Towards a Theory of Politeness in Arabic: Convergence and Divergence from English

....

Prof. Muhammad B. A. Al-Samarra'i (PhD)

Tikrit University / College of Education for Humanities / Department of English.

Email: m.badea@tu.edu.iq

Abstract

The present study explores the nature of politeness theory in Arabic with an attempt to systematize the main tenets of this theory. Politeness in Arabic, unlike in English, operates with a lot of emphasis on a major principle of keeping good in-group relations among the members of the society embodied in maintaining amiability and " speak fair" in such a way to maximize social harmony through maintaining all possible linguistic, and non-linguistic means, and avoiding any chances which might lead to social disruption. The basic principles, on which Arabic politeness is based, have their deep roots in Islamic teachings represented by the verses of the Glorious Quran and the Prophetic Hadiths. The variables of age, gender and social status have paramount importance within Arabic politeness where each of these principles is given its due importance. Politeness is manifested in a variety of ways such as greetings, which are assigned additional functions to starting a conversation, address forms and a huge number of politeness formulas that cover almost all aspects of social life.

Key words: Arabic politeness, politeness formulas, age , gender , social status

1. Introduction

Understanding politeness is a crucial issue in understanding how language works in its social context. Since the 1970s and 1980s an increasing interest in studying politeness is witnessed in different cultures. This interest has taken up different views and approaches to the study of this phenomenon as stated by Fraser(1990), who distinguishes four different views of politeness (the "social norm view", the "conversational maxim", the " face saving view" and the "conversational contract view"), Kasper (1990) and Eelen (2001) among others.

As this paper is meant to highlight the main tenets of Arabic politeness, reference will be made to those aspects of other politeness theories, especially Western theories, which form a divergence from Arabic in certain ways [1]. Those aspects of divergence can be summarized in four main points as will be detailed below.

The main different politeness theories that have been discussed by Fraser (1990) whether they depend on the Cooperative Principle (Lakoff, 1973) and Leech (1983) or the notion of face Brown and Levinson (1978,1987), they all propose the CP and the four maxims as a resumptive framework and that participants observe the CP where any violation of the CP is due to their concern for face leading to conversational implicature.

First, the general understanding of politeness according to these theories is to avoid conflict among interlocutors. The three rules proposed by Lakoff[2], the politeness strategies (negative politeness strategies) by Brown and Levinson and the maxims by Leech all lead to the same goal: conflict avoidance. They, as stated by Kasper (1990:194) " unanimously conceptualize politeness as strategic conflict avoidance" [3].

Second, a lot of criticism has been directed towards what critics call the Western bias of Brown and Levinson's and Leech's theories especially by Chinese and Japanese scholars, Matsumoto(1988), Ide (1989), Gu (1990) and Mao (1994). A number of linguists criticized Brown and Levinson's approach, to name a few, we can mention Wierzbicka (1985), Kasper (1990), Watts et al., (1992), Janney and Arndt (1993) and Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993). Wierzbicka (1985: 166) suggests that each culture reflects its values. So, Polish culture values may reflect "dogmatisms, lack of consideration for other people, inflexibility… a tendency to interfere " and so on, while the way the English people speak, as seen by the Polish, may be seen to be lacking warmth and spontaneity.

Another major criticism of English politeness and particularly Brown and Levinson's is that it shows a Western bias reflecting an Anglo-Western view of the prominence of individualistic values in their treatment of 'face' in terms of negative and positive face wants. They are also criticized for their explanation of politeness and reducing it to the treatment of face threatening acts. The same bias can be seen through the emphasis laid by Leech's 'tact maxim' which is mainly concerned with the imposition incurred by the performance of directives (see Leech (1983: 104ff.). Such type of politeness is associated with achieving certain communicative goals through performing a certain linguistic action leading to negative face threat and consequently to negative politeness.

Moreover, negative politeness is more weighty than positive politeness. Leech (1983:133) in this respect states that there is " more general law that negative politeness (avoidance of discord) is a more weighty consideration than positive politeness (seeking concord). Brown and Levinson (1987:130) express the same view point stating that negative politeness is a more important consideration than positive politeness.

A fourth point of divergence between English and Arabic is represented by the principle of rationality, which regulates the use of politeness strategies in English. This principle fails to operate in Arab culture as the scope of Arabic politeness covers a wider area of amiability and "speak fair" as a general rule as will be shown in the next sections.

2.Arabic Politeness

The linkage between Arabs and Islam is strong and bidirectional. Arabs represent people who were converted to Islam and who undertook the responsibility of spreading Islam to different parts of the world. This is on the one hand; on the other hand, the language of the Quran and the Prophetic Hadiths is Arabic. As 85-90 % of the Arab population, as stated by Feghali (1997:347), is Muslims so, their linguistic reservoir reflects a lot of Quranic and Prophetic Hadiths language. This is evident in the daily linguistic religious practice of Arab Muslims. Almost all Muslims have learnt chapters or verses of the Quran as well as some prophetic Hadiths. Some have learnt the whole of the Quran by heart. Verses and chapters of this book are used regularly in individual and congregational prayers. Indeed, no Muslim can pray without reading the first chapter /Surah (Al-Fatiha) followed by other verses. To put in a nut-shell, the language of worship in Islam must be Arabic. In the Arabic speaking world, the language of the Quran " has entered common parlance" (Rorsowsky, 2006: 313). Speakers usually quote from the Quran or Prophetic Hadiths on different occasions of distress or joy. Their daily talk makes reference to a lot of verses and Hadiths. Islam, therefore, is thought of as a way of life. In this respect Al-Omari (2008:150) says "Islam is often referred to as a way of life due to the fact that it tackles every aspect of everyday life from worship to honesty, from hygiene to hypocrisy, from money to contracts, and from adultery to

Towards a Theory of Politeness in Arabic :
Convergence and Divergence from English
Prof. Muhammad B. A. Al-Samarra'i

trade". Many verses and Hadiths regulate the way people deal with each other verbally, particularly in relation to politeness. So, politeness in Arabic has its roots in the religious teachings of the Quran and the Prophetic Hadiths. These teachings concentrate on one's being amiable and soft and on the principle of "speak fair" which can be a major politeness rule leading to good terms and social accord embodied in a number of Quranic verses and Prophetic Hadiths.

