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**ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ АВТОНОМНОЕ
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имени ПАТРИСА ЛУМУМБЫ»**

На правах рукописи

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**Стратегии вежливости в речевом акте «просьба» в алжирском и русском
учебном дискурсе**

5.9.8. Теоретическая, прикладная и сравнительно-сопоставительная
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INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is a contrastive study of the speech act of Request in Algerian and Russian classroom discourse, explored through pragmatic, discursive, and socio-cultural analysis.

The relevance of the study. The growth of academic mobility and migration results in a multicultural academic environment. This poses difficulties and limitations in classroom communication due to the participants' different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in the interaction. For successful intercultural communication, students and teachers must be aware of the ethnocultural characteristics of politeness and how politeness strategies function in various contexts. Thus, the students' communicative and cultural characteristics should be considered, including the standards that govern relations in the students' national academic context and the culture-specific features in their cultures that determine their communicative styles to ensure successful communication.

Successful communication depends thoroughly on establishing good relationships with others, and polite behaviour is essential to ensure harmony and social equilibrium between people of the same society and others from different societies. However, the significant role of politeness in establishing good social relations in all languages and cultures is manifested differently across different cultures as the concept of politeness is perceived differently in various cultures (Haugh 2015; Kádár & Haugh 2013; Leech & Larina 2014; Watts 2003; Wierzbicka 1991, to name a few). These differences stem from the social conventions in each culture; thus, what is considered polite in one culture can be seen as impolite or even rude in another.

Language users choose the appropriate politeness strategies to ensure smooth and efficient interactions. Their choice depends on many social factors that vary from one culture to another, and its appropriateness determines the success of further interactions. Hence, misunderstandings and communication breakdowns can occur in intercultural communication due to variations in beliefs, values, and expectations, which determine the message decoder in each culture (Matsumoto & Juang 2008). Therefore, it is of utmost importance to be aware of the standards and rules of

communication, including the understanding of politeness and how it is performed in the target culture in various speech acts, because successful intercultural communication is built on this understanding (Larina 2015).

A request is a face-threatening act (FTA) as the Speaker gets the Hearer to do something for their benefit. Thus, by requesting, an imposition is placed on the Hearer whose freedom is limited. Brown and Levison (1987) suggest that the more face threats caused by the speech act, the more it is preferable to adopt a more polite strategy. This understanding opens up a world of potential for successful communication. However, the weightiness of the face threat is related to each culture's sociocultural variables that govern interlocutors' relationships. It is predetermined by power, distance, and the rank of imposition, which are understood and perceived differently across cultures and play a crucial role in determining the appropriate choice and use of politeness strategies.

Although requests in Algerian Arabic have been studied in previous literature (e.g., Atamna 2016; Hadj Said 2016, 2018; Lounis 2019; Sekkal 2018, to name a few), the number of pragmatic studies remains relatively small, particularly those focused on the academic context and refer to the use of politeness strategies in educational settings. Moreover, no previous studies have compared Algerian politeness with other non-Anglo cultures.

Thus, the relevance of the present study is shaped by the following principles: (1) the multicultural environment characteristic of modern universities, increasing interest towards the classroom discourse in different cultural settings and the need to study academic discourse from a cross-cultural perspective; (2) the growth of academic mobility in education between Algeria and Russia, and the need to identify differences in the discursive practices and politeness strategies of Algerian and Russian teachers and students, which can contribute to effective intercultural communication, (3) the importance of determining cultural values and norms that shape understanding of politeness and guide the choice of politeness strategies in different speech acts; (4) the limited study of politeness in academic discourse in general and in the performance of

Request in particular in Algerian Arabic compared to other languages; (5) the necessity to pursue research of the impact of culture on communicative styles.

The degree of scientific development of the research problem. Numerous studies were conducted to investigate the cultural specificity in the realisation of various speech acts (e.g., Eslami 2005; Eslami et al. 2023; Haugh & Chang 2019; Iliadi & Larina 2017; Litvinova & Larina 2023; Ogiermann 2009; Qari 2017; Reiter 2000; Sazalie & Al-Marrani 2010; Trosborg 1995; Wierzbicka 2003). The speech act of Request, which is a Face-Threatening Act, has been at the centre of cross-cultural studies since the project of Blum-Kulka et al. Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realisation Patterns (CCSARP) (1989) (e.g., Fukushima 1996, 2002; Liao 1997; Lounis 2019; Ogiermann 2009; Pinto & Raschio 2007; Reiter 2000; Yu 2011, among others).

As for the Arabic language, which is inherently heterogeneous, its dialects have been studied in a pragmatic perspective to varying degrees. Most Arabic research is interested in Jordanian and Egyptian Arabic, with little attention to Iraqi and Yemeni Arabic. However, studies in the Great Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya) are scarce, which has caused a gap in the literature and the need for further research. Although the speech act of Request in Algerian Arabic was investigated in previous literature (Atamna 2016; Hadj Said 2016; Lounis 2019), the number of works is still limited, and more investigation of the politeness phenomenon in Algerian Arabic is required.

Due to the multiculturalism of the academic environment and the discursive approach to the study of politeness, the performance of various speech acts in academic discourse in different cultural contexts is increasingly attracting the attention of researchers. Contrastive cross-cultural and sociopragmatic studies were conducted to identify cultural peculiarities in the speech acts of address in classroom settings (Formentelli 2009; Soomro & Larina 2022, 2023, 2024; Zhou & Larina 2024), critical remark (Mey 2007; Zbenovich et al. 2024), compliment (Dilek 2020; Tanju et al. 2023). Zhou and Larina (2025) investigated culture-specific features of Chinese and Russian teacher–student interaction, focusing on addressing, thanking, and

apologising. Alemi and Maleknia (2023) explored non-native English students' politeness netiquettes while emailing their American professors.

However, none of these investigations has conducted a contrastive study of politeness in requests in Algerian Arabic and Russian. The limited knowledge of Algerian Arabic and Russian speech acts is not only due to researchers' emphasis on Western European languages, but also because most of the studies on speech acts in these languages are written in Arabic or Russian, making them less accessible to the international academic community. With the rapid development of intercultural communication because of educational mobility, speakers of these languages (Arabic and Russian) find themselves in direct contact. Their limited knowledge of each other's languages and cultures may lead to communication failures and misunderstandings, especially in the performance of the speech act of Request, which is frequently used in a classroom context. This potential for communication breakdowns underscores the need for further research. Therefore, this study investigates the politeness strategies in Algerian and Russian classroom requests. It explores politeness strategies in Algerian Arabic and Russian used to make requests by teachers and students. It focuses on the similarities and/or differences in the adopted politeness strategies in symmetrical (linear) and asymmetrical (bottom-up and top-down) contexts characterised by various ranks of imposition.

Research hypothesis states that the two cultures, with their different cultural and social aspects of Power, Distance, and Rank of imposition, would encounter different politeness strategies in performing classroom requests.

The study aims to identify and contrast the politeness strategies employed in requests within Algerian and Russian classroom discourse, and to determine how socio-cultural variables influence their choice, interpreting the observed differences through the lens of culture and cognition.

To achieve the goal, the following research **objectives** have been undertaken:

- 1) to consider existing theories and approaches to the study of politeness and select the most effective one for the research;
- 2) to identify the sociocultural factors and values that shape the

understanding of politeness in Algerian and Russian cultures;

3) to examine the idea of indirect speech acts critically and establish whether the Request belongs to this category in a cross-cultural context;

4) to determine politeness strategies and linguistic means of their realisation used to perform requests in Algerian and Russian classroom settings;

5) to find out the similarities and differences in the performance of requests in classroom discourse by Algerian and Russian speakers in symmetrical and asymmetrical contexts;

6) to clarify how differences in the socio-cultural values, social power, distance, and rank of imposition may result in choosing a politeness strategy;

7) to interpret the identified differences in terms of culture and communicative values, social roles and cognition.

Data and methods. The study's data were obtained from a Discourse Completion Task (DCT) questionnaire, which is an effective tool for eliciting a wide range of speech acts across various contexts. Though it has some limitations, particularly in its inability to capture the prosodic and interactional features found in naturally occurring conversations and cannot generate natural, spontaneous speech as it happens in real-life interactions it is considered to be an effective method for cross-cultural studies (e.g., Tran 2006, Labben 2016). The questionnaires were distributed to 140 university students (70 Algerians and 70 Russians). Algerian students were selected from the Department of Arabic Literature at Hadj Lakhder University (also named Batna 1 University) in the Batna province of Algeria. Russian respondents were from the faculty of philology at the People's Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University) in Moscow. The participants were asked to indicate what they would say in different situations involving a request in the classroom context. The original questionnaire (DCT) was designed in English and then translated into Arabic and Russian. It was aimed at gathering students' choice of politeness strategies in three contexts: (1) when students request their teachers, (2) when teachers request their students, and (3) when students request their classmates. They were given three situations, which varied in the rank of imposition (low, moderate, and high). Overall,

1260 request utterances were collected and analysed quantitatively and qualitatively, with the implementation of discourse-pragmatic and sociocultural analysis, to determine the influence of socio-cultural variables on the form of Request and choice of politeness strategies.

Theoretical background. The study employed an interdisciplinary theoretical framework based on:

- *Discourse analysis* (Alba-Juez 2009; Fairclough 2010; Kiose et al. 2024; Ponton & Larina 2016, 2017; Van Dijk 2009; Zappettini et al. 2021).
- *Cross- and intercultural pragmatics* (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1981, 1989; Fukushima 1996, 2000; Kecskes 2014; Ogiermann 2009; Pizziconi 2003; Qari 2017; Reiter 2000; Sazalie & Al-Marrani 2010; Wierzbicka 2003 to name a few).
- *Speech Act Theory* (Austin 1962; Cooren 2015; Holtgrave 2002; Huang 2009; Sbisà 2009; Searle 1969, 1975, 1979; Yule 1996, 2006; Wijana 2021).
- *Politeness and Impoliteness Theory* (Bousfield 2008; Brown & Levinson 1987; Culpeper 2011; Culpeper et al. 2017; Eelen 2001; Fraser 1990; Fraser & Nolen 1981; Haugh 2007; Kádár & Haugh 2013; Lakoff 1973; Larina 2009, 2015; Larina & Ponton 2020, 2022; Leech 1983, 2014; Locher 2008, 2012, 2015, 2018; Locher & Watts 2007; Lounis 2019; Mills 2003, Sifianou 1992; Watts 2003 among others).
- *Sociolinguistics and identity studies* (Atkinson 2002, 2014; Eslami et al. 2023; Ervin-Tripp 1986; Fasold 1990; Holmes 2013; Labov 1972; Trudgill 2000; Wardhaugh 2006; Wardhaugh & Fuller 2021, etc.).
- *Intercultural communication and Cultural studies* (Hofstede, 2011, 1991; Jandt 2017; Kabakchi & Proshina 2021, Larina 2013, Larina et al. 2017 a,b; Triandis 2018; Triandis & Gelfand 2012 among others).

The study also drew on work on *Academic Discourse* (Boer 2009; Donato 2004; McCarthy 1991; Mitiku 2022; Nunan 1999; Soleman Awad & Afzal Khan 2019; Suhaili & Haywood 2017, to name a few) and the speech act of Request (e.g., Achiba 2003; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984; Dendenne 2017; Faerch & Kasper, 1989; Hadj Said 2016; House & Kasper 1987; Kotorova 2016; Larina 2003, 2008; Lounis 2019; Ogiermann 2009; Qari, 2017; Trosborg 1995; Wierzbicka 1985,

1992, 2003).

Novelty of the study. This dissertation is the first contrastive study of politeness in Algerian Arabic and Russian classroom discourse based on discursive, pragmatic, and socio-cultural analyses. The study identified similarities and differences in politeness strategies and the linguistic means used to implement them. It also revealed differences in directness and indirectness in the form of requests in Algerian and Russian education discourse and traced the influence of sociocultural factors, such as Power Distance, Social Distance, and the Rank of Imposition, as well as cultural values on the teachers' and students' request performance. It offers new data on the impact of cultural and social contexts on language use.

Theoretical implications. The thesis demonstrated the effectiveness of a discursive approach to the study of politeness across cultures, which allowed us to specify the influence of various social and cultural variables on the performance of the speech act of Request, and to refine existing theoretical views and approaches. The findings confirmed that the types of requests (direct or indirect) and the choice of the politeness strategies are determined by the social variable of power, distance, and rank of imposition, but their impact varies across cultures. The study revealed differences in the degree of directness and indirectness in Algerian and Russian classroom discourse focusing on politeness strategies, form of Request, internal and external modifiers used to lessen the imposition and showed their connection with sociocultural factors. The findings invalidated the idea that Request is an indirect speech act (Searle 1975) and demonstrated that, in cultures based on closeness and interdependence, requests pose less of a face threat than individualist Anglo-cultures and can be expressed indirectly and directly. Furthermore, the findings showed that directness and imposition in requests do not necessarily contradict politeness, which can be expressed through other linguistic means. The results may contribute to sociolinguistics, cross-cultural pragmatics, discourse analysis, cultural linguistics, and intercultural communication by providing new data and expanding the understanding of the impact of culture and cognition on language and its functioning in different social and cultural contexts.

