DOCTORAL THESIS

Politeness study of requests and apologies as produced by Saudi Hijazi, EFL learners, and British English university students

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Politeness study of requests and apologies as produced by Saudi Hijazi, EFL learners, and British English university students

By

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Abstract

The current thesis contributes to the existing literature on politeness research and teaching English as a second language (TESOL) by investigating requests and apologies as produced by Saudi Arabic native speakers, Saudi English as a foreign language (EFL) learners, and British native speakers.

Data was collected through the use of discourse completion test questionnaires from 160 university students. Participants were divided into six groups: 40 male Saudi students; 40 female Saudi students; 20 male Saudi EFL students; 20 female Saudi EFL students; 20 British males; and 20 British females. The data was analysed based on Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory and using the Cross Cultural Speech Act Research Project (CCSARP) request and apology coding systems.

Results showed that in specific situations, there were significant differences between the mean scores of the groups in terms of their strategy use. From a cross-cultural comparative perspective, Saudi males and females generally preferred to use direct strategies in their requests; whereas EFL and British groups were systematically more indirect. However, the Saudis also used the largest number of modifiers, such as religious softeners and prayers. On closer inspection, it seems that directness as used by the Saudis does not equate impoliteness, as suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987). Rather, it might be the case that the British tend to express polite forms by using syntactic and linguistic devices; whereas the Saudis tend to
express polite forms by using direct linguistic means mitigated by the use of semantic
softeners.

From a pedagogical perspective, Saudi EFL learners showed consistent parallels with
British native speakers’ preference for using indirect styles, although at somewhat a lower
rate. Linguistically, they appeared to limit their use to specific strategies; mainly to query
preparatory forms. The British, on the other hand, demonstrated a wider use of indirect
strategies using various types of linguistic devices. Moreover, EFL learners reflected
negative pragmatic transfer from their Mother tongues (L1) in their answers. These were
mostly linguistic realisations which were directly and literally translated from Arabic to
English, and which also resulted in ungrammatical English formations. They also
demonstrated negative pragmatic transfer in their choice of perspective. For example, just
like the Saudis, both EFL groups preferred the use of the hearer perspective more than the
speaker perspective. The British, on the other hand, used the speaker perspective more.

Furthermore, there appeared to be a number of gender differences between males and
females within each group, but the difference between Saudi males and females was most
prominent. These will be discussed in the thesis conclusion.

The thesis concludes with recommendations for instructors and policy makers to include in
their classrooms and curriculum making, such as the inclusion of the indirect forms that the
British used in this study, and were not part of the original CCSARP speech-act classification.
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List of abbreviations (in order of appearance)

TESOL = Teaching English as a Second Language
EFL = English as a foreign language
CCSARP = Cross Cultural Speech Act Research Project
L1 = mother tongue/first language
SLA = Second Language Acquisition
L2 = second language/target language
B and L = Brown and Levinson
P = power
D = distance
R = ranking of imposition
ESL = English as a second language
SL = second language
CP = Co-operative Principle
PP = Politeness Principle
H = hearer
S = speaker
FTA = Face-threatening act
PDI = power distance index
IDV = individualism
MAS = masculinity
UAI = uncertainty avoidance index
LTO = long term orientation
LP = lingua=pragmatics
HPD = high power distance
LPD = low power distance
DCT = discourse completion test questionnaire
IFID = Illocutionary Force Indicating Device
ILP = interlanguage pragmatics
IL = interlanguage
NSs = native speakers
NNSs = nonnative speakers
KAU = King Abdulaziz University
RU = Roehampton University
SPSS = statistical package for social sciences (statistical analysis programme)
Q-prep = query preparatory
EP = explicit performative
HP = hedged performative
M = male
F = female
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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction to the research background

It is generally accepted in the disciplines of Teaching English to speakers of other Languages (TESOL) and second language acquisition (SLA) that most second language (L2) learners find acquiring and mastering the use of speech acts (such as the acts of requesting, apologizing, thanking, refusing, complaining, etc.) in L2 taxing and challenging. Speech acts often impose great interactional difficulty between native and non-native speakers of a language resulting in partial or complete communication failure. This lack of speech-act competence, often called ‘pragmatic failure’ (Thomas 1983), also extends to advanced L2 learners (Wolfson 1989, Ishihara & Cohen 2005). Learners’ difficulty in mastering L2 speech acts is reflected in the areas of production and interpretation, as learners may produce a speech act using inappropriate language/style, as well as misunderstand the intended communicated meaning.

In order to address the issue of L2 speech-act/pragmatic failure, it is necessary to refer to a theory which investigates cultural differences in performing speech acts, such as Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory (1978, 1987). One of the principles of the theory is that the linguistic resources and strategies used to perform speech acts can vary significantly from one culture to another. Moreover, different cultures and languages may vary in their evaluation of the social and contextual variables which prescribe the strategies to be used,
such as the power and/or the distance between the interlocutors and the ranking of the imposition resulted by performing the speech act.

With respect to speech acts in relation to SLA, Thomas (1983: 97) notes that ‘pragmatic failure is an important source of cross-cultural communication breakdown’, which is an issue that, although highly important, is often left ‘completely ignored… by teachers and textbook writers’ (ibid.). Similarly, English teachers in various schools and universities in Saudi Arabia report that the average Saudi EFL student often appears to find difficulty making requests and apologies successfully in English. Some learners were sometimes reported to fall back on their L1 strategies in performing speech acts and use highly direct L2 expressions due to their simplicity and ease of use, for example: rejecting an invitation by saying ‘I can’t’ instead of ‘sorry I am unable to come because I have work to do’ (a Saudi EFL teacher colleague – personal communication).

Additionally, some curricula currently used as the main source for teaching English in Saudi Arabian schools tend to focus on teaching the construction of grammatically correct sentences usually without emphasizing the appropriate use of these sentences in different contextual and social settings. In his evaluation of the Sixth Grade English language textbook used in Saudi Arabian boys' schools, Al-Amri (2008) contends that the textbook in question failed to provide communicative exercises and activities that can stimulate students’ creativity and critical thinking, and that it did not cater for different levels of formality and styles which can help the students carry out their communicative tasks in real
This may contribute to the students’ lack of pragmatic and communicative competences despite their linguistic ability.

This problematic discrepancy between learners’ linguistic versus pragmatic competencies has attracted the attention of a number of linguists who have suggested increasing the rate of teaching pragmatics in language classrooms, (e.g. House & Kasper 1981), and that the methods of teaching pragmatics should be research-based (e.g.; Ishihara & Cohen 2005). Therefore, and because of the current demand on English language proficiency in Saudi Arabia, my research study aims at shedding light on the pragmatic rules that govern language use in both cultures. Moreover, by exploring the main differences between Saudi English-learners and British native speakers in making requests and apologies, the present study hopes to shed light on the difficulties faced by adult Saudi English learners in mastering making these acts appropriately in English. The results obtained from my thesis is hoped to assist English teachers find ways in which speech-act and pragmatic teaching methods within Saudi Arabian English classrooms might be improved in general.

1.2 Rationale of the study

My research attempts to explore the pragmatic rules that govern Saudis’ employment of requests and apologies relative to different social constraints (intralingual variation), establish similarities and differences in the realisation patterns of requests and apologies
between Saudi and British participants (cross-cultural variation), and establish similarities and differences between native and nonnative speakers in employing requests and apologies (interlanguage variation).

My research is significant because it seeks to explore ways in which the pragmatic development of Saudi English learners can be improved based on empirical research. Generally, it has been established that formal pragmatic instruction aids in improving the pragmatic development and the speech-act behaviour of second language learners. In fact, more than 77 studies published between 1990 and 1998 demonstrated a clear advantage for explicit over implicit teaching of pragmatics in the classroom. (cf. Norris and Ortega 2000), and the number is still growing.

These studies revealed some areas in which learners have significantly improved, such as the use of discourse markers (e.g. well, I mean, but, you know, like, actually, etc.), politeness strategies (see Brown and Levinson Politeness Theory), implicatures (see Grice’s Implicature Theory), pragmatic fluency (increase in learners’ pragmatic competence and proficiency), pragmatic routines (social conventions such as kissing one when leaving and shaking hands), complaints and refusals, thanking, apologising, commanding, requesting, mitigating in requests, complimenting, interactional norms, among others.

Since pragmatic instruction in the classroom has been empirically proven to be viable and effective based on the results reported in the above studies, my research aims at collecting data which might help English classroom teachers, specifically the ones located in Saudi
Arabia, advance their pragmatic instruction to their students. As mentioned above, it is essential that advancements in teaching methods emerge from empirical research.

Accordingly, my research fundamentally seeks to pinpoint the main linguistic and stylistic differences between English native speakers and language learners in making requests and apologies. This will help the teachers identify their students’ main areas of weakness and be able to assist the learners in the appropriate production of requests and apologies in English.

1.3 Contribution to the field

This research intends to add and contribute to the growing body of scholarship concerning politeness and speech acts in English and Arabic. Effectively, most Arabic politeness research has focused on Jordanian and Egyptian Arabic, with a few investigations of Yemeni and Iraqi Arabic. However, studies situated in the Gulf region (Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, United Arabic Emirates, Bahrain and Oman) have been scarce. The scarcity of speech-act research in this region constitutes a gap in the literature which requires further investigation. Although Saudi Arabic was examined in previous literature (Al-Shalawi 1997, Umar 2004, Al-Qahtani 2009, Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaili 2012), the number is still relatively small, and more politeness studies have to be conducted on the Saudi Hijazi dialect (of the city of Jeddah) for greater understanding of the Saudi culture and its view on politeness.

Moreover, this study intends to contribute to the existing literature on teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL). The issue of politeness is complicated and the ability
to manipulate politeness strategies is one of the last skills acquired by second-language learners, one of the problems with learning politeness strategies being that they cannot be easily transferred from one language to another. Sifianou (1999: 78) observes that ‘performing in a polite way is a complex ability which requires acquisition of a combination of linguistic, non-linguistic, and social skills.’ She also contends that ‘the system of politeness is both taught and learnt directly, and acquired indirectly through the observation of the other members of one’s society’ (ibid.). Therefore, it has been empirically and progressively proven by research studies (Beebe & Takahashi 1987, Umar 2004) that L2 learners, even at advanced levels, tend to carry over pragmatic knowledge and sociolinguistic behaviour from their L1 into their L2 if they have not had the appropriate explicit pragmatic instruction, which facilitates proper understanding of the mechanism of constructing speech acts in the L2.

This study thus aims at providing an in-depth overview of Saudi EFL learners’ politeness behaviour compared to that of native British English speakers, as well as influences/transfers from Saudi Arabic (L1) in their employment of requests and apologies, in the hope that it will help develop and sustain a research-supported curriculum that teaches appropriate politeness strategies to Saudi English learners. Consequently, the findings of this study are expected to be of great value to teachers who teach Saudi and Arab students English, and also to syllabus designers. The study, thus, specifically aims to answer the following questions:
1- To what extent do the request and apology strategies used by the Saudi participants differ from those of the native British English speakers?
2- To what extent do the request and apology strategies used by the Saudi EFL learners differ from those of the Saudi native speakers?
3- To what extent do the request and apology strategies used by the Saudi EFL learners differ from those of the British English native speakers?

1.4 Thesis organisation

This thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 1 has provided a brief overview of the research background (highlighting the main research problem), presented the rationale for the study including the general aims of the research, and established the contribution to the current literature including the research questions. Chapter 2 will give an account of the theoretical background that informs the current study: speech act theory, Grice’s theory of implicatures, Goffman’s notion of face, Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory, definitions, types, and other approaches to politeness, and cross-cultural politeness. Chapter 3, which is the first part of the study’s literature review, will review literature on speech act studies, including studies done on Arab and Saudi samples, and studies that investigated requests and apologies. Chapter 4, the second part of the literature review, will outline a few key concepts that concern second language acquisition (SLA), with a focus on the notion of linguistic politeness: interlanguage pragmatics, pragmatic competence, pragmatic failure, pragmatic teacheability, and pragmatic transfer. Chapter 5 is the methodology chapter in which the DCT will be discussed in depth, including its definition and different types, along with two other data
collection methods: observation of naturally-occurring data and role-plays, highlighting each method’s strengths and weaknesses, as well as justifying the adoption of questionnaires in this study. Following that, in chapter 6, the structure of the study will be outlined, including the DCT design, the subjects who participated in this research, the data collection process, and the data analysis procedure. Chapters 7 to 10 will report the main findings of the empirical study. They will include two parts: a quantitative analysis (statistical tables part in which the mean scores of each group per strategy will be presented) and a qualitative analysis (a discussion of the statistical findings). The results for chapters 7 and 8 will be presented by situation, starting from request situations 1-8 in chapter 7, and apology situations 9-16 in chapter 8. Chapter 9 and 10 will present the results of the study ordered by strategy. Chapter 9 will discuss request strategy results; chapter 10 will discuss apology strategy results.

The thesis will end with the conclusion in which a summary of the whole study will be given highlighting important remarks and outcomes.
Chapter 2

2.1 Speech Act Theory

The philosopher John L. Austin (1962) was the first to theorise that when people use language in communication, they, for the most part, also perform actions. He pointed out that ‘not all sentences are statements’ (1962: 1), and that there are other types of utterances that do not describe or report anything at all, are not true or false, and ‘the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action’ (ibid: 5). He, then, called these special utterances ‘performatives’ (which he later called speech acts) and stated that a performative is essentially consisted of three acts: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary.

1- A locutionary act: ‘the performance of an act in saying something’ (ibid: 94) is the production of an actual utterance and its ostensible meaning, comprising phonetic, phatic and rhetic acts corresponding to the verbal, syntactic and semantic aspects of any meaningful utterance respectively (e.g. speaker (S1) addresses S2 and says: ‘Do you want me to teach you how to play the piano?’).

2- An illocutionary act: ‘the performance of an act of saying something’ (ibid.) is the semantic force of the utterance, thus its real, intended meaning; (e.g. the utterance above has the force of an offer).

3- And sometimes a further perlocutionary act: ‘the performance of an act by saying something’ (ibid.), which is the effect or the psychological consequences that the utterance has on the hearer, whether intended or not; (e.g. the utterance above is meant to impress the hearer).
In his theory, Austin focused on illocutionary acts, such as offers, apologies, requests, complaints, invitations, etc. and classified them into five categories: verdictives (estimating, appraising), exercitives (ordering, advising, warning), commissives (promising, declaring), behatives (apologising, congratulating), and expositives (I reply, I argue, I concede).

Although Austin is considered the founder of the theory of speech acts, his classification of illocutionary/speech acts has been criticised for its ambiguity of definitions and overlapping categories. Austin himself declared ‘I am not putting any of this forward as in the very least definitive… It should be clear from the start that there are still wide possibilities of marginal or awkward cases, or of overlaps’ (1962: 151). His classification has been largely replaced with a taxonomy put forward by John Searle.

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<tr>
<th>Name of speech act</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Typical examples</th>
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<tr>
<td>Directives</td>
<td>attempt to get the hearer (H) to do something</td>
<td>ordering, requesting, begging</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assertives</td>
<td>attempt to represent actual states of affairs</td>
<td>informing, predicting, stating, claiming, reporting, announcing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commissives</td>
<td>attempt to get the speaker (S) to commit to a course of action</td>
<td>promising, threatening, swearing to do something</td>
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<tr>
<td>Declaratives</td>
<td>attempt to bring about change in an official state of affairs</td>
<td>naming a ship, resigning, sentencing, dismissing, declaring war, performing a marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressives</td>
<td>attempt to express one’s psychological state</td>
<td>thanking, complaining, apologising, and congratulating</td>
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(Searle 1969: 57-71) Table 1
Searle (1969) refined and expanded on Austin’s theory and saw the speech act as ‘the basic unit of linguistic communication’ (1969: 136). His classification has since been widely adopted by linguists and researchers around the world. Searle further divided speech acts into: direct and indirect speech acts. For example:

1. What time is it?
2. Can I ask you what time it is?

Both (1) and (2) are common English questions which function as a request to someone to tell the time; however, (1) is a direct speech act and (2) is indirect. According to Searle, the difference between direct and indirect speech acts may be explained by referring to the literal vs. the non-literal meaning of a sentence/phrase. To illustrate, the literal meaning of (1) is a literal request from the speaker (S) to the hearer (H) to tell the time. However, in (2) the literal meaning is questioning whether S can ask H to tell the time, to which H can answer with ‘yes I can’. At the same time it functions indirectly as a request from S to H to tell the time. This division between direct vs. indirect speech acts is of significance to the current research in that the use of indirect speech acts can sometimes be motivated by politeness, and especially in the case of making requests. Searle asserts that:

‘In the field of indirect illocutionary acts, request is the most useful to study because ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative statements (e.g. Leave the room) or explicit performatives (e.g. I order you to leave the room), and we therefore seek to find indirect means to our illocutionary ends (e.g. I wonder if you would mind leaving the room). In directives, politeness is the chief motivation for indirectness’ (1975: 64).
Even though both Austin’s and Searle’s classifications of speech acts have been criticised for not being based on clear principles (Levinson 1983), for being inconsistent (Thomas 1995), and for relying too heavily on English verbs (Leech 1983), their impact on the discipline cannot be underestimated. Thomas considers speech-act theory ‘the first systematic account of language use [which] raises important issues for pragmatic theory’ (1995: 93). Additionally, Ogiermann (2009a) observes that speech acts have been taken up in most studies conducted in the fields of cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics. Also, Ishihara asserts that speech acts are perhaps ‘the most researched component of pragmatics in Second language (SL) studies’ (2006: 5). In this research, two speech acts have been selected for the investigation: requests and apologies. They were chosen because failure in performing these two common speech acts in L2 may well lead to the intended meaning not being successfully understood by the listeners, which might lead to partial or complete communication breakdown between the learner(s) and the native speaker(s).

In the following section, I will introduce other linguists who, like Searle, connected indirectness with politeness (Grice 1969, Brown and Levinson 1987).
The philosopher of language Grice attempted to explain the difference between what is said and what is implicated based on a theory of conversational implicatures (1969, 1975).

For example:

3. Anna to Jenny: ‘There is an interesting film playing tonight at the cinema’.
4. To which Jenny replies: ‘I have too much work to do tonight’.

In the two examples above, both utterances are meant to be statements but also as something else. (3) was understood to be a statement uttered by Anna as well as an ‘indirect’ invitation to go to the cinema; and (4) was a statement uttered by Jenny as well as an ‘indirect’ refusal to go as there is so much work to do. Grice captured these differences between ‘sentence meaning’ (what the sentence/utterance literally means) and ‘speaker meaning’ (what the sentence literally means plus the speaker’s intended meaning) in his theory of implicatures; which assumes that whilst communicating, people generally follow the Co-operative principle (CP): ‘Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged,’ (1975: 45) and the four maxims and sub-maxims:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Maxim of Quantity:</th>
<th>The Maxim of Relation:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be as informative as is required.</td>
<td>Be relevant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not be more informative than required.</td>
<td>The Maxim of Manner:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do not be obscure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Maxim of Quality (Be truthful):</td>
<td>Be succinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not state what you believe is false.</td>
<td>Be ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not state anything for which you lack evidence.</td>
<td>Be orderly</td>
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</table>
According to Gricean principles, people often do not adhere to the CP and the maxims for a number of reasons, one of which could be to ‘be polite’ (ibid: 47). This line of reasoning encouraged linguists and sociolinguists to establish a possible connection between the use of indirect linguistic forms and politeness. For example, Lakoff (1973) argued for the necessity to complement Grice’s framework with a politeness principle. She argued that ‘when clarity conflicts with politeness, in most cases but not all, politeness supersedes [since]… it is more important to avoid offence than to achieve clarity’ (1973: 297-298).

Grice's work on the nature of meaning and his theory of implicatures is widely considered the most influential step in the development of pragmatics. Moreover, Ogiermann (2009a) stresses that ‘despite the various alternatives and modifications to his CP that have been suggested over the years (e.g. Sperber and Wilson 1986, Levinson 2000), [Grice] must be credited with laying the foundations for the empirical investigation of conversational behaviour and of linguistic politeness’ (2009a: 10).

2.3 Robin Lakoff

One of the first scholars who studied linguistic politeness from a pragmatic rule-based perspective was Lakoff (1973, 1977), who argued that ‘the pillars of our linguistic as well as non-linguistic interactions with each other [are to] (1) make yourself clear and (2) be
Following Grice, Lakoff (1973) established rules of interaction suggesting that people follow a set of rules when they interact with each other. She also stresses that if one wants to succeed in communication, the message must be conveyed in a clear manner ‘so that there’s no mistaking one’s intention’ (1973: 296). Lakoff based her modal on Grice’s CP and maxims as follows:

1. Be Clear
   Maxim of Quantity: state as much information as is needed in the conversation but not more
   Maxim of Quality: only say what you believe to be true based on your own knowledge and evidence
   Maxim of relations: be relevant
   Maxim of Manner: avoid confusing, ambiguous statement

2. Be Polite
   Don’t impose
   Give options
   Make others feel good

Lakoff perceived politeness to be universal but she did not provide sufficient empirical evidence to back her universality claims, as did Brown and Levinson as we will see in the next section. Lakoff also suggested setting up pragmatic rules in concordance with grammatical and semantic rules and adding rules of politeness to Grice’s CP and maxims. She further emphasised the importance of founding rules to which pragmatically well-formed sentences can be formed and also asserted that these rules would have to be grounded in a notion of pragmatic competence, analogous to Chomsky’s notion of
grammatical competence. She thus stressed that ‘we would like to have some kind of
pragmatic rules, dictating whether an utterance is pragmatically well-formed or not, and the
extent to which it deviates if it does’ (ibid.).

Lakoff, however, does not attempt at defining the pragmatic competence to which she is
referring. In my opinion, one of the clearest definitions was provided by Fraser (2010), who
refers to pragmatic competence as ‘the ability to communicate your intended message with
all its nuances in any socio-cultural context and to interpret the message of your
interlocutor as it was intended’ (2010: 15).

In sum, Lakoff does not attempt at giving detailed descriptions of the pragmatic rules
that she claims are needed to be set up. Her modest model does not provide a detailed
account of a politeness theory. Furthermore, some researchers questioned the nature of the
‘pragmatic competence’ to which she is referring, others objected to the idea of having
pragmatic ‘rules’ such as those found in generative grammar. It seems that Lakoff does not
give answers to these raised issues, and subsequently a new approach to politeness theory
was founded and presented by the eminent linguist, Prof. Geoffrey Leech.
2.4 Geoffrey Leech

Leech (1983) introduced two systems of rhetoric for conversation: textual and interpersonal. ‘Textual rhetoric’ consists of the following principles: the Processibility Principle, the Clarity Principle, the Economy Principle, and the Expressivity Principle.

‘Interpersonal rhetoric’ consists of the following set of principles: the Politeness Principle (PP), the Irony Principle, and the Cooperative Principle (i.e. Grice’s CP). Because I am primarily interested in evaluating Leech’s addition of a politeness principle to Grice’s CP, I will only discuss the Politeness and the Irony Principles (also in relation to politeness) briefly.

The purpose of the Politeness Principle, according to Leech, is to establish and maintain feelings of belonging and unity within a group. The PP regulates the ‘social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place’ (Leech, 1983: 82). There are six maxims within the PP: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. The first and second maxims form a pair, as do the third and the fourth. These maxims operate on a range of scales which determine the type of politeness required within a discourse: cost-benefit, optionality, indirectness, authority, and social distance. Cost-benefit scales are related to how ‘threatening’ an act is perceived within a culture. Optionality scale is concerned with the degree of choice the speaker gives the hearer. Indirectness is related to the amount of inferential effort a hearer must put in to determine the force of the utterance. Authority is relevant to the social power
difference between S and H. Social distance echoes the social variable ‘distance’ between
the interlocutors in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory.

Moreover, Leech introduced two types of politeness: negative and positive. Negative
politeness refers to the minimisation of the impoliteness of impolite illocutions, and
positive politeness refers to the maximisation of the politeness of polite illocutions.

The Irony Principle accounts for the way speakers sometimes use ironical expressions to
be polite. According to Grice, a speaker being ironic is violating the maxim of quality,
specifically the sub-maxim ‘Do not state what you believe is false’. Leech sees irony as ‘a
friendly way of being offensive’ (ibid: 144) and posits that ‘if you must cause offence, at
least do so in a way which doesn’t overtly conflict with the PP, but allows the hearer to
arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly’ (ibid: 82).

In addition, Leech distinguished between semantics and pragmatics: ‘semantics is
abstract, formal, and categorical. Pragmatics; on the other hand, elucidates non-
categorically, in terms of maxims and principles and tendencies, the use of the grammar for
communication’ (ibid: 124). On the same note, he identified two forms of politeness scales,
semantic (originally termed absolute politeness) and pragmatic (originally termed relative
politeness). The semantic politeness scale ‘registers degrees of politeness in terms of the
lexigrammatical form and semantic interpretation of the utterance’ (Leech, 2014: 88). For
example,
5. Close the window.
6. Can you close the window?
7. Could you possibly close the window?

In the examples above, (6) is more polite than (5) and less polite than (7). (7) is the most polite form here because it offers a greater range of optionality to the hearer. Leech stresses that ‘the more a request offers choice to H, the more polite it is’ (ibid.).

Pragmatic politeness is less formal; it refers to ‘politeness relative to norms in a given society, group, or situation… it is sensitive to context, and is a bi-directional scale. Hence it is possible that a form considered more polite… is judged less polite relative to the norms for the situation’ (ibid.). Pragmatic politeness is a scale that registers ‘over politeness,’ ‘under politeness,’ as well as ‘politeness appropriate to the situation’ (ibid.).

Leech has been criticised for maintaining that some speech acts are inherently polite (e.g. congratulating and praising) or impolite (e.g. criticising and blaming). Fraser objects saying that, ‘sentences are not ipso facto polite, nor are languages more or less polite. It is only speakers who are polite’ (1990: 233). Another criticism was directed at Leech’s model being unable to capture the notion of impoliteness. In Bousfield’s words:

‘How can we have a model which purports to ‘rescue’ Grice’s CP by giving you a reason why people do not abide by the CP maxims (in order to be polite) which then virtually fails to consider any reason why people do not abide by the maxims (i.e. in order to be ‘impolite’)?’ (2008: 55- italics and inverted commas in original).

The theory also contradicts the metatheoretical principle known as ‘Occam’s razor,’ which states that ‘theoretical entities are not to be multiplied beyond necessity’. So in this
case, following this principle, a theory that proliferates Grice’s maxims would be rejected in favour of another that doesn’t. The same criticism can be directed at Lakoff’s model.

2.5 Brown and Levinson: Politeness Theory

Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness (B and L hereafter) will be the main theoretical basis and politeness model adopted in this thesis. Before we present the intricate details of B and L’s politeness theory (1978, 1987), we must first discuss Goffman’s notion of ‘face’ (1967). B and L essentially rely on this notion in explaining their theory. Goffman defined face as:

‘The positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact’ (1967: 5).

Goffman maintained that the notion of ‘face’ (one’s social image) is the basis on which the behaviours of participants in any social interaction are structured and regulated. Participants are often oriented towards what others think of them during the course of social interaction; e.g. if events establish a face that is better than what one might have expected, one is likely to ‘feel good’. If one’s ordinary expectations are not fulfilled, one is likely to ‘feel bad’. Moreover, people also have feelings toward the face sustained for other participants. Thus in order to ‘save face’, either the face of S or H, people usually perform face-work, which are forms of habitual and standardised practices, learnt by participants through socialisation (the life-long process of inheriting one’s society skills, social norms and customs), and are consistent with face. Goffman addressed the cultural diversity of face
and observed that ‘each person, subculture, and society seems to have its own characteristic repertoire of face-saving practices’ (ibid: 13). Hence, an act which is considered face-threatening in one culture and needs the application of face-saving practices from the part of the speaker might not be considered as such in another culture.

For example, among the Arabic and the Saudi communities, it is customary to arrive at least five to ten minutes late to a home to whom one has been invited. Nydell (2012) explains in her book Understanding Arabs that ‘among Arabs, time is not as fixed and rigidly segmented as it tends to be among Westerners’ (2012: 49). What is more, when the guests acknowledge that they have arrived late, they tend to placate the hearer by saying (معليش) which Nydell translates as: ‘never mind’, ‘it doesn’t matter’, and ‘excuse me- it’s not that serious’ (ibid.). In many Western cultures, arriving late is a face threatening act which requires the utilisation of face-saving practices from the speaker’s part.

Conversely, there are some face-saving practices which are rare to non-existent in Western societies and are considerably prevalent amongst the Saudi and Arabic cultures, such as: congratulating a person after taking a shower, after shaving his beard, after cutting the hair, after having a meal, and other religious occasions such as after performing the five prayers, fasting, and after performing Umrah and Hajj. Failing to meet the social needs in uttering these expressions in those specific contexts would usually be considered rude or impolite.
Goffman’s notion of face and its cultural diversity was intriguing to B and L, who considered the notion of saving face as the essence of politeness and equated face-saving practices with politeness strategies. In other words, B and L affirmed that politeness phenomena are instances of face-work, which means that ultimately concerns about one’s face and the face of others is the primary justification for all instances of politeness. Like Goffman, B and L theorised that the notion of face, which they define as ‘the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself’ (1987: 61) is vulnerable; thus, must be continually monitored by interactants during social interaction. They claimed that individuals have two types of face: positive and negative. Positive face was defined as: ‘the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others,’ and negative face as: ‘the want of every competent adult member that his actions be unimpeded by others’ (ibid: 62).

Moreover, they argued that face underpinned two forms of politeness: negative politeness, which involves strategies directed at saving the negative face of a person (one’s desire to freedom of action and non-imposition), whether it is the speaker’s or the hearer’s; and positive politeness, which involves strategies directed at saving the positive face (one’s desire to be liked, admired, and related to in a positive way) of the speaker or the hearer. Negative politeness is ‘the formal politeness that the notion ‘politeness’ conjures up, but positive politeness [is] less obvious’ (ibid. 62). Drawing on these basic concepts of the
theory, B and L’s view on politeness has; thus, been termed ‘the face-saving view’ by
linguists, such as Fraser (1990).

B and L further maintained that interlocutors often strive to save face when they are
contfronted with a face threatening act (FTA). FTAs are acts that ‘run contrary to the face
wants of the addressee and/or the speaker’ (1987: 70). FTAs may threaten four types of
face, the speaker’s positive face (e.g. apologies, confessions, acceptance of compliments),
the speaker’s negative face (e.g. excuses, expression of thanks, acceptance of offers), the
addressee’s positive face (e.g. criticism, ridicule, disagreement), and the addressee’s
negative face (e.g. orders, requests, advice).

In order to save face, B and L proposed five strategies to be employed by interlocutors
for this purpose, and they outlined them on a scale ranging from 1 – 5 as follows: (1 being
the least polite, 5 the most polite)

1. Do the FTA on record, baldly, without redressive action (e.g. lend me money)
2. Do the FTA on record, with redressive action, using positive politeness strategies (e.g.
   Brother, you have a golden heart, will you please lend me some money?)
3. Do the FTA on record, with redressive action, using negative politeness strategies (e.g.
   Sir, sorry to disturb you, may you lend me some money?)
4. Do the FTA off record, indirectly in a way that does not commit you to the FTA (e.g.
   give hints [I lost my wallet], use irony [I always have money], etc.).
5. Don’t do the FTA is when S refrains from performing the FTA for any reason.

Moreover, in order to choose which strategy to employ, B and L claimed that S
calculates the weightiness of the FTA based on an evaluation of three social factors:
(P)ower, (D)istance, and (R)anking. The overall weightiness indicates the degree of the face threat that is involved in performing the FTA and is calculated using this formula:

\[ W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x \]

‘Where \( W_x \) is the numerical value that measures the weightiness of the FTA \( x \), \( D(S, H) \) is the value that measures the social distance between \( S \) and \( H \), \( P(H, S) \) is a measure of the power that \( H \) has over \( S \), and \( R_x \) is a value that measures the degree to which the FTA \( x \) is rated an imposition in that culture’ (1987: 76).

B and L maintained that although these social factors are universal, they vary cross-culturally in that different cultures employ different strategies for performing FTAs. To illustrate with an example, Garcia (1989) compared the strategies which American and Venezuelan respondents employed to apologise to a friend for not having attended his party. The results showed that the American respondents used negative politeness strategies to apologise, were deferential and self-effacing to the host, and used devices to maintain social distance with the host. Venezuelans, on the other hand, offered explanations for not attending, repeated the host’s words, and expressed themselves in terms of familiarity and solidarity with the host (used positive politeness approaches).

It was revealed that the approach taken by the American offenders (mostly through using negative politeness strategies) left the host comfortable with the outcome. By contrast, the Venezuelan approach created disharmony between the interlocutors and miscommunication of the intended message.
2.6 Criticism of Brown and Levinson

Lakoff, B and L, and Leech pinpointed the phenomenon of politeness as a worthwhile area of research in linguistic pragmatics, and they have clearly considered politeness phenomenon from a Gricean and speech-act theoretic point of view, giving priority to the speaker’s intention, and abstracting away from the actual speaker to model persons that have individual rationality and face. One recurrent assumption that these theories have is that different cultures are homogeneous, and that they agree on what politeness is as a notion, which leads to universalising politeness, its rules and principles.

This universality claim led to their models and theories being applied in numerous empirical studies, which have not always confirmed the claims of their theories. Consequently, researchers have found that some of the features and strategies described in B and L’s theory do not apply in some cultures, particularly those which are collectivistic (group-dominant) rather than individualistic (self-dominant), such as the Polish (Wierzbicka 1985, Ogiermann 2009a, 2009b), Japanese (Matsumoto 1988, Ide 2002), and Chinese (Gu 1990, Kong 1998) communities. Also, B and L’s notions of positive face and negative face have been criticised (Matsumoto 1988, Ide 1989, Gu 1990, Gagné 2010). In my thesis, however, B and L’s distinction between negative and positive politeness strategies seemed helpful, as through this distinction it was revealed that the Saudi participants appeared to prefer using positive politeness strategies more than the British subjects did. Please refer to the thesis analysis chapters for more information.
Spencer-Oatey (2008) further criticised B and L’s, as well as Leech’s, frameworks for having ‘a bias towards ‘concern for other’ in their conceptualisations of ‘polite’ interaction’ (2008: 111- inverted commas in original) and she argued that ‘self-presentation is another important interactional concern that needs to be incorporated into any explanatory account of the management of relations/rapport’ (ibid.).

Despite these criticisms; however, B and L’s theory remains a very useful analytical framework for speech act studies concerned with understanding and comparing politeness phenomena ‘for which no alternative has been offered so far’ (Ogiermann, 2009b: 210).

2.7 Definitions, types, and other approaches of politeness

The notion of politeness is ‘definitionally fuzzy and [an] empirically difficult area’ (Held 1992: 131). It is also controversial and ambiguous (Ide, Watts & Ehlich 1992, Eelen ([2001], 1999), Watts 2003) because although different cultures generally share common underlying principles, they differ in their conceptualisation of what they consider a polite behaviour. Kummer (2005: 325) regards politeness as ‘a diplomatic strategy of communication’. Watts et al. (1992: 281) point out that ‘politeness itself is a neutral concept, which we use as the label for a scale ranging from plus – through zero – to minus politeness’. Mey (1993: 23) defines politeness as ‘a pragmatic mechanism in which a variety of structures work together according to the speaker’s attention of achieving smooth communication’. Lakoff (1975a: 64) illustrates that ‘politeness is developed by societies in
order to reduce friction in personal interaction’ (as cited in Watts, 2003: 50). Leech (1983: 19) considers politeness to be ‘strategic conflict avoidance, which can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation, and the establishment and maintenance of comity’. B and L (1978) view politeness as ‘a complex system for softening face-threatening acts’ (as cited in Watts, 2003: 50). Kasper (1990: 1940) maintains that ‘communication is seen as a fundamentally dangerous and antagonistic endeavour. Politeness is therefore a term to refer to the strategies available to interactants to defuse the danger and to minimalise the antagonism’.

These various definitions given in the literature seem to agree that politeness is a form of behaviour directed at maintaining ‘smooth’ social communication between interlocutors. Although this is a valid starting point, politeness should not be given a scientific definition as this might be too technical to be the exact interpretation of people’s perceptions of everyday politeness. The layman’s perception of politeness is viewed and evaluated according to how their societies and their cultures construe polite behaviour. This usually happens during the ‘socialisation’ process which every individual undergoes from childhood onwards. Politeness is managed by people, and everyday politeness is often not equal to the abstracted universal form of politeness portrayed by researchers in current politeness theories and models. This apparent division led some researchers to call for the need to distinguish between two types of politeness. Watts (2003), for example, suggests a
binary distinction between what he calls \textit{first-order politeness} (or following Eelen 2001, (im)politeness\textsubscript{1}), and \textit{second-order politeness} (or (im)politeness\textsubscript{2}).

\textit{First-order politeness} is described as the ‘commonsense’ (Watts 1992: 3) interpretation of everyday politeness as perceived by members of socio-cultural groups in ongoing social interactions. On the other hand, \textit{second-order politeness} is a theoretical construct within social behaviour and language theories and a scientific form of politeness conceptualised at an abstracted level, or at what Eelen calls a ‘supra-individual social level’ (as cited in Watts, 2003: 254). The purpose of Watts’s distinction is to show that the nature of first-order politeness is inherently evaluative, and a theory of politeness should concern itself with the discursive struggle over first-order politeness: the ways in which polite behaviour is used and evaluated by ordinary members of the society.

Eelen (2001) also cogently advocates the proper understanding of first-order politeness. He identifies two sides of first-order politeness; action related and concept related:

\begin{quote}
\textit{‘The action-related side refers to the way politeness actually manifests itself in communicative behaviour, that is, politeness as an aspect of communicative interaction. The conceptual side, on the other hand, refers to commonsense ideologies of politeness: to the way politeness is used as a concept, to opinions about what politeness is all about’} (2001: 32).
\end{quote}

He further divides politeness into three facets: metapragmatic politeness\textsubscript{1}, classifactory politeness\textsubscript{1}, and expressive politeness\textsubscript{1}. \textit{Metapragmatic politeness}\textsubscript{1} ‘covers instances of talk about politeness as a concept, about what people perceive politeness to be all about’ (2001: 35).
Classificatory politeness refers to politeness used as a categorizational tool: it covers hearers’ judgements (in actual interaction) of other people’s interactional behaviour as polite or impolite (ibid. - brackets in original text). Finally, expressive politeness refers to politeness encoded in speech, to instances where the speaker aims at polite behaviour: the use of honorifics or terms of address in general, conventional formulaic expressions (thank you, excuse me, ...), different request formats, apologies, etc.’ (ibid. - brackets in original).

Ide (1989) asserts that there are two types of linguistic politeness: volitional and discernment. The volitional type is motivated by peoples' personal intentions to achieve politeness and realised by verbal strategies, and its main goal is to save one's face. By contrast, the discernment type is a social obligation mandated by society and is realised by appropriate formal linguistic forms which are used in specific situations. Ide claims that the discernment (society-governed) type of politeness plays a significant role in Japanese politeness and contends that this type of politeness is often neglected by politeness theorists, and especially by B and L (1987).

In relation to differences between personal versus social views of politeness, Mao (1994) introduces two types of face: ‘individual’ and ‘social’. ‘Individual’ face is inspired by B and L’s individualistic approach to the notion of ‘face’, in which an individual is the locus of the social interaction. Whereas ‘social’ face is affiliated with the individual’s expectations of the society and its members. Although these two types of ‘face’ are present in any given society, one form may be more prevalent than the other.
Arndt and Janney (1985a) make a distinction between ‘social politeness’ and ‘interpersonal politeness’. Social politeness consists of ‘rules regulating appropriate and inappropriate ways of speaking [and]… the locus of these rules is society, not language itself’ (283 – 284). Interpersonal politeness, and in later work ‘tact’; on the other hand, is impelled by the mutual concern for maintaining face during interaction. Therefore, it is not governed by socially appropriate ways of speaking but rather aims at maintaining close interpersonal relations and support between members of society.

Another less theoretical distinction of types of politeness and more relevant to Arabic politeness is maintained by Blum-Kulka (1992), who notes that there are two terms in use in modern Hebrew which are equivalent to the term politeness: ‘nimus’, and, ‘adivut’; the latter originating from the Arabic word ‘adab’ which means mannerism. ‘Nimus’ depicts formal aspects of social etiquette; whereas ‘adivut’ is used to express considerateness and the effort to accommodate to the addressee. ‘Nimus’ is usually evaluated more negatively and ‘adivut’ more positively by lay members of the society.

Likewise, in Arabic, the word ‘adab’ is frequently evaluated positively. There is also a term in Arabic which accounts for the more formal aspects of social behaviour; namely, ‘عادات و تقاليد’ (aadat w taqaleed). The term consists of two words: ‘عادات’ and ‘تقاليد’ which simply means ‘a habit’, and ‘تقاليد’ is plural of ‘تقليد’ which means ‘emulation’. Together they form a highly integrated term which refers to the formal traditional aspects of social behaviour specific to the Arabian Gulf culture. ‘عادات و تقاليد’ are
specific norms of behaviour which are not always evaluated positively; especially by younger generations of the Gulf countries, who would often see them as behavioural constraints being imposed on them. Yet, the term is largely used by parents as a way to show their children appropriate ways of behaviour and is applied in almost every aspect of the lives of families in the Gulf region. ‘عادات و تقاليد’ mandate most societal aspects of Gulf families’ lives, starting from marriage and attire to which hand to use when handing coffee to the guest(s), and exactly what to say in response to someone’s sneeze. ‘عادات و تقاليد’ are extremely hard to change, and people often follow them without question. In most Gulf countries, if an individual, who is a native Gulf Arabian, fails to meet these social requirements dictated by society, this person would usually be viewed as rude or impolite.

‘عادات و تقاليد’ may have strong ties with Ide’s ‘discernment’ type of politeness, where the individual does not have a choice but to abide by the social norms. Moreover, Arabic also has an extensive set of ‘honourifics’ just like the Japanese language. The difference is that in Japanese, honourifics are suffixes that can be attached to first names or surnames (e.g. –san attached to names). In Arabic; however, honourifics are independent words or phrases used specifically to address certain people, such as addressing a prince with ‘طال عمرك’ (May you have a long life), or ‘سمو الأمير’ (His Royal Highness) and in distinctive contexts, such as addressing an old man with the title ‘عمي’ (my uncle) or ‘شيخ’ (sheikh). Honourifics have been defined as ‘politeness formulas in a particular language which may be specific affixes, words, or sentence structure’ (Richards, Platt & Weber 1985: 131). Examples of languages
which have a similar system of honourifics include Japanese, Hindi, and Arabic. Although not within the goals of the current research, further investigation on similarities between East Asian languages and the Arabic language is in need here.

And finally, indeed, the most prominent distinction between different types of politeness was made by B and L in their politeness theory, distinguishing between two types of politeness: negative and positive, as discussed in an earlier section of the chapter.

In the next and final section of this chapter, I will attempt to compare between the Saudi and the British cultures, based on Hofstede’s cultural dimension theory (1991). Hopefully, understanding the social parameters that govern these cultures will yield better understanding of the most prominent cultural differences between these two societies, especially with reference to linguistic politeness and speech-act behaviour.

2.8 The Saudi Arabian and the British cultures compared

There is ample evidence given by anthropologists and sociolinguists that members of a culture produce similar personality profiles (Kluckhohn 1962, Hall 1989, Hofstede 1991), and that individuals belonging to a single culture typically share similar cultural attributes and characteristics. Kluckhohn (1962: 73) asserts that ‘culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups’. Mills, Grainger, Kerkam & Mansor (2015) state that ‘speakers of languages develop habits and conventions which tend to be constructed
and evaluated as “correct” by dominant groups and each language and/or cultural group develops over time a different evaluation of these conventions’ (2015: 45). This does not mean that all members of a culture have the same exact behavioural patterns because there is a wide range of individual differences. However, as individuals of the same culture are usually exposed to common and resembling early experiences, most members of a given culture typically share many aspects of behaviour to varying degrees.

This resemblance of behaviour normally tends to generate typical cultural identities that in time often become solid cultural assumptions/preconceptions about certain cultural groups. Thus, in cross-cultural communication, the different cultural identities of two persons attempting to communicate may encourage each to perceive the other as having group attributes rather than being a unique person. For example, cultural preconceptions may include the kinds of clothes worn by a group of people, their food and cuisine, architecture, language, ethnicity, religion, arts, politics, education, and even social encounters such as marriages.

Studying cultural traits has attracted many sociolinguists and linguists, and based on the various definitions given for the term culture (e.g. Kluckhohn 1962, Hofstede 1991), it is a futile attempt to find a single model which accounts for all cultural aspects. However, a few models can be found which successfully described the effects of a society’s culture on shaping the values and the identities of the individuals belonging to that society. These frameworks specify dimensions against which different (or national) cultures can be
compared. Three well-known cultural models are the ones proposed by Hall (1989), Hofstede (1991), and Gesteland (2005).

This section aims to give a brief analysis of different cultural aspects between the Saudi Arabian and the British cultures based on Hofstede’s intercultural model (1991). As Ogiermann (2009a) stresses, ‘regrettably, most cross-cultural studies do not go beyond describing the differences in performing a particular speech act in the contrasted languages, and few attempt to interpret the data in terms of cultural values’ (2009a: 24). In light of these recommendations, an attempt will be made to discuss some of the politeness research group differences treating cultural values as a variable while referring to Hofstede’s cultural dimension model.

Hofstede’s model was chosen because the theory has been widely used as a paradigm for research, particularly in prominent fields such as cross-cultural psychology, international management, and cross-cultural communication. Moreover, Hofstede’s work on culture is the most widely cited in existence (Bond 2002), and his theory is one of the first which could be quantified and could be used to explain observed differences between cultures (Jandt 2015).

In his book ‘Cultures and Consequences’, Hofstede (1991) contends that culture determines the identity of a human group the same way personality determines the identity of an individual, and he defines culture as:
‘The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another’ (1991: 5).

Hofstede developed his original model for employees working at IBM between the years 1967 and 1973. He gathered a large database of employee value scores for a worldwide survey, which compared and analysed the cultural values of the employees who came from different countries and social backgrounds. Consequently, he outlined five cultural dimensions by which the social systems of different cultures may be structured and evaluated: Power Distance Index (PDI), Individualism (IDV), Masculinity (MAS), Uncertainty avoidance Index (UAI), and Long Term Orientation (LTO).

If we explore Saudi Arabia through the lens of Hofstede’s model, we can present an overview of the values and the drivers of its culture relative to other world cultures. The following is a figure which compares Saudi Arabia (grey) with the United Kingdom (blue) based on Hofstede’s Cultural Dimension Theory scale.

![Fig. 1](http://geert-hofstede.com/saudi-arabia.html) Accessed 17/2/2016

Regarding the first cultural dimension, Hofstede defines Power distance (PDI) as:
‘the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. ‘Institutions’ are the basic elements of society like the family, school, and the community; ‘organizations’ are the places where people work’ (1991: 28).

Gudykunst points out that in low power distance countries there is ‘limited dependence of subordinates on bosses, and a preference for consultation, that is, interdependence between boss and subordinate’ (2003: 20). On the other hand, in high power distance countries there is ‘considerable dependence of subordinates on bosses’ (ibid.).

According to Hofstede’s scale, the United Kingdom’s score for PDI is 35, whereas for Saudi Arabia, the score is 95. This result expresses much higher power distance between subordinates and superordinates among the Saudi society than the British. This shows that the majority of Saudi people expect, accept, and acknowledge a hierarchical social order in which every individual holds a certain place without the need for further justification. Subordinates expect to be told what to do, and the ideal boss is a benevolent individual.

By contrast, the British society has a much lower power distance that does not leave a large gap between the wealthy and the poor. Thus, it has a strong belief in equality for each member of the community depending on individual efforts to rise in society.

This significant difference in power distance levels between both cultures can have a high impact on politeness, both linguistically and strategically. For example, in one episode of the British TV programme ‘The Apprentice UK’, an avid entrepreneur ‘Ricky Martin’, who won the series in 2012, made a comment to impress Lord Alan Sugar where he
promised he will ‘teach an old dog new tricks’. Referring to Lord Sugar, presumably his boss to be, as ‘an old dog’, had a positive impact on Lord Sugar and was socially correct. In a country like Saudi Arabia, the same comment made by an employee toward his boss would be socially incorrect and severely unacceptable. The employee would most likely be immediately reprimanded or fired if he or she were to utter the same words.

In a similar vein, addressing university teachers by their first names is not acceptable in Saudi universities; whereas in British universities, the students normally address their teachers by their first names. This is a good example to show the presumed large power gap between bosses and subordinates in Saudi Arabia. Hence, it is not surprising that, in social interactions, if the speaker is superior to his or her interlocutor, requests will most probably be produced as direct orders. In their investigation of comparing indirectness and politeness between Saudi Arabic and American English native speakers, Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaili (2012) concluded that direct request strategies were the preferred strategies to use among Saudi Arabian native speakers in situations where superiors were addressing their subordinates and among friends [–Power], regardless of the weight of the request. On the other hand, American English native speakers consistently opted for conventional indirectness in most of the situations, even when they were addressing their subordinates.