﴿ وَقُل لِّعِبَادِى يَقُولُوا۟ ٱلَّتِى هِىَ أَحْسَنُ إِنَّ ٱلشَّيْطَٰنَ يَنزَغُ بَيْنَهُمْ إِنَّ ٱلشَّيْطَٰنَ كَانَ لِلْإِنسَٰنِ عَدُوًّا مُّبِينًا ﴾ (الأسراء

: ٥٣)(4)

53. Say to My servants that They should (only) say those things that are best: for Satan doth sow dissensions among them: for Satan is to man an avowed enemy.

﴿ وَإِذْ أَخَذْنَا مِيثَٰقَ بَنِىٓ إِسْرَٰٓءِيلَ لَا تَعْبُدُونَ إِلَّا ٱللَّهَ وَبِٱلْوَٰلِدَيْنِ إِحْسَانًا وَذِى ٱلْقُرْبَىٰ وَٱلْيَتَٰمَىٰ وَٱلْمَسَٰكِينِ وَقُولُوا۟ لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنًا وَأَقِيمُوا۟ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَءَاتُوا۟ ٱلزَّكَوٰةَ ثُمَّ تَوَلَّيْتُمْ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا مِّنكُمْ وَأَنتُم مُّعْرِضُونَ ﴾ (البقرة جزء من اية ٨٣)

83. speak fair to the people (Al-Baqara , part of verse 83)

﴿ فَقُولَا لَهُۥ قَوْلًا لَّيِّنًا لَّعَلَّهُۥ يَتَذَكَّرُ أَوْ يَخْشَىٰ ﴾ (طه:٤٤)

44. "But speak to Him mildly; Perchance He may take warning or fear ((Allah))." (Taahaa:44)

﴿ وَإِمَّا تُعْرِضَنَّ عَنْهُمُ ٱبْتِغَآءَ رَحْمَةٍ مِّن رَّبِّكَ تَرْجُوهَا فَقُل لَّهُمْ قَوْلًا مَّيْسُورًا ﴾ (الأسراء ٢٨)

28. Speak to them a word of easy kindness. (Al-Israa: 28)

Usually, a number of factors affecting politeness in Arabic are observed by interlocutors in communication. These factors will be detailed in the following sub-sections.

2.1.Age

When age is dealt with by different sociolinguists, it is taken as a factor affecting the way people of different age speak and how they develop an awareness of the importance of the suitability of the speech form to situation. Holmes (2013: 177) shows that most people in English-speaking countries, by their teenage years, develop "an awareness of the significance of standard English variants" and "their speech becomes gradually more standard as they get older". Age is an important factor in determining the speech style one might adopt in dealing with others. The age factor represents a social value that is emphasized through the teachings of Islam as in the following Prophetic Hadith:

ان من اكرام جلال الله اكرام ذي الشيبة المسلم والأمام العادل وحامل القران لا يغلو فيه ولا يجفو

عنه. سنن ابي داود، حديث رقم (٤٨٤٣)

The Prophet (PBUH) said: Glorifying Allah involves showing honour to a grey-haired Muslim and to a just ruler and showing honour to one who can expound the Qur'an, but not to one who acts extravagantly regarding it, or turns away from it, (Sunan Abi Dawood, Hadith No. 4843).

Age is an absolute value that should be taken into consideration when dealing with elderly people regardless of their gender, social status or wealth. Deeply rooting it in the Arab society has resulted in making respecting old people a behavior that people perform willingly.

Old people are addressed politely by using titles if they have any, and the tone of the addresser should not be higher than theirs. They should be respected and not addressed by their first names as the use of first names in this respect does not express solidarity. Young people use kinship terms like *uncle* and *aunt* to address aged people who they do not know or they might use a kinship term plus the name of the person addressed or a kinship plus a teknonymous structure of (father/mother of) and the name of the eldest child if the addressee is known. This use shows a combination of both respect and intimacy. Al-Ta'ii (2004:174) shows that the use of teknonyms is a deeply rooted custom in Arab culture as great pride is taken in having sons.

It is also customary to use terms such as (حاج) (male pilgrim) or (حاجة) (female pilgrim) to address aged people who are not known to the addresser. This term (حاج) (pilgrim) and its feminine variant (حاجة), within the religious context, is exclusively used to address people who have performed the duty of (حج) (pilgrimage) and gone to Makkah but within the social context it can be used to address informally any old person particularly those who are not dressed formally or as Parkinson(1985:156) puts it wearing traditional costumes to show respect. He further adds that when this term is "used to real pilgrims the term (hajj) does not mark social class, whereas when used as a mark of respect to an older person in general it is associated only with lower class addresses".

2.2.Gender

Most books of sociolinguistics deal with gender in a form of binary opposition and global statements showing the difference between the way men and women speak through the analysis of their dialects and accents. Traditionally, women have been described as "more linguistically polite than men and that women and men emphasize different speech functions" (Holmes, 2013:159). Mills (2003: 203) shows that women's linguistic behavior in general is associated with co-operation, i.e., being more positive polite than men's and their avoidance of conflict, i.e., being more negative polite than men's. She states that such a characterization is based on the assumption that women are powerless and this powerlessness is reflected in language. As far as standardization is concerned, Holmes (2013: 166) adds that " across all social groups in Western societies, women generally use more standard grammatical forms than men do so, consequently, men use more vernacular forms than women".   Mills (2003:205) concludes that positive politeness is associated with being nice and friendly towards others and as a stereotypical behavior is linked to niceness. Therefore such understanding of politeness is associated with women's linguistic politeness.

The variable of gender within politeness has begun to be theorized in more productive ways moving away from generalization about the linguistic

behavior of men and women especially because of the changes in the way women nowadays perceive themselves and their employment in public sphere (ibid:159,190).

Within Arab culture, woman has her respected status as a mother, sister, wife, daughter and a relative. Her position inside the family which is the collective unit in the society structure is preserved by the kind of relations she enjoys within her family. Within this unit, members have the sense of indebtedness to family representing the most important cornerstone in forming and determining personal status in the Arab society. Family is the collective unit and the critical institution that guarantees economic, well-being and the patterns of relations among kinsmen.

Family in the Arab society is characterized by a number of features which reflect the nature of the high context culture of the Arabs. The Arab cultural values represent the general framework of Arab culture. Feghali (1997), Nydell (2007) and Al-Omari (2008), to mention but a few, demonstrate an interest in some of these traits. Collectivism, hospitality and honour (irdh) are the list top values.

