. **Dr Asaad:** The forgiving is Allah {*?almusa:miħ rab 'bi*}

((Mr Ahmed did not limit his attempts of apology to rectify the situation to the institutional context, but he sought help from one of the teachers, Mr Essam, who is a mutual friend of Mr Ahmed and Dr Asaad, and asked him to mediate in order to clear the air in a friendly way. After a couple of attempts, Dr Asaad accepted Mr Ahmed's request for a reconciliation dinner at Dr Asaad's house in attendance of shared friends, and the following interaction took place))

43. **Dr Asaad:** Welcome {*Mar'ħaba*} to my house and I am blessed with our gathering {*?a:nas'tu:na:*} this evening . Thank you {*'mafku:ri:n*} for your good intention

44. **Mr Ahmed:** May Allah protect you {*'Alla:h ?i'salmak*} and May Allah bless you {*Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k*} for accepting our social visit for reconciliation, my brother {*xuij*} Dr Asaad. I have asked our friend and brother {*xuij*} Essam to talk to you regarding the problem that occurred between us and God knows how happy I am that "the water has returned back to its course" {*?almi:jah ?adat ?ila madʒa:ri:ha*}. I am grateful to Allah, then my thanks go to brother Essam

45. **Essam:** It is my great pleasure. Praise be to Allah {*?al'ħamdu lilla:h*} and may Allah keep love and last good relations among us all {*Rabbi 'jedu:m ?ilmaħabba bajna*}

46. **Mr Ahmed, Dr Asaad, and others:** Amin {*?alla:hum'ma ?a:mi:n*}

47. **Mr Ahmed:** God's willing {*?in 'fa:ʔallah*} you forgive me my brother {*xuij*} Asaad

48. **Dr Asaad:** No more hard feelings brother Ahmed and May Allah forgive us all {*Rabbi jesa:mihna: dzami:ʕan*}. I really {*walla:hi*} lost my temper the other day, so please forgive me {*sa:mihn:*} too if I hurt you
49. **Mr Ahmed:** No worries at all, damn Satan {?*allah yexzi: 'affajt'a:n*} and may Allah last affection among us all {?*allah 'jedu:m ?ilmu:wadda bajna*}
50. **Dr Asaad:** Indeed Allah is our best support {*wa 'niʕma bil'lah*}

8.6.3 Analysis

In turn 1, politeness manifests itself in the use of the constructive religious social ritual of a greeting “ʔassa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum” and “Wa ʕa'lajkum ʔassa'la:m wa raḥmatu 'llah” by both Mr Ahmed and Dr Asaad. It might be also worth mentioning that Dr Asaad used the proper and the full version of this ritual, which agrees with the religious teachings in the Quran and the Sunnah. Despite the fact that these things are usually taken for granted or go unnoticed, if someone initiates a conversation without these greetings, it would be perceived as impolite.

In turn 5, Mr Ahmed addresses Dr Asaad using his title “doctor”, which occasions institutional politeness. However, he used the term “I personally think” in giving advice, which could be open to two different interpretations. He either wants to make it less formal and therefore, less face-threatening to Dr Asaad, or he thinks that this could be perceived as an inappropriate interference in terms of his institutional role. In turn 6, although Dr Asaad thanked Mr Ahmed for his advice, he seems to perceive it negatively, which is obvious in his in his reference to Mr Ahmed’s questions as “technical”. In other words, it is an implicit message to say “please do not interfere”, he makes his reply less sharp and more polite, and Dr Asaad followed it with a positive reassuring phrase “please do not worry”. Mr Ahmed’s brief reply in turn 7 indicates that he got the intended message with a type of a face-threat, as he showed agreement with no further comment.

However, after two days, Mr Ahmed initiates a similar issue, which is also related to Dr Asaad’s job, as can be seen in turn 10. Again, the role of greetings is apparent in this occasion, but this works at two levels here: to greet the other and to introduce a topic which both occasions politeness here. In turn 12, Mr Ahmed makes an offer, but it gets refused politely by Dr Asaad, who again seems to perceive it as an inappropriate interference from

his first-order understanding, as evident in his reference to the start of the academic year. However, he adds “but I will let you know, if I need to” in order to disarm the refusal, which could be also interpreted as polite.

In part 3 of this example, one may again note the key role of greetings, both as a constructive social ritual and an introductory tool to another topic. As we can see in turn 16, from a second-order perspective, Mr Ahmed seems to be more careful in presenting things to Dr Asaad. For instance, he presented the extra lessons topic using his authoritative role “the School Administration”, rather than talking as an individual. At the same time, however, Mr Ahmed’s reference to “for those who are behind with the curriculum”, occasions a coated impoliteness. By presenting the idea to Dr Asaad, it implicitly means that he is one of those teachers who are behind. Mr Ahmed also refers to the fact that these extra classes would be counted as overtime, in order to make it more tempting to Dr Asaad and convince him to join in an indirect way. That is to say, from the analyst’s second-order understanding, Mr Ahmed wants Dr Asaad to be part of these classes, however, to preserve his institutional status as the Headmaster’s Assistant, he made it an indirect way and presented it not in the form of a request, but in the form of suggestion.

In turn 17, it is evident from Dr Asaad’s reaction that he perceived Mr Ahmed’s remark, “for those who are behind with the curriculum” as impolite. That is to say, Dr Ahmed started with the less preferred short answer “No”, followed with thanks, rather than starting with thanks then following it with a refusal. Dr Asaad also affirms that he is going according to his plan, while emphasising the last part of his statement “I am going well with the curriculum and according to my plan”, as if he is implicitly saying “it is none of your business”, but utilising strategic politeness. In turn 18, Mr Ahmed seems to recognise that the remark he made was inappropriate, so he lowers the tone down in a less formal manner, using phrases like “I thought” in order to rectify the situation. In turn 19, one may note that Mr Ahmed’s attempt to rectify the situation was successful, as reflected in Dr Asaad’s reply “Thank you, but I am fine and I do not think that I need it at the moment”, which also occasions politeness.

Following this interaction over longer stretches, in different settings, on different times, and via different mediums, (e.g. phone conversation in this part), makes it a richer and significantly useful in observing politeness over time and space. In turn 21, Mr Ahmed

initiates the same topic once again over the phone, but this time he also takes it from a formal setting to an informal setting. Here is also where we can see that greetings take a role too, which are brief and social, rather than constructive and ritualistic, and also occasion politeness. In turn 22, as Dr Asaad was not expecting Mr Ahmed's phone call, particularly since it was late at night, used a religious ritual "God's willing I hope everything is OK?" to ask about the reason behind Mr Ahmed's call at that time of the night. Culturally speaking, it is considered polite to use religious rituals in these situations rather than asking the other why they are calling or visiting at an unexpected time. Mr Ahmed's reply, in turn 23, using the appropriate religious ritual of comfort also occasions politeness. Religiously speaking, they both used the religious ritual "Praise be to Allah" to express thanks to God.

In turn 25, Mr Ahmed insists on re-initiating the teaching related topic in a more direct way, but in a form of advice in order to sound less obligatory. From the analyst's second-order understanding, Mr Ahmed also uses a proverb "time is like a sword if you do not cut it, it will cut you", to make his request/ advice sound less imperative, and therefore more polite. In turn 26, it seems that Dr Asaad was unhappy about Mr Ahmed's advice in terms of the content, rather than the way it was being said. In turn 27, Mr Ahmed continues his interference, but this time in a rather confrontational manner. In turn 28, it is evident that from Dr Asaad's reaction that from his first-order understanding, Mr Ahmed's behaviour was inappropriate, as well as face-threatening.

That is to say, the long pauses and reference to time in particular indicates Dr Asaad's annoyance and uneasiness following Mr Ahmed's direct negative comment. The intended meaning of Dr Asaad's implicature regarding time is that it is late at night, as well as it being inappropriate/ impolite to call at such a time, while talking about work related issues. In turn 28, Mr Ahmed's face-threat is obvious in his reply, since he received Dr Asaad's intended message. He also offers an apology, using "I am sorry" and concludes the phone call. In turn 30, Dr Asaad absorbs his anger and replies back to Mr Ahmed's night wishes without any further comments, which from a religious point of view, is considered polite and occasions morality.

Following the same interaction, but with changing factors, such as topic, setting, and participants, we can see more manifestations of politeness and impoliteness. As a result of the

Headmaster's Assistant, Mr Ahmed's, repeated interference, Dr Asaad decided to resign from the school. The first manifestation of politeness in the institutional setting is Dr Asaad's formal letter of resignation, where he used highly deferential language as reflected in his use of the formal standard Arabic. The Headmaster's unhappiness about Dr Assad's request of resignation is apparent in his reaction in turn 31. Although the Headmaster was surprised by Dr Asaad's request, he expressed his disappointment in a form of compliment and appreciation, which occasions politeness. In turn 32, Dr Asaad's reaction indicates that based on his own first-order understanding, he was expecting to be appreciated as a valued staff member with all the experience and qualifications he had. As a result, Dr Asaad let off steam by pointing at Mr Ahmed and evaluating his behaviour as inappropriate in front of the Headmaster, who was unaware of the whole case until he received the resignation letter. The presence of the Headmaster also makes Dr Asaad's reaction more face-threatening and an inconvenience for Mr Ahmed.

In turn 33, Mr Ahmed tries to defend himself and save his face, but this is in vain as Dr Asaad, in turn 34, carries on criticising Mr Ahmed's behaviour, while classifying all his advice or requests as a clear interference. He also refers back to his own behaviour, saying, "and I was so patient" which could be classified as a metacomment. In turn 35, Mr Ahmed makes another attempt to save his face using a religious ritual of oathing, which enhances sincerity. In turn 36, Dr Asaad further attacks Mr Ahmed by referring back to what he thinks is the real reason behind his extra care, which is his daughter attending the 9th grade, causing another face-threat to him. In turn 37, Mr Ahmed shows appreciation of Dr Asaad's experience and qualifications in order to absorb his anger and avoid any further face-threat. One may also notice Mr Ahmed's over-apologetic language, such as when he says, "believe me I did not mean to offend you by any means with my comments", "I am so sorry" and "I did not mean to cause you any offence with my comments", in order to rectify the situation.

Furthermore, in turn 38, Dr Asaad expresses his anger and annoyance with Mr Ahmed's interference in his work, which further proves that he was extremely offended by Mr Ahmed's remarks and repeated invading of work privacy. From Dr Asaad's first-order understanding, Mr Ahmed's interference means that he does not appreciate him as a highly qualified teacher who likes to feel valued as a staff member and part of the school team. Dr Asaad lets off steam by performing a further face-attack as can be seen in his last comment

within the same turn: “Not only that, I left other good job offers and chose to come to this school instead for my wellbeing due to the chronic illnesses I have and not for you to come and cause me unnecessary headache and pressure at the end of the day”.

Following Dr Asaad’s reference to his own illness, the Headmaster tries to contribute in order to calm him down and rectify the situation through a positive comforting promise, “please calm down doctor, and we will sort everything out”. In turn 40, although Dr Asaad seems to calm down a bit, he gives one more final example to Mr Ahmed to prove that his behaviour regarding his teaching was not right, neither in terms of its content nor time. He also makes a final attack towards Mr Ahmed by referring to his negative behaviour with other colleagues, which is again face-threatening for Mr Ahmed. From the analyst’s second-order perspective, the final negative remark he made about the school is not only offensive for Mr Ahmed, but also for the Headmaster, who is the most responsible person for the school. However, due the heat of the moment and the nature of the situation itself, where Mr Ahmed, his Assistant, is the one who was wrong in the first place, the Headmaster does not seem to take any offence from Dr Asaad’s remark. Finally, in turn 41, Mr Ahmed repeatedly apologies to Dr Asaad for what he has done, while using a promising and positive religious ritual. However, his apology is not accepted, as evident in Dr Asaad’s answer, “the forgivable is Allah”. This religious ritual literally means that forgiveness is one of Allah’s attributes and culturally it is a polite way of saying that the apology is not accepted.

In the last part of this example, the problem between Mr Ahmed and Dr Asaad moves from an institutional setting to a social setting, where Mr Ahmed asked a mutual friend to mediate in order to clear the air and rectify the situation. This reflects the importance of the friendship networks in Libyan society and the positive social role they can play in connecting individuals, as well as groups, at all levels. In turn 43, Dr Asaad initiates the talk by warmly welcoming the guests, including Mr Ahmed, using constructive social and religious rituals of greetings. He also thanks them for the initiative of peace-making, which all occasion politeness. Similarly, Mr Ahmed thanks Dr Asaad and appreciates his acceptance for the gathering and Essam for his mediation role using social and religious rituals that manifests ritualistic politeness. One may also note that when it comes to the social settings, they both address each other using first names or in combination with the term of address “brother”, which enhances solidarity rather than formality.

Finally, ritualistic politeness manifests itself in more forms of religious rituals and prayers, where both parties expressed their happiness and satisfaction. Dr Asaad also expressed his apologies, while justifying his reaction at the school the other day as a loss of temper. Mr Ahmed accepts his apology and relates that to the effect of Satan, since it is religiously believed that such moments of heat and anger are caused by Satan, and on this occasion it also works as a polite way to save the other's face and maintain good faith. The last religious ritual, which is closer to heartfelt prayer, also functions as a polite concluding remark.

8.7 Summary

It has been observed from the above interactions that most workplaces are dominated by friendship politeness norms. Whereas there are many norms and manifestations of politeness and etiquette in the Libyan workplace, there are, of course, behaviours that are far from etiquette, which are common and repeated in most workplaces. These include but are not limited to loud discussions or arguments without considering others, e.g. co-workers interrupting a colleague who is engaged in a conversation with another colleague or customer without seeking permission or waiting for the former to finish his discussion. In most of the cases this happens due to the fact of the high volume of workload. This should not justify these occurrences and they are still evaluated as lacking in work etiquette, as well as lacking respect for the time and the feelings of others.

Chapter 9: Overview and Discussion of the Findings

9.1. Introduction

One of the main focuses of this research is to find out what the most dominant normative manifestations of Libyan Arabic politeness are. However, it is not suggested that Libyan society is homogeneous, since this study takes into consideration that “politeness norms are not stable across cultural groups and that often there is conflict over what those norms are” (Kádár & Mills, 2011, p. 22).

9.2. Dominant Norms of Politeness

Based on both theoretical and empirical evidence, e.g. the studied data, one may argue that Libyan Arabic politeness manifests itself in different forms. In an answer to the research question number (1), i.e. what are the most dominant normative manifestations of Libyan Arabic politeness, the most dominant norms include, but are not limited to, hospitality and reinforcing offers, appreciating and showing respect towards elders, the frequent use of terms of address. Needless to say, politeness manifestations and understandings can be impacted by some relevant sociological variables and parameters, such as age, gender, status (social /religious), degree of relationship/level of distance, and context.