Low power distance countries usually prefer individualism (Merkin 2015), which is the second cultural dimension in Hofstede’s model. Individualism refers to the role of the individual versus the role of the group and the degree of integration between individuals in
a society. Hofstede affirms that ‘individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose… collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups’ (1991: 51).

Walker says that ‘in individualistic cultures, the autonomy of the individual is of paramount importance, whereas commitment to the group is most important in collectivist cultures. The individualism-collectivism continuum is thought by some scholars to be the most important dimension that distinguishes one culture from another’ (2014: 91).

With a score of 89 on the individualism (IDV) scale, the United Kingdom is considered an ‘individualistic’ society. People in individualistic cultures are more distant proximally, and they have more rights and are entitled to their own opinions without restrictions. However, individualism has its disadvantages, as Gudykunst asserts, it may cause ‘alienation, loneliness, and materialism’ (2003: 77). Moreover, extremely individualistic countries, such as the United States (ranked 91), make it difficult for its citizens to interact with those who come from less individualistic cultures (Hofstede, 1991).

A score of only 25 signifies that Saudi Arabia expresses low-individualism on the (IDV) scale; therefore, Saudi Arabia is considered a highly collectivistic country/society. Hofstede admits that ‘the Arab countries differ among themselves, and impressionistically the Saudis within this region are even more collectivist than some other Arabs like Lebanese or Egyptians’ (1991: 53-54). Collectivistic cultures, Gudykunst asserts, are ‘interdependent, and as a result they work, play, live, and sleep in close proximity to one another’ (2003: 77).
This is often portrayed in a strong long-term commitment to the 'group' to which the member belongs. Belonging to a collectivist society has its advantages and disadvantages. Among the advantages is the feeling of comfort, integration, love, and protection whilst living within one’s own group. Among the disadvantages is the feeling of disintegration, disassociation, and outlandishness when communicating with individuals from foreign cultures.

The cultural dimensions of collectivism vs. individualism can play an important role in shaping the way people behave during social communication. For example, Ogiermann (2009: 2) asserts that ‘Hofstede's dimensions of… collectivism vs. individualism [are] closely related to B and L's distinction between positive vs. negative politeness cultures’ in that collectivist cultures seem to be more positive politeness oriented and individualist cultures appear to be more negative politeness oriented. The effect of Saudi Arabia, and other Arab cultures, being a collectivist culture on politeness strategy choices will be made clear in section (3.2) and the conclusion.

Additionally, collectivistic cultures tend to use communication avoidance strategies more than individualistic cultures do (Ting-Toomey 2005). Among avoidance strategies are withdrawal from conflict by being passive (Wang 2006) and saving face by not causing embarrassment (Walker 2014). In a cross-cultural study comparing refusals between Egyptians and Americans, Nelson, Carson, Al-Batal, & El Bakary (2002) mentioned that two refusal situations had to be dropped from the study because the Egyptians reported that
in Egypt these situations would never occur because of status factors. One situation was a context where an employee refuses to go to work until he receives a raise from his boss. The majority of the Egyptians who were interviewed said that they would rather avoid conflict with the boss and go to work anyway, and that they would prefer to adhere to the wishes of the interlocutor. In other words, the interviewees would have preferred a response that resulted in mutual face saving. On the other hand, all of the Americans that were interviewed stated that the situations were feasible and that a refusal was a possible response for each situation.

Masculinity (MAS) is the third cultural dimension in Hofstede's model; and it is the only dimension in which we can see similar numbers/results between Saudi Arabia and the UK. Saudi Arabia scored 60; the UK scored 66. Although the numbers are quite similar, the reasons behind these scores might not be the same. To illustrate, a society can be considered masculine for different reasons: egocentricity, love of money, or love of one’s work; or it can be masculine due to its differentiation between male and female members of the society. In terms of politics, a society with high masculinity gives economic growth and force high priority; whereas a low masculinity society places great significance on protection of environment and negotiation. In regards to roles within the family, a masculine society believes in a more traditional family structure in which typical roles to both genders are assigned from young such as: ‘girls cry, boys don’t, boys love cars, girls play with dolls… etc.’ According to Hofstede, in masculine societies ‘men are supposed to
be assertive, tough, and focused on material success whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life’ (1991: 82). In feminine societies ‘both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life’ (ibid: 83).

It appears that the United Kingdom might have scored high MAS on the Hofstede's scale because of its general love for one’s work, egocentricity, and economic growth. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia could have scored high on the MAS scale because of the fixed roles its society assigns to both genders. Saudi Arabia, amongst most other Arabic countries, tends to express a high degree of gender differentiation in which males appear to dominate social power structure. In a study done by Al-Marrani and Sazalie (2010), results showed that speakers of Yemeni Arabic in female-female interactions employed high levels of directness without the fear of losing face. In female-male interactions; however, the speakers preferred to use indirect strategies when they made their requests to males. The current study will attempt to shed more light on this matter by controlling for the gender of the addressee in some of the various request and apology situations in the questionnaire.

Uncertainty avoidance (UA) is the fourth cultural dimension defined by Hofstede as ‘the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations’ (1991: 113). In other words, UA deals with the behaviour of people in a particular society towards the unknown future and is seen as a measurement of the degree to which people of a specific culture tolerate risk and feel threatened by uncertain
situations. People in high UA countries show certain similar characteristics. For example, they often come from countries which have a long history, as opposed to newly found or newly independent countries. The population of the country is usually rather homogeneous and citizens are largely cynical of their nations. New ideas are scarcely encouraged and sticking to the structural routine is always preferred. And finally, it is often the case that a large number of people are smokers, and the country has a high rate of motor accidents. Considering all the above, Saudi Arabia fits perfectly within this social characterisation. Thus, it comes to no surprise that it scores 80 on the Hofstede’s scale, indicating high uncertainty avoidance rank. In order to minimise the level of uncertainty, the society often institutes laws, rules, and regulations, implements strict policies, and becomes rule-oriented. Hofstede verifies that this feeling of uncertainty is expressed through ‘a need for written and unwritten rules’ (ibid.). This society tends to not readily accept change, is very risk adverse, and tries to control everything in order to eliminate or avoid the unexpected.

On the other hand, low UA people are usually risk takers who value risk taking and see it as a chance for success. The populations usually consist of multicultural and multilingual people, and there is a feel good factor among the citizens. The United Kingdom is a typical example of a society with low UA rank, as it scores 35 on the Hofstede’s scale.

Merkin (2006) hypothesised that uncertainty avoidance exerts a significant influence on face-work communication strategies. She gave participants, who represented the following six countries: Japan, Sweden, Israel, Hong Kong, Chile, and the United States, a
questionnaire which consisted of face-threatening situations and asked them to rate nine different strategies in terms of their likelihood of use. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they would use each strategy in each situation. The results showed that respondents who represented countries with strong/high UA used less harmonious and more ritualistic and aggressive strategies in response to face threatening situations.

Finally, long versus short-term orientation (LTO) is the last cultural dimension which focuses on the extent to which a society/culture invests for the future, is persevering, and is patient in waiting for results. Saudi Arabia’s score was 36 which indicates that it is a short-term oriented society. The United Kingdom scored 51 which suggests that an exact long versus short term orientation cannot be determined. Short-term oriented societies tend to seek quick results in the near future. The notion of giving up something today for the promise of something bigger in the future is not a widely common notion; more usual is the tendency to believe that ‘a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush’.

In conclusion, the above discussion demonstrated that although both the Saudi and the British societies might share some similar cultural attributes (e.g. similar rates for Masculinity), generally and culturally speaking, it seems that both countries may have more differences than similarities (different rates for PDI, IDV, UAI, and LTO’). Therefore, studies, like the present research, hope to shed light on these differences, specifically in terms of politeness and general behaviour during face threatening situations, in order to understand and reduce possible cultural miscommunications between these two societies.
3.1 Introduction to speech act research

Speech acts are utterances that perform communicative actions and are considered to be ‘the basic minimal units of linguistic communication,’ (Searle, 1976: 16). According to Wolfson, ‘speech acts differ cross-culturally not only in the way they are realised but also in their distribution, their frequency of occurrence, and in the functions they serve’ (1981:123), and research in contrastive and cross-cultural pragmatics, Ogiermann (2009b) asserts, helps to reduce communication breakdown or failure when interaction occurs between people of two or more different cultures.

Speech act studies may differ according to the type of speech act under investigation (request, apology, complaint, etc.), the research method used (naturally-occurring data, questionnaires, role-play, etc.), the theory applied to the data (B and L’s politeness theory 1978, 1987, Leech 1983, Scollon and Scollon 1981, 1983, 2001), and the type of research under which the study falls (e.g. inter-lingual, cross-cultural, methodological, and learner-based).

Inter-lingual studies are concerned with variation in speech act patterns within a single language or a dialect; for example, in British English (Deutschmann 2003), New Zealand English (Holmes 1990), in English (Boxer 2002), in German (Muhr 2008; Warga 2008), in Korean (Kwon 2004), in Chinese (Kadar 2007, Kadar 2010), in Japanese (Fukushima, 1990,
Ide 1989), in Arabic (Abdel-Jawad, 2000; Al-Refai 2012), in Spanish (Rojo 2005), and in French (Farenkia 2014).

Cross-cultural studies, on the other hand, typically concentrate on the way particular communicative functions are realised in different cultures. For example, American and Egyptian requests have been investigated by Nelson, Carson, Al-Batal, and El-Bakary (2002), request strategies between British English and Japanese have been studied (Fukushima 1996, 2000), apology strategies between British English, Polish, and Russian have been compared (Ogiermann 2009a), and request and apologies between Britain and Uruguay have been investigated (Marquez-Reiter 2000).

Methodological studies attempt to test the validity of different data collection instruments and their ability in generating reliable and fairly accurate data that represent the authentic performance of linguistic action (e.g. Jianda 2006, Nurani 2009).

And finally, learner-focused studies (i.e. interlanguage pragmatics studies) which examine the ways in which second and foreign language learners develop pragmatic competence in the target language, usually employing native speakers as a control group.

Learner-based studies which focus on speech acts are typically allocated to one of the following types:
1- Native versus nonnative studies, which mainly study the differences in the selection of speech act strategies between native and non-native speakers, with a focus on L1 pragmatic negative transfer (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1986, Beebe & Takahashi 1993).

2- Longitudinal studies, which study learners’ L2 pragmatic development over time and usually take place in a study abroad context (Ellis 1992, Schauer 2009).

3- Cross-sectional studies, which chiefly focus on different-level learners’ differences in their speech act and pragmatic awarenesses, and the relationship between grammatical proficiency and pragmatic competence (Bardovi-Harlig 1999, Rose 2000).

4- And teachability of pragmatics studies, which typically study the effect of formal pragmatic instruction in language classrooms, aiming at developing the most effective teaching methods and activities for the development of language curricula (Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2008, Ishihara & Cohen 2010). Moreover, based on the results, a number of linguists, who are most often English (ESL) teachers themselves, developed instructional material which can be used to raise the pragmatic awareness of ESL learners (Eslami-Rasekh 2005, Houk & Tatsuki 2010).

Other less typical speech act research studies focus on: gender differences in selecting particular politeness strategies (Holmes 1989, Ogiermann 2008); public apologies (Benoit 1997); children and politeness (Blum-Kulka & Kampf 2007); and politeness in media and reality TV shows (Koutsantoni 2007). In the next section, I will review literature that draws its data from Arabic as well as literature on the speech acts of request and apology.
3.2 Politeness Research on Arabic


(Umale 2011), Sudanese (Umar 2006, Nureeddeen 2008), and Saudi Arabian which will be looked at in detail in the following section.


The studies done to date by Arab linguists have given researchers insight into the possible conceptualisation of politeness in the Arabic cultures and the management of speech acts in various daily contexts and situations. Moreover, they revealed certain social and cultural patterns which the Arabic respondents tended to favour. For example, one of the main themes that emerged was that Arab respondents seemed to prefer and employ positive politeness strategies more than their counterparts from other cultures. The second major theme that was disclosed was that most Arab respondents used direct strategies toward hearers over whom they had power. However, when the hearer was in a higher position, they tended to use indirect strategies. I will attempt to explain these two phenomena using Hofstede’s cultural dimensions of ‘collectivism’ and ‘power distance index’.

**Orientation toward positive politeness:**

As in our previous discussion, positive politeness, or as Scollon and Scollon (1983, 2001) term it ‘solidarity’, was a prevalent strategy used in most of the politeness studies
done on Arabic subjects. This result is in alignment with Hofstede (1991), who noted that all Arabic cultures are collectivist and Arab members of the society greatly favour group harmony over individual autonomy. Ogiermann (2009a) points out that collectivistic societies are intrinsically positive politeness oriented, while individualistic societies, such as England, are characterised as negative politeness, or ‘deference’ (Scollon and Scollon 1983, 2001) oriented societies.

Saudi Arabia, as the rest of the Gulf countries (United Arab Emirates, Oman, Kuwait, Qatar, and Bahrain) and the Arabic world, is a highly positive politeness oriented society (Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily 2012). Among positive politeness society members, interlocutors are comfortable talking to each other with a small spatial distance between them. Walker (2014) notes that these society members are ‘comfortable with little personal space’, and he proposed Saudi Arabia as an example (2014: 92). Also, Saudi interlocutors tend to touch each other freely when they greet or see each other after some time. For example, in some Gulf countries, it is customary for men to greet one another by approaching and touching each other’s noses. Moreover, kissing one’s cheeks, hugging, and holding hands while engaging in everyday social interactions can also be seen as ‘normal’ behaviour amongst interlocutors of the same gender in the Arabic Gulf region.

Furthermore, the Arabs tend to exaggerate extensively in order to show the hearer that they care about them. Such exaggerations can be noticed in their welcoming behaviour, which Alaoui (2011) comments is excessive to the extent that it could be considered
‘impolite’ in other cultures, because the speaker is not keeping his/her distance. Arabic greetings, farewells, invites, and offers are also persistent and verbose (Mills, Kerkam, Mansor, and Grainger 2015). Even other social acts tend to be exaggerated such as giving lavish gifts in weddings and celebrations, constant seeking of the hearer’s approval, and providing long excuses to the hearer. Ogiermann (2009a) sees exaggeration as a behavioural aspect typical of positive politeness cultures. After all, one of the positive politeness strategies, according to B and L, is to ‘exaggerate interest, approval, sympathy with H’ (1987: 102).

Another dominant feature is the inclination towards using directness in language use during every day social endeavours. A number of linguists demonstrated that in their politeness studies, the Arab respondents tended to be more direct in their speech act behaviour than their counterpart participants (Scarcella & Brunak 1981, El-Shafey 1990, Al-Hamzi 1999, Umar 2004, Aba-Alalaa 2009, Al-Marrani & Sazalie 2010, and Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily 2012) and that they mostly used ‘impositive’ imperatives in their requests with softeners (Al-Zumor 2003, Aba-Alalaa 2009, Al-Marrani & Sazalie 2010).

The issue of Arabs’ preference for directness has been imputed to cultural and linguistic reasons. On a cultural level, basing their argument on their study comparing (in)direct requests between Saudis and Americans, Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily (2012) concluded that directness in the Saudi Arabic sample was the expected behaviour in contexts where interlocutors were of equal power and among friends regardless of the weight of the request.
They further stressed that, in the Saudi context, directness should not be considered impolite, but rather should be seen as ‘a way of expressing connectedness, closeness, camaraderie and affiliation’ (2012: 94).

On a linguistic level, Atawneh (1991) and Atawneh and Sridhar (1993) posit that the English language consists of a rich modal system (Could, Would, May, etc.) which allows for higher mitigation by the use of hedging and therefore the use of indirect requests. Contrastively, the Saudi Arabic Hijazi dialect, as the rest of the Arabic dialects, lacks this feature which contributes to a degree of pragmatic loss when using the same request form in Arabic and English. For example, in her investigation of translating polite requests, Al-Aqra’ (2001) maintains that, the Palestinian respondents translated all the following English modals (would, will, could, can, is it possible, is it ok, do you mind, etc.) to two Arabic terms only (ممكن) [possible] and (بتقدر) [can you]. This showed a noticeable disparity between native Americans’ and Arabs’ employment of modals and therefore of their use of indirect requests. As modal verbs significantly affect the directness level of speech act strategies, their paucity in a language may cause the speakers of that language to resort to other ways to show deference. This seems to be the case in Arabic. For example, instead of (Could you please open the window?), an Arab might say (افتح الشباك الله يسعدك) [Open the window may Allah keep you happy]. The use of the ‘religious softener’, in this case ‘a prayer for the hearer’s happiness’ can work as a mitigating agent to soften the direct imperative.
In fact, the use of religious softeners and other Islamic phrases is another important aspect of positive politeness found to be used by Arab participants in most Arabic politeness studies. Some examples are (الله يخليك) (May God keep you [safe from harm]) (El-Shazly 1993, Bajri 2005, Al-Marrani & Sazalie 2010, Jebahi, 2011) and thanking God ‘Allah’ for everything that happened to them whether good or bad (Hussein and Hammouri 1998). Bajri (2005) suggests that these religious expressions, used especially in requests, could be considered positive politeness strategies used to assert shared common ground with the hearer and strengthen the urgency of the request. Nevertheless, Bajri looked at the use of the religious expressions only in requests and apologies, which strengthen the FTA in a positive way, but she did not explore other uses of religious terms where they can be used to curse or to threaten someone.

The use of religious expressions is extensive and found almost in every single Arabic politeness study. This urged a number of Arab linguists to investigate their translatability to other languages and compare these expressions to other languages (El Sayed 1990, Al-Aqra’ 2001, Shammas 2005, Mazid 2006, Al-Harbi & Al-Ajmi 2008, Aubed 2012). Furthermore, Shammas (2005) collected all these Arabic religious expressions that are ‘always polite’ (2005: 38) under one component which he termed ‘lingua-pragmatics’ (LP) and defined as ‘fixed linguistic formulae that have fixed pragmatic values in the relevant context in the social reality of actual verbal communication’ (ibid: 25). Shammas illustrated that these LP forms are highly ‘culture-specific’ therefore usually lead to ‘misinterpretation
and mistranslation’ (ibid.). However, although Shammas estimated 500 expressions present only in Syrian Arabic, he only stated 50 terms with their possible equivalents in English.

What is more, the use of positive politeness strategies in Arabic research studies extends to other non-linguistic aspects of behaviour. For example, in a study conducted by Rizk (1997), some Arab participants showed remorse for their behaviour by offering the victim food. Twalbeh & Al-Oqaily (2012) further demonstrate that the Arabs used to say:

(فلان أدب القوم إذا دعاهم لمأدبه) [one can be polite to people by inviting them to feast]. An explanation for this type of behaviour can be provided by drawing on Ogiermann’s (2009b) argument that positive politeness societies tend to save positive face more than negative face, whether it is the hearer’s or the speaker’s. Therefore, in order to save her face, (as mentioned before, apologies threaten the speaker’s positive face), the speaker tries to evade having to apologise; and one way of doing that is by opting out of verbal apology and resorting to food as an apologetic gesture. In her investigation of Sudanese apologies, Nureddeen (2008) sustains that the Arab respondents tried not to apologise (using B and L’s terminology ‘opted out’), avoided blaming self, and resorted to humour and turning the incident/offence into a joke. Also, in Bataineh & Bataineh’s apology research (2006) as well as Jebahi’s (2011) study, a noticeable percentage of Jordanian and Tunisian participants denied responsibility for the offence, brushed it off as unimportant, and shifted responsibility to other sources. Furthermore, in the Saudi context, Al-Ali (2012) contends
that between female Saudi and female Australian participants, only Saudis used sarcasm in their apologies, and sometimes even blamed the H for the offence.

This could imply two things. First, that the Arabs, including Saudis, may place greater significance in saving their positive face than saving their negative face. Second, that the strategy ‘opting out’ appears to be mostly used in order to fulfil the speaker’s face-wants, and not the hearer’s as implied by B and L. Al-Qahtani (2009) comments that, despite the very low ranking of the FTA, opting out was the preferred strategy used by Saudi female respondents in situations in which they had an option to interact with male strangers in public. Likewise, according to my data, the motivation behind employing the strategy ‘opting out’ was not always ‘politeness’. It was used mostly in accordance with cultural and religious principles. I shall explain this more in the ‘results’ chapter.

Although directness and positive politeness strategies are chiefly used in Arabic contexts where interlocutors have equal or no power (-P) (Rizk 1997, Soliman 2003), in opposite contexts where the hearer has more power than the speaker (+P), the speaker in this case usually employs negative politeness strategies and shows great deference to the hearer (Al-Qahtani 2009, Morkus 2009, Jebahi 2011). This implies that power could be a significant factor which affects Arabs’ choice of directness styles in linguistic communication.

In the next part, I shall look at the role of social power in influencing the choice of speech act strategy among the Saudi and Arabic societies.
The role of social power:

B and L define ‘power’ as:

‘The degree to which H can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation (face) at the expense of S’s plans and self-evaluation’ (1987: 77)

This definition seems to indicate that ‘power’ (other alternative names include ‘authority’ Leech 1983 and ‘dominance’ Trosborg 1987) results in an asymmetrical relationship between S and H in which H is the high-powered individual whereas S is the less-powered individual. It also implies that H may have control of S’s behaviour. Moreover, ‘power’ can be relative (to the specific context of the social interaction) or absolute (devoid of social context).

As mentioned earlier, according to Hofstede’s cultural dimension model (1991), cultures which place a great distance between high powered and low powered members of society (e.g. Saudi Arabia) are called high power distance (HPD) cultures; and societies that place a small distance between powered individuals and less powerful ones (e.g. the UK) are called low power distance (LPD) cultures. Because in HPD societies, subordinates usually depend on their bosses in providing a better quality life for them and their families, they predominantly abase themselves and show deference in their behaviour towards their superiors.

According to Hofstede, most Arabic countries are HPD communities, and looking at data from Arabic speech act studies, the Arab respondents seemed to show behaviour characteristic of HPD cultures in that they often tended to use indirect strategies when the
hearer was higher in status (El-Shazly 1993, Al-Ammar 2000, Al-Qahtani 2009, Morkus 2009, Jebahi 2011, and Al-Sobh 2013). Conversely, when the speaker had power over the hearer, the use of direct styles was preferred. For example, Soliman (2003) reported that in his Arabic apology study, the speaker blamed the hearer (who was lower in status) for a deed that was at least partially their fault, such as when the boss bumped into the janitor and yelled at the janitor for bumping into him instead of apologising to him.

Moreover, Rizk (1997) outlined that the 110 Arab respondents in his study who were (Egyptian, Saudi, Jordanian, Palestinian, Moroccan, Lebanese, Syrian, Tunisian, Yemeni, and Libyan) collectively never apologised to children in an attempt to assert their parental authoritativeness. It is interesting to note here that in this case the influence of culture seems to outpower the teachings of Islam, one of which clearly encourages parents to be merciful on their children. The prophet Muhammed (peace be upon him) said:

"He is not of us who does not have mercy on the young, nor revere the elderly"

In addition to power, another variable which can affect the level of directness in speech act realisations is the influence of the gender of the interlocutors. This can clearly be noticed in the way Arab men and women engage with each other in everyday social interactions. Most Arabic countries, especially Saudi Arabia, are completely or partially gender-segregated societies, and there are limitations for interaction between males and females at
many levels of social life (Bulut 2009). A study conducted by Al-Marrani & Sazalie (2010) demonstrated that Yemeni males tended to prefer employing indirect strategies in their speech when addressing females. The researcher comments that in Yemeni society, women have special circumstances because of cultural and religious values and the men have to choose their words carefully. We mentioned before Al-Qahtani’s (2009) study which demonstrated that Saudi females avoided unnecessary verbal interaction with unfamiliar men, and opting out (refusing to offer H anything) was significantly higher when the addressee was a male.

This phenomenon, seen mostly in Islamic and gender-segregated societies, is largely neglected by theorists of politeness. I stress that the gender of the addressee should be given greater emphasis analogous to other social factors that influence the use of different communicative strategies (e.g. P, D, and R). As Al-Qahtani (2009) illustrates, in her results, the salient social practice that triggered discrepancies in the formulation of speech acts emanated from the enactment of Saudi social and cultural roles for men and women.

In addition to Al-Qahtani’s Saudi speech act study, there is a body of research conducted to investigate the speech act behaviour among Saudi samples. In the next section, the discussion will turn to Saudi Arabic speech act research in which mainly Saudi subjects were recruited.
3.3 Politeness Research on Saudi Arabic

Although this is not an exhaustive list, some of the most salient Saudi Arabic politeness studies are summarised in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Speech act</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Hasanain</td>
<td>Greeting</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Al-Shalawi</td>
<td>Refusal</td>
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<td>1999</td>
<td>Ismail</td>
<td>Apology</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Al-Ammar</td>
<td>Request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Al-Hudhaif</td>
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Table 2
According to Table 2, politeness research in Saudi Arabic includes different speech acts such as requests, apologies, refusals, compliments, suggestions, welcoming/greeting, and offering. In terms of their types; some of the studies are interlingual (Al-Amri 2011); include one gender only, which is customary in a gender-segregated society such as the Saudi community (Ismail 1999, Al-Ammar 2000, Enssaif 2005); some are cross-cultural (Al-Shalawi 1997, S. Al-Kahtani 2005, Al-Oqaili & Tawalbeh 2012); and some are interlanguage studies where the emphasis is on the Saudi English learner (Umar 2004, Bajri 2008, Bulut 2009, S. Al-Kahtani 2012, Al-Sulayyi 2013).

Unlike the previous section of Arabic politeness studies, which was grouped thematically, I will attempt to review the literature in this section starting from the least relevant (e.g. studies which investigated speech acts other than requests and apologies) to the most relevant (e.g. studies which investigated requests and/or apologies and used questionnaires).

I will attempt to critically examine the literature by emphasising the strengths and weaknesses of each study and mentioning the reason for the inclusion of the study in this section of the literature review chapter. Generally, my main focus will be on studies which investigated requests and apologies, as well as studies that proved essential in filling important gaps in the fields of Saudi Arabic speech act and politeness research.

Although not the first to investigate Saudi speech acts other than requests and apologies, Al-Shalawi’s (1997) refusal study has revealed some interesting patterns about the way
Saudis refused compared to the Americans. In this study, 50 Saudi and 50 American undergraduate students, ranging from ages between 19 and 26 years, were given open ended discourse completion test questionnaires and were asked to imagine themselves in specific contexts where they had to ‘refuse’ on several occasions. The results of this study showed that in terms of directness, the Americans used a ‘direct no’ in their refusals, while the Saudis adopted a more indirect way of refusing. The researcher attributes this to the cultural variables of collectivism and individualism. Al-Shalawi (1997) explains that Saudi Arabia is considered a collectivist culture in which members of the society try to avoid confrontation because they value in-group harmony and prefer long-term relationships. This was manifested by the Saudis’ use of uncontrollable excuses when refusing, such as having an upset stomach or having to attend to an urgent family matter. The researcher asserts that the Saudis believed that ‘normal’ excuses (e.g. Sorry, I can’t. I have to be somewhere) were not enough to satisfy the hearer’s expectations and insure a close relationship/friendship with H in the future. On the other hand, the Americans gave clear straight to the point excuses (similar to the one mentioned above) and did not use explanations or justifications that involved their families.

A further point that Al-Shalawi (1997) raised was that the Saudis tended to employ both negative politeness strategies (e.g. the use of hedges ‘Oh’ and regret before refusing ‘I am sorry’) and positive politeness strategies (e.g. assertion of general positive feeling, gratitude, future acceptance, and empathy building). Initially, the researcher clearly
classified Saudi Arabia as a negative politeness culture, though not backed with enough supporting evidence. Later, he decided that actually the results of his study were inconclusive and could not determine whether the Saudi culture was negative or positive politeness oriented. I decided to include this study because this work was one of the first systematic investigation of Saudi refusal acts. Nevertheless, the researcher’s qualitative analysis was short of supporting evidence at times, and his claims were sometimes rather inconsistent.

Bajoudah (2002) investigated the speech act of ‘suggestion’ as produced by Saudis majoring in English at Umm Al-Qura University, Makkah, Saudi Arabia, and compared their results with English native speakers. I included this study in my literature review because this is the only Saudi politeness research I found which empirically investigated the speech act of ‘suggestion’. The results of this study echoed some results from other Arabic politeness research data. For example, like the other Arabic groups, the Saudis tended to be more direct when they made suggestions to their relatives and friends, even used imperatives with people to which they are close. On the other hand, English native speakers were less direct and used more politeness markers. Although this was a fully comprehensive work on Saudi suggestions, the researcher failed to provide an Arabic sample and examined instances of L1 pragmatic transfer based on his knowledge of the language, which made his explanations appear speculative more than definite.
Another two important Saudi politeness studies are: Saad Al-Kahtani’s (2005) refusal study and Turjoman’s (2005) research on Saudi greeting and welcoming behaviour. The two studies are different in that Al-Kahtani’s research involved three different cultural groups (Americans, Saudi EFL, and Japanese EFL learners); whereas Turjoman’s study was interlingual in that it focused on the Saudi culture only and investigated gender differences in Saudis’ greetings and leave-takings.

Al-Kahtani (2005) carried out one of the first Saudi Arabic politeness studies to involve a sample other than English natives (i.e. Japanese EFL learners). Moreover, this study resulted in more similarities between the Japanese and the Arabic groups than differences. For example, the researcher expresses that ‘most of the Japanese and Arabs were unclear and not as specific as the Americans in making refusals… in contrast, most of the excuses made by most of the Americans were more ‘airtight’’ (2005: 23). Although not mentioned in his future research recommendations, more research should be done to investigate the similarities between Arabic, Asian, and East-Asian cultures because it appears that more similarities are shared between these cultures than differences in the linguistic use and the pragmatic functions of speech acts.

By contrast, Turjoman’s (2005) study comprised only one sample: Saudis. In this research, 127 males and 110 females were spread into three groups according to their age. The first group consisted of ages 18-30, the second group was of ages 31-50, and the third group was 51 years and over. Obviously, the age was a control variable in this study as well
as the gender of the speaker. Surprisingly, age, along with social status and the setting or the context, did not have a significant effect on the way Saudis greeted, took leave, and replied to a leave-taking from someone of the same sex. Conversely, the relationship between the interlocutors (distance), and the gender of the addressee had a significant effect on Saudis’ welcoming/greeting behaviour. Turjoman’s further analysis of the data revealed specific features used uniquely by Saudi women in their speech. For example, Saudi women took longer in saying their ‘good-byes’ than their greetings and welcomings. Moreover, the women took longer to greet other women than men greeting other men. Furthermore, women used more small-talk, metaphors, and superlatives than men. And finally, women repeated their greetings much more than men; in fact, they repeated their greetings up to 8 times. This study, along with Al-Qahtani’s (2009) investigation of Saudi female offering, is one of the few that focussed on Saudi female speech act behaviour and thus fills an important gap in this particular field.

Moving on to the discussion of Saudi politeness studies which investigated apologies, Al-Hudhaif (2000) investigated Saudi males’ apologies in English and Arabic. The sample of his study consisted of 11 Americans (control group), 9 Saudis who lived in the United States for more than six years, and 10 Saudis who lived in America for less than three years. The reason for choosing six and three years as parameters for comparing between two length-of-stay periods was not provided. A further Saudi sample was given an Arabic version of the DCT for reasons of comparison with the other two Saudi groups. The data analysis showed that the
length of stay in the target country and the gender of the addressee were both significantly important factors that determined the selection of different apology strategies. In regards to the length of stay, Saudis who resided more years in the target community transferred less pragmatic and linguistic features from Arabic in comparison to the sample that resided fewer years in the United States. Moreover, Saudis revealed a pattern where if the addressee was a female, they would provide minimal, if no, apology regardless of the context of the offence.

Furthermore, the data revealed that American responses were longer than the Saudis’ English responses. The researcher does not attribute the Saudis’ short answers to their L2 linguistic deficiency because he stresses that in the Arabic questionnaires, Saudis responded with short answers as well; and since Arabic is the mother tongue, there is no linguistic deficiency of any kind in this case. Therefore, the researcher argues that the Saudis (both the natives and the English learners) may see making apologies as severe loss of positive face, and adamant to save their ‘faces’, they employed non-verbal strategies to show that they are apologetic, such as physical offers of repair with the avoidance of emotions.

Al-Sulayyi (2013) conducted a contrastive study examining apologies as realised by British English native speakers and Saudi EFL teachers. This study is one of the first to include Saudi English teachers among the Saudi samples. The data analysis established that the Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID) (regret ‘sorry,’ request for forgiveness ‘forgive me,’ and the performative ‘I apologise,’ among others) is the most used apology strategy used by Saudi male and female teachers. This led the researcher to hypothesise that
the Saudi teachers might believe that an English apology must comprise an IFID as a compulsory component optionally followed by another apology strategy. Moreover, very few Saudis used ‘self-blame’ and ‘lack of intent’ strategies in general which led to the presumption that the Saudis, like other Arabic groups, tend to be generally less inclined to admit their wrongdoings than native English speakers. However, in asymmetrical relationships in which the hearer has power over the speaker (+P), the Saudis were keener on accepting responsibility for their wrongdoing, and this was the case especially with Saudi females.

Al-Sulayyi (2013) maintains that Saudi females minimise their responsibility when they offend closely related (-D) or equally powered (-/= P) hearers because in this case they are able to argue with them. However, when H is more powerful or is a stranger, the females agree to take on responsibility for the offence because they prefer to absorb the anger of the victim and to not discuss the details of the offence any further. Nevertheless, Saudi females did not offer repair to strangers because, Al-Sulayyi states, they do not care about short-term relationships. Only when the interlocutors are close do they offer repairs in attempt to sustain the social equilibrium and harmony between their closely related individuals.

By contrast, the British group (males and females) took responsibility for their offences more than the Saudi males and females did. The British also used the same range of apology strategies across all the situations, regardless of the different social relationship in each situation. Furthermore, the researcher posited that the language supremacy of the British
(their advantage as English native speakers) allowed them to use a varied set of apology strategies and sub-strategies, which made their utterances appear linguistically more adequate and pragmatically more polite.

This study was presented in great detail. The researcher meticulously examined every aspect of his research and amply referenced other politeness studies to which his research results either conformed or contradicted. Nevertheless, the researcher failed to mention the places at which the teachers worked, their qualifications, or the number of years that they have been teaching English in Saudi Arabia.

Binasfour (2014) compared Saudi English learners’ apology productions with American English native speakers’ apologies. The results indicated that the frequency of use of the strategies significantly varied only for offers of repair and promises of forbearance. Moreover, social power had noticeable impact on Saudi students’ choice of apology strategies in that the higher power the offended had, the more apology strategies the learners tended to employ.

Binasfour’s research made use of clearly designed coloured tables which made distributions and frequencies of apology strategies used by Saudi EFL learners and American native speakers more visible. It also presented extensive statistical analysis made on the data. However, to investigate the effect of power on the subjects’ production of apologies, the
researcher only included two types of hearers: a professor and a student. This, in my opinion, is not enough to establish concrete results as a wider range of hearers should have been employed.

Moving on to the discussion of Saudi politeness research which investigated requests, two important studies come to mind: Al-Theebi’s (2011) investigation of Saudi EFL, Saudi ESL, and British requests, and Al-Amri’s (2011) interlingual study investigating requests as employed by males and females from the South western region of Saudi Arabia.

Al-Theebi’s (2011) Saudi interlanguage sample consisted of students studying English in Saudi Arabia (the English-as-a-Foreign-Language group) and students studying English in the United Kingdom (the English-as-a-Second-Language group). The British participants were used as a control group. In terms of directness, the results showed that the Saudi EFL (52%) and ESL groups (29%) were more direct in their requests than the British sample (7%). However, the ESL group, similar to the native British, used fewer direct requests than the EFL group. In fact, the ESL group tended to resemble various aspects of British requests much more than the EFL group did. Therefore, the researcher established that the long-term residence in the target community as well as frequent interaction with native speakers in real-life contexts, as opposed to imaginary settings in language classrooms, are significantly important factors that contribute to improving the pragmatic competence of language learners. Although the choice of the samples in this research was interesting, the researcher did not specify both learner groups’ language proficiency levels; nor did he verify whether a
language proficiency test (e.g. IELTS) was used by language schools in Saudi Arabia in order to place the EFL participants at different L2 linguistic levels.

The second study is Al-Amri’s (2011) interlingual investigation of Saudi requests. As far as I know, this research is the only study which investigated the request behaviour of males and females from the South western part of the kingdom; thus, filling an important gap in the field of Saudi speech act and politeness research. Upon his thorough investigation of the applicability of B and L’s politeness theory on Saudi requests, Al-Amri (2011) confirms that their theory does apply to Saudi requests in the above mentioned context. However, the Saudis’ employment of B and L’s strategies (bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record) was distinct in that they were compounded with Islamic expressions. Nevertheless, Saudis’ use of B and L’s strategies, along with the strategic adjustment of their use based on changes in interpersonal relationships makes politeness in the southwestern Saudi context strategic and face-saving, as suggested by B and L.

Al-Kahtani (2012) investigated requests as produced by Saudi high and low-level learners of Australian English through role-plays. The data analysis demonstrated that, same as with other Arab participants, social power (+/-P) was an important factor that affected the level of directness in the request strategies chosen by the Saudis. For example, mild hint strategy (off-record) increased in use with increase in H’s power (+P), while the use of first names and other positive politeness strategies increased with decrease in power (-P). Moreover, the ‘title’ strategy was overused exclusively when the hearer was the speaker’s
professor; however, this was not the case with the Australian participants. Al-Shalawi (1997) further notes that, in his refusal study, unlike the Americans, the Saudi students used the highest percentage of the ‘regret’ strategy [I am sorry] in refusing a request which was made by a professor. Enssaif (2005) adds that in her investigation of Saudi compliment behaviour, most of the female students admired their teacher’s beauty, possession of garments, and personality. However, humorous praise did not occur between the teacher and the student, which reflects participants’ awareness of the status difference between the interlocutors and the appropriate social behaviour in complimenting hearers with power, such as the teacher.

Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily (2012) examined requests in spoken Saudi Arabic and American English. This is one of the rare studies I found which elicited data from spoken Saudi Arabic rather than written. The results of this study showed that the Saudis generally employed more direct strategies than the Americans, especially in intimate situations where directness is interpreted as an expression of affiliation, closeness, and group-connectedness rather than impoliteness. On the other hand, conventional indirectness was the most prevailing strategy employed by the American sample, even when they were addressing their inferiors. Conversely, the Saudis employed conventionally indirect strategies only when the speaker was inferior to the hearer (+P) or when there was distance between the interlocutors (+D). This result, assert the researchers, lends support to Scollon and Scollons’ (1983, 2001) hierarchy and deferential politeness systems respectively.
Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily’s (2012) study is heavily cited in the Saudi politeness literature. The reason might be the researchers’ careful examination of the design and the organisation of the oral DCT and their detailed translation of the questionnaire into Arabic. However, although the researchers elicited requests in spoken Saudi Arabic and American English, they failed to mention the tools that have been used during the data collection procedure. This, I believe, should have been highlighted and mentioned in their methodology chapter.

Next, I will discuss an important piece of work, released by Umar (2004), investigating requests as produced by an Arabic sample and a British sample. Umar’s Arabic sample consisted of twenty postgraduate students who had four different nationalities (5 Saudis, 5 Egyptians, 5 Bahrainis, and 5 Sudanese) and were majoring in English and Linguistics in four Arabic universities. The British native speakers were also twenty in number, and they were postgraduate students studying at different UK universities.

I included this particular study because the speech act under investigation and the samples chosen are most relevant to my research, albeit I decided to recruit a larger sample of students.

Moreover, this study is heavily referenced by other Saudi politeness researchers (e.g. Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily 2012, Al-Momani 2009). The reason for this may be because, at the time, this research was considered one of the very few politeness studies which had participants from Saudi Arabia. In addition, the researcher presented his data and analysis in a detailed way and supported his claims with strong credible evidence from his data.
One of Umar’s outcomes is that ‘conventional indirectness’ (e.g. *Can you help me? May you help me? Would you help me please?*) was the most used requestive strategy by both the Arab and the British samples. This result is in conformity with data from the CCSARP, done in 1989, in which participants who spoke eight different languages/dialects (American English, Australian English, British English, Canadian English, German, Danish, Russian, and Hebrew) unanimously preferred the employment of conventionally indirect strategies whilst making requests and apologies. However, Umar highlights that the British sample in his study tended to prefer and use indirect strategies more than the Arabic sample. Umar gives an example of one of the DCT’s situations in which a senior brother requests his younger brother to fetch bread. Umar mentions that most of his Arabic subjects employed highly direct strategies in this situation, used imperatives, and refrained completely from using address terms. Conversely, the British sample maintained the same level of directness and politeness in almost every situation regardless of the context. The researcher explains that in the Arabic world, the intimate relations between brothers (and analogously between sisters, close friends, etc.) reduce the need for such formalities and thereby permit a more direct level of interaction. Although Umar’s study was conducted and presented in a clear detailed manner, such as the discussion of a pilot study and the inclusion of sample responses to each situation, which made it easy to read and be interpreted by the reader; nevertheless, it suffered from a number of limitations.
The biggest drawback in this study appears to be the researcher’s choice of the Arabic sample. Umar’s sample is not homogenous because the Arab participants came from different Arabic countries. This type of ‘collective grouping’ has been criticised by Arab linguists (Al-Issa 1998) because it fails to take participants’ sociocultural and regional differences into account. The second problem is the ratio of men to women in this study. The Arabic sample consisted of six females, whose origins have not been specified, as opposed to fourteen males. Since the number of women are under half of that of men, the suggestion here is to exclude women from this study and focus on one gender to avoid making incorrect generalisations.

In sum, this section has pinpointed a number of important politeness studies conducted on Saudi Arabic. The Saudi Arabic speech act behaviour was examined mostly in comparison with English native speakers. While there were a few similarities between the two groups, differences were drawn mainly from the participants’ use of (in)direct strategies with respect to the hierarchical power and the social distance between the interlocutors, which proved to be highly influential.

In this section, we discussed various studies which investigated different speech acts based on Saudi Arabic. Alternatively, in the next two sections (3.4 and 3.5), the focus will be on understanding the speech acts of requests and apologies from a politeness theoretic point of view and exploring request and apology research done on various languages/cultures.
3.4 Research on requests

Requests are communicative acts in which one person asks another to take some sort of action (e.g., give information, make an appointment, or share an object, etc.). According to Searle, requests fall under ‘directives’ and are regarded as ‘an attempt to get hearer to do an act which speaker wants hearer to do, and which it is not obvious that hearer will do in the normal course of events or of hearer's own accord’ (1969: 66). In this situation, the action normally benefits the speaker directly and does not provide benefit to the hearer. Requests can also vary in weight, meaning they can be big or small, requiring the use of different requestive strategies. According to B and L (1987), requests threaten H’s negative face as they impinge on H’s right of privacy and non-distraction.

In order for a successful performance of a request, Searle (1979: 44) proposes a few conditions that need to be met:

1- Preparatory condition: H is able to perform the act;

2- Sincerity condition: S wants H to do the act;

3- Propositional content condition: S predicates a future act of H;

4- Essential condition: counts as an attempt by S to get H to do the act.

Requests have been widely examined in SLA and interlanguage pragmatics research, since they are ‘face-threatening, and therefore call for considerable linguistic expertise on the part of the learner [and] differ cross-linguistically’ (Ellis, 1994:168). Requests are also

Speech act studies have pointed out that the level of (in)directness involved in achieving the speech act of request differed cross-culturally. For example, Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper (1989) found that Argentinean Spanish native speakers used more direct request strategies than British English. Moreover, Salgado (2011) notes that in the context of learner-based research, second-language learners tended to transfer L1 strategy preferences as well as L1 level of directness in performing speech acts. This was problematic for language learners as they were often branded ‘too direct’ or ‘rude’ by L1 native speakers.

In the next section, the discussion will move to ‘apologies’.
3.5 Research on apologies

An apology is defined as ‘a speech act which is intended to provide support for the hearer who was actually or potentially malaffected by a violation’ (Olshtain, 1989: 156). Generally, apologies fall under ‘expressives’ where the speaker represents herself as her own state of mind. Like requests, apologies are considered face-threatening acts by definition (Brown and Levinson 1987); however, requests impose mainly on the hearer while apologies counteract the speaker’s face wants. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984: 206) say that ‘by apologizing, the speaker recognizes the fact that a violation of social norm has been committed and admits to the fact that s/he is at least partially involved in its cause’.

Leech (1980) highlights that requests are pre-event and apologies are post-event. While requests are made to cause an event or to change one, apologies signal that the event has already taken place. Also, requests call for mitigation (House and Kasper 1981) while apologies tend to be aggravated (Goffman 1971). Moreover, apologies are clearly H-supportive and their strategies are highly conventionalised (Muzhir & Raheem 2012).

Soliman (2003) states that generally apologies are determined by certain factors such as:

- familiarity with the victim since intimacy often determines the style of the apology;
- the intensity and ranking of offence of the act warranting the apology;
- the relative authority of the offender over the victim;
- the ages and gender of the two participants;
- the place of exchange since it influences the formality and strategy of apology.

Holmes (1990, 1995) suggests 6 topics or categories in which an apology might be required: ‘possession, space, social gaffe, talk, inconvenience, and time. Moreover, the most
common motivation for apologizing is inconvenience’ (as cited in Al-Ghamdi 2013: 22). In the CCSARP project, the types of behaviour which required an apology included: ‘not keeping a social or work related commitment, not respecting properly, and causing damage or discomfort to others’ (ibid.)


Apology studies unanimously confirm that the speech act of apology is universal yet its strategies and linguistic variations differ cross-culturally. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain conclude
that ‘the cross-linguistic comparative analysis of the distribution of realization patterns, relative to the same social constraints, reveals rich cross-cultural variability’ (1984: 210)

For example, a study done by Marquez-Reiter (2000) investigating the apology behaviour of British English (BE) and Uruguayan Spanish (US) speakers revealed that in both groups, there was agreement as to the severity of the situation, which served as the main motivator for strategy selection. However, the US group used several formulae to apologise; whereas BE preferred employing non-conventional indirect strategies and opted for intensification of one formula ‘sorry’ when apologising.

Moreover, the use of different strategies while conducting apologies can be the result of negative transfer of L1 apologising strategies. Bergman & Kasper’s study of transfer in apologising (1993) showed that more than half of the differences between Thai-English and American-English apologising strategies were due to L1 negative pragmatic transfer.

Apology strategy selection can also be affected by specific social and cultural principles which are evaluated differently across cultures. For example, Nonoyama (1993) concluded that politeness rules in Japanese are specific to the Japanese people and culture, e.g. be polite to persons of a higher social position, persons with power, older persons, to men if a woman, in formal settings, and to someone with whom you do not have a close relationship. The author generalised that older Japanese participants who have not lived in the U.S. tended to transfer their own sociocultural rules when they apologised in English.
Another study showed that even when cultural groups use similar strategy selections, the interpretation and the effect of these strategies on different cultural groups can be different. Kumagai (1993) investigated apology strategies in the Japanese and American cultures. The results showed that the Japanese emphasised restoring the relationship while the Americans focused on solving the problem. The Japanese used penitent and humble utterances that are empathetic and self-threatening, while the Americans used explanatory utterances that are rational and self-supporting. This may stem from different cultural perceptions of the speech act of apology. Apologising is considered a virtue in Japan showing that a person takes responsibility and avoids blaming others for his/her own mistake. The Japanese ultimately believe that when one apologises and shows remorse, the hearer is more willing to forgive.

Furthermore, studies revealed that other factors such as the gender of the apologiser and the number of languages one speaks may affect the type of strategy used in some cases. Yeganeh (2012) conducted a study to investigate apology strategies employed by Iranian Persian-Kurdish speakers using DCTs and found that the results were different for men and women, and also for monolingual and bilingual people of Ilam (a city in Iran). Monolinguals and men used fewer apology strategies in comparison to women and bilinguals. The only context in which men provided more apologetic expressions was in the case of repairing in which they offered to compensate for the damage they caused. Lastly, most of the studies above included sections where they discussed implications for second language pedagogy. Similarly, the next section will attempt to address politeness from an interlanguage and learner-based perspective.
4.1 Interlanguage Pragmatics

Crystal defined pragmatics as \textit{the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication} \citep{Crystal1985:364}.