Honour, as stated by Feghali (1997:353-355) and Nydell (2007: 43), is one of the highest values in the Arab society. It is "manifested in sexual conduct" (Feghali, 1997:354) and through clearly defined patterns of behavior which are meant to provide protection for women. A woman is supposed to preserve her family honour more than a man is. For any stranger to deal with a woman who is not his relative or acquaintance, there should be great care if any embarrassing incident happens; in such a case, Arabs may feel that the woman's honour is insulted and thereby the family's. This kind of careful deference for women stems from one of the Islamic teachings regarding dealing with women.

The understanding of gender within Arab culture needs to be looked at from two more additional points to the way it is looked at in Western culture. According to the Western understanding, gender is related to the way men and women speak. Here according to Arabs, gender represents one of the parameters of politeness reflected in the way women behave, partially linguistically, and the way men deal with women. The way men and women deal with each other linguistically is affected by the communication patterns

Towards a Theory of Politeness in Arabic :
Convergence and Divergence from English
Prof. Muhammad B. A. Al-Samarra'i

that are imposed by the very nature of Arab cultural values. These cultural values emphasize the collectivistic nature of Arab society compared the individualistic nature of most of English speaking countries where values of autonomy and independent individuals are maintained.

Based on these cultural values which stem from the teachings of Islam, the way strange men address women and vice versa should reflect these values. For instance, in casual cases of communication, when strange men address young women, they should do so in a way that does not indicate that they have any intentions to treat women in a way other than regarding them as sisters. As Nydell (2007:44) puts it   " Arabs quickly gain a negative impression if you behave with too much (presumed) familiarity toward a person of the opposite sex". She further states that if an embarrassing situation happens to an Arab woman, it is taken as an insult to the woman and thus her family's honour is threatened (ibid).

Words such as   " أختي "   "my sister" is often used. If the woman is

old, words like خالة , امي , حاجة or its variant حجية , especially in Iraqi

Arabic is often used. Men addressers might go to extreme in addressing women, especially in the south of Iraq, for example, and use the address

form أخوية (my brother) when addressing a strange young lady. Woman's

appearance and the way she is dressed (descent Islamic dress for example) affect to a certain extent the way she is addressed.

Sometimes when the addressed woman is an acquaintance, a neighbour for

instance, addresses her using a combination of (أختي) (my sister) and (ام)

(mother of) plus the name of her eldest son or daughter in case there is no son. (More details will be given in section: 3.2 below).

Wolfson (1989:169) states that women in American society are addressed by males using endearment address forms more than women address men using the same forms. She further indicates that " women in American society (no matter what their age or social status is) are frequently addressed by what many would consider an intimate form, often by men much younger than they". With the woman in the Arab society, the case is

different. A strange woman cannot be addressed but with deference as she represents the family 'ird' which forms an inaccessible area for strange men that should be avoided to preserve and maintain that 'ird'.

On the level of compliments, Wolfson (ibid:172) clarifies that the woman's status can have little or no effect as far as compliments are concerned as she can be complimented almost by anyone.

An Arab women who does not represent acquaintance to strange men can hardly receive compliments as this is regarded as a trespass of the virtual limits which surround her.

Strange men in their communication with women move within the limitations of the confining sets of values which are adopted either religiously (by religious men) or are reflected in the social stands of individuals (non-religious men).

﴿ يَٰنِسَآءَ ٱلنَّبِيِّ لَسْتُنَّ كَأَحَدٍ مِّنَ ٱلنِّسَآءِ إِنِ ٱتَّقَيْتُنَّ فَلَا تَخْضَعْنَ بِٱلْقَوْلِ فَيَطْمَعَ ٱلَّذِى فِى قَلْبِهِۦ مَرَضٌ وَقُلْنَ قَوْلًا مَّعْرُوفًا ﴾ (الأحزاب: ٣٢)

32. O Consorts of the Prophet! ye are not like any of the (other) women: if ye do fear ((Allah)), be not too complacent of speech, Lest one In whose heart is a disease should be Moved with desire: but speak ye a speech (That is) just.(al-Ahzab:32)

One of the non-verbal communication patterns is eye gaze or eye contact between interlocutors. This pattern is maintained between same-sex communicators far more than between different sexes. The practice of lowering gaze finds its roots in the Islamic teachings as in the following Quranic verse :

﴿ قُل لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَغُضُّوا۟ مِنْ أَبْصَٰرِهِمْ وَيَحْفَظُوا۟ فُرُوجَهُمْ ذَٰلِكَ أَزْكَىٰ لَهُمْ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ خَبِيرٌۢ بِمَا يَصْنَعُونَ ﴾ (النور: ٣٠)

30. Say to the believing men that They should lower their gaze and guard their modesty: that will make for greater purity for them: and Allah is well acquainted with all that They do.(Al-Noor:30).

2. 3.Social Status

To be linguistically polite, a speaker needs to know how to address others politely taking into consideration their social status. Within any given culture, a speaker should figure out what is polite and what is not through "assessing social relationships along the two dimensions of social distance or solidarity and relative power or status" (Holmes, 2013:85) as the whole network of relation in any speech community is based on these two notions.

It is natural for any society to have differences whether on the level of fortune, education, social class, etc. These differences lead to differences in power distribution. This fact is emphasized in a number of Quranic verses among which is the following:

﴿ أَهُمْ يَقْسِمُونَ رَحْمَتَ رَبِّكَ نَحْنُ قَسَمْنَا بَيْنَهُم مَّعِيشَتَهُمْ فِي ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَرَفَعْنَا بَعْضَهُمْ فَوْقَ بَعْضٍ دَرَجَٰتٍ لِّيَتَّخِذَ بَعْضُهُم بَعْضًا سُخْرِيًّا وَرَحْمَتُ رَبِّكَ خَيْرٌ مِّمَّا يَجْمَعُونَ ﴾ (الزخرف:٣٢)

Is it They who would portion out the Mercy of Thy Lord? it is we who portion out between them their livelihood In the life of This world: and we raise some of them above others In ranks, so that some may command work from others. but the Mercy of Thy Lord is better than the (wealth) which They amass. (Az-Zukhruf: 32)

The organization of society is centred on the notion of power/distance axis. In this respect, Al-Omari (2008: 39) says: "Power distance is the extent to which members of society within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally and that differences do exist according to status". As far as the question of solidarity is concerned, the expression of solidarity means sharing views and attitudes and in-group belongingness while power means maintaining differences related to social status. To quote Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, they can be linked to 'positive' and 'negative' politeness respectively.

