Terms of Address in Najdi Dialect: Normativity and Variation

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2015

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To the memory of my father

To my 'one and only', my dear husband

Acknowledgement

First, all praises and thanks be to Allah, the Almighty, for helping me finish my study. This thesis would not have been possible without the heartwarming company of several important people in my life.

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisors, Dr.Barbara Pizziconi, Prof. Peter Sells and Dr. Chris Lucas for their enduring support, patience and for their encouragement. Their valuable comments have made a great impact on the progress of my research. No word is enough to say ‗Thank you'. Thanks are also due to my examiners: Prof. Bruce Ingham and Dr. Jim O'Driscoll whose useful comments allowed me to make important corrections and modifications to the final version of my thesis.

I am particularly grateful to all the participants who took part in the data collection for this research. It goes without saying that this thesis would not have been possible without their participation. My sincere gratitude is also due to Saudi Ministry of High Education and to my home university, Princess Nora bint Abdulrahman in Saudi Arabia for granting me a scholarship to pursue my PhD in UK.

Last but not least, I owe special thanks and love to my family for their steadfast support during my stay at UK. Words cannot express the debt of gratitude and admiration I feel for my husband Mohammed Aba-alalaa for his support and sacrifice during my study. His impact on me has been greater than I could say. Indeed I am truly grateful. I would like to express my gratitude to my beloved daughters, Albandri, Aljoharah and Haifa for being patient while I was busy with my research. I definitely owe them my accomplishments. The continual encouragement and prayers of my mother Jawza Aba-alalaa, have been extremely instrumental in motivating me to pursue the work that led to this achievement. I owe many thanks to my cherished sisters and brothers for believing in me. Special thanks are due to my brother Dr. Turki Aba-alalaa for his support during our stay in the UK. I would like to give a very special mention and warm thanks to my dearest friend Justin Q.C. for standing by me and keeping me sane during my time working on this thesis.

Abstract

The current thesis describes the system of address terms in Najdi dialect through the results of a survey and interviews with native speakers of the dialect. The main argument in this thesis departs from Watts‘ (2005) argument that address term might not express politeness. I argue in this thesis that functions of address terms are varied and they can produce textual effects (situational role designation, reference maintenance, manipulation of voicing) or affective effects (endearment, aggression) in addition to the default social function i.e., (im)politeness which is taken in this thesis to be simply a particular stereotypical effect.

This thesis attempts to explore how the indexicality approach suggested by Agha (2007) to the address terms enables researchers to account for infinite society-internal variability and heterogeneity in the address behaviours among the same group of users. Based on this approach, address terms are not seen to possess any inherent semantic characteristic or pragmatic value pertaining to politeness that can be implemented in interaction. Instead the address term usage can stereotypically index different meanings of politeness (deference/intimacy) through reflexive models of interaction that indexically shape stereotypes of the language users‘ identity and their ideologies regarding their usage of the address term. Additionally, the results of the user survey and interviews show intragroup variation that indicates social struggles over the norms of address term usage and possibly normative uncertainty.

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Transliteration Symbols

Arabic letter	Symbol	Description
ة	b	Voiced bilabial stop
د	t	Voiceless alveolar stop
ث	θ	Voiceless interdental fricative
ج	j	Voiced palatal affricate
ح	ḥ	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	x	Voiceless velar fricative
د	d	Voiced alveolar stop
ذ	ð	Voiced interdental fricative
ر	r	Alveolar flap
ز	z	Voiced alveolar fricative
س	s	Voiceless alveolar fricative
ش	ʃ	Voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
	č	Voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
ص	ṣ	Voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative
ض	ḍ	Voiced emphatic alveolar stop
ط	ṭ	Voiceless emphatic alveolar stop
ظ	ḍ̠	Voiced emphatic interdental fricative
ع	ʕ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	ɣ	Voiced velar fricative
ف	f	Voiceless labiodental fricative
ق	q	Voiceless uvular stop
ك	k	Voiceless velar stop
ه ـه	l	Alveolar lateral approximant
	m	Bilabial nasal
ن	n	Alveolar nasal
ي ـي	h	Voiceless glottal fricative
	w	Labio-velar approximant
ي	y	Palatal approximant
ء	ʔ	Voiceless glottal stop
	ā	Open slightly advanced and centralized back vowel
	ī	Close front unrounded vowel
	ō	Close mid back rounded vowel
	ū	Close back rounded vowel

List of Abbreviations

Ed	Endearment
FN	First name
HF	Honorific
KT	Kin term
n/a	Not applicable
P.M	Politeness marker
Tek	Teknonym

Chapter 1 Introduction and rationale for the study

1.1 Introduction

In the postmodern or discursive theoretical approach initiated by Eelen (2001), Mills (2003) and Watts (2003) the aim is no longer a scientific conceptualization of politeness (second-order politeness) or formulation of a universal theory. Theorists in this approach recognize that there is dispute over the evaluation of what is polite and so typically focus on the participants' own evaluations of politeness (first-order politeness). Much of the discursive work regarding (im)politeness focuses on judgements about (im)politeness, particularly on the discursive struggles between the interlocutors. Locher and Watts (2005) introduced their notion of relational work which argues that politeness is a discursive concept arising from the perceptions and judgements that interactants make regarding their own and others' verbal behaviour (Locher & Watts 2005: 10). They claimed that (im)politeness is an aspect of relational work, which is the work that individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others and it includes (im)polite and appropriate behaviours. This notion confirms the distinction drawn by Watts (1989; 1992) between politic behaviour and polite behaviour. Accordingly, Watts (2005) argued that terms of address can be realisations of politic behaviour rather than polite behaviour, with the understanding that ~~"~~politic behaviour, which is culturally determined and is generated from underlying universal principles, is transformed into polite behaviour under certain marked social conditions" hence, ~~"~~it is an empirical question whether and/or where the one becomes the other in the speech community under investigation" (1992: 58).

The current thesis supports the argument made by Watts (2005) that terms of address might not express politeness and therefore adopts the position that the functions of address terms are varied. These functions vary from textual effects (situational role designation, reference maintenance, manipulation of voicing) to affective effects (endearment, aggression). These functions exist in addition to the default social function, i.e., (im)politeness, which this study aims to demonstrate is simply a particular stereotypical effect. This thesis explores how the indexicality approach to address terms suggested by Agha (2007: 24) enables us to account for the infinite society-internal variability and heterogeneity in address behaviours that occur among the same group of users. In this thesis, the argument is exemplified through a focus on Najdi address terms. In view of the indexicality approach, this study claims that address terms do not possess any inherent

semantic characteristic or pragmatic value pertaining to politeness that can be implemented in any interaction. Instead, address term usage can stereotypically index different meanings of politeness (deference/intimacy) through reflexive models of interaction that indexically shape stereotypes of the identity and ideologies of language users regarding their usage of the address terms. According to Locher (2006: 264), in view of discursive approach, politeness is norm-oriented: „it lies in the nature of politeness to be an elusive concept since it is inherently linked to judgements on norms and those are constantly negotiated, are renegotiated and ultimately change over time in every type of social interaction". On this basis, this thesis aims to demonstrate that there is intragroup variation that indicates social struggles over the norms of address term usage, and possibly indicates normative uncertainty.

1.2 Rationale for this study

Saudi Arabic has dialects that broadly correspond to its geographic regions: the Najdi dialect (spoken in the central province ‗Najd'), Hijazi dialect (spoken in the western province ‗al-Hijaz'), Southern dialect ‗Janubi' (spoken in Asir province in the south), and Eastern dialect or ‗Gulf' (spoken in the eastern province ‗al-Hasa' next to the Arabian Gulf) (Zuhur 2011: 246). My own literature review on the topic of (im)politeness in the context of Saudi Arabic has revealed an absence of research explicitly dealing with this linguistic area in Saudi Arabic dialects from the discursive approach perspective or even from the indexicality approach perspective. It was noted that previous research about (im)politeness in Saudi Arabic has been primarily influenced by Speech Act Theory and various pragmatic approaches, and that the main theme of a large proportion of these studies was a comparison between Saudi Arabic and English (cf. Al-Shalawi 1997; Al-Ammar 2000; Al-Qahtani 2009; Rabab'ah and Al-Qarni 2012). With specific reference to research on address terms, to my knowledge the study by Safi and Baeshen (1996) was the only study that investigated Hijazi dialectal address term. Their research employed a sociolinguistic approach to investigate the sociolinguistic rules governing the use of lexicalized kinship distinctions in address and reference to kin by members of nine extended Hijazi families from the city of Jeddah in Saudi Arabia. The study found that the formal linguistic system used by these families is sensitive to a number of social factors, including age, gender, proximity of habitat (+/- shared household), differential status, respect and the role of participants in any linguistic interaction. It was also found that variation in the formal linguistic items observed in the

data was a function of the context and the aim of the participants in a given interaction. Safi and Baeshen (1996) assert that the choice between one variant of the kin terms over another was controlled by the physical environment (proximity of habitat) and the relationship between the interlocutors, measured in terms of solidarity/ intimacy and power/ respect. To the best of my knowledge, no study has touched upon address terms in the Najdi dialect or any of the other dialects of Saudi Arabic other than the Hijazi dialect.

The Najdi dialect was deliberately chosen as the focus of this study due to the fact that this is the native dialect of the researcher. A large body of extant literature has investigated the diversity of the phonological and morphological aspects of the dialect, for example Abboud (1964), Al-Sweel (1981), Ingham (1994), Aldwayan (2008) and Lewis (2013). However, there is a noticeable absence of address term research in the literature of the Najdi dialect, which this study therefore aims to address.

This study also seeks to contribute to the discursive approach to (im)politeness through the consideration of new empirical data on terms of address from Arabic language through comprehensive investigation of the social factors that determine the appropriateness of Najdi address terms in given social settings. Najdi address terms usage will be shown to be a politic behaviour that stereotypically indexes different social relations between Najdi speakers in relation to certain social contexts. An attempt will also be made to demonstrate how the Najdi address system varies distinctively society-internally, according to certain personal characteristics of the speaker or the addressee, which will be determined and examined in multiple socio-cultural settings. In addition, Najdi address terms will be examined in the context of socio-cultural factors that can formulate different social meanings, including politeness, if they are used in a specific social scenario of usage.

Finally, while this thesis directly focuses on Najdi address terms usage, it also contributes to the understanding of the social and cultural structure of Najdi community.

1.3 Thesis organisation

Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature pertaining to this research, in terms of the various approaches to the study of address terms and the broader study of politeness in general, which informs and influences this investigation. Chapter 3 provides an introduction to Saudi Arabic and Najdi dialect, in terms of terms of culture and society. An overview of the address terms system in Saudi Arabic is also included in this chapter. The specific

research objectives and questions of this study are found in Chapter 4. Details of the data and data analysis are in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 reports the first data collection method and presents the participants. It also presents a detailed analysis of the quantitative data and outlines the observed statistical norms regarding the address behaviour identified among Najdi speakers. Chapter 6 presents the second data collection method and the participants in the follow-up interviews, followed by the analysis of these interviews and the salient judgements made by the participants about their address behaviour. The final chapter, Chapter 7, contains a summary of findings, points to how this research contributes to knowledge within the field, and offers final reflections.

Chapter 2 Existing literature: Overview of terms of address and concept of (im)politeness

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a definition of terms of address and its relation to the notion of (im)politeness (2.2) followed by an overview of the theoretical framework of terms of address as deixis (2.3). The literature on key concepts, theorizing and research findings central to the study are then presented. First, the previous research on terms of address and problems related to their conceptualisation are reviewed (2.4), after which a critical review is offered into the main approaches to (im)politeness (2.5), with an emphasis on the more recent ‗post-modern/discursive' approach. Lastly, in (2.6) I discuss how an ‗indexical' approach and ‗discursive' theories can be applied to research on address terms to account for their variability.

2.2 Terms of address and (im)politeness

Terms of address are words used in an utterance that refer to the addressee of that utterance. In many cases, they serve as extremely important conveyors of social information (Parkinson 1985: 1). Terms of address typically open communicative acts, set the tone for the interchanges that follow, and establish the relative power and distance of speaker and hearer (Wood & Kroger 1991: 145). Therefore, the study of address terms as a linguistic realisation of (im)politeness has been a popular topic within sociolinguistics for many years.

Braun (1988: 7) explains that terms of address usually designate the collocutor; for this reason, they contain a strong element of social deixis. In other words, terms of address can function as deictic elements. Agha (2007: 278) argues that address terms encompass two indexical layers: participant deixis (usages that indexically denote the speaker or the addressee) and stereotypic social indexicals (indexicals of the speaker's attributes and the relationship between the interlocutors). He claims that participant deixis and the stereotypic social indexicals combine to construct the ‗registers of person deixis'. Therefore, categorizing address terms as ‗social deixis' can be said to conflate these layers of indexicality, complicating the process of distinguishing between cases in which the levels are linked and those in which they are not (ibid.). In fact, Agha considers address terms to be deictics in the sense that they have the deictic categorial effect of specifying two things:

the denotational referent, i.e. the semantically relevant referent to the used address term; and the interactional referent, i.e. the interactional roles of the interactants in an utterance where the address term is used (speaker, addressee or referent) (Agha 2007: 46). It can also be argued that terms of address do not have a default connotation, but instead have stereotypic indexical values that are emergent through their co-occurrence with other interactional variables (Agha 2007: 39). Agha claims that the stereotypic social indexical value of given address terms can potentially differ within the same social group of users, effectively enabling the division of groups into sub-groups that use the same term to correlate with different stereotypes of the social indexical effects (ibid.). This means that terms of address can be conceptualised as deictics that indexically denote a referent as an addressee and at the same time convey stereotypic social indexicals of the referent characteristics (e.g., male/female, younger/older), the referent's relationship to the speaker (e.g., deference/intimacy), and typify the speaker conduct (e.g., polite/impolite, rural/urban, upper/lower class) (Agha 2007: 280). In the next section, Agha's approach to deixis will be presented in greater detail, illustrating the ways in which terms of address function as stereotypic indexicals with different values.

Agha argues that terms of address as deictics may stereotypically index (im)politeness in certain conditions, which are determined by their co-occurrence with other signs (Agha 2007: 283). This view of address terms is particularly compatible with the discursive approach in its reconceptualization of (im)politeness as „appropriateness' in relation to specific contexts. It is especially harmonious with Watts' (2005: 58–61) argument that terms of address can be realisations of politic behaviour rather than polite behaviour. Watts (1992: 65–67; 2003: 19,21,133,156,169) repeatedly argues that when terms of address are chosen according to what is usually expected in a social interaction, they cannot be considered as conveying politeness and hence they are politic. However, he adds that „if they are used in excess of what is necessary to maintain the politic behaviour of an interaction" they may convey politeness (ibid.). According to Watts (1992: 58), „politic behaviour, which is culturally determined and is generated from underlying universal principles, is transformed into polite behaviour under certain marked social conditions" hence, „it is an empirical question whether and/or where the one becomes the other in the speech community under investigation". The current study adopts Agha's view of address terms, adopting this perspective in the investigation of Najdi address terms in relation to the discursive approach to (im)politeness.

2.3 Terms of address as social deixis: Theoretical considerations

Concept of deixis was originally proposed by Lyons (1968: 240) to involve person, space and time deixis. This concept was later enhanced by Fillmore (1975), who integrated speech acts into deixis and introduced the concept of social deixis (Levinson 1983: 62). Fillmore (1975: 76) states that social deixis (the use of social coordinates) concerns "those aspects of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs". Hence, deixis is a feature of language that palpably reflects the relationship between context and language (Levinson 1983: 54). Unlike Fillmore, Levinson was concerned more with grammaticalized forms, meaning that he considers that deixis basically "concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance" (ibid.). In other words, Levinson (1983: 89) restricts the notion of social deixis to those linguistic elements that denote the social identities of the participants, or the social relationship between them, or between one of them and a third party (persons or entities). Speech may therefore be understood as effectively reflecting the social relationship held between the interlocutors in a speech event. Accordingly, Levinson (1983: 89–90) categorized polite pronouns and terms of address as elements of social deixis.

Agha (2007) later rejected the coding approach to deixis and introduced a new approach to the study of deictics based on his approach of indexicality and reflexivity. This approach emphasised the important role of the signs that accompany any deictic token in an utterance. Agha stresses that the influence of the deictic in an utterance cannot be understood without examining the co-textual signs surrounding the deictic token, as these co-occurring signs can either reinforce the effect of the deictic token or cancel this effect. Principally, this means that the contribution of language to interpersonal interactions is reliant upon the deictic expressions used in interactions (Agha 2007: 38). The actual function of deictics in an utterance is therefore to link the connotation of the utterance to the ongoing interactional realities in different ways that are organized and controlled by the particular features of the interaction in which the utterance occurs, but not by the deictic expression itself (Agha 2007: 37–38). Deictics are reflexive signs, making understanding the meaning of an utterance dependent on the features of the interaction in which it occurs, such as where, when and by whom the utterance is formed (Agha 2007: 38–39). He also argues that person, time and space deixis are restricted deixis, but there are many deictic

patterns in language that can outline a variety of ongoing social realities for the language users. Examples of these include defining the nature of an utterance (whether it is the speech or the views of the interlocutor), defining whether the interlocutor is one person or many, or defining the social attitude of a given interlocutor (Agha 2007: 388).

Ultimately, Agha considers deictics as being ~~"~~indexical signs that formulate a sketch of referent that is only interpretable relative to the effects of co-occurring signs" (Agha 2007: 39). In addition to this, he argues that deictics can formulate the indexical sketch as a ‗set of text-defaults', meaning those effects that are regularly conveyed by a deictic expression when in isolation from the effects of the co-occurring signs (ibid.). Agha calls this a ‗set' because any deictic expression performs two simultaneous effects: it delineates the characteristics of the suitable referent of an utterance (the denotational referent), e.g., a human, subject or possessor; and it delineates the relevant interactional role of the referent in the scenario of usage (the interactional referent), e.g., the speaker or addressee (Agha 2007: 46–47). However, any co-occurring signs in the interaction may intervene to create a non-default interpretation caused by the text configuration in which the deictic occurs, and does not occur by the deictic itself. This means that the non-default interpretation will disappear if the deictic occurs in different text configurations (Agha 2007: 39). Consequently, Agha (2007: 46) claims that the effect of a deictic expression cannot be understood from an item-level perspective because the deictics co-occur with other expressions in all utterances and such co-occurrence generates compound effects that differ from the effect of any single sign in the utterance.

Agha calls the contribution of the co-occurring signs to the construal of any linguistic sign ‗text-level indexicality', describing this as ~~"~~an emergent type of information that reflexively shapes the construal of behaviour while the behaviour is still under way" (Agha 2007: 24). The information is emergent as it arises from the convergence of the co-occurring signs in certain configurations and because it would change if the text configuration were altered in any way. Any co-occurring signs can be evaluated as either congruent or non-congruent based on different criteria. Co-occurring signs can be congruent if they are stereotypically categorised under the same predicate, such as polite/impolite, or if they have similar semantic meaning. This means that a deictic term and co-occurring signs could be indexically congruent or non-congruent, i.e. either having or not having the same indexical values. The co-occurring signs, which fit together in some way, create an order of text and together convey indexical information that may be different from the indexical

value of any of its parts in isolation. In view of that, Agha (2007: 25) argues that all approaches to interaction should consider text-level indexicality in the formulation of emergent reflexive models of what is occurring, who is interacting, what it is about, what the interactants intend to achieve, and so on. In the terminology used by Agha, the deictic form takes the current utterance act as the ‗origo' or ‗zero-point' of reckoning when referring to interactional variables. For instance, ‗I' refers to whoever produces the current utterance (Agha 2007: 39). For this reason, in reference to an addressee, the default source of the reference ‗origo' is the speaker, and its ‗focus' is the addressee. Therefore, the utterance performance allocates the interactional role of the addressee-of-utterance to the person addressed (Agha 2007: 280).

Agha (2007: 27) highlights that text-level indexicality is not necessarily solely concerned with the matter of physical co-occurrence or a congruence of sign values, claiming that it may also consider the convergence of indexical origo and the focus of utterance-acts within the emergent order of interaction. Agha (2007: 26) explains that text-level indexicality converges when the co-occurring signs, which might be non-congruent, have the same indexical focus (talking about the same addressee) in addition to the same indexical origo (performed by the same speaker). Agha (2007: 25) illustrates this with the instance of veiled aggression, during which a polite address term is used ironically to convey aggression rather than politeness. This happens when a speaker uses a polite address term in addressing someone who is, according to cultural and social norms, not eligible to receive this polite address term from this speaker, for example, because the addressee is considerably younger than the speaker. Agha (2007: 25) calls this manipulation of the norms of usage associated with the polite address term ‗tropic usage' and argues that the manipulation of norms of usage in interactions results in interactional tropes. The tropic use of the polite address term may therefore be denotationally incorrect, as the use of the polite term is non-congruent with a younger addressee. However, it is interactionally successful because the use of the polite term to address a younger addressee indexes a type of social relation that is inconsistent for both the speaker and the addressee (ibid.).

To summarise, text-level indexicality is critical in the evaluation of the appropriateness (stereotype-congruent usage) of certain deictics within a particular context (Agha 2007: 162). Thus, tropes are effects of text configurations and hence are hard to construe out of context. However, only language users who are familiar with the stereotypic effects of the tropes on deictic form will be able to interpret the trope (Agha 2007: 163).

Terms of address are deictic forms and their interpretation is anchored in the co-occurring signs of the utterance where they occurred. However, this interpretation is an emergent property of certain utterances from a particular speaker to address a specific addressee, who both have a specific identity (gender, age, social class, etc.). The resulting interpretation may also be congruent with the default meaning of the address term and approve or disprove this default meaning, meaning that an alternative meaning is obtainable.

Since this study does not investigate terms of address in situational contexts, the variation in the address terms usage will be accounted for by reference to the indexical properties of the address terms and the knowledge of the speaker‘s attributes (gender, age and spoken variation). The assumed characteristics of the addressee (gender, age and spoken variation), the relationship between the speaker and the addressee and the setting where the addressing behaviour is carried out (among family or on the street) are taking as co-occurring signs. This study aims to demonstrate that the different emergent interpretation of certain address terms used by speakers may constitute through time an emergent norm of usage that is dynamic and can be changed if the general configuration of co-occurring signs changes.

2.4 Previous approaches to terms of address

Terms of address have been investigated by sociolinguists since the pioneering works of Gilman & Brown (1958), Brown & Gilman (1960) and Brown & Ford (1961). These seminal works into the systems of address terms were conducted by means of a variationist perspective. The pioneering framework by Gilman & Brown (1958) investigated the differentiation of pronouns of address (plural/polite vs. singular/familiar) in European languages, developing two distinct dimensions of pronominal usage:

- The vertical status dimension (plural/polite pronouns used with superiors and singular/familiar pronouns used with inferiors)
- The horizontal status dimension (plural/polite pronouns used among distant equals and singular/familiar pronouns among intimate equals)

This was followed by the introduction of the symbols T/V (Latin tu and vos) and the assigning of a definite social value to the grammatical differentiation of the 2nd person pronouns in the European languages, the former being the familiar second person pronoun

and the latter the polite pronoun (Brown & Gilman 1960). Initially, they claimed that the selection of T or V was determined by ‚power semantics'. Due to the fact that superiors say T and receive V (i.e., terms of address are non-reciprocal among unequals in a dyad), this resulted in their belief that pronominal address reflects social structure. However, later in the 19th century, factors other than power came to determine the selection of T or V. The new criterion was what was called the ‚solidarity semantic'. Solidarity occurs when the interlocutors are equals and have something in common. These shared characteristics could be that the parties have both "attended the same school", "have the same parents" or "practice the same profession", with the result that have a degree of closeness and intimacy (Brown & Gilman 1960: 258). Brown & Gilman (ibid.) did not count similar physical features, such as having the same eye colour, in determining solidarity between two people. However, they counted the similarities "that make for like-mindedness or similar behaviour dispositions" in order to determine the use of mutual T or mutual V among equals (ibid.). In other words, they differentiated between the uses of the two address pronouns as manifestations of power and solidarity semantics. While T forms index solidarity, intimacy, equality and closeness, and hence, can be reciprocal, the V forms signal power, respect, an asymmetrical relationship and distance, and hence, are non-reciprocal. Later, Brown and Ford (1961), who with Brown and Gilman (1958, 1960) can be regarded as the precursors of modern sociolinguistic investigation into address terms (Braun 1988: 14), introduced their seminal work, *Address in American English,* which scrutinized the semantic rules governing nominal address forms in American English based on a varied collection of data. They noticed that the most frequent forms of address in American English are the use of either the first name (FN) or the title with the last name (TLN). They concluded that status (power) of and intimacy (solidarity) between the speakers are the primary factors governing the choice of address.

The assumption that the usage of address terms is primarily determined by the relationship between speaker and addressee, and that this relationship can be analysed in terms of the two semantic dimensions ‚power/status' and ‚solidarity/intimacy' was expressed later by Brown (1965: 5) in his theory of ‚the Invariant Norm of Address', which he claimed constituted a culturally universal rule. This theory states that the linguistic form used to address an inferior in dyads of unequal status is used in dyads of equal status among intimates and that the linguistic form used to a superior in dyads of unequal status is used in

dyads of equal status among strangers. In an attempt to assert the universality of this theory, Brown (1965) linked the norms of status and solidarity, stating that,

> *"Considering just two address forms and the status and solidarity norms, there is one formal or logically possible alternative to the scheme we have invariably found. The form used to inferiors might also be used between strangers and the form used to superiors might also be used between intimates."* (Brown 1965: 92)

In fact, his use of the term ‗alternative' is an indication of the heterogeneity of address behaviour, an issue that will be discussed later in this section. This invariance was later confirmed by other scholars in a wide variety of disparate European and non-European languages. For example, the Invariant Norm of Address Theory was applied to the usage of terms of address in Chinese (Kroger et al. 1979). Here, it was asserted that the universal relationship between social power and intimacy predicted by the Invariant Norm of Address theory is applicable to the Chinese. Kroger et al. (1984) later compared the usage of terms of address in Greek, Korean and Chinese, claiming to have identified a cross-cultural consistency in the usage of address terms in these languages.

However, not all research supported the original works by Brown et al., with a new approach in the late 1980s being particularly critical of universals in address terms. Through the collection of data on various address systems from different languages and cultures, including Jordanian Arabic, Braun (1988) attempted to re-evaluate address theory and re-formulate the rules of address that had been proposed by Brown & Gilman (1958, 1960) and Brown & Ford (1961), stating that

> *"Universals in the field of address may be very few, and those which can be found will probably be of a rather trivial nature. One such candidate for a universal is the observation that address is differentiated in every language ... Universals of this kind are not very satisfactory, but address is so varied that, possibly, one may not find anything beyond the most basic type of correspondence. As a consequence of the infinite variety of forms ... the rules and models current in address theory do not suffice to explain address usage in all the different speech communities. Another reason is the neglect of the variation within address systems."* (Braun 1988: 304)

Braun regarded many of the works that investigated address terms as oversimplifications because they attempted to establish a clear-cut hierarchy between address terms, disregarding the fact that address terms are used in very different types of relationships. Her work claims that although the classic research into address terms (Brown

& Gilman 1960; Brown & Ford 1961; Ervin-Tripp 1972) adopted a sociolinguistic perspective in their analysis, they are all based on an implicit assumption of a ‗Systemlinguistik' characteristic. This postulates a closed system of address terms that is homogenously valid for an entire society in spite of the observed variation found in actual data. Based on examples from her data, she emphasized the existence of heterogeneity in address behaviour in everyday situations and dyads and confirmed that variation is the rule rather than the exception (Braun 1988: 18–24). Braun also criticized their neglecting the fact that address terms commonly connote more about the speaker than the addressee (ibid.). This was illustrated with examples from different languages, demonstrating that the variety in any address system is part of speaker self-presentation. In other words, if the address system in any language has variation, then the choice of certain address terms indicates more about the characteristics of the speaker than about the addressee or the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. An example of this way in which the choice of address terms may indicate certain characteristics about the speaker was provided in the context of Kramer's (1975) study of the American English address system (Braun 1988: 26). Kramer (1975: 199) observed that while the gender of both speaker and the addressee informed their address term choices, men and women in the United States appeared to have different repertoires of address terms. For example, the usage of the address term ‗Mac' when addressing a stranger such as a taxi driver was found to be typical male address behaviour and not conventional female address behaviour. Moreover, she suggested that the female usage of ‗Mac' to address a taxi driver would be marked as speaking in a masculine way.

In critiquing past address theories, Braun (1988: 253–265) referred to two issues that may indicate a deviation from the universal rule of reciprocity. The first pertains to the meaning of the forms of address because variants are semantically complicated due to the number of potential meanings involved. The semantic content of the address terms ranges from a clearly identifiable lexical meaning to the absence of any literal meaning due to the fact that the words in question are not used as a descriptive term of reference. For example, in English, the reading of the term of endearment ‗honey' as a term of address is not literal because that would sound strange. In addition to this, most personal pronouns of address are semantically indeterminate. For example, the English pronoun ‗you' does not have a simply identified literal meaning. However, in any interaction its referent varies according to the context and the interaction scenario at the time of utterance, i.e., who is the speaker and who

is the addressee. Therefore, Braun believes that literal meaning should not be regarded as the primary content of forms of address. She claimed that the most significant type of content within forms of address is the social content, i.e., the speaker-addressee relationship, the speaker‘s evaluation of addressee and the social background of the speaker, as expressed in the use of a given form of address. This means that social meaning lies in the information about the dyad that is consciously or unconsciously provided by the speaker during the utterance of a certain form of address. It can be concluded that social meaning is the most important aspect of address due to the fact that it is both the product of and the reason for address differentiation (Braun 1988: 259). However, she highlights the fact that the lexical meanings of address terms can potentially be in contrast with the characteristics of the addressee, since the connection between the lexical and the social content can be loosened during the historical development of the address term in an address system. This was illustrated with the example of the change in usage of ‗Mr/Mrs‘ in English, which nowadays denote any unfamiliar adult, rather than necessarily those who are ‗masters‘ or social superiors (Braun 1988: 260).

The second issue is that terms of address do not necessarily designate the collocutor(s) because their lexical meanings can differ from or even contradict the characteristics of the addressee. This contradiction between the addressee and the address form is called ‗address inversion‘, which ―refers to the use of a nominal variant which, in its lexical content, implies features suiting the person of the speaker rather than the addressee" (Braun 1988: 265). This phenomenon exists in many languages and cultures, and is particularly widespread in Arabic, Italian dialects and Rumanian (Braun 1988: 266). She explained that the basic principle of address inversion is as follows:

> *"The reciprocation of a senior kinship term or a superior status term to the junior/inferior of the dyad … is restricted rather with regard to its contexts: in most of the languages concerned, address inversion is used for expressing affection and authority, especially in talking to the children."* (Braun 1988: 309)

As an example of this is the usage of the term ‗uncle‘, regardless of the sex of the addressee, which is often used to address the children of the addressee‘s sibling among both Arabic and Georgian speakers. Braun indicates that the phenomenon of address inversion is the most problematic aspect of address theory, suggesting that ―almost anything is possible in address… address works according to its own rules which may differ from those of other domains and from what is called logic" (Braun 1988: 308–309). She emphasized that this

phenomenon is not a sign of estrangement caused by status differences but a sign of intimacy. Therefore, in her proposed reformulation of the rules of address, she maintained that an adequate theory regarding terms of address should cover inferences about the speakers because ~~l~~language varies according to speakers' age, class, education, religion, ideology, sex, etc." (Braun 1988: 18). In addition, Braun accounted for the asymmetry, non-reciprocity and inversion of junior and senior kinship term as follows:

> *"Whenever variants expressing intimacy, juniority, low social status, or inferiority are employed, they can signal - if not mutual intimacy - juniority, low status, or inferiority of either speaker or addressee (or both) ... Whenever variants expressing distance, seniority, high social status, or superiority are employed, they can signal - if not mutual distance - seniority, high status, or superiority of either speaker or addressee (or both)."* (Braun 1988: 35)

Therefore, it can be argued that Braun (1988) stresses address variation as the rule in any address system in which the selection of an address term can be a characteristic of the speaker, as well as of the addressee. This means that an address term can function as an emblem of certain features of both the speaker and the addressee.

Following this perspective, Murphy (1988) sought to integrate the theories of reference and of address, which are separated in the sociolinguistic field. To this end, he briefly reviewed seminal works about the address terms in English (Brown & Gilman 1960; Brown & Ford 1961; Ervin-Tripp 1972), as well as in Javanese and Japanese (Geertz 1960; Kuno 1973). Murphy found that the choice of an address term confirms the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, leading him to assert that terms of address are a socially driven phenomenon (Murphy 1988: 319). Keshavarz (2001) later added social context as another factor that determines variation in address terms. This idea was based on the idea that the degree of formality of the context and the relationship between the interlocutors in a speech event affected the speaker's choice of the address term (Keshavarz 2001: 17). In addition, Dewaele (2004) studied the effects of situational and sociobiographical variables on the self-reported and actual use[1] of pronouns of address in native and non-native French speakers. It was found that while native and non-native French

1 The difference between the two types of data and their validity for this research are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

speakers differed in their choice of address pronoun, the self-reported data revealed that the choice of address pronoun among both native/non-native speakers was affected by the gender and the age of the addressee, with males and older addressees being more often addressed with *vous* than females and younger addressees. However, the gender of addressees appeared to be a non-significant factor in the actual use data, although the addressee‘s age remained significant. The status of the addressee has also been found to affect the choice of pronoun; both native and non-native French speakers frequently address strangers with *vous*.

Finally, Clyne et al. (2009) presented a comprehensive work comparing the use of address terms in French, German and Swedish. These languages were chosen due to the similarity in their pronominal binary system of address (informal/formal): *tu*/*vous* in French *du*/*Sie* in German *du*/*ni* in Swedish. However, the study focused on both pronominal address (pronouns of address) and nominal address (first names, surnames and titles). English, which lacks the pronominal binary system of address, was employed as a reference point. This work primarily focused on the on-going changes in the four address systems, with particular attention given to the variation that occurs within these languages. The findings showed that differences in the terms of address between the four languages and within each language echo the cultural and sub-cultural values of the various societies, which are influenced by their social and political histories (Clyne et al. 2009: 162). The same grammatical devices were found to be used across and within languages in very different ways. For example, in French (and to some extent in German) the pronouns T _tu‘ and V _vous‘ inspired the whole address system: T is linked with first names (FN) or kinship terms and V is linked with honorific and last names (LN). However, other possible combinations were also noted in French. For example, V+FN is commonly used by employees to address each other in public situations, such as in department stores: V designates status in a hierarchal work relationship and FN is used just like T for lowering social class distance. Additionally, V+FN is widely used in the family context to address a partner‘s parents to express respect and low social distance (Clyne et al., 2009: 154–155). They concluded that the choice of address term by a speaker determines the speaker‘s inclusion to or exclusion from certain social groups and draws the group boundary between the speaker and the hearer (Clyne et al., 2009: 156).

2.5 Approaches to (im)politeness: the reconceptualization of politeness theory

2.5.1 Traditional Approach

Over the past 50 years, theories about politeness have focused on the interpersonal aspect of communication from a pragmatic point of view. Watts (2003) called these approaches „Pragmatic Models of Politeness" because they study politeness phenomena within a linguistic pragmatic framework and linked politeness to Grice's Cooperative Principle and Speech Act Theory. Theories from this approach (Lakoff 1973; Leech 1983; Brown & Levinson 1987) comprise the classic framework that informed much of the subsequent research; for this reason, Terkourafi (2005: 237) calls the pragmatic approach to politeness „The Traditional Approach". The main feature of these theories is that they are inspired by Hymes'(1972) notion of „Communicative Competence" and are built on Grice's (1989) Cooperative Principle (Locher 2012: 38). The Cooperative Principle was based on an assumption that human conversations are typically cooperative activities and that communication therefore generally occurs effectively and logically (Grice 1989). The Cooperative Principle is categorized into four maxims that describe rational principles which people observe in order to communicate effectively and logically. Researchers in the traditional approach considered politeness a principled deviation from the Cooperative Principle. Research within this approach was further inspired by Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory, which considers the basic units of communication to comprise certain type of acts, such as: making a request, greeting, apologizing, giving an order, or making a promise. It is generally agreed that Lakoff (1973) was the first to approach politeness from a pragmatic perspective (Eelen 2001; Usami 2002; Watts 2003; Locher 2012). She achieved this through presentation of the „Rules of Pragmatic Competence: Be clear and Be polite" (Lakoff 1973: 296). The second rule has been subcategorised by Lakoff into: „1. Don't impose, 2. Give options and 3. Make others feel good - be friendly" (Lakoff 1973: 298). Linking these three rules of politeness to Grice's Cooperative Principle, Lakoff (1973) suggests that politeness can be recognized as pragmatic rules, „dictating whether an utterance is pragmatically well-formed or not, and the extent to which it deviates if it does" (Lakoff 1973: 296). In other words, she claims that politeness serves to avoid conflict, which legitimizes the flouting of the maxims of the Cooperative Principle (Kadar & Bargiela-Chiappini 2011: 2). Lakoff (1973: 303) argues that these rules are universal and can be more or less pronounced, with differing precedence given to the three rules depending on the particular interpretation of

politeness in the speaker‘s culture. For this reason, Lakoff‘s framework can be regarded as the first universal politeness theory in the strict sense of the word (Kadar & Bargiela-Chiappini 2011: 3).

Similarly, Leech (1983) took the Cooperative Principle as the departure point of his theory about politeness. He considers politeness as a way to maintain harmonious relationships or avoid conflict. Furthermore, he places politeness within a framework of interpersonal rhetoric. This led him to propose the ‗Politeness Principle‘ in order to account for the deviations of the Cooperative Principle (Leech 1983). He also divided the Politeness Principle into six subcategories: 1. Tact Maxim, 2. Generosity Maxim, 3. Approbation Maxim, 4. Modesty Maxim, 5. Agreement Maxim, 6. Sympathy Maxim (Leech 1983: 132).

Finally, Brown & Levinson (1987) introduced their influential theoretical contribution which shaped the development of the politeness field to date. Their theory was inspired by Speech Act theory (Brown & Levinson 1987: 10). Following Lakoff, they based their theory on the Cooperative Principle and defined politeness in terms of conflict avoidance. They also attempted to provide a universal perspective of politeness, although they approached the issue of universality from a different perspective to that of Lakoff. In order to devise a universal account of pragmatic knowledge, they instead drew on a corpus of naturally occurring data in English, Tamil, and Tzeltal. One of the most important aspects of their theory was the concept of face, which drew from Goffman's (1955) framework, *On-Face-work*. This notion of face was then used to refer to the basic and universal human desires as they pertain to social interaction. They conceptualised face as consisting of two specific kinds of desires: the desire not to be imposed on and have freedom of action (negative face), and the desire to be accepted, liked, and understood by others (positive face) (Brown & Levinson 1987: 13). They argue that face is vulnerable to face-threatening acts (FTAs). This was based upon an assumption that certain kinds of speech act, for example request or disagreement, inherently threaten face, and that social actors can maintain the social harmony by maintaining each other‘s face (Brown & Levinson 1987: 60). They state that while the concept of face is universal, the kinds of threatening acts differ according to cultures. Their theory holds that speakers can choose different strategies to save face: ―1. Without redressive action, baldly; 2. Positive politeness; 3. Negative politeness; 4. Off record; 5. Don‘t do the FTA‖ (ibid.). In their view, the choice between the strategies is therefore dependent on the weight of the FTA (W_X), which is determined by the value of three factors: ―the power (P) that a hearer has over a speaker, the social distance (D)

between a speaker and a hearer, and the ranking of impositions (R) in a particular culture", as shown in the following formula (Brown & Levinson 1987: 76):

$$W_X = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_X$$

However, it should be noted that Brown & Levinson intended to suggest the formula to ~~–in~~dicate the reasons for choosing one strategy rather than another, and not to suggest that politeness can be measured in relation to a computed value for the variables P, D and R_X" (Watts 2003: 96). Brown & Levinson's theory of politeness provides researchers with a clearly outlined set of tools to apply to new sets of data in an attempt to understand the global patterns of pragmatic competence, though it has received much criticism (Locher 2012: 41). The standpoint of Brown & Levinson was adopted by many subsequent studies to account for politeness in different cultures.

The foundational theories on politeness in the traditional approach (Lakoff's, Leech's and Brown & Levinson's) share certain common features. The primary concern of the three theories is to explain how speakers do not always conform to predetermined sets of principles, i.e., the Cooperative Principle, which are claimed to be universal regardless of cultures. In addition to this, all of the theories have adopted a prescriptive and normative perspective on politeness and focus on speech acts. This approach can be regarded as speaker-oriented. They aim at the theoretical conceptualization (scientific concept) of a universal phenomenon; hence, their objective was not necessarily to explain the lay understanding of (im)politeness in specific cultures or contexts. Locher (2012: 42) notes that the local and the lay understanding of (im)politeness, by which she means the commonsense of (im)politeness, is not what concerns the traditional approach. The failure of the traditional approach to explain how ordinary people understand politeness motivated researchers to go beyond these theories and to present alternatives to the current concepts of (im)politeness, in an attempt to examine the exact meaning of the term ‗Politeness'. The next section will present the debates regarding the difference between the scientific concept and the commonsense notion of (im)politeness.

2.5.2 Post-modern/Discursive Approach

The field of politeness research has witnessed a recent and radical alteration in the conceptualization of (im)politeness. New theories, such as those of Watts et al. (1992), Eelen (2001), Watts (2003), Mills (2003), Locher (2004) and Locher & Watts (2005) have

emerged in an attempt to provide an alternative model to the theory of (im)politeness. This new approach has been referred to as the ‚post-modern approach' (Terkourafi 2005; Holmes 2006) because it has many features of post-modern theories such as criticizing generalisation and substituting it with ‚subjectivity'. Mills (2011: 29) believes that the main characteristic of the post-modern approach is the focus on the contextual analysis and the variability of interpretation. However, Pizziconi (2006) categorizes the new conceptual model as ‚the social constructivist approach' because it embeds politeness into Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Social Practice, particularly his notion of ‚habitus', the social mechanism that ‚caters for regulated behaviour without the need for positing some external regulating force" (Eelen 2001: 222). Habitus refers to ‚the set predispositions to act in certain ways, which generates cognitive and bodily practices in the individual" (Watts 2003: 149). This approach emphasizes the dynamic nature of the politeness concept through placing it within the theory of social practice, where ‚practice is observable in instances of ongoing social interaction amongst individuals, which most often involves language" (Watts 2003: 148). One aspect that was particularly problematized in the post-modern approach (Watts 2003; Watts 2005; Locher 2004; Locher 2006; Locher & Watts 2005) was the need for the study of politeness to focus on what Watts (2003: 8) describes as the ‚discursive dispute' of what it means to participants to be (im)polite. ‚Discursive dispute' is defined as ‚the discursive structuring and reproduction of forms of behaviour and their potential assessments by individual participants" (Locher & Watts 2005: 16).