When placing pragmatics within the domain of second-language studies, it is often referred to as Interlanguage Pragmatics (ILP). The term Interlanguage (IL) was first coined by Reinecke in 1969. However, interlanguage theory is generally credited to Larry Selinker \citep{Selinker1972}, who adapted this term in his work in the field of second-language acquisition (SLA). ILP has become one of the most significant areas in the field of SLA, progressively and increasingly drawing the interest of SLA researchers. Blum-Kulka & Kasper defined interlanguage pragmatics as \textit{the study of nonnative speakers’ use and acquisition of linguistic action patterns in a second language L2} \citep{Blum-KulkaKasper1993:3}.

For a speaker to achieve appropriate and effective social interaction, he/she must be aware of the linguistic forms, the functions that these forms have, and the social rules that govern using these forms in a specific language/culture. This knowledge is known as pragmatic competence \citep{Kasper1992}. For a second-language learner, pragmatic competence is acquired and developed over time, and whatever linguistic action the learners produce during their learning process is referred to as the learner’s ‘interlanguage’.
Therefore, interlanguage is conventionally known as the learners’ linguistic production midway between their L1 and L2.

Numerous studies have investigated learners’ pragmatic competence in L2 speech acts. As mentioned earlier, learner-based speech act studies are divided into: studies which investigate instances of pragmatic transfer from L1 (Al-Issa 1998, Al-Momani 2009, Al-Zumor 2010), longitudinal studies in which the learner’s development of L2 pragmatic competence is traced over time (including study-abroad experiences) (Ellis 1992, Al-Hudhaif 2000), cross-sectional studies which attempt to show the differences between advanced, intermediate, and beginner L2 learners in achieving target-like speech act behaviour (Bardovi-Harlig 1999, Rose 2000), and finally studies which investigate the effect of teaching L2 pragmatics in language classrooms in which two tests are given to students, usually one before and one after the formal pragmatic instruction, after which results are compared (Takimoto 2009).

In line with current ILP speech act research, in the following pages, I will discuss the major themes that were stressed and discussed by pragmatics: pragmatic competence, pragmatic failure, the teacheability of pragmatics, and pragmatic transfer.
4.2 Pragmatic Competence

Scollon and Scollon (1983) report that evidence has shown that many language learners may part from an exchange with native speakers (NSs) certain that they have used the right words; nevertheless, their intentions have been misunderstood. Native speakers, as well, may come away from such exchanges with the impression that the nonnative speakers (NNSs) were rude or impolite. This type of thinking, says Al Ammar (2000), produces or reinforces existing cultural stereotypes and encourages racism and discrimination. Different cultures possess different rules of appropriateness (Blum-kulka & Olshtain 1984). Thus, if our goal is to make our learners truly effective communicators in a second language, Al-Zumor (2010) stresses that in addition to mastering the vocabulary and syntax of their second language (acquire L2 grammatical competence), they should also be able to vary their language use in order to achieve specific functions and purposes according to the social context (acquire L2 pragmatic competence).

Thomas defines pragmatic competence as: ‘the ability to use language effectively in order to achieve a specific purpose and to understand language in context’ (1983: 92).

Pragmatic competence entails both respective and productive skills (ability to understand as well as produce meaning as intended according to the social context), and as Taguchi illustrates, this ability is acquired through ‘both innate and learned capacities and develops naturally through a socialization process’ (2009: 1). It has also been further broken down
into two components: pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competences (Leech & Thomas 1983). Pragmalinguistic competence refers to one’s linguistic ability to use appropriate language to perform a speech act, whereas sociopragmatic competence refers to one’s ability to evaluate the appropriateness of a certain social behaviour in a particular context.

For example, achieving the speech act of request through the realisation ‘please wait me’ instead of ‘please wait for me’ is considered a pragmalinguistic error/failure in which the language used to accomplish this particular speech act is inappropriate. Sociopragmatic errors are instances of faux pas which may cause cross-cultural miscommunication ultimately leading to possible cultural categorisation and stereotyping. To illustrate with an example, a guest appearing two hours late to a wedding party to which he or she is invited is considered a breach of social conventions according to most Western societies. But it is not considered so in other societies, particularly those in the Muslim world where wedding parties may extend until the wee hours of the morning. This study, as does much speech act research, focuses on pragmalinguistic (in)competence possibly leading to pragmatic failure. Hence, in relation to my studies, pragmatic competence refers to participants’ ability to understand and perform speech acts appropriately according to the socio-cultural norms of the L2 culture.

Studies which emphasised investigating the pragmatic competences of L2 learners focused on general themes. These include:
- the investigation of differences in the pragmatic comprehension of high versus low level language learners (e.g. Takahashi & Beebe 1987, Trosborg 1987, Garcia 2004)

- learners’ resistance to adopt L2 pragmatics in speech act production (e.g. Davis 2007)

- the effect of length of stay and proficiency levels in acquiring speech act target-like behaviour (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984, Omar 1991)

- grammatical vs. pragmatic development correlation (Bardovi-Harlig & Dornyei 1998)

- and whether explicit formal instruction of L2 pragmatics helps learners increase their pragmatic competence (e.g. Schmidt 1993, Rose & Kasper 2002, Ishihara & Cohen 2005).

The above research studies resulted in some useful findings. For example, Bardovi-Harlig & Dornyei found that ‘L2 learner grammatical development does not guarantee a corresponding level of pragmatic development’ (1998: 234) (see also Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1990, 1991, 1993, Omar, 1991, 1992). In addition, there is a possibility that L2 speech act and pragmatic developments are constrained by learner proficiency and length of stay in the target community. For instance, Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) reported an increase in the use of L2 strategies by non-native speakers of Hebrew as their length of stay in Israel increased. Moreover, Omar (1991) found that American learners of Swahili who had been to Tanzania showed much more target-like use of multiple turns in lengthy Swahili greetings.
In regards to high level and low level learner differences, a number of interesting outcomes emerged. For instance, Takahashi & Beebe (1987) stated that the use of external modifiers and number of words increased as the linguistic proficiency increased. Trosborg (1987) seems to agree as she also claimed that there is a positive correlation between increase in learners’ linguistic proficiency and the use of lexical downgrades (such as hedges and downtoners). Moreover, research has shown that increase in learners’ L2 linguistic proficiency may be a factor affecting the increase of the learners’ L1 transfer. This could be due to advanced learners’ ability at identifying contexts in which L1 strategies could be positively and successfully used in L2 contexts (Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, and Ross 1996).

Let’s move on to the discussion about the opposite term of pragmatic competence; namely, pragmatic failure.

4.3 Pragmatic Failure

In contrast with her definition of pragmatic competence, Thomas defines pragmatic failure as ‘the inability to understand what is meant by what is said’ (1983: 93). She then distinguishes between two types of pragmatic failures: ‘pragmalinguistic’ which arises when a nonnative speaker assigns a different illocutionary force to an L2 utterance or inadequately transfers speech act strategies from L1 to L2, and ‘sociopragmatic’ which pertains to errors caused by differing cultural perceptions of what counts as appropriate
behaviour in specific contexts. An instance of *pragmalinguistic error* includes the H’s misunderstanding of the speaker’s statement *(it's cold in here)* to be a request to shut the window as H understands only the literal semantic force of the sentence. An instance of *sociopragmatic error* usually pertains to cross-cultural differences. For example, a British person normally considers it intrusive to ask a stranger personal questions about his/her income, age, religion, etc. Conversely, it might be more acceptable amongst the Saudis to enquire about one’s personal details. So, when a Saudi speaker asks a British hearer about his/her personal details, that would be considered a *sociopragmatic error*.

Therefore, pragmalinguistic failure is considered a linguistic problem, whereas sociopragmatic failure is an issue that stems from cross-cultural variations.

Bardovi-Harlig (1999) imputes the causes of pragmalinguistic failures to four main cultural differences in performing speech acts as follows:

1- differences in the choice of speech acts (native speakers (NS) and nonnative speakers (NNSs) may perform different acts in a given situation)

2- differences in the use of semantic formulae (NSs and NNSs may realise a speech act using different strategies)

3- differences in the content of the propositions encoded (for example, being direct vs. indirect, specific vs. vague, etc.), and finally

4- differences in linguistic forms (the use of upgraders or downgraders and so on).
On the other hand, Thomas states that the main causes of sociopragmatic failure are ‘cross-cultural mismatches in the assessment of social distance, of what constitutes an imposition, of when an attempt at a ‘face-threatening act’ should be abandoned, and in evaluating relative power, rights, and obligations’ (1983: 104).

Furthermore, according to Thomas, discussing culturally taboo topics is also considered one of the main causes of L2 sociopragmatic failure. An L2 learner may innocently discuss a topic that is considered ‘taboo’ to a native speaker because the same topic is socially appropriate according to the learner’s cultural background. For example, discussing politics or criticising the government is socially appropriate within the British society, especially in male-male interactions; whereas in the Saudi community, it is not. On the same note, discussing ‘religion’ is not a common or a popular topic in British conversations; whereas among the Saudi community, it is considered socially adequate. Normally, the discussion of inappropriate topics causes social discomfort and awkwardness between the L1 speaker and the L2 learner and may cause complete pragmatic failure between the interlocutors.

In addition, other types of pragmatic failure include ‘blurts’ and ‘pragmalects’. Pragmatic blurts are equivalent to grammatical slips of the tongue, and they are defined by Boomer and Laver as ‘an involuntary deviation in performance from the student’s current phonological, grammatical or lexical competence’ (1973: 123). A blurt represents a temporary lapse by a pragmatically competent person. Often it is occasioned by strong emotion such as excitement or fear which causes the speaker to deviate from the way he or
she normally acts. Thomas (1983) asserts that blurs by no means reflect the pragmatic
compentence of the speaker and should not, therefore, concern the language teacher.

On the other hand, pragmalinguists are concerned with different cultural perceptions of
politeness. As Lakoff illustrates ‘what is courteous behaviour to me might well be boorish
to you, because we have slightly differently formulated rules, or because our hierarchy of
acceptability is different’ (1973: 26).

Because cultures have different perceptions of appropriate, socially correct, polite
behaviour, it is of utmost importance that pragmatic failures/errors are corrected and
clarified to language learners by their teachers. Thomas reveals this is, sadly, often not the
case, explaining that:

‘Correcting pragmatic failure stemming from sociopragmatic miscalculation
is a far more delicate matter for the language teacher than correcting
pragmalinguistic failure... While foreign learners are fairly amenable to
corrections which they regard as linguistic, they are justifiably sensitive
about having their social (or even political, religious, or moral) judgement
called into question’ (1983: 104).

This is an important point that Thomas raised because it explains the reason behind
pragmatic errors/failures being often unchecked/uncorrected by foreign language teachers.
Perhaps teachers unconsciously choose not to correct their student’s pragmatic
misconceptions over fear of embarrassing them, especially in front of their classmates, and
causing friction between themselves and the students. Additionally, pragmatic failures may
be overlooked by language teachers because of the difficulty of L2 pragmatic teaching
(Thomas 1983), so teachers tend to focus on the grammatical aspects of L2 instead.

Furthermore, as Widdowson (1978: 13) highlights, ‘pragmatic description has not yet reached the level of precision which grammar has attained in describing linguistic competence, [plus] pragmatics - language is use- is a delicate area and it is not immediately obvious how it can be taught’. And finally, correcting errors, grammatical or pragmatic, demands care and tact on the part of the teacher (Thomas 1983) which some language teachers might lack.

Unfortunately, as Houk & Tatsuki (2010) indicate, the effect of learners’ grammatically correct yet situationally inappropriate spoken or written communication is devastating. Therefore, even though it might be difficult, language teachers should address this issue with their students in the classrooms and spread pragmatic knowledge whenever they can.

4.4 Effect of pragmatic teaching

First, most studies that examined whether selected pragmatic features were teachable found this to be the case indeed. Second, studies which compared pragmatically instructed students with uninstructed ones reported an advantage for the instructed learners. Third, with respect to cognitive teaching styles, Kubota (1995) reported an advantage for students receiving deductive (top down/broad to specific) and inductive (bottom up/ specific to broad) instruction over the uninstructed group, with a superior effect for the inductive approach. And last, most studies which compared the effect of explicit vs. implicit
instruction found that students' pragmatic abilities improved regardless of the adopted approach, albeit the explicitly taught students generally did better than the implicit groups.

Explicit teaching involves conscious problem solving in which the students are aware of the information being taught to them (Schmidt 1990). This means that the learners should notice (Schmidt 1990: 233) the information being given to them and have a mental representation of this information in their memory. According to Schmidt (1990: 218) ‘the threshold for noticing is the same as the threshold for learning.’ Therefore, in order to insure successful explicit teaching of L2 pragmatic knowledge, the EFL teacher must follow some recommendations regarding systematic pragmatic teaching. For example, according to Schmidt (1990: 218-234), EFL teachers must acknowledge and be aware that:

1- Simple exposure to sociolinguistically appropriate input is unlikely to be sufficient for second language acquisition of pragmatics,
2- the learners’ attention is not directed elsewhere, that their attention is directed at the specific pragmatic information being given to them,
3- the information is not too complex to be processed, is not presented too quickly or too softly to be consciously seen or heard,
4- the learners’ motivation is an important determinant of the allocation of attentional resources, and finally
5- one way to develop pragmatic competence in classroom contexts could be through task-based language teaching.

(1997) affirms that this finding is important for curriculum and syllabus designers because it dispels the myth that pragmatics can only be taught after students have developed a solid foundation in L2 grammar and vocabulary.

Cook (2001) investigated the extent to which learners of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) were able to distinguish between Japanese polite and impolite (plain) speech styles. The results demonstrated that over 80% of the student population did not notice the difference between the two forms and were even confused between them in spite of this information being clearly mentioned in their Japanese textbooks. Upon interviewing the teachers who taught these classes, the teachers admitted that they had not been instructing their students to pay attention to the difference between the two forms as it was branded ‘obvious information’. After the test took place, the teachers returned to the same classes and this time told their students to pay attention to the speech styles which had been used, and that was when the students actually noticed the difference. Additionally, Cook noticed that one class in particular had the least amount of errors, and while interviewing the teacher of that class, it was clear that the teacher insisted on teaching her class the difference between the two forms through role plays and other social exercises, despite the information being readily available in their textbooks. This may have contributed to their committing the lowest amount of pragmatic errors. Cook concluded that in order to acquire full linguistic capacity in L2, it is as important for teachers to give the students clear instructions about L2 pragmatic information as teaching them grammar, phonology, and semantics.
4.5 Pragmatic Transfer

‘Pragmatic competence can be studied by exploring instances of pragmatic failure… and one cause of pragmalinguistic failure is pragmatic transfer’ (Nelson et al. 2002: 164).

*Pragmatic transfer* generally refers to the transfer of knowledge about the sociocultural rules governing language use from the learner’s L1 to his/her L2. Gumperz notes that ‘second language speakers may have good functional control of the grammar and lexicon of their new language but may contextualise their talk by relying on the rhetorical strategies of their first language’ (1996: 383). Scarcella further asserts that when language learners find dissimilarities in their L1 and L2, they ‘often transfer the conversational rules of their first language into the second’ (1990: 338).

Liu (2002) points out that investigating the way nonnative speakers understand and realise a speech act in both their L1 and L2 enables us to realise the commonalities people share in performing a speech act and to distinguish an L1 positive transfer from a negative one. The transfer of L1 speech act strategies to L2 situations has been addressed in a large number of speech act studies (e.g. Wolfson 1981, Al-Issa 1998, Al-Momani 2009, Al-Zumor 2010) and is also the particular concern of this research. It is necessary to make the Saudi students cognisant of potential cross-cultural differences while performing speech acts because Arab participants have already been reported to transfer speech act realisations and strategies from Arabic in previous studies.
For example, in her study of compliments, Wolfson (1981) found that the Arabic participants tended to transfer their L1’s complimenting behaviour into English. Wolfson gives an example of an Arabic lady complimenting a friend’s child by saying: ‘She is like the moon’ (1981: 120) which in English equals saying: ‘she is extremely beautiful’. The mother remained silent as she did not realise the utterance was actually a compliment.

Furthermore, Al-Issa (1998) examined pragmatic transfer in Jordanian EFL refusals and reported that pragmatic transfer from Arabic was evident in four areas:

1. The frequency of semantic formulas (e.g. the Jordanian Arabic group (JA) used the regret strategy in all their responses (100%), the Jordanian learners (JEFL) said ‘sorry’ in 72% of the situations, whereas the native group (Americans) employed regrets in only 22% across all the situations).
2. The selection of semantic formulas (like the JA group, the JEFL sample used similar strategies such as: define relationship ‘OK my dear professor’, return favour ‘I swear I will pay for both’, removal of negativity ‘we are good friends but... ’, and request for understanding ‘please believe me professor’).
3. The average number of semantic formulas used per response (e.g. the JA and the JEFL groups used the longest responses in the same situations).
4. And the content of the semantic formulas (e.g. both the JA and the JEFL samples gave less specific explanations than the Americans and used religious expressions such as ‘ان شاء الله’ (God Willing) in their refusals.

Al-Issa ascribes L1 pragmatic transfer to different reasons such as: L1 pride, learners’ perception of L2, political and religious factors, and linguistic difficulties.

Moreover, Al-Momani’s (2009) study uncovered 11 statistically significant differences between Arabic and American requests. The researcher asserted that the criteria for pragmatic transfer from Arabic were met in five of the 11 differences. The list included the transfer of the level of directness in performing speech acts (direct [stop the music now]... [stop the music].
versus conventionally indirect \(\text{[would you please turn the music down a bit?]}\), the transfer of the orientation or perspective \(\text{(Can I have a pen? [speaker-oriented] versus Can you give me a pen? [hearer-oriented], etc.)}\), and the transfer of the use of supportive moves and mitigation devices \(\text{(e.g. upgraders [I am very sorry] and downgraders [Can you stop the noise for a minute?]})\).

Similarly, Al-Zumor (2010) observed that L1 pragmatic transfer was responsible for many deviations in the Yemeni EFL learners’ interlanguage apologies from that of the native speakers. Al-Zumor exerted five instances of pragmatic transfer from Arabic in his data:

1- Transfer of whole apology strategies (embarrassment and lack of intent)
2- Transfer of intensification techniques \(\text{(I am really really so so sorry)}\)
3- Literal translation \(\text{(I do not know how to apologise to you)}\)
4- Transfer of address terms \(\text{(sorry my aunt)}\)
5- Transfer of the ranking of FTAs \(\text{(both Yemeni groups apologised less or more in the same situations meaning they ranked the FTA contexts similarly).}\)

Additionally, in their discussion of politeness formulae in Arabic greetings, Al-Harbi & Al-Ajmi (2008) point out that in Arabic greetings, one would not restrict the greeting to just one form such as ‘hello’ and ‘welcome’. Rather, one normally adds another welcoming phrase such as \(\text{‘consider my house your house’}\) to express pleasure at seeing someone. Elaborate greetings are often found in Arabic EFL speech act productions as well as extended conversational openings, both resulting from a negative transfer of Arabic discourse politeness formulae into English.
4.6 Conclusion

To sum up, L1 pragmatic transfers into L2 are abundant in number and detectable in nature with the help of native or bilingual speakers. It is highly important to make them visible to L2 learners because they may cause friction between interlocutors. Nelson et al. point out that ‘while native speakers often forgive the phonological, syntactic, and lexical errors made by L2 speakers, they are less likely to forgive pragmatic errors… as they interpret [them] as arrogance, impatience, rudeness, and so forth’ (2002: 164).

What is more, most nonnative speakers perceive instances of L1 negative pragmatic transfers as ‘mistakes’, and as a result of fear of making any mistakes, many nonnative speakers refrain from starting a long deep conversation with a native speaker, even if they were at advanced levels. Therefore, in order to build their confidence, it is the teacher’s job to ensure that the students have access to both grammatical and pragmatic information of their L2 in order to facilitate effective communication between native and nonnative speakers.

The following chapters will start with the discussion of the methodology, taxonomies of the chosen speech act strategies, identification of the participants, and later move on to discussions about the results and the conclusion respectively.
Chapter 5

5.1 Introduction to politeness research methods

One major concern of sociolinguistic research is the manner in which data are collected (Al-Issa 1998). Researchers must meet the objectives of their study so that the instrument they use fits the study’s purposes because, as Nurani stresses, ‘the data collection instrument will determine whether the data gathered are reliable and fairly accurate to represent the authentic performance of linguistic action’ (2009: 667). As the main objective of the current research study is to compare speech act realisations in different languages, including the strategies employed to perform requests and apologies by each group, large quantities of comparable data are needed. According to Ogiermann ‘the only data collection instrument that provides sufficiently large samples of comparable, systematically varied data is the discourse completion task (DCT)’ (2009a: 67).

In this chapter, the DCT will be discussed in depth, including its definition and different types, along with two other important data collection methods in politeness research: observation of naturally-occurring data and role-plays. Each method’s strengths and weaknesses will be highlighted, and the adoption of questionnaires in this research will be justified. Following that, the structure of the study will be outlined and the subjects who participated in this research will be identified, along with the data collection procedure, the data analysis process, ending with some concluding remarks.
5.2 The DCT

Kasper (2000) classified data collection methods in pragmatic research into nine categories as follows: observational data of authentic discourse, elicited conversation, role-plays, production questionnaires (DCTs), multiple-choice questionnaires, rating scales, interviews, diaries; and think-aloud protocols (2000: 73ff). Nurani (2009) suggests that amongst these methods, three are considered ‘the major instruments of data collection in interlanguage pragmatics: [the] DCT, role-play, and natural data’ (2009: 672). Narrowing the range even further, it can be maintained that the method most used by researchers in the elicitation of speech acts has been the discourse completion test questionnaire (DCT) (Blum-Kulka 1982, Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1986, Beebe and Takahashi 1987, Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989, Bardovi-Harlig 1999, Marquez-Reiter 2000, Deutschmann 2003, Ogiermann 2009a, 2009b).

The DCT is a written questionnaire which contains short descriptions of particular situations intended to reveal the pattern of a speech act being studied. It was originally developed by Blum-Kulka (1982) for her speech act research of native and nonnative speakers of Hebrew. One of the greatest advantages of employing this method is the ability to elicit controlled responses from large samples of participants in a relatively short time.

Typically, the DCT is distributed among the participants in a written questionnaire form consisting of brief situational descriptions, followed by incomplete short dialogues with an
empty slot for the speech act under study to be written by respondents. In order to test the effect of B and L’s different social variables on the choice of speech act strategies, a description which explains the role of the participants, the context of the situation, the social power, and the distance between the interlocutors is usually provided before each situation. In the majority of the studies, the situations often involve scenarios in which college students are immersed daily, such as asking the teacher to extend the submission deadline of a paper and borrowing lecture notes from a classmate. The researcher then asks the participants to complete the questionnaires with utterances which they believe they would say in real life situations. The ultimate goal is to successfully elicit the correct speech act in a way which mirrors how each participant would produce it in a naturally occurring conversation.

In the case of comparing different cultures, the scenarios can sometimes be slightly modified to suit the cultural contexts of the nonnative speakers. These small changes usually do not affect the accuracy of the translation of the different versions of the questionnaire; they merely reflect cultural patterns of various societies, such as changing the names of the interlocutors from Jack to Mohammed and vice versa.

The DCT questionnaire can have different designs. For example, some DCTs begin by asking participants a few personal questions, such as their age, gender, and cultural backgrounds. Others enquire about the learners’ linguistic abilities and the length of time spent in the target community in the past. These choices are made by the researchers
depending on their individual research purposes. For example, age and gender are usually enquired about in a research that includes age and gender as dependent variables. Therefore, providing this information would help the researcher generate statistical differences between genders and between different age groups. Second-language fluency and time spent in the target community questions are usually included in interlanguage and learner-based studies in which the researcher aims at investigating the learners’ second-language abilities and the pragmatic competence differences between different-level learning groups.

Ultimately, it is the researcher’s choice to decide which elements to include in the DCT and which elements to exclude. However, researchers must take extensive care in choosing the best design so that the final version of the DCT conforms to their own research objectives.

5.3 Types of the DCT

There are six different types of DCTs: classic, non-rejoinder, open item verbal response only, open item free response construction, detailed description, and oral discourse completion task.

In the classic DCT, each situation discourse is ended with a hearer’s response (a rejoinder) and/or, although less frequently, initiated by an interlocutor’s utterance. For example:

*Walter and Leslie live in the same neighbourhood, but they only know each other by sight. One day, they both attend a meeting held on the other side of town. Walter does not have a car but he knows Leslie has come in her car.*

*Walter:* ………………………………………………………………………………………………………

*Leslie:* I’m sorry but I’m not going home right away.

The above example contains only a rejoinder ‘a hearer’s response’ which aids in the elicitation of the correct speech act, in this case a request from Walter to Leslie to give him a ride home. The linguistic realisations of the speech act is then analysed by the researcher according to predetermined criteria. The following is an excerpt from Al-Refai’s results chapter in which a participant’s response has been analysed:

‘Example response 1, from scenario 1 (+P, +D):

( *Peace be upon you* [greeting alerter], *I don’t want to interrupt your time* [disarmer] *But I’d like to ask you to look at my car* [hedged performative] *please* [politeness marker]. *I tried to turn it on but it doesn’t work* [grounder]. *I would really appreciate it* [appreciation]* )’ (Al-Refai 2012: 42).

The rejoinder has been critically examined by researchers who found that in some cases its presence may affect the answers given by the participants. In this research, the use of DCTs without a rejoinder was adopted since it has been suggested that rejoinders may influence the responses provided by the participants; that is, participants may choose a response which corresponds with the rejoinder rather than write what they would actually say if the rejoinder has not been provided (Rose 1992, Rose and Ono 1995, Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford 1993).

In the second type (the non-rejoinder), the hearer’s response is not present. However, it may be commenced by an interlocutor’s initiator. The interlocutor’s initiator is a tool used to clarify to the participants the type of speech act required in the situation, as in the following:
A classmate, who frequently misses classes, asks to borrow your classnotes but you do not want to give them to him.
Your classmate: you know I missed the last class. Could I please copy your notes from that class?
You refuse by saying: …………………………………………………………………………………

The third type (verbal response only), is in an open-item format in which the participants are free to respond in any way they want without any limitation from an interlocutor’s initiation or a rejoinder; however, a verbal response is required. For example:

You have a nice meal in a public restaurant; and now it is time to ask the waiter to prepare your bill. What would you say? (Umar, 2004: 60)

In this type, the researcher makes it clear that a verbal response is necessary; either by communicating this condition to the participants face to face or stating this condition in the questionnaire before listing the speech act situations.

The fourth type is also an open-item questionnaire in which neither an initiator nor a rejoinder is present. However, in this format, it is permitted not to provide a verbal response. Al-Issa (1998) stated that while distributing questionnaires to Jordanian and British respondents, he mentioned that the participants were allowed to choose not to provide verbal answers by writing ‘silent’ if they felt they would prefer to react this way to a particular discourse situation. He further explained that he treated silence as a refusal semantic formula when the DCT was analysed for that particular situation.

The fifth type is a modified version of the open-item DCT, developed by Billmyer and Varghese (2000), in which situational background is described in detail. The following are
two contextual descriptions given to the same situation: an old shorter version and a new
modified, longer, and more detailed version as follows:

The old version:

A student in the library is making too much noise and disturbing other students. The librarian decides to ask the student to quiet down. What will the librarian say?

The new version:

It is the end of the working day on Friday. You are the librarian and have been working in the University Reserve Room for two years. You like your job and usually the Reserve Room is quiet. Today, a student is making noise and disturbing other students. You decide to ask the student to quiet down. The student is a male student who you have often seen work on his own in the past two months, but today he is explaining something to another student in a very loud voice. A lot of students are in the library and they are studying for their midterm exams. You notice that some of the other students are looking in his direction in an annoyed manner. What would you say?

Although the two linguists claimed that the modifications they added to enhance the situational prompts did produce significantly longer and more elaborated requests in both groups of native and nonnative speakers, they were criticised for advocating the production of very long descriptions for each situation, something some researchers might find tedious. More importantly, some participants may find having to read such long discourse sequences boring and time consuming, which may lead them to either skim-read the descriptions without paying attention to all the necessary details or even discontinue responding to the questionnaires altogether. According to Kasper ‘a longer prompt increases reading time and possible problems for less than completely fluent readers’ (2008: 292).

The second criticism is linked to learner-based speech act research studies. Most studies which include samples of native and nonnative speakers of a language prefer to give the
least possible amount of details in the descriptions and just enough clues to the participants so that they produce the correct speech act. According to Kasper, in a study of the speech act of request, ‘the enhanced descriptions provided accounts for the request that [the L2] respondents could readily incorporate in their response’ (ibid: 293). Therefore, researches must design their questionnaires carefully in order to prevent the nonnative speakers from borrowing words, phrases, or sentences from the information provided in the situations.

The sixth and final type of DCTs is a spoken elicitation type in which speech acts are elicited orally from the participants. So, instead of participants reading the situations and responding in writing, the researcher reads each situation out loud and asks the subjects to respond verbally on audiotape. Nelson et al. (2002) claim that the produced spoken utterances resemble real life communications more than written answers, especially in the case of Arabic speakers who are diglossic (they use one version of Arabic for formal writing ‘fuSHa’ and another for everyday speaking ‘aammiyya’).

In the current study, the Arabic version elicited is the ‘aammiyya’ Saudi Hijazi Arabic, not the ‘fuSHa’. Therefore, the questionnaire situation sequences were deliberately written in Hijazi so as to encourage Saudi participants to use the same dialect in their answers.

In addition to the aforementioned types, other individual efforts to modify DCTs include: Rose’s (2000) cartoon oral production task DCT, which include visual contexts for the situations; Cohen and Shively’s (2002) multiple-rejoinder DCT; Barron’s (2003) free DCT, which allows two participants to elaborate a dialogue; Martinez-Flor and Uso-Juans’
(2011) participants-in-pair DCT, which incorporate contextual information and enhanced photos and allow the participants to fill out the questionnaires in pairs; Kuha’s (1997) computer-assisted interactive DCT; and Shauer’s (2004) multimedia elicitation task questionnaire. The last two types are computer-based, which Shauer (2004, 2009) notes, is the result of advances in the use of technology for research purposes in interlanguage pragmatics production studies.

5.4 Advantages of the DCT

Although DCT questionnaires suffer from a number of shortcomings (discussed below), ‘DCTs remain a valuable instrument in the researchers’ toolkit’ (Kasper 2008: 294) as it has a number of advantages. These include:

1- The DCT can be administered to a large number of people in a relatively short time (Beebe and Cummings 1996).

2- The DCT creates model stereotypical responses which are likely to occur in spontaneous speech for a socially appropriate response (Beebe and Cummings 1996).

3- The DCT provides the researcher with a means of controlling for social variables which would be present in the natural context (e.g. power, gender, distance between the interlocutors, status, age, etc.) thus enabling the establishment of a systematic analysis which reveals the variables that are statistically significant, particularly for comparison purposes (Einstein & Bodman 1986).
4- The DCT is suitable for quantitative research in that it enables the researcher to work with frequencies of realisation patterns and their relation to the manipulated variables (Nurani 2009).

5- The DCT can be translated into many languages (Barron 2003).

6- The DCT may be used to assess learners’ sociopragmatic abilities. Nurani illustrates that ‘whether or not learners know the appropriate way to do a particular speech act may be confirmed through DCT’ (2009: 675).

7- Collecting data through a DCT requires no use of further tools such as recording devices or note taking. According to Wiersma (1986), the use of recording devices such as a video or a tape recorder may make participants feel that the privacy of their actions has been compromised which might make them feel uneasy and act unnatural.

8- The DCT may contain situations that are easy to replicate (Nelson et al. 2002), may be able to gather demographic information about the respondents, and can be distributed to controlled speech communities other than the researchers’ immediate circle of family and friends (Beebe and Cummings 1996).

9- Collecting data through DCTs and questionnaires does not need to be conducted face to face. This is advantageous if the researcher’s study requires participants from different countries to which the researcher does not need to physically travel.
5.5 Disadvantages of the DCT (including counterarguments)


**Counterargument:** It is true that written data in a DCT does not necessarily reflect natural speech in that participants have the opportunity to think about their answers before submitting their questionnaires, even change their answers at the last minute. However, responses to written questionnaires have been shown to:

- ‘reflect the values of the culture’ (Beebe and Cummings 1996: 75), which is the set of cultural norms and the social rules that prescribe appropriate positive behaviour by addressing the social needs of members of a cultural group, as well as

- reflect ‘the sum of prior experience with language’ (Golato 2003: 90) of the learner participants, which is their L2 linguistic and pragmatic competences and their collective second-language knowledge and fluency. This is exactly the kind of information and the type of linguistic performance most cross-cultural and politeness research studies attempt to elicit from the respondents and investigate.

Therefore, the DCT questionnaire is considered an appropriate data collection method because it is useful in establishing the strategic and linguistic options that are consonant with learners’ pragmatic norms and the contextual factors which influence their choices (Kasper 2000). This is in alignment with the main purpose of cross cultural politeness research, i.e. to compare the production and the treatment of speech acts between cultures.
2- Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that since the DCT situations are hypothetical, what people claim they would say in response to the questionnaires is not necessarily what they would actually say in reality.

**Counterargument:** Although DCT situations are hypothetical, the subject of most cross-cultural and learner-based politeness studies concern investigating off-line issues which ‘relate to people's beliefs or values with respect to culture’ (Golato 2003: 111). Golato further asserts that ‘DCTs can provide interesting, informative results’ and ‘measure phenomena other than (or additional to) actual language use’; thus, they are ‘legitimate in their own right’ (2003: 91-92), especially for cases where the interest lies in finding systematic differences between different samples of respondents.

3- Some linguists claim that the DCT does not bring out psycho-social dynamics of an interaction between members of a group; such as amount of talk, tone, depth of emotion, and the extended negotiations between the interlocutors. Kasper (2000) adds: turn taking, sequencing of action, and pragmatic cues like hesitations and repetitions.

**Counterargument:** In an attempt to challenge the arguments made above, I will recall the results of three independent studies which compared written DCT responses with spoken data. The first is Beebe and Cummings’ (1996) study which compared written data with naturally occurring speech. The study showed that responses to a DCT and naturally occurring data shared many aspects regarding the content and the form of linguistic action, such as the amount of talk and the semantic formulas used by participants in making refusals.
The second is Golato’s (2003) study which investigated compliment responses made in response to a DCT and the same compliment responses produced beforehand by interlocutors in naturally occurring talk. One of the relevant results was that ‘compliment responses in the DCT experiment contained far more turn-construction units… than were present in the compliment responses in naturally occurring data. Consequently, the responses in the DCT experiment were usually longer as well’ (2003: 108).

In regards to pragmatic cues such as repetitions, hesitations, depth of emotions, etc., the DCT does not necessarily fall behind on its ability to reflect non-verbal cues just because it is a written method. For example, Fernandez (2013) affirms that in her investigation of Egyptian disagreements, participants made use of emoticons (facial expressions created electronically by computer keyboard characters in order to convey the typer’s feelings to the audience) and other pragmatic prompts in their questionnaires in order to clarify their particular feelings about a controversial issue. These metalinguistic functions included the use of smilies [such as :) and :( ], which made for 3.9% of the overall percentage of the semantic formulae, hesitations (realised as ‘\textit{umm}’ and ‘\textit{hmmmm}’) which made for 2.9% of the responses, repetition of words (as in ‘\textit{they are minors, minors, minors}’) which made for 7.8% of the disagreements, capitalisation of letters (as in ‘u r KILLING A CHILD’) which made for 11.8% of the responses, as well as creative use of punctuations (as in ‘….!!!!!!!”) which made for 29.4% of the disagreements (Fernandez 2013: 33).
4- L2 learners may find DCTs hard as they feel the pen and paper instrument resembles a test-like method (Sasaki 1998) or an English writing task (Hinkel 1997), which might cause the learners to produce less spontaneous more planned discourse than necessary (Rintell and Mitchell 1989).

Even though answering a DCT questionnaire may resemble a second-language writing task for the L2 learners, there are a few steps that the researcher can follow in order to reduce or eliminate this feeling:

A. The researcher must assure the nonnative speakers beforehand that this DCT is not a test, which means no answer is right or wrong. All the participants have to do is simply write down what they believe they would say in that particular situation.

B. The researcher must assure the students that spelling mistakes will not be accounted for in analysing the data so that the learners feel free to include words they know even if they were not sure about their spellings.

C. If the researcher is eliciting the data in person, he or she may wish to read out loud all the situations to the participants beforehand, so that it can be established that the participants understand all the words in the situations. If the students are of a very low linguistic level, the researcher may have to orally translate the situations to the students’ mother tongue and make them understand exactly what is requested in each situation, before asking them to fill out the questionnaires in the designated second language.

D. It is necessary to design the DCT in a way which ensures the situations are clear and to the point. The descriptions of the situations should not be too long or too short; they have to be just the right length to elicit the correct speech act. The questionnaire should not include unfamiliar or low frequency words that the average student would find difficult to understand. Lastly, the font should be clear, simple, and easy to read.
Ultimately, the researcher should be able to choose whichever design he or she deems appropriate as long as he or she makes sure the design is mentioned clearly and justifiably in the methodology chapter.

5.6 Natural Data

Admittedly, the most important advantage of observing naturally occurring conversation for the collection and investigation of speech act performance is the assurance of the internal validity of the study since it represents spontaneous authentic speech as it really is. Some linguists (Wolfson 1983, Wolfson and Manes 1981) strongly advocate the method of observing natural speech for the collection of speech acts arguing that in order to study native speakers’ rules and patterns of conversation, ‘we must have access to data taken from real speech samples across a range of speech situations’ (Wolfson 1983: 85). On the other hand, a number of linguists acknowledge the shortcomings of using this method in speech act research. For example, Ogiermann (2009a) criticised the impracticality of ‘recording longer stretches of data in the hope that a particular speech act will materialise at some point’ (2009a: 71). Blum-Kulka and Kampf (2007) endorse Ogiermann’s criticism, stating that through their three year longitudinal study, in which they recorded Israeli children’s speech aimed to track their development of apology behaviour, only ‘57 (taped and transcribed) apology events [were] identified in natural peer interactions’ (2007: 1). The same can be sustained for Eshtereh’s (2014) cross-cultural Palestinian Arabic (PA) and
American English (AE) invitation study. The researcher, talking about his data collection experience, reflected that:

‘[Because invitations would not always materialise in contexts where I was present], I depended on some assistants for this purpose of data collection... as it was impossible for me to spend all the day talking to people in order to collect data on PA. I discovered that even when I did so, I never collected more than three to four examples each day; [therefore]... I used another method for collecting data from PA and AE; namely, a questionnaire.’ (2014: 147-148)

In addition to the above, other disadvantages for observing natural speech have been identified in the literature. For example, Kasper and Dahl (1991) noted that transcribing naturally occurring speech can be time-consuming as it might take about ten hours to transcribe a one hour audible tape in ordinary orthography. Moreover, data taken from naturally occurring speech can be unsystematic because ‘the contextual variables are difficult to be controlled’ (Al-Shboul, Maros, and Yasin 2012: 12) and the results obtained ‘cannot be replicated’ (Ogiermann 2009a: 72) since it is very unlikely that the same situation will occur twice exactly the same way in real life (Nurani 2009). Besides, the social characteristics of the participants cannot always be identified (Beebe and Cummings 1996). Additionally, to observe natural speech as it occurs in authentic conversation, the researcher must conduct the process of collecting data in person, which can be disadvantageous if the samples of participants are from different cultures or reside in long-distanced countries (Nelson et al. 2002).
Furthermore, observation of natural data suffers from two additional drawbacks which concern the context in which the data collection process is taking place. First, the mere presence of the researcher may create an ‘observer’s paradox’ (where the observation of an event is influenced by the presence of the observer/researcher) and may produce a ‘Hawthorne’s paradox’ (a related phenomenon which refers to the participants’ improved behaviour because they know they are being observed). These two paradoxes can be avoided by observing participants without their knowledge (conducting research covertly); however, this would also create problems. To start with, to be completely unnoticed, the researcher must conceal any tools that he or she may have, such as a video recorder, an audiotape recorder, or a notebook. Hiding these tools from the participants is not an easy task since these are usually large devices that cannot be easily hidden. If the researcher chooses to conduct his/her observation without any tools, the observer will have to resort to his or her memory in transcribing the natural discourse. This might cause accuracy problems in that some important utterances might be forgotten and ultimately unrecorded (Nurani 2009), particularly ‘hedges, intensifiers, conjunctions, modifiers... discourse markers, and gestures’ (Golato 2003: 5), all of which constitute important elements in classifying responses into different categories.

Moreover, a second problem arises if the researcher chooses to observe subjects unknowingly as there are serious ethical and legal issues in the use of covert research. The British Sociological Association’s (BSA) Statement of Ethical Practice upholds that ‘covert
methods violate the principles of informed consent and may invade the privacy of those
being studied’ (as cited in Bryman 2015: 131).

In relation to learner-based studies, limitations of observing natural speech extend to the
kind of information tapped over a prolonged period of time. Al-Gahtani and Al-Shatter
(2012) elaborate on this point bringing evidence from their longitudinal research which
traced the pragmatic development of Arabic EFL learners over a five-month period using
two methods: observation of naturally-occurring speech and role-plays. They reported that:

‘[during the observational period], no significant developmental patterns in the use of
head act strategies [and] modification strategies... were observed in the natural data.
These findings therefore indicate that L2 learners in real-life situations do not focus
on the language they use, so much as how to convey the message in a clear and easy
way. As far as ILP [interlanguage pragmatics] is concerned, this represents a
shortcoming... because ILP research concentrates on how pragmatic performance
diffs or develops with the increase of proficiency level’ (2012: 1110).

Based on the results of their data, they also highlight that ‘natural data can offer us
examples of how participants behave in real life, whilst role-play scenarios can provide us
with an insight into how L2 learners’ pragmatic competence develops’ (ibid.).

Notwithstanding, collecting data through observation of natural speech is still considered
a real authentic representation of people’s real-life speech act performances. Natural speech
provides very rich contextual settings that are authentic (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1992,
Beebe and Cummings 1996), and it is valuable for studying a single culture over a long
period of time (Al-Issa 1998). Also, observing natural speech can be used when the
participants cannot write either because they are too young or illiterate.
5.7 Role-plays

In an attempt to study the subjects’ natural way of speaking without observing naturally-occurring speech, some researchers resort to the method of conducting role-plays. As Yamashita remarks ‘[role plays] allow examination of speech act performance in its full discourse context and sequential organisation in terms of negotiation of meaning, the strategy choice, and politeness investment, all of which are strong characteristics of authentic conversation’ (1996: 26).


In behavioural assessment, role plays were divided into three types according to the participants’ familiarity with the roles they are assuming: ‘spontaneous role plays’ where participants retain their own identity; ‘mimetic-replicating role plays’ where participants play the role of the visually presented model; and ‘mimetic-pretending role plays’ where participants assume a different identity (as cited in Kasper 2008: 288). In linguistic research,
two distinctive types were identified according to participants’ extent of interaction during the role play: open role plays and closed role plays (Kasper and Dahl 1991).

*Open role plays* may involve as many turns and discourse sequences as interlocutors need in order to maintain their interaction (Kasper and Roever 2005). Chang (2006) notes that open role-plays allow researchers to examine a particular speech act behaviour in its full discourse context. In other words, researchers are able to observe the sequential structure of the speech act performance and learn the contextual factors that affected the choice of the speech act strategies in each discourse turn. Contrastively, in *closed role plays*, subjects are asked to give a one-turn oral response to a description of a situation in an attempt to elicit the communicative act under study. In the literature, the latter is a controlled data collection procedure which has also been considered an oral type of the DCT (refer to types of DCT in 4.3 above). Consider the following example:

*You are applying for a very good part-time job in an American company. You are at the job interview with the office manager (a male). The manager asks you to fill in a form. You don’t have a pen, and need to borrow a pen from the manager.*

*You:*

(Sasaki 1998: 480)

As it is shown, a closed role play is identical to a written DCT; albeit it calls for an oral response rather than a written one. One of the advantages of employing oral DCTs over written questionnaires is that the oral DCT generates a larger number of natural speech features than the DCT (Rintell and Mitchell 1989, Sasaki 1998, Yuan 2001, Eslami-Rasekh
& Alijanian 2012). Natural discourse features include turn-taking, false-starts, hesitation (Kasper and Dahl 1991), and extended negotiation between the speaker and the hearer (Kasper 2000). Chang adds that role-plays provide information concerning the ‘emotion, pronunciation, and intonation’ of the linguistic performance produced by the speakers (2006: 15).

In addition, according to Felix-Brasdefer (2010), in using role plays, different variables such as the situation, politeness factors, the gender and age of the participants, as well as their L2 proficiency levels can be controlled. Moreover, ‘researchers working within B and L’s (1987) politeness theory have found role plays effective for examining how context factors such as power, distance, and imposition, influence the selection and realization of communicative acts and how the values of these factors may be changed through conversational negotiation’ (Kasper 2008: 89). Furthermore, Turnbull (2001) maintains that the role play is an ethical data collection instrument, able to gather efficient data that is representative of natural speech, and give sufficient room for researcher control.

On the other hand, role plays suffer from a number of limitations. As Eshtereh (2014) illustrates, role plays can sometimes result in an unnatural type of behaviour on the part of the subjects as they ‘may exaggerate the interaction in order to make a dramatic effect’ (2014: 140). Golato (2003) sustains that the unnatural aspect of role plays stems from the fact that ‘the role plays [are] often imagined… [therefore] participants are acting out how they imagine someone in these situations might [behave; sometimes in] roles they have
never played in real life’ (2003: 93-94). Golato further maintains that the learners know that the fact of performing role plays is not going to imply any consequences; therefore, what is linguistically said during role plays may not reflect learners’ natural speech.

Moreover, Martinez-Flor and Uso-Juan highlight that ‘it may not be possible to arrange the appropriate conditions for a large number of pairs to perform the role play and the subsequent transcription of the long conversations may be very time-consuming’ (2011: 52). Furthermore, Nurani notes that ‘the administration of role-plays requires an audio or a video tape, plus transcription of the conversation. The taping may be considered intrusive even if it is not disturbing’ (2009: 674) because, as Cohen claims ‘it may still make some respondents uncomfortable, at least for the first few minutes’ (1996: 25).

Kasper sheds light on further problems in relation to conducting role plays in a language classroom environment, demonstrating that ‘second language speakers with limited target language proficiency may be faced with an additional difficulty if they are required to interact in an imagined context with no real-life history and consequences’ (2008: 291). It is possible to assume that in comparison to other methods, ‘role plays may underrepresent L2 learners’ pragmatic and interactional abilities’ (ibid.).

As has been demonstrated, each data collection instrument has its strengths and weaknesses. Because of the drawbacks of each data collection method used individually, some researchers suggested the adoption of a multi-method approach in collecting data
(Sasaki 1998, Kasper and Rose 2002, Cohen 2004). In the next section, I will review some research studies which used multi-methods in collecting their data and discuss their results briefly.

5.8 Multi-method approach

Combining data collection methods for the study of speech acts has been divided into two setup designs by Kasper and Dahl: either two or more data collection methods that ‘have equivalent status in the study, yielding complementary information on the research question at hand’ (1991: 23) or one method used to collect the primary data and ‘another method having the subsidiary function of… helping the interpretation of the primary data’ (ibid.).

Adopting a multi-method approach in collecting sociolinguistic data can serve a number of purposes. For example, it can be used ‘to examine the influence of multimethod approaches on data extraction, diversity, and enhancement’ (Al-Gahtani & Al Shatter 2012: 1099). Moreover, according to Kasper, ‘in ethnographic studies, a multi-method is standard [as it allows] triangulation, which may be necessary or desirable in order to increase the validity/credibility of a study’ (2000: 340).

For studies of cross-cultural communication, feedback sessions are able to inform the researchers about the participants’ experiences, attitudes, intentions, and understanding of the communicative acts in question, as they have ‘unique potential for obtaining such in-depth information from native speakers’ (ibid: 334). Consequently, the combination of
eliciting data through production questionnaires and retrospective interviews has become a
commonly employed data collection procedure in interactional sociolinguistics.

For example, Al-Issa (1998) investigated L1 sociopragmatic transfer in the performance
of refusals by Jordanian EFL learners and used two methods to collect his data. The first
method was a DCT with which written refusals were elicited from the participants. The
second method was post-structured interviews which aimed at exploring the factors that
motivated the students’ pragmatic transfer from their mother tongue.

This type of mixing methods is called a ‘sequential explanatory design’, in which
qualitative methods (post-structured interviews) are used to assist in explaining the results
obtained from quantitative methods (the DCT). Al-Issa concluded that the interviews helped
him identify the most common factors that affected the students’ responses and these were:
learners’ love and pride of their native language, political and religious factors, learners’
own purpose of learning English, lack of exposure to the target language community, and
linguistic difficulty.

Al-Adaileh (2007) further justifies the use of interviews after DCTs stating that
‘conversational interviews… [provide] data that exactly describe the informant’s conception
(2013) also conducted post-structured interviews and asserted that ‘the purpose of using
interviews is justified by the need to have full-picture about the participants’ perceptions as
to whether their predictions of apology are influenced or not by the social variables’ (2013: 137).