Generally, Western culture is looked at as a negative politeness culture, while Arabic is a positive politeness one (Al-Samarra'i, 2015). Given the

collectivist nature of Arab culture, Arabic puts much weight on solidarity and group values, yet the Arab society shows unequal power distribution.

A society can experience both power and solidarity with no contradiction between the two notions unlike what Al-Omari (2008: 40) states:

> In the ideal world and the world of Islam and tribalism the Arab world should manifest all the traits of a low power distance culture, but in reality this is far from the truth, especially at organizational and official levels. Indeed, whilst Islamic teachings preach egalitarianism in many different places, and whilst the essence of tribalism lies in equality, it seems that the Ottoman hierarchical systems of government that dominated Arab life for several centuries have left a permanent mark on Arab society.

In view of the Islamic perspective all people are equal as members of the society who enjoy their established rights and perform their obligations as the following Quranic verse says:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَٰكُم مِّن ذَكَرٍ وَأُنثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَٰكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَآئِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوٓا۟ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ ﴾ (الحجرات:١٣)

13. O mankind! we created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and Tribes, that ye may know Each other (Not that ye may despise (each other). Verily the Most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (He who is) the Most righteous of you. and Allah has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things). (Al-Hujuraat:13)

Although human beings are equal, yet there are differences among them as far as their different ranks which can be due to a number of factors among which is social status, education, age, etc. So, in the Arab Islamic culture, social status is an important factor that shapes the form of communication among society members. Arabs recognize these differences and behave accordingly in such a way, as Nydell (2007:68) states, that "there is usually very little tension among social classes." Arabs take care to show respect to people who enjoy a high social status (Tribe chief, high rank government employee, educated people who carry a higher education

Towards a Theory of Politeness in Arabic :
Convergence and Divergence from English
Prof. Muhammad B. A. Al-Samarra'i

degree, etc.). There are a number Prophetic Hadiths which establish for the kind of treatment that a high status person should receive:

<div dir="rtl">

إِذَاأَتَاكُمْ كَرِيمُ قَوْمٍ فَأَكْرِمُوهُ " (سنن ابن ماجة، حديث رقم ٣٧١٢).

</div>

If there comes to you a man who is respected among his own people, then honor him. (Sunan Ibn Maja, Hadith No.3712).

<div dir="rtl">

عن عائشة قالت أمرنا رسول الله (ص) (أن ننزل الناس منازلهم) (سنن ابي داود، حديث رقم ٤٨٤٢)

</div>

A'isha narrated that Prophet Muahmmad (PBUH) ordered us that people should be treated in accordance with their status. (Sunan Abi Dawood, Hadith No. 4842).

Consideration for the other here is an integral part of Arab culture which shows how people of different status are attended to verbally.

3.Expressing Politeness

As we have mentioned earlier, politeness in Arabic takes a wide range of maintaining social relationships through the application of the general rule of amiability and   " speak fair" embodied in a number of measures meant to enhance and maintain these relationships. The following subsections shed light on a number of these measures.

3.1 Greetings

A paramount quantity of research concerning greetings has been conducted in different cultures. Geertz (1972) discusses the different greeting forms in relation to social status. He states that in Javanese, it is almost impossible to say anything without taking the social relationship between the speaker and the listener into consideration. Ibrahim et al., (1976) study greetings in northern African communities.

Laver (1981), discusses greetings and parting in relation to linguistic routines and politeness in English. Al-Nasir (1993) studies greetings in Arabic especially within the Iraqi society. He clarifies that the Islamic form of greeting (assalam alaykum) is the most widely used form in the Arab world. Emery (2000) investigates greeting, congratulating and commiserating in Omani Arabic. He shows that greetings are used to establish identity and

affirm solidarity. Akindele (2007:4-5) shows that performing greetings involves knowing about the welfare of the person being greeted, his/her family relations and friends. He also states that age, context of situation and time are significant factors affecting the organization of Sesotho greetings. Wei (2010) concentrates on greetings as illocutionary acts and as linguistic routines of politeness in both English and Chinese.

Greetings represent a universal characteristic of human interaction. They are defined by Ibrahim, et al.,(1976:12) as a set of linguistic and non-linguistic devices for the initial management of encounters. They are usually verbalized but could take non-linguistic forms ,i.e., non-verbalized as in the case of waving of hands, eye movement, smiles, etc.

Greetings which "represent archetypical tokens of politeness formulas" (Emery,2010:200) are important strategies to keep and maintain social identity and social relationship among the members of Arab speech community. Greetings in most societies take ritualized patterns (invariable in form) where little or no adjustments are made for person and number. They usually take the form of adjacency pairs as one initiates the greeting and the other responds. Greetings are " particularly important to in Arab culture since they have religious sanction" (ibid:201). Among Arabs, greeting is regarded as a means of expressing and maintaining peaceful social relations which keep up good open communication among the members of the community. Laver (1981:301) numerates that phatic communion expression, to which greeting and parting belong, serve a number of functions among which is that they help participants in perceiving their relative social status.

Within Arab culture, greetings are regulated by a number Quranic verses and Prophetic Hadiths which explain in detail who would initiate the greeting, to whom, how to initiate it, and how to respond. Initiating a greeting represents an obligation rather than an option before starting any conversations especially when participants meet for the first time during the day or when they are away from each other for a period of time. This period might be long or short depending on the participants' commitment to Islamic teachings. The form (assalam alaykum) "peace be upon you" represents the threshold or the minimal form of a greeting to which more elaboration in the form of (assalam alykum wa rahmatu -llah) "peace and

mercy of Allah be upon you" or (assalam alaykum wa rahmatu -llah wa barakatuh) " peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you" could be added. When one is greeted with any of these forms, s/he is expected to reply using (wa'alaykum ssalam) "and peace be upon you", (wa'alaykum ssalam wa rahmatu-llah) " and peace and mercy of Allah be upon you" or (wa'alaykum ssalam wa rahmatu-llah wa barakatuh) " and peace , mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you" as the longest among these forms is the most courteous. Muslims: males and females are taught to spread this greeting among themselves and to greet those who they know and those who they do not with no specification of time. It is used for all times during the day and on all occasions regardless of the formality of the situation, social status, age or gender (Al-Samarra'i, 2015:269). Initiating a greeting is not obligatory if the speaker does not intend to start a conversation while, if someone is greeted his reply is obligatory. The failure to initiate a greeting before starting a conversation and among acquaintances or to reply to a greeting is socially marked.