In essence, the term discursive refers to the perception of politeness as a property that emerges from or over stretches of discourse rather than as a property inherited in specific utterance types, such as speech acts or honorific forms. Locher & Watts (2005: 29) explain that the term dispute refers to the fact that there is a great variation in individuals' assessments of certain behaviour because they assess certain utterances as (im)polite against the background of their own habitus. This led Locher & Watts (2005: 10) to define (im)politeness as ‚a discursive concept arising out of interactants' perceptions and judgments of their own and others' verbal behaviours". Locher (2006: 250) calls this approach ‚the discursive approach', the term that will be used in this study henceforth. Theorists in the discursive approach highlighted the situated, emergent creation of (im)politeness in interaction (Locher 2012: 55). They hypothesised that (im)politeness is a matter of negotiation between participants in social interactions; the effect of this is that judgments about what can be considered (im)polite behaviour are subjective (Holmes 2006:

717). In short, the discursive approach rejected the speech act framework e.g. Mills (2003: 38) and adopted a discourse focus e.g. Watts (2003) and Mills (2003) (Terkourafi 2005: 241). This approach also rejected the Gricean agenda, with its emphasis on informativity over rapport management and on the intentions of the speaker over the judgments of the hearer‘s/addressee‘s. Instead, it emphasised the heterogeneity of judgments about (im)politeness and focused on the importance of the hearer‘s (addressee‘s) role. Because of the emphasis on judgments in the discursive approach, it has been accused of focusing more on the hearer/addressee than on the speaker, who is the main focus of the traditional approach (Locher 2012: 52). Actually, the discursive approach to politeness focuses on both the speaker and the hearer/addressee due to the fact that both are necessarily involved in judging and assessing the interpersonal effects of the language usage according to their shared norms. These judgments occur on the side of the speaker when choosing a linguistic strategy for a particular effect, and on the side of the addressee when making a judgment about this effect (ibid.).

The alteration first began when Watts et al. (1992) questioned the abstract and the universal concept of politeness that was adopted by Brown & Levinson‘s model. At that point, Watts et al. (1992) argued for clear distinctions to be drawn between the folk and commonsense notions about politeness, or ―first-order politeness", and the technical term used in scholarly research about politeness, or ―second-order politeness". Eelen (2001) termed these politeness1 and politeness2. For Watts et al. (1992), politeness1 is a socio-psychological notion that is used to describe the different ways in which members of a sociocultural group talk about polite language usage, whereas politeness2 is a theoretical, linguistic notion in sociolinguistic theory. Eelen (2001: 109–113) claims that (im)politeness occurs when the hearer evaluates the speaker behaviour more than when the speaker produces the behaviour. This means that evaluation, or what Eelen referred to as ‗the evaluative moment‘, is the most important characteristic of (im)politeness. This moment may involve hearers evaluating speakers, speakers evaluating themselves, or informants evaluating hypothetical speakers or utterances. He also argues that the misconception between politeness1 and politeness 2 leads to the evaluative nature of politeness being ignored in the scientific view, while also obscuring the evaluative moment in the analysis of linguistic politeness (Eelen 2001: 242). This led Watts et al. (1992) and later Eelen (2001) to suggest that terms such as ‗impolite‘, ‗rude‘, ‗polite‘ and ‗polished‘ are actually first order concept (politeness1) (Locher 2012: 43). As a result, they argued that a theory of politeness2

should concern itself with the discursive struggle over politeness1, in other words, over the ways in which (im)polite behaviour is evaluated, challenged and generally commented on by lay people.

Informed by Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) practice-based approach and his notion of habitus', Eelen (2001) critiqued the objective approach to the analysis of linguistic politeness and proposed an approach that integrated the subjective and objective approaches by focusing on social practice (Holmes 2006: 717). According to Eelen (2001), the previous literature of politeness embodies a Parsonian perspective[2] in that it considers individuals to be powerless. For this reason, it argued for the priority of the social over the individual, normative action, social consensus, functional integration and resistance to change" (Eelen 2001: 203). Eelen's proposal to distinguish between politeness1 and politeness2 was developed by Watts (2003: 17) who sought wider understanding that politeness1, whatever terms are used in whatever language to refer to mutually cooperative behaviour, considerateness for others, polished behaviour, etc., is a locus of a social struggle over discursive practices". Both Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003) regard politeness1 as an evaluative social practice. In this view, (im)politeness is not associated with specific linguistic forms or functions, instead depending on the subjective perception of the meaning of such forms and functions (Pizziconi 2006: 682). Watts (2003) claimed that a linguistic behaviour is open to interpretation and should not be seen as either polite or impolite, arguing that it is impossible to evaluate (im)polite behaviour out of the context of real, ongoing verbal interaction" (Watts 2003: 23). Under this paradigm, any decision about what is polite or impolite should focus on the discursive struggle between the interlocutors.

Locher & Watts (2005: 10) suggest that (im)politeness is a relatively small part of relational work, which is the work that individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others. This concept includes both (im)polite and appropriate behaviours. Relational Work Theory' was introduced to (im)politeness research by Watts (1989, 1992) when he distinguished between what he called politic behaviour' and polite behaviour'. Watts

2 This refers to the American sociologist Talcott Parsons. According to Eelen (2001: 188) the previous politeness theories have characteristics of the Parsonian Structural Functionalism framework, although Parsons is never mentioned in these theories.

suggests that, ‚Linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be appropriate to the social constraints of the ongoing interaction, i.e. as non-salient, should be called politic behaviour", whereas, ‚Linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be beyond what is expectable, i.e. salient behaviour, should be called polite or impolite depending on whether the behaviour itself tends towards the negative or positive end of the spectrum of politeness" (Watts 2003: 19). In fact, Watts (1989) claimed that what had previously been dubbed ‚politeness' covered a range of social behaviour far broader than that typically deemed to be ‚polite'. Therefore, he introduced the concept of relational work for his analysis of (im)politeness to explain how certain utterances might be judged as being polite or not, with the intention of providing a broader model of interpersonal interaction. Relational work can be defined as ‚the work invested by individual in the construction, maintenance, reproduction and transformation of interpersonal relationships among those engaged in social practice" (Locher & Watts 2008: 96). This work therefore embraces the entire continuum of verbal behaviour from direct, impolite, rude or aggressive interaction through to polite interaction, encompassing both appropriate and inappropriate forms of social behaviour (Locher 2004: 51). Watts (2003) later introduced his theory of ‚emergent networks', in which he argued that an exchange of utterances is actually an exchange of abstract values, which serves to create social networks in which intra-member links also have values (Watts 2003: 154). He argues that the networks of social links established during ongoing verbal interaction are emergent, as ‚socio-communicative verbal interaction entails the establishment, re-establishment and reproduction of social links between the interactants, which emerge during the interaction" (ibid.).

To conclude, Watts (2003) based his theory of (im)politeness on Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) concept of social practice and his own theory of emergent networks. In addition, his notion of politic behaviour is related to the concept of ‚habitus" in Bourdieu's theory of practice. As a consequence of this, Watts (2003: 161) considered politic behaviour to be unmarked linguistic behaviour that is expected by an individual based on his or her habitus, which has in turn been acquired through their individual experience of social interaction. Hence, politic behaviour is appropriate, but not necessarily polite for this individual; whereas non-politic behaviour is inappropriate and therefore impolite. For instance, in societies where the norm is to use kin terms to address parents and to avoid first names, the use of a kin term to address parents is an appropriate behaviour and politic but not polite. Conversely, the use of first names to address parents is inappropriate behaviour and is non-

politic, and hence becomes impolite. On the other hand, if an honorific term is used instead of a kin term to address parents, then this usage exceeds expectations and hence it is polite behaviour. Accordingly, polite behaviour is behaviour in excess of the individual‘s expectations and goes beyond the politic behaviour limits. However, polite behaviour is evaluative and can be received either positively or negatively, as in irony or aggression. Clearly, this means that (im)politeness is more complex than suggested by any single theory.

2.5.3 (Im)politeness and social norms

Scholars in the discursive approach to (im)politeness took a critical stance on the notion of politeness norms in the traditional theories of politeness. Eelen (2001: 140) claimed that the previous approaches considered the norms to be external concepts that characterize the moral value system of society. In fact, he believed that these scientific theories reflected different aspects of the normativity of politeness1 (commonsense politeness): appropriateness (using the right type of politeness at the right time, in the right speech act), sharedness (a shared knowledge of the rules, norms, etc. between all members of a particular society) and normality (perceiving any behaviour as belonging to the majority of people) (Eelen 2001: 128–138). Finally, he concluded that the acknowledgment of these features in the previous theories and their bias towards polite behaviour resulted in politeness being viewed as the norm in everyday interaction, i.e. suggesting that the majority of people are generally polite (Eelen 2001: 139). This led to the suggestion that norms should be examined as discursive phenomena, i.e., ―social practices" (social behaviours) that have their own ―social effects, purposes and motivations" (Eelen 2001: 236–237). Eelen also argued the necessity of considering the variability of social norms as a fundamental component of a theory of (im)politeness (ibid.). Thus, norms allow the individuals to position themselves in relation to others and in the world in general and at the same time these norms define and form that world to the individuals and others (Eelen 2001: 237).

In the same vein, Agha (2007: 124) argued for the broadening of the conceptualization of social norms rather than their restriction to normative correctness, i.e. the evaluation of correctness and incorrectness. He differentiated between three thresholds of normativity to identify the norms that can be demonstrated by the behaviour of the social actors. First, norms can be identified as norms of behaviour, i.e., externally observable patterns of behaviour (ibid.). He argued that any noticeable correlation between two or more variables in people‘s behaviour (people X do/say Y) could form a social norm such as the

statistical norm of frequency distribution in some order of behaviour (Agha 2007: 124, 126). Second, norms can be recognized as a normalized model of behaviour, i.e., a reflexive model of behaviour that is recognized as being ‗normal' or ‗typical' by at least some actors, meaning that it is a norm for them (Agha 2007: 126). The reflexive model is shaped by two social groups: the actors who exhibit the pattern of behaviour and the evaluators who recognize this pattern as a normal; neither group needs to be in accord with each other (ibid.). Consequently, in any population, not all of the members recognize that the same norm relates to a particular social rank of actors. Therefore, Agha (2007: 125) argues that competing models of norms co-exist internally in society, adding that the recognition of these differences may result in differentiation of a social group into sub-groups. Finally, the norms can be identified as normative standards, i.e., norms codified as standards (Agha 2007: 126). The norms that are recognized as normal for a certain group of actors can be normalized and linked to standards of appropriateness and correctness (Agha 2007: 125–126).

The breach of a normative standard results in sanctions, which may take different forms, including social exclusion, disapprobation, or even ridicule (ibid.). Conversely, most of the externally observable statistical norms are not noticed by the actors who display this pattern in their behaviour (Agha 2007: 124). Hence, the deviation from the statistical norms is unremarkable for the actors who created the pattern, unless it is linked to a normalized pattern (reflexive model) and is viewed as normal by at least some of the social actors group (Agha 2007: 126). The deviation from the normalized pattern is noticeable for those who recognized this pattern as a norm because it opposes their criterion of what to expect (ibid.).

This study attempts to identify the norms of Najdi address terms usage through the investigation of empirical (statistical) evidence from the external observable patterns of Najdi addressing behaviour. It addresses Agha's first level of normativity, e.g. that ―norms can be identified as norms of behaviour, i.e., externally observable patterns of behaviour" (Agha, 2007: 124). Through identification of the statistical norms, it should be possible to demonstrate the ways in which the competing norms that co-exist internally in Najdi society divide the society into different sub-groups.

2.6 Discursive and indexical approaches to terms of address

2.6.1 Terms of address as politic rather than polite forms

Brown & Levinson (1987: 45) claim that address terms are linguistic realisations of intimate and non-intimate interpersonal relations, and as such they are fundamentally dependent on the underlying configurations of social distance and dominance. The address terms that are categorized as non-intimate could be considered as polite terms (ibid.).After that , Watts (2003: 21) defines ‗politeness' as any behaviour that exceeds usual expectations and is appropriate in a social interaction, arguing that this may minimize the strength of the link between the (im)politeness connotation and terms of address. This is supported by his claim that the choice of one correct address term over another is dependent on how the participants in the interaction interpret the social distance and dominance relations for the term of the social activity in which they are engaged, as well as for the types of speech events they produce (Watts 1992: 68). Unlike Brown & Levinson, Watts does not consider terms of address to be examples of linguistic politeness; he argues that they are politic forms unless they transcend their normative usage as socio-culturally constrained forms of politic behaviour (Watts 1992: 51–52). The normative usage is measured against a shared common set of cultural expectations, with respect to the terms of address use, which marks the usage as being either socio-culturally appropriate or not-appropriate. It is worth noting that while many users may uphold similar norms of certain address term usage, some may still have variable evaluations of this usage. According to Agha (2007: 125), there are competing models of patterns of behaviours that are evaluated by a population of users as being ‗normal' (appropriate) which co-exist society-internally, resulting in differentiating groups into sub-groups. The notion of ‗norms' and their specific relevance to this study was covered in the previous section.

Watts (1992: 61) argues that determining what constitutes appropriate and hence politic behaviour requires detailed study into the underlying socio-cultural factors, examining the conditions in which certain address terms may be more appropriate than others in a given socio-cultural setting. When using or receiving terms of address, we should not think about (im)politeness as the first interpretation of the usage of the address term. Instead, one should look for the socio-cultural factors that can make the politic interpretation plausible.

2.6.2 Terms of address and their social meaning

In the same vein, Agha (2007: 38–39) proposes that address term usage is a stereotypically social use of language, which is fundamentally dependent on ‒widely shared ideological models of language use that ascribe a specific social significance to patterns of deictic usage". This can be seen in groups of users typically sharing knowledge of the stereotypic effect of the address terms they use. Depending on this mutual understanding, the users are then able to judge the occurrence of an address term with other co-textual signs in order to form a certain text configuration in a given context. In fact, users will judge the relation between the address term token and the text in which it occurs, giving the usage of the address terms either appropriate or tropic significance. Furthermore, terms of address, as deictic utterances lead to the creation of reflexive models of interpersonal communication, providing information such as who the referents are, how they relate to the interlocutors, or how the interlocutors are linked to one another. This means that their occurrence in a given utterance will make its precise denotation more dependent on interactional or contextual variables such as speaker-of-, addressee-of-, location-of- and time-of-utterance, which may change as speech and interaction develop (Agha 2007: 39). Essentially, Agha rejected two implicit assumptions in the literature of ‗registers of person deixis': firstly, the notion that certain deictic terms, such as address terms, may have ‒an inherent social meaning that is invariant for all speakers"; and secondly, the notion that the formations of the register ‒econstitute closed, internally structured systems of the language, e.g., an address system, to which all language users are oriented" (Agha 2007: 278–279).

Like all deixis, the usage of a term of address invariably typifies a kind of socially internal stereotypic indexical, which indexes certain social relations between the speaker and the addressee (such as intimacy/deference). It also indexes a distinctive category of speaker behaviour; this represents the norms of usage and the social differences among the users (e.g. female/male, refined/vulgar, upper/lower class) (Agha 2007: 280). However, it has been claimed that these effects are not inherent social meanings of the address terms, instead reflecting ‒reflexive models having specific social domains of evaluators as their provenance" (Agha 2007: 283). This means that the stereotypes of indexicality are local-specific models of behaviour and should not be used as a comparative framework for the study of all societies or to provide factual statements about a given society (ibid.). Using their classic framework of pronouns to illustrate this, Agha argues that Brown and Gilman (1960) actually investigated stereotypes of indexicality. However, they reported these

stereotypes of indexicality as invariable default effects –mediated by the inherent _semantics‘ of pronouns (conceptualised as coding relationships between pronoun lexemes and social effects)” (Agha 2007: 283).

In conclusion, Agha maintains that although terms of address do not possess any inherently (im)polite meaning, they could stereotypically index politeness in certain conditions that are determined by specific interactional variables and co-occurring signs. This view supports the argument of Watts (2005: 58–61) that address term usage could be realisations of politic behaviour rather than polite behaviour. This study investigates the normativity of Najdi address terms use that are assumed to depends on the characteristics of speakers and the co-occurring signs, i.e., the addressee characteristics, the relationship between the speaker and the addressee and the setting. Thus, what is normative within groups of Najdi speakers and hence appropriate for certain members may not be so for others. Moreover, what could index deference for certain group members in certain interaction may index intimacy in other interactions.

2.6.3 The concepts of ‘kinship system’ and ‘kinship behaviour’

Kinship terms are terms for blood relations. Therefore, when a kinship term is used to address a stranger, this is a fictive use of a kinship term or what Agha (2007) calls a _metaphoric usage‘ of a kinship term. In fact, Agha (2007) distinguishes between what he calls _metaphoric kinship‘ and what is known as _fictive kinship‘ with a preference of the former. Metaphoric kinship use refers to a situation in which unrelated interlocutors (non-kin) are performatively related to each other through the use of kin terms. This means that metaphoric kinship is fictive kinship among non-kin, while the occurrence of fictive kinship among individuals who are kin is either _address inversion‘ or _origo re-centring‘, which will be discussed in the next section. Accordingly, Agha (2007: 347) argues that –any code-based view of kin terms runs into difficulties with indexically creative uses of language, the capacity of certain genres of language use performatively to create kin relations among persons”.

Agha (2007: 343) believes that kinship terms do not inherently index the interlocutors in a speech event and so do not index social relations. In other words, they are not deictic expressions. Kinship terms are common nouns and their usage is a discursive act that formulates a sketch of social relations based on the kin term used or uttered. However, these kinds of terms can deictically refer to an addressee by the co-occurring indexical cues.

That is to say, the text pattern in which the kin term occurs as segment can index a reference to an addressee (Agha 2007: 351). In fact, the kin term token is usually embedded into a larger text that comprises both linguistic and non-linguistic indices. This means that an act of referring to an addressee is conveyed by the occurrence of co-occurring indexical signs (linguistic and non-linguistic indices). The lexical meaning of a kin term can be relevant to interpretations of the social relationship between the interlocutors only when the kin term denotation (referent) is referentially anchored to a social dyad identified by co-occurring indexical signs (Agha 2007: 351–352). However, as pointed out by Agha (2007: 352) the act of kin term reference involves the use of kin terms and two semiotic activities: a denotational sketch and an interactional sketch of the referent. The referential effect of the kin term usage generally involves a certain type of alignment of the denotational and the interactional variables. In Agha's terminology, the denoted kin in any kinship behaviour is the „referent", and what is traditionally called „ego" in kinship studies is the „origo". The result of this is that „a kin term has the semantic structure KIN (x, y), where the x is the origo of reckoning and y is the referent, viz., KIN (x_{origo}, $y_{referent}$)" (Agha 2007: 351). For example, in the case of using a kin term to address a referent (vocative), there is an explicit alignment of the denotational and interactional variables where the addressee is the referent and the speaker normally is the origo: KIN (speaker$_{origo}$, addressee$_{referent}$) (ibid.). However, using a kin term in context indexes what Agha (2007: 353) calls „an emergent model of role inhabitance". This means signifying who is speaking and to whom, as well as illuminating the type of social relations between the individuals in the speaker and the addressee roles, which is clearly understood by these individuals.

This led Agha (2007) to argue for moving from the traditional concept of „kinship system" to „kinship behaviour". The rationale for this is that the previous literature reduced the notion of kinship to only the biological and the genealogical relations characteristics of the individuals, which failed to explain highly principled and cross-culturally common forms of kinship behaviour such as the tropic use of kinship terms (Agha 2007: 341). In this critique of the concept of kinship systems, Agha (2007: 342) claims that the traditional view of the kinship system was unstable due to the assumption that a particular set of lexemes (kinship terms) exists in all human languages. Traditional models also assume that these kinship terms benefit from certain regularities in structure and use that can explain the diverse regularities of human behaviours. According to Agha, the range of kinship relations is considerably larger than the traditional biological and genealogical view recognised by

the kinship system concept. Hence, the kinship system view implicitly excludes the tropic use of kinship terms as the kinship terms in this context are used to express fictive kinship relations that contradict the genealogical one. Accordingly, he suggests studying kinship relations through a focus on how these relations are performed and construed via the behaviours of individuals, or what he calls ‗kinship behaviour' which describes ―the behaviours performed through the use of kin terms or behaviours construed through the use of kin terms" (Agha 2007: 344). While both types of kinship behaviours involve the usage of kin terms, they are very different. A classic example of the first type is when the kin terms occur as an utterance. In this case, ―the use of a kin term is a discursive act that formulates a sketch of social relations that depends on the utterance". The second type of behaviour occurs in the cultural practices that ―metasemiotically" construe acts that are performed to establish kinship relations (ibid.). A kinship behaviour of this type could be non-linguistic, such as gift giving or inheritance patterns, though these behaviours acquire kinship status from being construed through discourses of kinship (ibid.). The first type of kinship behaviour is the one under discussion in this research.

2.6.4 Tropic use of kinship terms and the normalisation of tropes

Tropic kin term use involves the act of using a kin term to implement a social relationship that is non-congruent with the actual social relation that exists between the participants. These tropes can nonetheless be normalised, becoming to certain contexts and even iteratively be troped upon by those who are familiar with them. This normalisation of tropes and the trope upon these norms reveals how kin terms mark social relations in highly principled ways in social life, a view that, as noted above, is obscured by the concept of a ‗kinship system' (Agha 2007: 343).

In the tropic use of kin terms, although the act of kin term reference is indexically denoting the ‗wrong' referent, it is successful and effective from an interactional perspective. For example, Najdis use the kin term *ʕammī* (paternal uncle) to address one's father-in-law. Despite the kin term denoting the wrong person, the use of the kin term *ʕammī* enhances the social interaction and creates a deferential relationship between family members. Najdi speakers use *ʕammī* to enact interpersonal tropes that indexically reconstruct features of the social occasion of speaking (treating affines as blood-kin) which forms a space of analogies between contextually presupposed and discursively involved figures, making this use interactionally successful and appropriate. Furthermore, Agha (2007: 353, 357) noted that

denotationally anomalous kin term reference patterns could be culturally valuable because they implement interactional tropes of voicing. This means that they are acts that formulate reference to individuals from the standpoint of someone else rather than the speaker, which has the effect of generating interpersonal alignments with variant sociological effects of their own. Therefore, such tropes could even be prescribed under certain interactional circumstances and become what Agha termed ‗normalised tropes'. Agha (2007) highlights that the tropic use of kin terms may generate a specialised register of politeness in certain languages. For instance, in the tropic use of the kin term *ʕammī* in Najdi, the kin term is non-congruent with the contextual social relation and so forms a text-pattern that applies a denotationally incorrect reference—the kin term *ʕammī* to address one's father-in-law—which is then reflexively reanalysed as stereotypically polite and interactionally appropriate under certain conditions (specifically, when the addressee is the speaker's father-in-law, an elder male affine). Thus, when Najdi speakers are aware that more than one model of deference to others exists internally within their society, they will generally apply a comparison between the different models and then choose the model with higher-order indexicals regarding speaker type. This has the effect of creating differential emblems of the speaker's character, persona or social position (gender, class, age, etc.). Agha also suggests that it is necessary to clearly understand the role of metapragmatic standards and ideologies when shaping or defining the norms of correct usage (Agha 2007: 349).

According to Agha, the phenomenon known in address terms studies as ‗address inversion' is a common type of transposed reference act. This makes address inversion a very common type of interactional trope that could be enacted through many kinds of utterance. In fact, Agha (2007: 359) calls this the ‗transposition of origo' because the speaker employs an address term referring to the self, which they would normally use in referring to the speaker. In the address inversion or ‗transposition of origo', the act of reference inverts the origo of the referential reckoning regarding the interactional frame (Agha 2007: 359). For example, in English, when a mother says to her child, "Mommy told you not to do that", the utterance means, ‗I already told you not to do that'. In this context, Agha (2007: 354) explains that the semantic structure of the kin term *Mommy* is: KIN (addressee$_{origo}$, speaker$_{referent}$) because the origo is the child addressed and the referent is the mother (speaker). Agha (2007: 360–365) gives other examples of transposition with kin terms, which he expresses as the trope of ‗re-centring of the origo'. In this case, the referent is the addressee, but the use of a kin term transposes the origo from the speaker to a

culturally appropriate zero point, which is normally not a speech participant. Agha illustrates this with the case of Bengali, when a husband addresses his wife‘s relatives using the kin term she normally uses to address them: the husband uses the terms *baba* (father) and *ma* (mother) to address his wife‘s parents, but also employs *dada* (elder brother) and *didi* (elder sister) when addressing his wife‘s elder siblings (Agha 2007: 361) even when they are younger than him. The difference between address inversion (transposition of origo) and re-centred address is that, in the former, the zero point of reckoning is transposed to the addressee and the referent is understood as the speaker, whereas in the latter, the origo of reference is not a speech participant, and hence, the referent is the addressee.

Nearly four decades ago, Yassin (1977) indicated the existence of the address inversion phenomenon in Kuwaiti Arabic, which he referred to as ‗Bi-polarity‘. He defined bi-polarity as ―the use of the same term to denote both speaker and addressee" (Yassin 1977: 297). Yassin identified three types of what he called ‗bi-polar terms‘ in Kuwaiti Arabic (ibid.). The first type was the use of a kin term to designate a senior speaker addressing a junior addressee with affection. He illustrated this type with the use of the kin term *yuba* (father) by a Kuwaiti father to address his son or his daughter (ibid.). In fact this type of the bi-polar term precisely fits the idea of address inversion that Agha called the transposition of origo, as the semantic structure of the kin term in this type is ($\text{addresse}_{\text{origo}}$, $\text{speaker}_{\text{referent}}$).

The second type as noted by Yassin (1977: 298–299) is usually used with two Kuwaiti kin terms: *ʔab* (father) and *ʔax* (brother) and is commonly utilised in communication between relatives or close acquaintances as a way to express endearment, give advice or deliver a mild rebuke. This type is characterized by the following pattern: the vocative particle *ya* + the kin term + 2nd person pronominal suffix hence, when the kin term *ʔax* (brother) is used, the bi-polar term will be: *ya-xūk* (O, your (masc. sg.) brother), *ya-xūč* (O, your (fem. sg.) brother). When the kin term *ʔab* (father) is used, the bi-polar term will be: *ya-būk* (O, your (masc. sg.) father), *ya-būč* (O, your (fem. sg.) father). The kin term *ʔax* (brother) is actualised as /*-xū-*/ and the kin term *ʔab* (father) is actualised as /*-bū-*/ both are a morphophonological implication of the junction with /*ya*/ and /*-k*/ (masc.) or /*-č*/ (fem.). For example:

- *Ismaḥīli ya-xūč* (Excuse me, my sister.)

Polite mode of addressing a female relative or an acquaintance of the speaker‘s age

(Yassin 1977: 299)

Furthermore, when the kin term *ʔax* (brother) is used, it is characterised by indicating a generational peerage. Thus, it is reciprocal: a brother addresses his brother or his sister using *ya-xūk*(*-č*) and receives *ya-xūk* in return (Yassin 1977: 298–299). However, the kin term *ʔab* (father) is used asymmetrically, specifically in a unidirectional manner, as the father or any elder relative assuming the status of father can use *ya-būk* or *ya-būč* to address a younger male/female, but the younger addressee cannot use it in return (ibid.).

Finally, the third type of bi-polar term is characterized by the use of the joining word *wa* (and) + the personal pronoun *ana* (I) + kin term + 2nd person pronominal suffix, e.g. when the kin term *ʔab* is used the bi-polar term will be: *wa-na-būk* (And I'm your father (masc.)) and *wa-na-būč* (and I'm your father (fem.)). According to Yassin (1977: 300), this type is used between relatives to express endearment, give advice or mild rebuke and unlike the previous type, it accommodates many Kuwaiti kin terms such as, *ʔab* (father), *ʔum* (mother), *yadd* (grandfather), *yadda* (grandmother), *xāl* (maternal uncle), *xāla* (maternal aunt), etc. and thus it mirrors the kin-relations between Kuwaiti interlocutors adequately.

In conclusion, the transposition of the origo in the second and the third types of Kuwaiti inversions is incomplete, because the semantic structure of the kin term in this type is still ($speaker_{origo}$, $addressee_{referent}$) because the origo is not completely transposed to the addressee as described by Agha. In fact, this third type of bi-polar terms is also very common in Najdi. However, since the semantic structure of the kin term in both of the types of the address inversion is ($speaker_{origo}$, $addressee_{referent}$), this will be referred to as _Quasi address inversion'. Chapter 3, section 3.3.3 will provide a detailed discussion of the phenomenon of Najdi quasi address inversion, which will be presented in the context of Yassin's (1977) description of this type of Kuwaiti bi-polar term.

Chapter 3 Najd: Features of Dialect and Culture

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of the Najdi dialect and its speakers in terms of the geographical distribution of the dialect and its users (section 3.2). Section 3.3 then provides an overview of certain salient aspects of the general cultural values and the social life of Saudi Arabia, of which Riyadh (Najd) is a part. Through the discussion of Saudi society and culture, the rationale will be provided for the choice of the specific interactional variables that are examined in this study: gender, age, spoken variation and socio-economic class. Finally, an attempt will be made to define the honorific repertoire of the Najdi dialect, in light of the framework of honorifics proposed by Agha (section 3.4).

3.2 Najdi dialect: its speakers and varieties

Saudi Arabia occupies approximately 80% of the Arabian Peninsula. Traditionally, the country is divided into four main regions: Najd, Al-Hijaz, Asir and Alhasa. From an administrative perspective, it is divided into five main provinces: the central province (Najd), the western province (Al-Hijaz), the eastern province (Alhasa), the southern province (Asir) and the northern province (Tabouk)[3] (AlMunajjed 1997: 1). The capital city is Riyadh, which is situated in the central province (Najd). It is the central province of Najd and its dialect, Najdi, which comprise the focus of this study (see Chapter 1, section 1.2).

Geographically, the Najd region, which is the central zone of the Arabian Peninsula, is bounded by Al-Hijaz on the west, Yemen and Oman on the south, the Gulf States on the east, and Iraq and Jordan to the north (Prochazka 1988: 7). Ingham (1994) identifies two broad occupational groups in Najd: the Bedouin, who raise flocks of sheep and camels, and the settler, who work in agriculture, though these are broadly regarded as a single population. Among this homogenous population, Ingham distinguished a group of homogenous dialects that he referred to as Najdi dialects:

3 Some scholars in previous literature referred to this region as Shammar because of its inhabitants, the Shammar tribe.

1. The speech of the sedentary population of the areas of Central Najd
2. The speech of the main bedouin tribes of those areas
3. The speech of the emigre bedouin tribes of the Syrian Desert and the Jazirah of Iraq."

(Ingham, 1994: 4)

These dialects were grouped as Najdi dialects because they share definable features that distinguish them from the other surrounding dialects (Ingham, 1994: 5). These dialects were further divided into sub-groups, based on morphological differences: Central Najd dialect, Northern Najd dialect and Southern Najd dialect (Ingham 1994: Xii). The focus of this thesis is on the central Najd dialect, which is spoken in Riyadh city and surrounding towns.

Najdi society consists of two groups: the nomads *badw* and the sedentary settlers *ḥaḍar* (Al-Semmari 2010: 58). Remarkably, the speakers within some Saudi dialects such as Hijazi and Najdi divide their spoken dialect into two variations: a settlers' variation and a nomads' variation. As a native speaker of the Najdi dialect, I can attest to this linguistic difference, though none of the studies about the Najdi dialect that I consulted referred to this variance. In fact, the difference is primarily in terms of vocabulary, and I believe that this explains the absence of any reference to this variance, since nearly all the existing studies of Najdi dialect have exclusively focused on its morphology, phonology and syntax. As seen above, while Ingham (1994) acknowledged the existence of the two groups he dealt with them as one population and classified Najdi dialects based purely on morphological differences. However, Zuhur (2011) referred to the existence of the two variations (nomads and settlers) in her discussion of the language in Saudi Arabia, commenting as follows:

> *"The bedouin dialects of the Hijaz, Najd, and Asir, and the related sedentary (town dwellers') dialects of Najd and Asir, are the closest to the classical Arabic of the Qur'an. This is not true of the city dialects (Jeddawi and Makkawi) in the Hijaz. This is explained by reasoning that the former have had less contact with languages like Turkish and Persian as compared to Iraq or other Arab areas, whereas the Hijazi cities have been decidedly influenced by Egypt and the many pilgrims who have settled in these areas. The dialects of Najd and Asir certainly retained grammatical features of* [fuṣha]*, although the word endings (nunation) are omitted in oral form, and in Najdi Arabic, the consonant ,qaf" is pronounced as a hard ,,g'sound (as in garden)."* (Zuhur, 2011: 247)

For that reason, in this research, the spoken variation of participants has been included in the interactional variables being considered. As a native speaker of Najdi, I hypothesise that Najdi nomads and Najdi settlers have different addressing behaviour as a

result of the different vocabularies they possess. Interestingly, the participants in the questionnaire showed an awareness of this difference and classified their spoken variation into these two variations by answering the related question in the questionnaire without hesitation.

3.3 Overview of the social structure and cultural values of Saudi/Najdi society: the roles of gender, age and social class

The social life of Najd cannot be studied without a consideration of the wider context of social life in Saudi Arabia in general. In her ethnographical study about Saudi Arabia, Zuhur (2011: 256) notes that etiquette in Saudi Arabia is inextricably linked with religion and culture. In fact, what she termed ‗etiquette' refers to the relational work as conceptualized by Watts and as it is used in this study. Indeed, social relations in Saudi Arabia are affected by Islamic rules and regulations that dictate the social norms of society against which the appropriateness of any social behaviour is measured.

In Saudi Arabia, the Islamic virtues of modesty and chastity are observed, and therefore, men normally do not converse directly with women who are not their relatives, nor do they socialise with them and vice versa (Zuhur 2011: 218). Gender segregation is a very real and prominent issue in Saudi social life for both religious and cultural reasons, and is the cultural norm in domestic locations, such as family gatherings and weddings. It is also a law in public places, such as schools, banks, or on public transportation (AlMunajjed 1997: 33). In social gatherings, whether formal or informal, men are expected to gather solely with men, while the women are expected to gather in a separate place to guarantee their privacy (Zuhur 2011: 256, 257). However, this segregation does not imply isolation for women; Saudi women are active social actors, who play important roles in society. To ensure their privacy in public life, women are ordered by religion, society and law to wear a veil outside the home or in the presence of non-kinsmen, even if they are family members, such as a first cousin (paternal or maternal) (AlMunajjed 1997: 53). As AlMunajjed (1997) explains, the veil for Saudi women is linked to elements of chastity, purity and decency; it is a symbol of social distance from unrelated men (ibid.). Thus, it is the norm in Saudi Arabia for women to maintain a high degree of social distance when communicating with non-kinsmen.

Gender segregation does not imply segregation in rights or duties. Both men and women gain status according to their age, as a main value in Saudi society is general

deference to one's seniors; however, it is a religious requirement to give deference to parents (Zuhur 2011: 256–257). Parents must be respected and not opposed in order to gain their *riḍa* (parental contentment) and avoid their anger *ɣaḍab* (Altorki 1986: 73–74). Family maintains a very high priority in Saudi society and it is the norm to respect elder family members such as parents, grandparents, elder siblings and parents-in-law (Zuhur 2011: 207). Furthermore, fathers normally have the highest status in the family and so are entitled to approve or reject the decisions and choices made by their children in their life issues, including education and marriage (ibid.). The older brother and sister have a similar status to the parents, and so the norm is not to mistreat the elder siblings (Altorki 1986: 73–74). Generally, it is the norm in Saudi society that older people should take precedence over younger people, even if the latter have higher status (Zuhur 2011: 257). For example, in any social gathering, whether it is formal or not, the first greeting should be given to the eldest person, and food and drink should be served to them first (ibid.).

The social system in Saudi Arabia is related to different types of ideologies and beliefs, for instance, religious ideologies, tribal laws and local traditions (AlMunajjed 1997: 103). The social hierarchy is very important in Saudi society. The royal family and tribal groups are situated at the top of this hierarchy, after which come the intellectual elite and merchants, and with non-tribal and expatriate workers at the bottom. Therefore, if a prince or a princess of the royal family or a tribal leader or his wife/daughter is present in any social event, the age priority may be overlooked; however, it is not unusual for the royal person or the tribal leader to choose to defer to their elders (ibid.). Saudi society has a special structure, with the differences in social status being primarily based on geographic origins, being related to a tribal/non-tribal or sedentary/non-sedentary background, occupation, having an ancestor who was a slave compared to having non-slave ancestors, wealth (or poverty), and gender (Zuhur 2011: 199–200). This explains the rationale for the inclusion of social class in the variables to be investigated in this study. However, the social class variable has been restricted to the economic social class view because the duration of this research did not allow comprehensive investigation and discussion of social class in this broad view (the geographic origin and background).

3.3.1 Greetings and social gatherings and the role of age and gender

It is the norm in Saudi Arabia to start any serious business or social matter with greetings, followed by brief conversation that includes polite inquiries about personal and

family health. This also reflects one of the main Islamic principles in Saudi society. The standard Islamic greeting is *Assalāmu ʕalaykum* (may peace be upon you), and the response should be the same, or with an addition to show a greater degree of courtesy. Hence, it should be either in the short form *Wa ʕalaykum assalām* or in the full form *Wa ʕalaykum assalām wa raḥmatu Allāh wa barakātuh* (May the peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you). The main characteristic of this greeting is that it can be used for many purposes, including ‗hello', ‗good-bye' or even ‗good night' (cf. Ellabban 1993) because its use is considered a good deed in Islam. There are other greetings such as *Marḥaba* and *Ahlan wa sahlan* (welcome), while the usual response is *Ahlayn* or *Marḥabtayn*, which means double *Ahlan* and double *Marḥaba*. Saudi males and females prefer to greet each other, close friends and even foreigners, with kisses. In this case, the norm is to start with one kiss on the right cheek and several kisses on the left cheek. However, the pattern of kissing is different with parents and older male and female family members, or with social superiors in general. In these cases the kissing pattern should be one kiss on the nose followed by another one on the forehead (Zuhur 2011: 259, 260). For example, men normally use the nose kissing pattern with their tribal leader, princes or king. Therefore, this pattern of kissing is a salient index of respect and courtesy in Saudi society, while the cheek-kissing pattern indexes intimacy unless it is followed by nose and forehead kisses. Due to the aforementioned prohibitions, kissing is not allowed to be directed toward the other sex except for those who are consanguineous, i.e. mothers, sisters, daughters and aunts for men and fathers, brothers, sons and uncles for women. However, a handshake may be substituted for kissing with the affines, i.e. cousins and uncles' wives and aunts' husbands. Parents-in-law have a different status from other affines, being instead treated as consanguineous; Saudi men and women should respect their parents-in-law just as they do their parents. Hence, they should adhere to the nose-and-forehead kissing pattern with their parents-in-law. It is also considered an Islamic virtue for a couple to treat their parents-in-law as their parents, and it is allowed for the couple to perform the kissing with their parents-in-law even if the couple divorces.

Normally, Saudi men gather socially in what is called in Saudi, a *majlis*, which is the name for the place where men go for business, social or even political events (Zuhur 2011: 259). A *majlis* could be a room in an ordinary house or a hall in a royal palace. Every house in Saudi has a *majlis*, and sometimes, large houses can have *majālis* (plural of *majlis*): one for informal gatherings and one for formal guests. The difference between these is mainly the size and, sometimes, the level of decoration and furniture. Attending a *majlis*, whether it

is an ordinary person‘s, important person‘s, prince‘s or even king‘s, mandates the observation of certain norms by men. Generally, guests should not depart the *majlis* too early or before the meal is served for dinner or lunch gatherings; and at the time of the meal, other guests should not leave the meal *sufra* (circular mat) before the main guest does, even if they finished earlier. Social hierarchy and age matter in this occasion. Greetings and coffee, which are part of the greeting ritual in Saudi Arabia, should be offered first to those who are at the top of the hierarchy unless they defer it to those who are older. Amongst those persons at the same level of a hierarchy, e.g. princes, ministers or tribal leaders, age determines superiority. In these gatherings, the pattern of kissing is also determined by social hierarchy and age. As mentioned above, the nose and forehead kissing pattern is employed with superiors and elders, while the cheek-kissing pattern is directed to others. However, kissing the right shoulder and the hand are other patterns of kissing observed in Saudi Arabia; they are normally formal ways of greeting the king or the crown prince and very high-status superiors. However, the king and even other superiors normally do not agree to accept hand kissing as they believe it may humiliate others; they allow only their younger family members to kiss their hands because, in this case, it indexes sincere respect from the younger members.

To conclude, gender and age play significant roles in Saudi society. It is apparent from the above discussion that gender and age are discriminating factors among different social practices in Saudi society. For this reason, the variables of the age and the gender of the speaker (participant) and the addressee (target person) are considered in this study.

3.3.2 Teknonymy and titles usage in Saudi Arabia

In Saudi Arabia, married couples are normally addressed by the name of their firstborn son or their firstborn daughter until a son is born, which is called ‗Teknonymy‘ in linguistics. In Arabic, this is called *kunya*. Teknonymy is normally *"*the practice of addressing an adult not by his or her name, but by the name of a child, adding the relationship between the child and the adult" (Lee & Harvey 1973: 38). For example, a man named *ʕabdallah* would be called *Ubu Fayṣal* (father of Faisal) and his wife, *Um Fayṣal* (mother of Faisal). This is because the birth of a son endows a higher status on both the man and the woman in their family (Zuhur 2011: 259). Lee and Harvey (1973: 38) regard the use of teknonyms and the avoidance of first names in Korean when addressing younger siblings after marriage as an expression of respect. However, they claim that the usage of teknonyms

among cousins and spouses is used to foster a sense of solidarity rather than deference. Teknonyms are extremely prevalent in the Najdi dialect and in Saudi Arabia in general, with the prevalence of teknonymy over first name usage potentially being due to cultural and pragmatic factors as in Lee and Harvey's study (1973). In the Najdi dialect, a speaker should avoid using personal names with non-relatives from the opposite gender, though it is important to avoid ambiguity in personal identification in any interaction. The use of a teknonym can resolve this potential problem.