In a cross cultural study conducted by AbdulSattar, Mei, and Frania (2014), the researchers asked 51 Malaysian university students to complete a DCT which consisted of six situations in which the participants had to respond to offensive/rude remarks directed at them. After completing the questionnaires, they were asked to participate in post-structured interviews. The researchers asserted that the interviews helped them explore the respondents’ cognition and perception of politeness, determine their language of thought (i.e. the language they think in while producing their answers for the DCT), as well as pinpoint social factors that affected the way the participants responded to rudeness. These factors included social distance, social status, age, gender, the level/ranking of rudeness, religion, and race.

Alternatively, the employment of mixed methods has sometimes been used in a sequential exploratory order where the data obtained from qualitative procedures can inform and assist in the development of the quantitative part of the data collection design. For example, Al-Issa (1998) selected his questionnaire situations by first naturally observing students around the university in order to collect realistic situations for his DCT that actually happened in real life. He reported that ‘[natural observation] allowed [him] to identify situations and various contextual variables in real life interactions which bring about the use of the particular speech act being investigated... This early investigation
served as a basis for the development of the scenarios used in the DCTs’ (1998: 90). Nelson et al. (2002) conducted pre-structured face-to-face interviews with a focus group of both Americans and Egyptians before creating the questionnaires in order to determine the feasibility of the situations happening in real life in the two cultures being studied. Based on the interviews, ‘two situations were dropped from the study because the Egyptians reported that in Egypt these situations would never occur because of status factors’ (2002: 169).

In order to get additional information from the respondents, other than linguistic performance, such as the speakers’ assessment of the social variables of power and familiarity and their rights and obligations in performing the speech acts, some researchers opt for using the method of ‘ranking scale’ along with the main data collection method. For example, Al-Momani (2009) used ranking scale questionnaires as a secondary method and found that the Jordanian EFL learners assessed their right of making the requests as weaker than the English native speakers, which reflected deeply rooted cultural values. Similarly, Al-Shboul and Huwari (2014) used scaled-response questionnaires to elicit perception data from the participants concerning their assessment of their right to refuse requests and invitations. They found that the Jordanian EFL learners’ assessment of the speaker’s right to refuse was significantly higher than that of the Jordanian Arabic group and significantly lower than that of the Americans. This showed ‘a pattern that indicates development towards the target culture’s sociopragmatic knowledge and L1 influence’ (2014: 51).
Furthermore, Farahian, Rezaee & Gholami (2012) asked their respondents to share their comments on self-reports developed by the researchers as a secondary data collection method. The reports showed that most students felt that they had benefitted from the instructional approach to their L2 pragmatics and had gained in their pragmatic ability after receiving formal instructions. The post-test questionnaire results confirmed these findings.

As illustrated, the use of multi-method approach in linguistic research can be very beneficial. In this research, however, it was not feasible to use another data collection method, along with the DCT, mainly because the subjects were scattered between two countries. Also, most of the respondents did not leave their emails or any other contact information so that reaching them again was almost impossible. Nevertheless, in order to gain more insight into the participants’ perception and behaviour towards speech act performance, another smaller questionnaire was distributed asking participants to provide background information about their age-group range, educational background, their evaluation of their English written and spoken abilities, and any time they had spent in an English speaking country. It is hoped that this information adds a clearer social background to each participant as well as insure the homogeneity of the respondents.

Furthermore, although not distributed to the participants, a 4-point-ranking-scale questionnaire was given to the questionnaire raters (5 selected academics along with the researcher whose job was to rate the social variables P, D, and R of each request and apology situation) before administering the questionnaires to the participants.
5.9 Conclusion

One must note that ‘every data collection instrument has its advantages and disadvantages’ (Nurani 2009: 674). Thus, determining the most appropriate instrument to be used in a particular research lies in the ability of the data collection method used to fit the study’s purposes and answer the research questions.

I decided to employ the DCT as the main data collection instrument in this research study because, as Nurani contends, the DCT is best used ‘when the purpose of the study is the data production’ (ibid.). Kasper and Dahl (1991) comment that the DCT serves as one of the major data collection instruments in pragmatic research. Kwon (2004) points out that the DCT is most appropriate to use in studies in which the purpose is to reveal participants’ use of strategies under specific situational and contextual determinants rather than investigate dynamic pragmatic aspects of a conversation, such as turn-taking or sequencing of a speech. Houck and Gass (1996) corroborate Kwon’s statement asserting that even if the DCT’s authenticity/naturalness may be questioned, the differences in the responses will still be of value for researches that study speech acts comparatively.

In terms of reliability, the DCT has proven to be highly reliable (Yamashita 1996, Jianda 2006). Moreover, as Nurani (2009) illustrates, up to now, there are no other data collection instruments that have as many administrative advantages as the DCT. Thus, it is still critically needed in pragmatic research, and it will also be implemented in this study for the purpose of eliciting requests and apologies from native and nonnative speakers of English.
Chapter 6

6.1 The DCT design

The main instrument that was used to collect data in this research was a discourse completion test questionnaire (for advantages of using the DCT, refer to chapter 5). The DCT was created in an open-ended questionnaire form, and it consisted of sixteen situational descriptions. The first eight situations elicited requests and the last eight elicited apologies. The situations began with a specification of the setting/context of each discourse sequence, as well as a description of the social power and the distance between the interlocutors. Each discourse situation was followed by a blank space which the participants were asked to fill in. The participants were told to provide their answers to the situations exactly the way they would produce them in real life contexts. There was no rejoinder in this DCT (please refer to the discussion about the use of rejoinders in chapter 5).

In addition to the main DCT, to ensure homogeneity of the respondents, a second questionnaire was administered to gather background information about the participants. It asked the respondents about their gender, age-range, level of education, rating of their L2 written and spoken abilities, and of any personal experience in English-speaking countries. One surprising outcome of this questionnaire was that a large number of Saudi learners rated their English writing and speaking abilities as near native speaker when in reality they had numerous spelling and grammatical mistakes which clearly puts them at a lower level.
6.2 The questionnaire situations

The contexts of the questionnaire situations were selected to fit university students’ lifestyles, (e.g. requesting a professor to delay the submission date of an essay paper, asking a classmate for class notes, etc.). The social variables ([P]ower, [D]istance, and the [R]anking of the imposition) were manipulated so that they varied across the situations. For example, in one situation, the respondents were asked to assume the role of a son/daughter and address their parents. In another situation, the respondents were assuming the role of a company boss and addressing an applicant for a job in their company. In the former situation, the power relation between S and H is (+P) because the parent (H) has power over the son/daughter (S). In the latter context, the situation was reversed such that the boss (S) has power over the job applicant (H), and thus the power relation in this context is considered (-P). The same was done with the second and third social variables (D and R).

To illustrate, high distance (+D), was manifested in a situation where the interlocutors were strangers. High ranking of imposition (+R), on the other hand, was manifested in a situation where the act being requested or the offence committed by S were highly imposing on H.

Here are some examples of the situations from the questionnaires, which were chosen to represent different (P, D, R) combinations:

Example 1 (+P, -D, -R): you want your mum to pass you the salt on the dinner table. What are you going to tell her? .................................................................

Example 2 (+P, +D, -R): you are in the middle of a job interview and you want to ask your potential boss-to-be for a pen, what will you say to him? .................................
Example 3 (-P, -D, +R): you asked your sister to borrow her ring for one night but you lost it. What will you say to her when she asks you to give it back? 

A copy of the English and Arabic questionnaires can be found in appendices 1 and 2. All request and apology situations with their (P, D, R) rankings are provided in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Hearer</th>
<th>Power of H over S</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Ranking of imposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>mum</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>-D</td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lecture notes</td>
<td>Classmate</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>+R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pen</td>
<td>Potential boss</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Messy kitchen</td>
<td>Younger sister</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>-D</td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ride home</td>
<td>Older neighbour</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>+R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Info for a job</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Assignment extension</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>+R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>100 SR</td>
<td>Cousin</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>-D</td>
<td>+R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Lost ring</td>
<td>Sister/brother</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>-D</td>
<td>+R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Car accident</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>+R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Forgot book</td>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Public verbal ofence</td>
<td>Co-worker</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>-D</td>
<td>+R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Missed dad’s alarm</td>
<td>Dad</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>-D</td>
<td>+R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Being late</td>
<td>Job applicant</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wrong dish</td>
<td>Customer</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>+D</td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Being late</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>-D</td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3

To account for the accuracy of the situations, the sixteen situations were reviewed by the researcher along with other five individuals: two British males, who are both graduate students, one in linguistics and one in business management; and three Saudi females who
hold PhD degrees in linguistics, statistics, and medical sciences. All six of us answered a
4-point ranking scale questionnaire in which we were asked to give our metapragmatic
assessment of each situation based on the criteria of B and L’s three variables (P, D, and R).
The questionnaire asked us to indicate the power relationship (status) of H and S, the social
distance (familiarity) between H and S, and finally the ranking of the imposition of the FTA
on H. Although there were some discrepancies between our individual assessments in some
situations, almost most of our selections clustered around the same assessments for each
variable in the discourse situations. When this was not the case, we discussed our results
further between us after which almost a 100% agreement was reached, and those
assessments were later maintained. A copy of the ranking scale can be found in appendix 4.

6.3 The Participants

Al-Momani (2009) mentions that for the investigation of learner’s second-language
pragmatic abilities, three sets of data samples should be given: samples of the target
language as performed by L2 learners (interlanguage), samples of the target language as
performed by native speakers (L2), and samples of the learners’ mother tongue as
performed by native speakers (L1). Native speakers act as control groups ‘to determine to
what extent learner performance differs from native speaker performance and whether the
differences are traceable to transfer from the L1’ (Ellis 1994: 162). Kasper and Dahl say
that ‘absence of L1 controls precludes examining observed variation for transfer effects’
In light of these recommendations, three groups of participants were recruited in this study: 40 Saudi EFL learners (20 males and 20 females), 40 British English native speakers (20 males and 20 females), and 80 Saudi native speakers (40 males and 40 females). The reason there are more Saudi native speaker participants than the other two groups is because initially I wanted to gather 80 questionnaires from each group sample. However, I did not get as many questionnaires as I wanted from Saudi EFL learners and British native speakers, so I had to settle for 20 participants only for each of these two groups.

The ages of the participants ranged from 18 to 22. The British participants were recruited from Roehampton University (RU), London, UK. They ranged from first year to third year students. They also studied degrees in the media, culture, and language (MCL) department. On the other hand, both groups of Saudi participants were recruited from King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. The EFL group was studying English level 2 at the university. The Saudi Arabic group was in their first to third years of university bachelor studies, specialising in subjects other than English. The EFL group was placed on level 2 based on their performance on a English test placed by King Abdulaziz University which takes place at the beginning of the academic year. Level 1 is the weakest level and level 4 is the highest. Levels 2 and 3 are in the middle, which means that the students who are placed on levels 2 and 3 normally have enough knowledge of English to be able to write and communicate in L2 and understand a whole lesson taught to them in English only. As indicated by the participants themselves, both groups had studied English for roughly 9 to
12 years prior to their university admission. The majority of the students were taught English in their school years using the Saudi government national syllabus. However, in some private schools, extracurricular books may have been used. Moreover, none of the Saudi students lived in an English speaking country; they merely went on holiday for no longer than a month to three months.

I was adamant in collecting data from almost identical group samples in terms of year of study. However, searching for British native speakers who are taking foundation courses was hard as most students were foreigners. Contrastingly, recruiting Saudi learner students higher than foundation year would jeopardise the homogeneity of the groups as some students could be well advanced in English than others.

6.4 Data collection procedure

Before travelling to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia to collect data from Saudi students, I was able to obtain the permitting signatures of the vice deans of the English Language Institute at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah: Dr. Faiza Al-Juhani (female section) and Dr. Tariq Elyas (male section), allowing foundation year level 2 (intermediate) EFL students from their department to participate in my study. A copy of their signatures can be found in appendix 5.

After I arrived, Dr. Al-Juhani gave me a list of the timetables and locations of all level 2 foundation year classes. Upon entering each class, I first introduced myself to the female participants and explained to them the purpose of my research, most of them expressed a
strong desire to help even though there was no payment or any other reward offered to them. I explained to the participants that my research aimed at exploring the differences in behaviour between British and Saudi university students and that the responses given by them would be of great help to their English teachers in the future. I did not specify the speech acts under study in my introduction, and the data collection of the English questionnaires actively took place at building 13 (where most foundation year classes took place) and in an independent English class after which a teacher kindly allowed me to have 30 minutes of her class time in order to collect data from her students.

Although my first language is colloquial Saudi Hijazi Arabic as spoken in Jeddah in Saudi Arabia, I did not depend on my own knowledge of Saudi Hijazi Arabic in determining L1 pragmatic negative transfers because I did not want to analyse any part of the data based on my intuitions and out of speculations. Instead, I decided to recruit a Saudi Jeddah Arabic sample as a control group.

Collecting data for the Arabic version of the questionnaire from the Saudi Arabic female group mainly took place at a cafeteria. As I did not have access to a large number of classes, I went to ‘Rabees’, the main cafeteria in the university, to hand out Arabic questionnaires to a big number of students. At home, I went through each questionnaire and only selected the questionnaires that were answered by university students who fit within the average age-range of the participants, have not studied or lived in an English speaking country for more
than three months, and have submitted completed questionnaires. This information was received from analysing the demographic questionnaire which proved to be very helpful.

Most of the students readily agreed to answer the questionnaires. Only one female was reluctant to participate in my study complaining that I was defaming the value and high status of Classical Arabic (i.e. the most formal dialect of Arabic that is used in the Qur’an) by replacing it with a colloquial informal dialect (Hijazi), and that this was defamatory to linguistic research done in Arabic. I explained to her that one of the purposes of my study is to find politeness elements in everyday ordinary speech in English and Arabic. Thus, choosing my Arabic questionnaire to be written and filled out using colloquial Hijazi dialect fits within the parameters of this research study. Making students use Classical Arabic would fail to provide me with ordinary everyday spoken Arabic within my Arabic sample. Fortunately, my further explanation satisfied the participant after which she signed her approval and took part in the research.

It is worth mentioning that the data collection process in Saudi Arabia was temporarily interrupted by the Hajj season and therefore, I had to wait around two weeks expecting more subjects to respond after they came back from their hajj and their school holiday.

In addition, one of the biggest hardships that I faced during my trip was the inability to communicate with the male department at King AbdulAziz University (KAU) face to face. In KAU, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, the male and female students study in completely separate buildings, and no access is available between the two genders, except by sometimes using
telephones to communicate. Therefore, in order to obtain the same number of questionnaires from the boys’ college, I had to seek help from a male student for collecting data. As I had no male relatives currently studying at KAU, I paid a student to do the job and the data collection was completed.

Because I was physically present at the girls’ college and collected data myself and was not present while data was being collected from the boys, I decided not to monitor the girls or comment or even speak to them unnecessarily while they were answering the questionnaires because I wanted their experience to resemble the boys’ experience and for the data to be collected equally.

Upon returning to the UK, I contacted both my supervisors: Dr. Mark Jary (reader in the MCL department at RU) and Prof. Tope Omoniyi (professor in sociolinguistics in the MCL department at RU). They both generously offered to free the last 30 minutes of their classes so I could collect data from their students. A copy of their consent forms can be found in appendix 6. Collecting data from British students was straightforward. No translation of difficult words was necessary. However, I was asked about the value of 100 riyals in comparison with the pound, which roughly amounts to £18.50. Moreover, I was asked why Saudi females needed drivers to which I explained that because they are not allowed to drive in Saudi Arabia.
6.5 Data analysis procedure - requests

The data was analysed based on B and L’s politeness model (bearing in mind negative face, positive face, politeness strategies, and social variables P, D, and R during the analysis of the data). Request and apology realisations were divided into categories based on the CCSARP request and apology coding schemes (cf. tables 4 and 6 below). Finally, the statistical software package SPSS was used in order to further analyse the data using Levene’s test and t-tests. The data analysis was divided into two parts.

The first part of the data analysis followed these steps: the first step was to create request and apology tables, which showed the collective number a strategy was used by each group (collective strategy number results). This was done by manually coding each strategy and calculating the number each strategy was used per group and creating tables where data was entered.

The second step was to create frequencies of use for these strategies per group per situation (results by situation). This was done by creating different windows on SPSS for each situation and entering all the strategies used for that situation per group, with a request made to SPSS to display frequency tables. Dependent variables such as nationality, gender, and questionnaire language did not have to be identified because these differential factors were accounted for by the option ‘select cases’, with which correct representation of each group was possible. Afterwards, the frequency, percent, valid percent, and cumulative percent were all displayed in a strategic order.
The third step was to determine the number and the frequency a strategy was used by a certain group per strategy (results by strategy). This was created by using this equation:

\[(\text{frequency percentage used by a group per strategy per situation like in chapters 7 and 8 tables}) \div 100 \times \text{(total no. of participants in that particular group either 20 or 40)} = \text{the number this strategy was used by that group in that request or apology situation].}\]

For example, 55% of male participants’ answers for situation 1 used the strategy ‘mood derivable’; applying the above equation: \(55 \div 100 \times 40 = 22\). This means 22 Saudi male answers for request situation 1 contained the strategy ‘mood derivable’. In request situation 2, 29% of Saudi males’ answers had this strategy. Again, the same equation was used and the result was 11.6 which can be statistically considered as 12. \((12 + 22) = 34\).

Doing the exact same process for all 16 strategies and adding all the resulted numbers revealed the exact number a strategy was used by a group per strategy (i.e. the groups’ tokens which are found at the end of chapters 9 and 10 tables). This was the only way to get the accurate number a strategy was used per situation as when I initially calculated the average number a strategy was used per group, that was done through adding the collective number of use for each strategy per group and not per situation (step 1).

The fourth step was to discover the request and apology strategies that were significantly different between the groups (results by statistical difference). For this purpose, a null hypothesis was created that ‘there is no statistical differences between the groups’. Levene’s test was used to test for equality of variances and t-test was used ‘[to test] the difference
between two groups for normally distributed interval data’ (Hatch & Lazaraton *the research manual* 1991: 249). If Levene’s test p-value is equal or less than (≤) 0.05, the sample comes from two different groups and we should focus on the second row of the table (refer to *the research manual* referenced above for more information). If Levene’s p-value is more than (>) 0.05, we consider the first row of the table. Looking at the ‘correct’ row, if the t-test sig. 2-tailed equality of means value is < 0.05 there is statistically significant difference between the groups. If sig. 2-tailed is > 0.05 there is no statistical difference between the groups.

The second part of the data analysis took these following steps: after coding the data of the Saudi interlanguage group, strategies were then compared with data from the Saudi Arabic sample in order to locate evidence of pragmatic transfer. Afterwards, data from both Saudi groups were compared with the English questionnaires in order to draw on cultural differences between the two groups: the Saudis and the British.

Although this way of data analysis took a long time to achieve as I had to travel to Saudi Arabia first to collect data from the two Saudi groups then travel back to the United Kingdom to collect the same data from the British group, it has proved worthwhile in that upon looking into data from both Saudi groups, instances of pragmatic transfer were clear and visible to me.

As mentioned above, the current study will use Blum-Kulka et al.'s CCSARP (1989) coding scheme in classifying request strategies into three main types: direct, conventionally indirect, non-conventionally indirect. Of these (main request) head acts, five are considered
direct (mood derivable, explicit performatives, hedged performatives, obligation statements, want statements), two are considered conventionally indirect (suggestory formulae, query preparatory), and two are considered non-conventionally indirect (strong and mild hints) as in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of strategy</th>
<th>Coding name</th>
<th>Definition of strategy</th>
<th>Examples from English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Mood derivable</td>
<td>The grammatical mood of the verb in the utterances marks its illocutionary force as a request</td>
<td>Leave me alone Clean up this mess please</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(bald on record)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit performatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>The illocutionary force of the utterance is explicitly named by the speakers</td>
<td>I am asking you not to park the car here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedged performatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>Utterances embedding the naming of the illocutionary force</td>
<td>I would like you to give your lecture a week earlier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locution derivable</td>
<td></td>
<td>The illocutionary point is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution</td>
<td>Madam, You will have to move your car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scope stating</td>
<td></td>
<td>The utterance expresses the speaker’s intentions, desires or feeling vis a vis the fact that the hearer do X</td>
<td>I really wish you would stop bothering me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventionally indirect</td>
<td>Suggestory formula</td>
<td>The sentence contains a suggestion to X</td>
<td>Why don’t you get lost? How about cleaning up?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory conditions</td>
<td></td>
<td>Utterances contain reference to preparatory conditions (e.g. ability or willingness, the possibility of the act being performed) as conventionalised in any specific language</td>
<td>Could you clear up the kitchen please? Would you mind moving your car please?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-conventionally indirect</td>
<td>Strong hints</td>
<td>Utterance contains partial reference to object or to elements needed for the implementation of the act (directly pragmatically implying the act)</td>
<td>You have left this kitchen in a right mess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mild hints</td>
<td>Utterances that make no reference to the request proper (or any of its elements) but are interpretable through the context as requests (indirectly pragmatically implying the act)</td>
<td>I am a nun (in response to a persistent boy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(As presented first in Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984:202) Table 4
Blum Kulka et al. (1989) set out another dimension ‘perspective’ with which different strategies can be compared. This dimension reflects the speaker’s referential point of view in which emphasis is drawn to the speaker, the hearer, both S and H, or none of the interlocutors. They distinguished between the following categories:

1- **Hearer oriented**: (Could you tidy up the kitchen?)

2- **Speaker oriented**: (Could I borrow your notes?)

3- **Speaker and hearer oriented**: (Could we clean it up together?)

4- **Impersonal**: using people/they/one as neutral agents, or using the passive voice as in (It would be nice to get it cleaned up).

Head-act requests (the mean request form) can be preceded by elements such as address terms and first names, modified internally (within the request head act) by syntactic or semantic means, and/or modified externally (out of the request head act but within its immediate context) by downgraders or upgraders. Downgraders mitigate requests by using elements to ‘soften’ them. Upgraders, on the other hand, intensify the effect of the request on H mostly through the use of expletives.

The following table provides examples for each of the above types.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic downgraders</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>Could you do the cleaning up?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negation</td>
<td>I wonder if you wouldn’t mind dropping me home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td>I wanted to ask for a postponement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embedded ‘if’ clause</td>
<td>I would appreciate it if you left me alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal modifiers</td>
<td>Examples (within the head act)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultative devices</td>
<td>Do you think I could borrow your notes?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understaters</td>
<td>Could you tidy up a bit?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedges</td>
<td>It would really help if you did something about the kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtoners</td>
<td>Will you be able perhaps to drive me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External modifiers</td>
<td>Examples (out of the head act)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checking on availability</td>
<td>Are you going in the direction of the town?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting a pre-commitment</td>
<td>Will you do me a favour?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounder</td>
<td>I missed class yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweetener</td>
<td>You have beautiful handwriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disarmer</td>
<td>I hope you don't think I’m being forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost minimiser</td>
<td>If you’re going my way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgraders</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifiers</td>
<td>Clean up this mess. It's disgusting!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expletives</td>
<td>You still haven’t cleaned up this bloody mess!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

Other modifiers not mentioned in the table but included in the CCSARP supportive move/modifier types are: attention getters such as: ‘hey’ and ‘hi’, address terms such as ‘doctor’ and ‘mum’, and use of first names to address the hearer(s).
### 6.6 Data analysis procedure - apologies

As for apologies, they may involve one or more of the strategies in this table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of strategy</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Example from English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IFID</strong></td>
<td>This is the most direct and explicit form of apology which consists of performatives verb, such as apologies, forgive, pardon, excuse, and be sorry</td>
<td>I am sorry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I do apologise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My apologies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Please forgive me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Explanation or account</strong></td>
<td>In this strategy the offender explains the reason/cause of the offense in order to alleviate the imposition on H</td>
<td>There was too much traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Taking on responsibility</strong></td>
<td>The apologiser recognises his/her responsibility for the offense by either accepting the blame, expressing self-deficiency, expressing lack of intent, feeling embarrassed, and acknowledging the hearer as deserving an apology</td>
<td>It is my fault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I wasn't thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I didn't mean it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I am embarrassed about what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I have done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>You are right in blaming me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concern for the hearer</strong></td>
<td>In this strategy the speaker expresses sympathy for the hearer by asking about his/her physical and emotional states</td>
<td>Are you hurt? Are you Ok?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I hope you didn't wait long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Offer of repair</strong></td>
<td>This strategy is usually employed when the offence needs some kind of further repair such as when there is physical damage resulting from the offense</td>
<td>I will pay you back for the damage in your car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Promise of forbearance</strong></td>
<td>The use of this strategy implies that the speaker intends not to do the offense</td>
<td>I promise I won't do it again</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6
Chapter 7

**Request situations:**

7.1 Situation 1 (requesting from mother)

You want your mum to pass you the salt on the dinner table. What are you going to tell her?

تبغي (تبغي) أمك تناولك الملح من على طاولة الأكل وقت العشاء. إيش حتقد (ي) لها؟

In this situation, the mother-son/daughter relationship suggests that the hearer has some power over the speaker, that there is no distance between the interlocutors; and since the act requested is to pass the salt, that the ranking of the imposition of the speech act on the hearer is not high. Hence, situation 1 denotes these social variable combinations (+P, -D, and -R).

Below is the frequency distribution table (and the number of respondents) for request strategies used by all six groups in this situation. Please note that the number of participants in each group is not equal (cf. section 6.3); therefore, the same percentage might refer to different number of participants per group. For information regarding the equations used to generate these numbers, please refer to section 6.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 1</th>
<th>Mood Derivable</th>
<th>Explicit Performative</th>
<th>Hedged Performative</th>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Suggestory Formula</th>
<th>Query Preparatory</th>
<th>Hints</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>55% 22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>10% 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>68% 27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>37% 7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10% 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>26% 5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5% 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>26% 5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>45% 9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7
Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that there were significant differences between the groups in terms of their strategy use. For example, the British males and females used the strategy conventionally indirect query preparatory (q-prep) significantly more than the Saudi groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .000 < p-value 0.05). Additionally, EFL males used this strategy significantly more than Saudi males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 < p-value 0.05); also EFL females used this strategy significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .000 < p-value 0.05). What is more, there was a significant difference between the mean scores of the British and the Saudi groups, also between the EFL and the Saudi groups. However, there was no significant difference between the British using indirect strategies and both EFL groups, which points to the learners’ tendency to resemble L2 native speakers’ indirect requestive behaviour in this situation.

The other request strategy that was significantly different between the groups was the strategy of ‘opting out’ of making the request. In this case, EFL males and Saudi males opted out of making the request the most out of all the groups, both at the same rate (10%). This might indicate that there might have been L1 influence in the way EFL males employed the strategy ‘opting out’ in this situation. Saudi males opted out of making a request to their mothers significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .044 < p-value 0.05). Moreover, all Arabic four groups (Saudi Arabic males, Saudi Arabic females, EFL males, and EFL females) used the ‘opt out’ strategy
significantly more than British males and British females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .008 < p-value 0.05).

This result can be explained by referring to the social and cultural roles assigned to children toward their mothers by the Saudi society; especially the sons. As Nydell elaborates ‘[in the Arabic culture], men owe great respect to their mothers all their lives, and they must make every effort to obey their mother’s wishes, even her whims’ (2012: 40). Therefore, in this situation, Saudi males may have felt uncomfortable with the idea of requesting from their mothers even if the request was not big, because the common belief is that men are the ones who are responsible to provide for their mothers with anything she might need and not the other way around. In fact, a few Saudi males who opted out mentioned in their answers that they were willing to ask anyone else in the family to pass them the salt, but specifically not ask their mothers, as this was not her job to do. This example could demonstrate that mothers in the Saudi and Arabic cultures may hold more social ‘power’ than in other cultures, which might have led the Saudi males, who opted out of making the request to their mothers, to employ more indirect request strategies (opting out) than the British ‘query-preparatory’ choices. This outcome further reveals that Saudi men who opted out were perhaps attempting to save their positive face more than other respondents.

Moving on, so far the discussion has concerned strategies that were used by all groups. There were, however, strategies which were used by the Saudis only and not by any of the
British participants. These were collected under ‘Other’ category. As a rule of thumb, ‘Other’ categories are always categories that are not part of the CCSARP strategy classification but were found in my data and used by the participants.

The first ‘Other’ category is a one-word request form, which in English translates to (the salt الملح). I will call this category (object.impersonal) for two reasons: first, it refers to and names the object being requested, and secondly, it does not contain any word that refers to any of the interlocutors (thus it was considered impersonal). The second ‘other’ category is a short version of a request question which contains the adjective possible (Possible [to have] the salt؟). I will call this category (query.preparatory.impersonal) but I will not treat it as a query preparatory strategy as it lacks important grammatical elements such as pronouns and auxiliary verbs. However, since questions are often considered more polite than statements in speech act contexts (Brown and Levinson 1987), we can say that the query preparatory impersonal category is probably more polite and indirect to use than the object impersonal.

In this situation, the object impersonal category was used in 20% of all Saudi male request forms and only 3% of the Saudi females’ answers, which was statistically different (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .015 < p-value 0.05). On the other hand, the query preparatory impersonal category was used in 9% of the Saudi male answers and 13% of the Saudi females’ requests. In relation to the above discussion, Saudi females appeared
to have used ‘politer’ and more indirect Arabic request forms than Saudi males in this situation.

In terms of supportive moves, there was a noticeable discrepancy between the preferences of the groups for certain moves. For example, British respondents preferred to use the politeness marker ‘please’ to soften their requests. The politeness marker was also used by Saudi and EFL groups (*please لو سمحت*) but its use by the British groups was significantly higher (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .000 < p-value 0.05). The EFL students also used the politeness marker significantly more than the Saudis (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .006 < p-value 0.05).

On the other hand, Saudi students preferred to employ religious softeners; which are religious terms used by speakers to express politeness in their requests (Bajri 2005, Nureddeen 2008). They especially employed them to soften their direct requests to their mothers. Examples included: ‘*give me the salt by Allah أعطني الملح بالله*; *hand me the salt يعطيني الملح با*لله; *May Allah grant you health ناولني الملح الله يعطيك العافية*; *bring the salt May Allah not humiliate you يعطى الملح الله لا يهينك*.

Although both Saudi groups used this supportive move, Saudi females used it significantly more than males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .012 < p-value 0.05). Comparing between these two groups, Saudi females also used the politeness marker (*please لو سمحت*) significantly more than the males (sig. value of t-test equality of means
was \( .015 < p\text{-value } 0.05 \). This might indicate that in this situation, Saudi females generally used more supportive moves than Saudi males.

Furthermore, other than softeners, alerters were also used; such as using the alerter/address term ‘\( \text{mum} \)’, sometimes accompanied by other adjectives like ‘\( \text{dear} \)’ (يمة، امي، ماما، ماما حبيبيتي). Address terms can be used to show solidarity and closeness to someone (as a positive politeness strategy) and/or to show respect and reverence to someone (as a negative politeness strategy). In this situation, the address term is used as both. It is used as a positive politeness strategy as referring to the mother by the kinship relationship that exists between S and H emphasises the close relationship between the interlocutors as individuals belonging to the same family. Simultaneously, it is a negative politeness strategy because the address term further highlights the natural hierarchical structure of the interlocutors’ social roles, as one is a mother and the other is a son or a daughter within the same family.

In my data, Saudi females used the address term ‘\( \text{mum} \)’ the most out of all the six groups. They used it 30 times; followed by Saudi males who used it 17 times. The statistical analysis showed that there was a significant difference between Saudi males and females in their address term use (sig. value of t-test equality of means was \( .002 < p\text{-value } 0.05 \)). The group that followed was Saudi EFL males who used the term 10 times; then British females who used the term ‘\( \text{mum} \)’ 9 times; followed by Saudi EFL females who used it 8 times. The statistical analysis again showed a significant difference between Saudi
females and EFL females’ use of the address term (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .027 < p-value 0.05). Finally, the group that least used the address term ‘mum’ was British males who used the term only 6 times.

It is interesting to see the large difference between the numbers the address term was used by Saudi females and by EFL Saudi females in their English and Arabic questionnaires. The address term ‘mum’ was used 30 times in the Arabic answers and only 8 times in the English requests. The statistical analysis revealed a significant difference between these numbers, as shown above.

One reason could be that in Arabic, address terms, especially within the family, are usually used more than in the English context. Thus, during answering the Arabic version of the questionnaires, the participants were intuitively compelled to use more address terms, following their cultural background, than in the English version. In the English questionnaires, they tried to conform to British behaviour regarding addressing family members while making requests. It was also noticed that both male and female EFL groups did not translate or use any Arabic religious softeners in their English answers. Instead, they used the politeness marker ‘please’, just as the British students did. This indicates that in this situation, the EFL groups’ linguistic and strategic behaviours resembled that of the L2 native speakers’ to some extent.

This behaviour from the learners’ part might be explained based on the two notions of explicit vs. implicit knowledge (Bialystock 1981, Ellis 1993, among others). Explicit
knowledge refers to the learner’s conscious representation of formal properties of L2, which can be verbalised on demand. *Implicit* knowledge, on the other hand, is hidden, intuitive, and cannot be reported (Ellis 1993). It is may be the case that in this situation, Saudi EFL learners’ use of the politeness marker ‘please’ was based on their explicit knowledge of different ways of softening requests in English. Alternatively, their scarce use of the address term ‘mum’ in their interlanguage responses could have emanated from their possible implicit knowledge of the frequency of the use of ‘mum’ to address mothers in English requests.

In conclusion, the previous discussion (including the scores presented in the table) has shed light on a few main points regarding the participants’ strategy choices and behavioural preferences in this situation. These include:

1- Saudi males and females preferred to use mostly direct strategies in their requests.
2- Saudi and EFL males opted out of requesting from their mothers more than Saudi females and EFL females did. On the other hand, none of the British subjects opted out in this situation.
3- British males preferred to use indirect strategies in the form of query preparatory.
4- British females preferred to use indirect strategies slightly more than direct ones.
5- In keeping with B and L’s weightiness formula, in this situation (+P) was the social variable which prompted the groups to use indirect strategies in their requests.
7.2 Situation 2 (requesting from an acquaintance)

You want another student (who is not your close friend) to lend you some lecture notes. What are you going to say to him/her?

للبنات. تبغي صديقة لك (مو مرة قريبة منك) انها تسلفك ملخص محاضرة ما حضرتيها. ايش حتقولي لها؟
للإولاد. تبغى صديق لك (مو مرة قريب منك) انه يسلفك ملخص محاضرة ما حضرته. ايش حتقول له؟

In this situation, the interlocutors are classmates so the relationship suggests equal power (-P) and equal distance (–D) between them. In terms of ranking of imposition, it was agreed by the raters that asking to borrow someone’s notes, especially someone who is not one’s best friend, is more embarrassing and intrusive than other minor requests; thus the situation was given a (+R) ranking. Hence, situation 2 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, -D, and +R). Below is the frequency distribution table of request strategy use by all groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 2</th>
<th>Mood Derivable</th>
<th>Explicit Performative</th>
<th>Hedged Performative</th>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Suggestory Formula</th>
<th>Query Preparatory</th>
<th>Hints</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that there were significant differences between the groups in terms of their strategy use. For example, Saudi males used direct strategies significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .006 < p-value 0.05, and sig. value
of t-test equality of means for want strategy was .003 < p-value 0.05). Saudi males also used direct strategies significantly more than EFL males (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .000 < p-value 0.05, and sig. value of t-test equality of means for want strategy was .000 < p-value 0.05). And collectively, Saudi males and females used more direct strategies than both EFL groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .005 < p-value 0.05 and for want strategy was .000). Lastly, Saudi males and females also used direct strategies significantly more than the British (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .000 < p-value 0.05 and for want strategy was also .000).

On the other hand, in terms of indirect strategies, EFL groups used the conventionally indirect query preparatory strategy significantly more than the Saudi groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .000 < p-value 0.05). EFL males also used indirect strategies significantly more than Saudi males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .000 < p-value 0.05). Furthermore, EFL groups used the query preparatory strategy significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .042 < p-value 0.05). This outcome indicates learners’ deviation from target-language norms in making requests as well as their non-transfer of L1 typically direct behaviour in making requests.

It is worth mentioning here that this result above only shows that the EFL groups used indirect strategies significantly more than the Saudi Arabic groups. However, it does not necessarily indicate that the EFL groups used indirect strategies more than the British in
this situation. The reason is related to the ‘Other’ category in which more indirect strategies, other than the original query preparatory, were used by the British.

Other than the main request strategies which were used by all the groups, there were certain strategies that were either used by Saudis only, or used by the British but were not part of the original CCSARP request strategy classification. Strategies that were used only by Saudis included the ‘query.preparatory.impersonal’ which was discussed above. This strategy, which can be linguistically realised as: (Possible [to have] the lecture notes? الملتزم؟), was used in 8% of Saudi males’ answers and 3% in Saudi females’ requests. Also, a new ‘Other’ category was used which included a conditional and can be linguistically realised as: (If possible [I copy] the lecture notes? اذا ممكن انقل المصادر؟ اذا عادي انقل المحاضرة؟). This strategy could not be used in English as it would be ungrammatical, but it was used correctly in Hijazi Arabic. And since it contained the adjective ‘possible’, which gave it a sense of indirectness, and it contained a conditional, I decided to call this strategy (query.preparatory.conditional). However, as before, it will not be treated as an original query preparatory strategy as it lacks elements such as pronouns and auxiliary verbs.

In terms of degree of politeness, I believe the q-prep conditional is more polite to use than the q-prep impersonal based on the notion that conditional forms are usually used to express politeness in many languages such as English, French, and Spanish. For example, if we compare between (can I borrow your book?) and (could I borrow your book?), the latter would sound more polite than the former because ‘could’ is an auxiliary verb which is used
to form conditional sentences. Conditional verbs, when used in requests, show the speaker’s willingness to give the hearer authority and optionality. Since both Arabic examples above were questions, the one which included the conditional would be considered more polite. In this situation, the q-prep conditional was used equally by Saudi males and females (3%); however, the q-prep impersonal was used by Saudi males more than Saudi females; which suggests that Saudi females used politer ‘Other’ requests slightly more than Saudi males.

Regarding the EFL groups, there were also strategies used that were not identical to any of the main CCSARP request categories. For example, EFL males used the strategy of ‘seeking help from a third party’ in some of their answers. This strategy was used by two students who said they would ask for the lecture notes indirectly. In other words, they would ask a mutual friend between the speaker and the hearer to help convince the hearer to comply with the speaker’s request. This strategy cannot be considered ‘opting out’ altogether as the request still takes place, but a specific linguistic realisation is not given; and therefore, the request cannot be linguistically classified. The fact that only EFL participants employed this strategy shows that their interlanguage system is unique, where some linguistic and behavioural aspects are self-contained and different from both their first language and the target language. This gives support to the concept of interlanguage being neither the L1 nor the L2, but something unique and a ‘system in its own right’ (Selinker 2014: 230).
Moreover, EFL males used the expression ‘I was wondering [if it is ok with you to lend me] in 5% of their answers. I will simply call this strategy (wondering.permission) in reference to the meaning behind the words in the sentence. According to the CCSARP, the four forms which mitigate requests by syntactic means are: (interrogative, negation, past tense, and embedded ‘if’ clause). The above expression contains two of the four syntactic downgraders; namely: (past tense) because the verbs ‘was’ and ‘wondering’ are in the past tense; and (embedded ‘if’ clause) because it is embedded with [if it is okay with you]. Likewise, the original query preparatory strategies contain two syntactic means of downgrading a request: (interrogative) as all query preparatory come in a question form; and (past tense) which is optional in cases where the q-prep was expressed using the verbs ‘could,’ ‘would,’ or ‘might.’ However, q-prep strategies usually come in a single question form (Can you help me? Could I borrow? Would you pass me? Etc.). This strategy (wondering.permission); on the other hand, contains a sentence and three phrases (‘I was wondering’; the embedded ‘if’ clause ‘if it is okay’; the propositional phrase ‘with you’; and finally the infinitive phrase ‘to lend me notes’). Tanaka (2015) asserts that ‘the longer the phrases or turns, the more polite the style … Therefore, the length of questions is also related to the degree of politeness’ (2015: 131). Moreover, according to B and L (1987), the use of more strategies can mean more politeness. Accordingly, the strategy (wondering.permission) might be considered ‘more polite’ than the CCSARP q-prep strategy. It is worth mentioning that this type of strategy (I was wondering if...) is
grammatically considered a declarative statement; however, because of its continued use in requests, it essentially became a standardised form of a polite request.

In the same vein, British males and females also used similar strategies which contained indirect questions and statements much longer than the CCSARP original query preparatory strategies. These included the following:

- *Do you think it would be possible if I could borrow?* (I called this strategy consultation.willing.possibility.ability). This strategy was found in 5% of British male answers.

- *Would you mind lending me your lecture notes?* (I called this strategy willing.permission). I am aware of the resemblance of this strategy to the query preparatory permission strategy (*is it okay that you lend me?*). However, I believe this expression ‘would you mind’ should have its own strategy since it denotes the hearer’s willingness and permission to do the act requested. This strategy was found in 5% of the British male answers and also 5% of British female answers.

- *Don’t suppose I could have a quick look at your notes* (I called this strategy negative.supposition.ability). This expression is interesting because the statement is negative which indicates the speaker’s attempt at being polite by being hesitant and showing appeal to the hearer’s consent. At the same time, the style of the sentence is informal because the sentence is shortened as the subject “I” in the clause ‘I don't suppose’ has been eliminated. This strategy was found in 5% of the British male answers. This request strategy was also found in a number of earlier research studies. Woodfield (2012) coded this strategy ‘negation
of preparatory conditions’ (2012: 47). In another study, Sifianou (1999) coded a similar request form as ‘interrogative-negative constructions’ (1999: 147). Leech (2014) referred to such request forms as ‘negative statements’ (2014: 167). In my coding, I retained the term (negative.supposition.ability) as the utterances constructing the request form denote each of the notions in the coding name as follows [I don't (negative) suppose (supposition) I could (ability) borrow your pen]’.

- *Would it be okay if I could borrow?* (I called this strategy willing.permission.ability). This strategy was also found in 5% of British male answers and 5% of British female answers.

- *Do you think you could give me?* (I called this strategy consultation.ability), and it was found in 5% of British male answers.

- *Would it be possible to give me?* (I called this strategy willing.possibility), and it was found in 5% of the British male answers and 5% of the British female answers.

- *Is there a chance that I could borrow?* (I called this strategy possibility.ability), and it was found in 5% of the British female answers.

These expressions above were not used by any of the EFL groups, which might suggest that the learners were not even aware of them being viable polite request forms in English. The British groups exclusively used indirect strategies to make requests in this situation. The EFL groups also mostly used indirect requests which indicates that the learners may have attempted to echo target-language behaviour in making their requests. However, because the linguistic devices in which the four groups used to realise their indirect requests
were different in the department of ‘Other’ categories, it seems that the learners may have been aware of the appropriate pragmatic ways to achieve requests in L2, but linguistically might not have been enough equipped with the correct linguistic devices and forms to use. This draws attention to the difference between pragmatic and linguistic competences, where development in one type of competence does not guarantee a corresponding level of development in the other type of competence. According to Taguchi (2012: 3), ‘pragmatic competence may not develop hand in hand with grammatical ability’. Therefore, ‘learners need to have a range of linguistic resources, as well as the ability to evaluate layers of contextual information, select the most appropriate resources and use them efficiently’ (ibid.).

In terms of internally intensifying and downgrading the requests, Saudi males and females used upgraders, such as the adjective ‘urgently’ (I need the lecture notes urgently). Saudi females also used sad ‘smiley’ in an attempt to attract their hearer’s sympathy (Is it okay to lend me the notes? : (عادي تعطيني المحاضرة؟)). EFL males, EFL females, and British females downgraded the request by using the adjective ‘some’ (Can I have some lecture notes?). British males and females made their requests sound as less costly as possible by using expressions such as ‘really’ and ‘quickly’ (I really need the lecture notes. Can I have them quickly?), (Can I have a quick look at your notes? Real quick), and (Can I have your notes briefly?). EFL males downtoned their head acts using the time downgrader ‘a while’ (Can I have your notes for a little while?).
Moving on to supportive moves, table 9 below gathers all the external modifiers/supportive moves that have been used in this situation among all the six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supportive moves</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grounder</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checking on availability</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting a pre-commitment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disarmer</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost minimiser</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imposition minimiser</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFID</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeting</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small talk</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alerter/attention getter</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9

Based on the table above, Saudi males used the highest number and range of moves to support their requests. They used ten supportive moves such as: grounder (*I did not attend the lecture* (اذا ما حضرت المحاضرة); disarmer (*if you are busy it is okay* (اذا مشغول عادي, اذا ما عليك كلافة); imposition minimiser (*I will copy it and give it back to you* (انسخ و أرجعها لك); IFID before the grounder (*I am sorry I did not attend the lecture* (أسف كنت غايب عن المحاضرة); IFID before the request (*excuse me, I need the lecture notes* (بعد إذنك احتاج المحاضرة); small talk (*how are you?* (كيف حالك؟); and alerter/attention getter (*Hey, sweet bro* (أقولك، يا عسل، حبيبي).

Other supportive moves, which were not part of the CCSARP supportive move types, were religious softeners (*‘by Allah give me the lecture notes’* and *‘May
Allah keep you from being humiliated, give me the lecture notes (الله لا يهينك أعطني المحاضرة).

and Islamic greeting (Peace be upon you السلام عليكم).

Next, Saudi females used the second highest number of moves to support their head acts (eight moves). They employed all the above supportive moves, except for IFID before the grounder, small talk, and Islamic greeting. They also employed the supportive move checking on availability (did you write the last lecture? أنت لخصت المحاضرة الي فاتت؟). EFL females came next employing seven supportive moves; followed by EFL males, who used six supportive moves; followed by both British groups who each used five supportive moves to modify their requests. Internally, all six groups modified their requests by using politeness markers either before or after the head act (can you lend me your notes please? لو سمحت/ من فضلك ممكن تعطيني المحاضرة؟).

In terms of frequency of use, grounder, cost minimiser, IFID, and attention getters were used by five groups out of six; followed by disarmer, imposition minimiser, and greeting which were used by four groups; followed by small talk which was used by three groups; then checking on availability which was used by two groups. Finally, getting a pre-commitment which was used by only one group.

It is necessary to highlight here that it was unsurprising that Saudi males used supportive moves abundantly in this situation as they also mostly employed direct request head acts. Usually, supportive moves modify direct requests and make them sound softer and more polite. Comparatively, in their English answers, Saudi EFL males may have provided fewer
supportive moves perhaps because they made most their requests using indirect strategies.

Moreover, since the British groups mostly made their requests indirectly and used the lowest number of supportive moves; it can, then, be hypothesised that supportive moves are perhaps used less frequently when the head act is indirect.

In conclusion, a few key points can be highlighted from the previous discussion, as well as from the groups’ average scores shown in table 8. These include:

1- Saudi males were the only group who used direct strategies more than indirect ones.

2- Collectively, Saudi groups used direct strategies more than both EFL groups and the British groups. Conversely, EFL groups and the British groups used indirect strategies more than the Saudis.

3- EFL and British groups used the same indirect styles in their requests. However, EFL groups relied heavily on query preparatory strategies; whereas the British groups used query preparatory and ‘Other’ request categories to show indirectness.

4- In keeping with B and L’s weightiness formula, in this situation (+R) might have been the social variable which prompted the groups to use indirect strategies in their requests.

5- Saudi females may be more sensitive to the social variable (R) than Saudi males because they employed significantly less direct request strategies than Saudi males.

6- British males and females used only indirect strategies in this situation, which suggests that they were the group most sensitive to the social variable (R).
7.3 Situation 3 (requesting a pen from boss)

You are in the middle of a job interview and you want to ask your potential future boss-to-be to hand you a pen to fill out a form. What are you going to say to him?

تخيل(ي) انك في نص مقابلة شخصية لوظيفة بتقدم أو بتقدمي لها، و تحتاج(ي) قلم عشان تعبئي فورمة من الشخص اللي ممكن يكون في وقت قريب المدير حقك.. اишь حتكول(ي) له؟

In this context, there is a clear power difference between the interlocutors as the hearer can potentially be a future boss of the speaker; thus, a (+P) ranking was given. Also, the relationship dictates high distance between the interlocutors (+D). The object requested here is a pen, which is not considered a big imposition on the hearer. Therefore, this situation was given a (-R) ranking, and situation 3 ultimately denotes these social variable combinations (+P, +D, and -R). Below is the table of request strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 3</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Derivable</th>
<th>Explicit</th>
<th>Performative</th>
<th>Hedged</th>
<th>Performative</th>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Suggestory</th>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Query</th>
<th>Preparatory</th>
<th>Hints</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt</th>
<th>Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that there were significant differences between the groups in terms of their strategy use. For example, Saudi males used direct strategies significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .006 < p-value 0.05). Saudi males also used direct
strategies significantly more than EFL males (sig. value of t-test equality of means for want was .044 < p-value 0.05). Saudi males and females used direct strategies significantly more than British males and females (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .004 < p-value 0.05, and sig. value of t-test equality of means for want was .002 < p-value 0.05). Conversely, British males and females used indirect strategies significantly more than both Saudi groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .000 < p-value 0.05). Lastly, EFL females used indirect strategies significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means for q-prep was .000 < p-value 0.05).