9.2.1. Hospitality

In situations of hospitality, or whenever there is a call for hospitality, whether an individual’s behaviour is assessed as polite or not depends on how hospitable they are as the current studied data clearly illustrates.

For instance, in example 5.4, the importance of this norm of politeness, i.e. hospitality is evident through the interactants’ comments and metacomments. Looking into turn 1, Malik and Anwar were defending themselves and avoiding any face-threat, by first confirming that their friend’s wife deserves a better action of hospitality and by giving reasons why lamb meat was not offered. This involved the use of a religious ritual of oathing (wallahi) to indicate sincerity. Although their friend’s comment in turn 2 was in a more joking manner, it tells us something here, which is that offering a meal cooked with chicken instead of lamb could still indicate hospitality, but it is not at the appropriate and expected level. This

supports the argument that a person's social behaviour, i.e. politeness is usually measured by their hospitality.

In example 5.5, one may note another feature of hospitality, i.e. reinforcing offers, which also entails politeness in the sense of appreciating the other. Interestingly, this situation of hospitable action is also associated with food, where Murad, the host, offered the biggest portion of chicken to his friend, the guest. Again this works at two levels: as an appreciation of his friend to feel a valued friend and an appreciated guest, and as a hospitable action towards his friend as a guest, and also enables the host to be perceived as a generous host. The impact of religion is also obvious here, which is largely due to the religious ideologies and imperatives associated with hospitality. Namely, the host and the guest were involved in an exchange of strong religious rituals of oathing, i.e. by the host to reinforce his offer in order to appear sincere, and by the guest to refuse the offer without causing any face-threat, neither to the host nor to himself.

More evidence from the data which supports the argument that “in Arab cultures a person's hospitality could be a measure of his/her politeness or good manners” appears in example 5.13, where one of the interactants, namely Haidar, behaved against the norm of hospitality. The metadiscourse/ metacomment about Haidar's behaviour can be seen in turns 15-19, where both of the involved addressees reached a mutual negative evaluation of Haidar's behaviour, i.e. being inhospitable, no attempt of offer, and most significantly behaving against the norm (please see chapter 5 for a detailed analysis). However, for the sake of discussion, the metacomments that occurred in the interaction took place just after Haidar left, i.e. post-event and represent a direct reference to politeness/impoliteness and appropriate social behaviour. These include comments such as “what boldness!”, “I thought he was going to pay the bill especially when he grabbed that expensive piece of chocolate gateau”, “that was totally unexpected”, “he forgot our norms of hospitality”, “at least he would have initiated an offer to pay”, and “at least he would have done his bit and saved himself embarrassment”.

Encounters of hospitality can also be observed in example 5.14, where Ehsan invites Jawad for dinner and even after Jawad's first refusal, Ehsan contacted him again the next day using stronger and more elaborate rituals to indicate sincerity and increase the chances of

acceptance. Although in this occasion the dinner invitation was declined, one may note that the two friends were engaged in quite an extended offer-refusal exchange, despite the informal relationship between them (turns 7-9 and 12). Therefore, I shall argue that as a dominant norm of politeness, hospitality is a common and expected behaviour among members of Libyan Arabic society, regardless the scale of formality. That is to say, whether the host is hosting a friend, family member, or a total stranger, s/he is still expected to be hospitable, however, the degree of insistence for the guest to accept an offer, i.e. have more food, is indeed influenced by the nature of the relationship or the formality scale.

Moving towards the tribal interactions within the data, hospitality again proves to be key in almost all the studied interactional examples. For instance, in example 7.2, one might note the significant value given to hospitality as a norm of politeness, to the extent that it is sometimes exercised at the expense of religion, as in this particular case. Namely, the step-mother appears to appreciate the significance of hospitality over anything else, so she exposed herself to a face-threat in order to seek the permission of her tribe seniors to serve a proper meal topped with lamb to her step-sons, after this customary tradition was banned due to religious reasons. That is to say, the decencies of hospitality substitute both the tribal traditional rules as well as the religious principles as appears in the metadiscourse. The metacomment by the step-mother in turn 13 "we appreciate that you travelled that far and it would be inappropriate to offer you a meat-free meal" and her particular reference to how the appropriate behaviour should be in order to be hospitable also shows how hospitality is linked to politeness.

Another encounter of hospitality, or more specifically, when a person's behaviour became heavily criticised due to a lack of hospitality, appears in example 7.3. More interestingly, this negative assessment of inhospitable behaviour was with reference to a 10 year old boy, Nizar, who as a child would not probably be considered accountable for such action in another context. However, this is to be expected in a tribal context. In this situation, Haj Saeed, Nizar's uncle, was unhappy with his nephew's behaviour, since he left an implied message to Nizar's father in turn 7 "hospitality has been received", which is only true in a sarcastic sense. In the post-event where Haj Saeed was talking about the incident to Nizar's father, his metacomments, such as "he shook hands with the tips of his fingers", "he did not even say you are warmly welcome and "please come in", in turn 10, show that Nizar's general politeness and manners of good conduct, were evaluated by his manner of hospitality, i.e.

receiving guests. Using the term “the so-called” in reference to his nephew also indicates negative feelings or a perception of the other’s behaviour as inappropriate. Similarly, in turn 12, the importance of hospitality as a dominant norm of politeness and good manners is emphasised through more use of metacomments, i.e. “you have to pinch his ears and remind him of our customs and teach him our norms of hospitality”. Teaching children such norms from an early age, as can be seen in turn 14, further demonstrates this importance.

More negative evaluations of Nizar’s behaviour in terms of hospitality are revealed in turn 17 by his own father, such as “you’ve darkened my face”, which describes how the high level face-threat experienced by the father was due to a lack of warm reception and hospitality. Finally, in turn 23, Nizar was also carefully instructed by his father to act according to the norms of hospitality, i.e. “when your uncle or any other guest visits us greet them warmly and welcome them to our home”. Within the same context, i.e. tribal, it is worth mentioning that hospitality manifests itself significantly within the occasions of “the peace-making gathering Almeiad” such as in examples 7.4 and 7.5, and they form a conventionalised social behaviour that cannot be disregarded. This action of hospitality, of course, occasions politeness and good manners, but one may argue that it could also enhance peace-making.

9.2.2. Appreciating and Showing Respect to Others (Elders)

Arab culture in general and Libyan culture in particular, highly values elders, and appreciating them is considered one of the main norms of decent behaviour, e.g. politeness. It is believed that the older the person, the more wise and knowledgeable s/he is, and they should be treated with a high level of respect and appreciation. From a religious point of view, this norm is also urged in both the Quran and the Sunnah. Showing respect for elders is significantly important within any context, as demonstrated in the data, namely, in examples 6.2, 7.1, and 7.2.

With particular reference to example 7.1, Haj Saad received Abdulla’s reaction of offering him to start first with high appreciation (turn 2). In contrast, he heavily criticised Muftah’s reaction of eating the bigger piece of meat, which was supposed to be for Haj Saad as an older and more highly ranked person. One may argue that while the older generations stick to normative traditions, the younger generations may not observe these norms nor take them

seriously. Therefore, if the younger violate these values, the elderly will consider it as a sign of impoliteness or lack of respect.

9.2.3. The Frequent Use of Terms of Address to Indicate Politeness

The use of Libyan Arabic terms of address demonstrates different social relations among participants and that is in relation to certain social contexts. Their use and function also differ depending on the participants' personal characteristics as well as socio-cultural factors including age, gender, social status, occupational hierarchy, context, and family relationship, nature of relationship or degree of formality/intimacy/solidarity.

In relation to context, the use of terms of address is influenced by the context's scale of formality. For instance, individuals with more intimate or informal relationship such as family members or friends would use endearment terms of address to address one another in social and less formal settings; however, they may tend to use more formal terms of address, which occasions politeness, in public or formal settings, e.g., the workplace. That is to say, some contexts or settings necessitate the use of specific terms of address. In this context, Holmes (2013) argues that "if he [your brother] is acting as the judge in a law court then calling him Tom will be considered disrespectful, while at the dinner table calling him Your honour will be perceived as equally rude" (p. 285).

With reference to associated characteristics, the term of address "Haj" is usually used to address those who have performed Pilgrimage. However, it also has other functions such as to call anyone who is older in age to index the state of self-composure and sometimes to indicate religious status or used in the sense of Sheikh. Across time, the use of this title (Haj) extends to be used for more functions and the most notable one is to use it in a political sense. That is to say, in the Libyan context in particular, the title "Haj" has started to be used in addressing anyone who has political influence.

9.3. The Impact of Religion on Libyan Politeness

From what have been presented throughout this study, both in the theoretical and empirical chapters, one may conclude that both instructional teachings and linguistic insights of religion are reflected in the daily use of constructive ritualistic expressions, which occasion politeness. In other words, the studied data shows various examples of social and in-group

rituals. Interestingly, the majority of these rituals are ideological in nature, i.e. socio-religious. That is to say, most of the elaborative use of constructive social rituals tends to carry a significant meaning that is connected in one way or another with religion. The following table of rituals represents some of the commonly used ritualistic phrases in Libyan Arabic, along with their transliteration and English translation, which make it easier to understand this unique relationship. By scrutinising Appendix 1, one may conclude the following findings.

1. Religion could be described as the prime-mover of most of the cultural aspects of Arab societies; Libyan culture is therefore no exception. The religious teachings are thus clearly reflected in most daily life interactions and therefore in understanding and expressing politeness, e.g. the evident use of religious rituals to occasion politeness. Despite the fact that religion is one of the most important factors in Libyan culture that may govern one's behaviour, the social dimension represented in other important social factors may also play a vital role in politeness behaviour, which is quite evident and plays a similar role to that of the religion. These social factors include customs and traditions (both at the macro and micro levels), and social beliefs and values such as honour, shame, reputation, and status. Exceptionally, the impact of these social norms is sometimes exercised at the expense of religion in the observance of politeness. This observation can be clearly seen in some of the following analytical examples:

a) Religion vs Social Values

It is a social norm for the Libyan society in general and the rural tribes in particular to offer a high level of hospitality. For instance, in interactional example no (7.2), despite the fact that offering meat on bereavement occasions was banned by the chief of her tribe for religious reasons i.e. extravagance, the step-mother was determined to offer her step-sons the appropriate meal topped with meat to express generosity and hospitality.

b) Religion vs Friendship Values

Friendship is considered one of the strongest social networks in Libyan society. In this context, an individual usually tends to have a large group of friends and like any

other relationship, there are some boundaries in place. However, most of the time they are not clear-cut ones where solidarity dominates more than anything else. Therefore, lending or borrowing money is common among friends. Religion emphasises the importance of documenting such dealings by providing written proof of the debt, as it appears in the longest verse of the Quran:

“O believers, when you contract a debt one upon another for a stated term, write it down, and let a writer write it down between you justly, and let not any writer refuse to write it down, as God has taught him; so let him write, and let the debtor dictate, and let him fear God his Lord and not diminish aught of it. And if the debtor be a fool, or weak, or unable to dictate himself, then let his guardian dictate justly. And call in to witness two witnesses, men; or if the two be not men, then one man and two women, such witnesses as you approve of, that if one of the two women errs the other will remind her; and let the witnesses not refuse, whenever they are summoned. And be not loth to write it down, whether it be small or great, with its term; that is more equitable in God's sight, more upright for testimony, and likelier that you will not be in doubt. Unless it be merchandise present that you give and take between you; then it shall be no fault in you if you do not write it down. And take witnesses when you are trafficking one with another. And let not either writer or witness be pressed; or if you do, that is ungodliness in you. And fear God; God teaches you, and God has knowledge of everything” (Qur’an 2:282).

"يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا تَدَايَنْتُمْ بِدَيْنٍ إِلَىٰ أَجَلٍ مُّسَمًّى فَاكْتُبُوهُ وَلْيَكْتُب بَيْنَكُمْ كَاتِبٌ بِالْعَدْلِ وَلَا يَأْب كَاتِبٌ أَنْ يَكْتُبَ كَمَا عَلَّمَهُ اللَّهُ فَلْيَكْتُبْ وَلْيُمْلِلِ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ الْحَقُّ وَلْيَتَّقِ اللَّهَ رَبَّهُ وَلَا بِيحْسٍ مِنْهُ شَيْئًا فَإِن كَانَ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ الْحَقُّ سَفِيهًا أَوْ ضَعِيفًا أَوْ لَا يَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ يُمِلَّ هُوَ فَلْيُمْلِكْ وَلِيُّهُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَاسْتَشْهِدُوا شَهِيدَيْنِ مِنْ رِجَالِكُمْ فَإِن لَّمْ يَكُونَا رَجُلَيْنِ فَرَجُلٌ وَامْرَأَتَانِ مِمَّن تَرْضَوْنَ مِنَ الشَّهَدَاءِ أَن تَضِلَّ إِحْدَاهُمَا فَتُذَكَّرَ إِحْدَاهُمَا الْأُخْرَىٰ وَلَا يَأْبُ الشَّهَدَاءُ إِذَا مَا دُعُوا وَلَا تَسْأَمُوا أَنْ تَكْتُبُوهُ صَغِيرًا أَوْ كَبِيرًا إِلَىٰ أَجَلِهِ ذَلِكُمْ أَقْسَطُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَأَقْوَمٌ لِلشَّهَادَةِ وَأَدْنَىٰ أَلَّا تَرْتَابُوا إِلَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ تِجَارَةً حَاضِرَةً تُدِيرُونَهَا بَيْنَكُمْ فَلَيْسَ عَلَيْكُمْ جُنَاحٌ أَلَّا تَكْتُبُوهَا وَأَشْهِدُوا إِذَا تَبَايَعْتُمْ وَلَا يُضَارَّ كَاتِبٌ وَلَا شَهِيدٌ وَإِن تَفْعَلُوا فَإِنَّهُ فُسُوقٌ بِكُمْ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ" (سورة البقرة، الآية 282).

However, in most of these occasions, friends opt to lend money without any written proof, and they prefer to rely on the verbal word. While this kind of social support reflects the appreciation of the other in terms of trust, it does come at the expense of religious instructions. This can be clearly observed in examples (5.2) and (5.12), where in both cases religious instructions were overlooked in the observance of appreciating the other, i.e. the element of politeness.

c) Religion vs Tribal Traditions

It is also noted from the analysis of the tribal data that tribal customary tradition(s) have their own power to the extent that they might (in some occasions) overcome religious instructions, and also breach the principles of civil law. This can be clearly observed in the peace-making gathering known in Libya as *Almeiad*, which contributes (to a large extent) towards resolving conflicts in a stereotypical Libyan way, even at the expense of both religion and civil law, as shown in examples (7.4) and (7.5).