Saudis normally introduce themselves using their first name followed by *ʔebn* (son of) or *bent* (daughter of) then the father's name, which is sometimes followed by the grandfather's first name as a last name. The last name could also potentially indicate a place of origin or tribe (Zuhur 2011: 261). In reference to people, the same system is followed by Saudis; however, when addressing people, titles equivalent to *Mr* in English are preferred. Examples are *Duktūr* (Doctor) for medical doctors or PhD holders, *Ustāð* (teacher) for educated people and teachers, etc. Likewise, it is the norm that members of the royal family and other government officials should introduce themselves by their first name and father's name, yet they should be addressed in a different way. Members of the royal family are normally addressed by means of the titles *Ṣāḥib assumū ʔalmalaki* (Your Royal Highness) or *Ṣāḥib assumū* (Your Highness) for those directly descended from the king and through the use of *Alʔamīr* (Prince) followed by first name when addressing other royals. It is normal to address other government officials with titles such as *maʕālī* (Excellency) (Zuhur 2011: 261). For tribal leaders, it is the norm to use *Alʔamīr* (prince), even if they are not from the royal family. It is also the norm to use the title *Aʃʃaix* followed by a first name to address tribal leaders and merchants. Literally, this title means ‗old man'; however, it is used because of its connotation of wisdom. Therefore, this title is also used to address religious people, or *ʕulama* (clerics).

3.3.3 Quasi address inversion in Najdi

In section 2.6.4, a discussion was provided of address inversion, or ―transposition of origo to addressee" (Agha 2007) as an example of tropes in kin terms usage. Address inversion was explained as a type of transposed reference that involves complete transposition of the origo from the speaker to the addressee, meaning that the semantic structure of the kin term is: KIN (addressee$_{origo}$, speaker$_{referent}$) (Agha 2007: 354). The discussion also touched upon the work of Yassin (1977) in this field in Kuwaiti Arabic (bi-

polarity). The three types of bi-polar usage terms in Kuwaiti Arabic were presented in the discussion, the third of which is the most common in Najdi dialect. However, since the semantic structure of the kin term in this type is still: KIN (speaker$_{origo}$, addressee$_{referent}$), this study describes this phenomenon as ‗quasi address inversion'.

The following section will present the quasi address inversion in the Najdi dialect in the view of Yassin's (1977) discussion about the characteristics of the third type of Kuwaiti bi-polar terms. It is worth noting that, like Kuwaiti Arabic, the masculine second person pronominal suffix in Najdi is *-k*, however the feminine second person in Najdi is *-ts* rather than the Kuwaiti *-č*.

Yassin (1977: 299–300) notes that the bi-polar term *wa-na-xū:k* (*-č*) has some main characteristics in Kuwaiti Arabic. First, it can be used with many Kuwaiti kin terms such as, *ʔax* (brother), *ext* (sister), *ʔab* (father), *ʔum* (mother), *yadd* (grandfather), *yadda* (grandmother), *xāl* (maternal uncle), *xāla* (maternal aunt), etc. For example:

1. */wa+ana+ext+-k/* ➡ */wa-na-xtik/* (and I am your (masc.) sister)
2. */wa+ana+ext+-*č / ➡ */wa-na-xtč/* (and I am your (fem.) sister) (Yassin 1977: 299)

Second, this type is stylistically informal, as it is used between relatives and close acquaintances to express intimacy and affection. Finally, this type is reciprocal between male and female peers when *ʔax* (brother) or *ext* (sister) are used, but not when the other senior kin terms are used. Therefore, this type of bi-polar term more adequately reflects kin relationships between interlocutors (Yassin 1977: 301).

The case is similar in Najdi, with some important differences in the feminine second-person pronominal suffix. The quasi address inversion */wa-na-xūk(-ts)/* is also characteristic of peers addressing each other and so is reciprocal and symmetrical. Therefore, a junior addressing a senior would not use this type. However, a senior addressing a junior would use the same pattern but with a senior kin term that is relevant to the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. This will therefore consist of the joining word /*wa*/ ‗and' + the personal pronoun /*ana*/ 'I' + one of the kin terms, (*ʔbu*, *ʔum*, *xāl*…, etc.) + 2nd-person pronominal suffix /*-k*/ (masc.) or /*-ts*/ (fem.). This means that there are */wa-na-būk*(*-ts*)*/* (and I am your father (masc./fem.)), */wa-na-ummuk*(*-ts*)*/* (and I am your mother (masc./fem.)) and */wa-na-xālek*(*-ts*)*/* (and I am your maternal uncle (masc./fem.), and so on. It is important

to note that the address exchange in this context will be nonreciprocal and asymmetrical. Hence, in Najdi, similar to Kuwaiti Arabic, the main difference between the ego generation inversion and senior kin terms inversion is that the former is reciprocal and the latter is nonreciprocal.

To conclude, the quasi address inversion */wa-na-xūk(-ts)/* in Najdi, like its Kuwaiti counterpart, effectively reflects kin relationships between interlocutors. Furthermore, the quasi address inversion in Najdi is typically accommodated in a larger addressing context and, as such, it is usually preceded by first names or nicknames that function as the vocative. However, it should be noted that the occurrence of the quasi address inversion may index affection and may also be used by seniors to express advice to the juniors.

3.4 Honorific repertoire in the Najdi dialect

To the best of my knowledge, no previous literature exists on Najdi honorifics and as a native speaker of the Najdi dialect, I will attempt to present an overview of the honorific system in the Najdi dialect based on the ‗native speaker intuition'. This intuition will be demonstrated through the data analysis in Chapters 5 and 6. However, the theoretical framework upon which Najdi honorifics will be defined and analysed will first be presented.

3.4.1 Defining the Najdi honorific repertoire: theoretical considerations

According to Agha (2007: 302), the stereotypic effects of any linguistic form, honorific or not, are dependent on the text-level indexicality (co-occurring signs). These signs can either cancel the stereotypical honorific effect from an honorific form or can add such an effect to a stereotypically non-honorific form. In other words, the construal of any act as being truly respectful without using stereotypically honorific forms or not being respectful in spite of the use of stereotypically honorific forms (ironic) depends on and is motivated by the emergent sign-configurations. In fact, the construal of this act is a description of the indexical values of the linguistic expressions used in this act. However, Agha (2007: 305) notes that outlining the allied indexical values of any honorific form requires a core analysis of selected features that accompany the linguistic expression usage. An example of this could be analysing the effects associated with this form (e.g. deference to addressee vs. referent), the replicability of a given typification across social groups of native speakers (i.e. the social domain of the stereotype), or the normative hegemony of a specific type of stereotype judgments. In addition, it is essential to rely on metapragmatic data, i.e. the judgments of native speakers and evaluations that typify certain linguistic

forms as being either honorific or non-honorific, in order to identify an effective and realistic honorific register in any language. Agha adds that should the linguist be a native speaker of the language, such evaluative judgments are available to them in the form of ‗native speaker intuition'. However, these intuitions are data that should be socially located in order to be useful, as with any other type of data.

3.4.2 Overview of Najdi honorifics and their taxonomy

The honorific system in Saudi Arabic in general is lexical as is the case in Standard Arabic (cf. Ellabban 1993). Honorifics manifest in Najdi through the usage of titles, kinship terms, teknonyms, greetings and kissing, polite requests through the use of words like *Law Samaḥt* and *Eða Takarramt* (Please), and God wishes, such as *Ṭāl ʕumrak* and *Allah yeḥyīk* (May God give you long life) or *Allah Yiḥafuḍk* (May God protect you).

According to Levinson (1983: 90), there are two types of social honorifics: relational and absolute. Relational social honorifics depend on the social relationship between the interlocutors, such as the case of the choice between the usage of titles and first names; absolute social honorifics are fixed forms that are typically reserved for authorised speakers and recipients. For example, the title ‗Doctor' requires an authorised recipient who is a PhD holder or a formally trained medical practitioner. Farghal and Shakir (1994) investigated the nature of the relational social honorifics in Jordanian Arabic in terms of power and solidarity dimensions. They focused on the very elaborate Jordanian addressee honorifics (Farghal & Shakir 1994: 242), which they divided into two major groups: kinship terms and titles. They claimed that both groups are used in Jordanian Arabic honorifically to show deference to the addressee. Their study argues that kinship terms and title honorifics involve two types of honorifics according to their function: distant honorifics of addressee and affectionate honorifics of addressee. The distant honorifics are used commonly among strangers in any interaction, e.g. summons, greetings, or requests, to promote solidarity; the affectionate honorifics are used among acquaintances (relatives or friends) to enhance intimacy. The distant kin honorifics were illustrated with the Jordanian common usage of many kin terms, including the usage of *ʔax* (brother), *uxt* (sister), *xāl* (maternal uncle), *xālah* (maternal aunt) and *garābah* (relative) to address strangers. For the affectionate kin honorifics they presented kin terms such as *yammah* (mother), *yābah* (father), *xayyōh* (brother) and *xayyih* (sister) (Farghal & Shakir 1994: 242, 246). For the distant title honorifics they cited many titles, including *ustāð* (teacher), *ḥajj* (male pilgrim) and *ḥajjih*

(female pilgrim). They also mentioned many titles as affectionate titles of address, for example *ḥabībi* (my beloved), *ḥayāti* (my life), and *ḥubbi* (my love) (Farghal & Shakir 1994: 247–248). The authors claimed that the usage of both types of honorifics (distant and affectionate) is restricted by the age and the gender of the interlocutors (Farghal & Shakir 1994: 251). For example, the distant kin term *ʔax* (brother) is used to address young males while *xālah* (maternal aunt) is used to address older females.

Farghal and Shakir (1994) claim that social honorifics in Jordanian Arabic, such as teknonyms e.g. *ʔabu-mḥammad* (father of Mohammed), may have a relational parameter. They argue that this is highly affected by the power and solidarity scale and the interlocutors' adherence to Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle and Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle (Farghal & Shakir 1994: 241). Their argument is reliant upon their awareness that diachronically

> *"Most social honorifics in Jordanian Arabic drift from denotational signification, which involves an absolute parameter, such as kinship terms and titles of address, toward connotational signification, which display relational parameters, such as using kinship terms and titles of address non-denotationally (i.e. exclusively for social purposes)."* (Farghal &Shakir 1994: 242)

They illustrated that,

> *"An interactant may opt out of using an absolute social honorific like „His majesty" when making reference to a king, or he may address a medical doctor by his first name, thus not using the addressee's absolute title of address „Doctor" for the purposes of showing more power, being less polite/ respectful, exhibiting less co-operation, or all of these collectively."* (Farghal &Shakir 1994: 241)

This thesis will focus on the addressee honorific, subscribing to Farghal and Shakir's (1994) taxonomy by arguing that, in the Najdi dialect, kinship terms and teknonyms are the most relational social honorifics used to show deference to the addressee. This is likely attributable to the fact that they are used in Najdi, as in Jordanian Arabic, to maintain and enrich social relationships between both related and unrelated individuals. Moreover, based on the metapragmatic data collected via the interviews, this study aims to present the range of stereotypic values associated with the kinship terms and the teknonyms in Najdi. As Agha (2007: 307) argues, "the honorific registers are models of language use which vary by social domains within the societies in which they exist". He adds that an unjustified preoccupation with the notion of 'sharedness' is responsible for the relative neglect in the

literature of variability in the modelling of honorific registers in different social domains. Therefore, models of honorific registers vary internal to society, yet this variation is not random, as the variants are usually inclined to be fractionally congruent with each other. Two native speakers may both recognise a word in their language; they may both feel it marks deference to the addressee; they may believe that it is occasionally appropriate to use this word rather than another; they may both recognise that using this word is normally emblematic of a particular type of person and may both consider themselves as persons of that type; however, they may also differ from each other in one or more of these beliefs (Agha 2007: 307).

To conclude, the issue of ‗text-level indexicality' is critical in determining the honorific effects of any utterance as a part of a larger text. Thus, the co-occurring signs in any utterance may become congruent with the stereotypic indexical effect of the honorific term and hence emphasize this effect yielding greater effect (politeness) than possible through the isolated term, or may become non-congruent and partly cancel the polite effect of the honorific term (Agha 2007: 308). Therefore, in every language, the use of honorific terms may reflect non-honorific effects, such as irony or veiled aggression, based on the text-level indexicality (Agha 2007: 307). In addition, depending on text-level indexicality, respect can be expressed without using any stereotypically honorific indexicals (Agha 2007: 301). Therefore, this study argues that in the Najdi dialect, kinship terms and teknonyms with other co-textual signs can formulate honorific effects. It can be hypothesized that the use of a kin term is to address an older addressee who is non-kin may reflect respect from the part of the speaker. However, this effect may vanish or be reanalysed as ironic or distance if the terms are used with other co-occurring signs, such as when used to address younger non-kin.

Chapter 4 Research Aims and Questions

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the purpose and research objectives of the present study (section 4.2) in view of the address term definitions and the literature review of address terms studies and (im)politeness presented in the previous chapter. In the last section of this chapter (section 4.3), the research questions will be highlighted and discussed in view of the stated objectives.

4.2 Objectives

This thesis takes a discursive stance, as broadly favoured by literature in this field (Eelen 2001; Watts 2003, 2005; Locher 2004, 2006; Locher & Watts 2005). It aims to show how address term usage can generate different interactional meanings, such as indexing the identities, situational roles and ideological stances of the interlocutors, as well as the ways in which interactional meanings can be linked to meanings that are prototypically associated with (im)politeness: deference and intimacy. The analysis of the Najdi address terms presented herein will draw on Agha‘s (2007) approach of indexicality. I argue that there are no coded relationships between the address terms and (im)politeness, since (im)politeness is not an inherent semantic feature of address terms, but rather assume that it is stereotypically indexed through reflexive models of behaviour that indexically shape the stereotypes of the language users‘ identity and their ideologies regarding their usage of the language (Agha 2007: 283). Thus address terms usage is insufficient to index (im)politeness unless other variables or co-occurring signs made available in the interaction permit the assumption of either a deferential or intimate relationship. Through the application of an indexical view to analysis, I aim to demonstrate how the Najdi address system varies distinctively and society-internally, in addition to the ways in which this variation could index certain personal characteristics of the speaker or the addressee, which will be determined and examined in different socio-cultural settings.

The questionnaire taps into the speakers‘ idealized norms of address, as their use of address term is not examined discursively in this research. Thus, the assumption is made that what speakers think of when they respond to the questionnaire is a stereotypical usage given an abstract representation of the relationship in the absence of other contextual

elements which may modify such meaning. Furthermore, as it is not possible to uncontroversially state that what they mean to indicate is (im)politeness, it will be assumed that their responses indicate a default deferential index for that relation. The assumption regarding the way in which address terms are conceptualized in users‘ lay understanding of the function of these terms is based on both previous literature and on my intuition as a native speaker of the dialect. The data demonstrate that stereotypical notions of the ‗appropriate‘ address term are varied intra-socially, and can (probably among other things) be characterized based on group features such as the ones investigated in this study: gender, age and spoken variety.

Following Agha (2007: 301–302), this study will argue that deference in the Najdi community can be expressed without the use of stereotypically honorific lexemes by means of the presence of certain co-occurring signs. This means that address terms such as kinship terms, teknonyms[4], can be used by the speaker to express deference to the interlocutor (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2). However, any alteration to the emergent co-occurring sign-configuration can generate intimacy rather than deference through the use of the same address term (ibid.). Moreover, this research also subscribes to Agha‘s view of the notional fault of the traditional concept regarding kinship (kinship system) which is based on a genealogical foundation. As stated by Agha (2007: 342), this study takes the stance that focusing on the kinship relations that are performed through the usage of the kin terms and how these relations are construed, what Agha calls ‗kinship behaviour‘, will help in the investigation and understanding of social relations. It will be argued that the manipulation of the kinship term usage (tropic usage) in dyads (where the usage of the kinship term contradicts the genealogical relation between the interlocutors) and the address inversion phenomenon (when using an address term which, in its lexical content, implies features suiting the person of the speaker rather than the addressee) and the normalization of these tropes, strongly suggest that variability is the norm rather than the exception, inherent in the nature of linguistic signs (Pizziconi 2011: 2).

4 The use of ‗father of…‘ and ‗mother of…‘.

Pizziconi (2011) applied the indexical view to the study of honorifics, arguing that deference is not directly coded in any linguistic form even in languages that are especially rich in so-called ‗social deictics' (honorifics), such as Japanese. She claims that deference can be expressed without honorifics, such as by the wearing of particular attire, by using vague language or by praising someone (Pizziconi 2011: 14). By drawing on Agha's approach of indexicality, Pizziconi argues that Japanese honorifics can be accounted for in terms of their indexical properties, emphasizing that the indexicality approach enables infinite variability in use and interpretation which is normal and inherent in the nature of linguistic signs (ibid.).

In conclusion, the main objective of this research is to show that within any social group, such as among Najdi speakers, there are no absolute consistent patterns of address term usage. The research aims to demonstrate that there are disputed norms of address term usage across various social sub-groups within the main social group. In other words, this study seeks to investigate disputed intragroup variation, meaning that patterns of ToA usage that are stereotypically appropriate to show deference for certain group members, e.g. young females, are not appropriate for others, e.g. old females.

4.3 Research Questions

The main objectives of this thesis will be accomplished through answering the subsequent questions, by using the suggested methodologies:

1. Detecting and describing Najdi speakers' normative use of the address terms.

How do Najdis use address terms? What are the norms of address term usage in the Najdi community?

It is worth noting that ‗norms' in this context denotes the observable patterns of address among Najdis, i.e., the statistical frequency distribution of Najdi address term usage. This data will be assessed by means of quantitative analysis (Chapter 5, section 5.6) to provide an indication of norms of Najdi address term use. According to Eelen (2001: 141–145) statistical analysis is a suitable methodological strategy for linking data with widespread variability, using theoretical models based on shared system of norms. He notes that sharedness does not imply that all of the individuals in the society uphold the same norm and the variability is not random, but systematic and affected by the user ideology along with the well-known sociological factors such as gender, age, status, etc. (Eelen 2001:

140). The analysis of frequency will allow tapping into the idealized norms of Najdi address term usage.

2. Isolating a particular social identity for the Najdi speaker/addressee (the participant) associated with his/her address term choices in each interaction. Kroskrity (2001: 106) defines identity as "the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories". In the context of this research, this denotes gender identity (participant's gender), age identity (participant's age), class and rank identity (participant's social group either nomads or settlers and the participant's) and the temporary role identity of the participant (speaker or addressee) in each interaction.

Do the speaker's characteristics of gender, age, spoken variation, social economic class[5] correlate with his/her address term choices among Najdis? Is the use of address terms in the Najdi community associated with any personal characteristics of the speaker?

As described in Chapter 3, sections 3.3 and 3.3.1, social class, gender and age are discriminating factors among different social practices in Saudi society. Therefore, a 'Chi-square test' will be conducted to test for significance (Chapter 5, section 5.6.4) in order to properly capture the significant associations between the address term choices and the personal characteristics (gender –age – spoken variation – social economic class) of each speaker.

3. Evaluate the effects of ideology regarding politeness in the usage of address terms among Najdis. As noted by Brown (2011), 'politeness ideology' fits within a larger framework of 'language ideology' or 'linguistic ideology', which has been defined as "the situated, partial and interested character of conceptions and uses of language" (Errington 1999: 110). Ideology here

[5] The rationale for the selection of these variables is presented in chapter 5.

refers to what Watts (1992) calls _politeness1‘or _lay interpretations of politeness‘.

To what extent do Najdi speakers’ conceptualizations and ideologies of (im)politeness influence their perceptions and use of address terms?

Semi-structured interviews will be conducted to investigate the participants‘ metapragmatic typifications of address term usage by asking participants a number of questions related to the results of the quantitative analysis. Metapragmatic data will cover instances of talk about address terms and how the users perceive them. As argued in Chapter 3, section 3.4.2, the Najdi dialect contains different ideologies regarding the use of teknonyms to kin and the use of kin terms to non-kin based on the co-occurring signs (showing deference or keeping distance). The questions will investigate the participants‘ ideologies behind their usage of these address terms. An attempt will be made to uncover users‘ ideologies in order to investigate the way in which address terms are conceptualized, i.e., what goes on when people use address terms. People‘s concepts passively shape their interpretations of the world by providing them with order though they actively shape that world by influencing their action in that world (Eelen 2001: 34). This means that how persons think about address terms will influence when and how they will use them based upon the social effect that they intend to achieve.

In summary, this study seeks to demonstrate that the social struggle over Najdi address term usage is motivated by the users‘ ideologies, showing that the variation in the address term usage is not random and is caused by the presence of co-occuring signs.

Chapter 5 Data analysis: Quantitative data

5.1 Introduction

This study employs a mix of quantitative and qualitative research methods in the examination of terms of address within the Najdi dialect. This chapter begins by providing an overview of the applied methodology and the rationale for its use (section 5.2). Details are then provided of the chosen quantitative method (questionnaire), followed by an outline of the collection and analysis of the quantitative data. First, a description is provided of the characteristics of the population sample (section 5.3). Then, a detailed description is provided for the instrument devised to collect the quantitative data (questionnaire) and the rationale for using it (section 5.4). Next, a discussion is given of the procedure for administrating this instrument (section 5.5), and finally the general approaches of data analysis (section 5.6) followed by the discussion (section 5.7). In the next chapter, a more detailed explanation will also be presented of the users' metapragmatic judgments regarding the terms they claimed to use.

5.2 Overview of Methodology

The investigation conducted in this study applied a _mixed methods' data collection technique (quantitative and qualitative) in a sequential order using a cross-sectional research design. This section will outline the mandate for the choice of these approaches, followed by an explanation of the rationale for applying the mixed methodology.

Over the past 15 years, the _mixed methods' paradigm has gained increased recognition as a third approach in research methodology, alongside the isolated use of either quantitative or qualitative methods (Dörnyei 2007: 42). One of the main proponents of this approach is Dörnyei (2007) who argues that –the mixed methods approach can offer additional benefit to the understanding of the phenomena in question" (Dörnyei 2007: 47). Tashakkori and Creswell (2007: 4) distinguish between –mixed methods as a collection and analysis of two types of data (qualitative and quantitative)" and –mixed methods as the integration of two approaches to research (quantitative and qualitative)." In other words, the mixed methods paradigm either combines or integrates some characteristics of the two types of research methods (quantitative and qualitative), where the main difference, as indicated

by Bryman (2007), is the amount of integration. Tashakkori and Creswell (2007) outline the possible types of applying the characteristics of the quantitative and qualitative methods (combination or integration) as the following:

> 1. Two types of research questions (with qualitative and quantitative approaches)
> 2. The manner in which the research questions are developed (participatory vs. pre-planned)
> 3. Two types of sampling procedures (e.g., probability and purposive)
> 4. Two types of data collection procedures (e.g., focus groups and surveys)
> 5. Two types of data (e.g., numerical and textual)
> 6. Two types of data analysis (statistical and thematic)
> 7. Two types of conclusions (emic and etic representations, _objective' and _subjective', etc.)." (Tashakkori & Creswell 2007: 4)

This study applies item 4 from the list above, by using the questionnaire method with follow up interviews. A comment will now be made on how these advantages of the _mixed methods' methodology were factored into the research design of the current study. The purpose of employing the mixed methods approach in this research was primarily to attain a comprehensive understanding of the Najdi addressing system. Creswell (2003: 215) emphasizes the rationale of the quantitative and qualitative combination by categorizing it as "a sequential explanatory design", the main function of which is "to use qualitative results to assist in explaining and interpreting the findings of a primarily quantitative study". In this study, the quantitative and the qualitative methods were used sequentially, with the results of the second research technique (qualitative follow up semi-structured interviews) being used to interpret and explain the results of the first (a quantitative questionnaire). Typically, the quantitative research method is based on a study of the variables that capture the common features of groups of people, while the qualitative method is more interested in the individuals (Dörnyei 2007: 33).

The main rationale for the adoption of cross-sectional rather than longitudinal methodology was the issue of the limited time of the current research project. This decision was made while cognizant of the inherent strengths and weaknesses of cross-sectional methodology, listed by Kasper and Rose (2002) as follows:

Strengths:

1. Comparatively quick to conduct.
2. Comparatively cheap to administer.
3. Limited control effects as subjects only participate once.
4. Stronger likelihood of participation as it is only a single time.
5. Large samples enable inferential statistics to be used." (Kasper and Rose 2002: 76).

Weaknesses:

1. Do not permit analysis of causal relationships.
2. Unable to chart individual varieties in development or changes and their significance.
3. Omission of a single variable can undermine the results significantly.
4. Unable to chart changing social processes over time." (ibid.)

Of the strengths listed above, (1), (2) and (5) were crucial in the decision to choose the cross-sectional methodology. Regarding points (1) and (5), cross-sectional methodology allowed the collection of data from speakers of different genders and ages and to discuss differences in their patterns of address terms use. The variety uncovered amongst the 313 participants underpinned the argument this study makes about the variety and heterogeneity in the address terms usage by Najdi speakers. To conclude, mixed methods research, which involves the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data, provides a more complete picture of the problem than either of these approaches alone (Creswell & Clark 2011).

5.3 Participants

A representative sample of Saudis who, at the time of conducting this study, lived in the central province of Saudi Arabia (Riyadh city and its surrounding towns and villages) was recruited. In order to collect a convenience sample[6] of Najdi speakers, the questionnaire was distributed via a network of acquaintances that were self-selected on the basis of having

6 In statistics, a convenience sample is one of the main types of non-probability sampling methods. A convenience sample is made up of people who are easy to reach.

access to computers. The procedure for recruiting this sample is explained below, in section 5.5. A total of 326 informants initially participated in this study. From the pooled sample, only those native Najdi speakers who were born in the central province or who had lived most of their lives in the central province were chosen to participate. Thus, participants who reported speaking dialects other than Najdi or speaking Najdi mixed with other dialects were excluded. In addition, those respondents who reported being born outside the central province and had spent most of their lives outside the central province were excluded. This first analysis revealed that 13 of the participants were inappropriate: 10 spoke other dialects; 3 were born outside Najd and had spent most of their lives outside the central province. The adjusted sample thus consisted of 313 Najdi speakers who were born in the central province of Saudi Arabia or spent most of their lives there. 302 out of the 313 participants (97%) were born in the central province. However, 298 out of the 302 participants spent most of their lives in the central province, whereas 4 out of the 302 participants spent most of their lives outside the central province but inside Saudi Arabia. These 4 participants were included as appropriate data mainly because of having been born in the central province, where they lived at the time that this study was conducted. Furthermore, 8 out of the 313 participants (2%) reported that they were born in provinces other than the central province, but they were included as they declared having spent most of their lives in the central province. Finally, 3 out of the 313 participants (1%) reported that they were born outside Saudi Arabia but were considered as appropriate data as they stated that they spoke the Najdi dialect and had spent most of their lives in the central province. Ultimately, the obtained population sample comprised Najdi speakers who spoke both Najdi varieties (nomads and settlers) with the majority (71%) being settler variety speakers: 221 settler variety speakers vs. 89 nomad variety speakers. The 313 participants were formed of both genders and different ages. Over half of the sample (52%) was male with a total distribution of 163 males vs. 150 females. Although informants were recruited from different age groups, the majority of the participants (66%) were in the 20-30 age bracket. A possible explanation for this may be the circulation of the questionnaire at universities, which facilitated the participation of many students (see section 5.5). A summary of the demographic characteristics of the respondents is shown in Table1.

Table 1: Demographic characteristic of the participants (*n*=313)

Variable	Group	Number	Percentage %
Place of birth	Central Province	302	97
	Eastern Province	2	0.6
	Western Province	4	1
	Northern Province	1	0.3
	Southern Province	1	0.3
	Outside Saudi Arabia	3	1
Place spent most of life	Central Province	309	99
	Outside Central Province but in Saudi Arabia	4	1
Gender	Female	150	48
	Male	163	52
Age	20 - 30	207	66
	31 - 40	70	22
	41 - 50	30	10
	Older than 50	6	2
Spoken variety	Nomad Najdi dialect	89	28
	Settled Najdi dialect	221	71
	Mixed of settlers and nomads dialects	3	1
Income	Unspecified[7]	63	20
	Less than 5000 SR*	61	20
	5000 – 10000 SR	73	23
	10001 – 15000 SR	57	18
	15001 – 20000 SR	33	11
	More than 20000 SR	26	8

*SR: Saudi Riyal, 1.00 SR= £ 0.17 at 25th November 2014.

5.4 Apparatus

This section begins by presenting the rationale for using questionnaire methodology, after which it presents a detailed description of the questionnaire used. An online questionnaire was developed to collect stereotypes of the address terms used by Najdi speakers (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.2). A questionnaire enables researchers to ensure that the data collected fit the aim of the research. In this study, it enabled the testing of a roughly equal number of male and female Najdi speakers of different ages who were born in the central province of Saudi Arabia or have spent most of their lives there. It should be noted that it is likely that self-reported survey data reflects the language which the respondents believe that they use, rather than the language which they actually use in their life. However,

7 Participants who preferred not to state their income.

this type of data captures the respondents‘ stereotypes of normative use of the address terms. This research follows Hill et al.'s (1986: 353) belief that the use of self-reported data allows scholars to obtain more stereotypic responses, despite the fact that this type of data is considered less real than the data of instances of actual speech. Furthermore, Agha (2007: 305) considers questionnaires as valuable sources of data on stereotypes of use because they systematically collect a corpus of metapragmatic typifications by a sample of consultants. Questionnaires can also enable scholars to evaluate the social distribution of the stereotypes in use across a population of speakers as they can elicit the demographic characteristics of each participant (ibid.). Agha stresses that the questionnaires and the interviews used in the established literature since the work of Brown and Gilman (1960) effectively collected ―reportable stereotypes of use” rather than specific ―acts of usage” (ibid.). The scheme and content of the online questionnaire, Forms of Address in Najdi Dialect Questionnaire (henceforth FANDQ), produced in Arabic for this study, was based on the work of Braun (1988). However, this is not a replication of Braun's (1988) study but a partial reapplication of the questionnaire used as part of the method she employed to study address terms. Braun's (1988) significant project investigated the address systems in many languages. Due to concerns about time and cost, the method of data collection in her project was targeted interviews conducted with informants on the basis of a specially constructed questionnaire. She aimed to maximise the data gathered on the address terms in various languages, and therefore the questionnaire was very long and its scope was very wide and general. For instance, her questionnaire included questions about addressing higher beings such as gods, about addressing animals, and about the prohibited terms of address in each language. Braun (1988) was very sensitive to the disadvantages of her method in general and the questionnaire in particular. She recognised the main shortcoming of her questionnaire was that it took a European form based on experience from the culture of her research group, which necessitated amendment/adjustments to be made when interviewing informants from different cultures (Braun 1988: 73). Moreover, she did not recommend using her questionnaire on its own by sending it to individuals to complete, as the enormous number of questions may have caused misunderstandings. Nevertheless, she encouraged the application of her survey method with proper modification (Braun 1988: 75, 195). In fact, Braun‘s (1988) questionnaire remains valuable for its useful questions, which can be adapted to enable investigation of the address system in any language.

The scheme of the online FANDQ resembles Braun‘s (1988) questionnaire in some respects. The demographic questions selectively replicate Braun‘s questionnaire, targeting the social group under focus in this study (Najdi speakers) and matching the stated aim of this study. For example, general questions used in Braun‘s questionnaire about nationality, ethnicity and religion were excluded, but specific questions about the variety of the dialect spoken (Najdi nomad variety or Najdi settler variety) were added. Thus, the demographic questions in FANDQ inquire about place of birth, the place where the informant lived most of his/her life, gender, age, spoken variation and informant‘s income. Due to the nature of this study, only two settings were chosen from the range examined by Braun (1988): _Among family members‘ and _On the street‘. These settings were purposely selected to represent the main communication circles in the lives of participants. Moreover, following Braun (1988), the distinctions between the addresser and the addressee that distinguish the basic structure in these settings were applied to this questionnaire, i.e., the target person‘s gender and age (younger than, same age as and older than). The target person categories were modified further. For example, in the section about addressing family members, the target persons used in Braun‘s (1988) questionnaire, such as –your parents together” and –spouses‘ father‘s father” are not included in FANDQ. The family members targeted in this study were chosen to represent the typical Saudi family members and were therefore categorized into three types: parents and siblings; relatives (grandparents, paternal uncles/aunts, maternal uncles/aunts and male/female cousins); and spouse and the spouse‘s family (fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law). In the section about addressing people in the street, this study adopts _male stranger‘, _female stranger‘ and _male taxi driver‘. Other persons who were included in Braun‘s questionnaire, such as female taxi driver and bus drivers, were not deemed to be appropriate in the local context and were therefore not selected, since there are no female taxi drivers in Saudi Arabia and also because buses are not a popular mode of transportation there. Finally, due to concerns about the duration of this study and the length of the questionnaire, some of the target persons used by Braun (1988), such as government officials, waiters, policemen and salesclerks, were excluded. In summary, FANDQ focuses on two types of interactions: _among family members‘ and _among people on the street‘, taking into consideration all of the possible social differences in each interaction type. For clarity, the final layout of FANDQ was divided into three main sections as follows:

1. **Demographic characteristics**.

    a. Place of Birth
    b. Place where you spent most of life
    c. Gender
    d. Age
    e. Spoken Variety
    f. Income

2. **Terms of address to family members**

    a. Parents and siblings
        i. Parents
        ii. Elder siblings
        iii. Younger siblings
    b. Relatives.
        i. Grandparents
        ii. Paternal/ maternal uncles
        iii. Paternal/maternal aunts
        iv. Male/female cousins
    c. Spouse and spouse‘s family.
        i. Male/ Female spouse
        ii. Parents-in-law
        iii. Brother-in-law
        iv. Sister-in-law

3. **Terms of address to strangers**

    a. A male stranger
        i. Ego younger
        ii. Ego same age
        iii. Ego older
    b. A female stranger
        i. Ego younger
        ii. Ego same age
        iii. Ego older
    c. A taxi driver
        i. Ego younger
        ii. Ego same age
        iii. Ego older

Given the number of potential collocutors in FANDQ and in order to minimise the risk of respondents providing terms of reference instead of terms of address, the terms of address were elicited by a multiple choice list. Participants chose from a multiple-choice list

of six items. The first four of these were suggested terms of address (henceforth, ToA) chosen by the researcher (a native speaker of Najdi) as a means to introduce the most possible ToA that could be used in each interaction. For example, in the interaction with the target person (Your Father) the suggested ToA are: 1-Father's personal name, 2- *Yuba* (Dad), 3- *ʔabu flan* (Father of…) 4- *Ṭāl ʕumrak* (lit. May God give you long life); whereas, the expected ToA from this targeted person are listed as: 1- Informant's personal name 2- *Weldi* (my son)/*benti* (my daughter) 3- *ʔabu/ʔum flān* (Father/mother of…) 4- *Wa ana būk* (And I'm your father). In case the participant had never interacted with the targeted person, for example if the participant's father has passed away when he/she was very young, they were instructed to choose item number 5 _not applicable' (henceforth, n/a). This approach was adopted to encourage participants to avoid imaginary answers, thereby ensuring the credibility of their responses. Item 6: _Other', was supplied so that participants could note a ToA that was not listed, or if they use more than one ToA to address the target person so there is a chance for the participants to choose more than one ToA. Thus, the multiple choice list arrangement for each question in FANDQ resembled the following:

How do you address (…)?	How does (…) address you?
1. Suggested ToA	1. Suggested ToA
2. Suggested ToA	2. Suggested ToA
3. Suggested ToA	3. Suggested ToA
4. Suggested ToA	4. Suggested ToA
5. n/a	5. n/a
6. Other, specify…	6. Other, specify…

Interestingly less than 20 people chose more than one ToA to address the targeted people. Hence in the data analysis, when more than one ToA was indicated I chose the first choice to avoid the risk of making trivial answers very common. To ensure the intelligibility of the questions, a comments box was added after the last question in each section of FANDQ. This was available for the informants to write additional comments in case they faced any unclear question or have certain usage of chosen ToA or any difficulty. Also, the researcher's email address was provided for any necessary request for clarification before or after the test. Finally, participants were invited to provide an email contact if they agreed to take part in the follow up study. For the original version and the English translated questionnaire see Appendix 1.

5.5 Procedure

In this section, a brief comment will be given on the advantages of using an online version of the questionnaire, after which a detailed account of the procedure for its administration will be provided. FANDQ was designed online using a colourful theme to engage participants. The advantages of using an online questionnaire as opposed to a regular paper-based questionnaire were that it saved time in the distribution and enabled a wide sample to be targeted effectively. Another practical advantage for the researcher is that an online questionnaire allows for the automated transfer of information as the results are automatically presented in a spreadsheet. This approach also gave informants the freedom to choose a suitable time and place to complete the questionnaire. However, the main attraction of an online questionnaire is that it offered a high level of anonymity to the respondents (Fox et al. 2003).

As for the distribution process, as a native speaker of the dialect, I made use of my extended social networks and acquaintances within my community (Najdi). This study therefore used the ‗friend of friend' technique (Snow Ball) (Holmes & Hazen 2013: 185–186) to recruit the convenience sample of Najdi speakers. The questionnaire was prepared as a ‗Google Document'. A link to the online questionnaire was sent out electronically via email to some cooperative acquaintances who live in the central province (Riyadh city and the surrounding towns and villages) for circulation. As mentioned in section 5.3, the questionnaire was distributed via a network of acquaintances that were self-selected on the basis of having access to computers. Hence the participants are mainly those people who know how to use computers. However, I informally advised the participated friends to help those who are ICT illiterate to fill the questionnaire. Fortunately, two of the female participants aged over 50 mentioned that they filled the questionnaire with the help of their daughters-in-law. Since this study was concerned with a certain geographical area i.e., the central province, a specific request was made for social networking websites to be avoided in the circulation of the link, as the use of these sites may have widened the circle of participants to different parts of Saudi Arabia. The link and request for circulation was sent to male and female acquaintances who work at different institutions in the capital city of Riyadh: a female friend at the Institute of Public Administration, another female friend at the Specialist Hospital in Riyadh, a male cousin at the Military Hospital in Riyadh and another male relative at the General directorate of civil defence, five female friends in different secondary schools in Riyadh and the surrounding towns and villages. The link was

also circulated in the forums of the three main public universities in Riyadh: King Saud University, Imam Mohammed Bin Saud University and Princess Nora University, in an attempt to obtain a convenience sample that reflected a wide social network. Finally the responses were received and arranged automatically in a spreadsheet on ‗Google Drive'.

A number of problems and challenges arose during the administration of FANDQ. The main difficulty was the slow responses from the participants. It took more than 5 months to reach the total number of participants, a total of 326 from which only 313 were appropriate. The first respondent participated on 6th February 2012 and the last participated on 3rd September 2012. Although the questionnaire was left open online until September 2014, no further data were collected. Furthermore, there are some issues which limited this study. First, the majority of the participants were aged between 20 and 30 (66%), which limited the research from exploring diachronic developments in Najdi ToA. Second, 69% of the participants were undergraduates, which hindered the opportunity to explore education and occupation roles on the address behaviour. Moreover, as it can be seen in Table 1 the participants, who mostly are students are apparently mostly from lower class. A possible explanation for this is that the question about the income was understood differently by the informants and they provided their personal monthly income. In a culture where the family is so important like Najdi culture the information on the individual incomes may not reflect the actual socioeconomic class of the individual. Therefore, I excluded the socioeconomic class category in the data analysis to avoid the danger of making statistically dubious deductions. Finally, religious and cultural restrictions prevented the researcher from gaining complete access to male respondents, especially in terms of the interviews. Therefore, recorded phone calls by ‗Skype' were the choice to interview the males.

5.6 Results

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was employed in the statistical analysis of the data. First, percentages of frequencies were calculated for every target person in FANDQ for the chosen ToA (both reported (used) and expected ToA). As mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.5.3, the term ‗norm' in this study is used to denote a notion based on statistical frequency of reported occurrence of ToA. Detecting the most frequent ToA allowed the norms of ToA use in the Najdi community to be highlighted. According to Eelen (2001: 231) considering politeness as a social practice enables researchers to distinguish between different types of norms according to how and by whom

they are observed, or where, how and by whom they are used. In fact, Eelen distinguishes between ‗observational norms', which are derived from the empirical data and are part of the observed practice, and ‗operational norms', which are principles that structure the behaviour and cannot be directly observed (Eelen 2001: 231). According to him, ‗observational norms' or statistical norms are produced by data as results of the empirical findings (Eelen 2001: 158). Second, crosstabulations were generated for each of the demographic variables: gender, age and spoken variation. Two-way tables were produced, to associate the participants' ToA choices with the variables of the participants' characteristics in each dyad. Additionally, a Chi-square test was conducted to test for significance.

The analysis started by coding the answers of each participant into linguistic codes to facilitate the preparation of the data for statistical analysis. The linguistic coded data were then coded numerically for use in SPSS. The ToA in the multiple choice lists were first grouped under category codes. Thus, in the first setting (Family members), Personal names were coded as First Names (henceforth, FN). The terms *yuba* (Dad), *yumma* (Mum), *jaddi* (Grandpa), etc. were coded as Kinship Terms (henceforth, KT). The terms *ʔabu flān* (Father of …) and *ʔum flān* (Mother of…) were coded as Teknonyms (henceforth, Tek). The term *ṭāl ʕumrak* (May God give you long life) was coded as Honorific Term (henceforth, HF). The terms *wa ana būk* (And I'm your father), *wa ana ummuk* (And I'm your mother), *wa ana jaddek* (And I'm your grandfather), etc. were coded as quasi inversion pattern (henceforth, Qua.inv.P). Finally, the terms *ḥabībi* (lit. honey for male) and *ḥabībti* (lit. honey for female) were coded as Endearment (henceforth, Ed). In the street setting, the terms *ʔax* (brother), *weledi* (my son), *benti* (my daughter) were coded as KT. The terms *al ḥabīb* (masculine darling) and *alḥabība* (feminine darling) were coded as Ed. The term *law samaḥt* (excuse me) was coded as a Politeness Marker (henceforth, P.M). Finally the terms *ustāð* (lit. masculine teacher) and *ustāða* (lit. feminine teacher) were coded as Title. For a copy of the coded version of the questionnaire that was used for the statistical analysis, see Appendix 1. Subsequently, the data were coded numerically in an Excel sheet, after which the file was imported into the SPSS software. The data were then sorted in the SPSS file by labelling them with values. For the statistical analysis, the data needed to be cleaned up by labelling some of the variables as missing data. The variants ‗n/a', ‗other' were labelled as missing data, as these answers were not relevant to the research objective, although they were considered in the overall analysis.