Turning to the ‘Other’ category, it is noticeable that Saudi males and females used ‘Other’ categories more frequently than the categories shown in the CCSARP table. These were: ‘object.impersonal’ (the pen الالقة), which was found in 30% of Saudi male answers and only 5% of Saudi female answers (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .004 < p-value 0.05); ‘query.preparatory.impersonal’ (Possible [to have] the pen؟ ممكن القلم؟), which was found in 25% of Saudi male answers and 59% of Saudi female requests, which was statistically significantly different (sig. value of t-test equality of means for want was .002 < p-value 0.05); ‘query.preparatory. conditional’ (if possible [you give me] the pen إذا ممكن تديني الالقة؟), which was found in 3% of Saudi females answers; non-linguistic means ‘hand gesture,’ which was used by 3% of Saudi males; and finally the use of ‘foreign words’ (pen please) which was used by 3% of Saudi girls.
According to Aijmer, ‘naming the object requested’ is considered a request strategy, and he gave the example ‘(the next slide) please’ (1996: 133). Perhaps the reason Aijmer decided to choose this example for this request strategy is because the request has a (-R) ranking. It seems that naming the object solely as the complete head act can be linguistically used when the object requested is not big. In this situation, although the power and distance relations between the interlocutors were high, some speakers still requested the pen directly by just naming the object requested. This may indicate that the ranking of imposition is an important factor in determining the (in)direct style of the request. We can see from situation 2 above that it was perhaps the social variable (R) which encouraged speakers to use more indirect styles in their requests as the act requested was big and quite intrusive. In this situation, however, the social variable (R) was low, and it seems that this factor prompted the use of direct request strategies as the object requested was not a big request and therefore did not have a high ranking of imposition on H.

Because Saudi males used more direct CCSARP and ‘Other’ strategies than the rest of the groups, it can be claimed that in this situation, the Saudi male group appeared to have been more sensitive to the social variable ‘ranking of imposition’ and less sensitive to the social variables ‘power’ and ‘distance’ than the rest of the groups.

Saudi females were stylistically more indirect than Saudi males as they preferred to employ (q-prep.impersonal) and (q-prep.conditional). Both these strategies are presumably more indirect than (object.impersonal), which was preferred by Saudi males. This goes with
the theme that Saudi males seemed to prefer using more direct strategies than Saudi females in general.

In terms of exclusive strategies, EFL males and EFL females were the only groups which used the strategy ‘hints’. They both used grounders (which when used without a request head act can act as hints) to tacitly imply to the hearer of what they need (*I forgot my pen*). One female actually stated in her answer that she would say that she forgot her pen (*so I would accept [sic] that he would give me a pen*). This again shows the ‘uniqueness’ of the learners’ interlanguage compared to the rest of the groups.

Moreover, EFL males and Saudi males were the only groups which used the strategy ‘opting out.’ A Saudi male stated that he would get up and get the pen himself without asking his future boss to be. A Saudi EFL male answered this situation with (*I prefer to bring a pen with me rather than ask my future boss*). This can be explained possibly by referring to our earlier discussion (section 2.8) about the inclination for positive politeness cultures to withdraw from and avoid conflict by being passive (Wang 2006) and to save face by not causing embarrassment (Walker 2014). It could be that in the case of the Saudi males, belonging to a positive politeness culture, this situation would cause too much embarrassment, thus to save face, they stressed that they would rather make sure to bring a pen so that they are not put in this particularly embarrassing situation.

Moving on to ‘Other’ strategies which were used by the British groups. These included indirect strategies which combined different q-prep functions. For example: (asking the
hearer if he or she possesses the object requested and the speaker’s ability in getting the object) ‘Do you have a pen I could borrow?’ (I called this strategy possession.ability), and it was found in 16% of British male answers and 15% in British female answers. The next ‘Other’ category combined the functions of asking the hearer’s willingness and permission to do the act requested ‘Would you mind lending me a pen?’. This strategy is called (willing.permission) and was found in 5% of British male answers and also 5% in British female requests. Next is the strategy (willing.possibility) ‘Would it possible for you to lend me a pen?’ (reference situation 2). This strategy was found in 5% of British male answers; followed by (willing.ability) ‘Would I be able to borrow a pen?’ which was found in 5% of British female answers.

As in situation 2 above, EFL students did not use any of the ‘Other’ category forms used by the British. Again, I stress that it is of utmost importance for English teachers to teach these ‘Other’ request expressions to their students. Apparently, a large number of the students might not be aware of their existence as viable polite request forms in English.

Moving on to supportive moves, table 11 shows all the supportive moves that were used in situation 3 and their distribution across all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of group</th>
<th>IFID</th>
<th>Grounder</th>
<th>Cost minimiser</th>
<th>Thanking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi males</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi females</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL males</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL females</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British males</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British females</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11
It is evident from table 11 above that IFID was the supportive move most frequently used by all six groups. Examples in English and Arabic include: (excuse me, can I have a pen?), (بعد إذنك تسمح بالقلم؟), (forgive me rudeness, is it okay to give me the pen?), (عذرا صبر بعد لا يهيني القلم). Secondly, grounder came next which was used by four groups. However, it was only used in English and not by any of the Saudi Arabic groups; examples included: (I forgot my pen) and (I don't have a pen). Thanking the hearer was used by Saudi males and females and by British males. Finally, cost minimiser was only used by the EFL groups (if you have- if you don't mind).

Additionally, as in other situations, Saudi males used religious softeners to downtone their requests (by Allah give me a pen; (May Allah keep you from being humiliated hand me the pen). They also used honourifics to address their hearers (long live precious hearer is it possible to give me the pen?). This type of address term was similarly used by other groups who sometimes addressed their hearer with ‘sir’ and ‘boss’.

In terms of other modifiers, no intensifiers were used in this situation, only downgraders; and they were used by the groups in different ways. For example, Saudi males and females preferred to use time downgraders (Can I have the pen for a minute? Could you give me the pen for a few minutes? Few seconds?). On the other hand, along with time downgraders, British respondents...
relied heavily on the adverbial downtoner ‘possibly’ (*Can I possibly have a pen? Could you possibly hand me the pen for just a sec*?). EFL groups hardly used any downgraders.

In conclusion, a few key points can be highlighted from the previous discussion, as well as from the groups’ scores in table 10, demonstrating that in this situation:

1- Saudi males used direct strategies more than Saudi females.

2- Saudi males and females used direct strategies more than EFL and British groups.

3- The ‘Other’ strategies which dominated Saudi male requests had a direct style.

4- The ‘Other’ strategies which dominated Saudi female requests had an indirect style.

5- Both EFL groups relied heavily on indirect query preparatory category; whereas British groups used indirect strategies using query preparatory and ‘Other’ strategies.

6- British used indirect strategies exclusively in this situation.

7- In keeping with B and L’s weightiness formula, in this situation (+P, +D) were the social variables which prompted the groups to use indirect strategies in their requests.

8- As the Saudi males used significantly more direct strategies than the rest of the groups, it can be hypothesised that Saudi males are perhaps more sensitive to the social variable (R) and less sensitive to the social variables (P and D) than the rest of the groups, and vice versa. However, we should look for more evidence within the rest of the request situations to corroborate this claim.
7.4 Situation 4 (requesting from younger sister)

You enter the kitchen and you find it in a mess that your younger sister Sarah was responsible for, and you want it cleaned up before your friends (guests) arrive. What will you say to her?

In this situation, the hearer is the speaker’s younger sister, which gives the hearer no power over the speaker. Also, there is no distance between the interlocutors; and since the act requested is to clean the kitchen which the hearer herself made a mess, the ranking of the imposition of this act is not high. Hence, situation 4 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, -D, and -R). Below is the frequency distribution table of request strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 4</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Derivable</th>
<th>Explicit</th>
<th>Hedged Performative</th>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Suggestory</th>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Query Preparatory</th>
<th>Hints</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 demonstrates that in this (-P, -D, -R) situation:

1- All six groups used direct strategies more than indirect ones.

2- British females used direct strategies significantly more than British males.
Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that there were significant differences between the groups in terms of their strategy use, and it seems that the most significant differences resulted from the frequency of use of the direct strategy (obligation). For example, EFL groups used the direct strategy (obligation) significantly more than the Saudis (sig. value of t-test equality of means was $0.002 < p$-value 0.05). Also, EFL females used obligations significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was $0.010 < p$-value 0.05). Moreover, EFL males used obligations significantly more than British males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was $0.042 < p$-value 0.05). Finally, British females used obligations significantly more than British males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was $0.005 < p$-value 0.05).

Furthermore, EFL groups also used conventionally indirect q-prep strategies significantly more than the Saudis (sig. value of t-test equality of means was $0.023 < p$-value 0.05). And both British groups used indirect strategies significantly more than Saudi groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was $0.041 < p$-value 0.05).

Also in this particular situation, under ‘Other’ category, certain violent acts and swear words were encountered; and they were used differently by all the groups. Saudi males, for example, used 7 reprimands, 5 encounters of sarcastic rhetorical questions, 6 encounters of verbal threats and 6 encounters of hitting or threatening to hit. The following are some examples: (why do you play with the plates? Is there something wrong with you؟ ليش تقليبي الصحن على بعضها سلامات؟); (if I return in five minutes and find the kitchen is still messy you
will only blame yourself (علي الحرام لو جيت بعد خمس دقائق و لقيت المطبخ لسه مكركب ما تلومي الا نفسك).

(clean the kitchen or I will hit you (نظفيه ولا تضربي).)

Saudi females used 12 reprimands and threats, 7 encounters of irony and sarcastic rhetorical questions, and one threat to hit. EFL males used 2 rhetorical questions (are you kidding?) and 1 threat (to tell mum). EFL females used 4 rhetorical questions (are you crazy?) and 4 threats (also to tell mum). British males used 4 rhetorical questions (what have you done to this kitchen?), 1 reprimand (oi, clean it now I am not your slave), and 1 swear word (fucking clean your shit). Lastly, British females used 1 rhetorical question, 2 reprimands, 1 swearing, and 1 threat (to tell mum). Other expressions and characters were also found here such as: (OMG oh my God, shit, crap, oh, random symbols to show possible swearing @&!$%**, and an angry ‘smiley’).

The use of the first-name address term was also used in this situation, sometimes with capital letters to indicate screaming. The hearer was addressed by her first name 11 times by EFL females, 7 times by Saudi females and British males, and 6 times by Saudi males, EFL males, and British females. Other more positive address terms were used in Arabic and in English: (Hun, sisi, sis, dude, sister, susu حبيبيتي يا اختي يا بطلة يا بنت يا تحفة يا بنت، يا بنت، يا تحفة، يا بنت). Regarding intensification and downgrading of the head act, only intensifiers were used in this situation. Time-intensifiers were used the most in English and Arabic, such as: (now, quickly, fast, right now, immediately, الآن، دحين، سريع، بسرعة يلا).
In addition, 3% of Saudi males and 5% of Saudi females opted out in this situation. The reason for opting out of making the request did not seem to be motivated by the want to be polite or respectful to the hearer. The reason, as the respondents stated in their answers, was that their friends do not usually enter the kitchen when they come to visit so there is no need for the kitchen to be cleaned at this point. Opting out in this particular case was not out of politeness but out of uselessness of doing the act in the first place. It is important to treat the strategy ‘opting out’ as a valid response in a face-threatening act situation and explore/analyse the participants’ reasons for refusing to perform the speech act, because as Bonikowska points out, ‘the reasons motivating the opting out choice can have explanatory/confirmatory value in describing conditions for speech acts and the role of contextual factors, and can therefore validate theoretical claims about the nature of speech acts’ (1988: 173).

One final note to say is that this situation was the only one which contained a high number of threatening expressions and swear words. It could be because this situation is low in all the social variables (P, D, and R). It could also be because the act requested is justified since the H caused the mess in the first place. Therefore, the S found no problem in making the request to the H because S might have felt it was simply her ‘right’ to do so. The S’s right to perform the FTA could thus be a factor that at least partially determines the (in)directness style chosen by speakers in making the request. It should be given more attention in politeness research, along with other factors such as B and L’s (P, D, and R).
7.5 Situation 5 (requesting from older neighbour)

You want your older neighbour to give you a ride home after attending a gathering together. What are you going to say to your neighbour?

In this situation, the hearer is the speaker’s neighbor but is an older person; thus H possesses somewhat power over the speaker because of the big age difference. There is also high distance between the interlocutors also because of the age gap. In regards to ranking of the imposition, the raters agreed that asking the hearer to give a ride home to the speaker is rather intrusive. Hence, situation 5 denotes these social variable combinations (+P, +D, and +R). Below is the frequency distribution table of request strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 5</th>
<th>Mood Derivable</th>
<th>Explicit Performative</th>
<th>Hedged Performative</th>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Suggestory Formula</th>
<th>Query Preparatory</th>
<th>Hints</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>23% 9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13% 5</td>
<td>3% 1</td>
<td>33% 13</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2 13%</td>
<td>4 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>10% 4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10% 4</td>
<td>0 74% 30</td>
<td>0 3% 1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>5% 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5% 1</td>
<td>0 79% 16</td>
<td>0 0 10% 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>100% 20</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>65% 13</td>
<td>0 26% 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>5% 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>63% 13</td>
<td>0 26% 5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that there were significant differences between the groups in terms of their strategy use. For example, Saudi males and females used direct strategies significantly more than British males and females (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .018 < p-value 0.05, and sig. value of t-test equality of means for want strategy was .001 < p-value 0.05). Moreover, Saudi females used direct strategies significantly more than EFL females.
(sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .044 < p-value 0.05, and sig. value of t-test equality of means for want strategy was also .044 < p-value 0.05). Similarly, Saudi males used more want strategy than EFL males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .044 < p-value 0.05). And collectively, Saudi males and females used more direct strategies than both EFL groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .005 < p-value 0.05 and for want strategy was .044).

On the other hand, in terms of indirect strategies, EFL groups used the conventionally indirect query preparatory strategy significantly more than the Saudi groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .000 < p-value 0.05). EFL males used indirect strategies significantly more than Saudi males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 < p-value 0.05). EFL females used indirect strategies significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 < p-value 0.05). Furthermore, EFL groups used the query preparatory strategy significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .007 < p-value 0.05). EFL females used indirect strategies significantly more than British females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .005 < p-value 0.05). Lastly, EFL females used indirect strategies significantly more than EFL males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .042 < p-value 0.05).

What is more, Saudi males used hints the most out of all the groups in this situation. They used strong hints such as (Are you going home? He will understand what I mean راجع البيت ولا لا؟ هو راح يفهمها) or provided reasons (grounders) in the hope that the neighbour will
offer to give the speaker a lift home without a request having to be made (*my father is busy with the family and I can't get back home*) (والد مع الأهل و ما بقدر أرجع بيتي). It is interesting to note here that when grounders are not used as supportive moves; that is they are not preceded or followed by a head act, they can be treated as strong hints to the request.

Moreover, Saudi males opted out by taking a taxi instead or walking home. When they did make the request; however, they employed a large number of supportive moves before and after the head act. This behaviour can be explained by a cultural pattern pervasive in Arab societies in general, and the Saudi society in particular. That is, as Nydell elaborates, within the society structure, ‘status in a family increases as a person grows older, [and] children are taught profound respect for adults’ (2012: 65). Saudi males in this situation may have felt embarrassed to ask an older respected person to give them a lift home. They may have felt that opting out in this case is preferred since it can show the hearers signs of respect.

Moving on to ‘Other’ categories, (*query.preparatory.conditional*) was found in 10% of Saudi male answers and 3% of Saudi female answers (*if possible you take me home* إذا ممكن توصلي البيت). (*query.preparatory.impersonal*) was found in 3% of Saudi male requests (*possible a lift?* ممكن توصيلة؟). British males and females made their requests indirectly through the use of the strategies: (*permission.ability*) found in 5% of British male answers and 11% of British female answers (*is it ok if you could drop me home?*); (*willing.ability*) found in 5% of British male answers and 5.3% of British female answers (*would I be able...*)
to get a ride home?); (willing.permission) found in 10% of British male answers and 5.3% of British female answers (would it be ok if you drop me home?); (willing.ability) found in 10% of British male answers (would it be possible to give me a lift?); (possibility.ability) found in 5.3% of British female answers (is there any chance that I could get a lift?); and (negative.ability) found in 5% of British male answers (you couldn't possible take me home with you, could you?).

As for EFL students, it is clear from their answers that when they made the requests, they attempted to mirror the British and be as indirect as possible. However, none of the students used linguistic forms from the ‘Other’ categories that the British used. Instead, they relied heavily on query preparatory strategies. EFL females, for example, used the strategy query preparatory in 100% of their answers. Therefore, it is crucial that in the classrooms, EFL students are taught these ‘Other’ forms which the native speakers used in order to expand their L2 linguistic competence and overall speech-act knowledge and behaviour.

In regards to supportive moves, Saudi males and females demonstrated large use of external and internal modifiers, softeners, and address terms. For example, both groups used:

- grounders (my dad left me by myself, بابا سحب علي) (ما عندي سيارة)
- disarmers (you are not busy going somewhere, are you? (ولا لا يكون رايح مشوار ولا شي؟)
- cost minimisers (in your way, if it’s convenient for you, على طريقك إذا ما عليك كلافة, if you are not in a hurry, if you are passing by my house, إذا كنت مستعمل, if you can, لو قدرت)
- IFID (excuse me معليش)

- politeness markers (if you are so kind لو تفضلت عليا لو تكرمت, unforcefully ما عليك امر)

- religious softeners (May Allah keep you alive and well الله يخليك, by Allah, may Allah keep you from being humiliated الله يسدعك, اللهم لا يهيئك, may Allah make you happy الله يسعدك)

- thanking (thank you شكرا جزاك الله خير)

- greeting (Hello, peace be upon you السلام عليكم)

- and small talk (how are you؟ كيف حالك؟ كيف الحال؟)

Cost minimisers were the most frequently used supportive moves by both groups. Saudi males also employed imposition minimisers (get me close to home and I will walk the rest of the way قربني و انا اكمل مشي) and Saudi females employed checking on availability (is there enough space in the car؟ معاكم احد في السيارة؟).

Regarding use of address terms, Saudi males and females exhibited opposite patterns. Saudi females used address terms 26 times and Saudi males used them 17 times. However, the Saudi females’ address terms showed positive politeness towards the hearer; whereas Saudi males’ address terms showed negative politeness. To elaborate, Saudi males used formal terms and respectful kinship names (dad أبوي/ يا والد, father of (his eldest son’s name) يأبوي يا والد يا عم/ يا عمي, uncle يا فلان/ يا أبو فلان, يا أبو (الاسم)). On the other hand, Saudi females preferred informal endearment terms (dear auntie حبيبتي خالة, my auntie خالتي حبيبتي خالة, mother of (her eldest son’s name) يا ما فلان, dearest of them all يا ست الكل).
EFL groups did not resemble the Saudis in their use of supportive moves or address terms. Instead, they were generally much similar to the British groups. For instance, British males employed checking on availability (*are you going straight home?*), which was also used by EFL females (*are you busy now?!*). British males also used cost minimisers (*if it's not too far out of the way/ if it's not too much of a hassle*), which were also by EFL males, EFL females (*if you are going home, in your way, if you can*) and British females. British males used disarmers (*no worries if not*), which were also used by EFL males (*I don't want to bother you but…*) and EFL females (*if it wasn't disturb [sic] you*). EFL females employed IFIDs (*excuse me, sorry*) just like British females. British females also used imposition minimisers (*I'm willing to split petrol*).

In addition, collectively, the four groups used only 3 address terms (*dear and my neighbour*) which were all used by EFL groups. No address terms were found in British respondents’ answers. As for other similarities, it was noticeable that all four groups used the downtoner ‘just’ extensively (*I just need a ride*).

In conclusion, based on the groups’ scores presented in table 13, a few points can be highlighted. These include:

1- Saudi males used the largest number of direct strategies but also a large number of hints.
2- Saudi males and females used direct strategies more than the EFL and British groups.
3- EFL groups used indirect strategies more than the Saudis and the British.
4- EFL females used indirect strategies significantly more than EFL males.
5- Saudi males and EFL males opted out the most out of all the six groups.
7.6 Situation 6 (requesting from a stranger)

You are an applicant who calls for information on a job advertised in a paper. What are you going to say to the guy who answers?

اتصلت على رقم تلفون أخذته (أخذته) من الجريدة بخصوص إعلان وظيفة (و اخبرتني عنها بما يلائم تقديرك لها). كيف سأقول للموظف الذي يرد على الاتصال?

In this situation, the speaker calls a phone number that is listed on a newspaper to enquire about a job advertisement; therefore, the interlocutors are complete strangers, which typically means there is high distance between them (+D). Also, the hearer does not necessarily hold any power over the speaker (-P). Moreover, it is part of the hearer’s job to provide information to the speaker; thus, this request does not have high imposition on the hearer (-R). Hence, situation 6 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, +D, -R).

Below is the frequency distribution table of request strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 6</th>
<th>Mood Derivable</th>
<th>Explicit Performative</th>
<th>Hedged Performative</th>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Suggestory Formula</th>
<th>Query Preparatory</th>
<th>Hints</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14

Before going into further discussion, I would like to point out that this situation posed some difficulty over the appropriate placement of linguistic realisations into strategies. For example, most responses to this situation took an interrogative form. Mainly, the respondents posed questions to the hearer about the nature and the salary of the job offer found in the newspaper. The decision was made that ‘direct questions’ should be
considered a request strategy since it was extensively used by all six groups. Some linguists such as Shauer (2009) treated questions as part of the ‘locution derivable’ request strategy. She gave the example ‘Where is X?’ to the locution derivable strategy (2009: 86).

However, according to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), ‘locution derivable’ is an alternative term for the ‘obligation’ strategy. They present this linguistic example: ‘Madam, you’ll have to move your car’.

I decided to treat questions requesting for information about the job advert as separate request strategies. However, if an answer contained two questions, only the ones directed at the job itself, its prerequisites, or its nature were considered ‘a head act direct strategy’.

Any other questions enquiring about other things, such as whether the speaker reached the correct newspaper, were considered ‘supportive moves’.

Furthermore, some answers were linguistically very similar; therefore, there had to be certain guidelines put in place so each utterance would be categorised correctly. Finalised English and Arabic examples to each strategy will be given below for clarification purposes:

**Mood derivable:** (give me information about the ad)

**Explicit performative:** (I'm enquiring/ looking for some information about the job in the newspaper)

**Hedged performative:** (I'm ringing to enquire about the job, I want to ask you, I would like to know information)
Want: *(I need some more information)*

Question: *(what is the job? Salary?)*

Query preparatory: *(could you give me information?)*

Hints: *(I have this ad on the paper that you are hiring, I saw the ad in the paper). Also, ‘I’m calling about the ad,’ and its equivalent in Arabic ‘اتصلت بخصوص الاعلان,’ used as complete head acts without any add-ons were considered hints, because there was no direct request for information in these expressions.*

Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that there were significant differences between the groups in terms of their strategy use. For example, Saudi males and females used ‘wants’ significantly more than the British groups did (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .007 < p-value 0.05). Moreover, Saudi males and females used ‘query preparatory’ significantly more than the British groups did (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .004 < p-value 0.05). EFL groups also used ‘query preparatory’ significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 < p-value 0.05). For example, the mean score of EFL females’ use of q-prep strategies was significantly higher than British females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .003 < p-value 0.05). EFL groups also used q-prep strategies more than the Saudis (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .021 < p-value 0.05).

This shows that EFL groups used the largest number of conventionally indirect q-prep strategies, followed by the Saudis, followed by the British groups. At first glance, it might
seem that the Saudis and EFL groups used more indirect strategies than the British groups. However, the British groups used hints more than any other group, which indicates that the British groups also relied on indirect strategies in making their requests in this situation.

Statistically speaking, the British groups used ‘hints’ significantly more than the Saudi groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .000 < p-value 0.05) and significantly more than the EFL groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 < p-value 0.05). In more details, British males’ mean score for using ‘hints’ was significantly higher than EFL males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .013 < p-value 0.05). Likewise, British females’ mean score for using ‘hint’s was significantly higher than EFL females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .044 < p-value 0.05).

Moving on to ‘Other’ categories, ‘questions’ came first on the list as they were used by all six groups. Direct questions were found in 31% of Saudi male answers, 20% of EFL male answers, 15% of Saudi female answers, 11% of British female answers, 6% of EFL female answers, and 5% of British male answers. Furthermore, direct questions were statistically different between the Saudi and the British groups. Saudi groups’ employment of questions was significantly higher than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .046 < p-value 0.05).

There were further ‘Other’ categories which were used only by certain groups. For example, Saudi males and females employed the (query.preparatory.conditional), [already discussed in situation 2], which was realised as: *(if possible you give me information)* ١٢٣
It was found in 3% of Saudi male answers and 3% of Saudi female answers. British males and females employed the (wondering.ability) strategy, which was realised as: (I was wondering if you could give me some information; I was ordering if I could have additional information about the job). This is an indirect strategy which was found in 16% of British male answers and 5% of British female answers.

Looking at the percentages of use of all the categories, including ‘Other’ categories, Saudi males were the group which used direct strategies the most; followed by Saudi females, followed by EFL males; followed by EFL females; followed by British females; followed by British males. It was also noticeable that British males used the largest number of hints followed by British females; whereas the Saudis and EFL groups preferred the employment of direct detailed questions (what is the job about? How many hours is the job? What qualifications do you require? etc.). Some of their answers contained more than five to six questions about specific details about the job.

Although the Saudis used more direct strategies than other groups, they also used the largest number of supportive moves; such as: (introducing self, Islamic greeting, small talk, checking on availability, and thanking). Most Saudi answers to this question included a large number of introducers and softeners before getting to the actual questions about the job. See this answer for example:

(السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته، معاك ...، انتو جريدة (...)؟ كيف حالك و كيف الأهل؟ اتمنى تكونو طيبين.. دحين بالنسبة للوظيفة اش هي بالضبط؟ ايش المؤهلات المطلوبة؟ كم ساعات العمل؟ و كم الراتب؟ مشكور ما قصرت)
(Hi, my name is (...). Are you the (...) newspaper? How are you and how is the family? I hope you are doing well. So, about this job. What is it exactly? What qualifications does it require? How many hours of work a day? And how much is the salary? Thank you, you were not lacking or limited in helping me).

A typical counterpart answer found in the British questionnaires would be something like this: (Hi, I was wondering if you could provide me with additional information about the job advert) or (I called about the job).

This result indicates that the Saudis seem to prefer using direct strategies in their requests with the addition of positive politeness supportive moves. The British, on the other hand, seem to prefer indirect formal strategies with the addition of negative politeness supportive moves. The problem found in EFL answers is that when they used direct questions, they rarely implemented them with softeners/supportive moves (what is the job?), which made their direct requests sound less polite, even ‘rude.’ This result echoes the results obtained by Halupka-Resetar (2014) in her request study in which intermediate-level English learners showed very limited variation with respect to the type of request modification used (both external and internal) and the frequency of their usage. She regards this as ‘clearly the result of instruction’ (2014: 43) and stresses that ‘the amount and type of materials contained in most syllabi… need to be supplemented with explicit instruction regarding the pragmatics of English (specifically, speech act behaviour and realization, with special focus on the differences between L1 and L2).
7.7 Situation 7 (requesting from teacher)

You are a student and you want to ask your teacher for an extension for finishing an essay paper. What are you going to tell your teacher?

In this situation, there is high P and D between the interlocutors because H is the S’s university teacher. The request in this situation is for an extension for finishing an essay paper that was supposed to be already due for submission, which the raters gave high ranking of imposition. Hence, situation 7 denotes these social variable combinations (+P, +D, +R). Below is the frequency distribution table of request strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 7</th>
<th>Mood Derivable</th>
<th>Explicit Performative</th>
<th>Hedged Performative</th>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Suggestory Formula</th>
<th>Query Preparatory</th>
<th>Hints</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>British male</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15

Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that there were significant differences between the groups in terms of their strategy use. For example, Saudi males and females used direct strategies significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .000 < p-value 0.05, and sig. value of t-test equality of means for want was .021 < p-value 0.05). Moreover, EFL groups employed the strategy ‘mood derivable’ significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .044 < p-value 0.05). However, EFL groups
employed significantly more indirect strategies than the Saudis (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .016 < p-value 0.05).

A small note to mention here is that although the hearer in this situation is the speaker’s teacher; someone who supposedly holds power over the speaker and high status in society, both Saudi groups and EFL groups employed direct strategies in the form of ‘mood derivable’ in their requests. British respondents; however, did not use any ‘mood derivable’ strategies in their requests. This contrast might be explained by referring to the real ‘purpose’ of the Saudi and EFL groups’ use of imperatives in this situation. Although this situation denotes these social variable combinations (+P, +D, +R), it is possible that the choice of using the strategy ‘mood derivable’ might be the students’ attempt to show the ‘urgency’ of their requests to the hearer, and not at all to show ‘impoliteness’ or ‘rudeness.’ One Saudi EFL learner’s request corroborates this claim as he requests extension of the essay submission by saying: ‘give me five more minutes only. I really need it.’

Turning to ‘Other’ categories, there were some used by the groups, such as: (query.preparatory.conditional), which was found in 13% of Saudi male answers (if possible you extend the deadline); (incomplete.phrases) found in 6% of Saudi male answers and 3% of Saudi female answers (five more minutes?); (willing.possibility) which was found in 16% of British male answers and 5% of British female answers (would it be possible for you to extend? would it be possible to have an extension?); (possibility.ability) found in 11% of British male answers and 16% of British
females (Is there any way I could get an extension? Is there a chance that I could have an extension?); (wondering.ability) found in 5% of British male answers (I was wondering if I could have an extension?); (ability.willing.possibility) found in 5% of British female answers (can you let me know if it would possible to have an extension?); and (permission.ability) found in 5% of British female answers (is it ok if I could get an extension?).

These results generally show that the Saudi groups used the largest number of direct strategies, followed by EFL groups, followed by the British groups. However, just like in the previous situation, the Saudis employed a large number of softeners, modifiers, and address terms to soften their requests, also to exert sympathy from the hearer. For example, Saudi males addressed their teachers with respectful professional terms (30 times). The address terms included (doctor, teacher, my teacher, teacher + first name دكتور، أستاذ، استاذي، أستاذ محمد). Similarly, Saudi females used similar terms with which to address their teachers (40 times), which means that the use of address terms was found in 100% of Saudi female answers to this situation.

The Saudis also presented excuses and reasons for their delay in submitting their homework. When they did, they usually gave reasons related to health problems and family responsibilities. Here are a few examples from Saudi male and female answers: (I was sick and couldn't finish it كنت تعبانة و ما معدني, I was busy with the family كنت مرتبط مع الاهل, my grandfather died جدي توفى). The reason the Saudis mentioned excuses related to family
duties, especially males, can be explained by Nydell, who asserted that ‘the family is the
tfoundation of Middle Eastern society… An employer must be understanding if an
employee is late or absent because of family obligations. It is unreasonable to expect an
Arab employee to give priority to the demands of a job if those demands conflict with
family duties’ (2012: 64).

On the other hand, the British and EFL groups gave short excuses; however the British
were more vague than the EFL groups. Examples from EFL groups include: (I didn't finish
my homework, there is no enough time [sic]). Examples from British male and female
answers include: (I’ve had trouble with my time-management, for reasons x and y).

Furthermore, the Saudis employed other supportive moves, such as: imposition
minimisers (I will submit it tomorrow fully completed رح أسلمه بكرة ان شاء الله جاهز و كامل),
disarmers (I know it's no excuse ادري ما لي حق), IFID before making the request (sorry
ITU), politeness markers (please, if you allow, if you were so kind لو سمحت، باليت لو
أتعتنص، أسف), cost minimisers (if it's okay, if it's possible لو عادي، اذا ممكن),
religious softeners (May Allah keep you happy الله يخليك و يسعدك), even begging (I beg you
ارجووووووك).

A final note to say is that, it is becoming a clear pattern that the Saudis prefer to use direct
requests. However, this preference is probably stimulated by their inclination to make their
requests conspicuous and their intentions clear, not to be impolite to their hearer. This claim
is supported by the Saudis’ heavy use of supportive moves before and after the head act.
7.8 Situation 8 (requesting from a close cousin)

You want to ask your cousin for 100 riyals. You are shopping together and you are short of money. What are you going to say?

للبنت: تبغي قريبتك (بنت عمك مثلا) تسلفك 100 ريال عشانكم في السوق مع بعض و نقصت فلوسك. أيش حتقولي لها؟

للأولاد: تبغي قريبك (ولد عمك مثلا) يسلفك 100 ريال عشانكم في السوق مع بعض و نقصت فلوسك. أيش حتقول له؟

In this situation, the interlocutors are family relatives/first cousins which means typically there is no high power or distance between the interlocutors (-P, -D). The act requested is the speaker wanting to borrow money from the hearer. The amount of money is 100 Saudi Riyals which is equivalent to around 18 or 19 British pounds. Although this might not sound a lot, the raters gave this context a high ranking of imposition because of the embarrassment this request might cause to both the speaker and the hearer. Hence, situation 8 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, -D, +R). Below is the frequency distribution table of request strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 8</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Derivable</th>
<th>Explicit</th>
<th>Performative</th>
<th>Hedged</th>
<th>Performative</th>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Suggestory</th>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Query</th>
<th>Preparatory</th>
<th>Hints</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt</th>
<th>Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16

Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that there were significant differences between the groups in terms of their strategy use. For
example, Saudi males used the strategy ‘mood derivable’ significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .009 < p-value 0.05). Saudi females used the strategy ‘opt out’ significantly more than Saudi males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .012 < p-value 0.05). The Saudis used direct strategies significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .000 < p-value 0.05, sig. value of t-test equality of means for want was .001 < p-value 0.05). The British used indirect strategies significantly more than the Saudis (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .005 < p-value 0.05).

EFL groups used direct strategies significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means for mood derivable was .003 < p-value 0.05, sig. value of t-test equality of means for want was .044 < p-value 0.05). In particular, EFL males used the strategy ‘mood derivable’ significantly more than British males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .002 < p-value 0.05).

Based on these findings, it seems that the Saudis used the most direct styles in their requests; followed by EFL groups; followed by the British groups. Actually, British males used indirect request strategies (including ‘Other’ strategies) in 100% of their answers.

In regards to supportive moves, the Saudis clustered their modifiers around these types: (address terms, religious softeners, grounders, cost minimisers, and imposition minimisers). Examples for address terms include: (mate, boy, hey girl, dear) (ورع، يا ولد، هي بنت، حبيبي).

Some Saudi females assigned first names to the hearer (Arwa, Sara, Nouf).
This suggests that when they wrote their requests, they might have had a real life cousin in mind representing the hearer.

Moreover, some Saudis used informal words and styles in their answers. For example, a Saudi female said that she would ask her cousin (do you have 100 riyals? If yes, she must give it to her immediately; if not, she must ‘piss off’). A Saudi male expressed that he and his cousin are best friends and that if he wanted to ask him for money he would ask him this way (give me 100 quick). The same male said that he himself lent his cousin so much money in the past that there is no way his cousin would refrain from lending him a hundred riyals.

Moreover, although Saudi females opted out the most in this situation, the purpose was not always to be polite. Sometimes, it was rather the opposite. A number of Saudi females mentioned that they would not ask for the money because they will take it from their cousin anyway. They stated that they are so close to their cousins that they did not even have to make the request in the first place. In addition, Saudis used terms that are usually used between friends or close people such as (I’ve asked you say it’s done, and I want to ask you for a favour and I need your up to par chivalry).

Turning to EFL groups, they mainly used address terms (cousin, my bro, you, man, my cousin), first names (Khalid, Khuloud), attention getters (hey), grounders (I don't have money), cost minimisers (if you can), and imposition minimisers (I’ll back it for you [sic]), time-intensifier (give me now), and politeness marker (pleeeaaase).
The British, on the other hand, hardly used any address terms. There was one male who used the term (dude) to address the hearer and that was it. They mainly used grounders (I'm short of cash right now), imposition minimisers (I'll pay you back as soon as possible), and one used the expression (you know I’m good for it). Also, when British females opted out of making the request, they did that out of being polite. One female mentioned that she wouldn't ask for this much. Another said I wouldn't ask it's too embarrassing.

It seems that the British respondents rated the imposition of this request higher than the Saudis and the EFL groups. The exact reason is not clear; it might be the embarrassment caused by asking someone for money, or that even close friends in the British society might have some boundaries between them. I believe that in this case the British speakers wanted to save the hearers’ negative face (H’s right of non-imposition), which again lends support to the claim that British people place more weight on negative face than on positive face.

In sum, this chapter has looked at the participants’ answers to request situations 1 to 8. According to the data analysis, it seems that in most cases, the Saudi Arabic participants used the most direct strategies to perform their requests, followed by the EFL learners who generally preferred using conventionally-indirect strategies, followed by the British who mostly used indirect CCSARP and ‘Other’ strategies. In the case of the Saudis; however, the use of address terms and modifiers before and after the head act helped make their requests sound more polite. In this case, their direct requestive style might have emanated from their want to be clear and to the point where there is less ‘effort’ from the H’s part to get the intended meaning of the request.
### Apology situations:

#### 8.1 Situation 9 (apologising to sister)

You asked your sister (for males, ‘you asked your brother’) to lend you his/her ring to wear for one night at a party and you lost it. What will you say to them when they ask for it back?

للبنات: سألت أختك انها تسلفك خاتمها عشان تلبسيه في حفلة و ترجعه بس ضيعته. ايش حتفولي لها ما تسأل عنه؟

للأولاد: سالت أخوك ان يسلفك خاتمه عشان تلبسه في مناسبة كبيرة على انك ترجعه و ضيعته. ايش حتفولي له لما يسأل عنه؟

In this situation, the interlocutors are either two brothers or two sisters, depending on the speakers’ gender. Normally, there is no power or distance between siblings (-P, -D). In terms of the act being apologised for, it is of high ranking because losing someone’s expensive ring is highly offensive. Hence, situation 9 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, -D, and +R). Below is the frequency distribution table of apology strategy use by all groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 9</th>
<th>IFID</th>
<th>Account</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Offer of repair</th>
<th>Promise of forbearance</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17

Before we start our discussion, it is crucial to point out that, collectively, most of the groups’ contributions contained more than one apology strategy per situation; for example ‘I'm sorry, please forgive me, it's my fault’ (IFID + IFID + acceptance of responsibility). Therefore, unlike
the request tables, some of the percentages in each apology category will appear to be high, as sometimes they were used repeatedly within the same apology situation. I accounted for that by manually counting the number of occurrences of each strategy and placing each under different categorisation on SPSS; for example (IFID once, IFID twice, even IFID thrice). These responses had to be treated differently because they projected different levels of regret and sincerity.

Consider the difference between (*I am sorry*) and (*I am really terribly sorry. Will you forgive me?*). Ogiermann & Sabenroth assert that ‘simplification in coding the data ignores important pragmatic information’ (2012: 382). Therefore, in order to avoid this problem, responses were separated, and each was individually entered into the statistical programme SPSS. They were categorised by counting occurrences of each apology strategy used per group and converting the obtained data into frequencies in order to establish the average use of an apology strategy per group. Using t-test on SPSS, the groups which used multiple numbers of the same strategy in a specific situation will contribute to higher group means. This way, Ogiermann & Sabenroth affirm ‘multiple uses are no longer problematic’ (ibid: 383).

Turning to the data analysis of this situation, we can see that out of the six main apology categories found in the CCSARP project (1989) (IFID, account, accepting responsibility, offer of repair, promise of forbearance, and opting out), only three were relatively frequently employed to express apologies by groups across the two languages. These were: (IFIDs, accepting responsibility, and offering repair). The subcategory that was mainly used to express IFIDs amongst all the groups was ‘expression of regret’ (*sorry, I'm sorry*, أسف، أنا أسفًا). Sometimes,
intensifiers were used with the expression of regret to intensify the effect of the apology on the hearer (I'm really sorry, terribly sorry, مرة أسف، جدا اسفة). We will discuss the IFID category, its use, its different realisations, and intensifiers in the next chapters.

Moving on to the category ‘offer of repair’, this was mainly realised with expressions of promise and offers from the speaker’s part to compensate the hearer for the loss of the ring with either money or the option of buying a new ring. What was interesting was that although all six groups resorted to using this strategy to express apologies for this offence, there were some linguistic and stylistic differences between their contributions. For example, the Saudis modified their offers of repairs with religious expressions, normally linked with serious promises, such as (God willing, promise, I will buy you even a better one, ان شالله وعد اشتري لك حتى أحسن منه). They were also more prone to giving the hearer optionality over the type of compensation they preferred (either I give you the money or buy you a new ring because you might not like what I will buy you, يا اعطيك الفلوس او اشتري لك خاتم جديد لأنه يمكن ما يعجبك نوقي). EFL groups, on the other hand, determined the choices of their offers of repair (I will buy you a new one, I will go to the store and buy an exact copy for you).

The British group, conversely, expressed high levels of hesitation in their offers of repair (I can get you another one if you want? Can I buy you a new one?). Forming their offers of repair as questions gives the hearers a chance to refuse their offers, which might then exempt the speakers from going ahead to make the compensations. Likewise, in their fact
admissions (stating facts about the offence), the British also applied distancing and hesitant devices, as we will see in the next paragraph.

Turning to acceptance of responsibility and admitting facts, these were sometimes linguistically realised in a very similar way. The main difference between the two was the use of the pronoun ‘I’. For example, ‘the ring is lost’ and ‘I lost the ring’ may sound very similar. However, the use of ‘I’ in the latter example gives the impression that the speaker is the one responsible for making the offence. In the former example, the speaker is merely stating or admitting facts about the offence without necessarily owning up to it. As accepting responsibility for the offence is one of the core strategies which form direct and sincere apologies, these two similar realisations had to be placed into different strategy categories.

The groups appeared to be different in their preferences for employing these two strategies. For instance, the British groups preferred to assume responsibility for the offence more than admitting facts by using typical expressions; such as (I was wrong, it's my fault, my mistake). When they admitted facts, however, they were almost always hesitant in their styles, attempting to distance themselves from the offence as much as they could (it disappeared during the party I think, I might have left it at home, I may or may not have lost the ring).

The EFL groups seemed to also prefer to assume responsibility more than admitting facts about the offence. In fact, none of their apologies for this offence contained admissions of facts. Moreover, their average mean scores for accepting responsibility was the highest among the groups, especially EFL females (83%). On the other hand, the Saudis were least
likely to assume responsibility for the offence and they resorted more to admitting facts only (Saudi males used facts in 23% of their apologies, Saudi females used facts in 24% of their apologies).

The last category ‘opting out’ was also employed, but only by the Saudi and EFL groups. However, the reasons which drove the groups to opt out in this situation differed according to the groups’ gender. For example, Saudi males opted out because they stated that in general they do not like to wear rings, so they would never ask their brothers to lend them rings in the first place, meaning that the context of this situation is inapplicable to their lifestyle preferences.

Saudi females, on the other hand, mentioned that they would not apologise to their sisters because they are the eldest daughters in the family and the sisters are younger; which means that it was not their place to apologise as they hold a higher status in the family than their hearers. Consider this statement: (surely because I'm the eldest no one can say anything to me). They also mentioned that they were close to their sisters and that they generally do not apologise to each other as both interlocutors help each other out and lend each other pieces of clothing and jewelry all the time; and that this one time incident should not be considered a big problem. Consider this example: (listen your ring was lost but I’m good for it because there is no shame between me and my sis أقولك خاتمك ضاع عليا بس يفدني لأنه ماشي عيب بيني وبيني و بيني و بيني اختي, I'm not sorry for losing it I also gave her so much of my stuff already مراح اعتذر مو أنا أعطيت ووفيت من قبل أصلا خلاص).
Moving on to ‘Other’ apology categories, it was found that all six groups used strategies not listed under the CCSARP 1989 apology classification and coding scheme. These will be presented individually in each situation as per their use by each group. For example, the Saudis employed the strategy ‘acting innocently’ which was found in 3% of Saudi male answers and 5% of Saudi female answers: (I really don’t know how I lost it, I will look around for it with her and we will discover together that it was lost). (حاتور معها و اكتشف أنه ضاع, one minute let me get it.. Ooh where did it go?). Moreover, Saudis were the only groups to use ‘preparatory expressions’ to introduce their apologies (I will tell you something that will make you angry). (يقولك شي ما يسرك).

In addition, the strategy ‘show good intention/effort’ was found in 8% of Saudi male and female answers, 5% of EFL male answers, 16% of EFL female answers, and 12% of British male answers: (I tried not to lose it, I looked for it everywhere could not find it, دورته كل مكان ما حصلته). Next, the strategy ‘elicit sympathy’ was found in 3% of Saudi male answers, 5% of EFL male answers, 11% of EFL female answers, and 5% of British female answers: (have a big heart, please don’t hate me). The following strategy is ‘nonawareness’ which was found in 13% of Saudi male answers, 10% of Saudi female answers, and 5% of EFL female answers: (it happened by mistake, I don’t know where it disappeared, مدىي وين راح). 6% of British males and 3% of Saudi males chose to ‘lie’ to their hearers about losing the ring (someone stole it, I gave you the ring back, I put it next to your head while you were sleeping). (حطيته عند رأسك و انت نائم).
Additionally, 5% of Saudi males and 3% of Saudi females preferred to ‘give the hearer time’ before admitting to the offence (*let's eat lunch first* خلنا نتغدى أول بعد الغدا نتفاهم, *I will choose the right time to tell her when she is not angry*). 5% of EFL males and 5% of British females attempted to ‘assert shared knowledge with the hearer’ (*I know how you must feel, you know how I am*). Finally, 3% of Saudi males employed the strategy of asking the hearer to ‘deal with it’ (*it's gone دروح عليك*), 5% of Saudi females employed the strategy of ‘destiny’ (*God willed it to be that way* قدر الله و ماشاء فعل), and 5% of British females employed the strategy of making ‘jokes’ (*some hobbits stole it*).

A final note is that both Saudi males and females employed IFIDs significantly less than the EFL and British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 and .000, both < p-value 0.05 respectively). It is well established that the higher the ranking of the imposition the more strategies speakers usually employ to apologise. In this case, however, it seems that because ‘power’ and ‘distance’ were low between the interlocutors, the speakers might have not felt the urgent need to use IFIDs to apologise. It can be hypothesised, then, that the Saudis may appear to be more sensitive to the variables power and distance than the ranking of imposition in their apology productions. We shall look at responses to the rest of the apology situations for comparison reasons.
8.2 Situation 10 (apologising to a stranger)

You as a driver (or your personal driver if you are a female) in a parking lot back into the hearer's car and it was your fault. What will you say to the driver of the other car?

In this situation, the interlocutors are complete strangers, and this type of relationship usually constitutes no power but high distance between the interlocutors. The offence in this situation is high because it entails damaging goods; in this case, the hearer’s car.

Hence, situation 10 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, +D, and +R). Below is the frequency distribution table of apology strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 10</th>
<th>IFID</th>
<th>Account</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Offer of repair</th>
<th>Promise of forbearance</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18

Based on the data from the table above, it can be shown that all six groups showed highest mean scores for their employment of IFIDs. In terms of accounts, Saudi males had the highest average score and Saudi females had the lowest score. Saudi males typically provided reasons such as (There was too much traffic) (زحمة مرة) and (I didn't see you) وما
Saudi females, on the other hand, did not provide reasons for the offence perhaps because they do not even drive in Saudi Arabia. They own cars but have chauffeurs drive them around at all times. Therefore, they employed less ‘account’ and ‘responsibility’ strategies and resorted more to blaming the driver for his heedlessness and negligence.

Regarding responsibility, EFL males had the highest average score for employing this strategy and Saudi females had the lowest. Moving on to offers of repair, the British group exhibited lower average scores than the rest of the groups. This can be explained by referring to their high use of the ‘Other’ category (*give the hearer insurance details*). At first glance, giving someone insurance details, where a car accident is involved, might seem like offering repair for the damaged car. Nevertheless, since the strategy (*give the hearer father’s details*) was treated as an ‘Other’ category, (*give the hearer insurance details*) also had to have its own category. ‘Offers of repair’ was finally assigned only to responses in which the speaker offered the hearer repair of the car (either physically or with money) without the help of a third party, such as: ‘*I will fix your car*’ and ‘*I’ll compensate you for the damage*’.