2. Comparing the literal translation of the Arabic rituals (column 5) with their English equivalents (column 6), one may notice that:
 - a) Most of the rituals of politeness used in Arabic are obviously overladen with a religious flavour, whereas their English equivalents appear with fewer religious dimensions. This point also answers research question number (2), which proposes that religion plays a role in Libyan Arabic politeness
 - b) Aspects of politeness, such as conventional forms of thanking, are expressed in various ritualistic terms in Arabic, whereas their English equivalents are limited to fewer choices
3. In situations of dispute, rituals either completely disappear or become less used (obligatory ones), which demonstrates that rituals are not empty, but rather, are situational.
4. Although the term of address “Alhaja” is mainly used to index respect in general, in the case of son and mother, it feels like self-distancing. The social convention that is still dominant among some groups of Libyan society that mention one’s blood-relation relative’s name, i.e., mother, sister, wife, is taboo (avoiding a sister or wife’s name possesses different indexicality than one’s mother’s kinship, i.e., Omi). Whereas the first two are usually to cover their identity, as a form of protection, therefore offering respect, avoiding calling one’s mother using the kinship term “Omi” is negative in the sense that the man or adult considers that as something against his manhood or masculinity.
5. Examining the tribal data in particular, one may state that Libyan tribal society consists of a harmonic system that includes both Hudur (Urban) and Bedouin (Primitive), where there is evident difference in the use of rituals. That is to say, the Hudur opts to use

rituals of a more religious nature, whereas the Bedouin tend to use a mix of both social and religious rituals, although sometimes the former dominates in most of the present interactions. Furthermore, the most influential factors that are found to have an impact on the understandings and manifestations of politeness in the tribal context include tribal ranking, social status, and age.

9.4. The Use of Rituals to Occasion Politeness: Numerical Evidence

All religious/socio-religious rituals that have been used in the studied examples are tabulated in Appendix 2. Table 9.1 below has been extracted from Appendix 2. It represents the frequency of occurrence of each of the used rituals. Numerical evidence of these occurrences are incorporated in order to add more reliability to the arguments and claims made in the qualitative analysis.

Table 9.1 Frequency of occurrence of Libyan Arabic socio-religious rituals as depicted in all analytical examples

Socio-religious Rituals in Libyan Arabic	Transliteration (International Phonetic Alphabet)	Frequency of Occurrence	English Translation
يا وليدي	Ja 'wɫajdi:	1	My little son
البركة فيكم	?ilbaraka fi:kum	1	May blessing of Allah be upon you
التعب فيكم مش خسارة	'?it'taʕab fi:kum muʃ 'xsa:ra	1	The exerted effort towards you is no loss
الحمد لله	?al'ħamdu lilla:h	38	Praise be to Allah
الدم مغطي العيب	?iddam ?myatʕ'tʕi ?ilʕajb	1	bloodshed covers the disgrace
الزين والعطيب في كل مكان	?iz zajn wa lʕatʕji:b fi kil maka:n	1	Good and bad people are everywhere
السلام عليكم	?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum	10	Peace be upon you
العلم في الصغر كالنقش في	?alʕilmu fi 'sʕsʕiyar ka 'nnaqʕi fi 'lħadʕar	1	Knowledge at a young age is like engraving in a stone - Early start, grow smart

الحجر			
الله أكبر	?alla:hu ?akbar	1	Allah is the greatest
الله لا يغير عليك	?allah 'laj yaʒi:r ʕalajk	1	We hope that Allah does not change your happiness into sorrow
الله يبارك فيك	?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k	6	May God bless you
الله يجازيك الخير ويطول في عمركم	?alla:h idʒa:zi:kum ?ilxajr wi t'a'wil fi ʕumrkum	2	May Allah reward you handsomely and grant you long life
الله يحفظك ويخليك	?alla:h 'jaḥfið'ak wi xalli:k	1	God protect you and keep you around
الله يخزي الشیطان	?allah yexzi: 'aʕʕajt'a:n	1	damn Satan
الله يخليك	'?alla:h jixalli:k	4	May Allah keep you alive
الله يدوم المودة بينا	?allah 'jedu:m ?ilmu:wadda bajna	1	May Allah last affection among us all
الله يرحم والديك	?alla:h jarḥam 'waldajk	3	May God have mercy on your parents
الله يرحمه	?alla:h 'jarḥamah	1	May Allah have mercy upon him
الله يسلمك	'Alla:h ?i' salmak	2	May Allah conserve you
الله يكبر مقدارك	?alla:hi kabbir miqda:rak	1	May Allah make your social status even higher
اللهم أدمها نعمة وأحفظها من	?allahumma ?adimha: 'niʕma wahfað'ha 'mina	1	May God last this grace and save it from extinction

الزوال	zzawal		
اللهم آمين	?allahum 'ma ?a:mi:n	1	O'Allah Amin
اللي يطلع من داره يقل مقداره	?illi jat ^s la ^s min 'da:rah ?i:qil 'miqda:rah	1	Whoever leaves his home, will lack respect from others
المسامح ربي	?almusa:mih rab'bi	1	The forgivable is Allah
النية واصلة	'?inni:ja was ^s la	1	We have received your good intention
انعم	?in ^s am	1	Yes
إتضوي وجهي	?itd ^s awwi: wad ^z 'hi	1	brighten my face
إن شاء الله	?in 'ja:ʔalla:h	32	If God wills
أقسم بالله	'uqsimu billa:h	3	I swear with the name of Allah
أسف	?a:sif	9	I am sorry
أنستونا	?a:nas'tu:na:	2	We are blessed with this gathering
بارك الله فيك	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k	17	May God bless you
بالسلامة	bis'sala:ma	2	With (Allah's) care
بالله عليك تسامحنا	Bi 'lla:hi ʕalajk 'tsa:mi hna	2	I ask you for the sake of God to forgive us
بسم الله	bism '?illa:h	3	In the name of God
تسلم إيديك	Taslam ?idaj:k	1	May Allah keep your hands safe
تسلم عالأكّل	Taslam ʕalʔakkil	1	God bless you for cooking this meal
تفضل	Tfad ^s 'd ^s al	8	Welcome

جزاك الله خييراً	dʒaza:ka 'lla:hu xajran	1	May Allah reward you good
حاضر	Ha:dʕir	1	I am present
حبال سو وطاحن في بئر	?aħbal saw ?u tʕahan fi bi:r	1	robes of evil, that fell down in a well
حصل خير	ħasʕal xajr	1	It's OK
خاطركم واجعكم	Xa:tʕirkum wa:dʒiʕkum	1	this problem is a deep grief in the heart
خوتنا	Xu:t'na	4	our brothers
خير الأمور الوسط	Xajru lʔumu:r ?lwasatʕ	1	The middle way is the best one
خير إن شاء الله	xajr ?in 'fa:lila	3	God's willing nothing is wrong, hope everything is OK
دار الواجب	dar 'lwa:dʒib	1	The man son has done the duty
رَبِّي مايجيب سو بيئنا	Rabbi ma: jidʒi:b saw bajn'na	1	May Allah prevent any misfortune/trouble between us
ربي يحفظك	Rabbi jaħfiðʕak	2	My Lord protects you
ربي يدوم المحبة بينا	Rabbi 'jedu:m ?ilmaħabba bajna	1	May Allah keep love and last good relationships among us all
ربي يزيد هالنعمة	Rabbi: izi:d 'ha niʕma	2	May Allah bless/increase this blessing
ربي يسامحنا جميعاً	Rabbi jesa:mihna: dʒami:ʕan	1	May Allah forgive us all

ربي يعطيك الصحة	Rabbi: jaʕtʕi:k asʕsʕihħa	1	Lord gives you health
ربي يكملك بعقلك	Rabbi jekamlak 'biʕaqlak	1	May Allah enrich your wisdom
رحبك	rah 'hibbak	1	Welcome
رد بالك	Rd ba:lak	1	Be careful
سامحنا ياخونا	Samihna: ja xu:na:	1	Forgive us, our brother
سألتك بالله	Saʕaltak bil'la:h	2	I ask you with Allah's name
سبحان الله	Subħa:n '?alla:h	1	Glory be to Allah
ستر الله باقي	Sitr ʕallah 'baqi:	1	may Allah cast his veil
سلم فمك	Sal'lim famak	1	Bless your mouth
سمية	Sami:jit	1	The so-called
سودت وجهي	saw'wadit wadʒ'hi	1	You've darkened my face
شكراً	'ʃukran	18	Thank you
صحة	sʕihħa	1	Live/be healthy
عادت المياه إلى مجاريها	?almi:jah ?adat ?ila madʒa:ri:ha	1	Water flow has returned back to its course
عظم الله أجركم	ʕaðʕðʕama ?allahu ʕdʒrakum	1	May Allah make your rewards even greater
عليك خبر	ʕalajk 'xabar	1	What a speech!
عليه حق	ʕalajh 'ħaq	1	He owes you an apology

عيد مبارك	'ʕi:d 'muba:rak	2	Blessed Eid
في العزاء واحد	Fi 'lʕaza: wa:ħad	1	Our condolences are mutual
في أمان الله	Fi ʔama:n 'ʔilla:h	2	In Allah's guard
في نعمة	fi 'niʕma	4	showered with Allah's blessings
قاصدينكم والمقصود هو وجه الله	qas'di:nkum wil maqʕu:d wadʒh 'ʔallah	2	We came here to seek refuge from you and the best refuge is Allah's
قدر الله وما شاء فعل	qad'dara llahu wama 'ʕa:ʔa faʕal	1	Allah has decreed, and what He wills, He does
قولوا أيش في عقولكم	Qu:lu: ajf fi 'ʕqu:lkum	1	speak your minds
كل عام وأنت بخير	Kul ʕa:m winta 'bxajr	2	Each year and you are fine
كيفنا كيف الناس	Kajfna kajf ʔinnas	1	We are no different to others
لا إله إلا الله	La: ʔila:ha 'ʔilla 'la:h	3	I bear witness that there is no God, but only one God
لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله	La ħawla wala 'quwata ʔilla: billa:h	1	There is no might nor power except from Allah
ليلتك سعيدة	'Lajltak 'saʕi:da	1	Happy night
ما شاء الله	ma 'ʕa: ʔalla:h	13	Which God wills
ما عد لا كبير ولا عاقلة	Ma: ʕad la kabi:r u'la ʕa:qla	1	without respecting neither elderly nor wise people

ما فيش مشكلة	Mafi:f 'muʃkilah	5	No problem
ماتاخذش على خاطر ك	Ma 'ta:xiðʃ ʕala ða:tʕrak	1	Do not be upset
ماتشيليش هم	Ma:tʃi:l:ʃ 'ham	1	Do not worry
ماتشي الحال	Ma:ʃi: l ʕal	1	It's Okay
مانا لايمين عليكم	Ma:na la:jmi:n ʕalajkum	1	We do not put any blame on you (for not coming)
مانش برانيّة	Ma:naf 'barra'ni:ja	1	We are not foreigners
مرحب	Mar'hab	18	Hello
مساء الخير	masa:ʔ 'lxajr	2	Good evening
مشكور، والله	maʃ'ku:r walla:hi	2	I am thankful really
مع السلامة	Maʕa 'ʔssala:ma	2	With (Allah's) care
معليش ياخونا	ma 'ʕalajf ja xu:na:	1	Never mind, our brother
مغير لو صبرت راك حجبت	?imyajr law 'sʕabarit rak hadʒdʒajt	1	if you were patient, you would have gone on a pilgrimage
نحننا كلنا إخوة	nihna: 'kilna: xu:t	1	We are all brothers
نشهد بالله الخير غلب	Na'ʃhad billah ilxajr yalab	1	I bear witness to God the food is plenty
والصلاة والسلام على	wa 'sʕsʕala:tu wassala:mu ʕala rasu:li 'lla:h	1	May prayers and peace be upon the Messenger of God

رسول الله			
والله	Walla:hi	55	By Allah
والله بخير	Walla:hi 'bxajr	3	By Allah(I am fine)
والله ما فيه داعي	Walla:hi ma: 'fijh da:ʕi	1	There is no need to do that
وإياك	Wa '?ija:k	1	(May Allah reward) you too
وأنت بخير	winta 'bxajr	1	and you are fine
وحياة أولادي	'waħjat ?awla:di	1	I swear with the lives of my children
وسعوا بالكم لله	Wasʕu: 'balkum lil' la:h	1	Please calm down for God's sake
وعليكم السلام	Wa ʕa' lajkum ?assa' la:m	10	And Peace be upon you
ونعم بالله	wa' niʕma bil' lah	1	indeed Allah is our best support
يابوخال	Ja: bu:' xal	1	O my uncle
يابوي	Ja: bu:j	2	my father
ياحاج	ja: ħa:j	1	O Haj
ياخوي	ja: xuij	3	My brother
يادوب مد روس صوابه	Jadu:b mad ru:s sʕuwabʕa	1	Shake hands with the tips of his fingers
يستتر الله	'jistur ?alla:h	1	May Allah keep his veil
يكون خير	jiku:n xajr ?u baraka	1	that would be goodness and blessing

وبركة			
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The Socio-religious rituals in Libyan Arabic that have been found in all analytical examples are as follows:

Chapter No.	Chapter Name	No. of Rituals
5	Interactions among Friends	134
6	Family Interactions	70
7	Tribal Interactions	65
8	Workplace Interactions	112
Total No. of Socio-religious Rituals		381

Table 9.2 Number of Libyan Arabic socio-religious rituals per category

The total number of these religious supplications and social rituals is **381**, and the most occurring rituals are summarised in the following table:

Socio-religious rituals in Libyan Arabic	Transliteration (International Phonetic Alphabet)	Frequency of Occurrence	English Translation
والله	Walla:hi	55	By Allah
الحمد لله	?al'hamdu lilla:h	38	Praise be to Allah
إن شاء الله	?in 'ja:?alla:h	32	If God wills
بارك الله فيك	Ba:raka ' ?alla:hu fi:k	23	May God bless you

شكراً	'fukran	18	Thank you
مرحب	Mar 'hab	18	Hello
ما شاء الله	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	13	Which God wills
السلام عليكم	?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum	10	Peace be upon you
وعليكم السلام	Wa ʕa' lajkum ?assa' la:m	10	And Peace be upon you
آسف	?a:sif	9	I am sorry
تفضل	Tfadʕ' dʕal	8	Welcome
ياخوي / خوتنا	ja: xuij / Xu:t'na	7	My brother / Our brothers
ما فيش مشكلة	Mafi:f 'muʃkilah	5	No problem
الله يخليك	'?alla:h jixalli:k	4	May Allah keep you alive
في نعمة	fi 'niʕma	4	showered with Allah's blessings
الله يرحم والديك	?alla:h jarħam 'waldajk	3	May God have mercy on your parents
أقسم بالله	'uqsimu billa:h	3	I swear with the name of Allah
بسم الله	bism '?illa:h	3	In the name of God
خير إن شاء الله	xajr ?in 'ja:lla	3	God's willing nothing is wrong, hope everything is OK
لا إله إلا الله	La: ?ila:ha '?illa	3	I bear witness that there is

	'la:h		no God, but only one God
والله بخير	Walla:hi 'bxajr	3	By Allah (I am fine)

Table 9.3 Most frequent Libyan Arabic socio-religious rituals that are mentioned in the analytical examples

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1. Introduction

This study has offered both a thorough review of politeness research and an empirical investigation of politeness in an Arab culture where research lacks. In this study, I have adopted Kádár and Haugh's (2013) third-wave analytical framework to examine politeness in the Libyan context, where the focus has been on both the macro and micro aspects of politeness, using authentic discourse. This research, as shown in the key findings sections, is hoped to have adequately addressed and answered the following hypothetical research questions:

1. What are the most dominant norms of Libyan Arabic politeness?
2. Supposing that religion plays a role in the understandings of Libyan Arabic politeness, what kind of role does it play? And how is this role reflected in interactional discourse?
3. In light of the assumption that there is a strong relationship between rituals and politeness in the Libyan Arab culture, how is this relationship manifested over longer stretches of talk, and in what forms is it manifest?