Generally, the youngers greet the older, the smaller group of people greet the larger, those who are walking greet those who are sitting and those who are walking, riding or driving a car greet those who are sitting or standing. Children are usually taught to initiate and respond to greetings especially to visitors and their relatives. It is customary that when a customer enters a shop to greet the shop owner before indulging into any conversation. This prevails in most cases where a customer asks for any goods or services unlike the case in English where the departments staff offer to help to the customer saying "What can I do for you?". This is largely true when the costumer is male and when the costumer is female, shop owners try to be more understandable of the reservations of women not to converse with strangers unless it is necessary.

In most cases of communication between intimates or acquaintances, a greeting is followed by health enquiry and asking after the family and the children which is conventionally answered by (alhamdu-llah) "thanks to Allah". Enquiries about health are expandable in all parts of the Arab world as stated by Emery (2010:202).

The above explanation is by no means an exhaustive coverage of the huge variation which might exist in the countries of the Arab world, yet it represents the general streamline of greetings in the light of Islamic teachings.
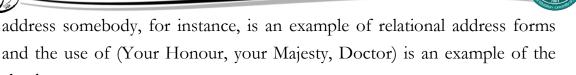
Like all other cultures round the world, Arabic might show variation at the level of greetings which are appropriate for different times of the day. The most recursive form that is mentioned by many researchers is "SabaaH ilkher" (Good morning) with the echo response "sabah innoor" (morning of light) and "masaa' ilkher" (Good evening) with the echo response (evening of light) Ferguson (1976:143), Davies(1987:84), Al-Nassir(1993:18) and Emery (2000:203-204). In addition to these two forms, there is a multitude of other greeting forms which are specific to each country within the Arab world.

3.2. Addressing Others

The subject of address forms seems to be a universal phenomenon as all languages have address form systems through which different social relations are expressed and maintained. The scope of the term "address" as stated by Braun (1988:7) is taken here to cover the speaker's linguistic reference to his/her interlocutors within a given speech event as the notion of face is directly linked to strategies of saving or threatening the interlocutor's face. Each language has its own range of social relations to show one's "feelings toward others – solidarity, power, distance, respect, intimacy, and so on" (Wardhaugh, 1986:167). In this respect Parkinson (1985: 1) states that terms of address which are loosely defined as "words used in a speech event that refer to the addressee of that speech" can convey very clearly a lot of social information.

As politeness in Arabic is embodied in a general and wide perspective of "soft speaking", address forms could be set to serve this purpose. Address forms cover a wide span of terms which can be classified into "absolute" and "relational", using Levinson's (1983:90-91) classification. Absolute address forms (Honorifics)[5] are fixed forms and are used by authorized speakers and recipients, while relational forms depend on the nature of the social relationships between the interlocutors. The use of first name to

address somebody, for instance, is an example of relational address forms and the use of (Your Honour, your Majesty, Doctor) is an example of the absolute type.

Within the relational group, Arabic makes use of the following address forms:

1. Kinship Terms

Kinships are those terms used to name family members and relatives. Words designating affectionate familial relationships like (father- mother, son- daughter, uncle- aunt, etc.) can be used to show solidarity or respect with strangers and unrelated participants. Expressions like اخي (my brother),

اختي (my sister), عمو (paternal uncle), خالة (maternal aunt) etc., can be used to address non-relative individuals in accordance with one's age, sex and physical appearance. Certain similar cases of addressing children by parents, uncles or aunts, as the case in Jordan, as stated by Farghal and Shakir (1994) might be found in other countries as in Iraq for example. Farghal and Shakir (p.246)state that parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts may reverse the use certain absolute honorifics which are their own designated honorifics to address their descendants using terms like (yammah 'mother' instead of yabni 'my son' or yabinti 'my daughter'). In Iraq a mother might address her son or daughter using 'mama' instead of 'son' or 'daughter' and a father might use 'baba' to do the same.

Furthermore, first names are used by superiors to address inferiors or among equals. They are used, for example, by parents to address their children to show intimacy or by employers to address employees in power marked situations.

2. Endearment Terms

Endearments terms are mainly used among intimate individuals. They are especially used by lovers, mothers to address their children or unrelated people of the same sex in service encounters. Terms like حبي (my love),

روحي (mu soul), حياتي (my life) عيوني /عيني (my eye/eyes), etc., might be heard nowadays among adults of the same sex unlike the case in English

where affectionate forms can be used by strangers across opposite sexes. Nicknames are also used by family members (especially parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts) to address children showing intimacy.

3.Titles

Certain terms like أستاذ (teacher/professor), حاج (male pilgrim), حاجة Certain terms like (female pilgrim) might have a relational rather an absolute extension and used to address a good looking man who is not necessarily a teacher, a rather old man or woman even if he or she has not been to Mecca respectively to show respect.

Within the absolute category of address terms, the following can be mentioned:

1.Religious Terms

Within Arabic, religious figures are addressed with certain religious honorifics which are specific fixed forms reserved for authorized speakers and recipients. The high social and religious status of these religious personalities is maintained through the use of these honorifics. It is totally unacceptable to address such personalities without honorifics. Terms like شيخ (sheikh), سماحة الشيخ (your honour sheikh), and فضيلة الشيخ (your eminence sheikh), فضيلة الشيخ الدكتور (your honour sheikh doctor) represent absolute honorifics reserved for addressing only those personalities enjoying the indicated characteristics. Traditionally honorifics like امير المؤمنين (Prince of the Believers) was used to address the head of the Islamic state, and خليفة رسول الله (Khalif of the Prophet) was used to address (ابو بكر الصديق) the first khalifat after Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as a head of the Islamic state. The term امام (Imam) was also used to address the highly knowledgeable religious scholars.