Lastly, there was high discrepancy between the Saudis and EFL groups’ scores for the strategy ‘opt out’ based on the speakers’ gender. If we take a closer look at the groups’ choices of strategies, we shall see that Saudi females (18%) and EFL females (5%) were the only two groups who opted out in this situation. Not only did they opt out of the act of
apologising, they sometimes even refused to enter any kind of conversation with the hearer, out of ‘being polite’.

It is necessary here to speak a little about the structure of the Saudi society in terms of general communication between men and women. The nature of interaction between men and women in Saudi Arabia is restricted. Men and women do not usually mix in social events and are very careful not be alone with each other, even for a short time. They also attend separate schools and colleges and usually separate into two gatherings, one for men and another for women, as soon as they arrive at a family gathering. This is the traditional setting to which most Saudis happily adhere. As Nydell illustrates ‘in Saudi Arabia…social separation is not practiced merely because it is required by custom; it is often preferred by both men and women because they feel more comfortable’ (2012: 34). Moreover, as Al-Saraj (2015) explains:

‘Islam dictates that women should not have physical contact with men except for male relatives – our fathers, brothers, husbands, sons, and uncles. It would not be acceptable for an unfamiliar man – even a police officer- to arrest a woman, or even to stop a woman on the highway. Her male guardian must be present for any interaction with a man from outside the family… If a woman is not married, her father is her guardian’ (2015: 35).

Based on the above discussion, a number of points were extracted from the answers provided by the Saudi females for this situation:
1- They tended to employ formal linguistic expressions (we seek your pardon ننثني مناك المعذرة من فضلك), forgiveness, please.

2- The speaker used the pronoun ‘we’ to refer to herself and apologised using the plural form of the IFID (we are sorry (pl.) احنا حاضرين, we are at your service احنا حاضرين, انا اسفين).

3- 48% of Saudi females sought help from a third party by either giving the hearer their father’s or their brother’s phone number, or letting the driver deal with the situation.

4- 20% of Saudi females scolded their drivers in front of the hearer hinting that it was not their fault that the accident had happened, but it was rather the driver’s fault because he is either new, cannot drive, or does not know the roads very well yet (what's the problem Fatthi? May Allah guide you to the right way. This is someone’s car. Be careful next time اشبك يا فتحي الله يهديك سيارة الناس ركز مرة ثانية).

5- Saudi females expressed high levels of anxiety in their responses which ranged from (I will cry رح انيك) to (I won't be able to say a word from the shock مراح أتكلم من الصدمة).

6- 18% of Saudi females opted out of apologising and preferred to stay completely silent.

Looking at the rest of the data, the other groups expressed preference for the use of ‘Other’ strategies, such as: (fleeing scene as soon as the speaker apologises in order to evade paying compensation to the hearer, greeting the hearer, showing concern for the hearer’s physical state, and eliciting sympathy). British males and females showed highest preference for the use of the strategy (giving the hearer insurance details), which was used by 35% of British males, 26% of British females, and 17% of EFL males.
8.3 Situation 11 (apologising to teacher)

You are a student who borrowed your professor's book. You promised to return it that day, but you forgot to bring it. What will you say to the teacher?

In this situation, the hearer is the speaker’s university teacher; thus, there is high power and distance between the interlocutors (+P, +D). The speaker forgot to return a book to the hearer on time. Since this was not done intentionally, and the book is not damaged or lost, this situation holds low offence ranking. Hence, situation 11 denotes these social variable combinations (+P, +D, and -R). Below is the table of apology strategy used by all groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 11</th>
<th>IFID</th>
<th>Account</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Offer of repair</th>
<th>Promise of forbearance</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19

As indicated in the table above, IFID was the predominant strategy used by all six groups; however, British females maintained the highest average score for their use of IFIDs in this situation (90%). Saudi males manifested highest preference for the strategy ‘accepting responsibility’ (90%), which was the second strategy most frequently used by all
six groups. The strategy ‘Offer of repair’ came next with the highest average score belonging to the British female groups (74%).

The final strategy ‘opt out’ was employed only by the Saudis in an attempt to evade facing the teacher and having to discuss the matter with him/her. One Saudi female stated in her answer that she would not bring the subject up because the teacher might forget about mentioning the book to her, and that she would bring the book the next day quietly. Another Saudi male said that as soon as he would remember about his offence he would leave the class, get in his car, and go home to bring the book back to the teacher. It seems that in this situation, the Saudis were more concerned about saving their positive faces than the rest of the groups. The EFL groups, conversely, excluded ‘opting out’ from the range of their strategy selection, mirroring the British groups’ behaviour towards this strategy.

Turning to ‘Other’ categories, these were employed only by four groups: both Saudi and both EFL groups. The British groups, on the other hand, did not use any ‘Other’ strategies and strictly limited their strategy selection to the CCSARP apology strategy coding scheme.

The ‘Other’ categories which were employed were: (effort.intention) used by 3% of Saudi males and 8% of Saudi females (I put it on the table and was going to bring it today حطيتته ع الطاولة و على أساس أحببي اليوم); (act.innocently) used by 3% of Saudi males and 5% by EFL females (I was going to bring it I don't know how I forgot كنت حجيبه مدري كيف نسيت); (admit.facts) used by 10% of EFL males (you book is in my house, your book is with me); (kiss.head) used by 5% of EFL females (I will kiss her head so she forgives me); (early
apology) used by 5% of Saudi females (I will speak to her early so she doesn't embarrass me in front of my classmates). 

In addition, it is worth mentioning that there was a significant gender difference between Saudi male and Saudi females’ strategy choice. Saudi females employed IFIDs significantly more than Saudi males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .004 < p-value 0.05). On the other hand, Saudi males primarily preferred to employ ‘acceptance of responsibility’, which was their chief apology strategy choice for this situation. Saudi females also flooded their apologies with IFIDs which were supported with a prolific number of religious softeners (by Allah I'm sorry I forgot the book). Contrarily, Saudi males’ strategy preference was manifested by their abundant use of clear expressions of complete acceptance of responsibility (it's my fault, I made a mistake). It can then be claimed that in this particular situation, the male-male interaction differed from the female-female one in that the females sought other females’ forgiveness by eliciting their sympathy. Males, on the other hand, sought other males’ forgiveness by owning up to the offence and showing clarity and honesty. These are two principals that are much valued by members of the Saudi and Arabic societies, which also reflect the speaker’s proper upbringing by his parents. Nydell explains that ‘social formalities and rules of etiquette are extremely important in Arab society. Good manners constitute the most salient factor in evaluating a person’s character’ (2012: 47 – original emphasis).
8.4 Situation 12 (apologising to a co-worker)

You offended a fellow worker (female) during a discussion at work. After the meeting, the fellow worker (female) mentions this fact and you admitted you were wrong. What will you tell her?

غلطت على زميلة لك في العمل أثناء مناقشة قدم الكل، بعد الاجتماع زميلتك ذكرت هادي النقطة و بينت استياءها و انت اعترفت بغلطك. ايش حتقول(ي) لها؟

In this situation, the interlocutors know each other well as they work at the same work place, and they have similar job positions. Thus, there is presumably no high power or high distance between them (-P, -D). The offence occurred during a heated discussion in which the speaker offended the hearer in front of their other work colleagues; which holds high ranking of offensiveness. Hence, situation 12 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, -D, and +R).

Below is the frequency distribution table of apology strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 12</th>
<th>IFID</th>
<th>Account</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Offer of repair</th>
<th>Promise of forbearance</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20
In this situation, the speaker can either be male or female according to the participant’s gender; the hearer is always female. Thus, potential different behavioural characteristics of males and females can be identified in male-female versus female-female social interactions. First, it can be observed that all six groups employed high levels of direct apologies through the use of IFIDs. Secondly, all the groups employed the strategy ‘accepting responsibility’ in their apologies; however, British males had the highest average mean score for using this strategy (74%), expressed with highly formulaic and ritualised utterances, such as (it's my fault) and (it was my mistake). Thirdly, the groups’ next preference of apology strategies differed significantly. For example, after apologising and accepting responsibility for the offence, Saudi males and females offered to further apologise to the hearer in front of their other work colleagues. They justified this by stating that since the offence took place in front of others, the apology had to also be public; otherwise, the hearer might not be satisfied with just a quiet apology between the interlocutors and the level of the offence would not be mitigated.

British males and females clustered their strategy uses around IFIDs and accepting responsibility. However, a few of them resorted to ‘Other’ categories, such as: (blaming hearer 5%, minimising responsibility 10%, eliciting the hearer’s understanding 10%, and denying responsibility 5%).

The EFL groups’s third most preferred strategies (after IFIDs and acceptance of responsibility) showed different structures from those maintained by the Saudis and the
British groups. EFL males showed preference for a range of strategies (account, promise of forbearance, and opting out); whereas EFL females tended to prefer the employment of the strategy ‘promise of forbearance’. It is as if the EFL groups selected a unique pattern of strategy preferences which was not influenced by either L1 or L2.

Turning on to ‘Other’ categories, it was observed that the groups’ strategy choices in this category were most likely attributed to the speakers’ various intentions and goals. For example, a small number of male speakers from the Saudi and EFL groups viewed this situation as an opportunity to liaise closely with the hearer, in a manner which can be considered unacceptable by members of the Saudi society; such as (kissing the hearer’s head, inviting the hearer to dinner and paying for it, giving the hearer the speaker’s phone number, and apologising to the hearer only if she was physically attractive). Although these strategies were used by some Saudi and EFL respondents, the majority of the rest of the groups employed strategies which fell within the range of apology strategies approved by the Saudi society culturally and ethically.

Females from the Saudi and EFL groups also employed ‘Other’ strategies but for different purposes. In female-female interactions, Saudi and EFL female speakers tended to utilise strategies directed at saving the positive face of the hearer and the speaker. The speakers tended to assert positive relationship with the hearer by reminding the hearer of the close bond she has with the speaker (you know you are like my sister انت تعرف انك زي اختي, you know how dear you are to me and that I don't like to make you mad تعريفي قد ايش اختي).
They also supplemented their linguistic data with a general positive apologetic attitude, such as hugging the hearer and laughing off the offence with her.

This behavioural attribute was brought into focus by one Saudi respondent who stated that she would only apologise to the hearer if the interlocutors were close friends because she would want to maintain the good relationship with the hearer. If the interlocutors were otherwise not very close, the speaker would opt out. Apology depending on social distance shows that the speaker’s true intention in making the apology is to restore the damaged relationship with the hearer in the present and sustain the strong bond between the interlocutors in the future. It also indicates that Saudi females might be prone to being sensitive to the social variable ‘distance’ more so than ‘power’ and ‘the ranking of the imposition’. In other words, a situation in which there is low social distance between the interlocutors might prompt Saudi females to apologise to their hearers more than a situation where there is high distance between the interlocutors.

Based on the above, arguments which could be reasonably concluded are twofold. First, that in female-female interactions, Saudi females use the speech act of apologising as a marker of solidarity and an expression of camaraderie between the interlocutors when the social variable distance is low. Secondly, as Mills, Kerkam, Mansor, and Grainger (2015) affirm, ‘Arabic-speaking people… tend to address the participant’s positive face-wants and to be less concerned about negative face-wants’ (2015: 54).
8.5 Situation 13 (apologising to father)

You promised your dad to wake him up at a certain hour but you forgot and he missed his important appointment. What will you say to him?

وعدت أبوك انك تصحيه في ساعة معينة و نسيت و هو راح عليه موعد مهم. ايش هتمقول(ي) له؟

In this situation, the hearer is the speaker’s father; thus there is high power between the interlocutors but low distance as they belong to the same family and know each other well.

The ranking of the offence is high because when the speaker forgot to wake the hearer up, which he or she was asked to do, the hearer missed his important appointment. Hence, situation 13 denotes these social variable combinations (+P, -D, and +R). Below is the frequency distribution table of apology strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 13</th>
<th>IFID</th>
<th>Account</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Offer of repair</th>
<th>Promise of forbearance</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21

In this situation, Saudi males projected low frequency use of IFIDs in this situation and comparatively high frequency use of the strategy ‘opt out’. The rest of the groups, however, displayed high frequency use of IFIDs, along with other direct apology strategies.

Moreover, British males followed their IFIDs with expressions of accepting responsibility.
for the offence. Saudi males, on the other hand, were one of the least groups to accept responsibility and admit their faults.

It might seem puzzling to some that Saudi males’ apologetic behaviour was in contrast to their performance in situation 11; a situation which also delegates high power to the hearer over the speaker. This observation led to the following speculations. First, that Saudi males’ perception of the power of the hearer is influenced by whether the hearer is a family member or not. Second, since the behaviours of Saudi males and females were largely distinct, it can be assumed that Saudi males and Saudi females may reflect divergent mannerism and attitudes in their everyday associations with their fathers.

Based on Ali (1992) and Ahmed’s (2008) studies of Arab children’s perceptions and images of their fathers, it was concluded that ‘in general, males tended more than females to perceive their parents (especially fathers) as less accepting, more aggressive, more neglecting, and more rejecting. In other words,… the general image of fathers is harsher in the eyes of boys than girls’ (as cited in Shwalb, Shwalb & Lamb 2013: 128). Also, Ismaeel (2001) investigated the role of Saudi fathers and found that ‘Saudi males reported more abuse by their fathers than did female adolescents’ (as cited in Shwalb et al. 2013: 129).

In this situation, it could be the case that Saudi males’ resort to the employment of apology strategies less direct than IFIDs and acceptance of responsibility emanated from their possible deep fear of their fathers’ consequent punishments. Some responses from Saudi males were in accord with these assumptions. For example, a Saudi male stated in his
answering sheet that he would opt out of apologising or even communicating with his father because he predicted that his father will scold him for a long time and that he will keep silent and basically ‘take it’. Another Saudi male mentioned that he would have to lie to his father and tell him that he himself was sleeping otherwise he would be severely punished. 10% of Saudi males also lied to their fathers in this situations (I will pretend I was sleeping because my dad is hot-headed, I overslept otherwise of course I would wake you up, I tried to wake you up but you wouldn't wake up, I might have forgotten and I would keep silent).

In addition, a few Saudi males showed deference to their fathers by kissing their hands and their heads. This social act is commonly used by Saudi boys and girls to show negative politeness towards their parents. However, in this situation, none of the Saudi females employed this strategy. Saudi males, on the other hand, showed more respect toward their fathers than Saudi females using deferential expressions and respectful address terms.

In order to attempt to explain this transparent disparity between the two Saudi genders’ behaviours, it is essential to elucidate the expected role of the ‘son’ in the Saudi family. Within the Islamic context, a male heir inherits twice as much money as his counterpart female. This is justified by the Islamic law which dictates that an adult male should be responsible for providing financial means to his family along with clothing and shelter; whereas the female does not share this responsibility. From a Saudi cultural point of view,
as Al-Luhaibi (2014) clarifies, ‘the eldest male in the household [is] given priority in terms of supervising finances and administering discipline in the household’ (2014: 169).

Therefore, it could be reasonably concluded that Saudi males’ elusive attitudes towards apologising to their fathers, such as adopting the strategies of ‘lying’ and ‘opting out’ might have been urged by their embarrassment of their part in this offence, which makes them not only lose positive face but also appear irresponsible and less reliable sons.

Contrastingly, Saudi females elicited more sympathy from their fathers and embraced softer tones in their approaches to apology. Some of the strategies Saudi females employed were (crying, reminding dad of the fact that the hearer is his dear most favorite daughter, blaming hearer for not setting an alarm himself, asking hearer not to be angry, showing hearer that this has already been written and that it is ‘destiny’ that made him miss this appointment, and finally distract the hearer by making him laugh and forget the incident). Saudi females’ responses to this particular situation endorses the hypothesis that, as Fukushima (2015) asserts, ‘the heart could be another theoretical concept to construe politeness’ and that ‘attentiveness can be better explained from the heart rather than the face’ (2015: 270).

In addition to the above mentioned strategies, a few Saudi females chose to apologise to their fathers by offering food to them, particularly by offering to make them breakfast. This could be explained by the fact that ‘[In Arab society] it would not be an overgeneralization to say that generosity shown in offering food… is one of the most prominent forms of
cordiality’ (Bayraktaroglu and Sifianou 2001: 52-53) (as cited in Mills et al. 2015: 54).

Thus, the outcome of Saudi females’ collective strategy use indicates that in this situation, Saudi females preferred to use positive politeness strategies more than negative politeness strategies, most likely for the purpose of restoring the balance and bridging the gap in the relationship between them and their fathers caused by this offence.

Turning to the British respondents’ employment of ‘Other’ strategies, it was found that British males’ strategy choices were noticeably different from those selected by Saudi males. For example, 20% of British males blamed their fathers for the offence, contending that their fathers should have set an alarm themselves and/or should have not exclusively relied on them if they had an important appointment to make (you should’ve used an alarm clock in addition to relying on me in waking you up, next time you should set the alarm yourself, buy an alarm clock). These two distinctive behaviours shown by British males and Saudi males towards their fathers in the same context can shed light on differences between Eastern and Western societies concerning internal familial relationships within the household.

For example, as Biddle (2012) puts it, ‘[in individualistic cultures], human beings are not in any way metaphysically attached or dependent on one another; each must use his own mind and direct his own body; no one else can do either for him’ (2012: 1). By contrast, ‘in collectivist cultures, families tend to be characterized by respect for parental authority and strong, interdependent ties’ (Bejanyan, Marshall & Ferenczi, 2015: 1).
This cultural contrast between the two groups’ opposing perceptions of parental authority and personal independence may have caused the respondents to adopt different methods in dealing with this offence. On close inspection, it is evident that the British males were more overt and confident in their overall demeanor; whereas the Saudi males were more reserved and less confident against their fathers’ authoritative figures. This gives rise to the hypothesis that out of Hofstede's cultural dimensions, the cultural dimension ‘collectivism vs. individualism’ can be perhaps considered the most applicable in explaining the reasons which prompted the participants to choose between different apologetic strategies.

8.6 Situation 14 (apologising to an applicant)

You are a staff manager who has kept a student waiting for half an hour for a job interview because you were called to an unexpected meeting. What will you say when you get back?

In this situation, the speaker is a potential boss-to-be of the hearer; therefore, the hearer does not have power over the speaker (-P). There is distance between the interlocutors because at this point they are still strangers (+D). The ranking of the imposition is not high since it is expected that bosses are usually busy and might be late to interview someone for a new job. Hence, situation 14 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, +D, and -R).

Below is the frequency distribution table of apology strategy use by all six groups.
According to the table above, IFIDs were the most frequently used apology strategy by all six groups, followed by the strategy ‘accounts’. The third most preferred strategies differed between each group; Saudi males showed high preference for using the strategy ‘accepting responsibility’. As a matter of fact, their mean score for using this strategy was the highest amongst all the groups. Saudi females also showed high preference for the use of the strategy ‘accepting responsibility’. EFL males and females also demonstrated preference for the use of the strategy ‘accepting responsibility’ as well as the strategy ‘offer of repair’. Finally, British males and females employed the strategy ‘accepting responsibility’ but at a much lower degree, (0%) and (5%) respectively.

Although none of the British males admitted responsibility for this offence, they had the highest score (15%) for using the ‘Other’ strategy ‘showing support and concern for the hearer emotionally’ (I hope it has not been too much of an inconvenience, I hope you have
not been waiting too long). Alternatively, 8% of Saudi males preferred to use the ‘Other’ strategy ‘changing subject’ (ok now let's start our work) and 13% of Saudi females showed appreciation for the hearer’s waiting by expressing their thanks to them. 5% of EFL groups elicited the hearer's understanding of busy schedules and heavy workload, and 5% of British females showed emotional support and concern for the hearer.

What primarily emerges from these data is in stark contrast to the common belief that Arabs tend not to apologise when they are in a position of high power. For example, Abu Humei (2013) presented results from his Arabic apology study, attesting that ‘[in the Arabic data], promise of non-recurrence is not used repeatedly with lower status because they [the speakers] feel that they are superior to the people of this status. As for intensified IFID is used heavily [sic] with higher status and equal one, but it is not used recurrently with lower status people. This reflects sincerity and respect to people of higher and equal status [only]’ (2013: 53- italics in original).

This situation’s results, to the contrary, demonstrate that Saudi males and females often adopt direct styles in apologising to their hearers who are inferior to them in power and status and even take the time to extend appreciatory expressions and thanking utterances to them.

Running the statistical tests Levene and the two-tailed t-test on the data showed that the Saudi groups admitted responsibility for this offence significantly more than the British groups did (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 < p-value 0.05). On the other
hand, British respondents seldom claimed responsibility for the offence. Saudi groups also employed ‘offer of repair’ significantly more than the British (sig. value of t-test equality of means was \( .004 < p\)-value 0.05). Moreover, EFL groups used the strategy ‘offer of repair’ significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was \( .023 < p\)-value 0.05). However, there was no significant differences between Saudis and EFL in any of the apology strategies which brings us to believe that in this situation, EFL groups’ strategy selection patterns corresponded more to those chosen by the Saudis more so than those selected by the British.

8.7 Situation 15 (apologising to a customer)

You are a waiter/waitress in an expensive restaurant and you bring the completely wrong ordered dish to a surprised customer. What will you say to the customer(s)?

انت جرسون(ة) في مطعم فخم و غالي و بالغلط قدمت الطبق الخاطئ. ايش حقول(ي) للزباين؟

In this situation, the speaker is a waiter who is serving the hearer, a customer at a restaurant; therefore, the hearer has some power over the speaker (+P). Also, since the interlocutors are strangers, there is high distance between them (+D). The ranking of the offence is not high because bringing the wrong dish to a customer usually happens unintentionally and without causing physical damage. Hence, situation 15 denotes these social variable combinations (+P, +D, and -R). Below is the frequency distribution table of apology strategy use by all six groups.
Similar to the above situation, IFID was the apology strategy most frequently used by all six groups. ‘Offers of repair’ and ‘admitting responsibility’ were the second strategies to be recurrently used. ‘Other’ strategies, such as ‘admitting facts’, were also employed. The strategy ‘admitting facts’ about the offence was realised as (*this is the wrong dish, this is not your order* هدا الطلب غلط، هذي مو وجبتكم) and was used by 25% of Saudi males and females, 15% of EFL males, 10% of EFL females, and 5% of British females.

Another strategy which was often used was ‘rewards’, realised as (*this meal is on the house, you are rewarded with free dessert* الطبق على حسابي، عشاكم ع المطعم، الحلى مجاني) and employed by 15% of Saudi males, 13% of Saudi females, 20% of EFL males, 10% of EFL females, and 5% of British males and females. This strategy can be considered a sub-category of the apology strategy ‘offer of repair’. Moreover, another strategy which was exclusively used by the Saudi groups was ‘eliciting the hearer’s understanding’, realised as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 15</th>
<th>IFID</th>
<th>Account</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Offer of repair</th>
<th>Promise of forbearance</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23
and employed by 3% of Saudi males and 3% of Saudi females.

According to the statistical analysis of this situation, Saudi males claimed responsibility for the offence significantly more than Saudi females (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .011 < p-value 0.05). Alternatively, Saudi females offered repair to the hearer significantly more than Saudi males (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .016 < p-value 0.05). Also, Saudi males and females collectively admitted responsibility for this offence significantly more than the British did (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 < p-value 0.05).

Additionally, EFL groups admitted responsibility for the offence significantly more than the British groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .005 < p-value 0.05). However, there were no significant differences between the Saudis and the EFL groups in their strategy choices and uses. This indicates that in this situation, EFL groups’ strategic and linguistic behaviours were similar to those depicted by the Saudis more than the British.
8.8 Situation 16 (apologising to a friend)

You are a notoriously unpunctual student who is late again for a meeting with a friend with whom you are working on a joint paper. What will you tell your friend when you arrive?

انت معروف(ة) انك دايما طالب(ة) من النوع الي يتأخر في كل شي، و كان عندك اجتماع مع صديق(ة) عشان تشتغلوا مع بعض على واجب مشترك بينكم. ايش حتفول(ي) لما توصل(ي) متأخر(ة)؟

In this situation, the interlocutors are classmates who study in the same classes, so there is presumably no high power or high distance between the interlocutors. The context of this situation involves the speaker arriving late to work on a paper which the interlocutors were supposed to do jointly. It was agreed by the raters that being late unintentionally without causing any kind of physical damage should have low to medium offence ranking, not a high one. Hence, situation 16 denotes these social variable combinations (-P, -D, and -R). Below is the frequency distribution table of apology strategy use by all six groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 16</th>
<th>IFID</th>
<th>Account</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Offer of repair</th>
<th>Promise of forbearance</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Opt out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi male</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi female</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL male</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL female</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British male</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British female</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24

Similar to the above situation, IFID was the apology strategy most frequently used by all six groups. The rest of the strategies were all employed by all the six groups, except for ‘opting out’ which was only used by the Saudi groups. Based on the groups’ average mean
scores, it can be noted that the EFL groups’ scores were similar to the Saudis regarding the employment of the strategy ‘account’. Conversely, the EFL groups’ scores were similar to the British in terms of their use of the strategy ‘responsibility’. However, it can also be noted that the EFL groups’ scores were different from both the Saudis and the British regarding the use of the strategy ‘Offer of repair’ for which the EFL groups showed preference. This suggests that in this situation the EFL groups adopted patterns of strategy selections parallel to the Saudis at times and parallel to the British at other times. EFL groups also expressed their volition in their choice of strategy by using the apology strategy ‘Offer of repair’ more than the British and significantly more than the Saudis (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .038 < p-value 0.05).

Alternatively, the Saudis employed the strategy ‘accepting responsibility’ significantly more than the EFL groups (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .012 < p-value 0.05) and the strategy ‘account’ significantly more than the British (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .025 < p-value 0.05). The British, on the other hand, used IFIDs significantly more than the Saudis (sig. value of t-test equality of means was .001 < p-value 0.05).

Turning to the use of ‘Other’ strategies, Saudi males employed the following strategies: concern for H emotional 5%, deal with it 15%, assert shared knowledge with H 23%, don’t be mad 3%, elicit H understanding 3%, scold H 3%, blame H 3%, change subject 3%. 
‘Other’ strategies used by Saudi female were: deal with it 8%, assert shared knowledge with H 25%, don’t be mad 3%, blame H 5%, change subject 3%, laughing 5%, minimise responsibility 3%, good intention 5%, too embarrassed to apologise 3%, hug heart 5%.

‘Other’ strategies employed by EFL male were: deal with it 15%, assert shared knowledge with H 15%, change subject 5%, minimise resp 5%, joke 5%, silence 10%.

‘Other’ strategies employed by EFL females were: change subject 10%, assert positive relationship with H 5%.

‘Other’ strategies employed by British males were: concern for H emotional 5%, deal with it 10%, assert shared knowledge with H 15%, blame H 10%, change subject 10%, joke 5%. And finally, ‘Other’ strategies employed by British females were: concern for H emotional 5%, laughing 5%, act innocently 5%.

One final observation to make in this situation is that, like situation 12, Saudi females used a number of positive politeness strategies (laughing with H, hug H, drawing a heart smiley, etc.) in an attempt to reconcile with the hearer after the offence took place. In both situations (12 and 16), the hearer is a close friend/colleague of the speaker, and the speaker’s choice to apologise in this case might be urged more by the close relationship between the interlocutors, which the speaker seems to not want to lose.

In chapters 7 and 8, data was analysed per situation. In the next chapters (9 and 10), data will be analysed per strategy, request strategies in chapter 9 and apologies in chapter 10.
Chapter 9

Request situations

9.1 Mood derivable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pass salt</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(-P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borrow notes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hand pen</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sister kitchen</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neighbour</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job advert</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extend essay</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borrow 100sr</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens</td>
<td></td>
<td>108</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divided by 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Tokens      | 108                  | 77          | 32            | 23        | 16          | 24            |

Table 25

To begin with, it should be pointed out that ‘tokens’ refer to the total number of occurrences of the strategy used by each group participant. The total number of tokens was calculated by manually counting each participant’s response which contained this strategy within a single group. For example, we can see that the strategy ‘mood derivable’ was
employed 108 times in Saudi male requests, and 77 times in Saudi female responses. In this case, Saudi males used the strategy ‘mood derivable’ more than Saudi females.

In order to compare between the tokens of all six groups, however, the problematic mismatch between the number of participants in the two Saudi groups (40 participants each) and the other four groups (20 participants each) had to be resolved first. It was then decided that this would only be possible if the total number of tokens given to Saudi males (40) and females (40) was divided by 2. This way, all the tokens given to all six groups would be calculated based on an equal number of 20 participants per group. In the case of comparing between Saudi males and females only, no division is required as each group bears 40 participants; therefore, the total number of tokens will be used instead.

According to the CCSARP table of request strategy types, mood derivable is characterised when ‘the grammatical mood of the verb in the utterance marks its illocutionary force as a request: ‘Leave me alone’ and ‘clean up this mess, please’’ (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 202). Mood derivable is a direct request strategy which is usually formed by using the ‘imperative’ mood of the verb in the sentence.

As established before, Saudi males used imperatives (direct mood derivables) in their requests to their mothers more than Saudi females. This result is in conformity with Al-Johani (2014) who asserted that according to the Saudi data, ‘the most common strategies used by male and female participants are those of BOR (bald on record) where male participants used this strategy for 50% of the time while women used it for 32.5%’ (2014: 36). Conversely, the
result is in contrast with Bajri (2005) whose one of her main findings is that in requests, Saudi males used indirect strategies more than Saudi females. It is also contrary to Farahat’s study which demonstrated that ‘[while requesting mothers]… female subjects prefer positive politeness strategies and hints, the majority of male subjects prefer indirect requests accompanied by expressions of appreciation and joking’ (2009: 199).

In addition, collectively, Saudi males and females used the highest number of imperative tokens in their requests, (52) and (36) respectively; followed by EFL males (31 tokens); followed by EFL females and British females (24 tokens each); and finally British males, who had only 16 tokens. Like the Saudi groups, EFL males generally had more imperative tokens than EFL females. On the other hand, British females used more imperatives in their requests than British males.

The situation which contained the highest average use of mood derivables among all the situations was situation 4 (-P, -D, -R) and the lowest was in situation 6 (-P, +D, -R). It seems that in situation 4, the weightiness of the request was low because all the social variables were low. This seems to have encouraged the speakers to use higher percentages of direct mood derivables. This result is in alignment with B and L’s weightiness calculation criteria. Contrastively, in situation 6, power is low and distance is high and the speakers chose to use indirect strategies in this situation much more than direct ones. In addition, in situation 1, power was high and distance was low; yet students chose to use mostly direct strategies to make their requests to the hearer. This might indicate three things:
1- In forming requests, all the participants might be more sensitive to the social variable *distance* than *power*.

2- In order for the participants to use high percentages of indirect request strategies, both *power* and *distance* are preferred to be of high ranking (+P, +D) as in situations 3, 5, and 7.

3- Because participants chose the same situations to use the most and least numbers of mood derivables, they seem to be in agreement with request situation weightiness calculations.

The first hypothesis agrees with the results obtained from Farahat’s (2009) study in which it was observed that ‘social distance between a speaker and a hearer was found to be the major determining factor of the linguistic politeness employed’ (2009: 227). However, it is in contrast with Banikalef, Maros, Aladdin, and Al-Natour (2015) who highlighted that ‘the selections of apology strategies were influenced by social status more than the degree of the severity of offence or the social distance’ (2015: 83).

Turning to EFL learners’ average scores, it can be shown that their scores resembled the British scores in all situations, except for situations 7 and 8 in which their scores matched the Saudi Arabic groups. Situations 7 and 8 hold different social variable values so it would not be clear which social variables affected their strategy making choices. The only consistent variable was R which was high in both situations, which may have caused the Saudi and EFL groups to use direct methods to show H the urgency of the request.
9.2 Explicit performatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pass salt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borrow notes</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hand pen</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sister kitchen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neighbour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Job advert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extend essay</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Borrow 100sr</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26

Explicit performatives were defined by Austin (1962: 61-62) as: ‘any [performative] utterance which is… reducible, or expandable, or analysable into a form with a verb in the first person singular present indicative active (grammatical)’. ‘Structurally, prototypical explicit performatives are characterised by the following features: the first-person pronoun, the simple-present tense and the possibility of inserting the adverb “hereby”’ (Jary, 2007: 4). On these grounds, explicit performatives can take one of the following forms: ‘I (hereby) ask…’ and ‘I (hereby) request…’
According to the CCSARP table of request strategy types, explicit performatives are characterised ‘when the illocutionary force of the utterance is explicitly named by the speaker: ‘I'm asking you not to park the car here’’ (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 202).

Based on my data, this strategy was rarely used by all six groups; except for situation 6, in which the speaker is asking the hearer to provide more information about the job advert in the newspaper. Parallel to the CCSARP example, the explicit performative strategy found in my English data was realised as: ‘I'm asking you for some information regarding the job advertisement’ and ‘I'm requesting information about the job advert’. This strategy was not used by any of the Saudi respondents; which might suggest that in Saudi Hijazi Arabic, the explicit performative strategy might not establish a viable request form.

The reason the British groups and EFL male subjects employed this strategy in this one specific situation might be related to the context of situation 6. In situation 6, the speaker asks H for something that he or she is supposed to do as it is part of their job. Not only is there no high ranking of imposition in making this request, it is actually the speaker’s right to make the request in the first place. Because H is basically doing his/her job, this might have been the reason which encouraged the speakers to use direct styles in their requests. Therefore, the speaker’s right of making the request could be another factor which might affect the level of politeness and directness in making requests in English. This factor was apparently overlooked by B and L. It is an important factor that should get more attention.
9.3 Hedged performative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R) Pass salt</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R) Borrow notes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R) Hand pen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R) Sister kitchen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R) neighbour</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R) Job advert</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<td>28%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R) Extend essay</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27

According to the CCSARP table of request strategy types, hedged performatives are assigned to ‘utterances embedding the naming of the illocutionary force: ‘I would like you to give your lecture a week earlier’’ (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain ibid.). In this example, ‘give’ is the main verb performing the request and ‘would like’ is a modal auxiliary helping verb.

This type of tentative language is called ‘hedging’, hence the name of the strategy.

Similar to ‘explicit performative’, hedged performative was only used in situation 6 where S is requesting H to give her information about the job advertised in the newspaper.
Notwithstanding, unlike the previous strategy, ‘hedged performative’ was used by both English and Arabic groups, which suggests that hedged performative is a viable request form in both languages.

The reason why this strategy was used only in one particular situation might be again related to the context of situation 6. All these request forms (I would like to enquire أرغبُmm أستفسر, I want to have more information أرغبُmm أطلب/ أخذ معلومات أكثر, and I need to ask about the job advert احتاج أسأل/ معلومات عن اعلان الوظيفة) are usually used in formal situations where S has an enquiry and wants H to give her specific information about something. This strategy is also largely found in emails sent by students to universities with specific questions and enquiries in mind.

It can be suggested then that, the specific context of a social encounter requiring making particular linguistic choices grammatically and stylistically is a factor overlooked by B and L in their politeness model. As we can see from the strategy ‘hedged performative’, the main factor which could have caused the occurrence of this strategy to cluster around one situation was ‘the peculiarity and formality of the context of situation 6’.

In terms of EFL strategy making choices, there was no pragmatic transfer from Arabic requestive behaviour in this strategy. If anything, the learners’ average scores were closer to the British scores than the Saudi Arabic groups.
Table 28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrow notes</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand pen</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neighbour</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job advert</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extend essay</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrow 100sr</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>Tokens</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the CCSARP table of request strategy types, locution derivable (a.k.a obligation) is characterised when ‘the illocutionary point is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution: ‘*Madam, you’ll have to move your car*’’ (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain ibid.).

This strategy was used by the groups only in situation 4. In situation 4, S is asking H to clean a mess the H did herself; thereby the request made is justified by the fact that it is the H’s obligation to perform the act requested. This is also the case in the example given by
the CCSARP table above. Moreover, in situation 4, all the three social variables are low. This might have also urged the speakers to use direct styles in their requests.

Therefore, the three main factors which may have propelled the speakers to use this strategy in situation 4 could be: the speaker’s right of making the request, the hearer’s obligation to do the act requested, and the low ranking of the P, D, R variables between the interlocutors. Only the last factor was considered by B and L in their politeness theory.

9.5 Want

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R) Pass salt</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R) Borrow notes</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R) Hand pen</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R) Sister kitchen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R) neighbour</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R) Job advert</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R) Extend essay</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R) Borrow 100sr</td>
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<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29
According to the CCSARP table of request strategy types, scope stating (a.k.a want) is characterised when ‘the utterance expresses the speaker’s intentions, desire or feeling vis a vis the fact that the hearer do X: ‘I really wish you'd stop bothering me’” (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain ibid.- italics in original).

Saudi males and females used this strategy the most; followed by the EFL groups; followed by the British groups. It seems that Saudi males’ use of this strategy was impelled by the need to show the urgency of the request, as in situation 7, in which Saudi males exhibited highest score for their use of this strategy. It is interesting that Saudi males showed preference for the use of a direct strategy in situation 7; a situation which has high ranking of all three social variables as indicated in table 29. This might show that the use of direct strategies may be appropriate in situations in which S wants H to understand the importance and the urgency of making the request.

On the other hand, all other five groups scattered their use of this strategy around request situations with different social variable combinations.

In terms of EFL strategy choices, situations 1-5 resembled British strategy selections. Only situation 8 resembled the Saudis’ selections. It can be hypothesised then that in employing ‘wants’, EFL students do not tend to negatively transfer strategy use from L1.
9.6 Suggesting formula

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pass salt</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Borrow notes</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sister kitchen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job advert</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extend essay</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Borrow 100sr</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30

According to the CCSARP table of request strategy types, language specific suggestory formula is characterised when ‘the sentence contains a suggestion to do X: ‘why don’t you get lost?’ and ‘how about cleaning up?’’ (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain ibid.).

Saudi males and EFL females were the only two groups that used this strategy in their requests. Saudi males employed this strategy in 4 request situations; EFL females used it in one situation. Out of all 4 situations, the ranking of imposition (R) was high in 3 of them. It
seems, then, that this is the main social variable which caused the use of this strategy. For some reason, the same variable did not have the same effect on the other four groups.

In terms of EFL males, it is not obvious whether their zero use of this strategy was caused by negative transfer from L1 as Saudi females never used this strategy but Saudi males did, or by resemblance of target-like behaviour because the British did not employ this strategy either. One thing for sure is that in English, this strategy appears not to be preferred to use as a request strategy by British respondents.

9.7 Query preparatory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R) Pass salt</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>90%</td>
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<td>70%</td>
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</tr>
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<td>23%</td>
<td>83%</td>
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<td>74%</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R) Sister kitchen</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R) neighbour</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>79%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R) Job advert</td>
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<td>25%</td>
<td>37%</td>
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<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R) Extend essay</td>
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<td>68%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>74%</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R) Borrow 100sr</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divided by 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31
According to the CCSARP table of request strategy types, query preparatory is assigned to ‘utterances [which] contain reference to preparatory conditions (e.g. ability or willingness, the possibility of the act being performed) as conventionalized in any specific language: ‘could you clear up the kitchen, please?’ and ‘would you mind moving your car, please?’’ (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain ibid.).

In my data, as well as in many other linguistic politeness studies (e.g the CCSARP), this strategy was extensively used by all six groups regardless of the weightiness of the situations. According to Trosborg (1995) conventionally indirect query preparatory are popular indirect request strategies for the following reasons:

- There are more effective ways of requesting available in this category than the others.
- The agent and the desired act are mentioned explicitly with a higher degree of politeness.
- Preparatory conditions make the hearer feel that compliance is not taken for granted.
- They are suitable for situations with different status and distance relations.

(as cited in Abuarrah, Lochtman & Lutjerhams 2013: 1127-1128).

According to the Saudi Arabic and English data, q-prep strategies had 5 distinctive functions: ability, willingness, possibility, permission, and possession. The first four functions were also detected in the CCSARP project data results. The last function was detected in my data and used by all six group participants.
Examples from Saudi Arabic data include:

**Ability:** (can you give me the lecture notes?  
(تقدري تعطيني الملخص؟))

**Willingness:** (will you give me a ride on your way home?  
(ترجعني في طريقك؟))

**Possibility:** (is it possible to give me a ride home?  
(ممكن ترجعني؟))

**Permission:** (is it ok to bring it tomorrow? do you mind giving me the pen?  
(is it alright with you if I come along  
(عندك مانع أخي معاك؟ تسمح لي بالفلام؟))

**Possession:** (do you have 100? do you have more information?  
(معاك مية؟ معلومات أكثر؟))

Examples from Saudi EFL data include:

**Ability:** can/could (‘can’ was used 48 times by EFL males and 73 times by EFL females.  
On the other hand, ‘could’ was employed 17 times by EFL males and 14 times by females).

**Willingness:** Would you give me money?

**Possibility:** Is it possible to…?

**Permission:** May I? Is it ok to…?

**Possession:** Do you have…?

Examples from the British data include:

**Ability:** can/could/are you able to…? (‘can’ was used 40 times by British males and 29 times by British females, ‘could’ was used 29 times by British males and 30 times by British females).

**Willingness:** willingness was never solely used by the British participants. It was always attached to another function such as (willing.ability= would you be able to give me?).

**Possibility:** May I…? Is it ok to…? Is it alright to…? Do you mind…?

**Permission:** Is it possible to…? What are the chances…? Is there a chance…?

**Possession:** Do you have…?

Furthermore, there were many q-prep function ‘combinations’ found in the British data, such as the example (willing.ability) above. In Arabic; however, there were no occurrences of any function combination q-prep strategies. The same can be said in the EFL data. This could mean two things. One, that the EFL subjects seem to have transferred their L1 sentence formations to their q-prep request forms in English such as (‘may you give me
Two, that EFL students might not be aware of the existence of the possible ‘function-combined’ request forms in English. These forms will be listed in the ‘Other’ categories section below. I hope that any English teacher or EFL student takes a close look at these forms and learns them as they do not seem to be readily available in most English language text books.

In addition, in my data results, the number of times the British used the verbs ‘can’ and ‘could’ in forming their indirect requests were similar. For example, in the case of British females, ‘can’ was used 29 times and ‘could’ 30 times, which hardly shows any difference. However, the EFL groups, particularly females, preferred to use ‘can’ more than ‘could’. They also never used the expression ‘are you able to…?’ to express the q-prep function ‘ability’. It is suggested then that English teachers should teach Saudi EFL students the expression ‘are you able to…?’ and suggest to them that they should use the verbs ‘can’ and ‘could’ equally with a slight preference for ‘could’ when they form their requests.
### 9.8 Hints

According to the CCSARP table of request strategy types, the strategy ‘hints’ is divided into two types: strong hints and mild hints. Strong hints are any utterance which ‘contains partial reference to object or to elements needed for the implementation of the act (directly pragmatically implying the act [as in] ‘you’ve left the kitchen in a right mess’ (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 202). Mild hints, on the other hand, are ‘utterances that make no reference to the request proper (or any of its elements) but are interpretable through the context as requests (indirectly pragmatically implying the act [as in] ‘I’m a nun’ (in response to the persistent boy)’ (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain ibid.- brackets in original).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pass salt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borrow notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hand pen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sister kitchen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neighbour</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job advert</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extend essay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borrow 100sr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32
In my data, hints were not often used by the groups. Moreover, it was hard at times to distinguish between the two types of hints for lack of sufficient referencing examples. This accords to Leech (2014) who mentioned that ‘some categories [in the CCSARP classificatory scheme] are vague (how does one draw the line between “strong hints” and “mild hints”?)’ (2014: 267- brackets and inverted commas in original).

The use of hints was dominant in situation 6 in which S wants to enquire from H about the job offer advertised in the newspaper. In this situation, a number of participants solely used these statements in their answers: ‘I’m calling about the ad’ and ‘I’m phoning regarding the job offer’. In these answers, no particular request has been detected, and because there is partial reference to the object requested, these instances were considered ‘strong’ hints.

In situation 3, only the two EFL groups used hints to imply to their hearer that they needed a pen. The hints were basically something like ‘I didn’t bring a pen’ and ‘I forgot my pen at home’. If these statements were supplemented by a request head act, they would be considered a type of supportive move; typically ‘grounders’. Nonetheless, because these statements were the sole answers to this situation, they were considered hints. In this case ‘strong hints’ as the object requested ‘the pen’ was mentioned.

Lastly, although not a very popular request strategy, but because hints were used by all six groups, ‘the use of hints… seems universal’ (Abuarrah et al. 2013: 1113).
9.9 Opt out

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (+P, -D, -R) Pass salt</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (-P, -D, +R) Borrow notes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (+P, +D, -R) Hand pen</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (-P, -D, -R) Sister kitchen</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (+P, +D, +R) neighbour</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (-P, +D, -R) Job advert</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (+P, +D, +R) Extend essay</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (-P, -D, +R) Borrow 100sr</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Tokens | 11 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 2 |
| Divided by 2 | 6 | 5 |

Table 33

‘Opting out’ is not included in the Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984 request strategy category table. However, the strategy was found in the 1989 CCSARP project data, and it basically means that the speaker chooses not to do the required speech act. Ogiermann explains that ‘[opting out is] the most face-protective approach taken in offensive situations. By remaining silent or ignoring the offended party, the speaker refuses not only to accept responsibility but also to deal with the situation (2009a: 139). According to B and
L, this strategy is the most face saving politeness strategy; and in terms of directness, it is the most covert type of handling FTAs.

In my data, this strategy was used by all groups except for British males; however, opting out had different purposes or functions per use. For example, in situation 1, EFL males and Saudi males opted out of requesting their mothers to pass the salt in order to save their positive face and ‘the responsible son’ image that they would like to present for themselves in front of others. Similarly, in situation 3, EFL males and Saudi males were the only groups who employed this strategy in their requests. Moreover, they seemed to have opted out of requesting a pen from their future boss out of respect to the hearer and to save their positive face and ‘the responsible employee’ image in front of their potential future boss-to-be.

In contrast, in situation 4, only Saudis (male and female) employed ‘opting out’ in their requests. The purpose for using this strategy does not appear to be out of respect and showing politeness toward H (their little sister). Instead, it seems to be more to do with the lack of need to perform the FTA because their friends would not have to come and see the messy kitchen as they would head straight to the speaker’s bedroom.

In situation 5, EFL males and Saudi males had the highest scores for using the ‘opt out’ strategy. Again, it does not seem to be just out of respect to H. It appears to be further motivated by the speakers’ want to save their positive face in front of H.
In situation 7, EFL groups (male and female) used the strategy ‘opt out’ the most. The purpose for employing this strategy does not appear to be only out of respect to H, but equally motivated by, as the students confirmed themselves, the inappropriateness of the context of this situation to apply to their lifestyles. It should be mentioned that the main purpose for opting out in this situation (inappropriateness of situation context) unearthed a downside to using DCTs as a research data collection method. Although participants were clearly asked to imagine themselves in these situations and write the responses they would give in real life interactions, subjects were still unable to completely assume the situation roles and complained that some of the situations were inconsistent with their personalities. They asserted in many occasions that for example they would never be late to hand in the essay on time because they are known to be punctual individuals and so on.

Finally, in situation 8, Saudi females were the group which used the opt out strategy the most. They do not appear to have chosen this strategy to show politeness toward the hearer. Instead, they mentioned that they did not have to do the FTA in the first place because they (the speakers) will take the money from the hearers without asking them as they are already first cousins, always share things between them, and are very close friends.

In sum, we can hypothesise from the above discussion that sometimes the only reason a speaker would opt out is to fulfil her own face wants and not the hearer’s.

In the next section of this chapter, all the ‘Other’ request strategies which were found in my data but were not part of the CCSARP coding scheme manual will be listed.
9.10 Request strategies external to the CCSARP

In this section, the ‘Other’ categories will be listed for other researchers to see and discuss them. If they are also found in their data, this will assure linguists that these are viable request forms in Arabic and/or English and thus should be learnt by EFL learners.

‘Other’ request strategies used by Saudi Arabic participants only:

Under this heading, the ‘Other’ request strategies used by Saudis only will be outlined. As there is no precedent in coding these request forms under ‘Other’ categories in any other Arabic politeness research, I attempted to code these forms based on what the utterances meant or indicated as follows:

1- (Object.impersonal): participants make their requests to H by naming the object requested (salt please الملح لو سمحت). The indication of being ‘impersonal’ stems from the fact that there is no reference to either the speaker or the hearer in this request form.

2- (Query.preparatory.impersonal): is a short version of a q-prep request question which contains the adjective ‘possible’ but lacks important grammatical elements such as pronouns and auxiliary verbs (possible the pen please? ممكن القلم اذا سمحت). This type of request was used by Saudis to request small favours such as salt; and it is considered ‘impersonal’ in that there is no reference to either interlocutor. Abuarrah confirms that ‘requesting for a small favour… makes a second good reason for using elliptical phrases [the same strategy I called query.preparatory.impersonal]… The given situations are service
situations where a compact use of language could be more appropriate… another justification could be the urgency for compliance’ (Abuarrah et al. 2013: 1121).