Before the presentation of the data analysis, a problem that arose in the statistical analysis of the collected data should first be noted. Although the data analysis revealed that item 6 ‗n/a' scored a low percentage ranging from 1% to 11% in most of the investigated interactions with the targeted persons, this was not the case in the interactions with the spouse and the spouse's family. The answer ‗n/a' was chosen by 78% of the participants (245 respondents) in the question about addressing and being addressed by wife, and by 70% of the participants (218 respondents) when addressing and being addressed by husband; it was selected by 61% of participants (191 respondents) in the interaction with father-in-law, and by 60% of the participants (187 respondents) in the interaction with mother-in-law. Finally, this answer was given by 61% of participants (190 respondents) when describing their interactions with their brother-in-law, and by 56% of participants (186 respondents) when interacting with their sister-in-law. A potential explanation for this may be that the majority of the participants were unmarried. Consequently, the analysis shows the calculated frequencies and percentages in these interactions as a small amount.

The following section will first present the statistical analysis for the frequencies of the participants' answers to the FANDQ questions, i.e., the participants' choices of ToA. For clarity, the results will be presented in charts tailed by a table for the percentages. Tables with total frequencies are included in Appendix 2 and the chi-square values for all of the investigated dyads are presented in Appendix 3. The following section will then identify the most frequent ToA choices by the participants in each question, in order to highlight the observed norms of usage. Taking into consideration the size of the collected sample (n=313), ToA that have been reported to be used toward or expected from an interlocutor by more than 100 participants will be considered as the most frequent term. ToA that scored between 50 and 100 are frequent ToA that will also be of interest, but ToA scoring a frequency of less than 50 will not be introduced or discussed. The most frequent ToA reflect the norms in addressing the targeted interlocutor; however, the other frequent ToA reflect a practice different from the norm and can indicate a common alternative (or competing) norm. Finally, the procedure and results for the chi-square test (χ^2) will be presented and discussed.

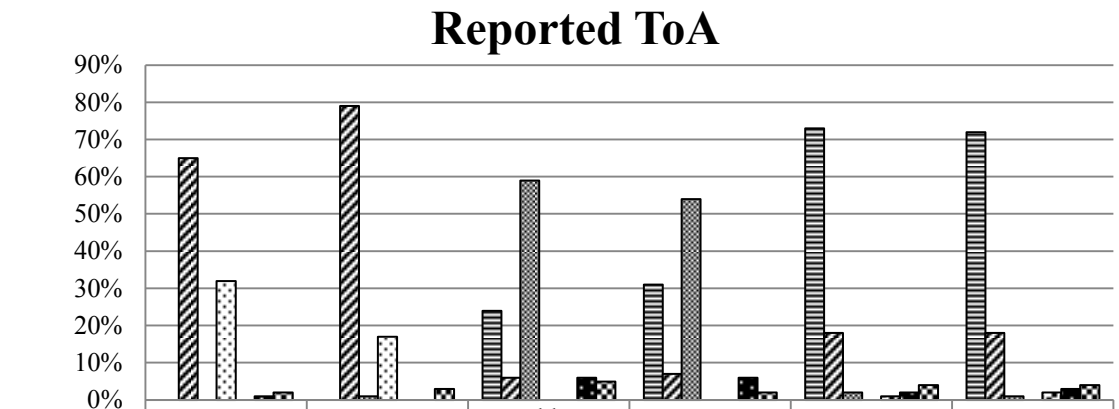
5.6.1 Overview of the participants' answers to FANDQ

This section presents the analysis for the data in graphical format, providing the percentages of the participants' answers to the multiple-choice questions in the investigated interactions in FANDQ. These graphs are arranged according to the layout of FANDQ. This

means that the first results pertain to interactions in the family setting: ToA in interactions with parents and siblings, ToA in interactions with relatives, and ToA in interactions with spouse and spouse‘s family. These are followed by the results regarding interactions in the street setting: ToA in interactions with male strangers, ToA in interactions with female strangers, and ToA in interactions with a taxi driver. Two figures are presented for each of the investigated settings: the first represents the reported ToA to address the target persons; and the second one represents the expected ToA from the targeted persons. For simplicity and clarity, each graph is tailed by a table that displays the exact percentages for each answer. ToA are listed in the graph‘s tables in the linguistic codes: FN, KT, Tek, etc., (see section 5.6). In each table, all of the suggested items in the FANDQ (multiple choice answers) for each interaction will be listed together. In the case that the participants did not choose the suggested item from the list, the cell in the table will be left empty. In addition, for the sake of simplicity, the percentages in the data have been rounded up or down to the nearest hundredth. Consequently, in the cases where the frequency is a small number, i.e., 1 or 2, the percentage was approximately 0.3%, which was then rounded down to 0%.

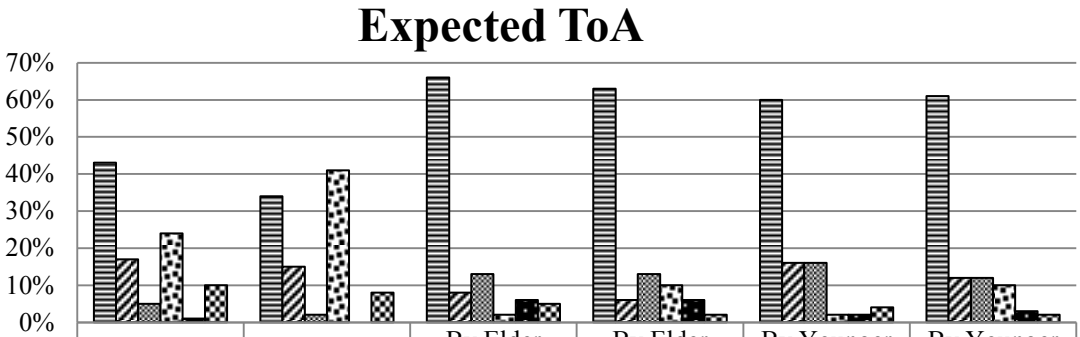
5.6.1.1 Family members setting

I. Parents and siblings



	Father	Mother	Elder Brother	Elder Sister	Younger Brother	Younger Sister
FN	0%		24%	31%	73%	72%
KT	65%	79%	6%	7%	18%	18%
Tek		1%	59%	54%	2%	1%
HF	32%	17%				
Qua.inv.P				0%	1%	2%
n/a	1%		6%	6%	2%	3%
Other	2%	3%	5%	2%	4%	4%

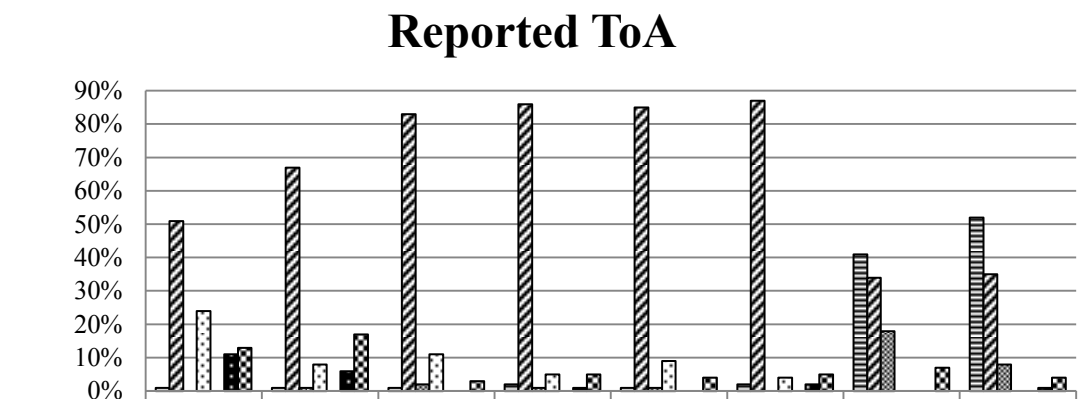
Figure 1: Reported ToA to address parents and siblings



	By Father	By Mother	By Elder Brother	By Elder Sister	By Younger Brother	By Younger Sister
FN	43%	34%	66%	63%	60%	61%
KT	17%	15%	8%	6%	16%	12%
Tek	5%	2%	13%	13%	16%	12%
Qua.inv.P	24%	41%	2%	10%	2%	10%
n/a	1%		6%	6%	2%	3%
Other	10%	8%	5%	2%	4%	2%

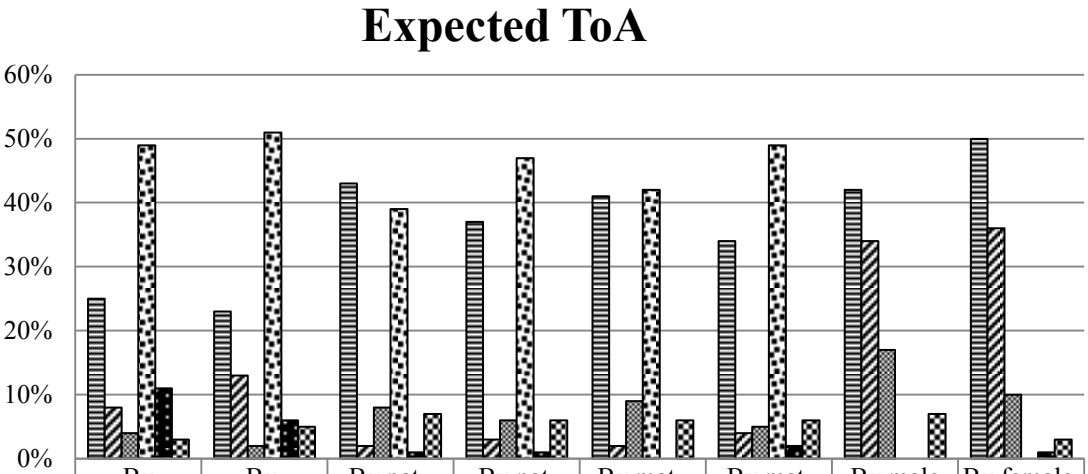
Figure 2: Expected ToA from parents and siblings.

II. Relatives



	G.father	G.mother	Pat. uncle	Pat. aunt	Mat.uncle	Mat. aunt	Male cousin	Female cousin
FN	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%	41%	52%
KT	51%	67%	83%	86%	85%	87%	34%	35%
Tek	0%	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	18%	8%
HF	24%	8%	11%	5%	9%	4%		
Qua.inv.P							0%	0%
n/a	11%	6%	0%	1%		2%	0%	1%
Other	13%	17%	3%	5%	4%	5%	7%	4%

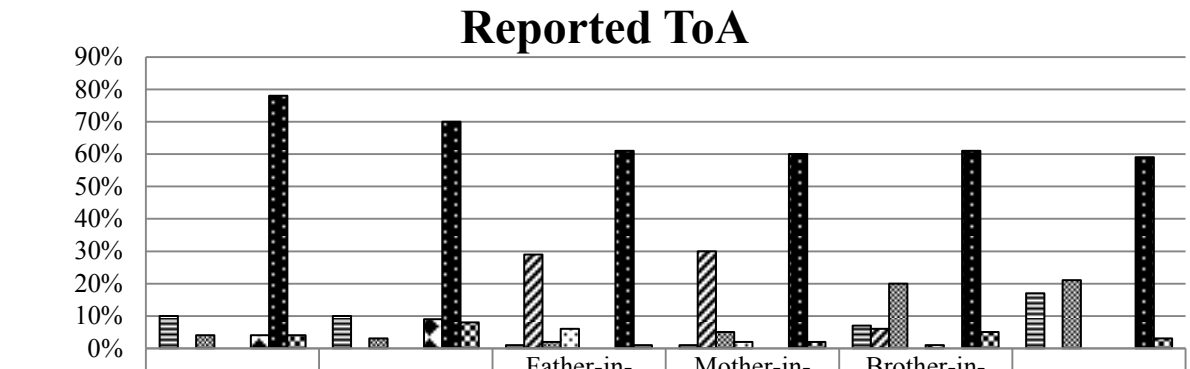
Figure 3: Reported ToA to address relatives



	By G.father	By G.mother	By pat. uncle	By pat. aunt	By mat. uncle	By mat. aunt	By male cousin	By female cousin
FN	25%	23%	43%	37%	41%	34%	42%	50%
KT	8%	13%	2%	3%	2%	4%	34%	36%
Tek	4%	2%	8%	6%	9%	5%	17%	10%
Qua.inv.P	49%	51%	39%	47%	42%	49%	0%	0%
n/a	11%	6%	1%	1%		2%	0%	1%
Other	3%	5%	7%	6%	6%	6%	7%	3%

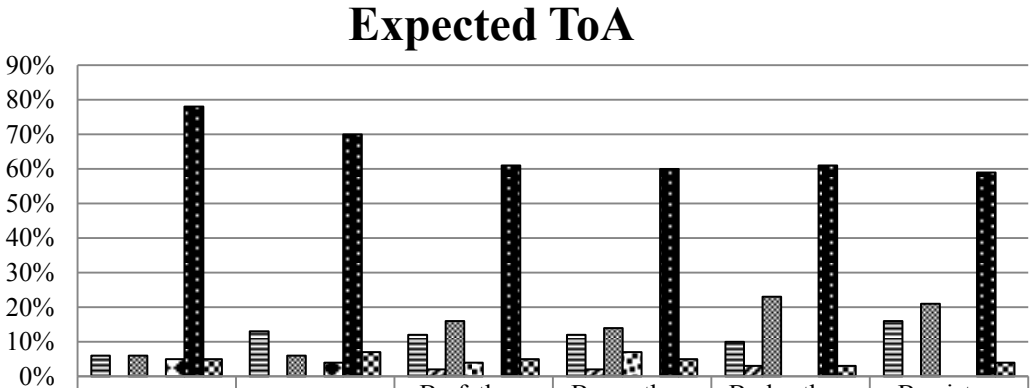
Figure 4: Expected ToA from relatives

III. Spouse and Spouse's family



	Wife	Husband	Father-in-law	Mother-in-law	Brother-in-law	Sister-in-law
FN	10%	10%	1%	1%	7%	17%
KT			29%	30%	6%	0%
Tek	4%	3%	2%	5%	20%	21%
HF			6%	2%		
Qua.inv.P					1%	
Ed	4%	9%				
n/a	78%	70%	61%	60%	61%	59%
Other	4%	8%	1%	2%	5%	3%

Figure 5: Reported ToA to address spouse and spouse's family

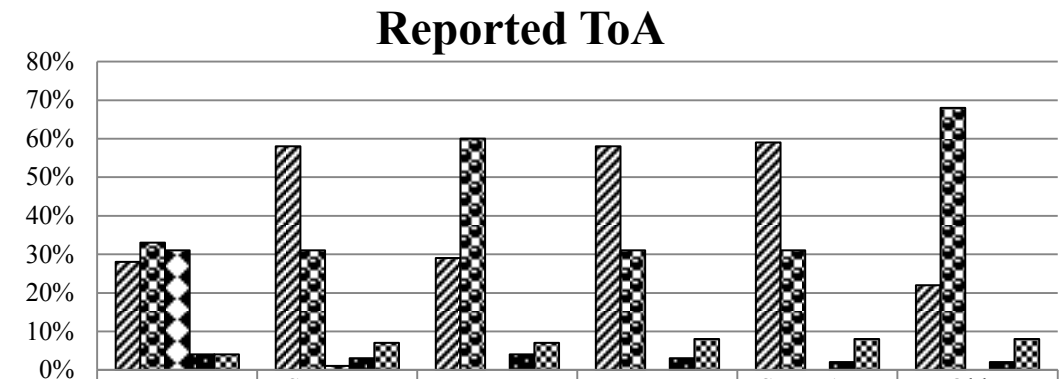


	By wife	By husband	By father-in-law	By mother-in-law	By brother-in-law	By sister-in-law
FN	6%	13%	12%	12%	10%	16%
KT			2%	2%	3%	
Tek	6%	6%	16%	14%	23%	21%
Qua.inv.P			4%	7%		
Ed	5%	4%				
n/a	78%	70%	61%	60%	61%	59%
Other	5%	7%	5%	5%	3%	4%

Figure 6: Expected ToA from spouse and spouse's family

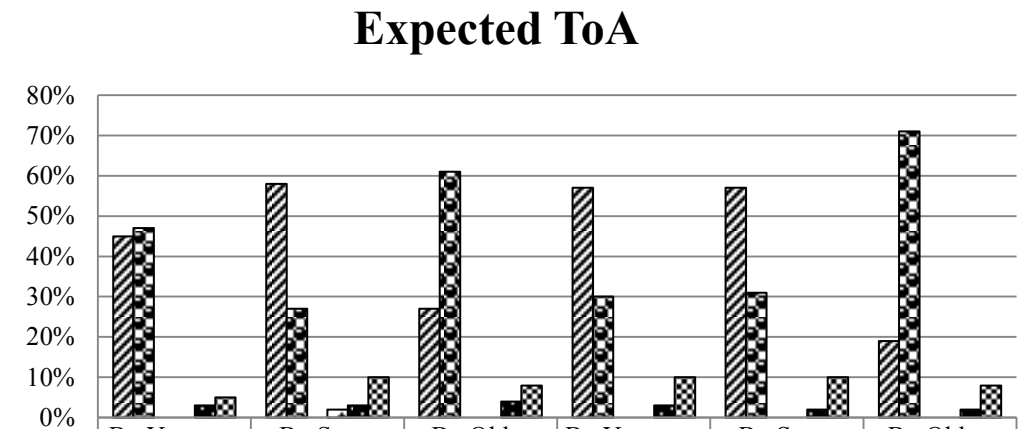
5.6.1.2 On the street

I. Male and female strangers



	Younger Male Stranger	Same age Male Stranger	Older Male Stranger	Younger FemaleStranger	Same Age Female Stranger	Older Female Stranger
KT	28%	58%	29%	58%	59%	22%
P.M	33%	31%	60%	31%	31%	68%
Ed	31%	1%				
n/a	4%	3%	4%	3%	2%	2%
Other	4%	7%	7%	8%	8%	8%

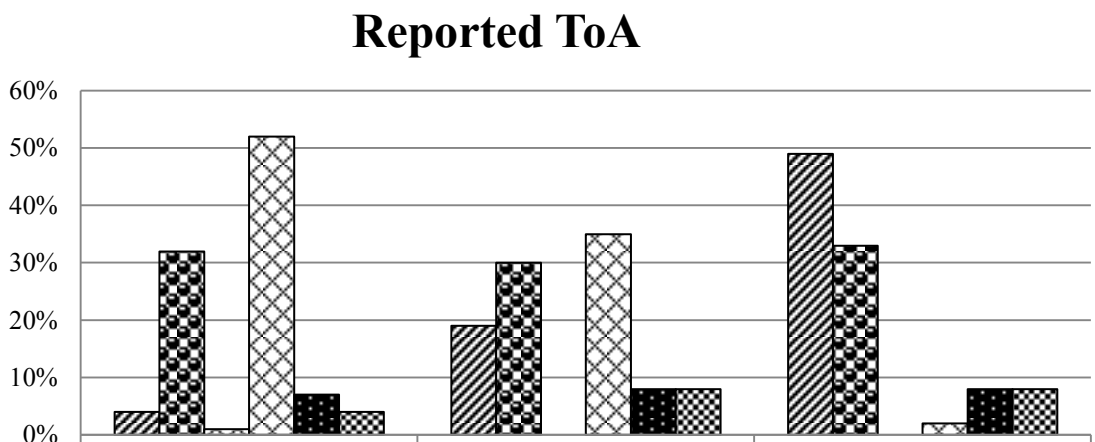
Figure 7: Reported ToA to address male and female strangers on the street



	By Younger Male Stranger	By Same age Male Stranger	By Older Male Stranger	By Younger FemaleStranger	By Same Age Female Stranger	By Older Female Stranger
KT	45%	58%	27%	57%	57%	19%
P.M	47%	27%	61%	30%	31%	71%
Hey		0%				0%
Ed	0%	2%	0%			
n/a	3%	3%	4%	3%	2%	2%
Other	5%	10%	8%	10%	10%	8%

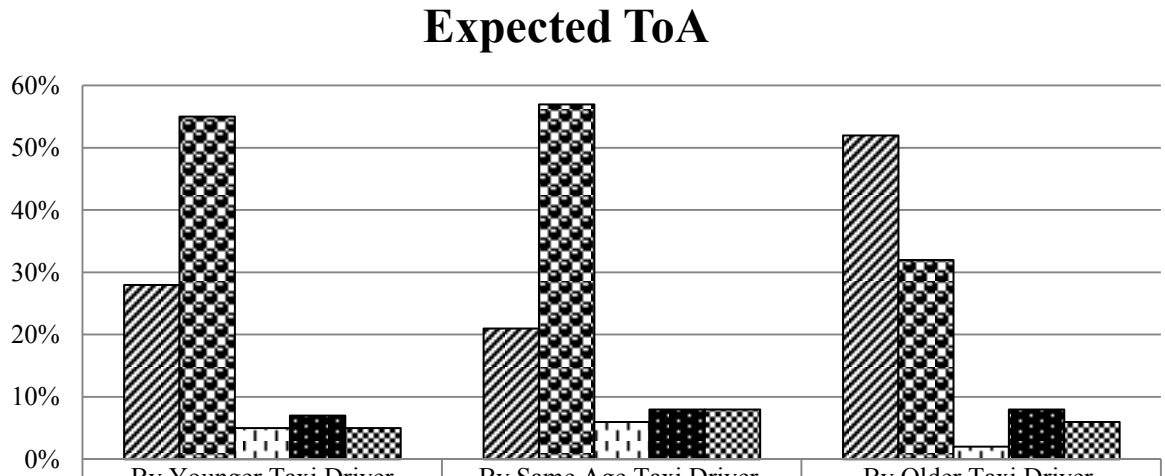
Figure 8: Expected ToA from male and female strangers on the street

II. Taxi driver



	Younger Taxi Driver	Same Age Taxi Driver	Older Taxi Driver
KT	4%	19%	49%
P.M	32%	30%	33%
Driver	1%		
Mohammed	52%	35%	2%
n/a	7%	8%	8%
Other	4%	8%	8%

Figure 9: Reported ToA to address taxi drivers



	By Younger Taxi Driver	By Same Age Taxi Driver	By Older Taxi Driver
KT	28%	21%	52%
P.M	55%	57%	32%
Title	5%	6%	2%
n/a	7%	8%	8%
Other	5%	8%	6%

Figure 10: Expected ToA from taxi drivers

5.6.2 Norms of Najdi ToA use in interactions with family members

This section presents the observed norms of Najdi ToA use in interactions with their family members, which has been derived from the collected data. As explained at the beginning of section 5.6, this study takes the statistical percentages to equate with the ToA norms. In addition, an assessment is also made of the frequency by the pre-established cut-points of 100 for the most frequent ToA and 50 for the alternative ToA. As noted at the end of section 5.6, a large number of the participants chose _n/aʿ to describe interactions with their spouse and their spouse's family. Consequently, the initial calculated frequencies and percentages were based on the small number of participants who made choices other than _n/aʿ, potentially skewing the results. Therefore, in the following sections when analysing the ToA choices with spouse and the spouse's family, the participants who chose _n/aʿ were excluded from the analysis, meaning that the total number of participants in a given question may differ from the total number in this study (313).

5.6.2.1 Norms of reported ToA to address family members

Statistical analysis of frequencies revealed four common ToA used when addressing family members: KT, HF, Tek and FN. Each ToA appears to be commonly used to address particular family members. The discussion in this section begins from the family members who are at the top of the family hierarchy, proceeding downwards towards the family members at the bottom of the hierarchy.

The results indicate that KT was the most commonly reported ToA to address most family members in the Najdi community. The participants overwhelmingly reported the use of KT to address parents, grandparents, paternal/maternal uncles, paternal/maternal aunts and parents-in-law. Table 2 presents the frequencies and percentages of KT use in this context. The analysis revealed that KT was the second most frequent term after FN in interactions with male and female cousins (see Table 4): 34% of the participants (105 respondents) reported the use of KT to address their male cousins and 35% of the participants (110 respondents) reported the use of KT to address their female cousins. This usage of KT to address parents, grandparents, paternal/maternal uncles, paternal/maternal aunts and even male/female cousins is an actual use of the KT based on its literal meaning, because the term reflects the real kinship relationship between the interlocutors. However, the usage of KT to address parents-in-law is a tropic use of KT rather than an actual use, as reported by Agha (2007) (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.4). The analysis revealed that the KT *ʕammī* (Paternal

uncle) was reported by most of the participants as the way in which they address their father-in-law. As Table 2 shows, 75% of the participants (92 of 122 respondents) reported tropic KT use to address their father-in-law. Likewise, KT *ʕammah/xālah* (paternal/maternal aunt) was reported by the majority of the participants to address their mother-in-law. 75% of the participants (95 of 126 respondents) reported tropic KT to address their mother-in-law. These results indicate an underlying social consensus that KT is the most appropriate ToA with which to address family members, particularly those who are at the top of the family hierarchy: parents, grandparents, paternal/maternal uncles and paternal/maternal aunts, and parents-in-law. In other words, the use of KT to address superior family members is a dominant norm in Najdi society.

Table 2: Most frequently reported ToA to address parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts and in-laws

	KT		HF	
	F	P	F	P
Father	202	65%	101	32%
Mother	248	79%	55	17%
Grandfather	159	51%	74	24%
Grandmother	210	67%		
Paternal uncle	259	83%		
Paternal aunt	269	86%		
Maternal uncle	265	85%		
Maternal aunt	271	87%		
Father-in-law	92*	75%		
Mother-in-law	95**	75%		

F = frequency, P = percentage
*92 of the 122 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (191 participants) when addressing their fathers-in-law
**95 of the 126 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (187 participants) when addressing mothers-in-law

Nevertheless, statistical analysis revealed that KT use is not the only appropriate ToA to address some superiors, particularly fathers. The HF *ṭāl ʕumrak* was the second most frequently reported ToA for this function. As Table 2 shows, 32% of the participants reported the use of HF to address their father. This means that KT and HF are two dominant norms used to address fathers in the Najdi community. Since the origo of both ToA in interactions with the father is an inferior family member (the participant) and the focus is a superior family member (the father) it can be argued that both ToA may index deference to this

superior member. The term ‗deference' in this study is used to denote the indication that the hearer is of higher status than the speaker. I draw on Goffman's (1956: 477-480) definition of deference behaviour as conveying appreciation and respect to the hearer and establishing or re-establishing interpersonal relationships between the interlocutors, such as maintaining difference. Since using KT and HF are dominant norms in addressing fathers, it can be argued that each ToA may potentially index different level of deference. It is also possible that the difference between the levels of deference that each ToA may index could be related to other co-occuring signs such as the speaker's identity and the setting. This point will be seen in the next stage of the analysis in section 5.6.4.

Furthermore, informants are usually not unanimous in using the statistical norms derived from the data (Eelen 2001: 178). While KT was identified as a dominant norm to address family superiors, the analysis showed that HF was an alternative ToA reported to address mothers and grandfathers. 17% of the participants reported the use of HF to address their mothers, while 24% of the participants reported the use of HF to address their grandfathers. This means that the use of HF competes with the dominant norm of using KT and demonstrates that both norms coexist in Najdi society to address mothers and grandfathers, but notably not grandmothers. Thus, asymmetry exists in Najdi ToA choices for parents and grandparents and reflects obvious variability in ToA usage among Najdi speakers which might be related to possible differences in settings.

Moving downwards in the family hierarchy, the analysis revealed that Tek was the most frequent ToA to address elder siblings and siblings-in-law. As Table 3 shows, over half of the participants reported using Tek to address their elder siblings. Likewise, 51% of the participants reported the use of Tek to address their siblings-in-law. Accordingly, the use of Tek to address an elder sibling or sibling-in-law is a dominant norm in Najdi. However, Table 3 also shows that FN is another ToA that competes with this dominant ToA for the purpose of addressing an elder sibling or sister-in-law, but not brother-in-law. Notable percentages of the participants preferred to use FN to address their elder sibling or sister-in-law. Hence, using Tek and FN are two competing norms that coexist in the Najdi community to address elder siblings and sisters-in-law but not brothers-in-law, creating asymmetry in ToA choices to address siblings-in-law.

Table 3: Most frequently reported ToA to address elder siblings and siblings-in-law

	Tek		FN	
	F	P	F	P
Elder brother	186	59%	74	24%
Elder sister	169	54%	95	31%
Brother-in-law	63*	51%		
Sister-in-law	65**	51%	52	41%

F = frequency, P = percentage

*63 of the 123 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (190 participants) when addressing brothers-in-law

**65 of the 127 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (186 participants) when addressing sisters-in-law

Finally, FN was the most frequent ToA reported by the participants when addressing their younger siblings, male/female cousins and spouses. As shown in Table 4, the participants overwhelmingly reported utilizing FN to address their younger siblings. A large number of the participants also reported the use of FN to address their male/female cousins. 41% of the participants reported using FN to address their male cousins, while 52% of the participants reported employing FN to address their female cousins. In addition, 44% of the participants chose FN to address their wives and 32% of the participants chose FN to address their husbands. Hence, it can be argued that it is the norm in the Najdi community to use FN to address one‘s younger siblings, male/female cousins, and spouse. However, as can be seen in Table 4, the percentages demonstrate that KT was reported by a number of the participants as an alternative ToA to address younger siblings, with 18% of the participants reporting the use of KT to address their younger siblings. Thus, while using FN is a dominant norm to address younger kin, using KT *uxūy/extī* (my brother/my sister) is apparently an alternative norm that competes with the norm of using FN in this context. Predictably, in contrast to ToA for elder siblings, we can see that ToA for younger siblings show a different set of preferences. Moreover, as noted at the beginning of this section and as illustrated by Table 4, the actual KT was another dominant ToA reported in interactions with male/female cousins. Since it was chosen by more than 100 informants, KT was considered to be the second most frequent term with which to address cousins. Therefore, using FN and KT are two dominant norms which coexist in the Najdi community to address male/female cousins. On the other hand, Tek was shown to be another frequent ToA that competes with the dominant norms (using FN and KT) to address male cousins but not female cousins. 18% of the participants reported Tek to address their male cousins. Notably, there is asymmetry in ToA choices for male and female cousins.

Table 4: Most frequently reported ToA to address younger siblings, cousins and spouses

	FN		KT		Tek	
	F	P	F	P	F	P
Younger brother	227	73%	55	18%		
Younger sister	227	72%	56	18%		
Male cousin	127	41%	105	34%	56	18%
Female cousin	163	52%	110	35%		
Wife	30*	44%				
Husband	30**	32%				

F = frequency, P = percentage

*30 of the 68 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (245 participants) when addressing wives

**30 of the 95 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (218 participants) when addressing husbands

In conclusion, the above analysis demonstrates that more than one dominant norm of ToA choice exists to address Najdi fathers and cousins. The dominant norms of ToA used to address Najdi family members were not shared by all of the participants, as some participants thought that other ToA were more appropriate than the most common ToA in certain interactions. As seen in the analysis, there are a number of alternative norms of ToA usage with which to address family members that coexist and compete with the dominant norms in the Najdi community. Furthermore, the data demonstrated asymmetries in ToA choices to address parents, grandparents, siblings-in-law and male/female cousins. Therefore, it can be argued that an obvious variability exists within Najdi ToA system in interactions with family members, which may be considered as the norm rather than the exception.

5.6.2.2 Norms of expected ToA from family members

The statistical analysis of frequencies identified three common ToA expected when being addressed by family members. These ToA are Qua.inv.P, FN and Tek. Each ToA has been found to be commonly expected from particular family members. As in the discussion on the reported ToA, the analysis here will present the distribution of the common expected ToA among Najdi family members from the family members who are the top of the family hierarchy downwards.

The results of the statistical analysis of the interactions with family members at the top of the family hierarchy indicated that Qua.inv.P was the most frequent ToA expected by the participants from mothers, grandparents, uncles and aunts. However, as Table 5 shows, FN, not Qua.inv.P, was the most commonly expected ToA from fathers. In fact, Table 5 demonstrates various patterns of using Qua.inv.P and FN among family superiors. The use of

Qua.inv.P and FN are two dominant norms for being addressed by mothers, uncles and aunts. Nevertheless, while using Qua.inv.P is the dominant norm when being addressed by grandparents, using FN was an alternative norm expected by a number of the participants. 25% of the participants expected FN from their grandfathers and 23% of the participants expected FN from their grandmothers. Hence, the norm of using FN by grandparents has been shown to compete with the dominant norm of using Qua.inv.P.

In interactions with fathers, the data revealed a new pattern of ToA choices. Unlike ToA patterns expected from mothers, when being addressed by fathers FN was the most commonly expected ToA for 43% of the participants, while Qua.inv.P was an alternative competing ToA that was expected by 24% of the participants. KT was another alternative ToA expected from fathers by 17% of the participants. Thus, there are two norms competing with the dominant norm of using FN when being addressed by fathers. It is apparent that the participants expected different sets of address term usage from their parents.

Table 5: Most frequently expected ToA from parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts and elder siblings

	Qua.inv.P		FN		KT	
	F	P	F	P	F	P
Father	76	24%	134	43%	54	17%
Mother	128	41%	107	34%		
Grandfather	154	49%	76	25%		
Grandmother	161	51%	73	23%		
Paternal uncle	123	39%	135	43%		
Paternal aunt	148	47%	115	37%		
Maternal uncle	132	42%	128	41%		
Maternal aunt	154	49%	107	34%		

F = frequency, P = percentage

However, since the origo of ToA when being addressed by parents is a superior family member (parents) and the focus is inferior family member (participants), it seems probable that ToA from parents index affection to their children. Hence, while Najdi mothers are expected to use Qua.inv.P to show their affection, Najdi fathers are expected to prefer the use of FN to show their affection.

Similarly, participants overwhelmingly expected FN to be used when being addressed by siblings and cousins and when describing the interaction between Najdi females and their husbands. As Table 6 indicates, over half of the participants expected FN from their

elder/younger siblings. A large number of participants also expected FN from their cousins: 42% of the participants expected FN from their male cousins and 50% of the participants expected FN from their female cousins. 44% of the married female participants expected FN from their husbands. Nonetheless, when being addressed by male/female cousins, KT *ʔebn/bent alʕamm* (male/female cousin) was the second most frequently expected ToA: 34% of the participants expected KT from their male cousins, while 36% of the participants expected the same ToA from their female cousins. In addition, it was found that KT *uxūy/extī* (my brother/my sister) was an alternative ToA that was expected from younger brothers by 16% of the participants. Similarly, Tek was an alternative ToA expected from younger brothers and male cousins with relative percentages as seen in Table 6.

Table 6: Most frequently expected ToA from younger siblings, cousins and husbands

	FN		KT		Tek	
	F	P	F	P	F	P
Elder brother	207	66%				
Elder sister	198	63%				
Younger brother	187	60%	50	16%	50	16%
Younger sister	191	61%				
Male cousin	132	42%	107	34%	51	17%
Female cousin	155	50%	111	36%		
Husband	42*	44%				

F = frequency, P = percentage

*42 of the 95 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (218 participants) when being addressed by husbands

Thus, the dominant norm expected by the participants from family members who are the ego equals of the speakers, including the spouse, was the use of FN. However, in interaction with cousins, the use of KT was another dominant norm coexistent with FN use. In other words, it is normal in the Najdi community to hear either FN or KT from male/female cousins. Tek was notably expected from Najdi males, i.e., younger brothers and male cousins, but not from their female counterparts.

Finally, as Table 7 shows, Tek was the most common ToA expected from the wives, parents-in-law and siblings-in-law, although FN was a frequent ToA expected from the wives and sisters-in-law of some participants. 26% of the married participants expected FN from their wives and 40% of the participants expected FN from their sisters-in-law. This demonstrates an obvious asymmetry of ToA choices expected from the non-blood family members, as no expectation of FN was noted with regards to either parents-in-law or

brothers-in-law. It could be argued here that receiving only Tek from parents-in-law and brothers-in-law may index the existence of deference in this interaction.

In summary, while using Tek is a competing norm expected from the blood male family members who are ego equal, i.e., younger siblings and cousins, it is a dominant norm expected from non-blood superior/equal male/female family members, i.e., wives and in-laws. Therefore, it could be argued that the use of Tek in Najdi by the male younger siblings and male cousins may index deference. The data analysis demonstrates that FN, KT and Tek are reciprocal ToA between Najdi speakers and their elder/younger siblings, male/female cousins, siblings-in-law and spouses. It was found that, in these tested dyads, there were notable numbers of cases where the same informant reported and expected the address term. The issue of reciprocity among family members will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Table 7: Most frequently expected ToA from wives, parents-in-law and siblings-in-law

	Tek		FN	
	F	P	F	P
Wife	19*	28%	18*	26%
Father-in-law	50**	41%		
Mother-in-law	44***	35%		
Brother-in-law	72****	59%		
Sister-in-law	65*****	51%	51*****	40%

F = frequency, P = percentage
*19 of 68 participants expected Tek from wives, 18 of 68 participants expected FN
**50 of 122 participants expected Tek from fathers-in-law
***44 of 126 participants expected Tek from mothers-in-law
****72 of 123 participants expected Tek from brothers-in-law
*****65 of 127 participants expected Tek from sisters-in-law, 51 of 127 participants expected FN

5.6.2.3 Symmetry and reciprocity in Najdi ToA use with family members

In this section, the reciprocal ToA reported and expected by the same informants and the symmetrical dyads among Najdi family members are presented. The analysis above in sections 5.6.2.1 and 5.6.2.2 reveals that FN, KT and Tek are reported and expected by the same informants in some of the dyads with certain Najdi family members. As shown in Table 8, FN is reciprocal in Najdi families between siblings, cousins, spouses and sisters-in-law. Though FN was chosen by a number of the participants as ToA that they would use to address their elder siblings, it was found that FN was the most frequent ToA expected from elder siblings. In other words, the FN reciprocity in the interaction with elder siblings is limited. As seen in Table 8, 22% of the participants reciprocated FN with their elder brothers while, 30% reciprocated FN with their elder sisters. Additionally, as seen in Table 8, Najdis

typically used FN reciprocally with their younger brothers/sisters and their male/female cousins. Likewise, 27% of the married males and 30% of the married females commonly reported and expected FN in the interaction with their spouses. It is also seen that 35% of the participants preferred using and expecting FN when interacting with their sisters-in-law. It can therefore be argued that FN in Najdi is a reciprocal ToA in interactions between these family members, most likely as a means to show intimacy.

Table 8: FN reciprocity with family members

	FN					
	Reported		Expected		Reciprocity	
	F	P	F	P	F	P
Elder brother	74	24%	207	66%	69	22%
Elder sister	95	31%	198	63%	93	30%
Younger brother	227	73%	187	60%	177	57%
Younger sister	227	72%	191	61%	181	58%
Male cousin	127	41%	132	42%	120	38%
Female cousin	163	52%	155	50%	152	49%
Wife	30*	44%	18	26%	18*	27%
Husband	30**	32%	42	44%	28**	30%
Sister-in-law	52***	41%	51	40%	45***	35%

F = frequency, P = percentage

* Of the 68 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (245 participants) in dyads with wives

** Of the 95 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (218 participants) in dyads with husbands

*** Of the 127 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (186 participants) in dyads with sisters-in-law

The same reciprocity can also be observed in use of the KT term for younger brothers and cousins of both genders. As Table 9 shows, 11% of the participants preferred to reciprocate KT with their younger brothers by reporting and expecting the same use of KT. Furthermore, KT was a commonly reciprocated ToA between participants and their male/female cousins. 33% of the participants preferred to use and expect KT in interactions with their male cousins and 35% of the participants with their female cousins. Since the interlocutors were either inferior family member (younger brother) or self-equal family member (cousins) it could be argued that the reciprocal KT may index intimacy rather than deference to the addressee.

Table 9: KT reciprocity with family members

	KT					
	Reported		Expected		Reciprocity	
	F	P	F	P	F	P
Younger brother	55	18%	50	16%	33	11%
Male cousin	105	34%	107	34%	103	33%
Female cousin	110	35%	111	36%	108	35%

F = frequency, P = percentage

In addition, as Table 10 shows, Tek was a reciprocal ToA between participants and their male cousins and siblings-in-law. Overall, 42% of the participants reciprocated Tek with their brothers-in-law, while 46% of the participants reciprocated Tek with their sisters-in-law. Tek use was also reciprocal between 14% of Najdi speakers and their male cousins.

Table 10: Tek reciprocity with family members

	Tek					
	Reported		Expected		Reciprocity	
	F	P	F	P	F	P
Brother-in-law	63*	51%	72*	59%	51*	42%
Sister-in-law	65*	51%	65*	51%	58**	46%
Male cousin	56	18%	51	17%	43	14%

*Of the 123 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (190 participants) in dyads with brothers-in-law

**Of the 127 total participants after excluding those who chose n/a (186 participants) in dyads with sisters-in-law

In summary, the reciprocity of FN claimed by the participants in interactions with elder siblings, who enjoy high status in Najdi families, allows it to be argued that FN usage index intimacy with the elder siblings. Similarly the reciprocal FN and KT in interaction with the younger brothers and with male/female cousins who are equals could be interpreted to mean that KT use when addressing cousins may index intimacy for a certain speaker. On the other hand, the use of the non-reciprocal Tek by Najdis to address their elder siblings may index deference to the elder siblings. As discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3, gender segregation is a religious and cultural norm in the Najdi community. This means that a social distance exists between cousins of opposite genders, as women should wear a veil in the presence of their cousins. It could therefore be argued here that the reciprocal Tek when addressing the male cousins but not female cousins may potentially be a way to show deference to the male cousins. This type of deference is also apparent in the revealed

reciprocity of Tek between the participants and their siblings-in-law, as this relationship is generally not as intimate as that with blood siblings.

5.6.3 Norms of Najdi ToA use in interactions with people in the street

This section presents the statistical norms derived from the collected data about Najdi ToA use in interactions with strangers. The analysis revealed four main ToA that were used in interactions with people in the street: P.M *law samaḥt* (excuse me), tropic KT, *Mohammed* and Ed. The usage of the name *Mohammed* to address strangers and particularly taxi drivers recently became popular in Saudi Arabia, perhaps because of its popularity among Muslims because it is the name of the prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him). Hence the user assumes that if the taxi driver is a Muslim there is a good chance that he carries this name. This supposition was actually mentioned by one of the questionnaire participants. Furthermore, the analysis indicated P.M and tropic KT as reciprocal ToA between the participants and the targeted strangers in this study. The discussion in the following section will show the distribution of the usage of these terms and whether they form dominant or competing norms. This discussion will begin with the Najdi ToA norms used to address people in the street, after which an examination will be provided of the norms of ToA that were expected from these strangers. Finally the reciprocity issue in this domain will be presented and discussed.