Practical implications. The main findings and conclusions can stimulate further studies of the varieties of speech acts across languages and cultures. They can be used to prepare course books and theoretical courses on cross-cultural pragmatics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, and cultural and contrastive linguistics. They can also find an application in second language teaching (Arabic and Russian), as well as translation studies and intercultural communication.

Propositional statements for the defence:

1. The discursive approach to the study of politeness specifies the influence of various social and cultural variables on the performance of the speech act of Request and refines existing theoretical views and approaches. Thereby, it not only enhances our understanding of cross-cultural communicative differences, but also significantly expands the explanatory framework of existing models of politeness, asserting its vital role in the use of language.

2. The types of requests (direct or indirect) and the choice of politeness strategies are determined by the social variables of power (PD), distance (SD), and rank of imposition (R); however, their impact varies across cultures. In the Algerian classroom, requests are influenced more by the index of power, while in Russian requests, the most influential factor appeared to be the cost of imposition, even though power and distance impact are also observed.

3. The idea that Request constitutes an indirect speech act, widely accepted by Anglo scholars, does not apply to Algerian and Russian cultures, where it can be performed both indirectly and directly. Furthermore, directness and imposition in Request do not necessarily contradict politeness, which can be expressed through other linguistic means, such as the Vy ('vous') form of address in Russian, kinship forms of address and religious blessings in Algerian Arabic.

4. Though requests are expressed directly and indirectly in both cultural contexts, Algerian requests tend to be more direct than Russian in all situations. In the Russian context, Requests are often expressed indirectly, which is achieved through negative politeness strategies and internal and external modifiers that are less typical of the Algerian classroom discourse.

5. The more direct request style in Algerian classroom discourse compared to Russian is arguably due to a greater vertical distance, which prescribes straightforwardness in top-down relations, and a less pronounced horizontal distance, which allows straightforwardness in linear relations and, to some extent, even in bottom-up relations. Russian discourse reflects a different balance of social variables and values, as well as the roles of teachers and students.

6. The results confirm the interconnection between language, culture, cognition and communication, providing new data, and show how sociocultural factors impact communicative behaviour of interlocutors and shape ethnocultural communicative styles. Thereby, the findings can have both theoretical and practical implications.

The scientific validity and reliability of the findings. The deep examination and critical analysis of the existing literature achieve a solid basis for the reliability and validity of the dissertation. The impressive amount of empirical data and their complex quantitative and qualitative analysis also support the reliability of the results and conclusions.

Approbation of the dissertation. The main results and conclusions of the research were presented in seven publications that include three articles indexed in the international databases of Scopus and Web of Science, one article in peer-reviewed journals included in the List of the Higher Attestation Commission, and one in a related publication. Some findings were presented at 11 international conferences: (1) The 2nd International Applied Linguistics Conference (IALC), 2-3 May 2023, Ouargla University, Algeria; (2) The International Scientific and Practical Conference VI Firsova Readings “Modern Languages and Cultures: Varieties, Functions, Ideologies in a Cognitive Perspective”, 19-21 October 2023, RUDN University, Moscow; (3) II International Scientific Conference of Students and Young Scientists for Sustainable Development of Civilization: Cooperation, Science, Education, Technology, 21-24 November 2023, RUDN University, Moscow; (4) International scientific and practical conference “Language and communication in the context of culture”, 10 April 2024, Rostov-on-Don University; (5) IV International Scientific Conference “Innovation in

language learning”, 7-8 November 2024. Firenze University, Italy; (6) the 4th International Conference on Field Linguistics, 28-30 November 2024, the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; (7) V All-Russian scientific and practical conference of young orientalists with international participation "Eastern Kaleidoscope", December 6, 2024, RUDN University, Moscow; (8) The 1-st Eurasian Congress of Linguists, 9-13 December 2024, The Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; (9) the V International Scientific and Practical Conference "Linguistics of Distancing. The Genesis of Civilisation: Language, Culture and Man in the 21st Century", 29-31 January 2025, Moscow State University, Moscow; (10) International scientific conference of students, postgraduates and young scientists "Lomonosov-2025", 11-25 April 2025, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow; (11) The International Scientific and Practical Conference: VII Firsova Readings “Language. Culture. Communication”, 23-25 October 2025, RUDN University, Moscow.

Structure of the dissertation. The dissertation is organised into an Introduction, three Chapters, a Conclusion, a list of references (which includes 264 sources), and two Appendices representing Algerian Arabic and Russian questionnaire forms.

MAIN CONTENT OF THE STUDY

The **Introduction** defines the research problem and the study's relevance, formulates the research hypothesis, aims, objectives, and propositional statements for the defence around which the present research is stated, and explains the research tools, methods, and methodology. It outlines the scientific novelty and theoretical and practical implications. It also substantiates the research results' approbation.

Chapter I, *Politeness as a Socio-Cultural and Socio-Pragmatic Research Phenomenon*, accounts for contemporary theoretical politeness studies. It provides definitions of politeness, names its types, and analyses approaches to the study of politeness and related concepts and theories, such as Grice's theory of implicatures (1975) and Goffman's notion of face (1967, 1971).

Special attention is paid to the theory of politeness by Brown and Levinson (Brown & Levinson 1987), which has been one of the most significant theories in the field of pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis for several decades. The main types of politeness identified by them are *negative politeness*, which is aimed at distancing, and *positive politeness*, which is based on rapprochement. Thus, two kinds of politeness can be distinguished based on Larina's classification (2003, 2009) of *politeness of distancing* and *politeness of approaching*.

The chapter also discusses other perspectives that challenge Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and support their arguments. It emphasizes the importance of a discursive approach to studying politeness and outlines its benefits, including: (1) taking into account the role of context when choosing politeness strategies; (2) considering not only the Speaker's actions but also how they are perceived and evaluated by listeners, and (3) including impoliteness in the research field.

Separately, section 1.3, "Politeness Across Languages and Cultures," examines the specific aspects of politeness in different linguistic and cultural contexts. Based on cross-cultural research, it emphasizes that politeness is a universal communicative phenomenon with ethnocultural variations, manifesting in differences in politeness strategy use and linguistic means employed for their realisation.

It is noted that Algerian society has a significant vertical power distance, with a high index of authority, but a less pronounced horizontal social distance compared to Russian culture. This leads to the formation of values such as respect for age and status, and the closeness of relationships dictated by Islamic culture, where all people are considered brothers. These values guide communication in all aspects of Algerian life, including academia.

Chapter II, *Politeness and the Speech Act of Request*, entails four main sections. It discusses the Speech Act theory and provides a typology of different types of speech acts. It also discusses the place of Request in this typology. Then it explores the various types of requests and the politeness strategies that can be used to soften

this speech act. Furthermore, it provides an overview of research on requests in Arabic dialects, including Algerian and Russian.

The first section is devoted to the Speech Act Theory, which J. Austin (1962) and J. Searle (1969) founded. This theory is based on the idea that words are used not only to describe events but also to perform certain actions, in other words, speech acts.

The second section gives a typology of speech acts, among which the Request speech act is determined. It is noted that a Request is a directive speech act by which the Speaker fosters the Hearer to perform certain actions; as a result, the hearer's freedom is restricted, and a threat is posed to the hearer's negative face. For this reason, Request, among other directive speech acts, is considered a face-threatening speech act (FTA).

The researchers claim that requests can be expressed directly or indirectly, depending on the degree of directness/indirectness. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) distinguish three main types of requests: direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect. Our study will consider this perspective, focusing mainly on direct and indirect types of requests.

Section 2.3 analyses the main strategies used to perform requests and linguistic means and their implementation models, including imperative and performative statements, interrogative statements with modal verbs, and implicit ways of expressing requests (strong and mild hints). Attention is drawn to hearer-oriented, speaker-oriented, inclusive, and impersonal perspectives. Internal and external modifiers that mitigate the illocutionary force of a request are considered separately; the latter are also called *pragmatic moves* or *supportive moves* (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) as they accompany the head act of Request to mitigate it.

The final paragraph of this chapter discusses the speech act of Request from a cross-cultural perspective. It emphasizes that the implementation of a request, like other speech acts, is determined by socio-cultural values and norms (Kecskes 2014, Trosborg 1995, Wierzbicka 1991, 2003 to name a few). The main research results on requests in Mexican, Spanish, Polish, German, and other lingua-cultures illustrate these findings.

This chapter concludes with a brief overview of research on the performance of requests in various dialects of the Arabic language, including Algerian and Russian.

Chapter III, *Contrastive Analysis of Politeness Strategies in Algerian and Russian Requests*, contains the results of an empirical study aimed at identifying similarities and differences in the implementation of this speech act in Algerian and Russian educational discourse. The chapter has three sections.

Section 3.1. describes in detail the research material, the data collection tools, and the methodology of analysis, which is complex. It is partly based on the CCSARP (Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns) project (Blum-Kulka 1989), complementing it with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987), but at the same time considers politeness strategies and means of their implementation from a discursive and pragmatic perspective to the study of politeness. The main research questions are formulated as follows: (1) What type of Request – direct or indirect – prevails in bottom-up, top-down, and linear contexts in Algerian and Russian classroom discourse? (2) How and to what extent do representatives of comparable cultures mitigate the illocutionary force of a request, and what politeness strategies and linguistic means do they use for this? (3) To what extent do Algerian and Russian politeness strategies differ? (4) To what extent do power, distance, and degree of imposition influence their choices? (5) How can the revealed differences be interpreted in the context of culture and identity?

In the following three sections, a comparative analysis of the expression of a request in three social contexts is carried out: 3.2. – in a bottom-up context (student's Request to the teacher); 3.3. – in a top-down context (teacher's Request to the student); 3.4. – in a linear context (Request between students). At the same time, each of these situations was considered, taking into account the third variable – the degree of imposition, which ranged from low (elementary Request) to moderate (Request of medium complexity) and high (complex Request). As a result, nine situations were subjected to a comparative analysis in the two cultural contexts – Algerian and Russian.

Throughout the chapter, a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the

Algerian and Russian students' and teachers' requests is provided, considering different social factors of Power (P), Distance (D), and rank of imposition (R). The obtained results are then interpreted and discussed.

The research ends with **Conclusions** that summarise the key supporting findings and outline prospects for future research on academic discourse and politeness in cross-cultural and intercultural contexts.

CHAPTER I: POLITENESS AS A SOCIO-CULTURAL AND SOCIO-PRAGMATIC RESEARCH PHENOMENON

Politeness is a crucial notion in everyday human life as it guides social interaction, helps achieve communicative goals successfully, and preserves social order and equilibrium. Different research areas, such as pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and cross-cultural studies, have given much attention to politeness, which is defined differently across various fields of knowledge and within different approaches.

This chapter is devoted to revealing the different definitions of politeness, namely some sociolinguistic concepts, related approaches, and theories regarding this phenomenon.

1.1. Linguistic politeness

The English word ‘polite’ is derived from the Latin word ‘Politus’, past participle of “polire” to mean ‘polished or to smooth’ (Oxford Dictionary of English 2000). Sifianou (1992: 81) suggests that when the etymology of ‘polite’ refers to people, it means someone who is smoothed, polished, refined, and necessarily cultivated or well-bred. Concerning manners, it is equal to ‘courteous, urban’. This term became part of the English language only in the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth century, it gained other different definitions or even synonyms, including words like ‘correct, elegant, refined, exhibiting, and scholarly’ (Deutschmann 2003). Deutschmann (2003) finds that new definitions of ‘polite’ have shifted it from being a marker of a person's behaviour to how a person has to speak, besides the shift from characterising the personality towards considering others. Contemporary dictionaries show how the word ‘polite’ has evolved through time to gain new definitions far from its primary association with people’s behaviours, especially those of the high class. Werkhofer (1992) and Deutschmann (2003: 25) found that according to current dictionary definitions, polite behaviour has a dual social aspect since it is a behaviour performed by people on the one hand. On the other hand, it is a means to establish, organise, and maintain social interaction.