3- (Query.preparatory.conditional): contains an adjective ‘possible’ and includes a conditional and can be linguistically realised as: (If possible [I copy] the lecture notes? اذا ممكن انقل الملخص؟ اذا عادي انقل المحاضرة؟). However, as before, it cannot be treated as an original q-prep strategy as it lacks elements such as pronouns and auxiliary verbs.

‘Other’ request strategies used by British participants only:

Under this heading, the ‘Other’ request strategies used by the British only will be outlined. To insure reliability of my codings, I relied mostly on the CCSARP preparatory conditions and expanded on them using similar terms in forming the new ‘Other’ strategy categories. For example, only the CCSARP functions (e.g. willing, ability, possibility, …) were used in coding the new function-combined q-prep request strategies along with similar terms, which included functions such as ‘possession’ and ‘consultation’. The similarity stems from the linguistic utterances used in the request forms containing references to the conditions concerning the feasibility of the request. I merely combined these conditions in the order they occurred linguistically. Here are some linguistic examples and their codings:

Would (willing) you be able to (ability) hand me pen? = willing.ability

Would (willing) it be possible to (possibility) give me your notes? = willing.possibility

Is it ok (permission) if you could (ability) give me a lift home?’ = permission.ability

Do you have (possession) a pen I could (ability) borrow? = possession.ability
Here is a list of all the ‘Other’ request strategies that were used by British participants only:

1- **Willing.ability**: *Would you be able to...? Would I be able to...?*

2- **Willing.possibility**: *Would it be possible to...?*

3- **Willing.permission**: *Would it be ok if I...? Would it be ok if you...?*

4- **Willing.permission.ability**: *Would it be ok if I could...?*

5- **Ability.permission.willing.possibility**: *Can you let me know if it would be possible to...?*

6- **Possibility.ability**: *Is there any chance I could...? Is there any way I could...?*

7- **Possibility.permission.ability**: *Is there anyway I would be able to...?*

8- **Possession.ability**: *Do you have [a pen] I could [borrow]? Have you got [any money] I could use?*

9- **Permission.ability**: *Is it be ok if I could...?*

10- **Consultation.ability**: *Do you think you could...?*

11- **Consultation.willing.possibility.ability**: *Do you think it would be possible if I could...?*

12- **Wondering.ability**: *I was wondering if I could...? I wonder whether you could...?*

13- **Wondering.permission**: *I am wondering if it's alright that...?*

14- **Negative.supposition.ability**: *Don't suppose I could [have a quick look at your notes]?*

15- **Negative.ability.tag.question**: *You couldn't [lend me a hundy], could you?*

The above 15 request forms have not been used by a single EFL student, male or female.

I stress that English teachers learn these requests and teach them to their students in order to enrich their pragmatic competences and enhance their L2 speech act performances.
‘Other’ request strategies used by all six groups randomly:

- **Nonverbal strategies**: hand gesture (e.g. *I will point at the pen with my hand* (أشرله بيدي))
- **Reprimand/threat**: (e.g. threat to H to tell [mum] is she does not do what she is told to do)
- **Irony**: (e.g. tell H ironically that she chose the write time to mess up the kitchen)
- **Stating rule**: (e.g. *This kitchen gets cleaned in say five minutes*)
- **Direct questions**: (e.g. *What is the job? What qualification does it require?* (إِيش المطلوب؟))
- **Incomplete requests**: (e.g. *Job? Just five minutes?* (بس خمسة دقائق؟))

What emerges from the above is that although the speech act of request appears to be universal (thus backing up universality claims made by B and L), the strategies and the linguistic realisations used to perform the FTA are not. They dramatically differ from one language to another and one culture to another. What is important in the case of second language learners is to directly teach them all the possible strategies and realisations available in the target language for the performance of the FTA in a particular social context. The learners should be able to evaluate the social setting surrounding the FTA by calculating the weights of the social variables P, D, and R correctly and be able to perform the FTA in a manner that is sincere, appropriate, and similar to L2 behaviour.

In this chapter, the nine CCSARP request strategies were discussed in terms of the participants’ strategy average use and the different linguistic realisations they employed to perform each strategy. In the next chapter, chapter 10, the CCSARP apology strategies will be discussed focusing on group differences in strategy selections and uses.
Chapter 10

Apology situations

10.1 IFIDs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudis</th>
<th>Saudis</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost ring</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(-P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car accident</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return book</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
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<td>80%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-worker</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(+P, -D, +R)</td>
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<td>73%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad alarm</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
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<td>85%</td>
<td>80%</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
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<td>93%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34

In contrast to requests, ‘there is no distinct set of mutually exclusive [apology] categories comparable to the request strategy types’ (Blum-kulka & Olshtain 1984: 207). However, according to the CCSARP apology strategy coding scheme, ‘the most direct realization of an apology is done via an explicit illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), which selects a routinized, formulaic expression of regret’ (ibid.). These can be realised in different ways such as: (be) sorry [sorry, I’m sorry, I’m sorry for..., I’m sorry
about…, I'm sorry that…, I'm sorry but…]; the performative [I apologise, I apologise for…]; regret [I regret that…]; excuse [excuse me, excuse me for…]; forgive [forgive me, forgive me for…]; and pardon [pardon me, pardon me for…].

In order to compare between the groups’ number of IFID uses, each occurrence of an IFID was counted and the numbers IFIDs were used in the Saudi Arabic groups were divided by 2 (see further explanation in chapter 9). The results showed that Saudi Arabic males used IFIDs 101 times (202 times in the original 40 questionnaires) and the Saudi females used IFIDs 121 times (242 in the original 40 questionnaires). In contrast, IFIDs were used 123 times by EFL males, 137 times by EFL girls, 144 times by British males, and 149 times by British females. These results indicate that the British groups used the largest number of IFIDs out of all the six groups; followed by the EFL groups; ending with the Saudi groups, the groups which used the least number of IFIDs in my data.

In terms of the types of IFID chosen by each group, Saudi males used expression of regret the most. Examples include (Sorry اسف, I am sorry أنا اسف, excuse me معليش, foreign word sorry, foreign word ‘sorry’ and ‘I'm sorry’ spelled in Arabic سوري أمسوري). The last two foreign words were mostly used in the waiter situation; a situation in which the participants presumed that they had to speak in English as most waiters in big modern Saudi Arabian restaurants are foreigners and speak English with the customers.

The second most used type of IFID by Saudi males was request for forgiveness. This strategy was realised in various ways, such as: (forgive me سامحني اعذرني, can you forgive
request for forgiveness differs from expression of regret and the performative in that it ‘involves the perlocution, i.e. the offended party granting forgiveness, to a greater extent than does the expression of regret and the performative, which do not go beyond the illocutionary act performed by the apologiser’ (Ogiermann 2009a: 126-127).

It was noticed that in the Arabic data (excuse me, forgive me, and pardon me) were realised using more or less the same expressions interchangeably (سامحني، اعذرني، عفوا، عذرا). These Arabic expressions can be translated to any of the above mentioned English words.

On the other hand, the IFID type ‘regret’ (I regret that…) was never found in my Arabic data.

The third and fourth IFID types most used by Saudi males were the performative (I apologise (اعذرني) and offer of apology (let me extend my apologies اسمح لي اقدم اعتذاري) respectively. What was noticed was that there was no positive correlation between the formality of the IFID type and the formality of the situation in which it was used. In other words, formal expressions of IFIDs (e.g. let me extend my sincere apologies) were used in less offensive contexts; whereas everyday routinised IFID types (e.g. sorry, I’m sorry) were sometimes used in more offensive situations.

In addition, most Saudi male IFID intensifications were of a religious type to show the hearer the speaker’s sincerity in making the apology (I swear to God sorry, I swear by
Allah that you excuse me, I am sincerely sorry.

مَعَالِيْشَةٌ، وَالله اَسْفَ، اَسْفَ، عَذَّرِيْنِيْ لِلَّمْرَةِ الْاَلْفِ "very sorry, very excuse me"

I swear by Allah that you forgive me, I swear by My God that you pardon me.

I am sorry, I am sorry, آسفة، أنا آسفة، السموحة;

followed by the performative (I apologise, اتاسف)

followed by request for forgiveness (forgive me, I hope that you forgive me, I asked you and you cannot refuse to forgive me, let it go this time)

وَالله اَسْفَ، آلِمْنِيْ تَقْبُليْ اعْتَذَارِيْ,

أَتَمِنِيْ تُقْبِلْيْ اعْتَذَارِيْ، طَلِبْتُكَ تُساْحِمْيِيْ، تَكِفِينِ سَامِحْيِيْ، عَدِيْهَا دَيْ الْمَرَةَ;

followed by foreign word (sorry) also in the waiter situation just like the Saudi male group.

In terms of intensification, IFIDs were intensified mainly by the use of (very مرة اَسْفَة) and (swearing by God، والله آسفة). Sometimes, they used two intensifiers within the same IFID apology set (e.g. I swear by God I am very very sorry). This suggests that in general the Saudi females appeared to intensify their apologies more than Saudi males.

This result is in accordance with Al-Ghamdi’s (2013) apology data in which women used IFID intensifiers more than men. According to Al-Ghamdi, ‘males used only one intensifier… they did not use the strategy of two or more intensifiers…[on the other hand], females used two intensifiers with the apology expression ‘sorry’” (2013: 39).

The above discussion revealed that IFID expression of regret is the most frequently used IFID among Saudis. This is in contrast with some Saudi apology studies which argued that
‘request for forgiveness… is the most frequently used IFID in Saudi culture’ (Ya’Allah & Al-Laheebi 2014: 11- italics in original text).

Turning to EFL students, EFL males mostly preferred to use expressions of regret (sorry); followed by the performative (I apologise); followed by request for forgiveness (please forgive me, I hope you will forgive me); and finally offer of apology (please accept my apology).

In terms of intensification, EFL males intensified their expressions of regret ‘sorry’ with (so, very, so so, really, terribly, deeply). Although this might suggest that the EFL males have knowledge of a wide range of apology intensifiers, it is incumbent to mention that the intensifiers (so, very, and really) were used much more than (deeply and terribly). The overall number of use of the first intensifier set was 21 times. The number the latter set of intensifiers was used was only 2, which means that deeply and terribly were used only once. This result conforms to Binasfour’s (2014) data which demonstrated that although the Saudi learners employed more intensifiers than the Americans, Saudi learners produced IFID intensifiers such as ‘really’, ‘sorry’, and ‘very’. Americans, on the other hand, used intensifiers such as ‘truly’, ‘extremely’, and ‘terribly’.

Moreover, there was no significant difference in the numbers of uses of ‘sorry’ and ‘I’m sorry’. The former was used 43 times by EFL males, and the latter 40 times.

Turning to EFL females, this group of students used expressions of regret 125 times; followed by request for forgiveness (8 occurrences); followed by the performative (4 uses). In terms of preference between ‘sorry’ and ‘I'm sorry’, unlike the EFL males, females
preferred to use ‘I'm sorry’ much more than ‘sorry’. The former was used 100 times, the latter 25 times. The reason why we compare between these two IFID forms is because as Ogiermann confirms, ‘additional insights can be gained by distinguishing between the full form I'm sorry and the short form sorry, as the choice of one of these variants affects the illocutionary force of the apology and is likely to be governed by contextual conditions’ (2009a: 219- italics in original). ‘I'm sorry’ is a personal way of expressing S’s dismay at hurting H. It uses the active voice directly and conveys a feeling of sorrow. Subsequently, it can be hypothesised that EFL females tended to show more sincere personal apologies that attempted to mend the H’s wound caused by the offence than EFL males.

Possible linguistic devices which connect to English IFIDs are ([I'm] sorry but..., [I'm] sorry that..., [I'm] sorry for...). In the EFL female data, most short and long forms of IFIDs were unattached to any other linguistic devices within the same sentence. Instead, IFIDs were frequently used on their own (e.g. I'm sorry. It's my fault), (I'm sorry. It happened by mistake), (I'm very sorry. I'll give you my brother’s number). There was only one incidence where the formula (sorry but…) was used, as in (we’re so sorry but you also should be careful to [sic]).

In regards to IFID intensification, EFL females employed the intensifier ‘so’ 17 times; ‘really’ 13 times; ‘very’ 4 times; ‘so so so (sorry)’ and ‘so so sorry’ 2 times; ‘sorry very much’ and ‘extremely sorry’ 2 times as well; and ‘really really sorry’ 1 time. The repetition of IFID intensifiers within the same apology set is negatively transferred from Arabic. In
Arabic, the repeated expression ‘I'm very very sorry’ is very commonly used by Saudi females. This result is in agreement with Al-Ghamdi who stated that ‘repeating the same intensifier in the same apology expression could be a negative transfer, as in the Arabic language, repetition is an instrument of strengthening the meaning’ (2013: 58).

The second way in which EFL groups transferred apology behaviour from their L1 is their collocation of ‘sorry’ with kinship and address terms directed at the hearer (e.g. Sorry auntie, sorry my mother, sorry my teacher). These collocated apologetic expressions were widely employed in the Saudi Arabic data because, as Al-Ghamdi explains, the Arabic translation of “sorry aunt’… is a typical Arabic expression’ (2013: 39).

Two final observations regarding the use of IFIDs by EFL groups have to be mentioned. First, the expression ‘excuse me’ was never used by the students as an apology. It seems that the respondents did not feel that ‘excuse me’ was enough to express a sincere apology to their hearers. However, in Arabic, the expression ‘excuse me’ was used on its own as an IFID as in (excuse me معليش، عذراً). Al-Zumor (2010) observes that ‘For [EFL student] Arabs, the [English] expression “excuse me” is not strong enough for an apology, even in low severity of offence situations’ (as cited in Al-Ghamdi 2013: 55).

Secondly, EFL groups had the highest average scores for using IFIDs only in one situation in which EFL females used IFIDs the most, and that is in situation 9. This, along with the fact that EFL groups’ combined averages of IFID uses differed from both Saudi and British scores, might show that the EFL groups did not transfer their entire apology
behaviour and their situations’ social and contextual evaluations from their L1; neither did they replicate the British groups’ IFID numbers of uses, scores, and situations’ P, D, R evaluations. Instead, they seemed to follow their own behavioural patterns in performing their interlanguage apologies.

Moving on to the British male group, ‘sorry’ was used 60 times; ‘I’m sorry’ was used 26 times. This is in opposition to both EFL groups who showed different preferences toward using the long vs. the short forms of IFIDs. As stated above, EFL males did not reveal particular preference towards using one form or the other. On the other hand, EFL females leaned towards using the long version ‘I’m sorry’ more than the short form ‘sorry’.

In addition to expressions of regret, the performative was used the most next, followed by offers of apology, ending with request for forgiveness. Regarding intensification, the IFID intensifiers which were used in this group were the following: (so sorry 18 times; really sorry 11 times; very sorry 6 times; terribly sorry 3 times; and extremely sorry, incredibly sorry, genuinely sorry, and ever so sorry, each was used 1 time). Furthermore, British males used the highest number of IFIDs in situations 10 and 12.

Finally, British females used expression of regret IFIDs the most; followed by the performative, followed by offers of apology, ending with request for forgiveness. Intensification was used in preference of the intensifier ‘so’ which was used 60 times, the intensifier ‘really’ which was used 9 times; followed by ‘very’ which was used 5 times; followed by ‘terribly’ which was used 4 times.
What was also noticed in this groups’ apology intensifying behaviour was that some females used repetition of intensifiers and intensifier-doubling within the same apology set.

For example, a British female apologised to H using the intensified IFID expressions ‘so so sorry’ and ‘so so so sorry’. Another female employed the expression ‘sooooooo sorry’, etc.

This leads us to speculate that, as in the Saudi Arabic context, British females intensified their apologies more than British males. They also repeated their apology intensifiers to show the H their sincerity in performing the apology. As this difference was visible in both Saudi and British female groups, we can then hypothesise that females tend to intensify their apologies more than males.

Lastly, British females scored the highest number of IFID uses in situation 11, 13, and 15.

To sum up this section, all groups’ IFID type preferences will be listed in order below.

Saudi (m): expression of regret, request for forgiveness, performative, offer of apology, foreign word.

Saudi (f): expression of regret, offer of apology, request for forgiveness, foreign word.

EFL (m): expression of regret, performative, request for forgiveness, offer of apology.

EFL (f): expression of regret, request for forgiveness, performative.

British (m): expression of regret, performative, offer of apology, request for forgiveness.

British (f): expression of regret, performative, offer of apology, request for forgiveness.
A second way to achieve apologies (with or without an IFID) is to use strategies that refer to the circumstances which caused the offence to happen. These strategies are called ‘accounts’ in the literature (a.k.a explanations/reasons/causes). Explaining the reason(s) that led to the offence happening can be very effective in granting H’s forgiveness. Farahat declares that ‘giving reasons for doing the FTA is a highly redressive device. People will be more understanding and more co-operative if the reason for doing the FTA is provided’ (2009: 222).
In my data, Saudi males used accounts 38 times and Saudi females used 40 accounts. EFL males used accounts 38 times and EFL females used 39 accounts. British males used accounts 26 times and British females used 31 accounts. This demonstrates that the groups which used ‘accounts’ the most are in this specific order: Saudi females, EFL females, both Saudi males and EFL males, British females, and British males.

Additionally, it is worth mentioning that ‘accounts’ were used extensively across all apology situations regardless of different contextual and social determinants, sometimes even on their own. This outcome agrees with Binasfour’s apology study which revealed that ‘a number of participants chose this strategy [explanations/ accounts] alone to serve as an apology response’ (2014: 26).

What is more, regarding the type of accounts/reasons employed, they tended to differ between the groups. For example, Saudi males preferred to state specific reasons for their offences, such as ‘I was with my family’, ‘I was also sleeping and that’s why I couldn’t wake you up’, ‘I put the book on the table yesterday to remind myself to bring it with me to class today’. Moreover, Saudi females tended to cluster their excuses around these reasons: (it was out of my control, خارج عن إرادتي والله غصب عنني) and I was busy).

What was interesting to observe was that although the Saudi groups gave a large number of excuses, they did not tend to vary between different types of reasons. Instead, they appeared to unanimously choose more or less the same excuses for each apology situation. For
example, in situation 12, most Saudi males and females said that ‘it was a misunderstanding اختلاف وجهات نظر’. In situation 13, both groups admitted that they ‘overslept راحت علي نومة’ and therefore forgot to wake dad up for his meeting. In situation 14, almost 100% of both Saudi males and females informed the H that they had ‘an important meeting كان عندي اجتماع ضروري’ that they could not get out of. In situation 16, the main prevalent excuse was ‘there was too much traffic on the road الطريق كان مرة زحمة’. Moreover, most excuses were intensified by ‘swearing to God’. According to Maros et al. (2015) ‘swearing [by God is] used as a device to intensify apology’ (2015: 91).

Moving on to EFL groups, EFL males and females mostly employed the excuse ‘I was busy’. What was also noticed was that both groups wrote in their questionnaires that ‘they would tell H the excuse/reason which made the offence occur’. In other words, the groups were quite vague about stating exact reasons on their sheets and resorted to saying that they would ‘tell H why and give H the reason’. The choice of undefined excuses chosen by EFL groups shows approximation toward L2 apology behaviour and learners’ knowledge about L2 pragmatic features because likewise, both British groups tended to prefer stating vague reasons for their offenses (e.g. something important happened, I got held up, something came up, for reasons X and Y).

This outcome is in disagreement with Al-Shalawi’s (1997) study which demonstrated that in addition to being family-oriented, Saudis’ excuses/explanations were less direct and less specific than native English speakers’ excuses. In my data, the situation was reversed.
### 10.3 Responsibility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(+P,-D, +R) Lost ring</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>83%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(+P, +D, +R) Car accident</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>74%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>80%</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(+P, -D, +R) Co-worker</td>
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<td>58%</td>
<td>45%</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>(+P, -D, -R) Dad alarm</td>
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<td>13%</td>
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<td>26%</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R) Applicant</td>
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<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R) Friend</td>
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<td>43%</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 36

Accepting blame/responsibility for the offence is an indispensable element in apology making and can function as an effective apology when the speaker actually means them and chooses to assume responsibility for the offence in an attempt to placate and appease H.

Taking on responsibility can be branched down to sub-categories such as:

- S expresses trait of self-deficiency (e.g. *You know me, I'm never on time*)
- S expresses self-blame (*it's my fault/mistake*)
- S expresses lack of intent for making the offence (*it was unintentional*)
- S expresses embarrassment (*I feel bad about what I did*)
Among all six groups, the sub category most widely used was S’s explicit self-blame, and
the least commonly used was S’s expression of embarrassment. It is worth mentioning that in
the CCSARP coding manual, ‘denial of fault/responsibility’ is considered another sub-
category of the apology strategy ‘taking on responsibility’. However, I believe that denial of
responsibility does not account for any form of apology as there is no sincere apology being
performed, and therefore the strategy was eliminated. As Ogiermann asserts ‘an apologetic
formula combined with a denial of responsibility will not result in a successful apology’

Regarding the groups’ use of the ‘responsibility’ strategy, Saudi males took responsibility
for the offence 67 times, and Saudi females employed the responsibility strategy 60 times. EFL
males took responsibility for the offence 57 times and EFL females used this strategy 65 times.
British males assumed responsibility for the offence 62 times and British females employed the
same strategy 56 times. This result places the groups’ employment of this strategy in this
particular order starting from the highest to the lowest: Saudi males, EFL females, British
males, Saudi females, EFL males, and British females.

The above outcome contrasts with Binasfour’s (2014) result which showed that
acknowledgment of responsibility was the least popular strategy among both Saudi and
American groups, and Ya’Allah & Al-Laheebi (2014) whose ‘results revealed that
apologies in Saudi Arabian culture typically shift responsibility away from the offender as
Saudis do not like to apologize outright’ (2014: 3- italics in original). In my data, Saudi and
British native speakers used this strategy abundantly, even in situations where they had power over H, such as in situations 10, 12, 14, and 16.

My findings further disagree with Maros et al. (2015)’s data which demonstrated that acknowledging responsibility was the most common apology strategy in Arabic, and with Al-Zumor’s (2003) data which revealed that ‘the most common strategy used among Arabs was taking on responsibility’ (as cited in Al-Ghamdi 2013: 26). In my Arabic data, IFIDs were the most popular apology strategies. Taking on responsibility was the second most favoured strategy used in many apology situations.

Moving on to the effect of the social variables on respondents’ performance of apologies, although the respondents accepted responsibility for the offence in a large number of situations, there was somewhat a positive correlation between using higher rates of this strategy and high power situations. In clearer terms, on average, in situations where H has power over S, speakers tended to take responsibility for the offence slightly more.

However, there was one exception to this pattern. In situation 13, the hearer is the S’s father and S forgot to wake his/her father up which caused him to miss on an important appointment. In this situation, the power of H and the ranking of imposition are both high (+P, +R); yet, unlike other situations with similar social determinants, the six group members employed somewhat lower rates of the strategy ‘taking on responsibility’. For some reason, the respondents preferred to use strategies other than ‘taking on responsibility’. For example, Saudi males preferred to use the strategy ‘account’ in an
attempt to tell H the reasons why they could not perform the act requested from them. Saudi females used expressions of regret and intensified their IFIDs by using double-intensifiers (very very sorry, etc.) and swearing to God that they were sorry and that this was out of their control. EFL males and females also employed IFIDs along with other expressions that might show their good intentions to H, such as (I really wanted to wake you up but...). British males and females often blamed H for not setting an alarm and depending solely on S when it is apparent that this meeting is significantly important to H.

Furthermore, the effect of social distance in performing a sincere apology and taking responsibility was vivid in a few cases. For example, in my data, it was established that in situation 16, Saudi females had the highest score for taking on responsibility and apologised profusely to the H, who is a close friend (-D), so that they would keep the relationship strong in the future. According to Maros et al. (2015), acknowledgement of responsibility occurs most frequently between equal friends. Moreover, Bergman and Kasper (1993) found that the closer the interlocutors, the more likely the offender was to expressly assume responsibility for the offensive act. (As cited in Al-Fattah 2010a: 235).

Lastly, it is incumbent to inform the reader that at times it was hard to distinguish between the strategies ‘account/explanation’ and ‘taking on responsibility’. For example, the linguistic expression (I forgot) can be either considered a cause for the offence or as the S taking responsibility for the offence. In my data, I coded this expression as ‘accepting responsibility’ because I followed the general rule that ‘whenever First Person is used,…
the expression should be coded as one of the subcategories of ‘taking on responsibility’ 

However, I noticed that many other researchers tend to not make a clear cut difference 
between apology strategies based on specific linguistic criteria, which can often make 
differentiating between apology realisations a very confusing matter. Thus, it is highly 
recommended for researchers to define categories in the same way and specify certain 
linguistic examples as representatives of apology strategies within their data referencing.

10.4 Offer of repair

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lost ring</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(-P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<td>45%</td>
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<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Car accident</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Return book</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Co-worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>(+P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dad alarm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applicant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
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<td>Divided by 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 37
According to the CCSARP manual, the strategy ‘offering repair’ is inherently situation-dependent and is closely related to the type of violation which occurred. Offers of repair can either be specified (e.g. *I’ll pay for the damage*) or unspecified (e.g. *I’ll see what I can do*). Furthermore, in my data, offers of repair were either direct or indirect. Direct offers of repair were offered by S to H without prior notice (e.g. *I’ll buy you a new ring*). In indirect offers of repair, prior notice was given to H by the speaker first suggesting to H the type of repair offered and thus the repair will occur depending on H’s reaction to the suggestion.

In my data, the kinds of repairs offered by the respondents essentially depended on the offence situation. For example, in situation 9, most respondents from all six groups offered the H to replace the ring which they lost. In situation 10, most of the group members offered money to H or repair of the physical damage that happened to H's car.

Moreover, the type of repairs offered tended to be either physical or emotional. For example, in situation 11, some of the respondents offered repair of the situation from an emotional aspect by offering their fathers to go along with them to work and convince the boss to make another meeting with the father. In situation 10, most students offered physical repair of the damage to the car but also some students further supported H emotionally by asking if he was doing ok.

Offering repair from an emotional rather than a physical point of view is often called by some linguists ‘showing concern for hearer’, and it is regarded as an external apology intensification device by some researchers (e.g. the CCSARP coding manual) and an
expression which stands alone as a viable apology strategy by others (e.g. Ogiermann 2009a). In this study, I treated ‘showing concern for H’ as an ‘Other’ category external to the CCSARP coding manual.

Furthermore, a new type of offering repair which was found in my Arabic data was to offer food to H in an attempt to repair the relationship between the interlocutors after committing the offence. In the Arabic data, this was typically realised in two ways. First, the respondents offered to make their fathers breakfast after they forgot to wake him up to go for his important appointment. Second, the students offered to pay for lunch or dinner to their colleagues for offending them during the public meeting, and to their friends for being late to work together on a school paper. As Al-Ghamdi remarks in his data analysis ‘[some Saudis] offered repair for the offence by offering food to the offended’ (2013: 56). He further demonstrates that ‘for some Arabs, actions speak louder than words’ (ibid: 57).

Turning to the use of this strategy by the groups, Saudi males used offers of repair 36 times, Saudi females also used offers of repair 39 times in their apologies. EFL males used offers of repair 62 times, and EFL females used this strategy 58 times. British males used offers of repair 38 times, and British females employed this strategy 47 times. This suggests that the groups with the highest numbers of use for this strategy are first both EFL groups, followed by British females, followed by Saudi females, followed by British males, ending with Saudi males. This order of strategy use comes in disagreement with Bajri (2005) who remarked that Saudis use offers of repair in cases where the British hesitate to use such a
strategy, and Al-Zumor’s (2003) findings which revealed that the English native speakers used the offer of repair strategy more often than the Arabs. In my data, both groups used offers of repair equally. The Saudi groups sometimes employed offers of repair more than the British groups, such as in situations 10 and 14, and the British groups offered repair more than the Saudi groups in other situations, such as situations 15 and 16.

The EFL groups scored the highest number of offers of repair use which again suggests that in this strategy, they did not transfer apology behaviour from L1; neither did they resemble target-like apology behaviour in their interlanguage apology productions.

10.5 Promise of forbearance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lost ring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(-P, +D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Car accident</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Return book</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Co-worker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>(+P, -D, +R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dad alarm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applicant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divided by 2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 38
This apology strategy is usually employed when S wants to maintain harmony and a good relationship with H in the future. The strategy mainly consists of formulaic expressions by S negating the recurrence of the offence in the future (e.g. I won't do it again, this is the last time this happens).

In my data, this strategy was the second least preferred strategy to be used by the groups (the first was opting out as we will see in the next section). For example, in situation 14, there was zero percent occurrence of this strategy by all six groups. Perhaps this can be explained by referring to the social variables of P, D, and R. In this situation, S has more power than H and the ranking of imposition is low (-P, -R); therefore the S may have not felt the need to assure the H that he/she will not make this offence again, especially also because the distance between the interlocutors is high (+D) and the interlocutors may not even see each other again in the future.

In situation 15, although power and distance are high (+P, +D), out of all six groups, only one group (Saudi females) used this strategy and the percentage was as low as 3%. On the other hand, promise of forbearance was widely used in two situations, situation 12 and 16. What is interesting is that in both situations, the hearer is either the speaker’s friend or a co-worker. This gives support to the above statement that promise of forbearance is mostly used in situations where it is in S’s interest to sustain a good relationship with H in the future.

In terms of groups’ employment of this strategy, Saudi males and females used this strategy 3 times. EFL males employed promises of forbearance 7 times, while EFL females
employed it 5 times. British males employed this strategy 3 times, while British females use it 4 times. This order of groups’ use of the strategy suggests that the EFL groups used this strategy more than both Saudi and both British groups. This is another instance where the EFL groups seem to differ in their apology strategy choices from the rest of the groups. This also demonstrates that there was no L1 negative transfer in this strategy; nor was there target-like resemblance in strategy choices.

10.6 Opt out

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Situation description</th>
<th>Saudi males</th>
<th>Saudi females</th>
<th>EFL males</th>
<th>EFL females</th>
<th>British males</th>
<th>British females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R) Lost ring</td>
<td>10% 2</td>
<td>10% 2</td>
<td>5% 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(-P, +D, +R) Car accident</td>
<td>0 18% 7</td>
<td>0 5% 1</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R) Return book</td>
<td>3% 1</td>
<td>3% 1</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(-P, -D, +R) Co-worker</td>
<td>0 3% 1</td>
<td>3% 1</td>
<td>0 10% 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>(+P, -D, +R) Dad alarm</td>
<td>10% 4</td>
<td>0 5% 1</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>5% 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(-P, +D, -R) Applicant</td>
<td>0 3% 1</td>
<td>0 5% 1</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>(+P, +D, -R) Waiter</td>
<td>0 3% 1</td>
<td>0 5% 1</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>5% 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>(-P, -D, -R) Friend</td>
<td>5% 2</td>
<td>3% 1</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens</td>
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<td>9 14 4</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 39
The final apology strategy found in the data results of the CCSARP 1989 project was the participants ‘opting out’ of performing the apology. This is the most face-protective approach which can be taken in any offensive situation because by not apologising or ‘remaining silent’, S does not have to accept responsibility for the offence nor deal with the situation in the first place.

It is worth noting that B and L’s opting out strategy is considered the ‘most polite’ in their strategy hierarchy table; but that is only in terms of requests, complaints, and many other FTAs. However, opting out of apologies is considered the most face-protective technique to S and the least polite apology strategy made to H, as not apologising for an offence caused by S is usually considered ‘rude’ and ‘offensive’

In terms of groups’ use of this strategy, Saudi females opted out of apologising to H the most out of all six groups (7 tokens out of the original 14 occurrences found in the 40 questionnaires). This is probably because most incidences were clustered around situation 10, in which Saudi females generally refused to outright apologise to the stranger male hearer. The following group was both Saudi males (5 tokens) and EFL males (4 tokens); followed by EFL females and British males (2 tokens), ending with British females who had zero tokens for using this strategy in all apology situation.

This strategy was the least used strategy by all six groups which means that in general, all group members preferred to deal with the offences they caused rather than ignore the situation.
10.7 Apology strategies external to the CCSARP

According to apology data gathered by Maros et al. (2015) ‘new culture-specific apology strategies were detected: requiring the offended not to get angry and determinism (that everything is destined to happen). Bataineh adds use of proverbs (as cited in Maros et al. 2015: 85). Likewise, through my data analysis, in almost every offensive case, all six groups used the CCSARP apology along with other strategies which were not listed in the original coding manual. These can be found in detail in chapter 8 in which ‘Other’ apology strategies are mentioned in the apology situation discussions.

Although there are many ways to perform apologies, it is impractical to add each utterance/phrase used and count it as an apology strategy. Rather, respondents should learn the appropriate way to realise the five apology strategy categories in the CCSARP in their L2 and be able to use the appropriate number and order of strategies that is ‘enough’ to satisfy H according to the offensive situation from the native speaker’s point of view.

A final note is that these ‘Other’ request and apology categories resulting from my data constitute a large part of my thesis’ contribution to the academic field. I have not come across any politeness studies in which the ‘Other’ q-prep function-combined request strategies, which were used in my data by the British respondents, were mentioned. This outcome enlightened me as a researcher and as an English teacher. In the next final part of the thesis ‘conclusion’, a review of the overall data results will be outlined, in the hope of answering all the three research questions mentioned in the introduction.
Conclusion

In this thesis, an attempt has been made to determine the differences and similarities in the realisation patterns of requests and apologies in Saudi, Saudi EFL, and British contexts. This study was based on the politeness theory presented by B and L (1987) and coded using the CCSARP coding manual (1989). A DCT questionnaire was used as a primary data collection method to elicit requests and apologies from the participants. A ranking questionnaire was given to six Saudi and British raters, who did not participate in this study, in order to determine the social variable rankings for each situation (cf. appendices). Finally, a secondary questionnaire was distributed to the students in an attempt to collect sufficient background information to help ensure the homogeneity of the study’s participants.

Over the previous four chapters, we have discussed the main findings of the study analysing requests and apologies as produced by six groups: 40 Saudi males, 40 Saudi females, 20 Saudi EFL males, 20 Saudi EFL females, 20 British males, and 20 British females. In this conclusion, a summary of these findings will be outlined along with the study’s main contributions, its implications for English language learning and teaching, along with limitations of the study and discussion about future research.

This conclusion will give an overview of the main results obtained from the request and apology data of this research based on comparisons between participant groups: Saudi and British participants, Saudi and EFL participants, British and EFL participants, and general gender differences.
To start with, the main differences between Saudi and British participants making requests and apologies will be mentioned. I will mainly focus on the groups’ differences in an attempt to answer the first question of this work’s main research questions:

1. *To what extent do the request and apology strategies used by the Saudi participants differ from those of the native British English speakers?*

Starting from the speech act of request, Saudi and British participants often differed in their choice of request strategy, choice of directness (direct vs. indirect requesting style), choice of ‘Other’ categories, choice of supportive moves, and social variable sensitivity (P, D, and R). These were discussed in detail in chapter 7, where the participants’ responses to situations 1-8 were outlined.

In terms of strategy use, the Saudis collectively preferred to use the strategy ‘opt out’ more than the British group. The Saudis employed the strategy ‘opt out’ in more than one request situation (situations 1, 3, 4, 5, and 8), the British females used the request strategy ‘opt out’ in situations 5 and 8, while British males never ‘opted out’.

In terms of strategy directness, it has been generally noticed that across all the request situations (situations 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8), Saudi males and females generally preferred to use direct requests, while British males and females used request q-prep strategies much more than the Saudis. This agrees with Umar’s (2004) study which highlights that the British sample in his study tended to prefer and use indirect request strategies more than the Arabic sample (see 3.3). In some exceptional cases (e.g. situation 6), the Saudis used direct
strategies (direct questions) and indirect q-prep strategies more than the British. However, in those situations, the British preferred to use ‘hints’, which are even more indirect request strategies than q-prep. Moreover, in some situations, the British used 0% direct strategies and only employed indirect requests (e.g. situations 3 and 8) which clearly indicates a general pattern for them.

In terms of ‘Other’ categories, Saudis tended to use these in their requests more than the British in some situations (e.g. situations 4, 6), whereas the British used them more than the Saudis in other request situations (e.g. Situation 2). What was clearly noticed was that the Saudis often preferred to employ a variety of ‘Other’ categories that were peculiar to them ‘q-prep.conditional (If possible [I copy] the lecture notes? اذا ممكن اقل الملخص؟ اذا عادي اقل المحاضرة؟) and ‘q-prep.impersonal’ (possible the pen please؟ ممكن القلم اذا سمحت) and were only used by this group. Moreover, their ‘Other’ categories varied between direct (object.impersonal a.k.a. naming the subject) (salt + ‘religious softener’ الملح الله يعافيك) and indirect strategies (e.g. q-prep.conditional).

The British, on the other hand, exclusively employed indirect ‘Other’ categories in request situations in which ‘Other’ strategies were used. These strategies, which typically combined the CCSARP q-prep functions (‘ability.permission.willing.possibility’ Can you let me know if it would be possible to give me an extension please؟), made their requests appear longer, more polite, and more ‘distancing’ than if the CCSARP q-prep functions were used alone (‘ability’ Can you give me an extension please؟). The rest of the ‘Other’ q-
prep function-combining strategies, which were used only by the British group in my data, can be found in a list in chapter 9.

In terms of supportive move choices, in general, Saudis used request supportive moves more than the British did (e.g. situation 2, situation 7). This gives rise to the hypothesis that because the Saudis used mostly direct strategies to realise their requests, they also tended to use the highest number of supportive moves and vice versa in the case of the British. Therefore, there seems to be a possible positive correlation between the use of direct strategies and the number of supportive moves used per group. In other words, when the use of direct strategies increases, the number of supportive moves used increases as well.

Moreover, the Saudis used address terms for H (e.g. mum) more than the British males and females did. However, the British used the politeness marker ‘please’ more than the Saudis used the equivalent term in Arabic (لوضمحت).

It is crucial to mention that the types of supportive moves favoured by both groups also differed. For example, the politeness marker, grounders, adverbial downtoners were the most highly used supportive moves in modifying the British groups’ requests, while for Saudi participants, (the use of religious softeners, thanking H, time downgraders) were most prevalent.

One relevant side note here is that these religious expressions, used by the Saudi group, can downgrade an FTA in some situations and upgrade an FTA in others. For example, in modifying requests, the phrase (May God keep you happy الله يسعدك) can be used to minimise
the cost of the request to the hearer and make the request softer, and thus in my data these were referred to as: religious softeners. This corroborates Al-Amri’s (2011) data results (see 3.3) in which it was established that Saudi requests were compounded with Islamic expressions, sometimes as religious softeners. Notwithstanding, religious expressions were not always used as a downgrading agent; sometimes, they were used as upgraders. For example, in the following sentence (Clean the kitchen otherwise I swear by the God of Ka’ba you will be hit from me, the religious expression was used to show sincerity of the threat.

Back to the previous discussion about differences in the groups’ supportive moves, the British grounders were typically short and vague (something came up, I got held up, I need … for reasons x and y), while the Saudi grounders were generally long and family-related (my grandfather died, I was busy with my family and I could not get out of my family obligations, I came with my father but he had to go and left me here and now I reaaaally need a ride). This supports Al-Shalawi’s (1997) study (see 3.3) where Saudi excuses were usually made up of uncontrollable accounts/reasons regarding urgent family matters.

Moving on to social variable sensitivity, it appears that the Saudis might be less sensitive to the social variables (P, D, and R) than the British, because the Saudis employed mostly direct strategies in socially varied request situations; for example, in situations
where only H’s power was high (situation 1), only the distance between the interlocutors was high (situation 6), only the ranking of imposition was high (situation 2), and power and distance were both high (+P, +D) (situation 3). The Saudis also used direct requests in situations where all the social variables were high (situation 5) and all the social variables were low (situation 4). This contradicts the generalisation that Arab respondents prefer to use direct requests only if the hearer has no power over the speaker (see section 3.2).

However, in making their direct requests, the Saudis modified their requests with a large number of supportive moves (religious softeners, grounders, politeness marker, imposition minimiser, etc.) more than the British did. They also tended to prefer employing positive politeness behaviours in supporting their FTAs more than negative politeness, such as (religious softeners realised as prayers (*may Allah make you happy, may Allah give you a long life*), hugging H, asserting positive relationship with H (*you know you are a dear friend to me*), and addressing H with positive politeness terms (*dear, darling, auntie, little sissy*).

This outcome lends support to the generalisation made by most Arabic politeness researchers that Arabs tend to prefer saving their and the H’s positive face more than other cultural groups (see 3.2). Also, Arabs tend to exaggerate to show H that they care about them and tend to use positive politeness utterances in order to make H understand the urgency of the situation in the case of requests and placate the H in offensive situations.

Drawing on the discussion above, it seems that another factor (other than impoliteness/directness) might have propelled the Saudis to use direct requests; namely, showing H the
urgency of the request in an attempt to elicit his/her understanding with which the acts
requested from H can be granted sooner.

In some cases, both the Saudis and the British employed direct strategies perhaps mainly
because of low ranking of all social variables (-P, -D, -R) (e.g. situation 4). However, along
with the low ranking of B and L’s social variables, other factors were detected which may
have urged the participants to use such direct requests. These include: S’s right in making
the request and H’s obligation to grant the S’s act requested. In situation 4, for instance, the
S has a right to request the H (little sister) to ‘clean the kitchen’ because S’s friends are
coming over and S did not participate in dirtying the kitchen. However, because H was the
only person responsible for making the mess in the kitchen and no one else was involved, it
was the H’s obligation to grant S’s request and ‘clean the kitchen’. These factors were
overlooked by B and L and need to receive more attention in politeness research.

Lastly, in terms of hearer vs. speaker orientation, the Saudis largely preferred to use
hearer-oriented requests, while the British respondents seemed to prefer using speaker-
oriented answers more. I believe that this result can be explained by referring to Hofstede's
cultural distinction between individualism and collectivism. As has been established earlier
in section (2.8), Saudi Arabia belongs to a collectivist societal order; whereas the British
society is considered an individualistic one. Collectivist societies often show preference
towards audience-centered type of communication, whereas individualist cultures usually
react well to messages which emphasise individuality and personal achievement. Based on
these revelations, the Saudis’ preference for hearer-oriented request forms and the speaker-oriented forms preferred by the British seem to go hand in hand with the two cultures’ personal values and beliefs. This is another instance where Hofstede's cultural dimension of individualism/collectivism was successfully able to at least partially explain some of the participants’ speech act behaviours based on their cultural identities.

Turning to comparisons between Saudi and British apologies, the first observation was that both Saudi and British participants preferred to use IFIDs (particularly expressions of regret) as their primary apology strategy. Following expressions of regret, the two groups preferred to employ different kinds of IFIDs:

Saudi (m): expression of regret, request for forgiveness, performative, offer of apology, foreign word.
Saudi (f): expression of regret, offer of apology, request for forgiveness, foreign word.
British (m): expression of regret, performative, offer of apology, request for forgiveness.
British (f): expression of regret, performative, offer of apology, request for forgiveness.

Furthermore, although IFIDs were extensively used by the Saudis and the British, they were generally used more by the British and less by the Saudis (e.g. situation 9). This could relate to the fact that the Saudis used more ‘Other’ apology strategies than the British in a large number of cases (e.g. situation 9). These ‘Other’ apology categories (cf. chapter 8) were largely used by Saudis and were not part of the CCSARP apology coding manual.

In fact, it has been noticed that in my request and apology data, the CCSARP strategy coding manual was not extensive enough to include all the strategies used by the participants. In some situations, more than 60% of a group’s answer to a situation was formed by using ‘Other’ categories (e.g. request situation 3, and apology situations 9, 10,
This was a surprising but equally concerning result. More research should be done to investigate whether new categories should be assigned to requests and apologies, especially if there is an agreement between researchers that these were extensively used by the participants in their studies.

One final relevant outcome regarding IFIDs is that, all groups used formal types of IFIDs (let me extend my sincere apologies) and routinised informal types (sorry, I'm sorry). However, what was interesting was that there was no positive correlation between the ranking of the offence and the formality of the use of IFIDs. In other words, the variable ‘formality of IFIDs’ did not increase when the variable ‘ranking of offence’ increased. Generally, formal IFIDs were sometimes used in less offensive situations and informal short IFIDs were sometimes used in more offensive situations.

Next, accounts were generally used by Saudis more than the British (situations 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16). The Saudis seemed to prefer using this strategy in order to elicit the H’s sympathy and understanding. The Saudis appeared to prefer using specific detailed reasons (e.g. I put the book on the table yesterday to remind myself to bring it with me to class today), while the British preferred to employ general and vague accounts (e.g. something important happened, I got held up, something came up, for reasons X and Y).

In terms of accepting responsibility (which is a crucial apology situation which shows S’s readiness to own up to her own offences), all six groups expressed acceptance of
responsibility by using the explicit self-blame type the most (it's my fault) and the expression of S’s embarrassment type the least (I feel bad about what I did).

Comparing these two groups, the Saudis appeared to accept responsibility for the offence more than the British did (e.g. situations 10, 11, 14, 15, 16). This can indicate two things. First, that the Saudis appear to be less embarrassed by the offences they cause the H than the British and readily accept responsibility for the fault if it is truly theirs. Secondly, it seems that the Saudis would rather apologise and admit their responsibility for the offence than perhaps losing a close relationship with H in the future. Moreover, it has been noticed that Saudis apologised even to hearers who were lower in power (-P) than them (e.g. situation 14). This result agrees with Al-Zumor’s (2010) data which demonstrated that ‘in the Arab culture, admitting one’s deficiency in order to set thing [sic] right is not as embarrassing and discrediting as in the Anglo-Saxon culture. The immunity of one’s private self is much less part of the Arab culture. [Instead], people are more publicly available to each other’ (Al-Zumor 2010: 28).

Next, the strategy of offering repair can be divided into types according to specific criteria. For example, offers of repair can either be specified (e.g. I'll pay for the damage) or unspecified (e.g. I'll see what I can do). Furthermore, offers of repair can either be direct or indirect. Direct offers of repair were offered by S to H without prior notice (e.g. I'll buy you a new ring). In indirect offers of repair, prior notice was given to H by the speaker first suggesting to H the type
of repair offered and thus the repair will occur depending on H’s reaction to the suggestion (e.g. *I can either compensate you by buying you a new ring or give you the money for it*).

In my data, the Saudis and the British group used offers of repair equally. The Saudi group sometimes employed offers of repair more than the British group, such as in situations 10 and 14, and the British group offered repair more than the Saudi group in other situations, such as situations 15 and 16. However, the Saudis tended to offer H specified repairs indirectly by giving H optionality in terms of choosing the kind of repair they would like (e.g. *either I give you the money or buy you a new ring because you might not like what I will buy you*). The British, on the other hand, seemed tentative in their unspecified repair offering, using linguistic devices such as questions and hedges, which made their offers of repair appear hesitant and rather not strong (e.g. *I can fix it (if you want), what do you want me to do?, Maybe I'll bring it tomorrow?*).

Regarding the rest of the strategies, both groups rarely used *promise of forbearance* in their apologies and employed *opting out* the least out of all the apology strategies. The fact that *opting out* was the least preferred strategy to use by both Saudi and British participants (as well as the rest of the groups) suggests that, all group members seemed to prefer dealing with the offences they caused rather than ignore the situation.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that even when the Saudi groups opted out, they mainly did so because they probably felt the context of the apology situation would not occur in real life and would not apply to their personalities (e.g. situations 9 and 12) and not because they
intentionally wanted to refuse to apologise (as specifically mentioned by some participants in their answering sheets). In the case of the British, they very rarely opted out but when they did, they normally did so because they did not want to apologise or even deal with the offence (e.g. situation 15) (*I quit*) [as a waiter].

It is worth noting that B and L’s opting out strategy is considered the ‘most polite’ in their strategy hierarchy table; but that is only in terms of requests, complaints, and many other FTAs. However, opting out of apologies is considered the most face-protective technique to S and the least polite apology strategy made to H, as not apologising for an offence caused by S is usually considered ‘rude’ and ‘offensive’.

In terms of ‘Other’ apology categories, the most obvious difference between the two groups was manifested in situations 10 and 13. In situation 10, the Saudi males employed ‘Other’ categories in 38% of their answers, the Saudi females employed them in 83% of their apologies. British males employed ‘Other’ categories in 45% of their answers and British females used them in 26% of their apologies. The Saudi females used more ‘Other’ apology strategies than Saudi males and mostly used the help of a third party (by calling their fathers or brothers) in this situation as they did not want to interact with the H in any way. Both British genders offered the H to give them their insurance details (give H insurance details). This strategy was considered an ‘Other’ category and not an offer of repair strategy because it was analogous to the ‘Other’ strategy (give H father’s details) mostly used by Saudi females.
In situation 13, the British used more ‘Other’ categories than the Saudis and mostly blamed the H (the father) for solely depending on S to wake him up for this important meeting. The Saudi males showed reluctance in admitting their faults to their fathers perhaps out of fear of forthcoming punishment and were largely submissive and evasive.