5.6.3.1 Norms of reported ToA to address people in the street

The analysis indicated that P.M, tropic KT and Ed are commonly preferred by the participants when addressing male strangers irrespective of their age. It was found that using P.M is a dominant norm to address the male stranger who is younger or older than the participant. Table 11 shows that 33% of the participants reported the use of P.M to address younger male strangers and 60% of the participants reported P.M to address older male strangers. Employing the tropic KT appeared to be a competing norm to the use of P.M in addressing these types of strangers: 28% of the participants reported the use of the tropic KT *ʔax* (brother) to address younger male strangers and 29% reported the use of the tropic KT *ʕamm* (paternal uncle) to address older male strangers. Interestingly, when the male stranger was of the same age as the participant, the same ToA were used but with the application of different norms of usage. Using the tropic KT *ʔax* (brother) was the dominant norm to address a male stranger of the same age as the participant, with 58% of the participants reporting tropic KT as the preferred mode in this context. P.M was shown to be a competing

norm to address male stranger of same age. 31% of the participants reported P.M to address the same age male stranger. Although there were similar norms for ToA used to address younger and older male strangers, ToA for younger male strangers showed a further differing norm. As seen in Table 11, using Ed *alḥabīb* (lit. masc. Honey) was another competing norm, being used to address the younger male strangers by 31% of the participants. This finding demonstrates clear asymmetry in ToA for male strangers of all ages.

Table 11: Most frequently reported ToA to address people in the street

		P.M		KT		Ed		Mhd*	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Male stranger	Younger	103	33%	90	28%	98	31%		
	Same age	95	31%	182	58%				
	Older	186	60%	91	29%				
Female stranger	Younger	98	31%	181	58%				
	Same age	97	31%	184	59%				
	Older	212	68%	70	22%				
Taxi driver	Younger	100	32%					164	52%
	Same age	93	30%	60	19%			111	35%
	Older	103	33%	152	49%				

F = frequency, P = percentage
*Mhd = Mohammed

When addressing female strangers, tropic KT and P.M were commonly chosen by the participants. Furthermore, the norms of using these ToA are similar to the interaction with younger and same age female strangers, whereas different norms were observed in interactions with older female strangers. As Table 11 shows, the use of the tropic KT *ext* (sister) is a dominant norm to address younger and same age female strangers. Over half of the participants reported tropic KT to address younger and same age female strangers, whereas using P.M forms a competing norm observed in ToA usage of 31% of the participants to address both younger and same age female strangers. Table 11 clearly shows that different norms govern the addressing of older female strangers. Using P.M is the dominant norm to address older female strangers among 68% of the participants, while using the tropic KT *xālah* (maternal aunt) was a competing norm with 22% of the participants.

In the interaction with a taxi driver, another set of preferences were observed. The name *Mohammed*, P.M and tropic KT were the most frequently reported ToA in this interaction. However the reported ToA and the norms of using them were found to differ

according to the age differences between the addresser and the addressee. Using *Mohammed* and P.M are two dominant norms in the interaction with taxi drivers who are younger than the participants. Predictably, using *Mohammed* is the first dominant norm in addressing a younger taxi driver, as 52% of the participants selected this option. Using P.M is another dominant norm to address the younger taxi driver for 32% of the participants. As seen in Table 11, *Mohammed* was also a dominant norm to address a taxi driver who was the same age as the participants, with 35% of the participants reporting use of *Mohammed* in this scenario. Nevertheless, P.M and the tropic KT *ʔax* (brother) were other frequent norms competing with the dominant norm in this interaction. Notably, *Mohammed* was not used to address an older taxi driver. Instead, the tropic KT *ʕamm* (paternal uncle) and P.M were the two dominant Najdi norms coexisting in the address of older taxi drivers: 49% of the participants reported the tropic KT to address the older taxi driver and 33% of the participants reported P.M. This demonstrates asymmetry in ToA choices to address taxi drivers who are younger, of same age or older.

In conclusion, while using P.M is the dominant norm to address unknown males (male strangers and taxi drivers) when they are younger or older than the speaker, it is also a dominant norm to address unknown females who are older than the speaker. On the other hand, Najdis normally use tropic KT relevant to the addressee gender and age to address unknown males if they are of the same age as themselves, as well as to address taxi drivers who are older than them. They also normally employ tropic KT to address female strangers who only are younger or of the same age as them. It could therefore be argued that ToA norms with unknown people are highly dependent on the assumed age and gender of the interlocutor. Finally, the data confirm that it is the norm among the sampled Najdis to use the name *Mohammed,* which may or may not be the personal name of the addressee, to address taxi drivers who are younger than or the same age as the speaker. Since the focus of ToA here is an unknown self-inferior interlocutor, it could be argued that the choice of *Mohammed* in these interactions may index intimacy.

5.6.3.2 Norms of expected ToA from people in the street

The analysis indicated P.M and tropic KTs *ʔax*/*ext* (brother/sister) and *wledi*/*benti* (my son/my daughter) as the common ToA expected from people in the street. Interestingly, P.M and tropic KT were reciprocal ToA between the participants and people in the street. The data analysis demonstrates that P.M and tropic KT are reciprocal ToA between Najdi

speakers and strangers. There are notable cases of reporting and expecting the same ToA by the same informant. A discussion of the reciprocity issue in these interactions will be presented in the next section.

Table 12: Most frequently expected ToA from people in the street

		P.M		KT	
		F	P	F	P
By male stranger	Younger	146	47%	140	45%
	Same age	85	27%	180	58%
	Older	192	61%	83	27%
By male stranger	Younger	95	30%	179	57%
	Same age	98	31%	177	57%
	Older	222	71%	59	19%
By taxi driver	Younger	171	55%	87	28%
	Same age	178	57%	66	21%
	Older	101	32%	140	45%

As can be seen in Table 12, P.M was commonly expected by the participants from younger/older male strangers, with 47% of the participants expecting P.M from younger male strangers and 61% expecting P.M from older male strangers. The tropic KT *ʔax* was the most frequently expected ToA from same age male strangers for 58% of the participants. The tropic KT *ʔax* was also the second most frequently expected ToA from younger male strangers for 45% of the participants. Thus, P.M and tropic KT were two dominant forms expected to be received from younger male strangers. While P.M was normally expected when being addressed by younger and older male strangers, tropic KT was the commonly expected ToA in interactions with same age male strangers. In addition, P.M was shown to be a viable alternative ToA expected from male strangers of same age, in 27% of the responses. Hence, the use of P.M forms a competing norm with the dominant norm of using tropic KT by same age male strangers. In the interaction with older male strangers, while using P.M is the dominant norm, using the tropic KT *wledi*/*benti* (my son/my daughter) forms a competing norm as it was expected by 27% of the participants.

The tropic KT *ʔax* /*ext* (brother/sister) was the most frequently expected ToA by the participants from female strangers who were younger than and of same age as the participants. 57% of the participants expected tropic KT from younger and same age female strangers. P.M was another form of competing usage of the dominant form (tropic KT) in the interactions with both younger and same age female stranger. 30% of the participants

expected P.M from younger female strangers and 31% of the participants expected P.M from same age female strangers. Nevertheless, the participants overwhelmingly, 71% of the participants, expected P.M from female strangers who were older than them. The tropic KT *wledi*/*benti* (my son/my daughter) usage was another norm competing with the dominant norm of using P.M by older female strangers.

As seen in Table 12, P.M was also commonly expected from younger or same age taxi driver, comprising the expected ToA for more than half of the participants. P.M was also the second most frequently expected ToA from older taxi drivers, as the tropic KT *wledi*/*benti* was the most frequent ToA expected from this interlocutor: 45% of the participants expected tropic KT, while 32% of the participants expected P.M from an older taxi driver. Obviously, the use of tropic KT and P.M by older taxi drivers were two dominant norms in the interaction with this interlocutor. Using the tropic KT *ʔax* /*ext* (brother/sister) was another norm competing with the dominant norm of using P.M when being addressed by a taxi driver who was younger or of same age as the participants: 28% of the participants expected tropic KT from a younger taxi driver, while 21% of the participants expected tropic KT from a taxi driver of the same age.

To conclude, a differential use can be seen, which discriminates ToA based on the assumed age of the interlocutor: tropic KT is normally expected from strangers who are younger or the same age of the speaker, while P.M is normally expected from older strangers. Interestingly, this is not necessarily the case in interactions with taxi drivers. Although P.M is commonly expected from taxi drivers, irrespective of their age, the tropic KT is commonly expected from older taxi drivers more than the younger or same age drivers.

5.6.3.3 Symmetry and reciprocity in Najdi ToA use with people in street

As noted in the previous section, P.M and tropic KT are reciprocal ToA between the participants and people in the street. Tables 13a and 13b show the distribution of reciprocal ToA with strangers, when the same address term is reported and expected by the same informant. When participants assumed the reciprocity of the used ToA in any interaction, they aligned their interlocutors‘ choice of ToA to their own choices. This likely was because participants believed that this ToA was the most appropriate to index their identity and their relationship with their interlocutors (Agha 2007).

Table 13: P.M and tropic KT Reciprocity with strangers

a)

		P.M					
		Reported		Expected		Reciprocity	
		F	P	F	P	F	P
Male stranger	Younger	103	33%	146	47%	87	28%
	Same age	95	31%	85	27%	77	25%
	Older	186	60%	192	61%	165	53%
Female stranger	Younger	98	31%	95	30%	79	25%
	Same age	97	31%	98	31%	87	28%
	Older	212	68%	222	71%	204	65%
Taxi driver	Younger	100	32%	171	55%	73	23%
	Same age	93	30%	178	57%	71	23%
	Older	103	33%	101	32%	79	25%

b)

		KT					
		Reported		Expected		Reciprocity	
		F	P	F	P	F	P
Male stranger	Younger	90	28%	140	45%	53	17%
	Same age	182	58%	180	58%	174	56%
	Older	91	29%	83	27%	69	22%
Female stranger	Younger	181	58%	179	57%	167	53%
	Same age	184	59%	177	57%	173	55%
	Older	70	22%	59	19%	54	17%
Taxi driver	Younger			87	28%		
	Same age	60	19%	66	21%	41	13%
	Older	152	49%	140	45%	141	45%

The data show that Najdis commonly prefer reciprocal P.M in dyads with unknown males and females. However this preference appears to be more obvious in the dyads with older strangers. As seen in Table 13a high percentages are shown to be in the dyads with older strangers: 53% of the participants preferred to reciprocate P.M with older male strangers, 65% reciprocate P.M with older female strangers and 25% reciprocate P.M with older taxi drivers. It could therefore be argued that the reciprocal P.M with younger and same age unknown males/females may index deference. The deference is apparent when P.M is reciprocal with older male/female strangers and older taxi drivers who are age superiors.

However, with the older taxi driver the participants commonly prefer to reciprocate the tropic KT by using *ʕamm* (paternal uncle) and expecting *wledi*/*benti* (my son/daughter) in return. Notably, the reciprocal tropic KT with older taxi drivers who are age superiors are chosen to stress the age difference between the interlocutors. Therefore, reciprocal tropic KT

seems to index deference to the addressee, since in Najdi society elder people normally take precedence over younger people, even if the latter have higher status. This was discussed in detail in Chapter 3, section 3.3. Moreover, the tropic KT *ext* (sister) was commonly reciprocal with the younger/same age female strangers and the tropic KT *ʔax* (brother) was commonly reciprocal with the male strangers of same age. Given Najdi society norm of maintaining social distance between women and non-kinsmen (see Chapter 3, section 3.3), it seems plausible that the reciprocity of the same tropic KT with the younger/same age male/female strangers and expectations of tropic KT from the older taxi drivers serve to maintain social distance. To conclude, it is hypothesised that in the Najdi community using reciprocal P.M with younger, same age and older male/female strangers may index deference. It is also argued that using reciprocal tropic KT with older male/female strangers may index deference, while reciprocal KT with younger/same age male/female strangers may index distance.

5.6.4 Chi-square test (χ2) for dependence

The research hypothesis suggested that the participants' ToA choices during interactions with the target persons in the two domains (family members and on the street) would be correlated with their gender, age and spoken variety. Therefore, a chi square test (χ^2) was conducted to explore significant associations at the level of significance ($\boldsymbol{p} < 0.05$). During the χ^2 test, the demographic characteristics were treated as independent variables while the questions in FANDQ were dependent variables. There were therefore 3 independent variables (gender, age and spoken variety) and 58 dependent variables (FANDQ questions). The dependent variables were divided into two groups: reported ToA and expected ToA. Each of the two groups consisted of 29 variables (questions). Two hypotheses were tested by means of this statistical test.

Null Hypothesis (H_0): There are no associations between the independent variables and the dependent variables.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_1): There are associations between the independent variables and the dependent variables.

The results of χ^2 test rejected the null hypothesis (H_0) in a number of the tested associations in both domains. In other words, the test suggested that statistically significant associations ($\boldsymbol{p} < 0.05$) between the dependent variables and the independent variables were very likely during interactions with a number of the target persons in these two domains.

Table 14 and Table 15 below show that there were significant associations between either some or all of the independent variables and the correlated dependent variable in a large number of the tested dyads. For example, the reported ToA to address one's father had significant associations with one independent variable (participant's gender), while the expected ToA had significant associations with all of the independent variables. The χ^2 test was unable to reject the null hypothesis (H_0) in some of the tested associations in the interactions, revealing non-significant associations ($\boldsymbol{p} > 0.05$) in these interactions. For instance, when addressing the parents there is a non-significant association between the age of the participants and their reported ToA. In summary, the χ^2 test results support the research hypothesis that the personal characteristics of Najdi speakers' generally play a role in their ToA use with both family members and strangers. Yet, non-significant associations are notable exceptions and so will be highlighted during the following discussion. The full results of the non-significant associations are available in Appendix 4.

In the following section (5.6.4.1) tables of correlations with each of the independent variables will be presented individually. Each independent variable will be tested in both domains, i.e., between family members and on the street. Although all of the interactions in both domains were tested in the chi-square test as dependent variables, only some of the interactions with the family members will be presented and discussed in view of their associations with the independent variables. As the study aims to investigate variety in ToA and to determine how this variety occurs, the selected dyads are those in which at least two ToA create the norms in addressing and being addressed by the target person. These interactions should either have two of the most frequent ToA, or one most frequent ToA determining the norm in the interaction and another frequent ToA (between 50 and 100 occurrences) which can potentially highlight another norm. This is because the norms of address in these interactions are less clear-cut, in addition to which the existence of distributed patterns of ToA use indicates social struggle over the use of these ToA and possibly normative uncertainty (conflicting values). The interactions between family members that reflect distributed patterns are: addressing and being addressed by the parents, younger brothers, male and female cousins, and sister-in-law. Interestingly, in the street setting all of the interactions with the targeted people demonstrated distributed patterns of ToA use and hence all (interactions with male/female strangers and with a taxi driver) will be included in the discussion.

Table 14: Results of the chi-square test for significant associations between reported ToA and interactional variables

		Reported ToA		
	Dependent variables (FANDQ questions)	**Gender**	**Age**	**Spoken variation**
Family members	1-How do you address your **father**?	***		
	2-How do you address your **mother**?	***		
	3-How do you address your **grandfather**?			
	4-How do you address your **grandmother**?			
	5-How do you address your **paternal uncle**?		**	**
	6-How do you address your **paternal aunt**?			
	7-How do you address your **maternal uncle**?			
	8-How do you address your **maternal aunt**?			
	9-How do you address your **elder brother**?	***		***
	10-How do you address your **elder sister**?	***		***
	11-How do you address your **younger brother**?	*	**	*
	12-How do you address your **younger sister**?		***	**
	13-How do you address your **male cousin**?	***	***	***
	14-How do you address your **female cousin**?	***	***	
	15-How do you address your **wife**?		*	
	16-How do you address your **husband**?		*	
	17-How do you address your **father-in-law**?	**		
	18-How do you address your **mother-in-law**?	***		*
	19-How do you address your **brother-in-law**?	***	*	*
	20-How do you address your **sister-in-law**?	**		
People in the street	21-How do you address a **male stranger** younger than you?	***	*	***
	22-How do you address a **male stranger** the same age as you?	***		***
	23-How do you address a **male stranger** older than you?			**
	24-How do you address a **female stranger** younger than you?	***		**
	25-How do you address a **female stranger** the same age as you?	***		**
	26-How do you address a **female stranger** older than you?	***	*	*
	27-How do you address a **taxi driver** younger than you?	***	***	**
	28-How do you address a **taxi driver** the same age as you?	***		***
	29-How do you address a **taxi driver** older than you?	***		***

Note: * $P < 0.05$. ** $P < 0.01$. *** $P < 0.001$

Table 15: Results of the chi-square test for significant associations between expected ToA and interactional variables

		Expected ToA		
	Dependent variables (FANDQ questions)	**Gender**	**Age**	**Spoken variation**
Family members	1-How does your **father** address you?	***	***	*
	2-How does your **mother** address you?	***	***	**
	3-How does your **grandfather** address you?	**	***	*
	4-How does your **grandmother** address you?	***	***	***
	5-How does your **paternal uncle** address you?		***	
	6-How does your **paternal aunt** address you?	**	***	*
	7-How does your **maternal uncle** address you?	**	***	**
	8-How does your **maternal aunt** address you?	***	***	**
	9-How does your **elder brother** address you?	**	***	***
	10-How does your **elder sister** address you?	**	***	
	11-How does your **younger brother** address you?	***	***	**
	12-How does your **younger sister** address you?	***	***	**
	13-How does your **male cousin** address you?	***	***	***
	14-How does your **female cousin** address you?	***	***	
	15-How does your **wife** address you?	*	**	*
	16-How does your **husband** address you?		**	**
	17-How does your **father-in-law** address you?		***	
	18-How does your **mother-in-law** address you?		**	
	19-How does your **brother-in-law** address you?	***	*	*
	20-How does your **sister-in-law** address you?	***	**	**
People in the street	21-How does a **male stranger** younger than you address you?	***		***
	22-How does a **male stranger** the same age as you address you?	***		***
	23-How does a **male stranger** older than you address you?	*		
	24-How does a **female stranger** younger than you address you?	***		*
	25-How does a **female stranger** the same age as you address you?	***		*
	26-How does a **female stranger** older than you address you?	***		
	27-How does a **taxi driver** younger than you address you?	***	*	
	28-How does a **taxi driver** the same age as you address you?	***		*
	29-How does a **taxi driver** older than you address you?	**	*	

Note: * $\boldsymbol{P} < 0.05$. ** $\boldsymbol{P} < 0.01$. *** $\boldsymbol{P} < 0.001$

5.6.4.1 Results of the associations between ToA choices and interactional variables

Table 16 and Table 17 below present the results of the correlations between ToA choices and the interactional variables in the selected dyads with the family members and with the selected dyads with people in the street. As the tables illustrate, a total of 15 interactions were examined in terms of their association with the independent variables: 6 interactions with family members; and 9 interactions with people in the street. Only the significant associations will be discussed in each interaction in the following section. However, brief reference will be made to the non-significant associations as exceptions. The following section presents each independent variable individually and presents all of its significant associations with the dependent variables. However, it should be noted that distinguishing which independent variables is more significant is not the focus of this investigation.

Table 16: Selected dyads with less clear-cut patterns of reported ToA

		Reported ToA		
	Dependent variables (FANDQ questions)	**Gender**	**Age**	**Spoken variety**
Family members	1-How do you address your **father**?	***		
	2-How do you address your **mother**?	***		
	3-How do you address your **younger brother**?	*	**	*
	4-How do you address your **male cousin**?	***	***	***
	5-How do you address your **female cousin**?	***	***	
	6-How do you address your **sister-in-law**?	**		
People in the street	7-How do you address a **male stranger** younger than you?	***	*	***
	8-How do you address a **male stranger** the same age as you?	***		***
	9-How do you address a **male stranger** older than you?			**
	10-How do you address a **female stranger** younger than you?	***		**
	11-How do you address a **female stranger** the same age as you?	***		**
	12-How do you address a **female stranger** older than you?	***	*	*
	13-How do you address a **taxi driver** younger than you?	***	***	**
	14-How do you address a **taxi driver** the same age as you?	***		***
	15-How do you address a **taxi driver** older than you?	***		***

Note: * $P < 0.05$. ** $P < 0.01$. *** $P < 0.001$

Table 17: Selected dyads with less clear-cut patterns of expected ToA

	Expected ToA			
	Dependent variables (FANDQ questions)	**Gender**	**Age**	**Spoken variety**
Family members	1-How does your **father** address you?	***	***	*
	2-How does your **mother** address you?	***	***	**
	3-How does your **younger brother** address you?	***	***	**
	4-How does your **male cousin** address you?	***	***	***
	5-How does your **female cousin** address you?	***	***	
	6-How does your **sister-in-law** address you?	***	**	**
People in the street	7-How does a **male stranger** younger than you address you?	***		***
	8-How does a **male stranger** the same age as you address you?	***		***
	9-How does a **male stranger** older than you address you?	*		
	10-How does a **female stranger** younger than you address you?	***		*
	11-How does a **female stranger** the same age as you address you?	***		*
	12-How does a **female stranger** older than you address you?	***		
	13-How does a **taxi driver** younger than you address you?	***	*	
	14-How does a **taxi driver** the same age as you address you?	***		*
	15-How does a **taxi driver** older than you address you?	**	*	

Note: * $P < 0.05$. ** $P < 0.01$. *** $P < 0.001$

5.6.4.1.1 Gender variable

It is apparent in Tables 16 and 17 above that the gender of the participants had significant associations with their choices of ToA in almost all of the selected dyads and in both domains. The only non-significant association was seen in the participants' ToA choices with regards to addressing a male stranger older than them. The results of this interaction could not reject the null hypothesis (H_0) since $p > 0.05$. Thus, while there are no gender differences in the norms for addressing older male strangers, there are significant differences in how the participants believe they would be addressed by this target person.

5.6.4.1.1.1 Family members

The results of the χ^2 test in Tables 16 and 17 above, show significant associations between the gender variable and the reported and expected ToA in the interactions with all of the selected family members. In the following sections, the family members will be presented individually and the corresponding ToA use will be discussed in view of the significant associations identified.

Parents

There are significant differences in how male and female Najdi speakers address and believe they would be addressed by their parents. As Table 18 below shows, while the preferred ToA to parents was KT for Najdi females, HF was preferred for Najdi males. This result confirmed the argument in section 5.6.2.1 that the coexistence of using KT and HF as two dominant norms to address fathers in Najdi society may index different levels of deference. This would mean that Najdi males use HF to address their fathers and in so doing they propose a level of deference higher than would be expressed by KT usage. Males used HF more than females which may be attributable to Najdi males using HF to address their fathers when both are outside the family setting in environments in which they should be formal. This setting is called men's *majlis*, where Najdi men normally gather separately from women (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.1). By using HF in men's *majlis*, Najdi males actually mark deference to the other men who are in this *majlis* where the norm is to be formal. According to Agha (2007: 316), the use of an honorific may mark the deference to the addressee$_{focus}$, referent$_{focus}$ or bystander$_{focus.}$ In other words, the deference focus could be to someone other than the addressee. Therefore, Najdi males prefer to use HF to their father as a means of extending the respect to the other men, so their deference becomes bystander$_{focus}$. In general, using KT to address fathers indexed female speakers showing deference in family settings, while using HF indexed male speakers showing deference in different settings outside the family setting.

On the other hand, as can be seen in Table 18, the females had greater expectations of FN from their parents. However, Qua.inv.P was expected from the parents differently. Interestingly, it was expected from the fathers by the females more than the males, while the opposite was true from mothers. Section 5.6.2.2 argued that the expected ToA from parents, who are superiors in the family hierarchy, might index affection on the part of the parents. The results in this section are evidence for this argument and also suggest the folk notion that fathers adore their daughters and mothers adore their sons, and that this notion is manifested in Najdi society. In all, the use of FN by Najdi mothers indexed affection to the female addresser, while using Qua.inv.P indexed affection to the male addresser. Remarkably, within each gender group there was asymmetry in the choice of ToA expected from their parents. Within the Najdi female group, while they expected FN and Qua.inv.P from their fathers more than the males, they only expected FN from the mothers more than the males. In contrast, Najdi male group expected Qua.inv.P more than the female group from their mothers, but not from their

fathers. This suggests that there are sub-groups who have different norms within Najdi female and male groups.

Table 18: Correlations between gender variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by parents

		Father				Mother			
		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected	
Gender	Total	KT	HF	FN	Qua.inv.P	KT	HF	Qua.inv.P	FN
% within females	150	78%	19%	47%	26%	91%	7%	35%	49%
% within males	163	52%	45%	39%	23%	69%	28%	47%	21%

Younger brothers

There were significant differences in the norms for how male and female Najdi speakers believe they address and being addressed by their younger brothers. As seen in Table 19, while Najdi females preferred FN to address their younger brothers, KT was preferred by Najdi males more than the females.

Table 19: Correlations between gender variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by younger brothers

		Younger brother			
		Reported		Expected	
Gender	Total	FN	KT	FN	KT
% within females	150	77%	11%	70%	5%
% within males	163	69%	24%	50%	26%

The participants seemed to align their interlocutors‘ (younger brothers) ToA choices to their own, because they believed it was the appropriate ToA in this dyad. It is apparent that speakers were indexed by their choice of ToA in addressing younger brothers; using KT indexed a male speaker while using FN indexed a female speaker. It was argued in section 5.6.2.3 that the reciprocal KT and FN with younger brothers might index intimacy. Accordingly, it could be argued that there is asymmetry in Najdi male and female ToA choices to show intimacy towards their younger brothers. While Najdi females believe FN is an appropriate ToA to show intimacy, Najdi males think KT is appropriate too for this dyad. This

could be attributable to differences in the settings for both genders to encounter the younger brothers. It could be argued that the prototype setting for males to encounter their younger brothers is in men's *majlis* while it is in family setting for females. To summarise, Najdi males and females form two sub-groups within the Najdi community, each with a different norm of ToA usage to show intimacy to younger brothers.

Male and female cousins

Significant differences were observed in the ways that Najdi males and females used FN and KT to address their male and female cousins, as well as in how they believed their cousins would use them. As Table 20 shows, while FN was the preferred ToA to cousins for Najdi females, KT was preferred by Najdi males. Additionally, both Najdi males and females aligned their cousins' ToA choices to their own. Thus, using FN to male/female cousins indexed a female speaker, while using KT indexed a male speaker.

Table 20: Correlations between gender variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by male and female cousins

		Male cousin				Female cousin			
		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected	
Gender	Total	FN	KT	FN	KT	FN	KT	FN	KT
% within females	150	51%	21%	55%	23%	63%	25%	63%	26%
% within males	163	31%	45%	30%	44%	42%	45%	37%	44%

In section 5.6.2.3 it was argued that using KT and FN in this symmetrical dyad might index intimacy. In light of the data, it could be argued that there is asymmetry in how male and female Najdi speakers prefer to show their intimacy to their cousins. While FN is largely deemed to be appropriate for the females, KT is preferred for the males. This preference manifests in their expectation of receiving the same ToA from the cousins as they give themselves. Moreover, this difference could be related to difference in the possible prototype settings for males/females to encounter their cousins. In summary, the findings suggest that Najdi males and females are two sub-groups within Najdi society, each with a different norm to show their intimacy to their cousins.

Sisters-in-law

As with previous sections, significant differences were seen in how male and female Najdi speakers address and believe they would be addressed by their sisters-in-law. As seen in Table 21, Najdi females preferred to use FN, while Najdi males preferred Tek. Also, while Najdi females expected FN, Najdi males had a greater expectation of Tek from their sisters-in-law. Noticeably, though the dyad with the sister-in-law is a symmetrical one in which the addresser and the addressee use reciprocal ToA (FN and Tek), there is asymmetry in Najdi male and female usage of the reciprocal ToA, i.e., the reciprocity of ToA with sisters-in-law is correlated with the gender of the speaker.

Table 21: Correlations between gender variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by sisters-in-law

		Sister-in-law			
		Reported		Expected	
Gender	Total	Tek	FN	Tek	FN
% within females	150	23%	27%	19%	29%
% within males	163	19%	7%	23%	5%

It was argued in section 5.6.2.3 that the reciprocal use of FN in interactions with sisters-in-law might index intimacy, while the use of reciprocal Tek might index deference. If this is true, then Najdi females would prefer to use FN with sisters-in-law to show intimacy and Najdi males prefer Tek as they need to show deference. The results in this section confirm this argument, supporting the inherent conservatism of Najdi society (see Chapter 3). Since the targeted person in this symmetrical dyad is the female family member (sister-in-law), the Najdi females were seen to have a greater expectation of FN, while Najdi males expected Tek more. Thus, there is gender based asymmetry in ToA choices expected from sisters-in-law.

5.6.4.1.1.2 People in the street

As seen in Tables 16 and 17 above, although both male and female participants addressed the older male stranger similarly (both used P.M), there were significant differences in how they thought they would be addressed by an older male stranger. Generally, the gender of the participants seemed to play an important role in their interactions with the targeted people in the street. In what follows, the target people in the street will be presented individually and the reported and expected ToA will be discussed in view of the significant associations.

Male strangers

There were significant differences in how Najdi males and females addressed and believed they would be addressed by both younger/of the same age male strangers. There were also significant differences in how they believed an older male stranger would address them. As shown in Table 22, P.M was the preferred ToA for Najdi females to address younger male strangers, and male strangers of the same age. Nevertheless, there is asymmetry in ToA choices expected by the female participants from these strangers. While, Najdi females aligned younger male strangers‘ choices of ToA to their own choices by expecting P.M, they expected tropic KT from the same age stranger instead. Interestingly, among the Najdi males tropic KT was more commonly reported and expected in dyads with younger/same age male strangers. In other words, using PM to younger/same age male strangers indexed female Najdi speaker, while using tropic KT indexed Najdi male speaker. On the other hand, in dyads with older male strangers both Najdi males and females believed that they would receive P.M more than tropic KT.

Table 22: Correlations between gender variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by male strangers

		Male stranger									
		Younger				Same age				Older	
		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected		Expected	
Gender	Total	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M
% within females	150	37%	53%	25%	63%	39%	47%	41%	39%	32%	51%
% within males	163	21%	15%	63%	32%	76%	15%	73%	17%	21%	71%

It is apparent that gender-based asymmetry existed in the ToA choices for addressing male strangers based on their assumed ages. Moreover, within Najdi females, asymmetry was also found with respect to their ToA choices in dyads with male strangers of same age as Najdi females were seen to prefer P.M and expect tropic KT in return. In section 5.6.3.3, it was argued that while the use of P.M to male strangers may index deference, the use of tropic KT may index distance. Hence, it could be argued that Najdi females who used P.M to address younger male strangers intended to show deference, while those who expected tropic KT preferred to maintain social distance. In other words, within Najdi females there are two different sub-groups and each group has a different norm, using tropic KT or using P.M, which potentially serve different social functions.

Female strangers

Significant differences were also found in how Najdi males and females interacted with female strangers who were younger, the same age or older than them. While Najdi females preferred P.M to younger/same age female strangers, they expected tropic KT. Interestingly, Najdi males preferred the reciprocal tropic KT in both dyads. It should be noted that Najdi males and females used different set of ToA in the dyads with older female strangers. As Table 23 shows, the reciprocal P.M was the preferred ToA to older female strangers for both Najdi females and males. It is apparent here that within each group there was also asymmetry in their ToA choices to the female strangers, based on their assumed age. While Najdi females preferred to use P.M to younger/same age/older female strangers, they preferred reciprocal P.M with older female strangers only. Likewise, while Najdi males preferred reciprocal tropic KT with younger/same age female strangers, they preferred reciprocal P.M only with older female strangers.

Table 23: Correlations between gender variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by female strangers

		Female stranger											
		Younger				Same age				Older			
		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected	
Gender	Total	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M
% within females	150	41%	46%	44%	39%	43%	45%	43%	41%	31%	57%	32%	51%
% within females	163	74%	18%	69%	22%	74%	18%	69%	23%	15%	77%	21%	71%

Ultimately, the use of P.M to younger/same age female strangers indexed a female speaker, while using tropic KT indexed a male speaker. It was argued in section 5.6.3.3 that reciprocal P.M with female strangers might index deference, while reciprocal tropic KT with female strangers might index distance with younger/same age female strangers and tropic KT to older female strangers may index deference. Accordingly, it could be argued that although Najdi females prefer to show deference to female strangers irrespective of their age, which accounts for their use of P.M, there are sub-group who prefer to expect tropic KT from younger/same age female strangers to keep distance. Similarly, though Najdi males prefer to keep distance from younger/same age female strangers, hence utilising reciprocal tropic KT,

there are Najdi male sub-groups among who prefer to show deference to older female strangers and hence use reciprocal P.M.

Taxi drivers

There are significant differences between how Najdi males and females interact with taxi drivers. As Table 24 shows, the use of *Mohammed* is preferred by Najdi males to address younger/same age taxi drivers, although they expected P.M from younger/same age taxi drivers. However, Najdi males preferred tropic KT to address the taxi drivers if they are older than them and aligned the older taxi drivers' ToA choices to their own by expecting tropic KT in response. In contrast, Najdi females preferred to use P.M to address taxi drivers, irrespective of their age. Predictably, Najdi females aligned the ToA choices of the taxi drivers to their own, meaning that they expected P.M to be used in addressing them by these taxi drivers.

Table 24: Correlations between gender variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by taxi drivers

		Taxi drivers											
		Younger				Same age				Older			
		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected	
Gender	Total	Mhd*	P.M	P.M	KT	Mhd	P.M	P.M	KT	KT	P.M	KT	P.M
% within females	150	21%	55%	64%	13%	12%	46%	52%	21%	31%	41%	36%	37%
% within males	163	82%	10%	46%	42%	57%	15%	61%	21%	65%	25%	66%	28%

*Mhd = Mohammed

It was argued in section 5.6.3.1 that the use of *Mohammed* to address younger/same age drivers might index intimacy. Section 5.6.3.3 also postulated that the use of the reciprocal tropic KT with younger/same age taxi drivers might index distance, while indexing deference to older taxi drivers. The results here support this argument. Najdi males were found to use *Mohammed* to address younger/same age taxi drivers. As taxi drivers are self-inferior to the speaker, Najdi males do not expect to be addressed as *Mohammed* in return, instead expecting P.M from both taxi drivers. However, Najdi males preferred to use tropic KT to address older drivers since this ToA indexes deference and expected it in return, as it will index distance in this case. Finally, in section 5.6.3.3 it was argued that using P.M to taxi drivers might index deference. According to the results here, Najdi females prefer reciprocal P.M to address younger, same age and older taxi drivers to show deference and to get the same deference in return. These findings demonstrate an obvious asymmetry in the Najdi male ToA choices in

dyads with younger/same age taxi drivers. This asymmetry means that there are sub-groups who prefer different norms within Najdi male groups.

5.6.4.1.2 Age variable

Tables 16 and 17 above, show that the age group of the participants had significant associations with their ToA choices in a number of the selected dyads in both settings. In the family setting, the age group of the participants had significant associations with the ToA they expected from their family members, more than their choices of the reported ToA. While the age variable correlated with the participants‘ ToA choices when addressing three of the family members, it affected their expected ToA choices when being addressed by all of the family members. However, in the street setting, the participants‘ age group correlated with their reported ToA to address strangers more than their expected ToA from these strangers. While their age group correlated with their reported ToA to address three of the targeted people in the street, it only affected their expected ToA from two of the targeted strangers. In general, then, it seems to be the case that the age of Najdi speakers correlates with their ToA choices in their interactions with their family members more than it does with strangers. It is worth noting here that the age group (over 50) was small (see Table 1), so it was conflated with the 41–50 group in the following data analysis, creating 3 age groups: 20–30, 31–40 and 41–over 50.

5.6.4.1.2.1 Family members

The age group of the participants had significant associations with their reported ToA choices in three of the selected dyads among family members: younger brothers, male cousins and female cousins. However, it had non-significant associations with their reported ToA to parents and sisters-in-law. In fact, the results of these interactions could not reject the null hypothesis (H_0) since $\boldsymbol{p} > 0.05$. However, the participants‘ age group had significant associations with the choices of the expected ToA from all of the selected family members.

Parents

Although there were no significant differences in how any of the age groups addressed their parents, significant differences were noted in their perceptions of how they expected to be addressed by their parents. As Table 25 shows, more participants from the 41-over 50 age group expected FN from their parents, while the participants of the 20-30 age group tended to expect Qua.inv.P from their parents more than the other groups.

Table 25: Correlations between age variable and norms for being addressed by parents

		Father		Mother	
		Expected		Expected	
Age	Total	FN	Qua.inv.P	FN	Qua.inv.P
% within (20 - 30)	207	43%	28%	30%	45%
% within (31 - 40)	70	41%	24%	34%	41%
% within (41 - over 50)	36	47%	7%	56%	17%

In the section on ‗Parents and Gender' it was argued that there are sub-groups within the groups of male and female Najdi speakers that have different norms. In the same section, it is shown that Najdi females expected FN from their fathers more than the males. We also saw that the use of FN by Najdi mothers indexed affection to female addressers, while using Qua.inv.P indexed affection to male addressers. The results in the current section confirm this argument. According to these results, within Najdi females, the 41-over 50 sub-groups expected FN from their parents. Additionally, within Najdi males, the 20-30 age sub-groups expected Qua.inv.P from their mothers more. Hence, it could be argued here that age based asymmetry exists in both male and female ToA choices expected from parents.

Younger brothers

There were significant differences in how Najdi speakers from different age groups addressed and believed they would be addressed by their younger brothers. As Table 26 shows, the participants aged 20-30 preferred to use FN to address their younger brothers and to receive FN in return more than the other age groups. The results in the section on ‗Younger brothers and Gender' show that Najdi females preferred reciprocal FN to display intimacy to their younger brothers. It was argued in that section that this preference might be related to the fact that the family setting is the prototypical setting for Najdi females to encounter their younger brothers.

Table 26: Correlations between age variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by younger brothers

		Younger brother			
		Reported		Expected	
Age	Total	FN	KT	FN	KT
% within (20 - 30)	207	77%	18%	69%	21%
% within (31 - 40)	70	63%	20%	44%	10%
% within (41 - over 50)	36	67%	11%	36%	0%

It is clear from the results in this section that it is Najdi females aged 20-30 who preferred reciprocal FN with their younger brothers more than the other females. Hence, it could be argued that there is age based asymmetry in ToA choices within Najdi female group, dividing them into sub-groups that each has a different norm regarding appropriate ToA usage to younger brothers.

Male and female cousins

There were significant differences in how Najdi speakers from different age groups used ToA, as well as how they believed that these would be used by their male and female cousins. As Table 27 shows, in dyads with male cousins, both FN and KT are preferred and expected more by participants aged 20-30 compared to the other age groups. However, in dyads with their female cousins, compared to the collected age groups the participants aged 20-30 preferred to use KT to their female cousins and expected KT more, whilst participants aged 31-40 preferred and expected FN more. Thus, there is asymmetry in the choices of how different age groups address their cousins.

Table 27: Correlations between age variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by male and female cousins

		Male cousin				Female cousin			
		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected	
Age	Total	FN	KT	FN	KT	FN	KT	FN	KT
% within (20 - 30)	207	46%	43%	48%	44%	52%	44%	51%	44%
% within (31 - 40)	70	33%	19%	37%	20%	57%	23%	56%	20%
% within (41 - over 50)	36	22%	10%	23%	10%	44%	13%	31%	17%

The results in the section on ‗Male/female cousins and Gender' show that Najdi females typically preferred to use FN with their male/female cousins to show intimacy, while KT was more favoured by Najdi males. Accordingly, in interactions with male cousins, Najdi males aged 20-30 show their intimacy to their male cousins through the use of KT and Najdi females aged 20-30 preferred FN. In interactions with female cousins, Najdi females aged 31-40 preferred FN to show intimacy, whereas Najdi males aged 20-30 utilised KT instead. This shows that there are different sub-groups of Najdi speakers who each have different norms of ToA choices to their cousins.

Sisters-in-law

There were no significant differences in how Najdi participants from all of the age groups addressed their sisters-in-law, however significant differences were found in terms of how these participants believed that their sisters-in-law would address them. As seen in Table 28, while FN was expected from sisters-in-law by female speakers aged 31-40 more, Tek was expected more by male speakers aged 41- over 50. Hence, it is apparent that there is aged based asymmetry in Najdi ToA choice expected from sisters-in-law. In the section on ‗Sisters-in-law and Gender' it was argued that there is gender-based asymmetry in ToA choices expected from sisters-in-law, with Najdi females expecting FN and males expecting Tek. According to the results here, Najdi females aged 31-40 expect FN from their sisters-in-law, as this displays intimacy, while Najdi males aged 41- over 50 expected Tek as a measure of deference based on their age.

Table 28: Correlations between age variable and norms for being addressed by sisters-in-law

		Sister-in-law	
		Expected	
Age	Total	FN	Tek
% within (20 - 30)	207	13%	5%
% within (31 - 40)	70	24%	44%
% within (41 - over 50)	36	22%	64%

5.6.4.1.2.2 People in the street

The age group of participants had particularly significant associations with their reported ToA to address only 3 of the strangers in the street setting: younger male strangers, older female strangers and younger taxi drivers. It had non-significant associations with the other targeted people in these interactions (see Table 16), because the results of these interactions could not reject the null hypothesis (H_0) ($\boldsymbol{p} > 0.05$). On the other hand, the age group of the participants was shown to have significant associations with their expected ToA from taxi drivers who are younger and older than the participants only, as it had non-significant associations with the expected ToA from other targeted strangers since $\boldsymbol{p} > 0.05$ (see Table 17). Thus, no differences were found in how Najdis from the different age groups prefer to address same age/ older unknown males in the street (both strangers and taxi drivers). There were also no noteworthy differences in how they addressed unknown females who were younger or of the same age. No differences were found in how Najdis from these age groups believed that

they would be addressed by either male or female strangers, whether they were younger, the same age or older than them, nor by taxi drivers of the same age as them. In the following sections, each of the interactions with the target people in the street will be presented individually. The specific ToA choices for these types of people will be discussed in view of the significant associations.

Male strangers

There were significant differences in how Najdis from the different age groups addressed younger male strangers. As seen in Table 29, while tropic KT was preferred equally by participants aged 31-40 and those aged 41-over 50 more than 20-30 age group, P.M was preferred by the participants aged 41-over 50 more than the other age groups.

Table 29: Correlations between age variable and norms for addressing male strangers

		Younger male stranger	
		Reported	
Age	Total	KT	P.M
% within (20 - 30)	207	28%	29%
% within (31 - 40)	70	31%	39%
% within (41 - over 50)	36	31%	47%

We saw in the section on ‗Male strangers and Gender' that while FN to younger male strangers indexed a female speaker, tropic KT indexed male speaker. It was argued that Najdi females who used P.M to male strangers preferred to show deference, while Najdi males who used tropic KT preferred to keep distance. In this section it could be argued that older Najdi female speakers, meaning those aged 41-over 50, preferred showing deference with younger male strangers, which accounts for their preference of reciprocal P.M, in order to get the same deference back from the younger male strangers. Finally, since Najdi males aged 31-40 and 41-over 50 preferred to use tropic KT with younger male strangers it could be argued that they preferred keeping distance with these strangers.