From a different angle, Watts (1999, 2003, 2005) introduced two types of politeness: *first-order politeness* (politeness1) and *second-order politeness* (politeness

2) Whereas politeness¹ deals with how a speech by community members discusses polite behaviour and how they perceive and classify it, politeness 2 deals with the scientific conceptualisation of polite language rather than intuitive language; thus, politeness is determined as a socio-psychological concept. In other words, to keep the distinction clear-cut, a first-order perspective is useful to understand different cultures' ways of talking about polite behaviour, the appropriate terms to use, and how these terms are used, evaluated, and assessed. A second-order distinction provides a more specific scholarly analysis of people's behaviours in certain situations.

Reiter (2000: 3–4) distinguished between two types of politeness according to how they are expressed: communicative and non-communicative:

- a. Non-communicative politeness refers to actions that are accepted by society and considered polite according to social norms.
- b. Communicative politeness is performed without a need for any instruments. It includes other sub-categories: linguistic and non-linguistic politeness. What distinguishes these sub-categories is that non-linguistic politeness cannot be performed verbally and thus is not recognised during the speech. In contrast, linguistic politeness is realised verbally.

Watts (1999, 2003, 2005) previously described linguistic politeness as second-order politeness, which will be the main notion of the present research. Politeness and linguistic politeness will be used interchangeably to mean the same concept. Holmes (2009) further suggests that the notion of linguistic politeness has captured the attention of many scholars in different fields of study. Linguistic politeness has become the central concern in different research fields, including comparative/contrastive studies, pragmatic studies, cultural studies, sociolinguistics and more. Therefore, giving a single definition of linguistic politeness is impossible, but the simplest definition can be traced to its very nature.

Holtgraves (2002) suggests that linguistic politeness refers to how one chooses and organises words together because of the cognitive evaluation of the context of social interaction. Cutting (2002) also supports this view, thinking that politeness is the process of arranging choices of linguistic expressions to achieve communicative

goals. Similarly, Bloomer et al. (2005) state that “we always have a choice of what we say or write, and one of the linguist’s tasks is to uncover what choice x does that choice y does not. Often, our choices differ in their social and pragmatic consequences” Bloomer et al. (2005: 108).

Lakoff (1975) and Leech (1980) have viewed politeness as a system developed to lessen the conflict encountered in communicative interactions. Leech (1980) defines politeness as "a strategic conflict avoidance" adopted to maintain social harmony and manage possible disagreement by lessening the offence.

Brown (1980) also expresses concern to others (the addressee); thus, he suggests that the speaker uses politeness to modify one's language because of the consideration of other interlocutors' feelings. Hence, when considering their addressee's feelings, the speaker's linguistic expressions will differ from those produced without others' consideration. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that linguistic politeness deals with the speaker's use of certain linguistic strategies that allow him/ her to achieve their communicative goals, considering the Hearer's face and feelings and the participants' relationship. This view was supported by Kasper (1990), who views politeness as a set of strategies used by a speaker to reduce the "antagonism" and "danger" that can be encountered in communication, because without smoothing moments of confrontation and conflict, the relationships in society will be lost and would be difficult to continue. Thus, politeness strategies are needed to preserve social order and harmony (Lakoff 1990: 34).

1.2. Approaches to the study of politeness

Since the late 1970s, different politeness theories have emerged to explain how it is dealt with from various perspectives. Different theories have evolved certain approaches to politeness over time. The existence of such approaches was described by Fraser 1990), who identified the four main approaches: (1) the social norm view, (2) the conversational-contract view, (3) the conversational-maxim view, (4) the face-saving view as a successive process where one approach emerges from the other or replaces it. In comparison, other researchers (Culpeper 2009) suggest that these

approaches are complementary in explaining linguistic politeness and clarifying its vagueness.

This chapter will discuss the conversational-maxim and face-saving views that are most relevant to our study. We will then highlight the main advantages of the discursive approach to politeness, which are a logical continuation of the previous ones.

1.2.1. The Conversational-Maxim View

The conversational maxim approach is based on Grice's work on the Cooperative Principle and maxims (1975), which was adopted by other authors such as Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983, 2014).

1.2.1.1. The Gricean Co-operative principle and maxims

Grice's (1975) cooperative principle (CP) and Maxims of Conversation are fundamental concepts in pragmatic studies. Gricean pragmatics has come with the idea of speaker meaning. Grice distinguished between human intentionality (natural meaning) and intentional communication (non-natural meaning; nn). The definition of non-natural meaning contains a second intention, which is implicit and deals with recognising the speaker's communicative intention on the part of the addressee.

Another central idea in Grice's pragmatics is conversational implicature, which is based on inference from utterances and the Cooperative Principle and its Maxims. According to Grice, cooperation can be achieved when the speakers contribute to a conversation as required at the necessary stage and perform the accepted direction and purpose of the conversation in which they are engaged. Speakers must cooperate by following the four conversational Maxims in a conversation, since they can link the utterances performed and what one can understand. The maxims are reproduced as follows:

- the Maxim of Quantity, which requires that the speaker has to make his contribution as informative as necessary but not more informative; the
- Maxim of Quality, in which interlocutors should say what they believe to be true;

- the Maxim of Relation, in which interlocutors should say what is relevant to the topic of conversation;

The Maxim of Manner, in which interlocutors should avoid obscurity of expression and ambiguity, should be brief and orderly (Grice 1975: 45-6).

Grice states that when the speaker does not follow these guidelines and violates one of the maxims, the Hearer assumes that the speaker does not want to be cooperative. Therefore, he starts to look for meaning at a deeper level to infer the speaker's intentional meaning. By doing such an inference, conversational implicatures play their part. Thus, a successful conversation is possible when the maxims are used appropriately to arrive at polite behaviour and language.

1.2.1.2. Robin Lakoff's approach to politeness

Lakoff (1973, 1977) was the first scholar to rely on a pragmatic perspective to investigate linguistic politeness as 'the pillars of our linguistic as well as non-linguistic interactions with each other [are to] (1) make yourself clear and (2) be polite' (Lakoff 1977: 86).

Drawing on Grice's cooperative principle and maxims, Lakoff (1973) designed her model as follows:

1. Clarity (Be clear) requires
 - giving as much information as needed but not more (Maxim of Quantity).
 - Based on evidence and experience, say what you believe is true (Maxim of Quality).
 - Be relevant (maxim of relations).
 - Avoid ambiguous and confusing statements (Maxim of Manner).
2. Be polite: Politeness means respecting the strategies of not imposing, giving options, and being friendly.

However, she prioritises politeness over clarity as she states, "When clarity conflicts with Politeness, in most cases, Politeness supersedes; it is considered more important in a conversation to avoid offence than to achieve clarity" (Lakoff 1973: 297-298). Lakoff defined politeness as "a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimising the potential for conflict and confrontation

inherent in all human interchange" (1990: 34). Thus, to be polite, one has to give others freedom without stepping inside their territory and let them make their own decisions to make the addressee feel comfortable.

In general, by respecting politeness standards designed by Lakoff, conversational conflict can be reduced, and interlocutors' needs can be satisfied by employing politeness strategies that maintain harmony and intimacy in communication. Lakoff developed her rules by introducing new conversational principles of formality, deference, and camaraderie.

On the other hand, she has criticised Grice's maxims because they are too general and do not provide explicit clarification. She also insists on including pragmatic factors in grammar because 'the pragmatic component is as much a part of the linguist's responsibility as is any other part of grammar' (1973: 296). Lakoff came up with politeness rules, which she integrated with Grice's conversational maxims to build pragmatic competence:

Lakoff's contribution to the notion of politeness was summarised in her few words as follows:

1. "...we follow pragmatic rules in speaking, just as we follow semantic and syntactic rules, and all must be a part of our linguistic rules.
2. ... there are rules of politeness and clarity (conversation), the latter a subcase of the former: rules of conversation are a subtype of being clear.
3. ... The rules of politeness may differ dialectally in applicability, but their basic form remains the same universally.
4. ...these are not merely linguistic but applicable to all cooperative human transactions" (1973: 305).

Lakoff's work has been criticised for not describing politeness theory and pragmatic models. In addition, other researchers saw that the idea of pragmatic rules she claims is similar to those found in generative grammar. Although Lakoff's politeness theory concerns the addressee's comfort and freedom, it is criticised because "the reader is never told how the speaker or hearer is to assess what level of politeness

is required" (Fraser 1990a: 224). Thus, the many unanswered questions led to new approaches and views on politeness.

1.2.1.3. Leech's Politeness Principle

Drawing on Grice's cooperative principle (CP) and its maxims, Leech (1983) developed his Politeness Principle (PP) and assumed that the role of the Politeness Principle is "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (Leech 1983: 82).

Leech is concerned with explaining indirection in communication and how politeness conveys meaning indirectly. He proposes that the relationship between the two participants is concerned with politeness, and he adds that a third party may or may not appear in the speech situation. Kingwell believes that "Leech's PP clarifies what is obscured in Grice" (1993: 395).

According to the PP, participants can show politeness in a speech situation by following six maxims (Leech 1983: 132):

1. The Tact Maxim is mainly adopted in commissives and impositions to minimise the cost to others and maximise the benefit to others. The first part of minimising the cost is similar to Brown and Levinson's negative politeness, which seeks to minimise the imposition on the Hearer. The positive politeness, which gives attention to the Hearer's interests and needs, reflects the second part of the tact maxim.
2. The Generosity Maxim concerns 'minimising the expression of benefit to self and maximising the expression of cost to self.' This maxim focuses on prioritising the other rather than the self.
3. The Approbation Maxim focuses on the benefit of the other by 'Minimising the expression of beliefs which express dispraise of others; maximising the expression of beliefs which express approval of others.' This maxim praises the other by giving a minimal response, for example, using euphemisms; if this is not possible, it is better to keep silent.

4. The Modesty Maxim focuses on the self, not the other, by minimising 'the expression of praise of self; maximise the expression of dispraise of self.'
5. The Agreement Maxim deals with self-and-other agreement and disagreement by 'Minimising the expression of disagreement between self and other; maximising the expression of agreement between self and other.' Here, conflict is not avoided, but people are more direct in their agreement rather than disagreement.
6. The Sympathy Maxim deals with 'minimising antipathy between self and other; maximising sympathy between self and other', including congratulations, condolences, and other speech acts. Also, in this maxim, Brown and Levinson's positive politeness is present since the Hearer's interests and wants are also considered in this strategy.

Leech explains that Grice's CP and PP correlate because, in the communicative act, the cooperative principle and its maxims deal with how the interpretation of utterances occurs to deliver an indirect message. At the same time, PP completes the CP by explaining why the indirectness occurred.

Leech's (1983) politeness principle was summarised in Fraser's words as follows:

"Other things being equal, minimise the expression of beliefs which are unfavourable to the hearer and at the same time (but less important) maximise the expression of beliefs which are favourable to the hearer." (1990: 225)

In his politeness principle, Leech distinguished between 'absolute politeness' (also known as pragmalinguistic politeness), which deals with the utterance's inherent politeness, focusing on both its semantic meaning and linguistic form.

and 'relative politeness' (sociopragmatic politeness), which is related to politeness in a specific situation, considering the norms and context of the specific situation.

In other words, Leech differs between pragmatics and semantics: 'semantics is abstract, formal, and categorical. Pragmatics: on the other hand, elucidates non-categorically, in terms of maxims and principles and tendencies, the use of the grammar for communication' (ibid: 124). On a scale of absolute politeness, utterances can be orders

out of context and can judge that 'Can you close the door?' is more polite than 'Close the door' and less polite than 'Could you possibly close the door?'. The last utterance is the most polite because it gives the hearer options to accept or refuse. After all, 'the more a request offers choice to H, the more polite it is' (ibid.). On the other hand, pragmatic politeness refers to 'politeness relative to norms in a given society, group, or situation... it is sensitive to context and is a bidirectional scale. Hence, it is possible that a form considered more polite... is judged less polite relative to the norms for the situation' (ibid.). To clarify how politeness is relative to the norms of a particular context for a specific group, society, or social situation, one can see the distinction between using direct and indirect requests in a particular situation. For example, the more indirect requests are preferred and considered polite in a very formal setting, whereas in a casual context the direct ones are more suitable and seen as more polite. For instance, if one uses the request 'could I possibly interrupt?', he/she might be seen as sarcastic if it is used with family members who may understand this expression as too polite.

Leech's classification of some speech acts as polite (e.g. praising and congratulating) and others as impolite (e.g. blaming and criticising) called for much criticism from researchers. Fraser (1990) states that 'sentences are not ipso facto polite, nor are languages more or less polite. It is only speakers who are polite' (Fraser 1990: 233). Also, Bousfield (2008) objected Leech's model for being unable to grab the concept of impoliteness' because 'how can we have a model which purports to 'rescue' Grice's CP by giving you a reason why people do not abide by the CP maxims (to be polite) which then virtually fails to consider any reason why people do not abide by the maxims (i.e., to be 'impolite')?' (2008: 55).