In this chapter, I conclude the present study by first revisiting its key findings vis-à-vis the above research questions. The next section discusses the contributions of the study. The third section covers the limitations of the study. Then, the final section offers suggestions for further research.

10.2. Key Findings of the Study

A multi-approach analysis of Libyan Arabic naturally occurring spoken interactions and reflective accounts has been conducted, while drawing on the multiple understandings view of politeness (Kádár & Haugh, 2013) and the typology of relational rituals by Kádár (2013), which has revealed a number of significant findings.

The results of this study have demonstrated that normative manifestations of Libyan Arabic politeness are represented in different forms. This is predominantly through 1) hospitality, 2) extended and elaborative forms of greetings, 3) respecting and appreciating others, especially

parents and elders as well as highly social ranked peoples, 4) a high tendency to express emotive actions such as thanking, sympathising, or apologising through the use of conventionalised religious rituals, 5) invoking religion to show sincerity, 6) the use of euphemism to indicate politeness, particularly in relation to taboo issues, 7) indexing politeness and deference through the use of terms of address, and 8) indirectness through the use of proverbs and sayings to indicate politeness (this is a more apparent pattern of behaviour in tribal settings).

Referring back to the aforementioned dominant norms of Libyan politeness, hospitality and offering, for instance, have been found to play an important role in most of the social events in Libya. Interestingly, this also extends to institutional settings, where even people at work, if visited by a relative, friend or colleague, will be expected to offer hospitality by welcoming them warmly and offering them something - even if that visit is for work purposes. An individual would be considered impolite or s/he might be evaluated as behaving out of the norm, if the expected level of hospitality was not offered. This is in line with what has been illustrated by Grainger et al. (2015), in their study of offering and hospitality in Arabic and English, as well as the work conducted by Emery (2000). This also supports Hasan's (1999) observation of the principles of hospitality; that is, how well one treats his/her guest, what type of food, and how much is offered to guests, all form a significant part of Arab social values and traditions, and is also seen as a direct measurement of an individual.

Showing deference through the extensive use of terms of address, particularly religious and academic titles, has been also found to be a remarkable feature of indexing politeness in Libyan culture. This is evident in both tribal interactions and institutional settings, however, even friends opt to use titles such as 'doctor', 'haj', or 'sheikh' when the addressee is older in age or has a special religious status. Further to indicating politeness, this also reinforces and reflects the religious and socio-cultural values of Libyan society.

The results of this study have also shown that the way Libyan Arabs communicate politeness in interaction uncovers various messages about Libyan sociocultural conventions and religious practices, which were found to be manifested in both the linguistic and cultural features of spoken interactions. These features are mostly evident in the prominent use of relational rituals. That is to say, the present study has shown that there is a unique

relationship between politeness and rituals, where speakers of Libyan Arabic tend to use elaborative forms of constructive relational rituals to index politeness, even in secular settings.

Whereas other types of social and in-group rituals were found to be used among the speakers of Libyan Arabic to index politeness, both the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data has revealed that religious rituals are used more frequently than other types of rituals. This is due to the fact that religion plays a significant role in shaping the norms of politeness and how this phenomenon is perceived and enacted in Libyan society; therefore, most rituals and ritualistic forms of politeness take a salient religious form. From a pragmatics perspective, religious rituals, which consist of interactional actions that animate religious social values, have a noteworthy characteristic of tending to be highly standardised in spite of their high frequency of occurrence in both ceremonial and mundane language use.

10.3. Contributions of the Study

Despite the fact that some research has been undertaken on Libyan politeness from both first and second-wave perspectives, these studies remain few in number and limited in scope. For instance, some studies investigated a specific speech act, such as thanking, offering, apologies, etc.; while other researchers studied politeness or politeness-related aspects in a Libyan context and from a discursive point of view. However, to the best of my knowledge, this study is the first to examine Libyan politeness as a holistic phenomenon from a third-wave perspective. Whilst Kádár and Haugh's framework has been tested in various contexts, such as English, Hungarian, Japanese, and Chinese, this is the first extended study to apply this framework on a different culture, i.e. Libyan Arabic.

This study has also contributed to the understandings of Libyan ritualistic politeness from a religious perspective. That is to say, based on looking into various Quranic quotations, in which politeness and good manners are highly emphasised, this study tested how these norms are reflected in authentic interactional discourse. Tribal data in particular is another unique context of investigation that has not been explored before using Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework. Therefore, this study contributes original knowledge to the existing literature, both in the area of politeness and relational rituals in particular, and in the field of socio-pragmatics in general.

10.4. Limitations of the Study

Due to the scope of the study, the studied data was limited to four categories, i.e. friendship groups, family, tribal, and institutional settings. The institutional data was limited to three work places. Additionally, only spoken discourse was considered, as other forms of data, such as written communications, phone conversations, and computer-mediated data were beyond the scope of the study.

Although I implemented relevant concepts from relevant existing frameworks, such as Goffman's notion of face, Culpeper's (2011b) definition of impoliteness, and Kádár's (2013) typology of relational rituals, Kádár and Haugh's (2013) framework was primarily adopted for the analysis of Libyan politeness.

10.5. Suggestions for Further Research

Looking into both the theoretical and analytical elements of my study, the following suggestions for future research on Libyan politeness can be made. Based on the review of previous Arabic studies, Libyan politeness is still considered an under-researched area. Therefore, further research in this area would be highly recommended. It would be also desirable to conduct inter-cultural and comparative cross-cultural research, where for example, politeness is investigated in Libyan Arabic in comparison to British English.

This study has primarily investigated politeness in naturally-occurring spoken interactions, therefore, it would be worthwhile to conduct further research on Libyan politeness using other types of data, such as CMC data or email communications, to find out any similarities or difference between the two, as well as any further interesting patterns of behaviour or features that were not illustrated in interactional discourse.

As politeness has been explored in relation to relational rituals in this study, the results have opened a door to a significant and interesting area of research, i.e. religious rituals in Arab cultures. Religious rituals are believed to play a salient role in many Arab cultures, however, they have been under-examined, particularly in relation to ritual theory. Therefore, investigating this area in further detail would contribute significantly to ritual and politeness research.

In line with the viva discussions, I think that the 1st, 2nd and 3rd wave classification is not without problems because there is not such a clear-cut distinction between the theories or frameworks that have been developed to the study of politeness and impoliteness particularly in the case of the 2nd and 3rd waves of politeness. Therefore, I think that one key step towards this direction could be achieved through developing not a necessarily a completely new theory, but a workable complementary model incorporating ideas from Brown and Levinson (1987), and elements from discursive and post-discursive theorisations

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Transcription System

Conversation analysts and many discourse analysts employ the Jefferson system of transcription notation. This is because in conversation analysis the transcripts are designed not only to capture what was said, but also the way in which it is said. Therefore the transcripts provide a detailed version of the complex nature of interaction Jefferson (2004).

Symbol	Use
(.)	A full stop inside brackets denotes a micro pause, a notable pause but of no significant length.
(0.3)	A number inside brackets denotes a timed pause. This is a pause long enough to time and subsequently show in transcription.
[]	Square brackets denote a point where overlapping speech occurs.
><	Arrows surrounding talk like these show that the pace of the speech has quickened
<>	Arrows in this direction show that the pace of the speech has slowed down
()	Where there is space between brackets denotes that the words spoken here were too unclear to transcribe
(())	Where double brackets appear with a description inserted denotes some contextual information where no symbol of representation was available.
Word	When a word or part of a word is underlined, it denotes a raise in volume or emphasis.

↑	When an upward arrow appears, it means there is a rise in intonation.
↓	When a downward arrow appears, it means there is a drop in intonation.
→	An arrow like this denotes a particular sentence of interest to the analyst.
CAPITALS	Where capital letters appear, it denotes that something was said loudly or even shouted.
Hum(h)our	When a bracketed 'h' appears, it means that there was laughter within the talk.
=	The equal sign represents latched speech, a continuation of talk.
::	Colons appear to represent elongated speech, a stretched sound.

Appendix 2: Table of Libyan Arabic Socio-religious Rituals

Example No.	Turn No.	Socio-religious Rituals	Original Arabic Text	English Translation	English Equivalent	Basic Function	Contextual Function	Notes
5.1	1	?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Religiously speaking, this practice (socio-religious greeting) which occasions ritualistic politeness is not used as a mere ritual, but rather as a meaningful phrase that is believed to relate individuals as well as groups and enhance love and appreciation among them. This, therefore, is

								another vivid aspect/manifestation of politeness in religion.it is believed to enhance love among people
5.1	2	Wa ʿa' lajkum ʾassa' la:m wa rahmatu 'lla:hi wa barakatuhu	و عليكم السلام ورحمة الله وبركاته	And peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The full version and the expected socio- religious reply to ((Assalamu alaikum)) as instructed in the Quran and the Sunnah	To greet their friend back	
5.1	2	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely	It is worth mentioning that it is always polite to respond with ?al'hamdu lilla:h even if the addressee is encountering some difficulties

								or problems at the time of speaking. Religiously speaking, it expresses thanks and appreciation to God for the endless blessings
5.1	3	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God for hearing that his friends are in a good condition, health, etc.	Also an essential part of exchanging greetings when meeting one another
5.1	4	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	Which God wills	Wonderful (in this context)	To indicate admiration of someone /something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this special religious expression	Expressing admiration and complimenting his friend's tie	
5.1	5	Ba:raka '?alla:hu	بارك الله فيك	May God	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the	Thanking his friend for the compliment to	May God bless

		fi:k		bless you		favour of the other	avoid any face-threat for not making an offer	you
5.1	5	'fukran	شكراً	Thank you	Thank you	Social ritual of thanking	Accepting the compliment	
5.1	8	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to refuse an offer	Swear to God
5.1	20	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to indicate the trueness of what he is saying and defend himself/saving face	
5.1	22	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	May God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Appreciating his friend's advice and support	
5.1	24	Tfad ^s ' d ^s al	تفضل	Welcome	Come in, please	Honorific expression that is usually used to address the other with respect	Giving permission to his friend to get into the room after he sought permission by knocking at the door	Seeking permission

5.1	25	?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	
5.1	26	Wa ʕa'lajkum ?assa'la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:h	وعليكم السلام ورحمة الله	And peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The semi-full version and the expected socio-religious reply to (Assalamu alaikum)	To greet his friend back	Solidarity
5.1	27	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “well” in order to decrease the face-threat	
5.1	31	?in 'ʕa:ʔalla:h	إن شاء الله	If God wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping that his	God's willing

							friend will forgive him	
5.1	33	'fukran ja ?azi:zi	شكراً ياعزيزي	Thank you my dear	Thanks dear	Social ritual of thanking	Thanking his friend using the social ritual “'fukran ” plus from of endearment “ja ?azi:zi”	
5.1	33	ma 'ja: ?alla:h ?alajk	ما شاء الله عليك	Which God wills	Wonderful (in this context)	To indicate admiration of someone /something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this special religious expression	Expressing appreciation towards his friend's action	
5.1	33	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Appreciation	
5.1	34	Mafi:f 'mu?kilah	ما فيش مشكلة	No problem	No worries at all	Comforting the other	Comforting the other	
5.2	1	?in 'fa: ?alla:h	إن شاء الله	If God wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping for the	God's willing

							positive	
5.2	3	Walla:hi	والله	Really	Swear to God	Oathing	Confirming in the sense of really	
5.2	3	?in 'fa:ʔalla:h	إن شاء الله	If God wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping for the positive	God's willing
5.2	7	Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Appreciation	May God bless you
5.2	7	?alla:h jarham 'waldajk	الله يرحم والديك	May God have mercy upon your parents	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other's parents	Appreciation	
5.2	7	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Confirming in the sense of really	
5.2	8	Rabbi jahfiðak	ربي يحفظك	My Lord protects you	God bless	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Appreciation	May Allah protect you
5.2	8	?in 'fa:lla timfi: wi tdzi:	إن شاء الله تمشي وتجي	God's willing +	God's willing +	Religious Supplication that is	Be safe	God's willing May Allah protect

		bis'sala:ma	بالسلامة	May God protect you throughout your journey	have safe journey	used when someone is travelling or going away		you and you go and come back safe
5.2	9	?alla:h idza:zi:k ?ilxajr	الله يجزيك الخير	May God reward you with goodness	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	To express deep appreciation to the other	May Allah reward you back
5.2	11	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah for his blessings	Thanking or expressing appreciation to Allah for the blessing of having a relaxing holiday	Thanks to God
5.2	13	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Confirming in the sense of really	
5.2	18	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah for his blessings	Thanking Allah for not having the utility bills before receiving the monthly salary	Thanks to God