2. Profession Terms

In modern standard Arabic, a number of formal address forms are necessitated by the nature of social life itself. Address terms within the

hierarchical structure of the state officials might include terms like /سيادة

(Your) صاحب السمو (Your Majesty), جلالة الملك (Your Excellency), فخامة الرئيس

Highness) , etc. (Your Highness) معالي الوزير/ سعادة السفير , (Highness

Terms like دكتور احمد (doctor Ahmed)/ دكتورة منى (doctor Muna), مهندس

خالد (engineer Khalid), استاذ (professor/teacher). These terms represent

'scientific terms of address' as stated by Parkinson (1985: 125) which
necessitate that a degree should be obtained by the addressee to be legible
for such an address form.

Furthermore, terms like اسطة (master of a given craft) which could be

heard in a number of Arab countries like Iraq or Egypt, for example, refer
"superficially to those professions related to some craft or mechanical skill"
(ibid: 141).

A characteristic of Arabic is the use of teknonyms which can fall between
the relational and absolute honorifics as they can be used in two ways as
detailed below:

Teknonym (the Arabic term is Kunya) is the use of a structure composed

of the word (ابو or ام) (father/mother) plus the name of the eldest son or

daughter in case there is no son. Kunya in Arabic is an old practice that
Arabs have. It is customary for Arabs to name people(males and females)
after their eldest sons or daughters. Arabs used to be called by (kunya) even
if they are not married. Each person used to have his/her kunya to the
extent that some kunyas became associated with certain names. For example
Sulaiman is *Abu Dawood*, *Umar* is *Abu Hafs*, *Ali* is *Abu Al-Hassan* and so on.
The same practice still exists in the Iraqi society that there are ready made
teknonyms for a lot of names. People usually call *Muhammad* by *Abu Jasim*,
Ahmed by *Abu Shihab*, *Sadiq* by *Abu Jaafar* and so on.
Teknonyms are used in two ways : from the lower to higher to express
deference and from the higher to the lower to express intimacy and
affection.

Within Arab culture, the system of honorifics/address forms can be employed to serve the purpose of enhancing social relations in the direction of affection and solidarity on the one hand and difference and power on the other. Put under the general principle of soft and fair speaking, affectionate honorifics and address forms mentioned above are embodiment to the following Quranic verses mentioned in section (2) above.

Within the teachings of Islam, Muslims are urged to address each other using the dearest address form to the heart of the addressee.

The Glorious Quran lays a lot of emphasis on the way children address and speak to their parents

﴿ وَقَضَىٰ رَبُّكَ أَلَّا تَعْبُدُوٓا۟ إِلَّآ إِيَّاهُ وَبِٱلْوَٰلِدَيْنِ إِحْسَٰنًا ۚ إِمَّا يَبْلُغَنَّ عِندَكَ ٱلْكِبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَآ أَوْ كِلَاهُمَا فَلَا تَقُل لَّهُمَآ أُفٍّ وَلَا تَنْهَرْهُمَا وَقُل لَّهُمَا قَوْلًا كَرِيمًا ﴾ (الأسراء: ٢٣)

23. Thy Lord hath decreed that ye worship none but him, and that ye be kind to parents. whether one or both of them attain old age In Thy life, say not to them a word of contempt, nor repel them, but address them In terms of honour.(Al-Israaa:23)

The kindness and honour, emphasized by the above verse, are the norm of dealing with parents that the Arab Islamic world adopts and it is the same basis of dealing with people of the same age of one's parents. Thus we find address forms such as ابوية (in Iraqi Arabic), (my father), امي (my mother), عمو (uncle), خالة (maternal aunt), etc., used by young people when addressing older people who are not their real parents or relatives.

Furthermore, the use of honorifics to acknowledge power in Prophetic Hadiths like:

ليس منا من لم يوقر كبيرنا و يرحم صغيرنا ويعرف لعالمنا حقه (كنز العمال، حديث رقم ٥٩٨٠)

Anyone who does not respect old people, treat our children kindly and recognize the right of knowledgeable persons is non-Muslim.(Kanz Al-Ummal, Hadith No.5980)

(a version of the Hadith mentioned on page 11.)

Towards a Theory of Politeness in Arabic :
Convergence and Divergence from English
Prof. Muhammad B. A. Al-Samarra'i

<div dir="rtl">أنزلوا الناس منازلهم</div>

Treat people in accordance with their status.

<div dir="rtl">أقيلوا ذوي الهيئات عثراتهم (سنن النسائي الكبرى، حديث رقم ٧٢٩٣</div>

Forgive people with high moral values when they slip(Sunan Al-Nasaa'i Al-Kubraa, Hadith No.7293).

embodies the deference and respect expressed in the honorifics used to address knowledgeable scholars and persons of higher rank.

3.3. Politeness Formulas

Among the many functions of language is the phatic function which serves as a channel of communication to establish and maintain social relations. The term was originally coined by Malinowski (1930). This use of language refers to the fact people use a number of utterances in every day conversation for the same of opening and maintaining channels of communication with each other. In this respect Lyons (1977: 53) states that there are certain structures like conventional greetings "good morning", for example, ritualized gambits" wonderful weather we are having!" and others which serve to establish and maintain bonds of personal relationships among people rather than doing any other function of communicating ideas or information. Ferguson (1976:137) calls such structures "politeness formulas".Tannen and Oztek (1981:37) clarify that the paradigm of a formula has an invariable form (except for number, tense and person) and a limited applicability. These formulas form part of the society's protocol and are regarded as markers of politeness by the members of that society (Davies, 1987:75)

Arabic makes use of a paramount number of these formulas which are meant to establish, and maintained social relationships. Expressions like الحمد لله (Praise to Allah), ان شاء الله (God will), بارك الله فيك (May Allah bless you), الله يخليك (May Allah preserve you), etc., are conventionally used almost always by Arab speakers for greetings, leave taking, apologizing, congratulating, thanking, and expressing many other wishes. Within the

Islamic tradition, one can find a sizable amount of these politeness formulas covering different aspects of social life. There are fixed formulas used for example to congratulate a person on having a new baby بورك لك في الموهوب و شكرت الواهب ورزقت بره و بلغ اشده literally (May Allah bless your baby, may you thank Allah, may Allah grant you your child's obedience and may he/she reach full age), on getting married بارك الله لك و عليك و جمع بينكما بخير) May Allah bless you and may Allah blesses be upon you and may Allah unite you in good), on putting on new dress تبلي و يخلف الله (You wear out and may Allah compensate), on expressing admiration ما شاء الله لا قوة الا بالله) Allah's will (be done), there is no power but from Allah), on leaving somebody استودعك الله (I commend you to Allah), on offering condolences اعظم الله اجرك (May Allah increase your reward), etc.