Although Leech states that 'the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle operate variably in different cultures or language communities, in various social situations, among different social classes, etc. One has only to think of... the way in which politeness is differently interpreted in (say) Chinese, Indian, or American societies, to realise that pragmatic descriptions ultimately have to be relative to specific social conditions' (1983: 10). His Principle of Politeness has been criticised

for its tendency towards Western values. Thus, another framework called the Grand Strategy of Politeness (GSP) is used as it covers all the maxims discussed in Pragmatics Principles (Leech 1983) (the Maxims of Sympathy, Agreement, Modesty, Approbation, Generosity, and Tact). According to the GSP, to be polite “the S expresses or implies meanings which place a high value on what pertains to O (O = other person[s], [mainly the addressee, i.e., H — hearer]) or place a low value on what pertains to S (S = self, speaker)” (Leech and Larina 2014).

The GSP helps avoid offence as both participants attempt to eliminate the possible discord that may arise by propitiating O using politeness.

1.2.2. The Face-saving View: Brown & Levinson’s Politeness Theory

Brown & Levinson’s study on the politeness phenomenon (1978, 1987) is considered one of the most influential views. Their face-saving approach to politeness was based on the interpretation of Goffman’s study of the face (1967, 1971). The concept of the face was defined as 'The positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact' (Goffman 1967: 5). Goffman identified the notion of the face with one's social image, which structures the individual's social behaviour in his/her interactions. During social interactions, participants perceive themselves according to what others think about them. Thus, when ordinary expectations are fulfilled better than expected, one is likely to feel good, but if the face is established less than the expectation, one will feel bad. Therefore, the participant's face (speaker/hearer) must be saved by performing face work that depends on learning and respecting forms of standardised and habitual practices gained through socialisation and compliance with face.

Nevertheless, the concept of the face is perceived differently in different cultures as Goffman asserted that 'each person, subculture, and society seems to have its own characteristic repertoire of face-saving practices' (ibid: 13). Thus, what is considered an acceptable social practice in one culture can be seen as face-threatening in another, and thus, face-saving practices are required.

The notion of face was adopted by Brown and Levinson, who in 1987 introduced the concept of the model persons (MPs) to represent the participants in a

communicative course assigned to the universal aspects of rationality and face. Rationality describes those attributes that allow them to decide upon the goals behind their speech and select the appropriate expressions that realise their goals. Brown and Levinson's politeness theory was built on the concept of the face (positive and negative face) «The notion of 'face' consists of two specific kinds of desires ('face-wants') attributed by interactants to one another: the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions (negative face), and the desire (in some respects) to be approved of (positive face). This is the bare bones of a notion of face which (we argue) is universal, but which in any particular society we would expect to be the subject of much cultural elaboration» (Brown & Levinson 1987: 13).

Thus, the concept of "Face" was associated with "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 61). Each person's self-image during interaction can be maintained, humiliated, saved, respected, or lost. This face is attached to each interlocutor's personality, which he/she wants the addressee to consider during the conversational cooperation. Thus, it is the interlocutors' mutual interest to attend to each other's face, and therefore, they avoid any disagreement and achieve successful interaction. The first aspect of the face deals with the speakers' wants and needs to act freely, far from any imposition from the side of their interactants. Thus, these negative desires are related to the speakers' negative face. The second aspect reflects the positive face of the speaker who wishes his opinions, beliefs, attitudes, wants... to be liked, desired, agreed upon, and accepted by others. These two aspects of the face are explained as follows:

“Positive face that represents the wants of every member to be desirable by at least some others”;

“Negative face deals with the wants of every competent member to be free and unimpeded by others” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 62).

During a communicative act, MPs are often involved in contradictory situations. On the one hand, they want to save their and others' faces. On the other hand, some situations oblige them to perform acts and utterances that may threaten the other's face. Holtgraves (2002) explains this conflict as “ubiquitous (and presumably universal)

conflict that motivates politeness; it is an underlying pressure that affects in various ways the tone of our interactions with others. Unless one chooses to live in complete isolation (and hence avoid this conflict), one must engage in some degree of face-work or politeness” (Holtgraves 2002: 40).

Thus, the face-threatening occurs by impeding the addressee’s freedom from the other’s imposition on them or neglecting their wants, opinions and feelings. These threatening acts are named face-threatening acts (FTAs). They differentiate between those threatening the addressee’s positive face (e.g., disapprovals, accusations, insults, contradictions, disagreements, interruptions, criticisms) and those threatening the negative face (e.g., requesting, ordering, advising, threatening, warning). When such acts are inevitable, the speakers choose either to be as proficient as possible in performing them or to modify them to reduce the threat they may cause or avoid performing an FTA.

To lessen the threat, Brown and Levinson suggest five different types of strategies (p. 68-70) which differentiate between (1) *bald-on-record strategies*, which the speaker adopts when performing the act without redressive actions, baldly and follow Grice’s maxims; ; (2) *off record strategies*, when the speaker floats one of the maxims and say something that not necessarily could be interpreted as a FTA;. If the speaker wants to redress the threat, he/she adopt (3) *positive* or (4) *negative politeness* strategies;(5) the speaker may also choose not to do the FTA when the imposition is very high.

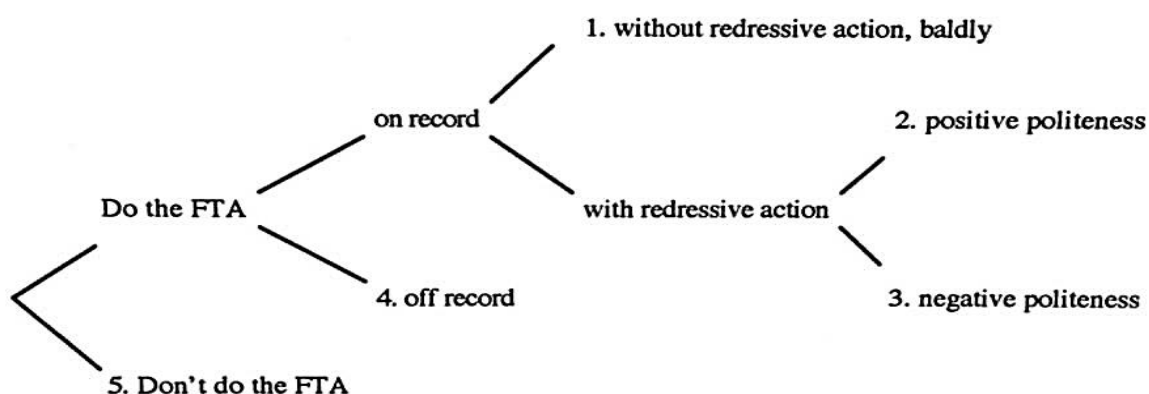


Figure 01: Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987: 60)

This theory of politeness explains how the level of politeness is related to the amount of face threat redress; thus, it suggests that the more the redress of the threat to the face, the more polite the speech act. Therefore, the politeness strategies are organised from the most polite to the least in the following way:

1. Bald-on-record strategy

Brown and Levinson state that “Doing an act baldly, without redress, involves doing in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible (for example, for a request, saying ‘Do x!’)” (1987: 69). Thus, when the speaker decides to perform the act baldly on record, he does not try to minimise the potential threat. Hence, the speaker's intention is performed directly and unambiguously in this case. It is performed when the speaker has power over the Hearer or adds an insisting element in offers, farewells, and welcoming.

2. Positive politeness strategies

Brown and Levinson claim that positive politeness is an approach-based strategy that saves face by establishing friendly, intimate, and close relationships with others. Thus, positive politeness is seen as a social accelerator that not only saves face but also boosts and maintains the social relationships between self and others. Therefore, it is named as politeness of approaching (Larina 2003, 2009) by considering H's wants and treating him as an in-group member, exaggerating interest, approval, or sympathy to the H, seeking agreement or showing common ground, in addition to using humour or jokes, etc.

3. Negative politeness strategies

The speaker adopts negative politeness to preserve the Hearer's negative face by reinforcing his desire to be free and unimpeded from any threat the speaker's utterances may imply. Negative politeness is an avoidance-based strategy rather than an approach-based one (Cutting 2002) or, as named by Larina (2003, 2009), ‘politeness of distancing’; it prioritises distance and avoids imposition on the other. The speaker, in this case, uses interrogative questions with modal verbs such as (could, would...), hesitations, apologising for the imposition, impersonalising forms by

passives that allow the Hearer to get "an 'out', a face-saving line of escape, permitting him to feel that his response is not coerced." (Brown & Levinson 1987: 70).

4. Bald-off-record politeness strategy

To lessen the threat, the speaker may go off-record by producing his utterances indirectly and ambiguously, allowing the Hearer to guess the exact intentions and provide the appropriate feedback according to the hints provided by the speaker. To accomplish such an indirect speech act, Brown and Levinson (1987: 69) identify some off-record politeness strategies as hints to indicate the speaker's intention indirectly, such as metaphors, irony, understatements, rhetorical questions, and tautologies.

5. Don't do an FTA

If the speaker feels a high risk of losing the S's or H's face, he may refrain from making the face-threatening act. The speaker's intention can be achieved paralinguistically using gestures, facial expressions, and non-verbal actions rather than words.

The MPs choose among these strategies according to their evaluation of the seriousness of the FTA. The evaluation is made considering the related social variables in communication, such as the relative social power of the Hearer over the speaker (P) since superiors and socially important people are treated more politely, the social distance between the Speaker and the Hearer (D) as people want to be polite with those who are socially distant, and the absolute ranking of imposition that determines the weight of the imposition (R) which can cause more face-threatening situations when high; thus, people must be more polite.

Consequently, to calculate the weightiness of the face threat, Brown and Levinson propose the following formula:

$$W_x = D(H, S) + P(H, S) + R_x$$

Where:

- X represents the speech act.
- W refers to the weightiness of the FTA.
- D stands for the distance between the speaker and the Hearer
- P is the value that measures the speaker's power over the Hearer.

- R stands for the degree of imposition of the act.

The appropriate speech act's realisation depends on the social factors that determine the level of politeness. Brown and Levinson (1978: 76–77) refer to Social Distance as a symmetric relationship between the Hearer and the speaker. D refers to the degree to which the S and H are close to each other. In other words, the more the speaker and the Hearer are socially distant, the more the face threat takes place, and thus, a more polite strategy is required. Leech (2007: 189) explains the relationship between social distance and politeness as follows: "When horizontal distance is reduced (e.g., in communication with familiars or intimates), the need for politeness is also reduced- until we move into non-politeness or impoliteness."

Social power can be seen as an asymmetric relation between the speaker and the Hearer. Brown and Levinson (1978: 77) defined social power as "the degree to which H can impose his plans and his self-evaluation (face) at the expense of S's plans and self-evaluation." Unlike social distance, exerting power is not reciprocal but refers to how much power the Hearer can have over the speaker. Thus, the more power the Hearer has, the more polite the speaker is. Social power is determined by two general sources: material control and metaphysical control.

Kasper (2005) proposes that P may refer to the individual's social position, age, language impairment, and gender. For example, social power refers to the variable of age because young people are always advised to be more polite when talking to elders who are more powerful than they are (McCann, Dailey, Gil & Ota 2005).

Holmes (1995) and Lakoff (2004) investigate the gender variable and its effect on politeness. They find that women are more polite than men and that men are more polite with women than with other men.

The third variable, rank of imposition, refers to the degree to which a particular speech act is imposed in a given culture. Brown and Levinson (1978: 77) define R as "a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent's wants of self-determination or approval."

The degree of imposition includes services such as giving time or providing material or non-material goods as information and the speakers' rights and obligations towards the Hearer.

Brown and Levinson's face-saving approach (1987) suggests a model of five politeness strategies interlocutors adopt to achieve particular goals and reach a certain level of politeness when performing speech acts. This approach demonstrates how the interlocutors' communicative intentions are achieved, how they can accomplish social equilibrium, and how they can maintain their social relationships.

Brown and Levinson have been criticised for assuming their theory's universality and claiming an individualistic concept of the face.

Even though they distinguished between the positive and negative aspects of the face across cultures, the universality claim was the main drawback in their theory as it is based on data gathered from research on only three languages (English, Tzeltal, and Tamil). Their concept of universality stemmed from the belief that the idea of the face is based on rationality.

The works of many scholars, such as Matsumoto (1988), Nwoye (1992), Ide (1993), and Watts (2003), who researched African, Asian, and Islamic studies, challenged the negative aspect of the face as in some societies his/her social status determines the individual's freedom. These findings are opposed to the individualistic concept provided by Brown and Levinson. Also, the individualistic concept of the face is inappropriate in some cultures that value the group over individual interests.