5.2	25	La: ?ila:ha ' ?illa 'la:h	لا إله إلا الله	There is no God, but Allah	I am trying to recall it/it's on the tip of my tongue	Bearing witness that Allah is the only true god	Enhancing recalling something or to remember what he has forgotten	This ritualistic phrase is part of the Shahada which represents the first pillar of the five pillars of Islam. The Shahada (also spelled "Shahadah") is the Islamic Creed, one of the Five Pillars of Islam. The word "Shahada" comes from the verb shahida, meaning "he testifies" or "he bears witness." In
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								reciting the Shahada, a Muslim bears witness that Allah is the only true god, and that Muhammad is Allah's Prophet A person becomes a Muslim by reciting the Shahada with a sincere heart Ref: http://www.answeringmuslims.com/ 2012/10/what-is- shahada.html
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5.2	25	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Confirming in the sense of really	
5.3	2	?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k	الله يبارك فيك	May God bless you	Bless you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Thanking	
5.3	2	?alla:h jarham 'waldajk	الله يرحم والديك	May mercy be upon your parents	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other's parents	Thanking	
5.3	2	?alla:h 'jahfið'ak wi xalli:k	الله يحفظك ويخليك	God protect you and keep you around	Bless you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Thanking	
5.3	3	bism '?illa:h	بسم الله	In the name of God		Ritualistic/conventional phrase that is usually said before starting eating and also in other activities such as starting a meeting, a task..etc	To start the meal and at the same time reminding/inviting his friends to say so and start eating	This religious ritual is also used if you see someone fall , in dangerous situations, if something falls, and even if you see or feel

								something scary or strange
5.3	6	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Confirming in the sense of really	
5.3	8	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Well	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “well” in order to decrease the face-threat	
5.4	1	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	Thanking Allah for the blessing of food	Thanks to God
5.4	2	Ja: bu:'xal	يابوخال	O my uncle	O my uncle	Term of address	Consolidation of friendship by adding endorsing kinship between friends	'O my uncle' is not necessarily used with one's real uncle but with anyone from his mother's tribe.
5.4	3	wa 'llahi ?ilʕað'i:m	والله العظيم	I swear by the name of God, the greatest	I swear by Almighty God	Strong form of oathing	Strong form of oathing to refuse the offer of eating more food in an acceptable way and without	

							causing any face-threat to himself or the offerer	
5.4	5	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	Thanking Allah for the bless of food	
5.4	5	?allahumma ?adimha: 'niʕma wahfað'ha 'mina zzawal	اللهم أدمها نعمة وأحفظها من الزوال	May God <u>endure</u> this grace and <u>save it</u> forever		Thanking Allah	Thanking Allah and expressing satisfaction after eating	God's grace sustains and keeps them from disappearing
5.4	6	Taslam ?idaj:k	تسلم إيديك	May Allah bless your hands	Bless you in general (Well done in this context)	A socio-religious ritual to praise and thank the other in a form of supplication for doing something especially when the hands are directly involved	Praising and thanking his friend by asking Allah to bless his hands or keep his hands blessed for cooking a nice meal	
5.4	8	ma 'ja: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	Which God wills	Wonderful (in this context)	To indicate admiration of someone /something, but at the same time protecting that from	Complimenting his friend's cooking	

						the evil eye through using this special religious expression		
5.4	9	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	Which God wills	(Oh, great in this context)	To indicate admiration of someone /something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this special religious expression	Expressing self-satisfaction/self-compliment/ or accepting his friend's compliment	
5.4	9	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	Which God wills	Wonderful (in this context)	To indicate admiration of someone /something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this special religious expression	Following his initial ritual-free compliment with “Ma sha Allah” while paying another compliment to protect his friend's skill cooking deliciously from any harm	

5.4	10	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Confirmation that food is delicious	
5.4	10	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	Which God wills	Wonderful (in this context)	To indicate admiration of someone /something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this special religious expression	Complimenting his friend's cooking	
5.4	11	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	Which God wills	Wonderful (in this context)	To indicate admiration of someone /something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this special religious expression	Complimenting his friend's cooking	
5.4	12	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Really in a form of question/asking for confirmation	

5.4	13	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	Thanking Allah for the blessing of food	Thanks to God
5.4	13	La: ?ila:ha '?illa 'la:h	لا إله إلا الله	there no God, but only one God		Bearing witness that Allah is the only true god	Expressing satisfaction to being full and content after eating	
5.4	14	s ^h ihha	صحة	Live/be healthy	Cheers	A social ritual that is usually used after someone has finished eating or drinking	Wishing his friend good health after eating this meal in particular and as a sort of supplication to be in a good health in general	
5.4	15	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	Thanking Allah for the blessing of food and expressing satisfaction and refusing the offer of food implicitly and politely	Thanks to God
5.4	15	Rabbi: izi:d 'ha ni?ma	ربي يزيد هالنعمة	May Allah bless/increase this	God bless	Thanking Allah for his blessings	Thanking Allah for the blessing of food	

				blessing				
5.4	17	Na'jhad billah ilxajr yalab	نشهد بالله الخير غلب	I bear witness to God the food is plenty			Expressing satisfaction and refusing the second offer of food through the use of religious ritual	
5.4	17	La: ?ila:ha '?illa 'la:h	لا إله الا الله	I bear witness that there is no God, but only one God		Bearing witness that Allah is the only true god	Re-expressing satisfaction and being full and content after eating	
5.4	18	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Oathing	
5.4	21	Taslam ?al?akkil	تسلم على الأكل	God bless you for cooking this meal	God bless	Supplication as an appreciation to the other	Thanking	

5.4	21	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	Which God wills	Wonderful (in this content)	To indicate admiration of someone /something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this special religious expression	Expressing compliment	
5.4	23	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	Thanking Allah for the blessing of food and expressing satisfaction and refusing the offer of food politely	
5.4	25	'uqsimu billah	أقسم بالله	I swear to God	I swear to God	Strong form of oathing	Refusing his other friend's offer of food politely	
5.4	25	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	Expressing satisfaction (being full and content) and refusing the offer of food politely	

5.4	27	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Oathing in order to refuse the 3rd offer of food without face-threat	
5.4	27	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	Expressing satisfaction (being full and content) and refusing the offer of food politely	
5.5	13	?a:sif	أسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology	Apology	In situations of dispute, rituals completely disappear or become less
5.5	14	Samihna: ja xu:na:	سامحنا ياخونا	Forgive us, our brother	Forgive us, our brother	Apology / Consolidation		

5.5	16	ma'ʕalajf ja xu:na:	معلّيش ياخونا	Never mind, our brother	Never mind, our brother	Apology / Consolidation		
5.5	16	nihna: 'kilna: xu:t	نحننا كلنا إخوة	We are all brothers	We are all brothers	Consolidation		
5.6	1	?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	
5.6	2	Wa ʕa' lajkum ?assa' la:m	وعليكم السلام	And Peace be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest	The short version and one of the expected socio- religious replies to		

					equivalent	((Assalamu alaikum))		
5.6	2	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely	
5.6	3	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	A reply to “how are you?” stating and emphasising that he is well	Religious ritual of thanking Allah, while communicating positive feelings to the addressee
5.6	6	Wal'la:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Really? – showing interest	The use of wal'la:hi in the sense of really
5.6	10	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	What God wills	God wills	To indicate admiration of someone or something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this especial	Expressing interest and admiration of the described food	

						religious expression		
5.6	24	bis'sala:ma	بالسلامة	With (Allah's) care	Take care	Socio-religious ritual used when leaving someone not necessarily for good	Wishing for his friend to be safe	
5.6	26	Fi ?ama:n '?illa:h	في أمان الله	In Allah's guard	Be safe	Socio-religious ritual used when leaving someone not necessarily for good; and it means to be guarded by Allah	Asking Allah to keep their friend safe and protected while on his way home	
5.6	27	in 'fa:ʔalla:h	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Meeting others in the future depends on power of fate	
5.6	33	Mar'hab	مرحب	Hello	Welcome	Social ritual of greeting	greeting	
5.6	34	Mar'hab	مرحب	Hello	Welcome	Social ritual of greeting	greeting	

5.6	34	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely in response to “how are you today?”	Religious ritual of thanking Allah, while relating positively to the addressee
5.6	45	'fukran, ?mnaw'ri:n	شكراً، منورين	Thanks, you're shining	Thanks	Social ritual of thanking + “?mnaw'ri:n ”	Thanking plus “?mnaw'ri:n ” to express satisfaction and happiness	
5.6	53	Mafi:f 'mu?kilah	ما فيش مشكلة	No problem	No problem/no worries	Expression or ritual?	Making his friend feeling at ease/or with no obligation	Solidarity
5.6	61	'fukran	شكراً	Thank you	Thank you	Social ritual of thanking (short form)	Expressing dissatisfaction implicitly	
5.6	62	Mafi:f 'mu?kilah	ما فيش مشكلة	No problem	No problem/no worries	Expression or ritual?	Making his friend feeling at ease/or with no obligation	Solidarity
5.6	63	?alla:h 'j:barik fi:kam	الله يبارك فيكم	May Allah bless you both	God bless you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Expressing thanks and appreciation	

5.7	1	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting to initiate the talk/introduce to what he is going to say	
5.7	5	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	greeting	
5.7	8	'fukran	شكراً	Thanks	Thanks	Social ritual of thanking (short form)	Expressing dissatisfaction in an indirect way	
5.7	13	?alla:h jarham 'waldajk	الله يرحم والديك	May Allah have mercy upon your parents		Supplication in the favour of the other's parents	Thanking for a favour	Constructive socio-religious ritual of appreciation- the significant status of parents
5.7	14	'Alla:h ?i'salmak	الله يسلمك	May Allah conserve you	God bless you	Socio-religious ritual of appreciation	Response to another Socio-religious ritual	
5.7	14	Mafi:f ' muƒkilah	ما فيش مشكلة	No problem	No problem/no worries	Expression or social ritual?	Response to thanking	
5.7	17	Wal'la:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to	Oathing	Oathing to refute	Religious ritual of

					God		accusation	oathing
5.7	18	?illi jat ⁹ laŋ min 'da:rah ?i:qil 'miqda:rah	اللي يطلع من داره يقل مقداره	Whoever leaves his home, will face disrespect		Expressing dissatisfaction against an insult or an act of humiliation	Expressing dissatisfaction against his friend's inappropriate behaviour (according to his 1st order understanding)	
5.7	22	Sa?altak bil' la:h	سألتك بالله	I ask you with Allah's name	I beg you	A way of requesting/begging the other in a polite way/	Begging his friend to give up his idea using for the sake of God	
5.7	23	ŋalajh 'haq	عليه حق	He owes you an apology	Owes you (one)	Blaming the offender	Accusing the offender	
5.7	24	Sal'lim famak	سلم فمك	Bless your mouth	Well said	Expressing admiration of what is been said	Mutual agreement/ a code of strong agreeing (in the sense of well done) on what has been said	Social ritual with religious reference
5.7	25	Walla:hi ma: 'fijh da:ŋi	والله ما فيه داعي	There is no need to do	Forget about it	Forgiving	Avoiding face-threat in a polite way, i.e.	Religious ritual of Oathing to save

				that			avoiding providing 'haq	face
5.8	1	?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	
5.8	2	Wa ʕa' lajkum ?assa' la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:hi wa Baraka:tuhu	و عليكم السلام ورحمة الله وبركاته	And peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The semi-full version and the expected socio-religious reply to ((Assalamu alaikum))	To greet his friend back	
5.8	2	?al' ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely in response to “How are you doing?”	Religious ritual of thanking Allah, while relating positively to the addressee

5.8	3	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely	
5.8	3	Walla:hi 'bxajr	والله بخير	By Allah(I am fine)	I swear to God	Oathing	In the sense of Really in order to emphasise the fact of being in a good health	The use of Walla:hi here is to emphasise a fact
5.8	3	fi 'niṣma	في نعمة	showered with Allah's blessings	Truly Blessed	Expressing thanks to Allah, as well as communicating to his friend that he is doing well	Expressing thanks to Allah, while communicating to his friend that he is doing well	Socio-religious ritual
5.8	4	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely	
5.8	6	Ba:raka 'lla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Thanking his friend bringing the cash with him	Socio-religious ritual of expressing appreciation

5.8	7	majʿku:r walla:hi	مشكور، والله	I am thankful really	I am really thankful	A form of thanking in combination of the religious ritual of oathing “walla:hi”	Expressing gratitude, while emphasising it with the use of “Walla:hi” in the sense of “Really”	
5.9	1	?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet his colleagues	Socio-religious ritual of greeting
5.9	1	Marhib'tajn	مرحبتين	Welcome	Hello, Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting using warm form of greeting i.e double mar'haba ((hello))	I need to say something about its semantic meaning and function such as being ‘double mar'haba’

5.9	2	Wa ʕa' lajkum ʔassa' la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:h	وعليكم السلام ورحمة الله	And peace be upon you and God's mercy be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The semi-full version and the expected socio- religious reply to (Assalamu alaikum)	To greet their colleague back	Reply to the socio-religious ritual of greeting “Assalamu alaikum”
5.9	2	ʔal' ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “we are fine” politely	Religious ritual of thanking to Allah and at the same time conveying positive feelings to the addressee
5.9	3	Mar' ḥaba	مرحبا	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	greeting	Social ritual of greeting
5.9	4	ʔal' ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely	
5.9	4	Walla:hi 'bxajr	والله بخير	By Allah (I am fine)	I am very well	Oathing	In the sense of Really in order to emphasise the fact of being in a good health	Religious ritual of thanks to Allah and at the same time conveying positive feelings

								to the addressee
5.9	11	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing in order to indicate sincerity	Oathing to confirm a fact or make a claim stronger
5.9	14	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	May God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Thanking his friend	Socio-religious ritual of expressing appreciation
5.10	1	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Hello	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting to initiate the talk/introduce to what he is going to say	
5.10	1	Kul ʕa:m winta 'bxajr	كل عام وأنت بخير	Each year and you are fine	May God keep you protected every year and many happy returns	Conventional and normative ritualistic greeting of Eid	To greet his friend on the occasion of Eid or wish him blessed Eid	Social ritual of Eid greetings
5.10	2	winta 'bxajr	وأنت بخير	and you are fine	Many happy	Special ritual to greet back for the	Greeting his friend back for the occasion	Socio- religious rituals of Eid

					returns to you too	occasion of Eid	of Eid	greetings
5.10	2	Rabbi: jaʕtʕi:k asʕsʕihħa	ربي يعطيك الصحة	Lord gives you health	Be good and sound	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Wishing his friend good health	
5.10	2	?in 'ja:ʔalla:h	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God's willing	Confirming power of fate	Wishing his friend good health ,while confirming power of fate	God's willing
5.10	2	'ʕi:d 'muba:rak	عيد مبارك	Blessed Eid	Eid Mubarak (defined in Oxford dictionaries as: a Muslim festival, in particular Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha)	Socio-religious ritual to wish the other blessed Eid	To greet his friend or wish him blessed Eid	
5.10	4	'ʕi:d 'muba:rak	عيد مبارك	Blessed Eid	Eid Mubarak	Socio-religious ritual to wish the other	To greet his friend or	Socio-religious ritual of Eid