A number of researchers have dealt with politeness formulas in Arabic. Ferguson (1976) writes about the structure and use of these formulas and gives a number of examples from Syrian Arabic compared to American English. He shows that "many Syrian Arabic politeness formulas are wholly or partially Classical Arabic in form"(p.148).

Davies (1987) deals with politeness formulas within a contrastive approach. He makes a comparison between politeness formulas taken from English and Moroccan Arabic. He emphasizes that "many Arabic formulas involve reference to religious concepts, where the corresponding English ones do not". He further states that "the English –speaking learner of Arabic is likely to be struck, sooner or later, by the proliferation of religious references in formulas whose English counterparts include no such reference"(p.81-82).

El-Sayed (1989) in his paper about politeness formulas in English and Arabic refers to the fact that the "proliferation of religious references in Arabic formulas of politeness and the non-existence of such references in British English formulas may be considered to reflect a deeper cultural

differences between the two communities"(p.105). Davies (1987: 82-83) gives an example of the difference in the illocutionary potential of a given formula between two different cultures. He shows that الحمد لله (praise to

Allah) which seems similar to "thanks God" in English, yet it is conventionally used in ways different from those in English. In Arabic this formula could be a reply to an inquiry about one's health, to show that all is fine, to show that one has finished eating and to decline an offer to have more food by a host.

Politeness formulas, like other ways of expressing politeness in Arabic show that they are deeply rooted within the realm of Arab Islamic culture. Muslims believe that the Glorious Quran and Sunna encompass the code of interpersonal relations. The Glorious Quran for Muslims, as Nydell (2006: 82) puts it, "is a religious text and a legal code, all in one". She further clarifies by giving an example of how Muslims adopt Quranic formulas such

as بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the

Compassionate). She says that Muslims say it "whenever they are setting out on a trip, about to undertake a dangerous task, or beginning a speech. This formula is printed at the top of business letterheads and included at the beginning of reports and personal letters—it even appears on business receipts".
Islam in the Arab world represents a way of life not only a practice of worship.

4. Non-Verbal Forms of Politeness

When people communicate with each other, a great deal of their communication is non-verbal. Messages are sent on two levels: verbally and non-verbally simultaneously. Non-verbal communication includes facial expressions, eye
contact, tone of voice and body posture, personal space and motions.
Non-verbal politeness can take numerous forms embodied in examples of non-linguistic behaviour such as "holding the door open for someone, greeting someone with a wave of the hand and so on" (Eelen,2001:iv). Cases

of non-verbal behavior in the form of bodily movement, and eye contact can all be interpreted in terms of (im)politeness (ibid). Concentration, here, will be on personal space which is part of proxemics and eye contact which is part of kinesics according to Pearson (1985: 240) as they form a point of divergence between English and Arabic.

Personal space is "the area surrounding a person which moves with her or him" (ibid:243). As far as personal space is concerned Arab interlocutors maintain a closer distance between them when the converse than do Westerners. This close distance may be attributed to the fact that Arab Muslims do keep a short distance, in fact they keep shoulder to shoulder during group prayers in the mosques as well as the short distance they keep when they sit together listening to preaching and Friday 'Khutba' (speech).They ,as compared to Westerners, " demonstrate tolerance for crowding…and close proximity in public spaces" (Feghali, 1997:366).

This is on the one hand, on the other hand such approximation is socially and religiously forbidden between opposite sexes.

As far as eye contact or gaze is concerned, members of Arab community select direct eye contact between same sex when they interact with each other. In opposite sexes interaction, lower gaze is expected especially by religious persons. This goes with the Quranic verse mentioned in sub-section (2.2) above [6] .

5.Conclusions

The present study is an attempt to pin point the main tenets of politeness in Arabic and highlight the different linguistic measures used to express polite behavior concentrating on the divergence between Arabic and English. The effect of Islamic teachings represented by the Glorious Quran and Prophetic Hadiths is so vivid that it forms the general framework within which interlocutors communicate with each other. Arab cultural values whether on the level of the individual person, on the level of family or on the level of the society as a whole show that they have their deep roots in Islam as a way of life and not only a doctrine of worship that maintains the relation between man and his Creator. Arabs, whether consciously or

unconsciously show that their linguistic behavior is a reflection of Islamic teachings.

The major rule within Arabic politeness, which represents a divergence from English, is to keep and maintain social accord among the members of the society whose morality prevails over personal morality. Individualistic values represent a reflection of the collectivistic values enhanced by the religious teachings. However, speakers use expressions of politeness in accordance with the social conventions rather than as interactional strategies.

Social variables such as age, gender and social status represent the bases that politeness rests on within the Arab culture. Each of these variables is given its due importance represented by linguistic options available within the language to aid its speakers attend to the social values prevailing within their society.

The strong relation between Arabic and Islam makes available for speakers of Arabic a huge number of politeness formulas meant to manifest politeness in many areas of social interaction. Most of these formulas are religion oriented, i.e., they reflect Islamic belief and commitment to the Sunnah.

The variation in address forms reflects the social relationships maintained within society. Although these address forms fall into two categories: formal and informal or those expressing solidarity and those expressing power, more weight is given to employing address forms which show intimacy and endearment than to those which express power. The respect for parents and people of their age is emphasized in the social values and the teachings of Islam, and hence in the social structure of the Muslim community. Accordingly, elder people receive the respect and care which are given to parents through the way they are addressed or greeted.
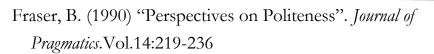
Notes

1. See Al-Samarra'i (2015) for the aspects of convergence between Arabic and English politeness.

2. See Lakoff(1973) and Leech (1983)

3. As the tenets of these three theories as well as the criticism of Brown and Levinson's theory have been mentioned in a previous study by the researcher (Al-Samarra'i,2015), concentration will be made here on those areas, within these three theories , which form of divergence between politeness in Arabic and English as "Western politeness". "Western politeness" will be a cover term including English politeness.

4. The translation of the Quranic verses quoted in this study are taken from Yousif Ali (1410 H).

5. The terms honorifics and address forms will be used interchangeably in this paper. The samples of address forms are by no means an exhaustive list of address forms available in the language as there is much variation which is difficult to be covered in a study like the present one.