The limited choices one has when adopting the strategies used to avoid the face-threatening act pose other challenges to Brown and Levinson's model. Watts (2003) supported this claim, pointing out that Brown and Levinson's decision-tree system, provided in their politeness model, offers many strategies to adopt simultaneously.

In her review of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, Lavandera (1988) classifies three main weaknesses of the model as follows:

- Brown and Levinson's model does not contain any impoliteness strategies;
- Because B & L ascribe the degree of politeness to a strategy, not to the speech act, it is difficult to find similar strategies in the same speech act;

- Some pragmatic strategies, such as "Be pessimistic," should be distinguished from others, such as "Employ a diminutive," which entails a linguistic description.

She criticises B & L for failing to provide a complete image of the politeness phenomenon.

Although B and L's theory received criticism, it remains the most useful foundation for speech act analytical studies that compare and understand politeness phenomena with no alternatives (Ogiermann 2009b: 210).

Researchers such as Culpeper (2011) see that the criticism of the politeness theory started in the 1970s with its first publication; however, the real criticism began in the 1990s, questioning the main principle of the model. Culpeper (2011) and Grainger (2011) regarded the early politeness works affected by Brown and Levinson as the first wave of politeness research. On the other hand, research that started in the 1990s is considered the second wave in politeness research and serves as a critique of the first wave of politeness research. Therefore, the discursive approach (e.g., Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003) is one of the second wave approaches that sets new principles to the development of politeness theory by converting what is accepted as politeness strategies into discursive practices giving concern to both the Hearer and the Speaker, the context of their interaction and to politeness and impoliteness.

1.2.3. The discursive approach to politeness

The understanding of politeness as a universal and culture-specific phenomenon shapes people's way of interaction. Many cross-cultural studies challenged the universality of politeness and assigned a culture-specific feature to the phenomenon (e.g., Leech 2005, 2014). Cross culturally speaking, the perception of what is polite and what is not is different (Larina 2003, 2004, 2009, 2013; Rathmayr 2003; Watts 2003 to name a few) because what is considered polite in one culture can be seen as impolite or even rude in another culture (Larina 2015: 197; Haugh and Chang 2019). Therefore, politeness is a socio-cultural and cognitive phenomenon shaped by people's understanding of im/politeness and their identities derived from their cultural and social norms (e.g., Larina 2015; Larina & Locher 2019; Mugford 2020; Tzanne &

Sifianou 2019; Watts 2003). To determine what is polite or impolite, the communicative behaviour should be studied during the social interaction with concern to cultural and situational factors (see Alemi & Latifi 2019; Bousfield 2008; Eslami 2005; Larina & Ponton 2020, 2022; Locher 2013, among others).

The developing concern with the context of interaction and polite and impolite behaviour gave birth to the discursive approach that has broadened the scope of politeness theory offered by Brown and Levinson (1987) by adding the impoliteness aspect (e.g., Bousfield & Locher 2008; Bousfield 2008; Culpeper 2011; Culpeper et al. 2017). Moreover, throughout this approach, attention was given to the context of communication, emphasising the role of the cultural and situational contexts on understanding and perception of politeness (e.g., Eslami 2005; Eslami et al. 2023, Bousfield 2008; Locher 2013; Locher & Larina 2019, Mugford 2020, Kaul de Marlangeon 2018; Alemi & Latifi 2019; Rhe 2023, Tzanne & Sifianou 2019; Larina & Ponton 2020, 2022).

The emergence of the discursive approach to politeness stems from the extension of the discourse study of language in use as an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary methodology (e.g., Alba-Juez 2009; Fairclough 2010; Ponton & Larina 2016, 2017; van Dijk 2009, Zappettini et al. 2021). According to the discursive approach researchers, politeness refers to behaviour that fits with others by showing respect and concern for others and their social norms (Mills 2003). In other words, politeness refers to the appropriate choice of language that reflects the indexing of social status. Culpeper (2011) identified politeness with the positive evaluation of a particular behaviour in a specific social context by focusing on the context of the behaviour. In cultures, politeness is seen as the shared politeness attitude of the social groups with a common politeness ideology (Culpeper 2011). The discursive studies are based on three main ideas formulated as follows (Kàdàr & Chiappini 2011; Kàdàr & Mills 2011):

First, discursive studies see politeness as a discourse-based approach and reject single isolated patterns and non-authentic speech.

Second, this approach claims that politeness is a matter of negotiation between participants, not only limited to the speaker but also extended to the Hearer's judgment of polite behaviour.

Third, this view considers the notion of impoliteness in addition to the politeness phenomenon, which concerns interactants' and researchers' perceptions of both politeness and impoliteness. According to the discursive view, Im/politeness is developed during the interaction between participants who produce inferences, implicatures, and meanings.

The discursive approach to politeness aims to better understand the phenomenon of politeness. Discursive approach theorists (Eelen 2001; Locher & Watts 2007; Mills 2003; Watts 2003) recognise politeness as social interaction and practice, as it does not reside in words and phrases. They are interested in politeness and impoliteness in addition to the implicit or explicit judgments made by the addressee regarding the speakers' utterances (Eelen 2001).

The emergence of the discursive approach principles helped to facilitate the understanding of the situated and evaluative nature of politeness or impoliteness, identify the role of emotions in assessment, and confirm the relationship between identity construction and these discourse processes (Locher & Larina 2019: 875). Moreover, examining what is appropriate and what is considered polite or impolite in each culture helps to maintain harmony, as politeness is determined by the social and cultural aspects of the context (Eslami & Larina 2023: 13).

1.3. Politeness across languages and cultures

Sociolinguists and anthropologists assert that members of a single culture share common characteristics and attributes and demonstrate similar personalities (Kluckhohn 1962; Hall 1989; Hofstede 1991). Grainger, Mills, Mansor, and Kerkam (2015) identified the standard behavioural action by stating that 'speakers of languages develop habits and conventions which tend to be constructed and evaluated as "correct" by dominant groups and each language and/or cultural group develops over time a different evaluation of these conventions' (2015: 45). Although members of the

same society have common behavioural aspects because they are exposed to the same experiences and cultural patterns, this does not mean they have exactly the same traits.

This cultural resemblance generates typical identities of members of the same culture; thus, for successful intercultural communication, the participants have to perceive each other's cultural attributes including the other's clothes, food, religion, language, ethnicity, education, architecture and even politics (Qari 2017) because what is perceived as acceptable characteristic of one culture can be unacceptable in other culture (Larina 2015: 196). Wierzbicka (1985) adds that successful intercultural communication can be achieved by understanding the individual's cultural differences, which in turn impact the individual's linguistic behaviour (1985: 145).

Many cross-cultural studies (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989; Blum-Kulka 1992; Hickey & Stewart 2005; Larina 2019, 2015; Mugford 2020; Pizziconi 2003; Rhee 2023; Sifianou 1992; Watts, Ide & Enlich 1992; Watts 2003, and others) proved that politeness is a culture-specific phenomenon. Blum-Kulka states that 'systems of politeness manifest a culturally filtered interpretation of interaction' (1992: 270).

Many scholars have challenged Brown and Levinson's idea of the universality of politeness as well as their claim that negative politeness cultures are more polite than positive politeness cultures, besides their assumption that in Western cultures, the negative politeness strategy is most elaborated, which pushed other researchers to start their investigation. Although Sifianou (1992) used Brown and Levinson's framework in her investigation of politeness in English and Greek cultures, she argued that "politeness is conceptualised differently and thus, manifested differently in the two societies; more specifically, Greeks tend to use more positive politeness devices than the English, who prefer more negative politeness devices." (Sifianou 1992: 2). She claimed that although the results proved that negative politeness characterises English speech and positive politeness is attributed to Greek speech, this does not mean that English culture is more polite than Greek. It is a matter of each culture's norms and values, where formality is accepted in English culture, and Greek culture tends more to friendliness. Thus, she concluded that politeness is shown differently according to each culture's norms.

Hickey and Varqu  z Orta (1996) also proved that the differences between Spaniards and English result from each culture's emphasis on a different aspect of the face (positive or negative). Negative politeness characterises the English culture, which values privacy and individuality. In contrast, the Spaniards prefer positive politeness, as shown in their tendency towards involvement and in-group relations.

Reiter (2000) compared negative and positive politeness in English and Uruguayan Spanish requests and apologies for the same aim. She proved that the Uruguayans showed less preference for negative politeness than the British because of the face wants in each culture, where approval and involvement are characteristics of the Uruguayans; the British prefer detachment and non-imposition.

Other research by Wierzbicka (1985, 2003, 2006), Reynolds (1995), and Jakubowska (1999) confirmed the British preference for negative politeness in comparison to the Poles, who were more concerned with self-appreciation; thus, they have a positive politeness orientation. Similarly, Fukushima (2000), in her comparative study of the British English and Japanese requests and responses to requests, confirmed to some extent Brown and Levinson's claim that negative politeness is attributed to both cultures. However, she found that each culture uses negative politeness strategies differently.

Even the concepts of politeness and polite may vary across cultures (Watts 2003: 14), which challenges the idea of universality. Watts (2003) explained his findings based on the results of Ide et al.'s (1992) evaluation of the Japanese terms *shitashigena* (friendly) and *teineina* (polite), which are totally different concepts in Japanese. Still, in American culture, they are well correlated. By this example Watts found that these findings are "strong evidence that the Japanese notion of politeness¹ as expressed in the adjective *teineina* is very different from the American notion" (2003: 17).

Moreover, Larina (2003) proved that the understanding of politeness differs from culture to culture through her comparative study of Russian and English speakers. She found that while the British perceive politeness as "consideration for others, saying please and thank you and having good manners", Russian politeness is

manifested through their informative and sincere behaviour, giving priority to acts rather than words because “A polite person is one who behaves without any ceremonies, and just kindly», «Politeness is connected with sincerity. A truly polite person should be sincere”.

These findings were confirmed by Kecskes, who states that “it is important to emphasise the difference between what we do and how we do it. What we do may have more universal features than how we do ... For instance, I can be polite both in English and Russian, but the linguistic means each language allows me to use differ to a great extent. If one language has fewer tools to express certain functions and features than another one, this does not mean that speakers of that language are less developed in any way. It is just that, for instance, Russians are polite in a different way than Americans are, and they have all the means they need to be polite the way their communalities require them to be” (2014: 5).

In recent years, the politeness research has gained the interest of many researchers from different cultures including those studies conducted on Arabic speech acts such as compliments (Al-Batal, El-Bakary & Nelson 1993, 1996; Al-Khatib & Farghal 2001; Migdadi 2003; Haggan & Farghal 2006; Qanbar 2012); apologies (Rizk 1997; Hussein & Hammouri 1998; Al-Khalil 1998; Soliman 2003; Al-Adaileh 2007; Al-Zumor 2010; Al-Sobh 2013; Abu-Humei 2013); requests (El-Shazly 1993; Al-Aqra' 2001; Al-Momani 2009; Sazalie & Al-Marrani 2010; Alaoui 2011; Aubed 2012; Hadj Said 2016; Qari 2017; Lounis 2019); refusals (Al-Issa 1998; Nelson et al. 2002; Al-Eryani 2007; Abed 2011); condolences (Yahya 2010); greetings (Hasanain 1994; Emery 2000; Al-Harbi & Al-Ajmi 2008); favour asking (Al-Rifaei 2012); Invitation-making (Al-Khatib 2006) and complaints (Umar 2006).

According to Nydell (2012), Arabs are considered one of the most polite nations because they value good manners in their relations with friends or strangers.

In Arabic, the word “politeness” (الأدب) has a different semantic meaning; in ancient Arabic, the word “polite” was related to a person’s generosity and hospitality; when someone invited others to feast, he was considered polite (Idrees 1985: 13). Thus, in ancient Arabic, politeness referred to peoples’ relationships and

connectedness with each other to emphasise positive aspects of the face. With the coming of Islam, the standards of politeness changed to tolerance, virtue, and generosity.

The studies done to date by Arab linguists have revealed some related aspects of politeness in the Arab world, such as the Arabs' tendency towards positive politeness strategies rather than other politeness strategies, besides their preference to employ direct strategies in situations of higher social power of the speaker over the Hearer and the opposite. For example, to show respect towards older people in the Arab communities, first names are not used to address them, but they call them by teknonyms, their oldest child's first names as Abu Omar (the father of Omar), Umm Omar (the mother of Omar) (Khalil & Larina 2024, Nydell 2012).

Scollon and Scollon (1983, 2001) associated positive politeness with 'solidarity', a prevalent strategy in most Arabic speech acts. Hofstede's (1991) findings support this claim by assuming that group harmony is preferred over individual autonomy in Arabic cultures, which are characterised as collectivist cultures. According to Ogiermann (2009a), collectivist cultures are characterised as positive politeness societies, while individualistic cultures, such as Western cultures, are intrinsically negative politeness oriented (Scollon & Scollon 1983, 2001).