This discrepancy in strategy use reflects the difference in the two cultures’ values regarding collectivism and individualism, thus corroborating Hofstede's argument that the Saudi culture is a collectivist culture, where individuals cannot usually express their opinions freely and tend to follow the group; whereas the UK is an individualist culture, where individuals are more free to have and express their own opinions (see 2.8). This cultural contrast between the two groups’ opposing perceptions of parental authority and personal independence may have caused the respondents to adopt different methods in dealing with this offence. On close inspection, it is evident that the British, who belong to an individualistic society, were more overt and confident in their overall demeanor with their fathers, whereas the Saudi males were more reserved and less confident against their fathers’ authoritative figures, which is a typical way of behaving in collectivistic cultures. See 8.3.

It is worth mentioning that out of all Hofstede’s cultural dimensions (2.8), the cultural dimension collectivism versus individualism was highly applicable in explaining and determining differences in polite behaviour as expressed by different cultural groups (see 8.3). This result agrees with Al-Shalawi’s (1997) data results (see 3.3) in which it was shown that the cultural dimension collectivism/individualism was able to explain some of the participants’
strategy choices, especially in regards to Saudis’ choice of strategies which generally avoided confrontation and leaned more towards maintaining long-term relationships with others.

In terms of the effects of the social variables (P, D, and R) on making apologies, it seems that these were probably ranked higher by the Saudis than the British in some cases. For example, in situation 11, both Saudi genders opted out and none of the British males or females did. In this situation, both the power of H and distance between the interlocutors were high (+P, +D), whereas the ranking of the imposition was low (-R). It appears that the Saudi participants ranked the offence of this situation higher and attempted to save their positive face more than the British did. Some Saudi respondents actually wrote in their answers that (they would be too embarrassed to apologise to the teacher in front of their other classmates and would rather not apologise, that they would not apologise to the teacher because maybe he/she already forgot about the book, that they would send the driver to get the book quickly, and that they would not apologise because they will avoid the situation by going home and bringing the book on time). See 8.3.

The other situation where the social variables played a part in determining the strategy choices of the two groups was situation 12. In this situation, it could be suggested that special attention was given to the social variable (D) by the Saudis (especially females) more than the British, in that the Saudis mentioned that they would apologise only if there was no distance between S and H. Some Saudi females specifically said that (they would only apologise if the H was a close friend because they would want to maintain a good relationship with H in the
future. If the H was not a close friend, they would not brother to apologise or deal with the situation). (See 8.4). This agrees with Al-Sulayyi (2013) who maintains that Saudi females do not care about short-term relationships (strangers). Only when the interlocutors are close do they offer repairs in an attempt to sustain the social harmony between their closely related individuals.

On the other hand, in the case of the British, ‘apology depending on distance’ (8.4) did not occur in any apology situation.

Comparing the effect of the social variables (P, D, and R) on Saudis’ requests and apologies, it appears that the social variables almost had zero effect on Saudis’s requests (they employed direct requests despite the context of the request situation) but had some effect on their apology making, as shown in the paragraphs above.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that although all subjects accepted responsibility for the offence in a large number of situations, there was somewhat a positive correlation between using higher rates of this strategy and high power/status situations. In clearer terms, on average, in situations where H has power over S, speakers tended to take responsibility for the offence slightly more.

To recall, starting from the speech act of request, Saudi and British participants often differed in their choice of request strategy, choice of directness (direct vs. indirect requesting style), choice of ‘Other’ categories, choice of supportive moves, and social variable sensitivity (P, D, and R).
Regarding apologies, Saudi and British participants often differed in their choice of apology strategy, the types they preferred to use in each strategy category (e.g. type of ifid, type of offer of repair), choice of ‘Other’ categories, and social variable sensitivity (P, D, and R).

In sum, to answer the research question above, it could be hypothesised, based from the previous discussion, that Saudis and British share more differences than similarities in their request and apology performances, tendencies, and overall speech-act behaviours.

Moving on to the next group comparison, here, the main similarities and differences between EFL and Saudi participants making requests and apologies will be mentioned. I will mainly focus on the groups’ differences, which either caused the learners’ FTA behaviour to resemble the target-language, or resulted in the EFL groups communicating in a peculiar way different from both Saudi and British native speakers. The discussion will also include similarities between these two groups, which perhaps resulted from L1 transfer into the EFL’s inter-language. This comparison will be presented in an attempt to answer the second question of the thesis main research questions:

2. *To what extent do the request and apology strategies used by the Saudi EFL learners differ from those of the Saudi native speakers?*

In some cases in my data, the EFL groups tended to transfer the following features from their L1 in making requests and apologies in their English interlanguage: exact translation of linguistic realisations, the combination of (ifid+ H’s professional title or kinship term)
(corroborating Al-Zumor (2011) data results (see 3.3)), and hearer versus speaker orientation.

Alternatively, the EFL groups generally did not tend to transfer these features from Saudi Arabic in their English requests and apologies: their L1 speech act strategy choices, FTA level of directness, ranking of FTA, FTA intensification techniques, and FTA supportive moves.

Starting from ‘exact translation of strategy linguistic realisations’, this feature can be considered the most highly negatively transferred feature from L1 in the EFL groups’ request and apology makings, as there was a specifically large number of these instances found in my data. The crucial point in this type of transfer is that, although it does not significantly affect the politeness level of the utterance, it affects the grammatical correctness of the utterance. And although it has been previously suggested that second-language learner’s performance of FTAs can be grammatically incorrect but pragmatically effective (Shauer 2009), English teachers still need to ensure that their students produce well-formed L2 speech acts both grammatically and pragmatically, as general L2 proficiency requires improvement in both types of linguistic competence.

Some examples from my data included: (May pass the salt for me? [literally translated from the Saudi Arabic request form]) ممكن تناولي الملح لي؟; May you give me lecture notes? [literally translated from the Saudi Arabic request expression] ممكن تعطيني ملخصات المحاضرة؟. The use of ‘May’ in these answers show the learners’ awareness of the use of some indirect
request forms in English; however, some of their linguistic productions were grammatically incorrect, which may signify that perhaps the collocation of (May + I) in English requests has not been established yet. In this case, if this information is available in the textbook, it is still rather helpful from the English teacher’s part to write the request forms on the board so that the students can benefit from making connections between scattered words and be better able to construct request forms with the help of word collocations: e.g. \((May + I \ldots?)\) instead of \((May + \text{verb} \ldots?)\) or \((May + you \ldots?)\).

In terms of hearer vs. speaker orientation, both Saudi and EFL groups highly preferred using hearer-oriented request forms (e.g. \(can you \ldots?\) \(would you \ldots?\)) than speaker-oriented ones (e.g. \(can I \ldots?\) \(would I \ldots?\)). In the case of the British, the situation was reversed. Please refer to the discussion of collectivism versus individualism in the previous section.

Next, the use of \([\text{the combination of ifid +} \ H\text{'s professional title or kinship term}]\) was common in the requests (‘my cousin, give me 100 riyals’, ‘mother, please give me the salt shaker’) and apologies (‘sorry father’, ‘I am sorry my teacher’) produced by EFL groups. This comes in agreement with Al-Ghamdi (2013) who suggested that ‘[Learners] tended to use terms of address that are familiar in the Arabic culture’ (Al-Ghamdi 2013: 54).

Turning to cases where the EFL group generally did not tend to transfer features from Saudi Arabic into their English interlanguage, the groups typically differed in their request and apology strategy choices. For example, the EFL groups used higher numbers of these strategies than Saudis (explicit performative, obligation, query-preparatory, hints, IFIDs,
offer of repair, promise of forbearance). On the other hand, the Saudi groups used a higher number of these strategies than the EFL groups (mood derivable, hedged performative, want, suggesting formula, account, accepting responsibility, opting out of making the apology).

Regarding the choice of strategy directness, the EFL groups generally tended to use more indirect request styles than the Saudis (all request situations 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). In the same situations, the Saudis ordinarily employed direct request strategies typically softened by a large number of religious softeners and supportive moves. Because the overall outcome suggests that the EFL groups preferred to use indirect strategies in request situations, independent of low versus high social variable ranks, more than the Saudis, it seems that perhaps the EFL groups ranked FTA social variables higher than the Saudis, as did the British in the previous section.

Lastly, in regards to intensification techniques and supportive moves, these were used by Saudis more than the EFL group. For example, the Saudis used more supportive moves (e.g. situation 2) and address terms (e.g. situation 1) than the EFL group. This can be caused by the Saudis’ general use of more direct requests than the EFL group, which might have urged them to use a higher number of softeners and modifiers than the EFL participants. This outcome lends support to the hypothesis that higher numbers of use of supportive moves might be positively correlated with the use of higher direct strategies.
In sum, to answer the research question above, it can be concluded that the EFL group did transfer some of their interlanguage request and apology behaviours from their L1 (specifically, exact translation of linguistic realisations, hearer versus speaker orientation, and the combination of (ifid+ H’s professional title or kinship term)). However, some other features were not transferred (their L1 speech act strategy choice, FTA level of directness, ranking of FTAs, FTA intensification techniques, and FTA supportive moves). Some features were either different from the Saudi Arabic group and similar to L2 (see next section), others were dissimilar to both native speaker groups and were unique to the EFL group (e.g. the EFL preferred to use indirect strategies in request situations, independent of low versus high social variable ranks, more than the Saudis and the intensification techniques and supportive moves for requests were used by Saudis more than the EFL group). This again lends support to the view of learners’ interlanguage as being neither the L1 nor the L2, but something unique and a ‘system in its own right’ (Selinker 2014: 230).

Moving on, below, the main similarities and differences between EFL and British participants making requests and apologies will be outlined in an attempt to answer the third question of this study’s main research questions:

3. To what extent do the request and apology strategies used by the Saudi EFL learners differ from those of the British English native speakers?

From the sum of the previous chapters, it can be concluded that although some of the features of the EFL requests and apologies were similar to those found in the native
speakers’ data (e.g. the two groups’ similar rates of these strategy uses: explicit performative, and hedged performative; similar supportive move choices such as in request situation 5; and similar rate of general H’s address term use), none of the features were exactly the same as the British request and apology data. This result shows strong advocacy for the view of ‘interlanguage’ as being something quite similar but not entirely identical to the L2, also as a constant development towards the target language (Ellis 1994, Trosborg 1995).

Furthermore, most features of requests and apologies produced by the EFL group were visibly different from target-like request and apology behaviours. These included: (FTA strategy linguistic realisations, FTA strategy choices (in most cases), FTA supportive moves (in most cases), FTA intensification techniques, FTA social variable rankings, level of FTA directness, and hearer vs. speaker orientation). In fact, sometimes the EFL groups tended to behave in a way dissimilar to both Saudi and British groups, which was an interesting outcome of this thesis. As in Al-Momani’s (2009) research study, his data resulted in the EFL learners behaving in ways that differed from both the Arabic native speakers and the English native speakers. The researcher concluded that ‘these limitations arise largely from the nature of “interlanguage” as a developing system that might borrow from both the L1 and L2 or even deviate from both systems and take a pattern of it [sic] own’ (2009: 51-52, inverted commas in original).
To begin with, EFL groups’ linguistic realisations with which their choice of strategies were realised tended to significantly differ from the British group. For example, as mentioned previously, the British groups preferred to use ‘Other’ indirect request strategies in which CCSARP q-prep functions are combined (cf. chapters 7 and 9). Those particular strategy types had zero incidence in the case of the EFL groups. Moreover, although the British and the EFL groups used q-prep strategies extensively, unlike the British group, the EFL groups never used the expression (Are you able to...?) in expressing q-prep through the ability function; neither did they use (Is it alright if...?) to express the q-prep function permission, nor used (What are the chances...?) to express their requests through the use of the possibility function. Lastly, unlike the British, the EFL groups never used the hedge ‘possibly’ in their requests (Can you possibly give me a lift home?).

Although I did not have the chance to look into the students’ English textbook used in the classroom, I suspect that these features are either not present in the book or that they are present but the teacher does not emphasise on this information to the students. If you recall, in Cook’s (2001) study (section 4.4), the best L2 performance was demonstrated by students whose teacher insisted on teaching her class detailed information about the L2 through role plays and other social exercises, despite the information being readily available in their textbooks. Agreeing with Cook (2001), I strongly suggest that the EFL teacher draws the students’ attention to all the important information regarding L2, both grammatically and pragmatically, even if the information is already available in their
textbook. After all, some students learn more from the teacher than the textbook, so as Wen-Cheng, Chien-Hung, and Chung-Chieh (2011) affirm, ‘teachers must learn how to integrate and organize content of a textbook to make learning an interactive and meaningful experience, as opposed to an act that can be completed alone by self-directed study with a textbook’ (2011: 91).

Regarding the students’ choice of directness, it seems that because the EFL groups attempted to employ indirect styles in performing their FTAs just like the British native speakers did, but were lacking in using appropriate linguistic devices to structure their FTAs, it might be possible to conclude that the learners’ L2 pragmatic competence appeared to surpass their linguistic competence, which lends support to the hypothesis that these two competences are not always positively related. In clearer terms, increase in pragmatic competence does not necessarily mean increase in linguistic competence as well. According to Bardovi-Harlig and Dornyei (1997), Hungarian and Italian EFL learners recognised pragmatically appropriate grammatically incorrect utterances more readily than pragmatically inappropriate but grammatically correct sentences.

In terms of intensification techniques and supportive moves, the British groups generally employed supportive moves and the politeness marker ‘please’ more than the EFL groups. They also preferred to use please in the final position, whereas the EFL males had an equal rate of its use for both final and initial positions. Moreover, the British groups, for example, tended to employ a variety of these expressions with which to intensify their IFIDs: (very,
so, really, deeply, truly). The EFL groups, on the other hand, mostly used these intensifiers (very, so, and really) only. The British groups also preferred to use the short form ‘sorry’ more than the long form ‘I’m sorry’. The EFL males used the two forms equally, but the EFL females preferred to use the long form ‘I'm sorry’ more than the short form.

In terms of social variable sensitivity, because the EFL groups ordinarily used less indirect strategies than the British in most request strategies, it appears that they could have ranked the request social variables somewhat lower than the British and were less sensitive to the social variables (P, D, and R) than the British groups. Although the EFL groups tended to use more direct styles in forming their FTAs than the British, they employed less supportive moves with which to soften their FTAs. This can be imputed to the students’ lack of linguistic ability which can hinder them from achieving the level of politeness they would like to achieve in their L2 and are able to achieve in their L1.

This problem created a slight imbalance in the EFL groups’ FTA linguistic formations. To illustrate, in terms of directness, the EFL groups generally took a middle position between the Saudis and the British and employed more direct FTAs than the British but less direct FTAs than the Saudis. The Saudis appeared to soften their FTAs by heavy use of softeners and address terms. (My uncle, if you are going home, give me a ride on your way, may Allah reward you with all good things. عمتي، إذا راجع جهة البيت، وصلني في طريقك جزاك الله الف خير.) The British did not tend to soften their FTAs as they already formed them in an indirect style (e.g. I was wondering if it was possible to give me a ride home please). Comparatively, the EFL
groups, typically used short direct and indirect linguistic forms to form their FTAs (e.g. *I need a ride. Can you give me a ride?*) but used much less supportive moves than both groups. This resulted in their interlanguage answers sounding ‘abrupt’ and sometimes even ‘impolite’. As Al-Sulayyi (2013) mentioned, in his research, the British native speakers employed a varied set of apology speech act strategies and sub-strategies because of their linguistic advantage. The Saudi male and female EFL students, on the other hand, used less variety of strategies, which made their utterances appear linguistically less adequate and pragmatically less polite.

In regards to the choice of strategy directness, as mentioned above, the EFL typically employed less indirect strategies than the British in most FTA cases and less direct strategies than the Saudis. This suggests that in terms of choice of FTA directness, the EFL groups did not tend to negatively transfer this feature from L1; neither resemble target-like FTA directness choices, which probably suggests that the learners were perhaps stuck in a place between developing their L2 competences and being still under the L1 influence. To elaborate, as Al-Momani (2009:50) says, ‘research on requests have revealed that language learners seem to have access to the same repertoire of requesting strategies (e.g., level of directness, internal modification, and supportive moves) as native speakers. Yet, the manner in which these features are organized and affected by social variables (e.g., social power, social distance, and obligation) is subject to cultural filters which ‘reflect different cultural values’ (Wierzbicka 1991: 69) (As cited in Al-Momani 2009: 50).
In regards to hearer vs. speaker orientation, the EFL groups, like the Saudis, tended to prefer to use hearer-oriented request forms. The British group, on the other hand, tended to use speaker-oriented requests at a much higher rate. This is in agreement with Al-Momani (2009) data results in which Jordanian EFL learners shared a preference with Jordanian Arabic speakers for the use of the hearer-oriented perspective in making requests more than the American native speakers, who alternatively preferred using the nonhearer-oriented perspective.

Moving on to apology strategies, two observations regarding the use of IFIDs by EFL groups have to be mentioned. First, the expression ‘excuse me’ was never used by the EFL students as an apology. It seems that the respondents did not feel that ‘excuse me’ was enough to express a sincere apology to their hearers. However, in Arabic, the expression ‘excuse me’ was used on its own to express an IFID as in (excuse me معيش، عذرا). In English, the British used the IFID ‘excuse me’ in several cases as well. This again shows that the EFL behaviour was sometimes unique in terms of the linguistic choices made with which to realise the IFIDs.

Secondly, the EFL groups had the highest average scores for using IFIDs only in one situation, where EFL females used IFIDs the most in situation 9. This, along with the fact that EFL groups’ combined averages of IFID uses differed from both Saudi and British scores, might show that the EFL groups did not transfer their apology behaviour and their situations’ social and contextual evaluations from their L1; neither did they replicate the
British groups’ IFID numbers of uses. This is yet another instance of the learners’ peculiar speech-act behaviour that is different from both the L1 and the L2, again showing that their ‘interlanguage’ is perhaps a developing system that is neither the L1 nor the L2, but borrows from the L1 and the L2, and sometimes entirely peculiar and unique as a system in its own right.

In terms of the ‘account’ apology strategy, the groups were quite vague about stating exact reasons on their sheets and resorted to saying that they would ‘tell H why and give H the reason’. The choice of undefined excuses chosen by EFL groups shows approximation toward L2 apology behaviour and learners’ knowledge about L2 pragmatic features because likewise, both British groups tended to prefer stating vague reasons for their offenses (e.g. something important happened, I got held up, something came up, for reasons X and Y).

Turning to ‘offers of repair’, The EFL groups scored the highest number of offers of repair use which again suggests that in this strategy, they did not transfer apology behaviour from L1; neither did they resemble target-like apology behaviour in their interlanguage apology productions. Rather, they were unique in their strategy choices and uses.

Moving on to ‘promise of forbearance’, the EFL groups used this strategy more than both Saudi and both British groups. This is another instance where the EFL groups seemed to differ in their apology strategy choices from the rest of the groups. This also demonstrates that there was no L1 negative transfer in this strategy; nor was there target-like resemblance in apology strategy choices.
In sum, to answer the third research question above, it can be concluded that the EFL
and the British groups were significantly more different in their speech-act behaviours than
similar. It can also be suggested that the obvious problem in the EFL request and apology
performances is the learners’ L2 overall linguistic deficiency, their over-reliance on L1
literal linguistic realisations transferred to English, their use of more direct styles in
forming their FTAs with employing less than satisfactory number of supportive moves, and
their lack of knowledge of a vast variety of query-preparatory English forms that they
appeared to have no idea about at all.

In this next paragraphs, the discussion will differ slightly from previous ones in that the
attention will not be on group differences but rather on gender differences within each
group. I will start by discussing the main gender differences between Saudi males and
Saudi females found in my data. Then, I will turn my attention to gender differences found
between EFL males and females. Finally, the attention will turn to differences between
British males and British females.

Starting with the Saudi participants, in some cases, Saudi males chose strategies per
situation differently from Saudi females or chose the same strategy but used it at a higher or
a lower rate. For example, in situation 1, Saudi males opted out of making the request to
their mothers more than Saudi females. This was explained in chapter 7 as a potential way
of the Saudi males’ saving their positive image as ‘elder sons’. They also opted out of
making a request for a pen to their highly powerful hearer more than Saudi females perhaps
in order to save their positive face as potential and responsible employees. Moreover, they used ‘hints’ and opted out more than Saudi females in situation 5 most probably in order to save their positive face as well. It can then be hypothesised that Saudi males in general attempt to save their positive face more than Saudi females.

The strategy of ‘opting out’ of making requests was sometimes used by Saudi females; however, it was often not employed to save S’s positive face but rather for different purposes. For example, Saudi females opted out more than Saudi males in situation 8 because, as they stated on their answering sheets, the Saudi females asserted that they will ‘get’ the 100 riyals from H without asking because of the close bond they share with H and the fact that they always lend each other money anyway. In fact, in situation 8, the Saudi females opted out of making the request the most out of all the six groups perhaps because of the perception they have of S’s right of making the FTA and the close relationship that they share with their cousins. Some Saudi females also used their real-life cousins’ first names as H’s address terms.

The same factor of close bond with H might have urged the Saudi females to opt out of making apologies to their hearers in situation 9, where the Saudi females stated that there is no need to apologise because they share a lot of personal items with their sisters and one item they lose would not be an issue that warrants an apology to H. Moreover, it also appears that in Saudi female-female relationships vs. Saudi male-male friendships, the
Saudi females might create and maintain a closer relationship with their family members and their friends than their Saudi male counterparts.

In addition, another situation in which there was a difference between Saudi male and female strategy choices was apology situation 10 in which S accidentally backs into H’s car and damages it. In this situation, the Saudi males mostly employed apology strategies such as (IFIDs, account, responsibility, and offer of repair). The Saudi females, on the other hand, rarely accepted responsibility and widely refused to interact with the male hearer altogether. If they did, they often apologised using ‘plural distancing’ apology expressions (e.g. *we are sorry*، *we will fix the mistake*، احنا اسفين، احنا حنصلح الغلط) and required a third party to be present, usually the S’s male guardian such as her father or her brother. This corroborates Al-Hudhaif’s (2000) results (see 3.3) that the gender of the addressee is a significantly important factor which determines the selection of different apology strategies according to his data. Moreover, in this situation, EFL females also tended to be affected by the Saudi Arabic cultural tradition concerning the limited female-male interaction in their interlanguage answers for this situation and often behaved very similarly to Saudi females (cf. chapter 8).

In general, Saudi males preferred to use apology strategies different from Saudi females. For example, Saudi males used the strategies (accepting responsibility and promise of forbearance) more than Saudi females. Saudi females, on the other hand, used these strategies (IFIDs, account, offer of repair, and opt out) more than Saudi males did.
Turning to the level of directness chosen in request strategies, Saudi males often used direct strategies more than Saudi females in all request situations. The Saudi females tended to prefer using CCSARP and ‘Other’ categories that were more indirect than Saudi males (e.g. q-prep.conditional vs. object.impersonal) (e.g. situations 1, 2, and 3) and used address terms more than Saudi males and any other group participants (e.g. situation 1).

Moving on to the use of supportive moves and address terms, it has been a general trend through the data analysis for Saudi females to employ positive politeness oriented supportive moves (e.g. hug, kiss H, assert positive relationship with H) and address terms (e.g. dear auntie خالة حبيبي, darling عزيزتي), and for Saudi males to employ negative politeness oriented supportive moves (kiss H’s head and hand out of deference) and address terms (father of [the name of H’s first born son also out of deference] ابو فلان). Moreover, Saudi females often ‘sought H’s sympathy’ when making their apologies, while Saudi males tended to deliver ‘clear expressions of guilt and responsibility’. In fact, Saudi males used the direct apology strategy ‘accepting responsibility’ much more than Saudi females across all apology situations.

In the case of EFL participants, EFL females generally used indirect request strategies more than EFL males in some situations (e.g. situation 5). However, in apologising, EFL females often employed more direct strategies (IFIDs and accepting responsibility) than EFL males. EFL males preferred to opt out of making requests and apologies more than EFL females (e.g. situations 1, 3, 12).
Regarding British males and females, British females generally employed indirect request strategies more than British males, while the British males tended to prefer using more ‘direct’ request strategies than the females. For example, British males used these request strategies more than British females (mood derivable, explicit performative, hedged performative, obligation, want, and opt out), while British females used these strategies (query-preparatory and hints) more than the British males. The strategy ‘suggesting formula’ was never used in any request strategy by both groups. In terms of making apologies, British males’ rate of strategy use was higher in these apology strategies (IFIDs, account, and claiming responsibility for the offence) than the British females. British females’s rate of use for these strategies (offer of repair, promise of forbearance) was slightly higher than British males.

It was noticed from the data analysis that, unlike the Saudi group, both British group genders did not usually significantly differ across all request and apology situations.

In sum, comparing between all six groups’ gender differences, it appears that in this study, Saudi participants shared more dissimilarities between their gender groups than the other four groups. This agrees with Turjoman's (2005) study in which data resulted in peculiar welcoming behaviour for Saudi women which significantly differed from the behaviour of their Saudi male counterparts (see 3.3).
Concluding remarks:

In this conclusion, the main differences between the groups were highlighted in an attempt to answer the three main research questions. It appears that in making requests, British and EFL participants react to higher rates of situations’ (P, D, and R) than the Saudis as they generally employed more indirect request strategies than Saudis in most request situations. However, the British group used higher numbers of ‘Other’ function-combined q-prep request strategies than EFL. The EFL appeared to have no knowledge of these English request forms as they never used them in their answers.

In making apologies, the British group used the highest average score of IFIDs and the EFL group used the highest number of offer of repair and promise of forbearance. In their apologies, the EFL group tended to transfer some of the apology linguistic and cultural features from their L1 such as (replicating exact linguistic apology expressions from Arabic and preferring not to interact with male hearers). In other situations, they did not tend to be influenced by L1 apology tendencies (e.g. using IFIDs more than Saudi males and females).

Regarding their interlanguage requests and apologies, EFL learners generally appeared to have enough pragmatic knowledge of L2 request and apology tendencies to replicate a large number of strategies that the British group used in their answers. However, linguistically, they tended to perform a large number of grammatical mistakes and transfer exact translations of request and apology realisations from Arabic, which made their performances seem weak and ill-formed. It was noticed that the EFL groups often placed
themselves between the British and the Saudis in that they seemed to prefer making
strategy choices in between these two groups. For example, in making requests, the Saudis
tended to employ direct strategies > EFL > the British; (the symbol > refers to ‘more than’).
In using supportive moves, the Saudis used them > EFL > the British, and so on.

The learners were also noticed to often resort to delivering rather short interlanguage
responses in an attempt not to make a mistake. However, when asked about their personal
evaluations of their English fluency in the background questionnaires, they seemed to be
oblivious to their correct level of L2 linguistic abilities. Most EFL students gave themselves
high scores for their English writing and linguistic abilities which was clearly not the case.
It is important to show them the differences between their answers and the British native
speakers’ answers in request and apology situations so they can see clearly for themselves
that the answers they had delivered were sometimes different and even incorrect.

In the case of Saudi participants, they appeared to prefer using direct request strategies
along with a large number of religious softeners and supportive moves. Atawneh (1991)
attributed the reason for Arabs’ preference for directness to the Arabic linguistic system. He
pointed out that ‘Arabic does not have the same elaborate modal system like English for
making indirect requests’ (1991: 212). Another reason for the Saudi respondents’ choice of
directness could be emanated from their preference of generally giving out straight-to-the-
point instructions in order to be ‘clear’ to the hearer about their exact intentions in making
the FTA and not out of influence from ‘impoliteness’.
This outcome sheds light on Saudis’ perception of polite behaviour in that they perhaps see it manifested in direct clear linguistic realisations made towards the hearer in a straight-to-the-point manner, softened by several supportive moves before and after the head act of the FTA; unlike the perception B and L have of politeness which equals ‘indirectness’.

Implication for second-language teaching:

In this study, the EFL learners amply showed great deficiency in their interlanguage request and apology performances, in that they tended to deliver brief answers in an attempt not to make mistakes, deliver ungrammatical sentences usually literally transferred from Arabic, and not be aware of the possible function-combined q-prep strategies available to use to make requests in English.

Therefore, based on the learners’ performance in this study, in regards to requests, the major responsibility placed on English teachers appears to be to explicitly teach the students the function-combined q-prep strategies found only in the British data and to improve their linguistic performances through the use of drills, role-plays, and other exercises, keeping in mind Schmidt’s recommendations for successful pragmatic teaching, which can be found in (4. 4). In regards to request modification, it is important to teach EFL students that when using direct requests, the use of softeners is of crucial importance. Although the Saudi groups used mostly direct requests in their answers, they did not sound ‘impolite’ as their various use of softeners, modifiers, and supportive moves made their requests vibrant, rich in colour, emotion, and goodwill.
In regards to apologies, the teachers should ensure that the students:

1- Understand and learn how the five CCSARP apology strategies can be realised and used appropriately in L2 offensive situations (linguistic and strategic knowledge)
2- Evaluate the weightiness (P, D, R) of the offence properly (social variable evaluation)
3- Choose the right number and order of strategies that satisfy H (strategic choice)
4- And accentuate the use of expressions of regrets and other apology strategies with adequate and ‘enough’ intensifiers to show honesty (sincerity condition).

Limitation of the study:

In this study, all the Saudi participants were from the city ‘Jeddah’ in Saudi Arabia and spoke the Hijazi accent of the city. Jeddah is a metropolitan city located at the Western part of the kingdom. It exhibits a distinctive culture and is home for a heterogeneous sample of residents, mostly due to the Hajj season, than other cities around the kingdom. The unevenness of the origin and the cultural make-up of different regions of the country may affect the way Saudi males behave, especially towards women, in female-male interactions. For example, in situation 12, Saudi male speakers had the choice to openly apologise to Saudi female co-workers in a situation warranting an apology. In my data, Saudi males from Jeddah apologised to the hearer in this situation, regardless of the gender, and generally tended to be a little more flexible in their everyday social interactions with Saudi women.

The Saudi males in other cities in Saudi Arabia might not be as flexible as the males in my data; therefore, any future researchers interested in Saudi Arabic politeness should
know this regional difference between Saudi cities. For example, as has already been established by Al-Hudhaij’s (2000) study, Saudi males revealed a pattern where if the addressee was a female, they would provide minimal, if no, apology regardless of the context of the offence (see 3.3). In my research, however, Saudi males apologised to males and females equally. This might indicate that the region of Saudi Arabia where the participants are recruited from could be a factor which the researchers might manipulate during their Saudi sample selection procedure as results of their speech acts behaviour might differ.

Moreover, this study recruited EFL participants residing in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia and studying at King AbdulAziz University in Jeddah. The results obtained from this study cannot be generalised to other Saudi EFL respondents residing in different Saudi cities and studying at other different universities. Regarding the British group, they were all students studying at Roehampton University in London, UK, and the results obtained from their answers in this study cannot be generalised to British native speakers from other regions in the United Kingdom and studying at different universities in levels other than first to third year university students.

Finally, the results obtained from this study can only be applicable to other studies in which DCTs are used to obtain data from the respondents. Using other data collection methods may well generate different results and that should be under consideration as well.
**Future research:**

I hope that this thesis would give other researchers enough inspiration so that they would pursue this line of studies in their own research portfolios. In terms of the speech act selected, future researchers may choose to investigate other FTAs than requests and apologies using the same sample of participants recruited in this thesis. Alternatively, future researchers may investigate the same FTAs studies in this thesis and manipulate the factor of participant samples, in terms of number, year of study, and gender. Future researchers can also replicate this research but use participants from other regions of Saudi Arabia as we already established that this can generate different results from this thesis. Future researchers can also replicate my study using other primary data collection methods, such as role plays or naturally-occurring data.

Culturally speaking, future researchers can also investigate cultural patterns that exist between positive politeness cultures such as Saudi Arabia and other Asian countries (India, Japan) (cf. Al-Kahtani 2005 in section 3.3), compare Saudi Arabian (*aadat w taqaleed*) (see 2.7) with Japanese *discernment*, and perhaps investigate politeness with a more focus on Hofstede's cultural model (1991).
ETHICS COMMITTEE

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Investigation of speech act strategies employed by Saudis

Brief Description of Research Project:
You are being invited to take part in a research project about cross-cultural linguistic speech act variation. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

To elicit data on different strategies, the researcher needs the help of participants who are Saudi Arabic native speaking university-level students. Participants in this research will be given discourse completion test questionnaires (DCTs) that will consist of a number of written context-enriched situations. In a seemly manner, filling out the questionnaire should not take more than thirty minutes at most; as it is designed with preference for capturing first responses.

Participants will enjoy their legal rights of remaining anonymous throughout the course of the research, as well as having the absolute freedom of withdrawing from participation at any point without it affecting any benefits that the participant is entitled to in any way; no reason will be asked to be given.

Thank you so much for reading this form, I appreciate it!
I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

Consent Statement

Signature: .................................................................
Date: .................................................................

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator. However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.). You will find their contact details below.

المعلومات الشخصية:

1. الجنس: □ ذكر □ أنثى
2. العمر: □ أقل من عشرين سنة □ عشرين فما فوق □ بكالوريوس □ غير ذلك
3. كيف تقيم (تقييم) نفسك في محادثتك للغة الإنجليزية؟ □ ممتاز جدا ( قريب للتحدث للإنجليزية كلغة أولى) □ ممتاز
4. كيف تقيم (تقييم) نفسك في كتابتك للغة الإنجليزية؟ □ ممتاز جدا ( قريب للتحدث للإنجليزية كلغة أولى) □ ممتاز
5. هل كانت دراستك في المدرسة باللغة الإنجليزية؟ □ إذا أجبت بنعم، أرجو تقديم التفاصيل.

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
المواقف المختلفة

1. تبغي (تبغي) إمك تناولك الملح من على طاولة الأكل وقت العشاء. إيش حقول(ي) لها؟

2. للبنات. تبغي صديقتك لك (مو مرة قريبة منك) انها تسافلك ملخص محاضرة ما حضرتتها. إيش حقولكي لها؟ للولاد. تبغي صديق لك (مو مرة قريب منك) انها تسافلك ملخص محاضرة ما حضرتتها. إيش حقول؟

3. تخيل!(ي) انت في نص مقابلة شخصية لوظيفة يتقدم أو يتقدمي لها ، و تحتاج(ي) قلم عشان تعي فيرمة من الشخصي ممكن يكون في وقت قريب المدير حفك. ايش حمول!(ي) لها؟

4. تدخل أو تدخل المطبخ و تلاقه مركب. و الي كركه انت خلفك الي أصغر منك سا، و لازم المطبخ يتم ترفق قبل ما ضيوفك (اصدقائنك أو صديقاتك) يتوجهوا. ايش حقول(ي) لها؟

5. للبنات. تبغي جارتك الكبيرة (صديقة الوالدة) انها توصلك بسيارتها في طريقها لبيتك عن بعد ما حضرتوا مناسبة في مكان سوا. ايش حقوللي لها؟ للولاد. تبغي جارك الكبير (صديق الوالد) يرجع معاه لبيتك في طريقه بعد ما حضرتوا مناسبة سوا. ايش حقول لها؟

6. اتصلت على رقم تلوم نحذته (نذته) من الجريدة بخصوص إعلان وظيفة و تبغي ناخذ(ي) معلومات أكثر عنها عشان يتم التقديم لها. ايش حمول(ي) للموظف الي برد على المكالمة؟

7. للبنات: انت طالبة و تحتاجي من المدرسة انها تعطيك زيادة على مدة تسليم واجب (ورقة إساسي) لأيك ما خلصتباها. ايش حقوللي لها؟ للولاد: انت طالب و تحتاج من المدرسة انها تعطيك زيادة على مدة تسليم واجب (ورقة إساسي) لأيك ما خلصت. ايش حمول لله؟

8. للبنات: تبغي قريبتك (بتنت عليك مثل) تسافلك 10 ريال عشانكم في السوق مع بعض و نقصت فلوسك. ايش حقوللي لها؟ للولاد: تبغي قريبك (ولد عليك مثل) تسافلك 10 ريال عشانكم في السوق مع بعض و نقصت فلوسك. ايش حقول لها؟

9. للبنات: سألت انت خلفك انها تسافلك خالها عشان تلبث في حفلة وتتجابب بين ضيوفه. ايش حقوللي لها ما تسأل عنه؟ للولاد: سألت اخوك انها تسافلك خاله عشان تلبث في مناسبة كبيرة على انت ترجعه و ضيوفه. ايش حمول له لما يسأل عنه؟
للبنات: كنت مع السائق في السيارة والسائق يوقف السيارة في موقف سيارات وبالغلط صدم سيارة و كان الخطأ من عناكم. ايش حقولي لصاحب السيارة؟

للأولاد: كنت بتوافق سيارتك في موقف سيارات و بالغلط صدمت سيارة و كان خطأك. ايش حقول لصاحب السيارة الثانية؟

ايش حقولي لصاحب السيارة؟

للأولاد: كنت بتوافق سيارتك في موقف سيارات و بالغلط صدمت سيارة و كان خطأك. ايش حقول لصاحب السيارة التالية؟

انت طالب(ة) و استلقت كتاب المدرس(ة) و كان المفروض يرجع الكتاب في داكن اليوم بس نسيت تجيه(تجيبه) معاك. ايش حقول للمدرس(ة)؟

غلطت على زميلة لك في العمل أثناء مناقشة قمام الكل، بعد الاجتماع زميلتك ذكرت هادي النقطة و ببنت استياءها و انت اعترفت بالغلط. ايش حقولي لها؟

 وعدت أبوك انك تصحفي في ساعة معينة و نسيت و هو راح عليه موعد مهم. ايش حقول(ي) له؟

انت رئيسة الموظفين في شركة و كان عندك اجتماع طارئ و خليت واحدة من المقدمات لوظيفتك تستنوك نص ساعة عبال ترجع. ايش حقول له لما ترجع؟

انت جرسون(ة) في مطعم فخم و غالي و بالغلط قدمت الطبق الخاطئ. ايش حقول(ي) للزباين؟

انت معروف(ة) انك دايم طالب(ة) من النوع لي تأخر في كل شي، و كان عندك اجتماع مع صديق(ة) عشان تشتعلوا مع بعض على واجب مشترك بينكم. ايش حقول(ي) لما توصل(ي) متأخر(ة)؟

شكرا لإنكم الاستبيان الله يعطيكم ألف عافية 😊
Appendix 2: English DCT questionnaire + consent form

ETHICS COMMITTEE
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Investigation of speech act strategies employed by Saudis

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Thank you so much for reading this form, I appreciate it!
**Consent Statement**

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

**الموافقة على الاشتراك بالبحث العلمي:**

أوافق على الاشتراك في عينة هذا البحث مدرك(ة) بأنه من حقي الانسحاب في أي وقت وأن المعلومات المزودة من قبل ستعمل بسرية تامة من قبل الباحثة و أن هويتي ستكون محمية في حال تعرض نتائج البحث العلمي للنشر.

Signature: …………………                                                                       ………………
التوقيع:

Date: ……………………
التاريخ:

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator. However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.). You will find their contact details below.

الرجاء التواصل مع الباحثة في حال وجود استفسار عن أي شيء يتضمنه البحث، أما في حال الرغبة بالتواصل مع جهة خاصة فإنه من حقك التواصل مع المشترفين على البحث.

**Questionnaire for a Research Study**

**Instructions:** Please read the following situations and if you were that person, what are you going to say in each situation. Please use your usual speech. Imagine yourself in the following situations and give a response.

1. **Personal information:**
   1.1 Gender:  male □  female □
   1.2 Age: below 20 □  21-30 □  31 - 40 □  above 41 □
   1.3 Level of education: University BA □  other □
   1.4 How would you rate yourself in speaking in English?  
      Very poor □  Poor □  Fair □  Good □  Excellent (near native-speaker) □
   1.5 How would you rate yourself in writing English?  
      Very poor □  Poor □  Fair □  Good □  Excellent (near native-speaker) □
   1.6 Have you had any schooling in English before? If yes, please specify when and for how long.
      …………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
      ………………
   1.7 Have you lived in a country whose first language is English? If yes, please specify where and for how long.
      …………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
2. **Questionnaire situations**

1. You want your mum to pass you the salt on the dinner table. What are you going to tell her?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

2. You want another student (who is not your close friend) to lend you some lecture notes. What are you going to say to him/her?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

3. You are in the middle of a job interview and you want to ask your potential future boss-to-be to hand you a pen to fill out a form. What are you going to say to him?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

4. You enter the kitchen and you find it in a mess that your younger sister Sarah was responsible for, and you want it cleaned up before your friends (guests) arrive. What will you say to her?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

5. You want your older neighbour to give you a ride home after attending a gathering together. What are you going to say to your neighbour?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

6. You are an applicant who calls for information on a job advertised in a paper. What are you going to say to the guy who answers?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

7. You are a student and you want to ask your teacher for an extension for finishing an essay paper. What are you going to tell your teacher?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

8. You want to ask your cousin for 100 riyals. You are shopping together and you are short of money. What are you going to say?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

9. You asked your sister (for males you asked your brother) to lend you his/her ring to wear for one night at a party and you lost it. What will you say to them when they ask for it back?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
10. You as a driver (or your personal driver if you are a female) in a parking lot back into the hearer's car and it was your fault. What will you say to the driver of the other car?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

11. You are a student who borrowed your professor's book. You promised to return it that day, but you forgot to bring it. What will you say to the teacher?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

12. You offended a fellow worker (female) during a discussion at work. After the meeting, the fellow worker (female) mentions this fact and you admitted you were wrong. What will you tell her?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

13. You promised your dad to wake him up at a certain hour but you forgot and he missed his important appointment. What will you say to him?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

14. You are a staff manager who has kept a student waiting for half an hour for a job interview because you were called to an unexpected meeting. What will you say when you get back?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

15. You are a waiter/waitress in an expensive restaurant and you bring the completely wrong ordered dish to a surprised customer. What will you say to the customer(s)?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

16. You are a notoriously unpunctual student who is late again for a meeting with a friend with whom you are working on a joint paper. What will you tell your friend when you arrive?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

Thank you for completing this questionnaire and please do not forget to sign your consent above 😊
Appendix 3: Ethical approval

“The research for this project was submitted for ethics consideration under the reference (MCL 13/007) in the Department of Media, Culture, and Language and was approved under the procedures of the University of Roehampton’s Ethics Committee on 4/6/2014”.

Appendix 4: Raters’ ranking

**following criteria: (0 for none, 1 for low, 2 for intermediate, and 3 for high)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Hearer</th>
<th>Power of hearer over speaker</th>
<th>Distance between speaker and hearer</th>
<th>Ranking of imposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You want your mum to pass you the salt on the dinner table</td>
<td>Your mum</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>E s Ws Rn Hs</td>
<td>Mj Es Ws Hs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You want another student (who is not your close friend) to lend you some lecture notes</td>
<td>Your classmate</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Ws</td>
<td>Rn Ws MEs Mh Hs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>You are in the middle of a job interview and you want to ask your potential future boss-to-be to hand you a pen to fill out a form</strong></td>
<td>A potential boss</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Ws</td>
<td>Rn Mj Es Mh Hs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You enter the kitchen and you find it in a mess that your younger sister Sarah was responsible for, and you want it cleaned up before your friends (guests) arrive</td>
<td>Your younger sister</td>
<td>E s Rn Ws Mh Mj</td>
<td>E s Rn Mj Ws Mh Hs</td>
<td>Mj Es Rn Mh Hs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You want your older neighbour to give you a ride home after attending a gathering together</td>
<td>Your older neighbour</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Ws Mh Ws Mj</td>
<td>Mj Es Ws Hs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You are counseling a youngл</td>
<td>Antelope</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Ws Mh Ws Mj</td>
<td>Mj Es Ws Hs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>Hearer</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>You are a student and you want to ask your teacher for an extension for finishing an essay paper</td>
<td>Your teacher</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Es</td>
<td>Rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>You want to ask your cousin for 100 riyals. You are shopping together and you are short of money</em></td>
<td>Your cousin</td>
<td>Es</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You asked your sister (brother for males) to lend you her ring to wear for one night at a party and you lost it</td>
<td>Your older sister/brother</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Es</td>
<td>Mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You as a driver (or your personal driver if you are a female) in a parking lot back into the hearer's car and it was your fault</td>
<td>A stranger</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Es</td>
<td>Mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You are a student who borrowed your professor's book. You promised to return it that day, but you forgot to bring it</td>
<td>Your teacher</td>
<td>Ws</td>
<td>Ws</td>
<td>Mj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You offended a fellow worker (female) during a discussion at work. After the meeting,</td>
<td>Your female work</td>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>Es</td>
<td>Rn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
borrowed your professor's book. You promised to return it that day, but you forgot to bring it

You offended a fellow worker (female) during a discussion at work. After the meeting, the fellow worker (female) mentions this fact and you admitted you were wrong

You promised your dad to wake him up at a certain hour but you forgot and he missed his important appointment

You are a staff manager who has kept a student waiting for half an hour for a job interview because you were called to an unexpected meeting

You are a waiter/waitress in an expensive restaurant and you bring the completely wrong ordered dish to a surprised customer

You are a notoriously unpunctual student who is late again for a meeting with a friend with whom you are working on a joint paper
Appendix 5: Consent from Dr. Al-Juhani and Dr. Elyas

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

الموافقة على الاشتراك بالبحث العلمي:

أوافق على الاشتراك في بحث هذا المشروع بكوني ميدانياً، وأنا مدرك بكون المعلومات المقدمة من قبلي سيتعرض للتعامل بسرية ناءة من قبل الباحث و أن خويلي سيكون محمي في حالة تعرض نتائج البحث العلمي للنشر.

Signature of Dr. Fayza Al-Jihani

Signature of Dr. Tariq Elyas

Stamp of the ELI-KAU

Date: 11-9-2013

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator. However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.)

الرجاء التواصل مع الهيئة في حال وجود استفسارات، أما في حال الرغبة بالتواصل مع جهة خاصة فإنه من خلال التواصل مع المشرف على البحث و سجاع المعلومات للتواصل معهم أعلاه.

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<th>Investigator Contact Details:</th>
<th>Director of Studies Contact Details:</th>
<th>Head of Department Contact Details:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name: Israa Abdulhadi Qari</td>
<td>Name: Prof. T. Omoniyi</td>
<td>Name: Dr. Paul Sutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department: Media, Culture, and Language</td>
<td>University Address:</td>
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<td>Queen's Building 004</td>
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<td>Email: <a href="mailto:qari@roehampton.ac.uk">qari@roehampton.ac.uk</a></td>
<td>Email: <a href="mailto:T.Omoniyi@roehampton.ac.uk">T.Omoniyi@roehampton.ac.uk</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Telephone: 07453034992</td>
<td>Telephone: +44 (0)20 8392 3416</td>
<td>Telephone: +44 (0)20 8392 3870</td>
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Appendix 6: Consent from Roehampton University teachers

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Investigation of speech act strategies employed by Saudi university students

Dear Dr. .................................................................

Please kindly fill out and sign this form upon approval to give permission for a PhD data collection to take place at your class; in order to perform a research study under which some of Roehampton University students have been chosen to volunteer as participants. The current study aims to investigate the phenomenon of cross-cultural speech act linguistic and strategic variation by eliciting request and apology strategies employed by British students and Saudi students using their English interlanguage. Data resulting from this study is hoped to reduce cross-cultural miscommunication between the Saudi students and other cultures by developing instructional materials for teaching appropriate politeness strategies to Saudi EFL students. Hence, for reasons of comparison, we need native British participants to take part in this research study.

The researcher, Israa Abdulhadi Qari, would like to be granted your permission to disseminate questionnaires to 20 students studying under your department; filling out the questionnaires will take between ten to thirty minutes to complete, and participants will remain anonymous throughout the course of the study and in case of any publication.

Should you have any further queries, please do not hesitate to contact me or my director of studies on the email addresses/contact numbers provided below. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Consent Statement: I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

Signature: ………………………… Date: …………………………

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator. However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies).

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<th>Head of Department Contact Details: معلومات التواصل مع مدير قسم اللغويات</th>
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<td><strong>Name:</strong> Prof. Tope Omoniyi</td>
<td><strong>Name:</strong> Dr. Paul Sutton</td>
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<td><strong>University Address:</strong> University of Roehampton Erasmus House Roehampton Lane London SW15 5PU UK</td>
<td><strong>University Address:</strong> University of Roehampton Erasmus House Roehampton Lane London SW15 5PU Queen’s Building 119 Email: <a href="mailto:T.Omoniyi@roehampton.ac.uk">T.Omoniyi@roehampton.ac.uk</a></td>
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<td><strong>University address:</strong> University of Roehampton Erasmus House Roehampton Lane London SW15 5PU UK Email: <a href="mailto:qarii@roehampton.ac.uk">qarii@roehampton.ac.uk</a></td>
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