					(defined in Oxford dictionaries as: a Muslim festival, in particular Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha)	blessed Eid	wish him blessed Eid	greetings
5.10	5	Ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	what God wills	God wills	To indicate admiration of someone or something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this especial religious expression	Expressing interest and admiration of the hospitable action on this special occasion of Eid	Religious ritual when complimenting someone or something
5.10	6	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Using “Walla:hi” in the sense of “really” to emphasise that the gathering at his friend was very nice indeed	Oathing to emphasise something

5.10	6	'?alla:h jixalli:k	الله يخليك	May Allah keep you for us	God bless you	Appreciating the other	Thanking his friend	Socio-religious ritual to occasion politeness
5.10	7	Mafi:f 'muʃkilah	ما فيش مشكلة	No problem	No worries at all	Comforting the other	Comforting the other	
5.10	7	'ʕi:d 'muba:rak	عيد مبارك	Blessed Eid	Eid Mubarak (defined in Oxford dictionaries as: a Muslim festival, in particular Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha)	Socio-religious ritual to wish the other blessed Eid	Emphasising the importance of this Eid ritual	
5.10	8	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Thanking his friend for the dinner invitation on the Eid occasion of Eid	Socio-religious ritual to express thanks

5.10	9	?in 'fa:lla la:ba:s ʕa'lajk	إن شاء الله لا باس عليك	May Allah give you good health	Get well soon	Socio-religious ritual to wish a speedy recovery to the other, while confirming the power fate (God is the one who has the will to heal people)	Wishing for his friend to get better	Socio-religious ritual
5.10	9	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	In the sense of “really” to emphasise sincerity	Walla:hi in the sense of really
5.10	10	Marhib'tajn	مرحبتين	Welcome	Hello, Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting using warm form of greeting i.e double mar'haba ((hello))	Double mar'haba
5.10	11	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting his friend back	
5.10	12	'ʕukran	شكراً	Thank you	Thank you	Thanking	Thanking	
5.10	12	jiku:n xajr ?u baraka	يكون خير وبركة	that would be goodness and blessing	That would be even better	Socio-religious ritual to encourage good deeds	Socio-religious ritual to encourage hospitality	Consider different translation

5.10	13	?in 'fa:ʔalla:h	إن شاء الله	If God wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping for the positive	
5.10	15	?in 'fa:ʔalla:h	إن شاء الله	If God wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Indicating agreement with his friend, while confirming power of fate	
5.10	15	Fi ʔama:n 'ʔilla:h	في أمان الله	in Allah's guard	Be safe	Socio-religious ritual used when leaving someone not necessarily for good; and it means to be guarded by Allah	Asking Allah to keep his friend safe	
5.10	16	Maʕa 'ʔssala:ma	مع السلامة	With (Allah's) care	Take care	Socio-religious ritual used when leaving someone not necessarily for good	Wishing for his friend to be safe	Socio-religious ritual –solidarity
Example No.	Turn No.	Socio-religious Rituals	Original Arabic Text	English Translation	English Equivalent	Basic Function	Contextual Function	Notes

6.1	1	'jistur ?alla:h	يستتر الله	May Allah keep his veil		Asking Allah for support in difficult situations or when something negative happens	Asking Allah to keep things well for them and nothing goes wrong	
6.1	2	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Confirming in the sense of really	
6.1	3	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I do agree	Oathing	emphasising mutual agreement in the sense of really	
6.1	4	?in 'fa:lla xajr	إن شاء الله خير	God's willing everything is going be OK	Everything is going to be OK	Confirming power of fate	hoping for the positive, while confirming power of fate	
6.1	4	?in 'fa:?allah	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive, while confirming power of fate	
6.1	5	'fukran	شكراً	Thank you	Thank you	Thanking	Thanking	
6.1	5	?alla:h jixalli:k	الله يخليك ليا	May Allah keep you	God bless	Appreciating the	Thanking her husband	

		li:ja:		alive for me	you	other		
6.1	6	Marhib'tajn	مرحبتين	Welcome	Hello, Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting using warm form of greeting, i.e. double marhaba ((hello))	
6.1	7	Marhib'tajn	مرحبتين	Welcome	Hello, Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting his brother-in-law back using the same warm form of greeting which is double marhaba ((hello))	
6.1	7	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying "I am fine" politely in response to "How are you?"	
6.1	8	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God that everyone is doing well	Expressing appreciation to God and saying "I am fine" politely in response to "How are things?"	

6.1	8	?in 'fa:ʔallah	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive, while confirming power of fate	
6.1	9	fī 'niʕma	في نعمة	showered with Allah's blessings	Truly Blessed	Expressing thanks to Allah	Expressing thanks to Allah, while relating positively to the other	
6.1	9	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Confirming that all his family are well in the sense of "really"	
6.1	10	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Well	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of "well" in order to decrease the face-threat	
6.1	14	Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	May Allah bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Expressing appreciation	
6.1	15	'fukran walla:hi	شكراً والله	thank you indeed	Thank you so much/really	Thanking	Expressing appreciation using "walla:hi" in the sense of "really"	

6.1	15	?in 'fa:ʔallah	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Promising, while confirming power of fate	
6.1	17	?in 'fa:ʔallah	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive, while confirming power of fate	
6.1	22	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Emphasising his opinion in the sense of "really"	
6.1	23	Ma 'ta:xiðʃ ʕala ða:tʕrak	ما تاخذش على خاطرک	Do not be upset	Do not be upset	Social ritual of appreciating the other's feelings	Requesting, while showing sympathy	
6.1	25	walla:hi	والله	By Allah	really	Oathing	Indicating sincerity of sympathy in the sense of "I swear to God" i.e. oathing	
6.1	26	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Indicating sincerity in the sense of "really"	
6.1	27	?alla:h 'jarħamah	الله یرحمه	may Allah have mercy	May God bless his soul/rest in	Supplication to Allah to have mercy upon someone who	Supplication for her late father	

				upon him	peace	passed away		
6.1	29	Saʔaltak bil' la:h	سألتك بالله	I ask you with Allah's name	I beg you	A way of requesting/begging the other in a polite way/	Begging her husband using for the sake of God	Solidarity, Self-esteem- gaining, sympathy
6.1	30	Ma:ʃi:l ʔhal	ماشي الحال	It's Okay	It's Okay	Declaring that things are OK, sometimes reluctantly	Declaring that he is OK reluctantly	
6.1	30	Ma:tʃi:l:ʃ 'ham	ماتشيليش هم	Do not worry	Do not worry	Showing sympathy	Showing sympathy	
6.2	2	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “well” in order to decrease the face-threat while trying to solicit an offer	
6.2	4	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “well” in order to decrease the face-threat while disagreeing with the	

							other	
6.2	9	ma 'fa: ?allah	ما شاء الله	which God wills	God wills (is the closest)	To indicate admiration of someone or something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this especial religious expression	Expressing admiration	
6.3	2	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “well” in order to decrease the face-threat associated with refusal	
6.3	2	bis'sala:ma ?in 'fa:lla	بالسلامة إن شاء الله	safely, God's willing	Get back home safely	Hoping for someone to be safe by Allah's will	Hoping that her brother will get back home safely, while confirming power of fate	

6.3	3	?alla:h jixalli:k	الله يخليك	May Allah keep you alive	God bless you	Appreciating the other	Making his request or offer soliciting less face-threatening to his wife	Solidarity
6.3	4	?in 'fa:lla xajr	ان شاء الله خير	God's willing everything is going to be OK	Hopefully everything is going to be OK	Confirming power of fate	hoping for the positive, while confirming power of fate	
6.3	6	Fi 'niṣma	في نعمة	We are blessed	Blessed	Expressing thanks to Allah	Expressing thanks to Allah, while relating positively to the other	
6.3	6	?al'ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying "I am fine" politely in response to "How are you?"	Religious ritual of thanking
6.3	7	?al'ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God that everyone is well and blessed	Religious ritual of thanking

6.3	7	Rabbi 'jezi:dak min 'fadʕlah	ربي يزيدكم من فضله	May Allah bless you handsomely	God bless (is the closest)	Supplication in favour of the other	Asking Allah to bless her daughter and her husband more and more	
6.3	10	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	May Allah bless you	Thank you (is the closest)	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Appreciating the other	
6.3	10	?in fa:lila rabbi 'jetʕa'wil fi ʕumrak au ʕumr 'ummi	إن شاء الله ربي يطول في عمرك وعمر أُمي	May Allah grant you and my mother long life	Thank you (is the closest)	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other especially for parents	Appreciating her parents	Socio-religious ritual in a form of supplication
6.3	11	?in fa:lila 'lamma: jird bissala:ma 'ja:ma: ʕind 'allah min 'xajr	إن شاء الله لما يرد بالسلامة ياما عند الله من خير	God's willing when he comes back safely, God's blessings are plentiful	God wills, he will get out safely and we will get it sorted out	Confirming power of fate and that Allah is the best support	Convincing his daughter to accept her prisoned brother's fridge without causing her any face-threat	

6.3	12	?alla:h 'j:ba:rik fi:k ?u fi s'ihatak	الله يبارك فيك وفي صحتك	May Allah bless you and your health	God bless (is the closest)	Combination of religious supplication in favour of one's parents	Thanking her father and expressing her appreciation to her father and mother	
6.3	12	?in 'fa:ʔalla:h	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive, while confirming power of fate	
6.3	13	?in 'fa:ʔalla:h	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive, while confirming power of fate	
6.3	15	?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting

6.3	16	Wa ʿa' lajkum ʿassa' la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:h	و عليكم السلام ورحمة الله	And peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The semi-full version and the expected socio- religious reply to (ʿassa' la:mu ʿa' lajkum)	To greet his their son- in-law back	
6.3	18	ʿal' ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely in response to “How are you?”	
6.3	19	ʿal' ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely in response to “How is everyone doing?”	
6.3	19	fi 'niʿma	في نعمة	We are blessed	Blessed	Expressing thanks to Allah	Expressing thanks to Allah, while relating positively to the other	

6.3	20	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Confirming being grateful or overwhelmed by his parents-in-law's kindness and support in the sense of really	
6.3	22	?alla:h idʒa:zi:kum ?ilxajr wi tʕa'wil fi ʕumrkum	الله يجازيكم الخير ويطول في عمركم	May Allah reward you handsomely and grant you long life	Thank you (is the closest)	Combination of religious supplication in favour of the other	A combination of two religious rituals to convey appreciation and thanks for such a good gesture from his in-laws	
6.3	24	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:kum	بارك الله فيكم	May Allah bless you both	Thank you (is the closest)	Supplication in favour of the other as a sort of appreciation	Expressing deep appreciation	
6.3	25	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k walla:hi	بارك الله فيكم والله	May Allah bless you	Thank you (is the closest)	Thanking	Expressing appreciation to her parents plus using “walla:hi” in the sense of “really”	

6.3	25	Rabbi 'jahfað'skum wi t'sawi:l fi ʕumrkum	ربي يحفظكم ويطول في عمركم	May Allah protect you and grant you long life	Thank you (is the closest)	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other especially for parents	Appreciating her parents	Expressing appreciation using combination of socio-religious rituals plus endearment (politeness and good manners)
6.4	1	?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	
6.4	2	Wa ʕa'lajkum ?assa'la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:h	و عليكم السلام ورحمة الله	And peace be upon you and God's mercy be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The semi-full version and the expected socio- religious reply to (?assa'la:mu ʕa'lajkum)	To greet their brother-in-law back	

6.4	2	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Welcoming their brother-in-law warmly regardless his anger	
6.4	2	Tfad ^s ' d ^{al} ʕa' laj ma: dʒi:t	تفضل علي ما جيت	help yourself to what's available	Please feel at home	Social ritual of hospitality	Receiving their brother-in-law hospitably	
6.4	3	xajr ?in 'ja:lla	خير إن الله	God's willing nothing is wrong, hope everything is OK	What is wrong?	Reassuring if everything is OK, while confirming the power of fate	Reassuring if everything is OK, while confirming the power of fate	
6.4	4	Bi 'lla:hi ʕalajk 'tʃa:mi ħna	بالله عليك تسامحنا	I ask you for the sake of God to forgive us	I am so sorry	Socio-religious ritual of apologising	Apologising	
6.4	9	Subħa:n '?alla:h	سبحان الله	Glory be to Allah	Oh my God (is the closest)	Expressing exclamation	Expressing exclamation towards what his wife think, but it also disarms what comes next, i.e.	

							sort of threatening	
6.4	10	Sa?altak bil'la:h	سألتك بالله	I ask you with Allah's name	I beg you for the sake of God	Away of requesting/ begging the other in a polite way	asking her brother-in-law using for the sake of God	Solidarity.. Self-esteem- gaining sympathy
6.4	11	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “well”	
6.5	3	?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k	الله يبارك فيك	May Allah bless you	God bless you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	appreciation	Using a socio-religious ritual to occasion politeness and enhance solidarity
6.5	4	ma 'fa: ?alla:h	ما شاء الله	Which Allah wills	God wills (is the closest)	To indicate admiration of someone or something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this especial	Expressing admiration	

						religious expression		
6.5	9	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to indicate sincerity and emphasizing that changing his eye appointment won't cause him any trouble	
6.5	10	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	greeting	Socio-religious ritual to express thanks
6.5	11	Marhib'tajn	مرحبتين	Welcome	Hello, Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting using warm form of greeting i.e double mar'haba ((hello))	
6.5	13	'fukran walla:hi	شكراً والله	thank you really	Thank you so much/really	Thanking	Expressing appreciation using "walla:hi" in the sense of "really"	
6.5	13	?allah jixalli:k li:ja:	الله يخليك ليا	May Allah keep you	God bless you	Appreciating the other	Thanking her husband	

				alive for me				
Example No.	Turn No.	Socio-religious Rituals	Original Arabic Text	English Translation	English Equivalent	Basic Function	Contextual Function	Notes
7.1	1	bism 'ʔilla:h	بِسْمِ اللَّهِ	In the name of Allah	In the name of God	Ritualistic/conventional phrase that is usually said before starting eating and also in other activities such as starting a meeting, a task, etc.	To start the meal and at the same time reminding/inviting his friends to say so and start eating	Inviting them to start the meal
7.1	1	<i>bism 'ʔilla:h</i>	بِسْمِ اللَّهِ	In the name of Allah	In the name of God	Ritualistic/conventional phrase that is usually said before starting eating and also in other activities such as starting a meeting, a task, etc.	To start eating, i.e. to have blessed food	