These findings were supported by Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily (2012), who found that Saudi Arabia, besides other Gulf countries (Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait) highly prefer positive politeness because as Walker (2014) notes that Saudi Arabia for example, people feel more comfortable when they adopt such strategy as they have little space with others (2014: 92).

The collectivist notion can be seen in people's everyday interactions; for example, in Arab countries, people greet each other by kissing, shaking hands, and hugging, and in Gulf countries, men greet others of the same gender by touching each other's noses.

Furthermore, exaggerating to show consideration to the Hearer is another trait of the Arab world. For example, in welcoming, especially in Morocco or Algeria, which share common beliefs, people may say "مرحبا مرحبا واش راک؟ عندي بزاف ماشفتکش".

"Hello, hello! ... وين غبرت؟ واش راهم الدار واش الأولاد، المرأ، باباك يماك...؟ راهم كامل لباس؟ How are you? It's been such a long time since I did not see you. Where have you been? How is your family? How are the kids, the wife, your father, and mother? Are they all alright?...". In this way, such an exaggeration can be seen as 'impolite' in other cultures which value social distance (Alaoui 2011). Although the exaggeration is considered an invasion of the Hearer's privacy, Brown and Levinson classified it as a positive politeness strategy that allows one to 'exaggerate interest, approval, sympathy with H' (1987: 102).

The concept of politeness in Russian refers to the term "vezhlivost", which is derived from the verb "vedat" (to know). The polite person in Russian culture is the one who is 'calm, likeable, attentive, harmonious, amicable, cultivated, warm, reserved, not gross, positive, not rude, the one who always answers letters and who is prepared to listen to the same thing several times' (Rathmayr 1999: 76). Russians prefer to express their opinions directly; they do not hesitate to use imperatives or to give unsolicited advice; they may interfere in conversation and ask private questions (Larina 2008: 33). She adds that the Russian directness is perceived as impolite by the British, who see their directness as aggressiveness as they are argumentative and over-assertive.

These cultural differences stem from the cultural values in each culture that determine the understanding of politeness, where the value of 'distance' in British culture is seen as a positive factor that reflects respect and independence of the individual (Wierzbicka 1985: 156). However, the same value is perceived as indifference in Russian culture. Russian communicative style is not as egalitarian as the Anglo culture's communication style because of the low vertical distance reflected in the Anglo preference for equality rather than status (Larina 2015).

Therefore, society's cultural values not only impact the understanding of politeness; they also govern the choice of politeness strategies used to perform a certain speech act (Larina & Iliadi 2017). Thus, from an intercultural aspect of politeness, the same speech act, verbal or nonverbal, may be considered polite in one culture and impolite in another.

1.4. Algerian and Russian cultures, values and understanding of politeness

Few research models (Hall 1989; Hofstede 1991; Gesteland 2005) have investigated the cultural impact on individuals' values and identities to identify dimensions that distinguish between similar and different cultures.

This section aims to define Algerian and Russian cultures' common and different cultural aspects, which impact their understanding of politeness and shape their communicative styles.

In light of Ogiermann's (2009a) recommendations that 'regrettably, most cross-cultural studies do not go beyond describing the differences in performing a particular speech act in the contrasted languages, and few attempts to interpret the data in terms of cultural values' (2009a: 24) the focus will be given to discuss the variable of cultural differences related to the politeness strategies and practices in relation to Hofstede's (1991) model as the most used paradigm in cross-cultural studies.

In his model, Hofstede gathered a large database of employees working at IBM from 1967 to 1973 who belonged to different cultures. Based on the employees' scores, he analysed and compared their cultural values; then, he identified five cultural dimensions: Individualism vs. Collectivism, Power Distance Index, Masculinity vs Femininity, Uncertainty Avoidance, and Long-Term Orientation, which distinguish the social systems of each culture. Although Hofstede's model did not cover all the world's countries, including Algeria and Russia, some researchers (Mercure et al. 1997) have identified three of the Algerian cultural dimensions scores as follows: Power distance 5.36/10 (Moderate), Collectivism 7.12/10 (High) and Uncertainty avoidance 8.6/10 (High).

Similarly, there was not a large empirical study of Russian cultural dimensions; however, in 1993, Hofstede built his estimates of Russia based on regional studies of archetypes and culture and from national statistics found in history and literature. Based on Hofstede's methodology, Bollinger (1994) conducted a small-scale survey of 55 Russian participants from Moscow commercial school to find that Russians scored 9.2/10 in Uncertainty avoidance, higher than Hofstede's estimate of 9/10 points. For collectivism, they scored 7.4/10, as Bollinger's (1994) respondents scored 2.6/10 in

Individualism, which differs from Hofstede's estimate of 50 points (5/10) and the late findings of Naumov and Puffer (2000), who estimated 59 points (5.9/10) for Russian collectivism. On the contrary, the Russian Index of Power Distance was high, according to Hofstede's score of 93 points (9.3/10) and Bollinger (1994), who estimated it to be 76 points (7.6/10). Although the indices proposed by scholars may be debatable, we find the dimensions useful, especially those that characterise the social organisation of a society, such as Power (vertical) Distance (PD) and Social (horizontal) Distance (D), which determine the level of collectivism or individualism within a society.

Power distance refers to the unequal distribution of power in a society where the least powerful accept and expect power to be distributed unequally. It is "the extent to which the members of a society accept that power in institutions and organisations is distributed unequally" (Hofstede 1985: 347). In lower power distance countries, there exists "limited dependence of subordinates on bosses, and a preference for consultation, that is, interdependence between boss and subordinate" (Gudykunst 2003: 20). In contrast, in high power distance countries, "considerable dependence of subordinates on bosses" (ibid.). The power dimension refers to the asymmetrical vertical relationships between interactants, identified by the social status differences (Brown & Gilman 1960).

In Algeria, there exists a moderate to high power distance where people accept the authority of people of high status or old, such as in family contexts, an older family member makes decisions, and in other contexts, including academics, one teacher has more power over their students because of age and status. Islam plays a significant role in designing the social hierarchies in Algeria as religion requires the young to respect the old and the leaders as God said in Quran يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ۚ ذَلِكَ (سورة النساء الآية، 59) to mean "O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. If you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, and if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day, that is the best [way] and best in result" (Surah An-Nisa', verse 59). Also,

the Prophet [PBUH] said "ليس منا من لم يرحم صغيرنا ، ويُوقر كبيرنا" to mean, “Anyone who does not show mercy to our children nor acknowledge the right of our old people is not one of us”.

Power can be seen in Algerian family relations between parents and children. Children are not only required to show respect and obedience to their parents, but even their decisions, including personal decisions such as marriage, which is a family matter, not a personal one (Berrezoug 2021), must always be referred to their parents. Without the consent of the parents, the marriage is considered unblest.

The index of power is also evident in young-to-old relations, as the old have a higher position in the family and are considered representatives of the family. For example, if someone wants to invite a family, only the older members are invited without the necessity to invite the younger (Berzzoug 2021).

As for Russia, the power distance index is high according to Hofstede's analyses, where social hierarchies dominate people's organisational and social interactions, and people must respect authority figures and follow protocols. However, in contemporary contexts, the younger population show a challenge to the authority as Veiga et al. (1995) reported that before the Perestroika (restructuring) of the political and economic system of the Soviet Union, the index of power distance was high. Then, it went down after that era.

Russia is undoubtedly a power-distant culture because of the centralisation that prevails in the country in different spheres, including transport, business, and education (Larina et al. 2017). Despite all attempts by the government to foster democracy, the powerful still have more rights, including recreation, accommodation, medical power, etc. According to Hofstede's study (1984, 1991), Russia has a high power distance score; however, certain changes have resulted in a lower score.

The power distance Index (vertical distance) in educational systems is an important indicator of the relationship between teachers and students, but it is also culturally variable. In cultures with a higher index of power distance, teachers occupy a central place in education; they are expected to take initiative in the classroom, students expect the teacher to initiate communication and determine the paths to be

followed, and they can speak out only at their request (Hofstede 1986: 313). Thus, the relationship between teachers and students, as a rule, develops like a relationship between a boss and a subordinate. On the contrary, in cultures with less power distance, students treat teachers as equals (“students treat teachers as equals”) (ibid.: 313).

In Algeria, the Arab-Islamic heritage deeply influences the cultural, social, and educational characteristics; thus, it is classified as a high-power distance culture in which God-people, parents-children, and teacher-student relations are unequal, which results in a traditional educational system that is qualified as teacher-centred (Berzzoug 2021).

In the Russian academic context, a less pronounced power distance (vertical distance), but at the same time, a more significant social (horizontal) distance, which forms a less hierarchical but more formalised communication system (Zhou 2025). The education system is student-centred, and teachers expect students to initiate contact independently. Students are allowed (and even encouraged) to speak out on their own in class, argue, and criticise the teacher. Teachers only initiate and direct communication in the classroom (ibid: 56).

The other cultural dimension proposed by Hofstede is the Individualism vs. Collectivism dimension, which refers to the degree to which members of the same society are integrated into decision-making, living arrangements, and values. In individualistic cultures, the emphasis is given to the individual as an independent member who makes his/her decisions by him/herself. This does not mean that communities and families are not considered, but the priority in those cultures is given to the individuals’ independence and privacy (Wierzbicka 2006). However, collectivist cultures are characterised by their interdependence and tight connections of the groups to which members pay loyalty. These characteristics are manifested in language and communicative practices (e.g., Larina 2020; Larina et al. 2017a, b; Wierzbicka 2006 and others).

The collectivism index is high in Algeria, which is known for its tied relationships in family and community. Islam teaches Muslims to treat each other as brothers and sisters, as God said:

﴿ إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ فَأَصْلَحُوا بَيْنَ أَخَوَيْكُمْ ۚ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ ﴾ [الحجرات جزء 10] to mean “The believers are nothing else than brothers (in Islamic religion). So, make reconciliation between your brothers, and fear Allah, that you may receive mercy” (Al-Hujuraat, verse 10).

In collectivist cultures “members of groups do not speak up, or even express a contradictory point of view, instead social harmony is maintained and it is the hidden goal of every communication” (Ahmad & Abdul Majid 2010: 255) which is a fact observed in Algerian culture where woman must obey her husband and take care of him without contradicting his opinion. The objective from such viewpoints is “to avoid losing face, which is a terrible thing to suffer in collectivist cultures throughout Asia, the Middle East and Africa.” (ibid: 255).

Algeria is an Arab Islamic country with many occasions when family members, young and old, gather in one house called ‘AL DAR AL KABIRAH’ (the large house), which indicates the collectivist nature of the culture (qtd in Achoui 2006: 247).

Russia was traditionally a collectivist culture from before 1917 until the collapse of the Soviet Union, when there was a greater tendency towards individualism, especially among the younger generation (Larina et al. 2017); however, the individualism index is still in the middle of the scale.

The tendency towards individualism can be noticed in Russian behaviours nowadays, where people know that they need to rely on themselves, be initiative, and be active; however, the collectivist aspect exists in their human relations and gives interest to interpersonal relations.

Larina et al. (2017) explained how the concept of ‘distance’ varies across cultures. In Western cultures, it is perceived as a positive index of respect for other autonomy, whereas in collectivist ones, it reflects indifference, alienation, and hostility (Wierzbicka 1985: 156).

In Russia, people are encouraged to do things *za kompaniiu* (in company with others) rather than alone. This might be seen in individualist cultures as a lack of autonomy and overdependence on others (Gladkova 2007: 142). 'We' is utilised frequently in Russian daily speech rather than 'I' to identify themselves as one group. The term '*obshchenie*' (communication) is another value in Russia (Wierzbicka 2002) that does not have a semantic equivalent in English. The Anglo cultures' autonomy and distance can be deduced from different proverbs in English, such as A hedge between keeps friendship green/ / Love your neighbour, yet pull not down your fence, which contradicts Russian proverbs that encourage closeness and solidarity, for example, *Blizkii sosed luchshe dal'nei rodni* (A close neighbour is better than a distant relative), *Bez druga sirota, s drugom semyanin* (Without a friend one is an orphan)/ *Ne imey sto rubley, a imey sto druzey* (It is better to have 100 friends than 100 roubles) (Larina et al. 2017a). These proverbs reflect the Russian emphasis on solidarity, fidelity, friendship, and mutual help, which are perceived differently in the individualist cultures (I-culture).

Closeness manifests in Russian communication in many contexts. Russians may interrupt freely, ask private questions, argue, interfere in others' conversations, and give advice when it is not required (see Larina 2009, 2013; Visson 2013). Thus, Russians tend more towards closeness than distance and possess a 'sense of elbow' instead of a 'sense of privacy'. They also have a direct communication style that may contradict politeness in some cases (Larina 2020).