Female strangers

Similarly there were significant differences in how Najdis from the different age groups addressed female strangers older than them. As Table 30 shows, P.M was preferred by Najdi speakers aged 20-30 more than the other age groups, while tropic KT seems to be preferred by Najdis aged 41-over 50 more than the other age groups. The section on ‗Female strangers and

Gender‘ postulated that Najdi females and males seem to prefer the use of reciprocal P.M more than tropic KT with the older female strangers as a means to show deference. According to the results in this section, among the different age groups it is Najdi female and male speakers aged 20-30 who prefer P.M more. Obviously, age-based subgroups exist among the gender groups who apply similar norms of deference. In other words, it could be argued that among Najdi females the strategy of using P.M to show deference to older female strangers is appropriate for females aged 20-30 but may not be appropriate for other females. Also, the use of P.M to show deference to an older female stranger is appropriate for young males aged 20-30, but may not be so for males from other age groups.

Table 30: Correlations between age variable and norms for addressing female strangers

	Older female stranger		
		Reported	
Age	Total	KT	P.M
% within (20 - 30)	207	19%	72%
% within (31 - 40)	70	23%	66%
% within (41 - over 50)	36	39%	47%

Taxi drivers

There were significant differences in how Najdis from different age groups addressed taxi drivers younger than them, and in how they believed they would be addressed by taxi drivers who were younger or older than them. As Table 31 shows, while *Mohammed* was the preferred ToA for Najdis aged 20-30 to address taxi drivers younger than them, P.M was preferred by Najdis aged 31-40 more than the other age groups. Moreover, P.M was expected from the younger taxi drivers by Najdi speakers aged 31-40 more than the other age groups.

Table 31: Correlations between age variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by taxi drivers

		Taxi driver					
		Younger				Older	
		Reported		Expected		Expected	
Age	Total	Mhd	P.M	P.M	KT	KT	P.M
% within (20 - 30)	207	60%	28%	54%	27%	56%	29%
% within (31 - 40)	70	41%	43%	61%	21%	49%	30%
% within (41 - over 50)	36	31%	36%	44%	44%	31%	56%

*Mhd = Mohammed

In addition, while Najdi speakers aged 20-30 generally expected tropic KT from older taxi drivers more than the other groups, Najdi speakers aged 41- over 50 expected P.M more than the others. Obviously, there is age-based asymmetry in ToA choice with both younger and older taxi drivers. We saw in the section on _Taxi drivers and Gender' that while Najdi males preferred to use *Mohammed* to address younger taxi drivers, they expected P.M in return. For this group, tropic KT was a reciprocal ToA with the older taxi drivers. According to the results here, using *Mohammed* to address younger taxi drivers indexed a male Najdi speaker aged 20-30. Likewise, expecting tropic KT from older male stranger indexed a male Najdi speaker aged 20-30. It was also seen in the referred section that Najdi females preferred to use reciprocal P.M with taxi drivers irrespective of their age. In view of these results, using reciprocal P.M with younger taxi drivers indexed a Najdi female speaker aged 31-40, while expecting P.M from older taxi drivers indexed a Najdi female interlocutor aged 41-over 50. In summary, the age of the participants contributed to the creation of sub-groups within the gender-based group discovered in the previous section. Each of these sub-groups was found to have different norms of ToA usage to the taxi drivers.

5.6.4.1.3 Spoken variety variable

The data analysis of frequency indicated that only three people spoke a mix of nomad and settled Najdi varieties. Since the number of speakers was so small, these speakers have been excluded from the discussion here, although they were included in the applied test. These speakers are represented in the actual data depicted in the tables below, but have been highlighted in grey to indicate that this row is excluded from discussion. As shown in tables 16 and 17 above, the spoken variety variable had significant associations with the participants' ToA choices in a number of the selected dyads. However, there were non-significant associations in certain interactions in which the results could not reject the null hypothesis (H_0) since $\boldsymbol{p} > 0.05$. In the family setting, no significant differences were found between the manner in which nomad and settled speakers of Najdi addressed their parents, female cousins or sisters-in-law. In addition, there were no significant differences in how nomad and settled speakers of Najdi believed they would be addressed by their female cousins. In the street setting, there were no significant differences between the way in which nomad and settled speakers of Najdi believed they would be addressed by male and female strangers if they were older than them, or by taxi drivers if they were younger or older than them. In general, the spoken variety of participants correlated with their ToA choices to address people in the street more than their ToA choices to address their family members. However, the spoken variety of participants

affected their expected ToA from their family members more than their expected ToA from people in the street (see tables 16 & 17). In the following sections, the significant associations in each domain will be presented and described.

5.6.4.1.3.1 Family members

The participants' spoken variety variable had significant associations with reported ToA choices in only two of the selected dyads among family members: younger brothers and male cousins. However, it was shown to have significant associations with their expected ToA in nearly all of the selected dyads, except when being addressed by female cousins, as mentioned above. In the following sections, the family members will be presented and reported. The expected ToA will then be discussed in the context of the aims of this research.

Parents

Although there were no significant differences in how nomad and settled speakers of Najdi addressed their parents, there were significant differences in how they believed they would be addressed in return. As Table 32 shows, while settled speakers had a greater expectation of FN from their parents, nomad speakers expected Qua.inv.P from their parents more than the settled speakers.

Table 32: Correlations between spoken variety variable and norms for being addressed by parents

		Father		Mother	
		Expected		Expected	
Spoken variety	Total	FN	Qua.inv.P	FN	Qua.inv.P
% within nomad speakers	89	35%	31%	18%	52%
% within settled speakers	221	46%	22%	41%	37%
% within mixed speakers	3	33%	0%	33%	33%

In other words, expecting FN from parents indexed the addressee as a settled speaker of Najdi, while expecting Qua.inv.P from parents indexed the addressee as a nomad speaker of Najdi. It was argued in the section on _Parents and Age' that there is age based asymmetry exists in the ToA choice that Najdi females expected from their parents: the sub-group of females aged 41-over 50 expected FN from their parents more. Additionally, the sub-group of males aged 20-30 expected Qua.inv.P from their mothers more. The results in this section show that it is the female settled Najdi speakers aged 41-over 50 who expected FN from their

parents, while it is the male nomad Najdi speakers aged 20-30 who expected Qua.inv.P from their mothers. In conclusion, the data show that the spoken variety of the participants divided Najdi speakers into further sub-groups with different norms.

Younger brothers

Nomad and settled speakers of Najdi showed significant differences in how they prefer to address and believe they would be addressed by their younger brothers. As Table 33 shows, while settled speakers of Najdi preferred the reciprocal FN, nomad speakers of Najdi preferred the reciprocal KT more than settled speakers. In other words, in this interaction the use of FN indexed settled speakers of Najdi addressers and the use of KT indexed nomad speakers of Najdi addressers.

We saw in the section on _Younger brothers and Age‘ that the reciprocal FN was preferred by Najdi females aged 20-30. According to the results in this section, female settled Najdi speakers aged 20-30 were found to prefer reciprocal FN with their younger brothers to show intimacy. Male nomad speakers aged 31-40 preferred to show intimacy to their younger brothers through the use of KT more. In summary, it is apparent that we again see more subgroups (based on the spoken variety) within age/gender-based subgroups of Najdi speakers.

Table 33: Correlations between spoken variety variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by younger brothers

		Younger brother			
		Reported		Expected	
Spoken variety	Total	FN	KT	FN	KT
% within nomad speakers	89	60%	27%	43%	25%
% within settled speakers	221	77%	14%	66%	13%
% within mixed speakers	3	100%	0%	100%	0%

Male cousins

Significant differences were observed in how nomad and settled speakers of Najdi used the reciprocal ToA (FN and KT) with their male cousins only. As can be seen in Table 34 below, while settled speakers of Najdi preferred reciprocal FN, using reciprocal KT was preferred by nomad speakers of Najdi. It was found in the section on _Male/Female cousins and Age‘ that while Najdi males aged 20-30 preferred KT to show their intimacy to their male cousins, Najdi females aged 20-30 preferred FN. This is supported by the results here, in which

female settled speakers of Najdi aged 20-30 preferred FN to show intimacy to male cousins, while male nomad speakers aged 20-30 preferred KT. Although both groups are of the same age group (20-30), it is apparent that there are different gender/spoken variation sub-groups with different norms of ToA use when addressing male cousins.

Table 34: Correlations between spoken variety variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by male cousins

		Male cousin			
		Reported		Expected	
Spoken variety	Total	FN	KT	FN	KT
% within nomad speakers	89	28%	43%	29%	43%
% within settled speakers	221	45%	30%	47%	31%
% within Mixed speakers	3	67%	0%	67%	0%

Sisters-in-law

While no significant differences were recorded in the way in which nomad and settled speakers of Najdi addressed their sisters-in-law, there were significant differences in how both groups of speakers believed they would be addressed in return by their sisters-in-law. As Table 35 shows, while FN was more commonly expected by settled speakers of Najdi, Tek was considered more appropriate by nomad speakers of Najdi. We saw in the section on ‗Sisters-in-law and Age' that FN was expected from sisters-in-law by Najdi females aged 31-40 to show intimacy, while Tek was expected from sisters-in-law by Najdi males aged 41-over 50, as a means to show deference.

Table 35: Correlations between spoken variety variable and norms for being addressed by sisters-in-law

		Sister-in-law	
		Expected	
Spoken variety	Total	FN	Tek
% within nomad speakers	89	8%	27%
% within settled speakers	221	20%	19%
% within mixed speakers	3	0%	0%

According to the results presented in this section, female settled speakers of Najdi aged 31-40 expected FN from their sisters-in-law, while male nomad speakers of Najdi aged 41-over

50 expected Tek from their sisters-in-law. Therefore, the norms among nomad Najdi speakers can clearly be seen to be different from the norms of settled Najdi speakers with regards to the expected usage of ToA by sisters-in-law

5.6.4.1.3.2 People in the street

As can be seen in Table 16, the participants' spoken variety variable had significant associations with their choice of ToA to all of the targeted strangers. However it had significant association with their expected ToA from these strangers in certain specific interactions. As Table 17 shows, there were no significant differences in how both nomad and settled speakers of Najdi believed that they would be addressed by either older male/female strangers or younger/older taxi drivers. These results could not reject the null hypothesis (H_0) since $\boldsymbol{p} > 0.05$. In the following sections, the target people in the street will be presented individually and the ToA choices that the participants deemed appropriate during discourse with them will be discussed in view of the significant associations.

Male strangers

There were significant differences in how nomad and settled speakers of Najdi addressed male strangers, whether they were younger, of the same age or older than them. There were also significant differences in how they believed they would be addressed by male strangers if they were younger or of the same age as them. Table 36 shows that nomad speakers of Najdi preferred tropic KT to address younger/same age male strangers while P.M is preferred by them to address the older male strangers.

Table 36: Correlations between spoken variety variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by male strangers

		Male stranger									
		Younger				Same age				Older	
		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected		Reported	
Spoken variety	Total	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M
% within nomad speakers	89	39%	12%	64%	33%	78%	12%	74%	16%	43%	51%
% within settled speakers	221	24%	41%	38%	52%	51%	38%	52%	32%	23%	63%
% within mixed speakers	3	33%	67%	0%	33%	0%	33%	0%	0%	67%	33%

On the other hand, settled speakers of Najdi preferred P.M to younger/older male strangers and preferred tropic KT to the strangers of same age. Since they believed that these were appropriate ToA to index them as addressees, the participants aligned their interlocutors' ToA choices to their own with the expectation of reciprocity. Therefore, it could be argued here that with younger male strangers the use of tropic KT indexed the addresser as a nomad speaker of Najdi, while using P.M indexed the addresser as a settled speaker of Najdi. The section on _Male strangers and Age' shows that older females (aged 41-over 50) prefer showing deference with younger male strangers through employing P.M in order to get back the same deference. Also, it shows that males aged between 31 and over 50 prefer to keep distance with the younger male strangers through using tropic KT. According to the results here, within Najdi females aged 41-over 50 it is the female settled speakers of Najdi who prefer P.M to younger male strangers. Within Najdi males aged between 31 and over 50 it is the male nomad speakers of Najdi who prefer tropic KT to younger male strangers. Thus, there are spoken variety-based subgroups among Najdi females/males with each subgroup having a different norm of ToA use to male strangers.

Female strangers

Significant differences were observed in how nomad and settled speakers of Najdi addressed female strangers, whether they were younger, of the same age or older than them. There were also significant differences in how they believed they would be addressed by female strangers if they were younger or of the same age as them. As displayed in Table 37, interestingly both nomad and settled speakers of Najdi preferred tropic KT to address younger/same age female strangers.

Table 37: Correlations between spoken variety variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by female strangers

		Female stranger									
		Younger				Same age				Older	
		Reported		Expected		Reported		Expected		Reported	
Spoken variety	Total	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M	KT	P.M
% within nomad speakers	89	74%	17%	72%	20%	76%	18%	71%	22%	26%	69%
% within settled speakers	221	52%	38%	52%	35%	52%	37%	51%	35%	20%	68%
% within mixed speakers	3	33%	0%	33%	0%	33%	0%	33%	0%	67%	0%

Given that these groups believed that these were an appropriate ToA to index them as addressee, the participants aligned their interlocutors‘ ToA choices to their own with the expectation of reciprocity. In contrast, both nomad and settled speakers of Najdi preferred P.M to address older male strangers. As seen in the section on _Female strangers and Age‘ among Najdi females and males using P.M to address older female stranger indexed a speaker age 20-30. According to the findings here, it could be argued that among nomad speakers of Najdi the use of P.M to older unknown females indexed the addresser as a female/male age 20-30. Likewise, among settled speakers of Najdi using P.M indexed the addresser as a female/male age 20-30. This again clearly demonstrates that different subgroups possess different norms of ToA use with regards to female strangers.

Taxi drivers

There were significant differences in the chosen mode of address that nomad and settled speakers of Najdi selected for taxi drivers if they were younger, of the same age, or older than them. However, there were significant differences in only how they believed taxi drivers of the same age would address them. Table 38 shows that while *Mohammed* was the preferred ToA to younger taxi drivers for both nomad and settled speakers of Najdi, it was preferred to address taxi driver of same age for nomad speakers of Najdi only. It also shows that reciprocal P.M was the chosen ToA for settled speakers of Najdi in dyads with taxi drivers of same age.

Table 38: Correlations spoken variety variable and norms for addressing and being addressed by taxi drivers

		Taxi driver							
		Younger		Same age				Older	
		Reported		Reported		Expected		Reported	
Spoken variety	Total	Mhd	P.M	Mhd	P.M	P.M	KT	KT	P.M
% within nomad speakers	89	70%	17%	48%	16%	63%	19%	66%	22%
% within settled speakers	221	45%	38%	30%	36%	55%	21%	42%	38%
% within mixed speakers	3	67%	33%	67%	0%	0%	67%	33%	0%

*Mhd = Mohammed

Moreover, in dyads with older taxi drivers, both nomad and settled speakers of Najdi preferred tropic KT. Therefore, it could be argued here that the use of *Mohammed* to address taxi drivers of same age indexed the addresser as a nomad speaker of Najdi, while using P.M in the same dyads indexed the addresser as a settled speaker of Najdi. It was argued in the section

on _Taxi drivers and Age‘ that age-based subgroups exist within the gender-based subgroups, each of which has a different norm of ToA use to taxi drivers. Using *Mohammed* to younger taxi drivers indexed a Najdi male speaker aged 20-30 and the use of P.M to address younger taxi drivers indexed Najdi female speakers aged 31-40. Accordingly, it could be argued that the use of *Mohammed* to younger taxi drivers indexes a male nomad speaker aged 20-30 to show intimacy, while using P.M in the same dyad indexes a female settled speaker aged 31-40 seeking to show deference. In summary, the data show that different subgroups exist based on gender, age and spoken variety of the speaker within the Najdi speaker group; each of these subgroups has different norms of ToA choices to taxi drivers.

5.7 Discussion of results

As observed in the data analysis sections above, a wide range of patterns of ToA usage exist in all of the tested dyads. While there is social consensus on the norms of ToA use in some of the interactions, the findings show that a degree of normative uncertainty exists in others. For example, the common usage of kin terms to address family members who are at the top of the family hierarchy indicated strong consensus on the social norm. This result corroborates the hierarchal characteristic of Najdi society. As discussed in Chapter 3, Najdi society is considered as being strongly hierarchical, and the parents and elder family members are therefore supposed to be respected by younger family members. Accordingly, the usage of kin terms stereotypically index deference to these superiors. In addition, the tropic use of kin terms in the address of parents-in-law suggests that Najdi speakers propel their non-blood relatives (parents-in-law) towards the top of the family hierarchy. This enables them to express their commitment to the display of a level of deference equal to the respect they show to their blood relatives.

However, the common use of the honorific term to address fathers demonstrates that a social struggle exists over how to show appropriate deference to this family superior. The results of this study indicate that 65% of the participants believe that the kin term is an appropriate ToA to display deference to fathers, while 32% think that the honorific term is also appropriate. This strongly indicates the existence of conflicting values among Najdi speakers. The competing norms divided the Najdi speakers group into sub-groups, characterised by their varying norms. Within the Najdi speakers group, it was observed that the sub-group of the Najdi males think that the honorific term is also acceptable to show respect to fathers. This result confirmed that, unlike Najdi females, Najdi males interact with their fathers in the men's

majlis, where the norm is to show a high level of deference since it is marked regarding the other men attending this *majlis* (bystander$_{focus}$ deference), as discussed above in the section on Parents and Gender. It is apparent among Najdi speakers that the norm of using an honorific term for fathers competed with the norm of using kin terms, identifying a sub-group that indexed the gender of the speaker (male) and indexed the type of interactional setting (men's *majlis*).

Expecting the first name and quasi-address inversion pattern (i.e. markers of intimacy) from the superior family members (parents) may index an expectation of intimacy from inferiors. However, the results showed a strong conflict in terms of the norms of ToA expected from the parents, illustrated by the distributed patterns of ToA choices. First, both ToA were expected to be used differently by the parents. The female participants expected their parents to use FN more than male participants. When being addressed by the mothers, the males expected the quasi-address inversion pattern more than the females. We also found that the female group expecting FN from parents indexed female settled speakers of Najdi aged 41-over 50, while expecting the quasi-address inversion pattern from the mothers indexed male nomad speakers of Najdi aged 20 to 30. Obviously, these competing norms divided the group of Najdi speakers into two subgroups and indexed the gender of the addressee (the participant) who is eligible for ToA, then they divided these subgroups into other subgroups that indexed the addressee‘s age and spoken variation .

Younger brothers and male/female cousins, who tend to occupy a lower level in the family hierarchy, appear to be commonly addressed with the literal kin terms *uxūy* (brother), *ʔebn/bent alʕamm* (male/female cousin) and first names. In fact, the use of the kin term and first name for cousins are both dominant norms. But using the first name for younger brothers is the dominant norm, while using a kin term is the competing norm. These results indicate that the use of kin terms is not restricted to family superiors and can be used also for other family members, whether those persons are self-subordinate (younger brothers) or equals (cousins). Notably, in these symmetrical dyads, ToA are reciprocal; hence, the kin term is taken to indicate a feeling of intimacy rather than deference. The results revealed social struggles over the use of these terms in these interactions. Among Najdi speakers, reciprocal kin terms with younger brothers and cousins have been found to be appropriate for Najdi males, while reciprocal first names seem to be more appropriate for Najdi females. Moreover, reciprocal kin terms with younger brothers among Najdi males indexed male nomad speakers aged 31 to 40,

while reciprocal first name indexed female settled speakers of Najdi aged 20 to 30. This clearly demonstrates conflicting values among the different sub-groups within the group of Najdi speakers. In the interactions with unknown people from different genders and of different ages, a range of different competing norms were shown to exist among Najdis. The results revealed that reciprocal politeness markers, tropic kin terms and use of *Mohammed* had distributed patterns of usage that indicate social struggles over the use of these ToA to people in the street. Use of tropic kin terms was shown to be normalised to address the strangers from the different assumed ages. Taking the use of the literal kin term as a guide, the use of tropic kin term to older strangers, irrespective of sex, is taken to index deference. This result can be corroborated by the norm in Najdi society for elder people to take precedence over younger people, even should the latter have higher status (see Chapter 3, section 3.3). Nevertheless, the use of tropic kin term to the strangers who are equals and subordinates is taken to index distance rather than intimacy.

The results show that Najdi females found using politeness markers to address younger/same age strangers appropriate, whereas Najdi males thought that using tropic kin terms was the correct ToA. This usage pattern changed in interactions with older male/female strangers but not older taxi drivers. Interestingly, both genders preferred using politeness markers with older male/female strangers. Notably, there were distributed patterns of ToA use for strangers; what the females thought was appropriate to show deference (tropic kin term) appeared to be used by males to maintain distance and vice versa. Additionally, within gender subgroups, there were other subgroups which apply the norms differently.

As observed, while Najdi females typically use politeness markers with younger/same-age strangers, variation exists within the female group when addressing younger male strangers. In other words, there are subgroups that have different norms. The results showed that females aged 41 to over 50 preferred using the reciprocal P.M to show deference to younger male strangers in order to receive the same deference in return. These females also appeared to be settled speakers of Najdi. Obviously, the usage of ToA here indexed different identities of Najdi speakers and explained how the variation takes place. Moreover, although Najdi males normally use tropic kin terms to address younger/same-age strangers, there is no universal consensus regarding usage when they speak to younger taxi drivers. Interestingly, the name *Mohammed* is used by Najdi males as a ToA to address younger/same-age taxi drivers. The results showed that, in the Najdi community, male nomad speakers of Najdi aged 20 to 30

believe that *Mohammed* is appropriate to talk to younger/same-age taxi drivers to show intimacy, as was argued in section 5.6.3.1.

To conclude, the discussion above indicates that the particular grouping of the distributed patterns by Najdi speakers indicates the existence of a social struggle regarding the norms of ToA usage and possibly even normative uncertainty. The results show that there is distinctive intragroup variation within the classical sociological sub-groups (gender, age and spoken variation). The patterns within these subgroups differ strongly, which confirms that the stereotypical notions of the appropriate ToA are varied intra-socially and can be characterized based on the features of the sub-group (gender group, age group, etc.).

Chapter 6 Data analysis: Qualitative data

6.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with introducing the participants who took part in the interviews (section 6.2). Then the instrument used and the procedure followed in managing this instrument are presented in section 6.3. Finally, the results of the data analysis are presented in section 6.4, followed by the discussion in section 6.5.

6.2 Participants

The qualitative data sample is derived from the sample of the quantitative data. As I described in Chapter 5, section 5.3, the participants in the questionnaire were invited to provide an email contact if they agreed to take part in the follow-up study. Initially, 25 respondents provided their email address, and all of them were contacted. Eventually, only 7 participants replied and agreed to become part of the qualitative study. The participants represented both genders; there are 4 females and 3 males. Table 39 presents the participants‘ characteristics.

Table 39: Study sample (interviewees‘) characteristics

Initials	Gender	Age group	Spoken variety
H.D.	Female	(20- 30)	Settled speaker of Najdi
S.R.	Female	(20- 30)	Settled speaker of Najdi
G.D.	Female	(20- 30)	Settled speaker of Najdi
S.M.	Female	(31- 40)	Settled speaker of Najdi
F.L.	Male	(31- 40)	Nomad speaker of Najdi
K.D.	Male	(31- 40)	Nomad speaker of Najdi
S.D.	Male	(31- 40)	Nomad speaker of Najdi

As seen in Table 39, while all of the females were settled speakers of Najdi, the males were nomad speakers of Najdi. The females represented two age groups: 20 to 30 and 31 to 40. However, the majority were aged 20 to 30. The males group represented one age group 31 to 40. Obviously, in terms of personal characteristics, there is homogeneity among the members of the females group and among the members of the males group.

In what follows, I am in agreement with Morrow's (2005) suggestion to merge the instrument and procedure sections under the heading of _Source of Data' and to present the data analysis and their discussion separately in different sections: _Results' and _Discussion'.

6.3 Source of data

In this section, I present the instrument I used to collect the qualitative data and how I used it. As discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.2, this study applied mixed-methods methodology in sequential order: a questionnaire with follow-up interviews. The quantitative data was used to observe the norms of Najdi ToA usage. The qualitative method was needed in this study to describe, understand and clarify the participants' conceptualisation of their normative use of ToA. The interview is a natural and socially acceptable way of collecting data about topics with which people feel comfortable to obtain in-depth data (Dörnyei 2007: 143). The main weaknesses of the interview are that it is time consuming and the interviewee may be either too shy to produce sufficient data or too verbose and hence producing redundant data (Dörnyei 2007: 144). The type of interview I undertook for this study is semi-structured, which is often regarded as the prototypical research interview. The rationale for using semi-structured interviews in this study is because they collect statements of the respondents' performance and opinions and explore in depth their experience, motivations and reasoning (Drever 2003: 1), which is my aim in this stage of the study. The semi-structured interview gives the respondents freedom to expand upon the issue raised and at the same time allows the researcher to control the interviewing process and ensure that the participants' responses to the questions best serve the research objectives (Dörnyei 2007: 136). The interviews are called semi-structured as there should be a set of pre-prepared guiding questions and the interviewee should be encouraged to elaborate on his or her answers to the questions in an explanatory manner while the interviewer provides guidance and direction (ibid.). During the interviews, I attempted to let them flow. I also took into consideration that interviews are conversations but ordered in nature, because the interviewer has a research agenda and should keep some control over the interview (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 44). Interviews are never natural conversations as the interviewer is trying to elicit responses, and the interviewee is aware of this. The relationship between them obviously is asymmetrical, even though the interviewer tries to promote equity during the interviews. Blommaert and Dong (2010: 47) cautioned that interviews should not be interrogations, as this will lead the interviewees to feel that the interview is a threatening and abnormal speech

situation. Hence, it is the interviewer‘s responsibility to ensure that an _ordered conversation‘ but not an interrogation takes place.

I prepared open-ended questions for the semi-structured interviews beforehand to encourage personal responses, but I was happy when the participants digressed. A copy of the original questions used (in Arabic) and the English translated version can be found in Appendix 5. To ensure fairness and reliability, the questions were worded and arranged carefully to ensure that each of the respondents has the same questions and sequence (Patton: 2014). I appreciated the illustrations that the interviewees chose to share through the narratives-in-interaction that were scattered throughout their interview narratives, for anecdotes –contain all the stuff we are after" (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 52). They are the –raw diamonds" of research interviews (ibid.). Yet, I tried not to share such anecdotes. I believed that, if I volunteered too much information or injected myself too much in the interviews, this might influence the interviewees‘ responses. I avoided contributions of this kind in order to minimise the interviewer effect and to make sure that I was viewed as neutral that is just listening to the responses the interviewees volunteered and not judging them. In other words, I kept myself –firmly hidden beneath a cloak of cordiality and receptiveness to the words of the interviewee" (Denscombe 2007: 185). In order to demonstrate that I was listening attentively, I tried to make all the right noises, comments and gestures.

I undertook 7 individual audio-recorded semi-structured interviews for this study. For ethical and cultural reasons, these interviews were carried out in two ways: recorded face-to-face interviews with the female respondents and recorded phone calls by Skype with the male respondents (See Chapter 5, section 5.4). The average duration of the interviews was 45 minutes, ranging from half an hour to one hour. The interviews took place at pre-arranged times that were convenient for the participants. The face-to-face interviews (with females) took place in locations that were convenient for them: one took place in the participant‘s home, and the other 3 took place in different cafés in Riyadh.

The research question I aim to answer by using the interviews is: To what extent do Najdi speakers‘ conceptualizations and ideologies of (im)politeness influence their perceptions and use of address terms? (See Chapter 4, section 4.3). The attempt here is to uncover users‘ ideologies to investigate what goes on when people use address terms. As explained in Chapter 4, section 4.3, what is meant by _ideology‘ here is what Watts (1992) has labelled _Politeness1‘or _lay interpretations of politeness‘. In other words, I focus on Najdi native

speakers‘ evaluations of ToA use as well as the norms that inform such evaluations. The results of the questionnaire highlighted the idealized norms of Najdi ToA usage and revealed social struggles over the Najdi ToA norms. I argued in Chapter 3, section 3.4.2, that there are different ideologies in the Najdi dialect (showing deference or keeping distance) regarding the use of kin term (KT) to kin and non-kin and the use of teknonym for kin based on the co-occurring signs. The results of the quantitative data showed that, the reciprocal use of KT with cousins was not consistent and there were different patterns of usage. As the section on ‗Male/female cousins and Age‘ in Chapter 5 presented, the usage of KT to cousins indexed male Najdi speaker aged 20-30. In addition, the results in the section on ‗Sister-in-law and Spoken variety‘ also showed that, although the usage of teknonym (Tek) was reciprocal with sisters-in-law, there were distributed patterns of Tek usage to address sisters-in-law. It was found that, expecting Tek from sisters-in-law indexed male nomad speakers of Najdi aged 41 to over 50. Finally, although tropic KT was reciprocal with male strangers, there were social struggles over its usage. As I argued in the section on ‗Male strangers and Spoken variety‘ male nomad speakers of Najdi age between 31 and over 50 preferred tropic KT to younger male stranger to keep distance. Accordingly, the interview questions in this study investigated the usage of Tek with kin (cousins and sisters-in-law) and the usage of KT with kin (cousins) and non-kin (male strangers).

6.4 Results

In this section, I present the data analysis approach I followed to analyse the collected data, and then I present the results of the analysis. First, I transcribed hours of audio recording for this study. Then, from the transcribed interviews, patterns and themes of ToA uses were identified. Themes were identified by ―bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone‖ (Leininger 1985: 60). As I explained in the previous section, though I prepared some questions for the interviews, the participants preferred to digress. According to the interviewees‘ answers, three themes were identified: using KT with family members (male/female cousins), using Tek with family members (male/female cousins) and using tropic KT *ʔax* for male strangers (male strangers and taxi drivers). The next step to the thematic analysis was identifying all data that relate to the already classified themes. Since the interviews were in Arabic, analyses were applied on the Arabic version. After that, representative raw data were translated into English and presented in

the text. A copy of transcription for the representative raw data can be found in Appendix 5. In what follows, I present the identified patterns of ToA use evaluations in each theme.

6.4.1 Usage of KT with family members (cousins)

The interviewees introduced different patterns of evaluation for using KT *ʔebn/bent alʕamm* (male/female cousin) to address their cousins, such as ‗zeal'[8], ‗banter', ‗fraternity', ‗intimacy' and ‗unmarked'. However, they also stated some standards and norms to show how a different interpretation of KT usage with cousins can be generated, such as showing respect. The representative raw data collected from the participants showed that both of the female interviewees, S.R. and H.D., judged KT usage with female cousins to be like ‗banter'. S.R. said:

> *It is a kind of banter; it is banter.*

Likewise, H.D. said:

> *It could be banter, especially with your female cousins.*

Interestingly, H.D. added more evaluations. For her, it could show ‗zeal' or ‗fraternity', too. She said:

> *You could feel that it means zeal. She is asking for zeal. … It is a style showing fraternity.*

Moreover, both of them added an explicit normative statement about using KT to address male cousins to show respect. H.D. said:

> *If he is older than you, surely there is a matter of respect.*

Likewise, S.R. provided a normative statement about showing deference to the male cousin, but interestingly she preferred to use another KT: *ʕammī/ xālī* (paternal/maternal uncle). She said:

> *Usually, if he is old in age from a respect perspective … I may call him ʕammī/ xālī.*

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8 Enthusiastic devotion to something.

Obviously, the male participants were from the same age group and all were nomad speakers. Although all of them did not refer to using KT to address female cousins, they judged the usage of KT to address male cousins differently. K.D. believed that it shows ‗fraternity' and ‗intimacy' when he said:

> *It expresses fraternity more. Although it is to a cousin, I feel that it has more intimacy.*

Conversely, S.D. found using KT to address male cousin as ‗unmarked' and not meaning anything He said:

> *It doesn"t have any certain reflections. That means it is not different whether it is used in a fight or for enthusiasm.*

F.L. gave normative statements for using it to show ‗encouragement' or ‗rebuke'. In fact, he gave a very interesting statement:

> *It depends on how I say it. He added, I may rebuke him, saying, Why, my cousin? Or I could encourage him. It depends on the expression before it and after it and also on the situation you are in.*

6.4.2 Usage of Tek with family members (male/female cousins)

The participants had many judgments regarding the use of Tek with cousins. Interestingly, the participants started their answers by stating a judgment about Tek use, and then normative statements were provided with new interpretations for Tek usage. When I asked the participants about using Tek with a female family member (cousin), different evaluations were given, for example ‗appreciation', ‗unmarked', ‗distance' and ‗deference'. Then some norms were presented to show how Tek could be used to generate these different meanings.

Among the females group, for H.D., using Tek shows ‗appreciation'. She said that, when her sisters-in-law use Tek:

> *They say it in a way that is appreciating you or thanking you. They feel they appreciate you when they say, "mother of so and so" ….*

Then she added the norm of this use and defined certain speaker:

> *Those who are the same age as me, they don"t use it. It is used only by the old. Those who are young never say it.*

For her, this appreciation is expressed when Tek is used by an older female cousin, if this co-occurring sign changed the appreciation meaning would vanish. Conversely, S.M. found using

Tek shows distance; therefore, she does not like to be addressed with Tek by female family members. She said:

> *No, no, I don"t accept it.* Then she added: *If we are friendly, I will say to her, please call me by my first name - no need to use "mother of so and so". Let"s be casual.*

Interestingly, S.R. believed that using Tek with female family members is _unmarked'. She said:

> *Honestly, I don"t feel that there is any difference when calling her by her first name or by "mother of so and so".*

Then she spelled out the norm of this usage when she said:

> *Especially if it is among family members, it doesn"t make any difference. What makes a difference is using it to unknown people.*

When the females were asked about using Tek with male cousins, though they judge it as showing _respect', different norms were mentioned. For S.R., using Tek particularly with older male cousins expresses deference, and it is socially common. She said:

> *If he is old, from a respect and appreciation perspective, I will call him "father of so and so". ... Let"s say my cousin is the same age as my father. What would I call him? I will call him "father of so and so".*

G.D. and S.M. added different signs than being older. They believed that, if he is a married man and has kids, then he is eligible for deference and using his first name is inappropriate. G.D. said:

> *It is out of respect. It is a disgrace if he is married and has three, four kids, and I say, "Hi, Naif, how are you?" I feel that is disrespectful.*
>
> **Naif: proper name*

Similarly, S.M. said:

> *If he is married, then it is usually "father of so and so". It would be very difficult to call him by his name; it is inappropriate. ... I mostly avoid his first name, except for those who are unmarried.*

Among the male group, F.L. and S.D. believed that using Tek for a male cousin and all known males, even if they are not family members, is a socially common behaviour. However,

they had different norms of this common use. For F.L., Tek is an appropriate ToA, because it is popular nowadays among his generation and it is used in whole Najd. He said:

> *What is common now for our generation is using "father of so and so", whether he is older, younger or of the same age. If he is not a family member or even if he is a family member, if he is a brother, nephew or cousin, I call him "father of so and so", and this is common in whole Najd.*

S.D. also believed that using Tek is very common; however, he stated different norms for what he regarded as social approval. For him, Tek expresses appreciation, and it is used commonly because he tries to avoid using a first name, which is inappropriate. He said:

> *"Father of so and so" is appreciation. ... Society calls you "father of so and so" because it feels that calling you with your name is heavy.*

Nevertheless, they also added that age differences between them and their male cousin display another meaning for the usage of Tek that is totally different. F.L. thought that his older cousin has special status; hence, he preferred using Tek to show his deference to the older cousin. He said:

> *Who is older than me has status, respect and appreciation; therefore, I prefer to call him with his teknonym out of respect.*

Though S.D. had the same belief about the superiority of the older cousin, he considered using Tek with the older cousin ‗rude'. He preferred to use KT in this case, as for him, it shows proper respect. He said:

> *For me, if my cousin is an old man, I prefer to call him ʕammī out of respect for his age and status because he is older than me. ... It is rude if I said, "father of so and so". ... If the age difference is reasonable - five years, ten years - then I call him "father of so and so" to show affection, respect and appreciation. ... This what society has adopted, and we are used to it.*

For K.D., the norms of using Tek to show deference are totally different. He asserted that the settings where he uses it affect its respectful meaning. He thought that he uses Tek to show deference to his intimate cousins who are of same age and have spent their whole lives together when they are in men's *majlis* because of the other men in attendance. In fact, this confirms my argument in Chapter 5, in the section on ‗Parents and Gender', that ToA use in men's *majlis* shows deference to bystanders, that is, the deference has $\text{bystander}_{\text{focus}}$. He said:

> *If we are in majlis, for example, I try to speak differently to an intimate person who is of the same age as me, whom I lived my whole life and all my childhood with. If*

I'm in majlis, I will say, "father of so and so", giving him respect because of the presence of the other people.

When I asked them about using Tek to address female family members (cousins and sisters-in-law), S.D. and F.L. judged the situation differently. S.D. thought that it expresses respect if his female cousin or sister-in-law used Tek to address him. He said:

I find it more respectful if she calls me "father of so and so", and I don't believe that it will make a difference if she is younger or older.

However, F.L. found it appropriate ToA and stated the norm for this appropriateness. He said:

If she is near and I meet her every week or every two weeks or there is communication between us, I would think it is normal, but if I see her once every four or five months ... and she called me "father of so and so", I would think she wants to ask for something.

6.4.3 Usage of KT with male strangers (tropic KT use)

The participants made different judgments about their usage of KT *ʔax* to address strangers: ‗polite', ‗respect', ‗distance' and ‗unmarked'. Like their answers in the previous themes, they added some normative statements to show how these interpretations can be made.

Among the females, although H.D. thought that it is polite to use *ʔax* when addressing male strangers, she added that she means that to be considered as a sister. She said:

When I say "ʔax" to them, I feel that it is more polite. It is like "excuse me". ... It means ‗I'm like your sister'.

Then she added the norm of use. She stated that she may use it with a Saudi or any Arab stranger, but not with non-Arabs. She believed that non-Arabs will not understand the meaning of this word. Actually, what she meant is the social meaning of *ʔax*, which refers to the brotherhood.

If he is Saudi, you can call him "ʔax" or if he is Arab. If he is not Arab, there will be a clash. He will not understand it like we do. ... He may know the meaning of "brother", but using it alone like this - ! Here, they use "Mohammed" if he is not Arab, but I don't like to use that, never. Why call him "Mohammed"? Why change his name? I can call him "sir" or "excuse me" like this, but call him "Mohammed", never.

Similarly, S.M. believed that using it shows respect and simultaneously maintains distance. Unsurprisingly, she added the same norm; it is used for Saudis, but non-Saudis are eligible for ‗excuse me', for the same reason H.D. mentioned. She said:

I prefer to say "ʔax". ... It is a kind of respect, ... and I put here a barrier. The nationality makes a difference; yes, nationality makes a difference. For Saudis, I say "ʔax" ... for others, "excuse me"... because the word "ʔax" doesn¨tmatter for a non-Saudi taxi driver, for example.

Conversely, S.R. took it to show distance only and not as containing any polite meaning. She uses it to show that she is conservative. She said:

In our society, when someone says to other "ʔax", it means, "I cut all of the relationships which may happen after". ... As you say, I restrict the relationship or the conversation that may happen to not make him feel intimate. He will feel I'm a conservative person. ... I feel it is normal to say "excuse me", but it may leave space for ...

For G.D., *ʔax* is not appropriate at all, and she never uses it. She said:

No, it is "excuse me", I don't use "ʔax", never ever. It is "excuse me".

Among the males, there are different evaluations and norms. K.D. believed in employing *ʔax* because the addressee's name is unknown; therefore, for him, it is _unmarked' and _appropriate'. He said:

This "ʔax" means I don¨tknow your name and I need to ask you, so I say, "ʔax". If name is known, he will call out the name so it doesn¨t show either respect or disrespect. It is something normal.

Conversely, S.D. thought using *ʔax* is appropriate because it concerns being nice to others and assures a deferential feeling towards them. He said:

It is normal. ... I find it nice to call him "ʔax" ... because I wouldn't call him"ʔax" unless I respected him.

For F.L., there are different norms of use depending on the tone. He stated that it could be used when the speaker wants to be aggressive and if he wants to be nice too, based on his tone. He added the norm of using *ʔax* with Saudis, but not non-Saudis. He said:

"ʔax" depends on the tone that I use. Sometimes, I say "ʔax" to someone who I want him to get out of my way, so I can look for a fight. It is the same if I hear it from others; it depends on the tone I hear. I may say, "Yes, how can I help you?" ... But if the tone is different, I will use the same tone I heard in the word "ʔax". ... If he is a foreigner, probably "Mohammed". "Mohammed" is not his name, but it is common. It is common for Muslims from East Asia. But if he is Saudi, mostly I will use "ʔax" or "excuse me".

In conclusion, the interviewees had different judgments about ToA usage under the focus of the interviews. When they state judgements, they add normative statements either to

show how the evaluation can be inferred from ToA use patterns or to show how different meanings of ToA can be inferred. This variation and inconsistency in the evaluations demonstrate competing models of ToA usage. Since these competing models of use coexist in Najdi society, it could be argued that Najdi ToA uses are ideological.

6.5 Discussion

The quantitative data analysis revealed different stereotypes of Najdi ToA usages. There were competing norms of these stereotypes that reflected competing values and social struggles over the norms of use. Unsurprisingly, these internally inconsistent stereotypes of use were ideological. As the qualitative data analysis revealed, the metapragmatic typifications collected by the interviews were not wholly consistent, and there were sets of metapragmatic data demonstrating distinct ideologies. This was clear in the interviewees‘ tendency to add normative statements after they stated their evaluations and judgements on each ToA usage. These statements demonstrated explicitly held standards of usage. In fact, these statements implicitly framed the co-occurring signs that may cause certain interpretations. For example, although both of the male interviewees, F.L. and S.D., believed that using Tek to address older male cousins is expressing respect, S.D. believed that, if the age difference between him and his cousin is large, then Tek use is rude. In his normative statements, S.D. determined the suitable addressee (not very older) for using Tek when the speaker aims to show deference. Additionally, he explicitly spelled out the suitable ToA with certain co-occurrence signs when he stated that, if the age difference is big, then KT is respectful and Tek is rude. Notably, both of the male interviewees were from the same age group and spoke the same variety (nomad). In the same vein, K.D., who was from the same age and also spoke the nomadic variety, believed that using Tek may show deference to cousins who are of the same age. Interestingly, he framed the co-occurring signs to infer this meaning by certain settings. He said that, if they were in a men‘s *majlis,* then Tek usage expresses deference to those equals because of the presence of the other men.