7.1	2	Walla:hi	والله	I swear to God	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to emphasising respect and deference	
7.1	3	?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k	الله يبارك فيك	God bless you	Bless you	Religious Supplication to say thank you and to show appreciation	Thanking other guest for asking him to start first in recognition to his social status	
7.1	3	?alla:hi kabbir miqda:rak	الله يكبر مقدارك	May Allah make your social status even higher	Ø	An act of gratitude	Valuing one's compliment	
7.1	4	Tfad ^s d ^s al ja: ha:j	تفضل يا حاج	Please do have the tea, O Haj	Please do have some tea	Servicing in honorific way	Servicing in honorific way	A way to show deference to the other; therefore, politeness. This has been used in combination with the address term “ha:j” as explained above

7.1	5	Ma: ʕad la kabi:r u' la ʕa:qla	ما عد لا كبير ولا عاقلة	without respecting neither elderly nor wise people		Without respecting neither elderly nor wise people	Age and personal characteristic should be appreciated, valued and observed.	Metacomment is obvious in referring to how age and personal characteristic should be appreciated/value d and observed in conduct as important as in speech
7.2	1	?ilbaraka fi:kum	البركة فيكم	May blessing of Allah be upon you	Please do accept our condolences	Express condolences	Express condolences	This Arabic ritual is used to express the same meaning of “please accept our sincere condolences” in English, but is believed to have stronger sympathy in such situations
7.2	1	Fi 'lʕaza: wa:ħad	في العزاء واحد	Our condolences	Same feelings of	Sympathy or condolences	Solidarity and support	

				are mutual	mutual sorrows			
7.2	2	?allah 'laj ya:ji:r ʕalajk	الله لا يغير عليك	We hope that Allah does not change your happiness into sorrow	We wish you won't go through this tragedy	Responding to rituals of condolences	Responding to rituals of condolences	
7.2	2	Wal'la:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing to confirm	Really	
7.2	2	Ma:na la:jmi:n ʕalajkum	مانا لايمين عليكم	We do not put any blame on you (for not coming)	We don't wish to put you under any pressure	Comforting	Appreciation of efforts	
7.2	3	?in 'fa:lla 'had'a had ?ilbas	إن شاء الله هذا حدّ الباس	Refer to Page 5.14 Turn 9 With change of to speedy recovery to End of				

				sorrows				
7.2	4	'?inni:ja was'la	النية واصلة	We have received your good intention	We have been touched by your well gesture	Appreciation of efforts	Appreciation of efforts	
7.2	5	ʕaðð'ama ?allahu ?dʒrakum	عظم الله أجركم	May Allah make your rewards even greater	God rewards you handsomely	Expressing condolences	Expressing condolences	
7.2	5	'?it'taʕab fi:kum muf 'xsa:ra	التعب فيكم مش خسارة	The exerted effort towards you is no loss	Do not mention the hassle	Minimising the favour	Minimising the favour	
7.2	7	ʕalajk 'xabar	عليك خبر	What a speech!	Not at all	Protesting	Disapproving special treatment	
7.2	7	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah		Oathing	Oathing to confirm and expressing sincerity	

7.2	8	Tfad ^s d ^s lau:	تفضلوا	Move towards guests house	Please come along	Welcoming in honorific way	Leading her sons to the guests house	
7.2	9	?in 'ja:lla	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive, while confirming power of fate	
7.2	11	Ma:naf 'barra'ni:ja	مانش برانيّة	We are not foreigners	We are family	Solidarity and feeling closer/less distant	Solidarity	
7.2	11	Kajfna kajf ?innas	كيفنا كيف الناس	We are no different to others	Treat us like others	Expressing similarity	Disapproving special treatment	
7.3	2	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	Thanking Allah	
7.3	5	Wal'la:hi	والله	I swear to God	Really	Really	Really	
7.3	7	dar 'lwa:dʒib	دار الواجب	The man son has done the	Hospitality has been received	Praising and expressing appreciation	An expression used ironically that has an impeded message with a completely different	

				duty			meaning	
7.3	9	xajr ?in 'ja:ʔalla	خير إن شاء الله	Hope it's good, God wills	Hope it is alright or Hope all is ok	Wishing nothing is wrong in the form of question	Wishing nothing is wrong in the form of question	
7.3	10	Sami:jit	سميية	The so-called	The so-called	to describe someone who is not up to expectations	Indicates that the uncle was not happy about his nephew's lack of hospitality	
7.3	10	Jadu:b mad ru:s s ^ʕ uwabʕa	يا دوب مد روس صوابه	Shake hands with the tips of his fingers	Lukewarm hand shaking	Lack of warm reception, ignorance, expressing anger, blaming	Lack of warm reception	
7.3	10	Tfad ^ʕ d ^ʕ lau:	تفضلوا	You are warmly welcome and please come in	You are warmly welcome and please come in	Invitation	Invitation	
7.3	12	ja: xuij	يا خوي	My brother	My brother	Term of address	Respect between	

							brothers	
7.3	12	ja: ha:j	يا حاج	O Haj	O Haj	Term of address	Respect between brothers	
7.3	13	ja: xuij	يا خوي	My brother	My brother	Term of address	Respect between brothers	
7.3	13	Xajru l?umu:r ?lwasatʕ	خير الأمور الوسط	The middle way is the best one	Be neutral in life	Be neutral in life	Father does not mind his son to adapt to different cultures	To convey a message in indirect way which could be considered as a form of politeness
7.3	14	ja: xuij	يا خوي	My brother	My brother	Term of address	Solidarity	
7.3	14	?alʕilmu fi 'sʕsʕiyar ka 'nnaqʕi fi 'lhadzar	العلم في الصغر كالنقش في الحجر	Knowledge at a young age is like engraving in a stone		Early education does not fade out but lasts forever	Teach your son tribe's customs and norms of hospitality	

7.3	16	?inʕam	إِنْعَم	Yes	Yes	Yes	I am listening to you, dad, respectfully	
7.3	16	Ja: bu:j	يَا بُوِي	my father	my father	Term of address	Respect	
7.3	17	saw' wadit wadʒ' hi	سَوَدَّتْ وَجْهِي	You've darkened my face	Bring shame upon/ humiliate	Bring shame upon/ humiliate	Bring shame upon/ humiliate	There is a clear reference to the notion of “face” here (a full explanation is provided in the analysis in regard to this point , e.g. euphemism and connotations of colours in the Arabic cultures)
7.3	21	?itdʕawwi: wadʒ' hi	إِتْضَوِّي وَجْهِي	brighten my face	Proud of you	Make me proud of you	Make me proud of you	Another reference to the notion of face (positive connotation)

7.3	22	Ja: bu:j	يا بوي	my father	My father	Term of address	Respect	
7.3	23	Rd ba:lak	رد بالك	Be careful	Be careful	Be careful	Father kindly advices his son	
7.3	23	Ja 'wlajdi:	يا وليدي	my little son	My little son	Term of address	Father kindly addresses his son	
7.3	24	Ha:d'ir	حاضر	I am present	I agree	I agree	Father's obedience	literally means "present" which indicates that the person is ready to do anything at any time; in other words, they are at your disposal
7.4	1	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting and welcoming his colleague	Social ritual of greeting and welcoming that demonstrates warm reception
7.4	1	Xu:t'na	خوتنا	our brothers	Our brother	Consolidation	Consolidation and warm kind of welcome	

7.4	1	?a:nas'tu:na:	أنستونا	We are blessed with this gathering	Welcome	Genuine welcome	Genuine welcome	A social ritual of greeting and receiving/welcoming guests with a deeper meaning of appreciating the other or make them closer to you in terms of social distance
7.4	1	Rabbi ma: jidzi:b saw bajn'na	رَبِّي مَا يَجِيب سَو بَيْنَا	May God prevent any misfortune/trouble between us		Supplication: May Allah keep our relationship trouble free	Willingness of the tribe chief to resolving the problem peacefully	A socio-religious ritual in a form of “Duaa”=Supplication
7.4	2	rah'hibbak	رَحْبَكْ	Welcome	Welcome	Social ritual of greeting, a regional dialect for “Mar'haba”	Responding to greeting of the other party	
7.4	2	qas'di:nkum wil maqs'u:d wadzh '?allah	قاصدينكم والمقصود وجه الله	We came here to seek refuge from you and the best refuge	You are our refuge	You are the one who can help us	We are coming to you because we are sure you will resolve the problem peacefully.	

				is God's				
7.4	2	?ahbal saw ?u tʰaħan fi bi:r	حبال سو وطاحن في بير	robes of evil, that fell down in a well	This matter ended and will not affect our relationship	The problem ended and will not affect our relationship	Call for Tolerance	It occasions polite manners of talk as well as functions as a social technique to sooth the air
7.4	2	?iddam ?myatʰ tʰi ?ilʃajb	الدم مغطي العيب	bloodshed covers the disgrace		bloodshed covers the disgrace	Our right to appeal against your son's sin towards our son in the first place, has been waived by your right to appeal for stabbing of your son. This means let's forget the problem.	It occasions polite manners of talk as well as functions as a social technique to sooth the air
7.4	3	?in 'fa:ʔalla ma 'jisʰi:r ?lla 'lxajr	إن شاء الله ما يصير إلا الخير	God's will everything is going to be Ok		Supplication: hoping everything goes smoothly	Chief of the victim's tribe is trying to calm down the situation	A socio-religious ritual in a form of (Du:ʃa:) ((Supplication))
7.4	5	?imyajr law 'sʰabarit rak ħadʒdzajt	مغير لو صبرت راک حجيت	if you were patient, you would have gone on a	You would be rewarded if you were	You would be rewarded if you were patient	The Chief of the offender's tribe showing politely his anger from the other	

				pilgrimage	patient		tribe's member	
7.4	6	Wasfu: 'balkum lil' la:h	وسعوا بالكم الله	Please calm down for God's sake	Please calm down for God's sake	Please calm down for God's sake	Religious way of saying calm down, which has more effect on the hearer	The use of this religious ritual also occasions politeness, as well as it has a strong role in calming the other down in case of anger because it includes the name of Allah. Not only that, it literally means that I am asking you to calm down for Allah not for anyone else which has a very religious meaning including that those who calm down during anger will be rewarded

								handsomely
7.5	1	qas ^ḍ i:nkum wil maqs ^u :d wadʒh '?allah	قاصدينكم والمقصود هو وجه الله	We came here to seek refuge from you and the best refuge is Allah's	You are our refuge	You are the one who can help us	We are coming to you because we are sure you will resolve the problem peacefully.	
7.5	1	Xa:t ^f irkum wa:dʒifkum	خاطركم واجعكم	This problem is a deep grief in your the heart		Sympathy and appreciation of one's anger and sorrow	Sympathy and appreciation of one's anger and sorrow	
7.5	2	Tfad ^ḥ ' d ^ḥ lau:	تفضلوا	Please go ahead	Please go ahead	Honorific expression that is usually used to address the other with respect	Giving permission to present the problem he is coming for	
7.5	2	Qu:lu: ajf fi	قولوا أيش في	speak your	speak your	speak your minds	Feel free to present	

		'ʕqu:lkum	عقولكم	minds	minds		your problem frankly	
7.5	4	Rabbi jekamlak 'biʕaqlak	ربي يكملك بعقلك	May Allah enrich your wisdom		Supplication: May Allah enrich your wisdom	Praise him for his wisdom in presenting this taboo problem in this metaphoric way	
7.5	4	Sitr ʔallah 'baqi:	ستر الله باقي	may Allah cast his veil		Supplication: May Allah cast his veil	No need to mention details of this taboo problem	
7.6	2	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Really	Oathing	Really	
7.6	6	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to indicate honesty or sincere feelings	
7.6	6	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to reinforce the trueness of what he is saying, i.e. defending the family who belongs to this tribe	
7.6	6	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Repeated Oathing for the purpose of defence	
7.6	13	ʔalla:hu ʔakbar	الله أكبر	Allah is the	God is the	Religious ritual to	It is out of your	It represents a

				greatest	greatest	glorify Allah	control	main component of the 5 prayers, i.e. Prayer Opening
7.6	13	'iz zajn wa lʕatʕji:b fi kil maka:n	الزین والعطیب فی کل مکان	Good and bad people are everywhere		A proverb that refers to the fact that there are good and evil people everywhere	To save his friend's face and put him at ease	
Example No.	Turn No.	Socio-religious Rituals	Original Arabic Text	English Translation	English Equivalent	Basic Function	Contextual Function	Notes
8.1	2	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Well	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “ Well”	
8.1	6	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to indicate sincerity	
8.1	8	'uqsimu billa:hi 'lʕa ð'i:m	أقسم بالله العظيم	I swear with the name of Allah the greatest	I swear to God	Strong form of oathing	Repeated oathing in a stronger form to indicate sincerity	
8.1	8	'waḥjat ʔawla:di	وحياة أولادي	With all love I hold	For the sake of my	Social form of	To indicate sincerity and defend his point	

				for my kids / I swear with the lives of my children	children	emphasising	of view	
8.1	11	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Well	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “ Well”	
8.2	1	bism ' ?illa:h	بسم الله	In the name of Allah	In the name of God	Ritualistic/conventio nal phrase that is usually said before starting eating and also in other activities such as starting a meeting, a task..etc	To start the meeting i.e. to have blessed meeting	
8.2	1	wa 's's'ala:tu wassala:mu ʒala rasu:li 'lla:h	والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله	May prayers and peace be upon the Messenger of God		Religious conventionalised ritual that is usually used to start a speech, meetings, or gatherings	To start the meeting	

8.2	3	ma 'fa: ?allah	ما شاء الله	Which Allah wills	God wills	To indicate admiration of someone or something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this especial religious expression	To praise or express admiration of what has been achieved	
8.2	4	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “ Well”	
8.2	6	?in 'fa: ?allah	إن شاء الله	if Allah wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping for the positive, i.e. accomplishing the required work/task on time	God's willing

8.2	7	ma 'fa: ?allah	ما شاء الله	Which Allah wills	God wills	To indicate admiration of someone or something, but at the same time protecting that from the evil eye through using this especial religious expression	In the sense of “very well” to praise or express admiration of the employees’ work	
8.2	7	?in 'fa: ?allah	إن شاء الله	if Allah wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping for the positive, i.e. hoping for things to be done efficiently	God’s willing
8.2	11	?in 'fa: ?allah	إن شاء الله	if Allah wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Promising to devote more time next time, while confirming power of fate	God’s willing
8.2	12	Ba.raka '?alla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	May God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Expressing thanking and appreciation	May God bless you