The peculiarities of interaction in academic discourse, due to the orientations towards collectivism and individualism (Hofstede 1986), or "we-culture" and "I-culture", forming "we-identity" and "I-identity" (Larina et al. 2017), are determined by several factors. Firstly, in individualistic cultures, the "I" stands higher than the "we"; the main emphasis is on personal achievements, independence and autonomy (Larina 2009: 40), which creates expectations regarding initiative and independence on the part of both students and teachers. In collectivist cultures, on the contrary, "we" stands higher than "I" (ibid.), collective goals, consent, and mutual understanding prevail in the group, which is manifested in a relationship more focused on support

and consent in the educational process. Secondly, the social distance (horizontal distance) between a teacher and a student, which determines the level of closeness between participants, is also different. In individualistic cultures with higher social distance, clear boundaries of communication exist, resulting in a more distant nature of academic interaction.

In cultures with a collectivist orientation, there is a tendency towards less social distance and greater contact in interaction.

Therefore, respect and boundaries govern classroom relations in the Russian academic context, known for its formality and significant social (horizontal) distance between students and teachers (Zhou and Larina 2024). In Russia, the educational process is characterised by a shorter distance of power, but a clearer framework of interaction, reflecting a less hierarchical but more formalised and less personal communication system. In Russian academic discourse, both top-down and bottom-up contexts, teachers and students tend to maintain social distance without trying to show intimacy / getting closer to each other (Zhou 2025).

When these cultural dimensions are considered, Algerian and Russian cultures generally show more differences than similarities. Therefore, the present research aims to shed more light on those differences in relation to other social concepts, such as 'politeness' and behaviours in face-threatening situations, to lessen possible communication failure between people of the two societies.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the main related research to the study of politeness as a socio-cultural and socio-pragmatic phenomenon revealed that politeness is a multifaceted area that draws not only on linguistic forms but on a set of cultural values and attitudes, social roles and norms; thus, it combines both linguistic and sociocultural levels. Focusing on the linguistic aspect of politeness reveals how language is systematically adopted to achieve certain communicative goals and social expectations. Thus, one can understand that linguistic politeness is the product of the interplay between the individual choices of language and the cognitive evaluation of the surrounding social context during communication. In other words, linguistic politeness is not merely a set of linguistic rules but an essential navigating mechanism of social relationships, underscoring the crucial role of politeness in managing and maintaining social relationships.

Throughout the chapter, various approaches related to politeness research have been navigated, starting from the early and basic politeness theories of the conversational maxim view and the Gricean Cooperative Principle that reveal the importance of cooperative communication and how these approaches helped to highlight the role of politeness in minimising potential misunderstanding and conflict in conversation, thereby underscoring the practical implications of politeness in everyday communication.

The insights from Lakoff's and Leech's approaches further revealed that recognising individual identities and social harmony are the product of strategic politeness choices that function as a social lubricant.

Brown and Levinson's face-saving approach emphasised the essential role of the notion of 'face' in interactions. It focused on saving individuals' personal identity and social equilibrium by adopting certain politeness strategies depending on certain social variables that vary in each culture. The theory also highlighted the importance of politeness in saving social relations, which confirms that it is not an isolated linguistic aspect but a social phenomenon, thereby highlighting the significant social impact of politeness in our daily interactions.

Although all previous theories focused on politeness's social and linguistic role, the emergence of the discursive approach added missing elements that were not covered by those theories. These include the impact of context on the choice of politeness strategies, the inclusion of impoliteness in the research field, and the role of the hearer in assessing the level of politeness or impoliteness. The approach demonstrated the context-sensitive nature of politeness by revealing how politeness is co-generated in real-life interactions.

By examining the social role of politeness across languages and cultures, diverse interpretations and manifestations of politeness are exposed. Cross-cultural studies on politeness reinforced the idea that politeness is culturally shaped by cultural factors such as social organisation, values, and norms, which guide the choice of politeness strategies

Focusing on our research objectives, we discussed the phenomenon of politeness in Algerian and Russian cultures. Analysing previous research studies revealed that the perception of politeness differs in these cultures due to their distinct societal structures and values. These differences are reflected in the cultures' standards of interaction and communication. In Algeria, the collectivist nature of the culture, influenced by Islamic teachings, is deeply ingrained, leading to a high level of respect for age and status. In contrast, in Russia, while elders are respected, younger generations often prioritise personal autonomy and individual choice in their matters, reflecting the tendency towards a more individualistic cultural approach. In this study we hypothesise that these differences would result in the choice of politeness strategies used in Algerian and Russian classroom discourse .

Overall, the theoretical research underscores the vital role of politeness as a multifaceted aspect crucial for ensuring harmony, social equilibrium, effective communication, and managing social relationships. This nuanced understanding of linguistic choices and socio-cultural contexts is essential for fostering successful communication across different landscapes.

In the following chapter, we will delve into the phenomenon of politeness concerning the speech act of request. We will provide a detailed explanation of the

speech act theory and discuss the most relevant theories. Additionally, we will consider cross-cultural studies on requests to give an overview of the politeness aspects of Algerian and Russian requests.

CHAPTER II: POLITENESS AND THE SPEECH ACT OF REQUEST

People adopt a set of words, facial expressions, gestures, and prosodic meanings in their communicative acts to produce meanings. However, the word combinations may differ from one person to another and from one language to another. Researchers in the field of Intercultural Communication and Cross-Cultural Pragmatics have collected enough data to suggest that “people not only speak different languages, but also use language in different ways: for the same situation they often use different language tools and strategies, guided by their values” (Larina 2015: 96). Thus, knowing the target language’s grammatical, syntactic, or lexical rules is not enough; what matters for successful communication is mastering a target language cultural norms and values.

Chapter 1 discusses cultural values that shape our understanding of politeness, which in turn guide the interlocutors’ communicative behaviour. The sense of politeness and its realisation differ from one culture to another, as every culture has its way of showing respect, avoiding imposition, and mitigating face. Thus, politeness strategies should be observed and mastered in each society to maintain social order and successful communication.

This chapter discusses the main theories of speech acts that explain how people generate the pragmatic meaning of what is said, even when it is indirect or different from the literal meaning. For this reason, two speech act theories were in focus, starting from Austin's speech act theory on how to do things with words and then moving on to consider the use of indirect speech acts based on Searle's elaboration of the speech act theory. Finally, the relationship between politeness and speech acts is provided. Moreover, this chapter presents some characteristics of the speech act of request in Algerian Arabic and Russian.

2.1. Speech Act Theory

One of the main concerns of linguistic studies during the twentieth century was to shed light on how people use language to describe the world and perform actions. This shift from viewing language as a tool to describe the world to emphasising how language is used to communicate particular intentions led to the emergence of the

Speech Act Theory associated with the works of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). The interrelationships between the interlocutors and their intentions, besides how these intentions are communicated, was the primary concern of this theory because what matters in the Speech Act Theory is how language is used to achieve goals without regard for other core meanings, core components, and the falsehood or the truth of performed utterances (Austin 1962; Searle 1969; Yule 2006; Sbisà 2009).

2.1.1. Austin's theory of speech acts

To explain how language is used, Austin (1962) challenges the prevailing idea that words are used to describe a particular situation and to verify if these words are true or false; a reference to the real world is needed. Austin finds that most of these utterances are nonsensical and do not fit the proposed criteria. Moreover, the suggested idea that words are merely descriptive is not true, as even if these utterances are true or false, they cannot describe the full literal sense of a state of affairs (Austin 1962: 3)

Austin (1962) prefers to name such sentences as *constative* rather than descriptive because constatives attach a falsehood or truth value to utterances. Although they can be found in many word stretches, Austin assigns one type of what he assumed to be ordinary utterances a primary double classification. He proposes that utterances like:

- a. 'I do', for example, in marriage, one means to take this woman to be a lawful wife, and he indulges himself in marriage. "I do" is not used to describe or report a situation.
- b. 'I name this ship Queen Elizabeth' shows that the speaker is naming the ship, not stating its name.
- c. 'I give and bequeath my watch to my brother' can be found in a will and describes how writing a few words can move a property to another person.
- d. 'I will come tomorrow' expresses the speaker's promise, not stating that he would come tomorrow (ibid: 5).

Thus, Austin concludes that these utterances cannot be constative because:

(1) they do not ‘describe’ or ‘report’ or constate anything at all, are not ‘true or false’, and (2) the uttering of the sentence is or is part of the doing of an action, which would not normally be described as saying something.

Therefore, Austin named these utterances *performatives* rather than *constative* and added that many of those words exist in everyday speech, as most of the produced utterances are meant to perform certain acts such as *marrying*, *promising*, *naming*, *requesting*, *bequeathing*, etc.

1. Later, Austin (1962) introduced the concept of felicity conditions that are, according to him, “the things which are necessary for the smooth or ‘happy’ functioning of a performative” (Austin 1962: 14). He proposes three conditions to perform a happy act, including: 1. The A condition (conventionality) has a conventional aspect and is made up of two sub-conditions: (A.1) deals with the accepted conditions required to perform a valid utterance, for example, before the speaker says ‘I promise’, he/she must have the intention to achieve the act. (A.2): The speaker must utter accepted words in the appropriate conventional way known to perform a particular speech act. For instance, to promise someone, the speaker must utter ‘I promise,’ not other constructions.
2. B condition deals with the appropriateness and proper achievement of the speech act. It contains:(B.1) All participants should execute the procedure correctly. For example, in the case of a wedding, the correct actions and words are required to perform the act appropriately according to the known rituals. (B.2): The procedure must be executed completely. For example, all the ritual steps must be completed to accomplish the wedding successfully.
3. The Γ condition: To perform the speech act successfully, the speaker’s intentions, feelings, and thoughts must be appropriate. For example, in the case of promising, to fulfil the speech act appropriately, the speaker must have the intention to keep his/her words.

Thus, what distinguishes constatives and performatives is that constatives can be true or false, but performatives can be “happy” or “unhappy”, “felicitous” or “infelicitous”.

Austin also explains that performatives can be either explicit or implicit. The performative is explicit when it contains a verb that directly denotes the type of the performed act and can be associated with the term 'hereby'. On the contrary, implicit performatives do not contain such an indicating verb, and the meaning is deduced or inferred with consideration to the context; for instance, the sentence "I will come tomorrow" can convey a promise; however, the denoting verb "promise" is omitted, and the meaning can be inferred from the context.

Austin (1962) states that "any utterance which is in fact a performative should be reducible, or expandable, or analysable into a form with a verb in the first person singular present indicative active (grammatical)," and he, further, adds that it is "this sort of expansion [which] makes explicit that the utterance is performative, and which act it is that is being performed"(Austin 1962: 62). In his quest to explain how to do things with words, Austin noticed many constatives similar to performatives. Thus, he arrived at the point that constatives are just a special type of performative.

Neglecting the distinction between consultative and performative, Austin insists that in certain circumstances, things should be done with words appropriately. He adds that when saying something, three different things are done at the same time which are locutionary, *illocutionary* and *perlocutionary acts*. A locutionary act contains:

- a. Phonetic act: The uttering of certain noises or sounds.
- b. Phatic act: Uttering words belonging to certain grammar and vocabulary.
- c. Rhetic act: Uttering words or sentences with particular sense and reference (meaning).

The locutionary act refers to the conditions of syntax, phonetics, and semantics besides the actual performance of the utterance. These locution acts are similar to the different language features of syntax, phonetics, and semantics described by Holtgrave (2002: 11) for locution production.

The second level contains an illocutionary act performed in the form of words, what is done by words, or the literal translation of the locutionary act. In the same sense, Yule stated, "We don't just produce well-formed utterances with no purpose.

We form an utterance with some kind of function in mind” (1996: 48). These functions manifest in orders, requests, promises, advice, declarations, warnings, and stating.

Austin associated the performance of an utterance with certain social conventions, which are illustrated: “It makes a great difference whether we were advising, or merely suggesting, or actually ordering, whether we were strictly promising or only announcing a vague intention, and so forth.” (1962: 99). Thus, these illocutionary acts are conventional and governed by certain felicity conditions that the participants and the circumstances should be appropriate besides carrying out the procedure correctly and completely to accomplish feelings, thoughts, and intentions appropriately.

Austin (1962) states that the illocutionary act and the locutionary act are produced simultaneously. For example, the sentence “The gun is loaded” can have different illocutionary forces depending on the context and circumstances in which it is uttered. Thus, it may be a threat, a warning, or a statement.