Similarly, in the female group, we saw the interviewee H.D. gave different judgments for using KT to address her female cousins. She started with evaluating it as enthusiasm; then she said it may show banter or fraternity. Though she did not state explicitly any certain co-occurring signs that may cause each interpretation, it could be argued that this variation in the evaluations of ToA use to the same addressee indexes different settings. Moreover, we saw that, although all of the females judged using Tek to male cousins as showing deference, they

determined different addressees. For H.D. and S.R., being older in age made their cousin eligible for deference. Therefore, they use Tek to address him. But for G.D., who was from the same age group and spoke the same variety, her cousin's being a married man and having children is enough to qualify him for deference. This intra-group variation in ToA usage evaluations which we saw within the males group and the females group index that ToA uses are ideologically motivated.

Furthermore, it was obvious that there were inconsistent evaluations for using tropic KT to address strangers. Interestingly, the various evaluations indexed different ideologies and different addressees. We saw among the females that H.D. stated that she used it because it is polite, while S.R. believed that it shows that she is conservative and it keeps distance. It is obvious that though both of them were from the same age group and spoke same variety (settled), they had different priorities and of course different ideologies. Nevertheless, both of them identified eligible addressees for this ToA: a Saudi or Arab stranger. Yet G.D., who also was from the same age group and class and spoke the same variety, found using tropic KT inappropriate. The males had completely different evaluations. While it was unmarked ToA usage for S.D, K.D. found it appropriate and reflecting respect. However, F.L., who was from same age, defined different norms based on the sound tone. He implicitly defined the tone as a co-occurring sign, which may change his attitude from aggressiveness to kindness.

To conclude, it is apparent from the discussion above that there is an asymmetrical social distribution of Najdi speakers‘ judgments over ToA uses within the society. The judgments of the same ToA with the same sub-group, e.g. Najdi males, ranged from intimacy to aggressiveness. Notably, this variation had an ideological character, and the participants' normative statements framed all of the co-occurring signs that index this ideological aspect.

Chapter 7 Conclusion: Summary and implications of findings

7.1 Introduction

By means of conclusion, this chapter serves two functions. In section 7.1 I summarize the main findings of the thesis in relation to the research questions originally formulated in Chapter 4. In section 7.2, I discuss the implications of the study for the discursive approach in general and to terms of address research in particular. Finally some suggestions for further research are provided in the last section 7.3.

7.2 Overall summary

The thesis has examined heterogeneity and diversity in the Najdi term of address system from the perspective of the discursive approach to (im)politeness. I adopted Agha's (2007) approach of indexicality to Najdi term of address analysis to account for the infinite society-internal variability and heterogeneity in address behaviour among a group of Najdi speakers. Departing from Watts's (2005) argument that terms of address are politic rather than polite, the thesis went on to demonstrate that politeness is not the only function of address terms, rather it is a particular stereotypical effect. This thesis set out primarily to investigate the force of Agha's (2007) argument that address terms do not possess any inherent semantic characteristic or pragmatic value pertaining to politeness that they can be implemented in any interaction. Instead they can stereotypically index different meanings of politeness (deference/intimacy) through reflexive models of interaction that indexically shape stereotypes of the language users' identity (gender, age and spoken variation) and their ideologies regarding their usage of the address terms. The investigation of Najdi address term function centres around three main questions (repeated here from Chapter 4, section 4.3):

RQ1: How do Najdis use address terms? What are the norms of address term usage in the Najdi community?

RQ2: Do the speaker's characteristics of gender, age, spoken variation, social economic class influence his/her address term choices among Najdis? Is the use of address terms in the Najdi community associated with any personal characteristics of the speaker?

RQ3: To what extent do Najdi speakers' conceptualizations and ideologies of (im)politeness influence their perceptions and use of address terms?

Two types of data were collected via conducting two sequential methods: survey, then semi-structured interviews. Each method examined specific empirical questions about Najdi address term usage. In my population of Najdi speakers (*n*=313), the survey examined the statistical norms of Najdi address terms and the association between the speakers‘ personal characteristics and Najdi address term usage. The results were analysed by laying emphasis on the social struggles over the different norms of Najdi address term usage that co-exist society-internally. The highlighted idealized norms of Najdi address term usage isolated particular identities for the speaker and the addressee. The findings showed distributed patterns of Najdi address term usage that divided Najdi speakers into different sub-groups based on different features: gender, age and spoken variety. Moreover, within each sub-group there was intra-group variation within the members of the same group which emphasized that stereotypical notions of the appropriate terms of address in the Najdi community are varied society-internally. These findings are in accordance with Agha‘s (2007: 273) argument that various norms actually co-exist with each other within the same society, and hence they are cultural models of behaviour with an asymmetric social distribution within the society, and this variation is an index of the users‘ identity and ideologies.

The semi-structured interviews with 7 participants from the 313 who took part in the survey uncovered some of the Najdi speakers‘ ideologies regarding their use of address terms and it has been found that speakers were aware of having different choices and deliberately making one choice or another to accomplish a certain social effect. These results confirmed my argument in Chapter 3, section 3.4.2 that kinship terms and teknonyms with other co-textual signs can formulate honorific effects. We saw that the speakers stated that using kin-terms and teknonyms to older family members expressed deference. Moreover, we saw that among males teknonyms could be used to address family members from the same age, who were not eligible for deference, to express deference to bystanders. Interestingly, in such interactions teknonyms express deference if they are used in certain setting i.e, men‘s *majlis* where this deference is marked to the other people in the place. On the other hand, using kin-terms to strangers shows distance. In fact, these results confirmed my argument that address terms have various stereotypical effects ranging from intimacy to aggressiveness and politeness is simply one of these stereotypical effects. Table 40 and Table 41 below show an account of the various possible roles of KT and Tek differentiated according to user and the addressee.

Table 40: Using Tek by male nomad Najdi speaker

Tek usage	**To** younger/same age cousin	**To** same age cousin	**To** older cousin
Deference	-	+ *	+
Intimacy	+	+	-
Distance	-	-	-

*Based on the context, e.g. if it is used in men's *majlis*.

Table 41: Using KT by male nomad Najdi speaker

KT usage	Male nomad Najdi speaker age 20-30 ⇩ Male cousin	Male nomad speaker aged 31-40 ⇩ Younger brother	Male nomad Najdi speaker age 31-over 50 ⇩ Younger/same age stranger
Deference	-	-	-
Intimacy	+	+	-
Distance	-	-	+

To conclude, the findings in this thesis illustrate that address term uses and functions are immensely varied. However, this variation is not random but shaped by the existence of certain co-occurring signs. As shown by the data, non-honorific terms of address can be used honorifically to certain addressees or in certain settings. Also, the same terms of address can be used to different addressees or in different settings to show distance.

7.3 Implications of findings

This study aimed to contribute to the discursive approach to (im)politeness by considering new data on terms of address from Arabic through investigating the social factors which determine the appropriateness of Najdi address terms in given social settings. I argue that the metalinguistic/metapragmatic beliefs that the informants reported are discursive in the sense that they originate in reflexive models of verbal behaviour. The study also aimed to contribute to address terms research by upholding Agha's approach of indexicality as an analytic approach to account for the variability of address term uses. Applying this approach showed that the normative patterns identified show Najdi politic behaviour, which stereotypically indexes different social relations between Najdi speakers in relation to certain social contexts. The study attempted to demonstrate how the Najdi address system has various

distinctive uses society-internally according to personal characteristics of the speaker or the addressee, which were determined and examined in two socio-cultural settings (within the family and in the street). Furthermore, it showed how Najdi address terms, in view of socio-cultural factors, could formulate different social meanings including politeness if they were used in a specific social scenario of usage and how this variability demonstrates the social struggles over the social norms. Finally, while this thesis directly focuses on Najdi address term usage, it also contributed an indication of the social and cultural structure of the Najdi community.

7.4 Further research

The thesis has explored how variable uses of Najdi address term of could index the speaker‘s identity with regard to certain characteristics i.e. gender, age and spoken variation by focusing on two settings i.e., within the family and in the street. I thus recognize that there are still many disputes to uncover. I acknowledge the need for new research addressing the issue of address term heterogeneity in different social settings such as in the work place and at the university, that will enrich the understanding of the internal variation of address term norms.

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Appendix 1 Questionnaire

Original Questionnaire (Arabic version)

أس انِاقىذاء فـَناهحجىلجّذُح لمحكِخ وًسطنمهكحنعتٍرحسعىدُح

مقدمة هذا الاستبيان طالبة دكتوراه في SOAS "سواس" (مركز الدراسات الشرقية والاإفريقية) جامعة لندن .

يبحث الاستبيان أساليب النداء في اللهجة النجدية لسكان وسط المملكة العربية السعودية و يركز على مشهدين مختلفين: في محيط العائلة وفي الشارع .

تستغرق تعبئة الاستبيان حوالي 15-20 دقيقة ، وأرجو شاكرة عند تعبئة الاستبيان توخي الصدق والدقة في الإجابة حيث أن لكل فقرة مدلول هام جدا في البحث.

تتضمن الصفحة الأولى أسئلة عن بعض المعلومات الشخصية للمشارك ولهذا تلتزم الباحثة بالحفاظ على خصوصية هذه المعلومات و استخدامها في هذا البحث العلمي فقط ، كما تضمن عدم الإطلاع عليها من قبل أي طرف آخر .

وللاستفسار عن أي نقطه في الاستبيان الرجاء التواصل مع الباحثة على البريد الإلكتروني التالي informants2012@gmail.com

* مطلوب

انمعهىماخنشخصِه

1- الإسم أو الحروف الأولى)إخرٍاري(

[ ]

2- الجنس *

- ○ ذمر
- ○ أنثى

3- العمر *

- ○)30 - 20(
- ○)40 - 31(
- ○)50 - 41(
- ○ أمثر م ه 50

4- أ ٌ ه ونذخ)انمذىٍح(*

[ ]

5- أ ٌ ه عشن د أطىلفـرج فـً ح ٍاذك ؟ *

- ○ فـأىطقخاىُسطى
- ○ خبرجاىمىطقخ اىُسطى َنى ه فـأىمىخىعرٍثخاس ح ُدٌح
- ○ خبرجاىمىخىعرٍثخاس ح ُدٌح

6- انهجح ان ر ًَ رحذث- ه)ا ٌ ه(ات *

- ○ ىجِخ حبضرحوجد
- ○ ىجِخ ثبدٌخوجد
- ○ :Other [ ]

14- مك هىمقذار دخهك انش هري ؟ *

- ○ أقو م ه 5000
- ○ 10000 - 5000
- ○ 15000 - 10001

- 15001 - 20000
- أكثر من 20000
- لا أرغب في الإجابة

ملاحظات
إذا تبين لك من الإجابة على السؤال السابق أن الأشخاص يتحدثون في مجرى الحديث بطريقة خاطئة

خطوات الإجابة على الاستبيان

كل سؤال يتكون من جزئين رئيسيين: 1- بماذا تنادي ...؟ 2- بماذا يناديك ...؟ المطلوب هو اختيار الأسلوب والنداء الذي تستخدمه في حديثك مع الشخص المحدد في السؤال ثم اختيار الأسلوب الذي يناديك به هذا الشخص. وللحصول على إجابة دقيقة الرجاء اختيار (غير مطابق) إذا لم تستعمل المناداة مع هذا الشخص أو لم يناديك هذا الشخص بمنادات، مثلاً إذا كان والدك متوفى أو عدم وجود أخ/أخت ألكبر فلا تستطيع علاقة المناداة والأشخاص فستكون إجابتها (غير مطابق). كذلك إذا كان السؤال موجه للذكر والمجيب أنثى أو العكس. أما في حال عدم وجود الخيار المناسب لك من بين الخيارات الموجودة في السؤال الرجاء كتابة الأسلوب الخاص بك في الخانة الأخيرة (Other). في حالة استخدام خيارين أو أكثر من هذه الخيارات الموجودة الرجاء اختيار الإجابات مع توضيح السبب في التعليق إضافة النداء والأسلوب في مربع الملاحظات الموجود في آخر الصفحة.

1- أفراد العائلة :

أولا الوالدين والأجداد

1- أ) بماذا تنادي (الأب) والدك ؟ *

- باسمه
- أبوي/أبّا
- اللقب
- طال عمرك
- غير مطابق
- Other:

ب) بماذا يناديك والدك ؟ *

- باسمي
- ولدي/بنتي
- الاسم/أبو فلان
- والدي
- غير مطابق
- Other:

2- أ) بماذا تنادي (الأم) والدتك ؟ *

- باسمها
- أمي/ماما
- أم فلان
- طال عمرك
- غير مطابق
- Other:

ب) بماذا تناديك والدتك ؟ *

- باسم ً
- اولادي/بناتي ً
- أبو/أفالن
- والد امك
- غير مطابق
- Other:

3- أ) (بماذا تنادي-) ن(أخوك الأكبر سناً ؟ *

- باسمه
- اخوي
- أبو فالن
- والد اخوك/اختك
- غير مطابق
- Other:

ب) (بماذا ينادي ك أخوك الأكبر سناً ؟ *

- باسم ً
- اخوي/ اختي ً
- ابو/أفالن
- والد اخوك
- غير مطابق
- Other:

4- أ) (بماذا تنادي-) ن(أختك الأكبر سناً ؟ *

- باسمها
- اختي ً
- ام فالن
- والد اخوك/اختك
- غير مطابق
- Other:

ب) (بماذا تنادي ك أختك الأكبر سناً ؟ *

- باسم ً
- اخوي/اختي ً
- ابو/أفالن
- والد اختك
- غير مطابق
- Other:

5- أ) (بماذا تنادي-) ن(أخوك الأصغر سناً ؟ *

- باسمه
- اخوي
- ابو فالن
- والد اخوك/اختك
- غير مطابق
- Other:

)ب(بماذا تنادي أخوك الأصغر سناً ؟ *

- اسمه
- أخوي/أختي
- أبو/أم فلان
- ولد اخوك
- غير مطلق
- Other:

6-)أ(بماذا تنادي أخت أبيك الأصغر سناً ؟ *

- اسمها
- أختي
- أم فلان
- ولد اخوك/اختك
- غير مطلق
- Other:

)ب(بماذا تنادي أخت أبيك الأصغر سناً ؟ *

- اسمه
- أخوي/أختي
- أبو/أم فلان
- ولد اختك / بنت اختك
- غير مطلق
- Other:

ثانياً- الأقارب

1-)أ(بماذا تنادي جدك ؟ *

- اسمه
- أجدي
- أبو فلان
- طال عمرك
- غير مطلق
- Other:

)ب(بماذا تنادي جدك ؟ *

- اسمه
- أولادي/بناتي
- أبو/أم فلان
- ولد جدك
- غير مطلق
- Other:

2-)أ(بماذا تنادي جدة ؟ *

- اسمها
- أجده

- ا" أفالن
- طال عمرك
- غ"ر مطبق
- :Other

)ب(بماذاتناد"ك جتك ؟ *

- باسم ً
- "اولديبنت ً
- "ابأو/أفالن
- ولدا جتك
- غ"ر مطبق
- :Other

3-)أ(بماذاتناد"-)ن(عمك ؟ *

- باسمه
- "اع مً
- "ابأفالن
- طال عمرك
- غ"ر مطبق
- :Other

)ب(بماذا نُاد"ك عمك ؟ *

- باسم ً
- "اولديبنت ً
- "ابأو/أفالن
- ولدا عمك
- غ"ر مطبق
- :Other

4-)أ(بماذاتناد"-)ن(عمتك ؟ *

- باسمها
- "اعمه
- ا" أفالن
- طال عمرك
- غ"ر مطبق
- :Other

)ب(بماذاتناد"ك عمتك ؟ *

- باسم ً
- "اولديبنت ً
- "ابأو/أفالن
- ولدا عمتك
- غ"ر مطبق
- :Other

5-)أ(بماذاتناد"-)ن(خلك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمه
- ☐ "اخال "
- ☐ "ابلفالن"
- ☐ طال عمرك
- ☐ غ ّر مطبق
- ☐ :Other

)ب(بماذا ّن اد ّك خلك ؟ *

- ☐ باسم "
- ☐ "اولدي/يابت "
- ☐ "ابلو/أفالن"
- ☐ ورا خلك
- ☐ غ ّر مطبق
- ☐ :Other

6-)أ(بماذاتنادي)-ن(خلتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمها
- ☐ "اخاله
- ☐ " أفالنا
- ☐ طال عمرك
- ☐ غ ّر مطبق
- ☐ :Other

)ب(بماذاتنادك خلتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسم "
- ☐ "اولدي/يابت "
- ☐ "ابلو/أفالن"
- ☐ ورا خلتك
- ☐ غ ّر مطبق
- ☐ :Other

7-)أ(بماذاتنادي)-ن(ابن عمك /خلك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمه
- ☐ "ابن ع م/خل "
- ☐ "ابلفالن"
- ☐ ورا اخوك /اختك
- ☐ غ ّر مطبق
- ☐ :Other

)ب(بماذا ّن اد ّك ابن عمك/خلك ؟ *

- ☐ باسم "
- ☐ "بنت ع م/خل "
- ☐ "ابلو/أفالن"
- ☐ ورا اخوك
- ☐ غ ّر مطبق
- ☐ :Other

8- أ) بماذا تناديك (ابنة عمك/خالك) ؟ *

- ☐ باسمها
- ☐ بنت عمي/خالي
- ☐ أم فلان
- ☐ ولد اخوك/ اختك
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ______

ب) بماذا تناديك ابنة عمك/خالك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمي
- ☐ بنت/ابن عمي/خالي
- ☐ أبو/أم فلان
- ☐ ولد اختك
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ______

ثالثاً- الأزواج

إذا كنت غير متزوج الرجاء اختيار (غير مطابق) لجميع الأسئلة. كذلك إذا كان السؤال موجه للذكر (الزوج) والذي يقوم بالإجابة أنثى (الزوجة) أو العكس الرجاء اختيار (غير مطابق) للأسئلة الغير مناسبة حتى تتمكن من الانتقال للصفحة التالية.

1- أ) بماذا تنادي زوجتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمها
- ☐ زوجتي
- ☐ أم فلان
- ☐ حبيبتي
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ______

ب) بماذا تناديك زوجتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمي
- ☐ زوجي
- ☐ أبو فلان
- ☐ حبيبي
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ______

2- أ) بماذا تنادين زوجك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمه
- ☐ زوجي
- ☐ أبو فلان
- ☐ حبيبي
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ______

ب) بماذا يناديك زوجك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمه
- ☐ "ازوجتي"
- ☐ "أفالن"
- ☐ "الجبت"
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ____

3- أ) بماذا تنادي (ـن) ولد زوجك/ زوجتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمه
- ☐ "اعم"
- ☐ "ابأفالن"
- ☐ طال عمرك
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ____

ب) بماذا ينادك ولد زوجك/ زوجتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمي
- ☐ "اولديبنت"
- ☐ "ابأو/أفالن"
- ☐ والعمك
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ____

4- أ) بماذا تنادي (ـن) ولدة زوجك/ زوجتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمها
- ☐ "اعمه"
- ☐ "أفالن"
- ☐ طال عمرك
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ____

ب) بماذا تناديك ولدة زوجك/ زوجتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمي
- ☐ "اولديبنت"
- ☐ "ابأو/أفالن"
- ☐ والعمتك
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ____

5- أ) بماذا تنادي (ـن) أخو زوجك/ زوجتك ؟ *

- ☐ باسمه
- ☐ "النسيب"
- ☐ "ابأفالن"
- ☐ والخوك/اختك
- ☐ غير مطابق
- ☐ Other: ____

ب) ماذا تنادي أخو زوجك/ زوجتك؟ *

- ○ باسمه
- ○ النسيب /السلف
- ○ أبو فلان/ أبو
- ○ ولد اخوك
- ○ غير مطبق
- ○ Other:

6- أ) ماذا تنادين (أخت زوجك/ زوجتك)؟ *

- ○ باسمها
- ○ النسيبة
- ○ أم فلان
- ○ ولد اخوك /اختك
- ○ غير مطبق
- ○ Other:

ب) ماذا تنادي أخت زوجك/ زوجتك؟ *

- ○ باسمها
- ○ النسيب /السلفة
- ○ أبو/أم فلان
- ○ ولد اختك
- ○ غير مطبق
- ○ Other:

ملاحظات

إذا كان لديك تعليق على الأسئلة السابقة أو حول إجاباتك فيرجى إضافته هنا

* Required

2- الأصدقاء

إذا لم يسبق لك التعامل مع الشخص المحدد في السؤال، فالرجاء اختيار (غير مطبق) في الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية حسب ما تكون تلك الإجابات مستوحاة من الإمكان.

أولاً- جماعة الأصدقاء

1- أ) كيف تنادي صديقك عندما تتحدث عنه مع الآخرين إذا كان أصغر منك سناً؟ *

- ○ ولدي
- ○ باسمه
- ○ اخوي
- ○ الحبيب
- ○ غير مطبق
- ○ Other:

ب) كيف تنادي صديقك عندما تتحدث عنه مع الآخرين إذا كان أصغر منك سناً؟ *

- ☐ ًاعم/خاله
- ☐ وسمحي-)ي(
- ☐ ًاهًا
- ☐ ًالحبًبالحبًه
- ☐ غًر مطبق
- ☐ Other: ______

2-)أ(كًفتتادًهالبًتادًنهالسؤال عن كان ما إذا كانافٍ سف عمركتق رًبٍاً ؟ *

- ☐ ًأخ
- ☐ وسمحت
- ☐ ًاهًا
- ☐ ًالحب
- ☐ غًر مطبق
- ☐ Other: ______

)ب(كًفًادًنكًالسؤال عن كان ما إذا كانافٍ سف عمركتق رًبٍاً ؟ *

- ☐ ًأخ/أخت
- ☐ وسمحي-)ي(
- ☐ ًاهًا
- ☐ ًالحبًبالحبًه
- ☐ غًر مطبق
- ☐ Other: ______

3-)أ(كًفتتادًهالبًتادًنهالسؤال عن كان ما إذا كان أكبر منكسناً ؟ *

- ☐ ًاعم
- ☐ وسمحت
- ☐ ًاهًا
- ☐ ًالحب
- ☐ غًر مطبق
- ☐ Other: ______

)ب(كًفًادًنكًالسؤال عن كان ما إذا كان أكبر منكسناً ؟ *

- ☐ أولادي/بنتً
- ☐ وسمحي-)ي(
- ☐ ًاهًا
- ☐ ًالحبًبالحبًه
- ☐ غًر مطبق
- ☐ Other: ______

ثاًلثاً - إمجًال ذعرفهاًفًالشارع

1-)أ(كًفتتادًاهالبًتادًنهالسؤال عن كان ما إذا كانت أصغر منكسناً ؟ *

- ☐ ًبنتً
- ☐ وسمحً
- ☐ ًاهًا
- ☐ ًالحبًه

- ☐ غ ّر مطابق
- ☐ Other:

ب) ك ّف تنادي ّ ك المسؤول عن مكان ما إذا كانت أصغر منك سناً ؟ *

- ☐ ّ اعم/خاله
- ☐ موظف-)ي(
- ☐ ّ ا ّ ه
- ☐ ّ اللقب بالمهنه
- ☐ غ ّر مطابق
- ☐ Other:

-2 أ) ك ّف تنادي ّ ن المسؤول عن مكان ما إذا كانت في سن عمرك تقريباً؟ *

- ☐ ّ أأخت
- ☐ موظف ً
- ☐ ّ ا ّ ه
- ☐ ّ اللقب ه
- ☐ غ ّر مطابق
- ☐ Other:

ب) ك ّف تنادي ّ ك المسؤول عن مكان ما إذا كانت في سن عمرك تقريباً ؟ *

- ☐ ّ أأخ/أخت
- ☐ موظف-)ي(
- ☐ ّ ا ّ ه
- ☐ ّ اللقب بالمهنه
- ☐ غ ّر مطابق
- ☐ Other:

-3 أ) ك ّف تنادي ّ ن المسؤول عن مكان ما إذا كانت أكبر منك سناً ؟ *

- ☐ ّ اخاله
- ☐ موظف ً
- ☐ ّ ا ّ ه
- ☐ ّ اللقب ه
- ☐ غ ّر مطابق
- ☐ Other:

ب) ك ّف تنادي ّ ك المسؤول عن مكان ما إذا كانت أكبر منك سناً ؟ *

- ☐ ّ اولدي/بنتي ً
- ☐ موظف-)ي(
- ☐ ّ ا ّ ه
- ☐ ّ اللقب بالمهنه
- ☐ غ ّر مطابق
- ☐ Other:

ثالثاً- سلوك سر إحراج

-1 أ) ك ّف تنادي ّ ن إذا كان أصغر منك سناً ؟ *

- ☐ ٲولدي
- ☐ وسحمت
- ☐ ٲسواق
- ☐ ٲمحد
- ☐ غٲر مطبق
- ☐ Other:

ب) كٲف كٲدٲ ن إذا كان ٲصغر منك سناً ؟ *

- ☐ ٲعم/خاله
- ☐ وسحمت-(ي)
- ☐ ٲ ه ٲ
- ☐ ٲلمرأة(ذات)ه
- ☐ غٲر مطبق
- ☐ Other:

2- أ) كٲف تنٲدٲ ه ٲ نٲدٲ ن ه إذا كان ٲفف سٲ عمرك تقرٲباً ؟ *

- ☐ ٲأخ
- ☐ وسحمت
- ☐ ٲسواق
- ☐ ٲ محد
- ☐ غٲر مطبق
- ☐ Other:

ب) كٲف كٲدٲ ن إذا كان ٲفف سٲ عمرك تقرٲباً ؟ *

- ☐ ٲأخ / أخت
- ☐ وسحمت-(ي)
- ☐ ٲ ه ٲ
- ☐ ٲلمرأة(ذات)ه
- ☐ غٲر مطبق
- ☐ Other:

3- أ) كٲف تنٲدٲ ه ٲ نٲدٲ ن ه إذا كان ٲكبر منك سناً ؟ *

- ☐ ٲعم
- ☐ وسحمت-(ي)
- ☐ ٲسواق
- ☐ ٲمحد
- ☐ غٲر مطبق
- ☐ Other:

ب) كٲف كٲدٲ ن إذا كان ٲكبر منك سناً ؟ *

- ☐ ٲولدي/بنتي
- ☐ وسحمت-(ي)
- ☐ ٲ ه ٲ
- ☐ ٲلمرأة(ذات)ه
- ☐ غٲر مطبق
- ☐ Other:

ملاحظاتك

إذا كان لديك تعليق على الأسئلة السابقة أو حول إجاباتك فيرجى إضافته هنا

قد يقتضي البحث لاحقاً الاتصال ببعض المشاركين وذلك للإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة البسيطة حول الندوات التي استخدموها في هذا البرنامج. هل توافق على الاتصال بك ؟ *

- نعم
- لا

- إذا كانت إجابتك "نعم" الرجاء إضافة بريدك الإلكتروني حتى يسهل الاتصال بك لاحقاً

اورەی

٣ من ٣ صفحات للعودة إلى الصفحة السابقة اضغط على مربع (Back) في الأسفل

(Translated version)

Address terms in Saudi Arabic: Najdi dialect

Introduction

The presenter of this questionnaire is a PhD candidate at SOAS (School of Oriental and African studies), University of London. This questionnaire studies Address Terms in Najdi dialect spoken by the middle province population in Saudi Arabia. It focuses on Two settings: the family and on the street. It requires roughly 15-20 minutes. In your answers to this questionnaire I would like you to consider being precise and honest in your answers as each question has very important role in this research.

The first page contains questions about some personal information. The researcher is committed to ensuring the privacy of the information recorded below which will be used solely in the current study and will not be shared with any other party.

Later on the research requires contacting some of the respondents for a follow up qualitative study about the address terms they referred to in this questionnaire. If you would like to participate in the follow up study please choose the appropriate answer in the question bellow in this page.

For any inquiry about the questionnaire please contact the researcher at: informants2012@gmail.com

Would you like to participate in the follow up study?

□ Yes □ No

If your answer is YES Please Provide your email address ……..

Hessah Aba-alalaa
PhD Researcher
SOAS University -London

Demographic information

Please answer the following questions clearly and precisely:

1) Name (Optional)……
2) Place of Birth: ……
3) Where did you spend most of your childhood?

□ Central Province

□ Outside Central Province but in Saudi Arabia

□ Outside Saudi Arabia

4) Gender:

□ Female □ Male

5) Age:

□ (20 – 30) □ (31 – 40)

□ (41 – 50) □ Older than 50

6) Your spoken dialect:

□ Najd settlers‘ dialect

□ Najd Nomads‘ dialect

□ Other, specify…….

7) How much is your monthly income?

□ Less than 5000

□ 5000 – 10000

□ 10001 – 15000

□ 15001 – 20000

□ More than 20000

□ Don‘t like to answer

Comments

If you have any comments on the previous questions please add it here

Addressing members of your family

Each Question consists of two parts: How do you address (….) ?
How does (….) address you?

The task is to choose the address term that you actually use to address the target person in the question, and then choose the address term that you normally receive from this person. For precise answer please choose NA (not applicable) if you didn‘t get a chance to address this person or if this person didn‘t address you. For example if your father has been died when you were born, or if you are the elder My brother/sister your answer to the questions about addressing father and elder My brother/sister should be NA. Also if the question is directed to male and the respondant is female and vise versa. In case that you don‘t find the suitable address term among the choices please write down your address term next to the choice _Other‘. In case you chose more than one term from the listed address terms please specify the reason for your choices in the comments box at the bottom of the page.

1) Family Members

A. Parents and Siblings

	How do you address (…)	**How does (…) address you**
1. Your father	□ His name □ Dad □ Father of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa ana būk □NA □ Other, specify ……..
2. Your Mother	□ Her name □ Mum □ Mother of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa ana ummuk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
3. Your elder brother	□ His name □ Brother	□ My name □ My brother/sister

	□ Father of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
4. Your elder sister	□ Her name □ Sister □ Mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My brother/sister □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
5. Your younger brother	□ His name □ Brother □ Father of.... □ wa-na-xūk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My brother/sister □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
6. Your younger sister	□ Her name □ Sister □ Mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My brother/sister □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..

B. Relatives

		How do you address (…)	How does (…) address you
7.	Your grandfather	□ His name □ Grandpa □ Father of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa ana jaddek □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
8.	Your grandmother	□ Her name □ Grandma □ Mother of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa ana jaddetk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
9.	Your paternal uncle	□ His name □ Uncle □ Father of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa ana ʕammk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
10.	Your paternal aunt	□ Her name □ Aunt □ Mother of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa ana ʕammtk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
11.	Your maternal uncle	□ His name □ Uncle □ Father of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-xālek □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
12.	Your maternal aunt	□ Her name □ Aunt □ Mother of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-xāletk

		□ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ NA □ Other, specify ……..
13.	Your male cousin	□ His name □ Cousin □ Father of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ Cousin □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
14.	Your female cousin	□ Her name □ Cousin □ Mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ Cousin □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..

C. Spouse and spouse's family

	How do you address (…)	How does (…) address you
15. Your wife	□ Her name □ My wife □ Mother of.... □ Honey □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My husband □ Father of.... □ Honey □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
16. Your husband	□ His name □ My husband □ Father of.... □ Honey □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My wife □ Mother of.... □ Honey □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
17. Your father-in-law	□ His name □ Uncle □ Father of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa ana ʕammk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
18. Your mother-in-law	□ Her name □ Aunt □ Mother of.... □ ṭāl ʕumrak □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ My son/daughter □ Father/mother of.... □ wa ana ʕammtk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
19. Your brother-in-law	□ His name □ Brother-in-law □ Father of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ My name □ Brother/sister-in-law □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
20. Your sister-in-law	□ Her name □ Sister-in-law □ Mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk	□ My name □ Brother/sister-in-law □ Father/mother of.... □ wa-na-xūk/extk

	□ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ NA □ Other, specify ……..

Comments

If you have any comments on the previous questions please add it here

2) On the street

21) How do you address a male stranger to ask for the direction? And how does a male stranger address you to ask for the direction?

	How do you address (…)	**How does (…) address you**
Younger than you	□ Son □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Uncle/aunt □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
Same age as you (approx.)	□ Brother □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Brother/sister □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
Older than you	□ Uncle □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Son/daughter □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..

22) How do you address a female stranger to ask for the direction? And how does a female stranger address you to ask for the direction?

	How do you address (…)	**How does (…) address you**
Younger than you	□ Daughter □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Uncle/aunt □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
Same age as you (approx.)	□ Sister □ Excuse me	□ Brother/sister □ Excuse me

	□ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
Older than you	□ Aunt □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Son/daughter □ Excuse me □ Hey □ Darling □ NA □ Other, specify ……..

23) How do you address a taxi driver? And how does a taxi driver address you?

	How do you address (…)	**How does (…) address you**
Younger than you	□ Son □ Excuse me □ driver □ Mohammed □ NA □ Other, specify ……	□ Uncle/aunt □ Excuse me □ Hey □ ustāð/ustāða* □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
Same age as you (approx.)	□ Brother □ Excuse me □ driver □ Mohammed □ NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Brother/sister □ Excuse me □ Hey □ ustāð/ustāða* □ NA □ Other, specify ……..
Older than you	□ Uncle □ Excuse me □ driver □ Mohammed □ NA □ Other, specify …	□ Son/daughter □ Excuse me □ Hey □ ustāð/ustāða* □ NA □ Other, specify …

*(lit. masculine/feminine teacher)

Comments: If you have any comments on the previous questions please add it here

The end

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire.

(Coded version)

Address terms in Saudi Arabic: Najdi dialect

Introduction

The presenter of this questionnaire is a PhD candidate at SOAS (School of Oriental and African studies), University of London. This questionnaire studies Address Terms in Najdi dialect spoken by the middle province population in Saudi Arabia. It focuses on Two settings: the family and on the street. It requires roughly 15-20 minutes. In your answers to this questionnaire I would like you to consider being precise and honest in your answers as each question has very important role in this research.

The first page contains questions about some personal information. The researcher is committed to ensuring the privacy of the information recorded below which will be used solely in the current study and will not be shared with any other party.

Later on the research requires contacting some of the respondents for a follow up qualitative study about the address terms they referred to in this questionnaire. If you would like to participate in the follow up study please choose the appropriate answer in the question bellow in this page.

For any inquiry about the questionnaire please contact the researcher at: informants2012@gmail.com

Would you like to participate in the follow up study?

□ Yes □ No

If your answer is YES Please Provide your email address ……..

Hessah Aba-alalaa
PhD researcher
SOAS University -London

Demographic information

Please answer the following questions clearly and precisely:

8) Name (Optional)……

9) Place of Birth: ……

10) Where did you spend most of your childhood?

□ Central Province

□ Outside Central Province but in Saudi Arabia

□ Outside Saudi Arabia

11) Gender:

□ Female □ Male

12) Age:

□ (20 – 30) □ (31 – 40)

□ (41 – 50) □ Older than 50

13) Your spoken dialect:

□ Najd settlers‘ dialect

□ Najd Nomads‘ dialect

□ Other, specify…….

14) How much is your monthly income?

□ Less than 5000

□ 5000 – 10000

□ 10001 – 15000

□ 15001 – 20000

□ More than 20000

□ Don‘t like to answer

Comments

If you have any comments on the previous questions please add it here

Addressing members of your family

Each Question consists of two parts: How do you address (….) ?

How does (….) address you?

The task is to choose the address term that you actually use to address the target person in the question, and then choose the address term that you normally receive from this person. For precise answer please choose NA (not applicable) if you didn‘t get a chance to address this person or if this person didn‘t address you. For example if your father has been died when you were born, or if you are the elder brother/sister your answer to the questions about addressing father and elder brother/sister should be NA. In case that you don‘t find the suitable address term among the choices please write down your address term next to the choice _Other‘.

3) Family Members

D. Parents and Siblings

	How do you address (…)	**How does (…) address you**
21. Your father	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
22. Your Mother	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
23. Your elder brother	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
24. Your elder sister	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
25. Your younger brother	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P□NA □ Other, specify ……..
26. Your younger sister	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..

E. Relatives

		How do you address (…)	How does (…) address you
27.	Your grandfather	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
28.	Your grandmother	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
29.	Your paternal uncle	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
30.	Your paternal aunt	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
31.	Your maternal uncle	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
32.	Your maternal aunt	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
33.	Your male cousin	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
34.	Your female cousin	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..

F. Spouse and spouse's family

		How do you address (…)	How does (…) address you
35.	Your wife	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..
36.	Your husband	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..
37.	Your father-in-law	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
38.	Your mother-in-law	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme

	□ HF □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
39. Your brother-in-law	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..
40. Your sister-in-law	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ FN □ kin term □ Teknonyme □ Qua.inv.P □NA □ Other, specify ……..

Comments

If you have any comments on the previous questions please add it here

4) On the street

21) How do you address a male stranger to ask for the direction? And how does a male stranger address you to ask for the direction?

	How do you address (…)	**How does (…) address you**
Younger than you	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ Kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..
Same age as you (approx.)	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..
Older than you	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..

22) How do you address a female stranger to ask for the direction? And how does a female stranger address you to ask for the direction?

	How do you address (…)	**How does (…) address you**
Younger than you	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..
Same age as you (approx.)	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..
Older than you	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Ed □NA □ Other, specify ……..

23) How do you address a taxi driver? And how does a taxi driver address you?

	How do you address (…)	**How does (…) address you**
Younger than you	□ Kin term □P.M □ driver □Mohammed □NA □ Other, specify ……	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Title □NA □ Other, specify ……..
Same age as you (approx.)	□ kin term □P.M □ driver □Mohammed □NA □ Other, specify ……..	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Title □NA □ Other, specify ……..
Older than you	□ kin term □P.M □ driver □Mohammed □NA □ Other, specify …	□ kin term □P.M □ Hey □ Title □NA □ Other, specify …

Comments: If you have any comments on the previous questions please add it here

The end

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire.