6. This subject will not be pursued further in this study for the concentration here is on linguistic politeness rather than on non-linguistic forms. More research is needed in the area of non-linguistic manifestation of politeness as there is a huge tradition on this subject within the Arab-Islamic culture.

References

Akindele, D. (2007) " Lumela/Lumela: A Socio-Pragmatic Analysis of Sesotho Greetings". *Nordic Journal of African Studies 16(1): 1–17*

Ali, Y. (1410H) *English Translation of the Meanings of the Holy Quran*. Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah: King Fahad Holy Quran Printing Complex

Al-Nasir, A. (1993) " The Social Function of Greetings in Arabic". *Journal of Arabic Linguistics*, 26, 15-27.

Al-Omari, J. (2008*) Understanding the Arab Culture: A Practical Cross-cultural Guide to working in the Arab World*. Oxford: How to Books Ltd.

Al-Samarra'i, M. (2015) *English-Christian and Arabic-Islamic Etiquette Teachings: A Pragma-Sociolinguistic Study*. Berlin: LAMBERTAcademicPublishing.

Al-Ta'ii, H. (2004) " Address Forms in English and Arabic: A contrastive Study" Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of Baghdad.

Braun, F. (1988) *Terms of Address: Problem of Patterns of Usage in Various Languages and Cultures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brown, P. and Levinson, S. (1987) *Politeness: Some Universals in language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davies, E. (1987) "A Contrastive Approach to the Analysis of Politeness Formulas". *Applied Linguistics*. Vol.8.No.1:75-88.

Eelen, G.(2001) *A Critique of Politeness Theories*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

El-Sayed, A. (1989) "Politeness Formulas in English and Arabic: A Contrastive Study". *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics*. Vol.15.No.2:96-113.

Emery, P. (2010) "Greeting, Congratulating and Commiserating in Omani Arabic". *Language, Culture and Curriculum,*13:2,pp.196-216.

Farghal, M. and Shakir, A (1994) "Kin Terms and Titles of Address as Relational Social Honorifics in Jordanian Arabic." *Anthropological Linguistics* 36:240-53.

Feghali, E.(1997) "Arab Cultural Communication Patterns". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*.Vol.21: 345-378.

Ferguson, C. (1976) "The Structure and Use of Politeness Formulas". *Language in Society*.Vol.5, No.2: 137-151.

Fraser, B. (1990) "Perspectives on Politeness". *Journal of Pragmatics*.Vol.14:219-236

Geertz, C.(1960) "Linguistic Etiquette" in *Sociolinguistics*. Eds. Pride, J and Holmes, J. pp.167-179. London: Penguin.

Gu, Y.(1990) "Politeness Phenomena in Modern Chinese". *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol.14: 237–257.

Holmes, J. (2013) *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*.4th Edition. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Ibrahim, A., Grimshaw, A. and Bird, C. (1976) "Greetings in the Desert". *American Ethnologist*,3,pp.797-824.

Ide, S.(1989) "Formal Forms of Discernment: two Neglected Aspects of Linguistic Politeness". *Multilingua*.Vol.8:223-48.

Janney, R. and Arndt, H. (1993) " Universality and Relativity in Cross-Cultural Research: A Historical Perspective", *Multilingua*. Vol.12, No.1:13-50

Kasper, G. (1990) "Linguistic Politeness: Current Research Issues". *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol.14: 193-28.

Kasper, G. and Blum-Kulka, S. (1993) "Interlanguage Pragmatics: An Introduction" in *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. Edt. Kasper,G. and Blum-Kulka, S. pp.3-17. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lakoff, R. (1973) "The Logic of Politeness; or, minding your p's and q's", in *Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, pp. 292-305, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Laver, J.(1981) "Linguistic Routines and Politeness in Greeting and Parting". In *Conversational Routine: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech*. Edt. Coulmas,F.,pp.289-304.The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Leech, G. (1983) *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Levinson, S.(1983) *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lyons, J (1977) *Semantics*.Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Mao, L. R. (1994) "Beyond Politeness Theory: "Face" Revisited and Renewed" . *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol.21, No.5: 451–486.

Matsumoto, Y. (1988) "Reexamination of the Universality of Face: Politeness Phenomena in Japanese". *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol.12, No.2: 403-426.

Nydell, M.(2006) *Understanding Arab:A Guide for Modern Times*. 4th Edition. Boston: Intercultural Press.

Rosowsky, A.(2006) "The Role of Liturgical literary in UK Muslim Communities" in *Exploration in the Sociology of Language and Religion*. Edt. Omoniyi,T and Fishman, J.pp. 309-324. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Mills,S. (2003) *Gender and Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parkinson, Dilworth B., (1985) *Constructing the Social Context of Communication: Terms of Address in Egyptian Arabic*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Pearson, J. (1985) *Gender and Communication*. Iowa:Wm C. Brown Publishers.

Tannen, D. and Oztek, P. (1981) "Health to our Mouths: Formulic Expressions in Turkish and Greek". In *Conversational Routine: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech*. Edt. Coulmas,F.,pp.37-54. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Wardhaugh, R.(1986) *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Inc.

Watts, R. , Ide, S. and Ehlich, K. (1992) "Introduction" In *Politeness in language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice*.2nd Edition.pp.1-20.Eds.Watts, R., Ide, S. and Ehlich, K. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wei,L.(2010) "The Functions and Use of Greetings". *Canadian Social Sciece*.Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 56-62.

Wierzbicka, A. (1985) "Different Cultures, Different Languages, Different Speech Acts". *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol.9, No.1: 145-178.

Wolfson, N. (1989) *Perspectives: Sociolinguistics and TESOL*. New York: Newbury House Publishers

المصادر العربية

القرآن الكريم

الازدي، سليمان بن الاشعث (بلا تأريخ) **سنن ابي داود**. بيروت: دار الفكر .

القزويني ، محمد بن يزيد (بلا تأريخ) **سنن ابن ماجة** . بيروت: دار الفكر .

النسائي، احمد (١٩٩١) **سنن النسائي الكبرى**. بيروت: دار الكتب العلمية

الهندي، علاء الدين علي (١٩٩٨) **كنز العمال في سنن الأقوال والأفعال**، الطبعة: الأولى. بيروت : دار

الكتب العلمية