8.2	13	'fukran	شكراً	Thank you	Thank you	Social ritual of thanking	Thanking their manager	
8.3	1	?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	
8.3	2	Wa ʕa' lajkum ?assa' la:m	و عليكم السلام	And Peace be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The short version and one of the expected socio-religious replies to (?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum)		
8.3	3	?a:sif	أسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology	Apology	

8.3	3	?a:sif	أسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology	Repeating apology to express sincere sympathy	
8.3	4	qad' dara llahu wama 'fa:ʔa faʕal	قدر الله وما شاء فعل	Allah has decreed, and what he wills, he does	What is meant to be is meant to be	Religious ritual that is used when something unwanted happens that confirms the power of fate as well as is believed to whatever happened or is going to happen is going to be good by Allah's will	Confirming the power of fate and hoping for the better	
8.3	4	?in 'fa:ʔalla xajr	ان شاء الله خير	If God wills, everything is going to be OK	Everything is going to be OK	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping for the positive	

8.3	5	La ḥawla wala 'quwata ?illa: billa:h	لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله	There is no power but from Allah		Confirming power and almighty of God	To express sorrow and sympathy	
8.3	5	?in 'fa:ʔalla xajr	ان شاء الله خير	If God wills, everything is going to be OK	Everything is going to be OK	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping for the positive	
8.3	7	?al'ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thanks to God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God that his family member was not in when the incident happened	
8.3	8	?al'ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thanks to God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God that her neighbour was not in when the incident happened	
8.3	11	'uqsimu billa:h	اقسم بالله	I swear with Allah	I swear to God	Strong form of Oathing	To defend himself and indicate sincerity	

8.3	12	?in 'fa:ʔalla xajr	ان شاء الله خير	If God wills, everything is going to be OK	Everything is going to be OK	Confirming power of fate	In addition to confirming power of fate, hoping for the positive	
8.3	13	?in 'fa:ʔallah	ان شاء الله	If God wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Confirming power of fate and hoping for the positive	
8.3	14	ħasʕal xajr	حصل خير	It's OK	It's OK	Socio-religious ritual to express satisfaction following disappointment	Socio-religious ritual to express satisfaction following disappointment	
8.3	15	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing in order to indicate sincerity	
8.3	15	Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	May Allah bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Appreciation	
8.3	20	Tfadʕ' dʕal	تفضل	Carry on	Carry on	Honorific expression that is usually used to address the other with respect	Giving permission to his colleague to talk	

8.3	23	wa 'llahi ʔilʕaðʕi:m	والله العظيم	I swear with Allah, the greatest	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to emphasise or make his statement stronger/sincerity	
8.3	25	Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	May Allah bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Expressing appreciation	
8.3	28	'ʕukran	شكراً	Thanks	Thanks	Social ritual of thanking (short form)	Thanking	
8.3	29	dʒaza:ka 'lla:hu xajran	جزاك الله خييراً	May God reward you goodness	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Expressing thanks and appreciation	
8.3	30	Wa 'ʔija:k	وإياك	(May Allah reward) you too	you too	The short response to the socio-religious ritual “Jazak Allah khairaa”	Thanking back	
8.4	1	Tfadʕ dʕllaj:	تفضلني	Please help yourself (to the cupcake)	Please feel at home	Honorific expression that is usually used to address the other with respect	Giving permission to others to share your food	

8.4	2	Ba:raka 'ʔalla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	May Allah bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Thanking her colleague for offering her cupcake as a polite introductory phrase to refuse the offer	
8.4	4	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to refuse the second offer of cake	
8.4	4	'ʃukran	شكراً	Thanks	Thanks	Social ritual of thanking (short form)	Thanking her colleague for the cake following the refusal in order to minimise any face-threat	
8.4	7	'ʃukran	شكراً	Thanks	Thanks	Social ritual of thanking (short form)	Repeated thanks following another offer-refusal	
8.4	9	'ʕi:d 'muba:rak	عيد مبارك	Blessed Eid	Eid Mubarak	Socio-religious ritual to wish the other blessed Eid	To greet her colleague or wish her blessed Eid	
8.4	10	Kul ʕa:m winta 'bxajr	كل عام وأنت بخير	Each year and you are fine	May God keep you protected every year	Conventional and normative ritualistic greeting of Eid	To greet her colleague back on the occasion of Eid or wish her blessed Eid	

					and many happy returns			
8.4	11	'fukran	شكراً	thank you	Thank you	Social ritual of thanking	To thank her colleague for offering her a seat	
8.4	12	?al'hamdu lilla:h, 'bxajr	الحمد لله بخير	Praise be to Allah, I'm fine	Thank God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God and saying "I am fine" politely in a response to how are you?	
8.4	13	?al'hamdu lilla:h, 'bxajr	الحمد لله بخير	Praise be to Allah, I'm fine	Thank God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God and saying "I am fine" politely	
8.4	14	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	In the sense of "really" to show interest or attention	
8.4	18	Walla:hi?	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	In the sense of "really" to express surprise/exclamation	

8.4	19	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Well	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “Well”	
8.5	2	Tfad ^s d ^ʕ al	تفضل	Welcome	Come in, please	Honorific expression that is usually used to address the other with respect	Giving permission to his colleague to get into the office after he sought permission by knocking at the door	
8.5	3	?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a religious ritual of greeting	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	
8.5	4	Wa ʕa' lajkum ?assa' la:m wa raḥmatu 'lla:h	و عليكم السلام ورحمة الله	And peace and God's mercy be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The semi-full version and the expected socio-religious reply to “?assa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum”	To greet his colleague back	

8.5	4	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting and welcoming his colleague	
8.5	5	?alla:h 'j:barik fi:k	الله يبارك فيك	God bless you	Bless you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Thanking his colleague for welcoming him and offering him a seat	
8.5	7	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Discourse marker in the sense of “well”	
8.5	7	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to indicate honesty or sincere feelings	
8.5	7	'Billa:hi ʕalajk '?tsamiḥni:	بالله عليك تسامحني	I ask you for the sake of God to forgive me	Forgive me please	Asking for forgiveness	Asking for forgiveness	
8.5	7	?a:sif	آسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology	Feeling a shamed of what he did	
8.5	7	?a:sif	آسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology	Feeling a shamed of what he did	

8.5	8	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Emphasing in the sense of “really”	
8.5	9	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Emphasing in the sense of “I must admit”	
8.5	9	?a:sif	أسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology	Feeling a shamed of what he did	
8.5	10	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Emphasing in the sense of “ really”	
8.5	11	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Appreciation	May God bless you
8.5	11	?a:sif	أسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology		
8.6	1	?assa'la:mu fa'lajkum	السلام عليكم	Peace be upon you	Hello could be the closest equivalent. Although “hello” is not a	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	Socio-religious ritual of greeting in order to greet and relate to the other in a positive way	

					religious ritual of greeting			
8.6	2	Wa ʕa' lajkum ʔassa' la:m wa raḥmatu 'llah	و عليكم السلام ورحمة الله	And peace and God's mercy be upon you	A reply to Hello could be the closest equivalent	The semi-full version and the expected socio- religious reply to “ʔassa' la:mu ʕa' lajkum”	To greet his colleague back	
8.6	2	ʔal' ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	A reply to “how are you?” stating and emphasising that he is well	
8.6	3	ʔal' ḥamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God for being in good health	A reply to “how are you?” stating and emphasising that he is well too	
8.6	3	'bxajr Walla:hi	والله بخير	I am fine, By Allah	I am really well	Oathing	In the sense of “really” in order to emphasise the fact of being in a good health	

8.6	4	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God for knowing that his colleague are in a good condition, health..etc	Also an essential part of exchanging greetings when meeting one another
8.6	6	'fukran	شكراً	Thanks	Thanks	Social ritual of thanking (short form)	Thanking his colleague for his opinion/advice regardless agreeing with that or not	
8.6	8	Mar'haba	مرحباً	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting to initiate the talk/introduce to what he is going to say	
8.6	9	Mar'haba	مرحباً	Welcome	Hello	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting his colleague back	
8.6	9	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God	Expressing appreciation to God and saying “I am fine” politely	
8.6	13	'fukran	شكراً	Thank you	Thank you	Social ritual of thanking	Thanking his colleague in a formal	This form of thanking “

							way	shukran” could express self-distancing and unhappiness in contrast to the use of “Barak Allah feek
8.6	15	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking Allah	In reply to “how is things? In sense of “everything is OK”	
8.6	17	'fukran	شكراً	Thanks	Thanks	Social ritual of thanking (short form)	Using “shukran” as equivalent of “thanks” just after the refusal of his colleague’s offer/suggestion to occasion politeness/ disarm the impact of refusal in this clear case of disagreement	
8.6	19	'fukran	شكراً	Thanks	Thanks	Social ritual of thanking (short form)	Expressing refusal in in a polite way	

8.6	19	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	In the sense of “really” to emphasise his reasons for refusal	
8.6	21	masa:? 'lxajr	مساء الخير	Good evening	Good evening	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting	
8.6	22	masa:? 'lxajr	مساء الخير	Good evening	Good evening	Social ritual of greeting	Greeting his colleague back	
8.6	22	?in 'fa:ʔalla xajr	ان شاء الله خير	God’s willing I hope everything is OK?	What is wrong?	Confirming power of fate while hoping for the positive	Hoping for the positive, while confirming the power of fate	usually used when expecting something wrong particularly if it is from unexpected person or at an unexpected time such as early morning or late night
8.6	23	xajr xajr ?in 'fa:lla	خير خير ان شاء الله	God’s willing nothing wrong, everything	Nothing wrong at all	Reassuring that everything is OK, while confirming the power of fate	Reassuring his colleague that nothing is wrong using “xajr” twice while confirming the power	

				is OK			of fate	
8.6	23	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God	Thanking God	
8.6	24	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Praise be to Allah	Thank God	Thanking God	Thanking God that nothing is wrong	
8.6	26	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	In the sense of “really” to emphasise what he is doing and indicate annoyance	
8.6	29	?a:sif	أسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology		
8.6	29	'Lajltak 'saʕi:da	ليلتك سعيدة	Happy night	Good night	Social ritual of farewell greeting	Farewell greeting	
8.6	30	Maʕa '?ssala:ma	مع السلامة	With (Allah's) care	Take care	Socio-religious ritual of farewell used when leaving someone not	Ending the call angrily although in a polite way	

						necessarily for good		
8.6	35	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	Swear to God	Oathing	Oathing to reinforce the trueness of what he is saying i.e. defending his situation	
8.6	37	wa 'llahi ʔilʕaðʕi:m	والله العظيم	I swear by the name of God, the greatest	I swear by Almighty God	Strong form of oathing	Strong form of oathing to indicate sincerity and defend himself	
8.6	37	ʔa:sif	أسف	I am sorry	I am sorry	Apology		
8.6	39	ʔin 'fa:ʔallah	إن شاء الله	If God wills	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive, while confirming the power of fate	
8.6	41	ʔin 'fa:ʔallah	إن شاء الله	God's willing	God wills	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive ,while confirming the power of fate	

8.6	42	?almusa:mih rab'bi	المسامح ربي	The forgivable is Allah		Socio-religious ritual means that the person is still holding some negative feeling towards the other	Refusal of the other's apology	
8.6	43	Mar'haba	مرحبا	Welcome to my home	Hello (is the closest)	Social ritual of greeting and indicating a warm reception	Welcoming his guests with warm reception	
8.6	43	?a:nas'tu:na:	أنستونا	I am so blessed with our gathering				A social ritual of greeting and receiving/welcom ing guests with a deeper meaning of appreciating the other or make them closer to you in terms of social distance
8.6	43	'majku:ri:n	مشكورين	Thank you	Thank you	Social ritual of thanking	Expressing appreciation	

8.6	44	'Alla:h ?i'salmak	الله يسلمك	May Allah protect you	God bless you	Socio-religious ritual of appreciation	Expressing appreciation	
8.6	44	Ba:raka '?alla:hu fi:k	بارك الله فيك	God bless you	Thank you	Religious Supplication in the favour of the other	Thanking	
8.6	44	xuij	خوي	My brother	My brother	Term of address		
8.6	44	xuij	خوي	My brother	My brother	Term of address		
8.6	44	?almi:jah ?adat ?ila madza:ri:ha	عادت المياه إلى مجاريها	Water flow has returned back to its course	Things are back to normal			
8.6	45	?al'hamdu lilla:h	الحمد لله	Thank God	Thanking God	Thanking God		
8.6	45	Rabbi 'jedu:m ?ilmaḥabba bajna	ربي يدوم المحبة بينا	May Allah keep love and last good relations among us all		Socio-religious supplication in the favour of the group	Asking Allah to maintain their good relationship	

8.6	46	?allahum'ma ?a:mi:n	اللهم آمين	O'Allah Amin	Amin	Religious ritual of confirming the supplication of the other	Confirming the other's supplication and asking Allah to fulfil it	
8.6	47	?in 'fa:ʔallah	إن شاء الله	If God wills	God wills/God's willing	Confirming power of fate	Hoping for the positive, while confirming the power of fate	
8.6	47	xuij	خوي	My brother	My brother	Term of address		
8.6	48	Rabbi jesa:mihna: dʒami:ʕan	ربي يسامحنا جميعاً	May Allah forgive us all		Supplicating to Allah for forgiveness	Supplicating to Allah for forgiveness for the group attending the gathering	
8.6	48	Walla:hi	والله	By Allah	I swear to God	Oathing	Oathing in the sense of “really” to confirm what he is saying and also indicate sincerity	
8.6	48	sa:mihn:	سامحني	Forgive me	I am so sorry	Socio-religious ritual of apologising	Apologising	

8.6	49	?allah yexzi: 'affajtʰa:n	الله يخزي الشیطان	damn Satan	damn Satan	Cursing Satan	Cursing Satan believing that he is the main source of such a kind of dispute	
8.6	49	?allah 'jedu:m ?ilmu:wadda bajna	الله يدوم المودة بينا	May Allah last affection among us all	I hope that our relationship will be intact	Socio-religious supplication in the favour of the group	Asking Allah to maintain their good relationship	
8.6	50	wa'niʃma bil'lah	ونعم بالله	indeed Allah is our best support		Religious ritual of confirming Allah's divine role of support in everything	Religious ritual of confirming Allah's divine role of support in everything	