Appendix 2 Tables of Frequencies

Table of Frequencies for ToA with family members

	Reported ToA													
	FN		KT		HF		Tek		Qua.inv.P		Other		na	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Father	1	0%	202	65%	101	32%					5	2%	4	1%
Mother			248	79%	55	17%	2	1%			8	3%		
Grandfather	2	1%	159	51%	74	24%	1	0%			42	13%	35	11%
Grandmother	3	1%	210	67%	26	8%	2	1%			54	17%	18	6%
Paternal uncle	3	1%	259	83%	35	11%	5	2%			10	3%	1	0%
Paternal aunt	5	2%	269	86%	16	5%	2	1%			17	5%	4	1%
Maternal uncle	3	1%	265	85%	30	9%	2	1%			13	4%		
Maternal aunt	5	2%	271	87%	14	4%	1	0%			16	5%	6	2%
Elder brother	74	24%	19	6%			186	59%			14	5%	20	6%
Elder sister	95	31%	23	7%			169	54%	1	0%	6	2%	19	6%
Younger brother	227	73%	55	18%			6	2%	4	1%	15	4%	6	2%
Younger sister	227	72%	56	18%			3	1%	5	2%	13	4%	9	3%
Male cousin	127	41%	105	34%			56	18%	1	0%	23	7%	1	0%
Female cousin	163	52%	110	35%			24	8%			12	4%	4	1%

Expected ToA														
	FN		KT		Tek		Qua.inv.P		Other		na		Ed	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
By Father	134	43%	54	17%	15	5%	76	24%	30	10%	4	1%		
By Mother	107	34%	46	15%	7	2%	128	41%	25	8%				
By Grandfather	76	25%	26	8%	13	4%	154	49%	9	3%	35	11%		
By Grandmother	73	23%	41	13%	5	2%	161	51%	15	5%	18	6%		
By Paternal uncle	135	43%	6	2%	25	8%	123	39%	23	7%	1	1%		
By Paternal aunt	115	37%	9	3%	19	6%	148	47%	18	6%	4	1%		
By Maternal uncle	128	41%	5	2%	29	9%	132	42%	19	6%				
By Maternal aunt	107	34%	12	4%	17	5%	154	49%	17	6%	6	2%		
By Father-in-law	39	12%	5	2%	50	16%	12	4%	16	5%	191	61%		
By Mother-in-law	37	12%	7	2%	44	14%	23	7%	15	5%	187	60%		
By Elder brother	207	66%	25	8%	40	13%	6	2%	15	5%	20	6%		
By Elder sister	198	63%	19	6%	41	13%	30	10%	6	2%	19	6%		
By younger brother	187	60%	50	16%	50	16%	7	2%	13	4%	6	2%		
By Younger sister	191	61%	38	12%	36	12%	32	10%	7	2%	9	3%		
By Male cousin	132	42%	107	34%	51	17%	1	0%	21	7%	1	0%		
By Female cousin	155	50%	111	36%	32	10%	1	0%	10	3%	4	1%		
By Brother-in-law	31	10%	10	3%	72	23%			10	3%	190	61%		
By Sister-in-law	51	16%			65	21%			11	4%	186	59%		
By Wife	18	6%			19	6%			16	5%	245	78%	15	5%
By Husband	42	13%			17	6%			23	7%	218	70%	13	4%

Table of Frequencies of ToA with people in the street

1) Male and female strangers

Reported ToA											
		KT		P.M		Ed		na		Other	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Male stranger	Younger	90	28%	103	33%	98	31%	11	4%	11	4%
	Same ages as	182	58%	95	31%	4	1%	10	3%	22	7%
	Older	91	29%	186	60%			13	4%	23	7%
Female stranger	Younger	181	58%	98	31%			9	3%	25	8%
	Same age as	184	59%	97	31%			7	2%	25	8%
	Older	70	22%	212	68%			7	2%	24	8%

Expected ToA													
		KT		P.M		Ed		Hey		na		Other	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
By Male stranger	Younger	140	45%	146	47%	1	0%			11	3%	15	5%
	Same ages as	180	58%	85	27%	6	2%	1	0%	10	3%	31	10%
	Older	83	27%	192	61%	1	0%			13	4%	24	8%
By Female stranger	Younger	179	57%	95	30%					9	3%	30	10%
	Same age as	177	57%	98	31%					7	2%	31	10%
	Older	59	19%	222	71%			1	0%	7	2%	24	8%

2) Taxi Drivers

Reported ToA												
	KT		P.M		Driver		Mohammed		na		Other	
Taxi Driver	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Younger	11	4%	100	32%	2	1%	164	52%	23	7%	13	4%
Same age	60	19%	93	30%			111	35%	24	8%	25	8%
Older	152	49%	103	33%			8	2%	26	8%	24	8%

Expected ToA										
	KT		P.M		Title (ustāð/ustāða)		na		Other	
By Taxi Driver	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Younger	87	28%	171	55%	15	5%	23	7%	17	5%
Same age	66	21%	178	57%	21	6%	24	8%	24	8%
Older	161	52%	101	32%	6	2%	26	8%	19	6%

Appendix 3 The chi-square test values for all of the associations

	Gender	
	Reported ToA	**Expected ToA**
Father	χ^2 (2, N = 304) = 25.69, p < .001, V = .291	χ^2 (3, N = 279) = 42.95, p < .001, V = .392
Mother	χ^2 (2, N = 305) = 26.09, p < .001, V = .292	χ^2 (3, N = 288) = 55.31, p < .001, V = .438
Elder brother	χ^2 (2, N = 279) = 81.88, p < .001, V = .542	χ^2 (3, N = 278) = 15.39, p < .01, V = .235
Elder sister	χ^2 (3, N = 288) = 95.04, p < .001, V = .574	χ^2 (3, N = 288) = 15.76, p < .01, V = .234
Younger brother	χ^2 (3, N = 292) = 8.72, p < .05, V = .173	χ^2 (3, N = 294) = 30.82, p < .001, V = .324
Younger sister	χ^2 (3, N = 291) = 5.68, p = .128, V = .140	χ^2 (3, N = 297) = 31.25, p < .001, V = .324
Grandfather	χ^2 (3, N = 236) = 1.98, p = .576, V = .092	χ^2 (3, N = 269) = 12.41, p < .01, V = .215
Grandmother	χ^2 (3, N = 241) = .32, p = .957, V = .036	χ^2 (3, N = 280) = 39.56, p < .001, V = .376
Paternal uncle	χ^2 (3, N = 302) = 1.86, p = .602, V = .078	χ^2 (3, N = 289) = 7.09, p = .069, V = .157
Paternal aunt	χ^2 (3, N = 292) = 3.81, p = .283, V = .114	χ^2 (3, N = 291) = 12.50, p < .01, V = .207
Maternal uncle	χ^2 (3, N = 300) = 2.14, p = .544, V = .084	χ^2 (3, N = 294) = 12.23, p < .01, V = .204
Maternal aunt	χ^2 (3, N = 291) = 1.90, p = .593, V = .081	χ^2 (3, N = 290) = 20.90, p < .001, V = .268
Male cousin	χ^2 (3, N = 289) = 21.68, p < .001, V = .274	χ^2 (3, N = 291) = 23.13, p < .001, V = .282
Female cousin	χ^2 (2, N = 297) = 16.38, p < .001, V = .235	χ^2 (3, N = 299) = 22.84, p < .001, V = .276
Wife	χ^2 (2, N = 55) = 3.36, p = .186, V = .247	χ^2 (2, N = 52) = 7.14, p < 0.05, V = .371
Husband	χ^2 (2, N = 69) = 4.71, p = .095, V = .261	χ^2 (2, N = 72) = 0.752, p = .686, V = .102
Father in law	χ^2 (3, N = 118) = 15.70, p < 0.01, V = .365	χ^2 (3, N = 106) = 7.27, p = .064, V = .262
Mother in law	χ^2 (3, N = 119) = 24.96, p < .001, V = .458	χ^2 (3, N = 111) = 5.35, p = .148, V = .220
Brother in law	χ^2 (3, N = 107) = 30.81, p < .001, V = .537	χ^2 (2, N = 113) = 19.91, p < .001, V = .420
Sister in law	χ^2 (2, N = 118) = 10.54, p < .01, V = .299	χ^2 (1, N = 116) = 20.47, p < .001, V = .420
Male stranger younger	χ^2 (2, N = 291) = 124.34, p < .00 , V = .654	χ^2 (2, N = 287) = 40.76, p < .001, V = .377
Male stranger same age	χ^2 (2, N = 281) = 46.88, p < .001, V = .408	χ^2 (3, N = 272) = 30.73, p < .001, V = .336
Male stranger older	χ^2 (1, N = 277) = .005, p = .946, V = .004	χ^2 (2, N = 279) = 8.62, p < .05, V = .177
Female stranger younger	χ^2 (1, N = 279) = 34.42, p < .001, V = .351	χ^2 (1, N = 274) = 15.93, p < .001, V = .241
Female stranger same age	χ^2 (1, N = 281) = 30.01, p <.001, V = .327	χ^2 (1, N = 275) = 17.31, p <.001, V = .251
Female stranger older	χ^2 (1, N = 282) = 13.37, p < .001, V = .218	χ^2 (2, N = 282) = 31.33, p < .001, V = .333
Taxi driver younger	χ^2 (3, N = 277) = 114.58, p < .001, V = .643	χ^2 (2, N = 273) = 31.13, p < .001, V = .338
Taxi driver same age	χ^2 (2, N = 264) = 69.66, p < .001, V = .514	χ^2 (2, N = 265) = 16.62, p < .001, V = .250
Taxi driver older	χ^2 (2, N = 263) = 22.62, p < .001, V = .293	χ^2 (2, N = 268) = 12.73, p < .01, V = .218

	Age	
	Reported ToA	**Expected ToA**
Father	χ^2 (6, N = 304) = 10.64, p = .100, V = .132	χ^2 (9, N = 279) = 44.85, p < .001, V = .231
Mother	χ^2 (6, N = 305) = 1.93, p = .926 , V = .056	χ^2 (9, N = 288) = 31.03, p < .001, V = .190
Elder brother	χ^2 (6, N = 279) = 2.04, p = .916 , V = .060	χ^2 (9, N = 278) = 71.55, p < .001, V = .293
Elder sister	χ^2 (9, N = 288) = 4.19, p = .898 , V = .070	χ^2 (9, N = 288) = 74.77, p < .001, V = .294
Younger brother	χ^2 (9, N = 292) = 29.22, p < .01, V = .183	χ^2 (9, N = 294) = 18.58, p < .001, V = .298
Younger sister	χ^2 (9, N = 291) = 33.18, p < .001, V = .195	χ^2 (9, N = 297) = 47.59, p < .001, V = .231
Grandfather	χ^2 (9, N = 236) = 9.05, p = .530, V = .107	χ^2 (9, N = 269) = 61.16, p < .001, V = .275
Grandmother	χ^2 (9, N = 241) = 5.54, p = .785, V = .088	χ^2 (9, N = 280) = 34.31, p < .001, V = .202
Paternal uncle	χ^2 (9, N = 302) = 24.51, p < .01, V = .164	χ^2 (9, N = 289) = 59.84, p < .001, V = .263
Paternal aunt	χ^2 (9, N = 292) = 13.09, p = .158, V = .122	χ^2 (9, N = 291) = 39.99, p < .001, V = .214
Maternal uncle	χ^2 (9, N = 300) = 10.95, p = .279, V = .110	χ^2 (9, N = 294) = 53.25, p < .001, V = .246
Maternal aunt	χ^2 (9, N = 291) = 6.88, p = .649, V = .089	χ^2 (9, N = 290) = 39.12, p < .001, V = .212
Male cousin	χ^2 (9, N = 289) = 76.59, p < .001, V = .297	χ^2 (9, N = 291) = 88.02, p < .001, V = .318
Female cousin	χ^2 (6, N = 297) = 65.14, p < .001, V = .331	χ^2 (9, N = 299) = 93.50, p < .001, V = .323
Wife	χ^2 (6, N = 55) = 12.68, p < .05, V = .339	χ^2 (6, N = 52) = 20.95, p < .01, V = .449
Husband	χ^2 (6, N = 69) = 14.69, p < .05, V = .326	χ^2 (6, N = 72) = 17.08, p < .01, V = .344
Father in law	χ^2 (9, N = 118) = 16.51, p = .057, V = .216	χ^2 (9, N = 106) = 34.85, p < .001, V = .331
Mother in law	χ^2 (9, N = 119) = 14.95, p = .092, V = .205	χ^2 (9, N = 111) = 23.31, p < .01, V = .265
Brother in law	χ^2 (9, N = 107) = 18.27, p < .05, V = .239	χ^2 (6, N = 113) = 13.50, p < .05, V = .244
Sister in law	χ^2 (6, N = 118) = 11.51, p = .074, V = .221	χ^2 (3, N = 116) = 16.05, p < .01, V = .372
Male stranger younger	χ^2 (6, N = 291) = 14.56, p < .05, V = .158	χ^2 (6, N = 287) = 6.86, p = .334, V = .109
Male stranger same age	χ^2 (6, N = 281) = 8.81, p = .1895, V = .125	χ^2 (9, N = 272) = 12.51, p = .186, V = .124
Male stranger older	χ^2 (3, N = 277) = 5.23, p = .156, V = .137	χ^2 (6, N = 276) = 8.23, p = .183, V = .126
Female stranger younger	χ^2 (3, N = 279) = 7.25, p = .064, V = .161	χ^2 (3, N = 274) = 5.75, p = .124, V = .145
Female stranger same age	χ^2 (3, N = 281) = 6.73, p = .081, V = .155	χ^2 (3, N = 275) = 5.76, p = .123, V = .145
Female stranger older	χ^2 (3, N = 282) = 8.35, p < .05, V = .172	χ^2 (6, N = 282) = 6.40, p = .380, V = .106
Taxi driver younger	χ^2 (9, N = 277) = 31.74, p < .001, V = .195	χ^2 (6, N = 273) = 12.99, p < .05, V = .154
Taxi driver same age	χ^2 (6, N = 264) = 12.01, p = .062, V = .151	χ^2 (6, N = 265) = 6.84, p = .336, V = .114
Taxi driver older	χ^2 (6, N = 263) = 4.24, p = .644, V = .090	χ^2 (6, N = 268) = 14.22, p < .05, V = .163

	Spoken Variety	
	Reported ToA	**Expected ToA**
Father	χ^2 (4, N = 304) = 3.34, p = .503, V = .074	χ^2 (14.38, N = 279) = 14.38, p < .05, V = .161
Mother	χ^2 (4, N = 305) = 2.32, p = .676, V = .062	χ^2 (6, N = 288) = 19.93, p < .01, V = .186
Elder brother	χ^2 (4, N = 279) = 34.34, p < .001, V = .248	χ^2 (6, N = 278) = 34.28, p < .001, V = .248
Elder sister	χ^2 (6, N = 288) = 35.83, p < .001, V = .249	χ^2 (6, N = 288) = 11.12, p = .085, V = .139
Younger brother	χ^2 (6, N = 292) = 15.27, p < .05, V = .162	χ^2 (6, N = 294) = 19.54, p < .01, V = .182
Younger sister	χ^2 (6, N = 291) = 21.44, p < .01, V = .192	χ^2 (6, N = 297) = 19.47, p < .01, V = .181
Grandfather	χ^2 (6, N = 236) = 5.56, p = .615, V = .097	χ^2 (6, N = 269) = 12.67, p < .05, V = .153
Grandmother	χ^2 (6, N = 241) = 2.28, p = .893, V = .069	χ^2 (6, N = 280) = 30.53, p < .001, V = .233
Paternal uncle	χ^2 (6, N = 302) = 20.95, p < .01, V = .186	χ^2 (6, N = 289) = 6.34, p = .387, V = .105
Paternal aunt	χ^2 (6, N = 292) = 4.33, p = .633, V = .086	χ^2 (6, N = 291) = 15.61, p < .05, V = .164
Maternal uncle	χ^2 (6, N = 300) = 6.94, p = .327, V = .108	χ^2 (6, N = 294) = 18.25, p < .01, V = .176
Maternal aunt	χ^2 (6, N = 291) = 4.98, p = .546, V = .092	χ^2 (6, N = 290) = 23.27, p < .01, V = .200
Male cousin	χ^2 (6, N = 289) = 106.82, p < .001, V = .430	χ^2 (6, N = 291) = 107.84, p < .001, V = .430
Female cousin	χ^2 (4, N = 297) = 8.42, p = .077, V = .119	χ^2 (6, N = 299) = 8.85, p = .182, V = .122
Wife	χ^2 (2, N = 55) = 3.91, p = .142, V = .267	χ^2 (2, N = 52) = 9.17, p < .05, V = .420
Husband	χ^2 (2, N = 69) = 3.16, p = .206, V = .214	χ^2 (4, N = 72) = 16.69, p < .01, V = .340
Father in law	χ^2 (3, N = 118) = 2.91, p = .405, V = .157	χ^2 (3, N = 106) = .306, p = .959, V = .054
Mother in law	χ^2 (3, N = 119) = 8.76, p < .05, V = .271	χ^2 (3, N = 111) = 2.40, p = .494, V = .147
Brother in law	χ^2 (3, N = 107) = 10.90, p < .05, V = .319	χ^2 (4, N = 113) = 11.85, p < .05, V = .229
Sister in law	χ^2 (4, N = 118) = 7.24, p = .124, V = .175	χ^2 (1, N = 116) = 7.85, p < .01, V = .260
Male stranger younger	χ^2 (4, N = 291) = 26.91, p < .001, V = .215	χ^2 (4, N = 287) = 158.04, p < .001, V = .525
Male stranger same age	χ^2 (4, N = 281) = 23.30, p < .001, V = .201	χ^2 (6, N = 272) = 56.32, p < .001, V = .322
Male stranger older	χ^2 (2, N = 277) = 11.12, p < .01, V = .200	χ^2 (4, N = 276) = 3.90, p = .421, V = .084
Female stranger younger	χ^2 (2, N = 279) = 14.59, p < .01, V = .229	χ^2 (2, N = 274) = 9.07, p < .05, V = .182
Female stranger same age	χ^2 (2, N = 281) = 13.44, p < .01, V = .219	χ^2 (2, N = 275) = 7.63, p < .05, V = .167
Female stranger older	χ^2 (2, N = 282) = 6.72, p < .05, V = .154	χ^2 (4, N = 282) = 8.19, p = .085, V = .120
Taxi driver younger	χ^2 (6, N = 277) = 17.40, p < .01, V = .177	χ^2 (4, N = 273) = 1.92, p = .751, V = .059
Taxi driver same age	χ^2 (4, N = 264) = 20.63, p < .001, V = .198	χ^2 (4, N = 264) = 11.00, p < .05, V = .144
Taxi driver older	χ^2 (4, N = 263) = 26.84, p < .001, V = .226	χ^2 (4, N = 268) = 6.53, p = .163, V = .110

Appendix 4 The chi-square test results: Non-significant Associations

A. Reported ToA

1) Non-significant associations with gender variable

	Dependent variables	Gender
Family Members	1-How do you address your grandfather?	non-sig
	2-How do you address your grandmother?	non-sig
	3-How do you address your paternal uncle?	non-sig
	4-How do you address your paternal aunt?	non-sig
	5-How do you address your maternal uncle?	non-sig
	6-How do you address your maternal aunt?	non-sig
	7-How do you address your younger sister?	non-sig
	8-How do you address your wife?	non-sig
Strangers	9-How do you address Male Stranger older than you?	non-sig

2) Non-significant associations with age variable

	Dependent variables	Age
Family Members	1-How do you address your father?	non-sig
	2-How do you address your mother?	non-sig
	3-How do you address your grandfather?	non-sig
	4-How do you address your grandmother?	non-sig
	6-How do you address your paternal aunt?	non-sig
	7-How do you address your maternal uncle?	non-sig
	8-How do you address your maternal aunt?	non-sig
	9-How do you address your elder brother??	non-sig
	10-How do you address your elder sister?	non-sig
	11-How do you address your husband?	non-sig
	12-How do you address your father-in-law?	non-sig
	13-How do you address your mother-in-law?	non-sig
	14-How do you address you sister-in-law?	non-sig
Strangers	15-How do you address male stranger as same age as you?	non-sig
	16-How do you address male stranger older than you?	non-sig
	17-How do you address female stranger younger than you?	non-sig
	18-How do you address female stranger as same age as you?	non-sig
	19-How do you address taxi driver as same age as you?	non-sig

3) Non-significant associations with spoken variety variable

	Dependent variables	Spoken variety
Family Members	1-How do you address your father?	non-sig
	2-How do you address your mother?	non-sig
	3-How do you address your grandfather?	non-sig
	4-How do you address your grandmother?	non-sig
	6-How do you address your paternal aunt?	non-sig
	7-How do you address your maternal uncle?	non-sig
	8-How do you address your maternal aunt?	non-sig
	9-How do you address your female cousin?	non-sig
	10-How do you address your wife?	non-sig
	12-How do you address your husband?	non-sig
	13-How do you address your father-in-law?	non-sig
	14-How do you address you sister-in-law?	non-sig

B. Expected ToA

1) Non-significant associations with gender variable

	Dependent variables	**Gender**
Family Members	1-How does your paternal uncle address you?	non-sig
	2-How does your husband address you?	non-sig
	3-How does your mother-in-law address you?	non-sig

2) Non-significant associations with age variable

	Dependent variables	**Age**
Family Members	1-How does your father-in-law address you?	non-sig
Strangers	2-How does male stranger younger than you address you?	non-sig
	3-How does male stranger same age as you address you?	non-sig
	4-How does male stranger older than you address you?	non-sig
	5-How does female stranger younger than you address you?	non-sig
	6-How does female stranger same age as you address you?	non-sig
	7-How does female stranger older than you address you?	non-sig
	8-How does taxi driver same age as you address you?	non-sig

3) Non-significant associations with spoken variable

	Dependent variables	**Spoken variety**
Family Members	1-How does your paternal uncle address you?	non-sig
	2-How does your elder sister address you?	non-sig
	3-How does your female cousin address you?	non-sig
	4-How does your father-in-law address you?	non-sig
	5-How does your mother-in-law address you?	non-sig
Strangers	6-How does male stranger older than you address you?	non-sig
	7-How does female stranger older than you address you?	non-sig
	8-How does taxi driver younger than you address you?	non-sig
	9-How does taxi driver older than you address you?	non-sig

Appendix 5 Interview Questions

Original version (Arabic)

الاسئلة الرئيسية	الاسئلة الاضافية	الاسئلة الملحة وضحها
1. ماهو شعورك اذا ناداك بلبن/ابنه عمك/خالك باستخدام "بلبن/ ابنه العم/الخال"؟ 2. ماهو شعورك اذا استخدم "ابو/افلان"؟ 3. ماذا تتوقع ان يكون شعور بلبن/ابنه عمك/خالك اذا نادته) ه(باستخدام "بلبن/ ابنه العم/الخال؟ ماذا اذا نادته)-ه("ابو/افلان"؟	1. هل الفرق في العمر قد يؤدي الى اختلاف في اسلوب النداء في كلا الحالتين؟ 2. هل الشخص الذي تتواجد معه يؤدي الى تغيير اسلوب النداء؟	➢ كيف؟ ➢ لماذا؟
4. ماهو شعورك لو اخت زوجك استخدمت ابو/افلان؟ 5. ماذا لو نادتك باسمك ؟	3. هل الشخص الذي تتواجد معه يؤدي الى تغيير اسلوب النداء؟ 4. هل فارق العمر بينك وبين اخت زوجك يؤدي الى تغيير اسلوب النداء؟	➢ كيف؟ ➢ لماذا؟
6. لو استخدمت اسلوب النداء "أخ" لفتاة رجل غريب لاشارع ، ماذا تتوقع ان يكون شعوره؟ 7. ماذا لو استخدمت "لوسمحت"؟	5. هل مظهره يلبس بشلا قد يجعلك تختار اسلوب معين؟ 6. ماذا لو كان شخص غريب عودي؟ 7. هل تتواجد شخاص حولك قد يجعلك تختار اسلوب معين؟	➢ كيف؟ ➢ لماذا؟
8. ماذا يمكن ان يكون شعور سائق تاكسي اذا نادته "يا اخ"؟ 9. ماذا لو قلت "لوسمحت"؟ 11. ماذا سيكون شعور رجل لو نادته "محمد"؟	8. هل جنسية)لون(بشرته عودي او غريب عودي(قد تؤثر على) اسلوب النداء الذي تستخدمه لو نادته؟	➢ كيف؟ ➢ لماذا؟

Translated copy

Main Questions	Additional questions	Clarifying questions
1. How would you feel if your cousin used kinship term *my cousin*, to address you? 2. How would you feel if he/she used *Abu/um fulan* (father/mother of..)? 3. How do you think your cousin would feel if you used the kinship term *my cousin* to address him/her? What if you use *Abu/um fulan* (father/mother of..)?	1. Would the age differences make any difference in both cases? 2. Would the place, where you are, make any difference?	➢ How? ➢ Why?
4. How do you feel if your sister-in-law used *Abu/um fulan*? 5. What if she used first name?	3. Would the place, where you are, make any difference? 4. Would the age differences between you and your sister-in-law make any difference?	➢ How? ➢ Why?
6. If you used the kinship term *ʿax*‘ to address a male stranger in the street, how do you think he would feel? 7. What if you used *Law Samaht* (Excuse me)?	5. Would his appearance, e.g. his cloths, make you use certain term? 6. What if he is not Saudi? 7. Would the presence of the bystanders around you cause any changes in your reaction?	➢ How? ➢ Why?
8. If you used the kinship term *ya ax* (brother) to address a taxi driver, how do think he would feel? 9. What if you use *Law Samaht* (Excuse me)? 10. How do you think he would feel if you used *Mohammed*?	8. Does his nationality (being Saudi or not) would affect the term you would use to address him?	➢ How? ➢ Why?

Interviews transcription

Theme 1: Usage of KT and Tek to family members (Female interviewees)

Informants info	raw data
H.D. (20-30) settled speaker	"ممكن تحس نن خوه ع ن هه هه هه تطلب بن خوة ع ن ممكن اسم ع ها اذا احسب طلب بن خوة ه هه هه ع ن م ة دارجه عن الاسلوب اممم ممكن مزحه ال اكثر خاص قبنت عم كبنت خالك" "ع ن احس انو برضو طلب وف ها . اءءء مثلا أو ع ن اسلوب بين انو عامل ك معاملة أخوه ع ن. صارت ل انو من أحد مو ولد عم ولد عم زوج رجال كبير فقال : اشبك لبنت العم هه هه ه لبنت العم انزل خل أوالدك شوفو أحد من العاله أوالد ما عرفو عالتنا ما عرفو احد احس الكلمة تدل رتف ن ع ن كان اسلوب هل طف ع ن ما احترال الكلمة لبنت العم انزل ,نازل خ ل ا هل شوفونكم ع ن حست ان ها احسن من لاقال أم فلن مثلا" "لمن كونك ابر نك ع ن التنس تح ن نه وكونك موضوع احترام , ومثلا ناس حبون ان ه ذكرونك بصلة القريبة ع ن او انو حبون ان الكلمة هذي تقرب هم اكثر او انو ع نفه اا ع ن شو ة قل رسم ة من ان تقول ك أفلان" "انو تكلمون بأسلوب ان ه قدرونك اوشكرونك او ش . . حبون ان فع ونقدرك لما قلونك ا ام وافي ...ع ن ال ل لكبير غالبا ما قولون ها نخى كل كبار ال ل قلون لصغار ما قولون ها ابدا"
S.R. (20-30) settled speaker	"لا والله غالبا بالاسماء, غالبا بالاسماء.احنا في مجتمعنا باخذها نوع من أنواع المزحه , تكون مزحه" "الرجال يعني آآآآ والله ينطبق عليهم نفس هذا الشي بس آآآ الرجال يعني غالبا اذا كان كبير ف السن برضو برضو من منطلق احترام وتقدير يمكن اناديه يا أبو فلان , اذا كان كبير برضو في السن يعني مثلا يمكن عمي أو خالي أناديه يا عم يا خال لكن ولد العم !!" "خلينا نقول ولد عمي كبير في السن قد أبوي وش بناديه ؟؟ بناديه يا بو فلان ممكن أو أو اذا كان كبير في السن في عمر الوالد مثلا يمكن أناديه ياعم , ياعم هي المتعارفة عليه أو يا ابو فلان." "ان اصراحه ما احس .. ما احس ففرق بن ان كنت ادن ان سن هب لسم ها الول أو أفلان خاص ه إذا كان .. ف مح طال عالة ع ن عف تتحطرق لكثر .ال ل فرق اذا احد غرب ع ن"
G.D. (20-30) settled speaker upper class	"أحس من الاحترام انه ع ب عدهث لاثة ع ال أبع ع ال ونتزوج وكده وأج قولله هلان اف ك ف الحال أحس أنتاقل ل من احترامه, قولله ابأو عبدالعزيز أحس انه منسطف ها أكثر , احس أنحق هم علنا عع هولك بر مره وانا مره احترمه احس انه احترامأله ما اناد هبلسمه "
S.M. (31-40) settled speaker	"لا موب دارج موب دارج لكثر الأبناس به ل مو دارج لكثر ..بس ال صار تتزوج بأبو فلان غالبا لص ع ه نادبه باسمه ابدا مه تقبولة عفا انه أبو فلان وناد به باسمه االول إتحاشى اسمه لصرح لكثر الا اللي متزوج و نه م قولله مثلا" لا..لا. الطبع ا ممكن متاقله ا و ملكن ولكنت أنا أمون عل ه ا او ما حصل مشاكل ف األسرة وشق صدها ذى ممكن قول ال تتاد نناس مماله داعى أفلان وأفلان خلنا عا د ن سماح ونات اسمك العادي إذا لكن تفضل ن ...لانه عرف احترام ع أخ افتزعل نلو ناد لكباسمك ..كل الناس حبون ن ادون هم بأفلان أفلان"

Theme 1: Usage of KT and Tek to family members (Male interviewees)

Informants info	raw data
F.L. (31-40) nomad speaker	"حسب الطريق اللي طالع منه بعض الناس ممكن تطلع منه اني افهم بعض الناس ممكن واحد تطلع منه انه اعتبره حسب اللهجه حسب طريقة نطقها ممكن ابن عم اشك كذا .. يعني ممكن انه اعتبره ال ممكن اشجعه يعني تتجنب حسب النطق حسب التعبير وش تبعه وش يقصد وش الموقف اللي انت فيه" "والله اللي دارج الان ابو فلان, ما قد استخدمتها انا مع ابن خالي يعني في حالة عند الدارج الان بالنسبة لي مثلا انا ابو فلان ... اذا كان اكبر مني او اصغر مني او في عمري اي كان خارج اطار العائله , هذا حتى داخل العائلة لو اخو ولا ابن اخ ولا ولد عم اناديه باسمه ابو فلان ودارجه حتى في نجد كلها هذا الكلام" "الكبير مني له احترام وتقدير ومكانة احيانا اناديه بالقب الاكثر من اسمه احترام وتقرب" "يعتمد على الموقف, كل شي يعتمد على الوضع اذا كان تقربه وانا اشوفه مال كل اسبوع كل اسبوع اوفيه اتصال اليب ان ويه انا اتوقع انه عادي لكن اذا كانت ما اشوفها ال كل اربع اشهور خمس اشهور مره وممكن حتى لو اشوفه السلام عليكم وعليكم السلام ونلتقي فيوم من الايام ابو فلان اتوقع انه لابد منه" "الكبير مني ال عادي اتوقع انه عادي لكن الاصغر مني اوفيه انا في مجتمع بالناس الاكثر"
K.D. (31-40) nomad speaker	"تعبير عن اخوك اكثر مع انه ابن عمي بس انه احس انه فيه الفه وتقرب اكثر... انا ما استخدمها" "ابو فلان ممكن انه تقدير اكثر وتقرب بس انا استخدمها تقدير الشخص اللي قدام اللي انا احس احيانا خصوصا اذا كان اكبر مني انا الي استخدمت اسمه هو اسمه احس انه احط نفسي في درجه موازيه له فهذا قولي ابو فلان على اساس اعطيه تقديره" "استخدمها لاكبر مني ولاصغر مني بس الكبير مني استخدمها ممكن احترام اكثر والاصغر مني ممكن استخدمها بس يعني نوع من التحبب له او شي زي كذا" "اذا في مجلس مثلا زي ثلاث اشخاص قريب مني في السن وعايش معه حياتي كلها طفولتي كلها معه لكن في مجلس احاول انه الكلام بطريقه تختلف فلو انا في مجلس اقول له ابو فلان , يعني اعطيه يعني احترام بسبب حضور الناس الثانين على اساس ما توخذ فكره سيئه عني او عنه لكن بينا انا اناديه باسمه ما عندي مشكله " "ما تفرق معي عادي ..لواسمي ممكن نقول لها هذي افضل من انتي انا ابو فلان ممكن احس انه تقرب مني الكثير الطريقه ذي" "لو كانت اكبر بعض ما احس انه فيه مشكله بس لو ممكن ابو فلان فيه تقدير اكثر" "المكان فرق بعضو فرق اللي المكان والناس اللي حاضرين بس في هم الناس اللي حاضرين اذا انا مثلا ابو عياله ما عندي مشكله بالثانيين ينادوني باسمي لو في ثلاث ناس احب انه تنادوني ابو فلان اكثر...ش نفسي معاني وتفرق معي يعني نفسي او نفسي "
S.D (31-40) nomad speaker	"نادر قول ما استخدمها نادر... ما لها اعتبارات معينه يعني انا فيها وشو ولا ااااا فيني نخوة ولا في تختلف" "بأبو فلان افضل الكثير استخدام بابن العم .. المجتمع تعود انه أبو فلان .. أبو فلان تقدير حتى انت لما تجتمع بالشخص وتسلم عليه أول مره تقابله في الت و اجالس في مجلس او) كافي(أو في مكان قول كاسم الولد؟, اسم الولد قد يسأل الناس اسم الولد , لأن المجتمع ما اعتاد على ابو فلان احس انه ما نقول له انا اناديك باسمك أصلا لا من جيت اناديك باسمك من الدب انه قول لك استاذ انا أخ يعني عطك لقب قبل الاسم .فلو من سأل كابو من أبو هي تتقصر القب وتختصر السم" "بالنسبه لي انا أولد عمي اذا كان الكبير في السن و هو ولد عمي و هو ولد عمي فافضل انه انا اناديه عمي تقديرا واحترام للسنه ولمكانته لانه اكبر مني فارق من العمر .. يعني نفارق 21 سنه , إذا كان وعياله اكبر مني وهو ولد عمي , هو ولد عمي وعياله اكبر مني فيقاحه اني اجي اقول له ابو فلان" "لو كان الفرق مثلا خمس, عشر سنين اقول له أبو فلان فيه احترام وتقدير ااااااا هو أسهل , أسهل من انك تناديه باسمه كذا مثلا سلطان .. خالص عيب انك تجد شخص اسمه سلطان اخا الد هذا مبني على المجتمع وين انا على عيني " "انا ولمن اناديه وهو اصغر مني سن وهو ادري انه اكبر مني و اجي اقول سلطان مثلا عطني كذا ال جيب كذا سوي كذا, تجد انها عباة بس لما تقول له ابو فلان احس في نفسه شي أبو فلان .فيها احترام موده احترام, عطيني لقب لقب احترام . يعني ااااااا ممكن اجي عند ولد عمي اكبر مني كسنه وبينه وبينه 31 سنه اجي اناديه باسمه ترى تك .. هذي قلة أدب .. ولا لمن اجي اخوه .. ولد عمي اصغر مني انه اجي اقول له ابو فلان تحترم هذا اكثر من هذا بالعكس ممكن انك ترد على هذا ردسيء .. إنلطف حالك لما اتكلم ترد عليه رد سيء .. و هذا تحطه على راسك من فوق " "بالعكس انا أجد انها احترام اكثر من انها تناديه ابو فلان ما تعتقد انه راح يفرق سواء كانت اكبر أو أصغر"

Theme 2: usage of tropic kin terms to strangers (non-kins)
Female interviewees

Informants info	raw data
H.D. (20-30) settled speaker	لعي حس بالشخص احس ترجع ثقافة اولا لنعودعليه , يعني نثقافة العائله أولا لو هو نعودعليه , يعني في ناس يعني دها و سمحت يعني يحسون له اااا عن وف ناس نتقبلون ها عادي , و عادي ما عنده مشكله "ا أخي و سمحت ما فرق مع اهم يعني عندنا خاصة في السعودية " "بس لما أنا اقول له مثلا أخ احس انه عن اسلوب مؤدب اكثر انه يعني زي و سمحت... يعني ممكن انو يعني من باب انو انا ترا زي انه زي أختك " " إذا كان سعودي يتقدر تقول له "ا أخ أو عبر اذا كان مو عربي تعارض ممكن ما فهمها زي ما فهمها يمكن فهمون معنى أخو بس كلمه أخي حالها كذا ،عندنا ينادون "ا محمد اذا كان مو عربي انا ما احب استخدمها ابداً انه ما يعني كل شي اناديه محمد لاني أغير اسمه اصلا ممكن اناديه "ا سالي و سمحت يعني زي كذا بس انو اناديه "ا محمد لا ابداً"
S.R. (20-30) settled speaker	"في مجتمع الان من أقول لأحد "ا أخ يعني أقطع جمع الان القاتل تصرح بعد كذا عن أخيه تحترم نفسه زي ما تقول ن أحد من الاقه او الكفر و رشن ان لا ممكن تصير انو ما "اخذ وجه ، ب "حس ان الناس انه تحترمه ما عندي خربط ما شي سترت اخترق نفسك مع "ا ... احسن و سمحت عادي ه انه التقال في أي ممكن انه تتترك مجال" "لا .. لكن حس "حتى فرق في السن يعني بندا للغريب ... أي أحد ما اعرفه أو ما أعرف اسمه الاول أو ما "حتاج ان اعرف اسمه ...ما أحس انه فرق بين ان الحين ممكن أقول لو سمحت وممكن أقول "ا أخي بس الاكثر انا استخدم ألي رجل غريب عن أقوله "ا أخ" "لو سمحت احس هالغه جداً محترمه" "ظاهره مو حلوه ابداً،،،لا مرره ما أحب هذا الاسلوب يزعل ..انا والله شفت مره قدام محل في تف محل كوفي شوب ش زي كذا جاء واحد شتري ونادي ال ي بعقالها ل "امحمد،كان عربي بس ما أدري وش كانت جنسيته.قام ذلك وقال الحين تناديني "ا محمد " اخ انا لا اسمي شوف اسم على البطاقة موجود مكتوب عليه ا سم زعل"
G.D. (20-30) settled speaker	"لا لو سمحت ،،ما استعمل "ا أخ ابداً لا ابداً،لو سمحت" الفرق السن ال ...ال سعودي ورجال كبير وكذا يعني ممكن احترمه اكثر اقول له يعني طال عمرك ... مو "اعم ابداً ....أول شي لكن ممكن ينتقد عن الشخص – يعني انا جداً محترمتك لك ق دام و يعني عن" "هذا الي يسك حق بس ممكن اقعد شوي قدام بنات الجمعة ما أحب أن أقول الاحترام الزائد هذا الطاع قدمه محسان،،، زي صاحبتي في المدرسة كانوا شفون بنتنا جداً عسكري وجداً انو احترام حتى لما أرد على ماما عند صاحبتي سمباشري يقولون يعني معلش ذلك شوي ترا اها أمك ما عرفو ن أش الوضع عندك , انا جدا فالبيت يعني عرفت...أنا في مجتمع كثر تفكر ... عن مره احترام اختلفت ن يعني في الاحترام القلو وف ك ل شي وكف طرق التربية تختص توني كثر القول ه يعني قولون تراك مره مبالغ فا عن مره فرق احس من بيت إلى بيت حتى" " محم هو شائع يعني مدري مافهمت بس انه شوي يعني "سوري " يعني مو مو مؤدب مره توقع"
S.M. (31-40) settled speaker	أفضل ل إن أقول أخي الان أستاف الن ..أشوف انه نوع من الاحترام.. وأنا أحط "ها حاجز يتوقع انه حس احترام.....خاصة الكساء رقص "ها في تراك أخوي خل عندك حدود الي ه حدود الأخ ما تتجاوز فيها, أخ, اعرف حدك ...لا أوقع و سمحت أكثر رسمية" "ا ه لكن حس تفرق ،ا ه لكن حس تفرق، سعودي ما أقول أخوي ن روح الكان الي تدله مال كذا بقوله كذا أخوي ما اللشك ن و سمحت... لأن كلمة أخ مهمه مهم مهمه عنده زي ما تكون صاحبتك مثلا سعودي ..ال ال .. انا ما أحب الطريقة هذي .. ه ينتشر عن الكثر خاصة الحالات .فينتشر عن الكثر مع ن الكاس .. مع ن المحلات .. أي ناس ان لا تعرف ناسمه محمد .أنا ال ما أحبها" و سمحت أحلى ...يتوقع ه فهومه مع الأجانب لأن كلمة أخ وأخ مهمه مهم مهمه عنده زي ما تكون صاحبتك مثل سعودي

Male interviewees

Informants info	raw data
F.L. (31-40) nomad speaker	"ًا اخ حبيبلل ه جلل ل نًاا انطق هف ٌ ها ٌ ع نيًب عض الح ٌان نا ا قول ٌا اخل واحد نابل ٌ ه ٌوخر ع نً نا ممكن ادورش ر ٌمكن ادور شً يرضوا نزاف س الطرق ه لوسمح غي ها من واحد ثا نً ٌكل هم نً نا حبيب له جل صوت الل ٌتج ٌ نً ٌا اخ ممكن نعم لتوف ضل انت حت امرك .لكن ٌا اخ نعم اشتبغى ارد عل ٌ يف س الن ر لل ً جي نًف ٌ ها ٌا اخ " "لا شرك ل رس م ً تودد ل ٌش؟ "ع ٌم دع ل ى الش خص ٌا اخ ااا مو ٌا اخ بم عي ى ان ه اخو اخو وو ك لنا مسلم ٌن لن ك لنا اخوان ف اال سلام بس ٌ ع نً نا ٌوم ان اد ٌ ه ا ال ًف ت بيا ه ه ال نً نا ما اعرف اسمه و هو ما ٌ عرف نً ونا ما اعرف ه... ٌ ع نً لوسمحت ه ًفلض لل ك نل وسمح تب عض الن اس ٌق و ل ل ٌش نا ا قول ه ل وسمحت ٌمكن ٌك و نل ه ن ظره او ف س ٌ ه غ ٌ ر" "اذا هوسواق تا الكسران ا زبون ع ي دف لاز م ٌ ح ترم ن ًاك ٌ د ت ٌق ب ل اي شً ياق ول ه ل ه... اذا هو اج ن بً مم كن محمد،،، محمد موب اسم ه لك ن نت ع ارف عل ٌ ه ،، نت عارف عل ٌ ها جال ٌات من شرق اس ٌ تا ق رب ًا ال مسلم ٌن،، اما اذا ك ان س عودي ال مو مو من ص ع ب ل ك ن الكثر ما حكون حان اد ٌ ه ٌا اخ ل وسمحت"
K.D. (31-40) nomad speaker	اغل ب الن اس ت ٌض ا ٌق و ن ن ه ف اا نا ا حال ات ج ي ها ،لان ه ن ظرت ه م ممم اذا ن اد ٌت احد ٌا اخ ن ظرت ه م ل ك ٌ ع نً ما احس ان ها اا ج ٌ د ب س ل وق ل ت ل ه ل وسمحت مم كن ن ٌظر ل ًب اح ترام الكثر... ٌا اخ ت حس ا نً ان ها جا ٌ ه من واح ف ال شارع ك ذا ب س ل وق ل ت ل ه لوسمحت ٌ دري ان ً ان ا شخص م ح ترم وان ال ل ًب ٌ ه شً ٌ ع نً ..." " هذي اخ ا نً ما اعرف اسمك واح اج س أل ك ف قل ت ٌا اخ ك ذال و ٌ عرف اسم ه ن ادي ب اسم ه ف ه م ف ٌ ها لا اح ترام ولا ف ٌ ه ق ل ة اح ترام ش ً ط ب ٌ عً ٌ ع نً. ااا مم كن ٌ اخ ذها زي محمد مدري ...ٌ م ك ن لوسمحت ف اضل ،،ل وسمحت مم ك ن ت ع ط ٌ ن ًق ات خل ٌ ه ٌ ح ترم ن ًالكثر ف ٌ ه ل ت ل ط ف ل ه و ف ٌ ها مم كن شً ان ا ت وق ع ه ٌ ج نً ي ال ض ب ط واحش ل ك ه ف دام ه م ض ب و ط ش ل ك ه م ض ب و ط ال زم ان ً احاول ت ك ل أدب ب ال الم مع ه... لا ل وسمحت ال ع موم ل وسمحت ت ح ى ع ام ل ف ال شارع ق ل ه ل وسمحت" "ال ج ن ا ب ف ا ن اد ٌ ه م محمد ، ٌا محمد ان ه هذا ن وع من ال ت ق رب ل ه م.... ال ج ن بً اي الن ه م ا ٌ ع ف و ن اس ماء ال ج ن ا ب ف ٌ ق و ل و ن ٌا محمد ٌا محمد و ل ل اس ف ص ار محمد م رت ب ط ب أس ماء ال ج ا ن ب م رت ب ط ب الن داء ال ج ن ب .ال س ع و دي ال اال س ع و دي ه و ل ل ت ٌ ض ا ٌ ق من محمد او من اخ غ ال ب ا"
S.D. (31-40) nomad speaker	"عادي ت ت وق ع ان ٌ ع نًب ال ع ك س ن ا أجد ان ه ل ط ف ه ق و ل ل ه ٌ أس ت اذ ٌا أخ ل ل ل ل الاسلوب ال دارج ع ن د نا ، ال ن ط ق ال دارج ع ن د نا ن واس ت اذ ه ًن س ه ا أخ ٌ أس ت اذ ف لان ٌا أخ ف لان ه ً ف س ل ل ل.... إل نً م اق ل ت ل ه ٌا أخ ال أنا م ح ترم ه " "ب ال ع ك س ل و ان ه ت ح ى ك ان ٌ ع نً .ك ل ن ا أخوان ان شا ف اال س لام ت ح ى ل و ك ان ع ام ل ه و أس ل و ب واحد ..س واء ك ن ت أع ف ه أو ل م ك ن ت أع ف ه... أنا اع ت دت ع ل ى ال اح ترام ... ٌ ط ر ق أ ٌا ك ان ال ش خ ص ...ٌا أخ .. ٌا أخ ً ، ٌا أخوي ،ل وسمحت ،ٌ ال ح ٌب ت ع ب ر ان ك اح ترت ك ش خ ص" "ولا أن اد ٌ ه أص لا لا محمدو ال غ ٌ ره ،ل وسمحت ٌا اخوي ،ل وسمحت ٌ اال ط ٌ ب أ ٌا ك ان محمدا سم دارج ع ن د نا ،،اسم دارج ع ن د نا ومن ض ٌ ع ل ه ش خ ص ق ال ٌا محمد.ب ال ع ك س ل ٌ ش ل س ت خ د م ه ا و ل ٌ ش أن ا م ض ط ر ا ن س ت خ د م ه ف أس ال ٌ ب أخرى مم ك ن ٌ ك و ن اس م ه مو محمد ط ٌ ب ...أن ا أن اد ٌ ك ب غ ٌ ر اسمك ت رض ٌ ن .. ٌ ع نً أنا أن اد ٌ ك ب غ ٌ ر اسمك ت رض ٌ ن"