Based on the illocutionary force, Austin (1962) classifies speech acts into:

- 1) **Verdictives** which refer to give a verdict speech act, such as *convicting, placing, ruling, diagnosing, finding, acquitting, grading, analysing, rating, reckoning...* (p.152)
- 2) **Exercitives** deal with speech acts that exercise power, influence, or rights, such as *naming, nominating, commanding, choosing, ordering, appointing, dismissing, directing, claiming, recommending, announcing, degrading, begging, repealing, recommending, demoting, granting...* (p.154)
- 3) **Commissive** speech acts including *planning, undertaking, promising...* (p.156)
- 4) **Behabitives** refer to social behaviour acts as *criticising, deploring, thanking, daring, apologising, and commiserating...* (p.159)
- 5) **Expositives** deal with argumentative or conversational acts like *defining, affirming, describing, reporting, denying, informing, defining...* (p.160)

Besides the locutionary and illocutionary acts, a third dimension, the perlocutionary act, is performed simultaneously with these forces. It refers to an utterance's achieved effect or impact on the Hearer's thoughts, actions, or feelings.

Perlocution may contain surprise, persuasion, misleading, convincing, and deterring effects.

Sbisà (2009) explains that "The performance of a perlocutionary act does not depend on the satisfaction of conventional conditions, but on the actual achievement of a certain goal or [...] on the speech act's having actually caused certain extralinguistic consequences" (2009: 233). However, the achieved effects are not intentional or determinate (Holtgraves 2002) because they are completed even if the speaker does not intend to achieve them in some situations. Whereas, in other cases, the speaker intends to get them, they may not occur at all (Austin 1962: 105).

Thus, Austin (1962) distinguished between the three acts according to the following examples:

- *Locutionary act*: He said, 'You can't do that'.
- *Illocutionary act*: He protested against my doing it.
- *Perlocutionary act*: He pulled me up and checked me.

In sum, the speech theory proposes that when people use language, they do not just produce non-purposeful utterances but do something. First, they perform some vocal structures governed by certain syntactic and semantic rules. Second, the interlocutors attribute a force to the signs as this act deals with the purpose or intentions in the minds that constitute these signs' function. Finally, the changes these utterances produce in listeners' thoughts, actions, and feelings are defined as perlocutions.

2.1.2. Searle's contribution to the Speech Act Theory

Searle (1969, 1979) extended and developed the speech act theory after Austin's death. Different aspects of the theory, including the felicity conditions, speech acts taxonomy, and the notion of direct and indirect speech acts, were elaborated. For the successful performance of speech acts, Searle (1969) proposes a set of felicity conditions that should be considered since they do not just govern the performance of the speech act. However, these rules also constitute the illocutionary force of an utterance (Searle 1969). In other words, the act cannot take force if these conditions are not fulfilled. However, before all, Searle considers the participants' understanding

of the language as one of the general conditions that should occur first and be meaningful in turn.

Searle (1969: 63) classifies four other basic neo-Austinian conditions as follows:

- a. **The Propositional condition** refers to the utterances' content or propositional meaning and their illocutionary force. Searle suggests using the content of the utterance to predict its illocutionary force. For instance, in the case of a promise, the prediction or specification of future events should be made to perform the act of promise.
- b. **The preparatory condition** depends on the speaker's desire to perform a particular act. For example, if the speaker does not want to perform the act of promise, it will not be performed.
- c. **The sincerity condition** deals with the speaker's psychological state when performing a speech act. If, for example, the speaker does not intend to perform the act of promise in the first place, the act will be misused.
- d. **The essential condition** relates the content to the act's context and the utterance's illocutionary point. It specifies what the speaker intended when he used that utterance in that context.

Searle (1979) believes that the illocutionary force and the illocutionary point are totally different, as the former is included in the latter. For him, the illocutionary point is a basic criterion to classify the illocutionary acts because many speech acts, such as *commands, instructions, orders, requests, etc.*, aim to make other people do something in favour of the speaker. Thus, these acts' purpose (the illocutionary point) is similar, including them under a common illocutionary point.

Searle (1979: 29) suggests five illocutionary points classified in kind:

- We tell people how things are,
- We try to get them to do things,
- We commit ourselves to doing things,
- We express our feelings and attitudes,
- We bring about changes through our utterances.

Thus, based on illocutionary points, speech acts can be classified as *assertives*, *directives*, *commissives*, *expressives*, or *declaratives*. Often, we do more than one of these at once in the same utterance.

At the same time, Searle (1979: 9-12) criticised how illocutionary acts are classified by Austin and considered it an arbitrary, fuzzy classification that concerns English illocutionary verbs instead of illocutionary acts. Instead, Searle suggests a new fivefold classification of illocutionary acts based on felicity conditions alongside four basic criteria, including:

1. The act's purpose or illocutionary point is the essential condition proposed.
2. Words and world direction of fit.
3. The psychological state expressed.
4. The propositional content (Searle 1979).

Searle proposed five families of illocutionary acts: *assertives* (*representatives*), *directives*, *commissives*, *expressive*, and *declarations* (1975: 354-361).

- a. **Assertives**, which are also known as representatives, deal with the speaker's commitment to an utterance as true or false. Searle explains that the representatives "commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition" (Searle 1975: 354). When the speaker utters representatives, he/she expresses the psychological state of belief, a fact, or an opinion about what he/ she believes represents the world (Yule 1996: 53). For example, according to the observation, when the speaker says, 'You are beautiful,' he/she is just expressing his/her true opinion about someone. Representative acts include *reports*, *claims*, *assertions*, *sayings*, *descriptions*, *hypotheses*, *doubts*, and *conclusions*.
- b. **Directives** include utterances that make the speaker get the Hearer to do something and perform an action. Leech (1983: 106) states that directives make the Hearer take action because of their effect on him/her, where the focus is negative politeness. The directive acts contain *requests*, *commands*, *orders*, *suggestions*, *begging*, *invitations*, *warnings*, *questions*, *challenges*, *advice*, *permission*, and more.

- c. **Commissives** refer to illocutions that commit the speaker to take action in the future. Searle explains that they are “acts whose point is to commit the speaker (again in varying degrees) to some future course of action” (1975: 356). For example, if the speaker says 'I will come tomorrow', he/she informs the Hearer that he/she will definitely come tomorrow.

In this case, the speaker represents a world to words, but in a different sense from directives, because here, the speaker, not the Hearer, introduces the changes. Commissives include *offers, promises, refusals, threats, warnings, pledges*, etc.

- d. **Expressives** refer to utterances that express the speaker's psychological state. Searle defines them as the illocutionary acts that “express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content” (1975: 356). For example, the speaker's emotions and feelings when he/she says, 'I am sorry' express his/her sincere apologies.

Expressive acts differentiate between thanking, apologising, congratulating, welcoming, regretting, blaming, and offering condolences. What is noticeable about these acts is the absence of any match or relation between the words and the world.

- e. **Declarations** indicate the speech acts of which successful performance will change the world. Searle (1975: 358) states, "if I successfully perform the act of appointing you chairman, then you are chairman...; if I successfully perform the act of declaring a state of war, then war is on." Another example is when a priest says, “I pronounce you husband and wife.” However, to successfully perform an utterance, the speaker must have authority within a special institution such as the work office, the law, or the church. In this case, a bidirectional match exists between the words and the world. *Baptisms, firings, declarations of war, marriages, excommunications, sentencing, blessings*, and *arrests* are among the declarative acts.

Depending on the illocutionary function criterion, another classification may be assigned to speech acts, but what is challenging about this classification is the

unlimited number of speech acts that comply with one language or culture rather than the other. Moreover, different illocutionary forces may be assigned to the same locutionary act (Austin 1962; Searle 1979).

To illustrate this case, the example of “It is hot in here’ is frequently used to show how it has different illocutionary functions. This utterance may be understood simply as expressing a state of affairs whose literal meaning corresponds to its function (Searle 1979). However, considering its form and meaning, this utterance may be seen as assertive. Also, this utterance may be counted as a request to open the door because of the hot weather, whereas in another context, it can be seen as an offer to open the window. Hence, besides its primary direct meaning, the same utterance may have other indirect functions.

For this aim, Searle distinguished between direct and indirect speech acts. When the speech is direct, the illocutionary force directly reflects the locution. For example, if the speaker asks the Hearer, "Can you pass the salt?" in an interrogative construction, the speech here directly asks about the Hearer's capability to pass the salt. On the contrary, when the speech is indirect, there is no match between the locutionary act and the illocutionary force. As in the previous example of "Can you pass the salt?", what the speaker says does not match what he really means, as the question about the Hearer's ability is not the intended meaning, but is a request from the speaker to the Hearer to make him/her pass the salt.

Thus, Searle puts forward a set of prerequisites that should be adopted to avoid communication breakdown and to understand the exact illocutionary force of an utterance. He suggests, "In indirect speech acts, the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer." (1979: 32).

Searle (1975) claims that certain forms of language are conventionally set to perform certain indirect speech acts. He assumes that there are several reasons behind indirectness, such as the circumstances that forbid the speaker to express directly, so even if he/she wants to be direct, there is no other alternative to save the Hearer's face.

Searle (1975) argues that indirect speech acts hold “two illocutionary forces” where the illocutionary force is related to the intended meaning the speaker wants to convey through an illocutionary act which “is performed indirectly by means of performing another.” To explain his idea of indirect speech acts, he gave the example of: Can you pass the salt? Which is an interrogative construction and so expresses a question, but the speaker uses it to request salt, and the goal is to make the interpreter pass the salt, not to ask about the presence of the salt. So it is classified as an indirect speech act because for Searle one speech act is performed indirectly through the performance of another act.

Therefore, according to Searle’s (1975) definition Request is an indirect SA in nature because requesting something (the intended meaning of the speaker) is not performed directly by literal words, but for instead another act such as asking a question is used.

Although Austin’s classification of illocutionary acts has influenced many researchers (Sbisà 2009), pragmatists and linguists have adopted Searle’s work since it is the most influential one in this area.

2.2. Types of Request

Request is an FTA which in Searle’s typology refers to directives. By performing a request, the speaker gets the Hearer's attention to do something for his benefit. Thus, by requesting, an imposition is placed on the Hearer whose freedom is limited. Therefore, requests are classified as face-threatening acts (FTAs) by Brown and Levinson (1987), who stated that “Hearers can interpret requests as intrusive impingements on freedom of action or even as a show in the exercise of power; speakers may hesitate to request for fear of exposing a need or risking the Hearer's loss of face”. In this case, the speaker threatens the Hearer's negative face, which should be mitigated.

Blum-Kulka et al. define requests as “Pre-event acts express the speaker's expectation of the Hearer about prospective action, verbal or nonverbal (1989:11-12).

According to Searle’s classification, requests are one of the acts of directives which are “An attempt by the speaker to get the Hearer to do something. They may be

very modest attempts, as when I invite you to do it, or very fierce, as when I insist that you do it” (1976:13). Becker (1982: 1) believes that the speech act of request refers inclusively to an utterance intended to indicate the speaker's desire to regulate the behaviour of the Hearer –that is, to get the listener to do something.

The speaker's imposition on the Hearer by requests limits his freedom and threatens his negative face. Thus, the speaker has to minimise the threat and save face by adopting less impositive request strategies. The level of politeness is determined by three social factors: social distance, power, and absolute ranking of imposition. Each social variable has a different weight depending on each culture's norms and values.

For the same aim, Brown and Levinson (1987) propose that the FTA can be performed directly or softened to lessen the threat to the Hearer's face. The level of directness depends on the FTA's seriousness and weightiness. In particular, three social factors are proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), which in turn determine the politeness level that will be adopted, including:

1. The speaker may have social power over the Hearer (as the relation between teacher and student).
2. The social distance shows the closeness between the speaker and the Hearer (it is easier to request your friend than a stranger).
3. The absolute rate of imposition represents the degree of imposition the speaker puts on the Hearer (for example, borrowing a pen from your classmate is not as difficult as borrowing your money).

When requesting, the speaker should consider these variables to get the appropriate feedback from the Hearer. Two main parts of the head act and modifiers are found in any request. The head act represents the main utterance in the request, which can stand alone without any modifiers and convey the complete request. However, some requests modified and mitigated by external or internal modifiers precede or follow the head act (Reiter 2003). For instance:

- *I have forgotten my pen; could you lend me yours, please?*

The head act in this example is “Could you lend me yours?” which can stand alone without modifiers and convey the complete request. The modifiers in this

request are ‘I have forgotten my pen’ and ‘please’, which are used to lessen the imposition on the addressee and mitigate the request.

Numerous research studies on politeness (Leech 1983; Brown & Levinson 1987) correlate the concept of politeness with indirectness since, according to Leech, the use of indirect illocution gives more options to the Hearer. Thus, the degree of politeness will be increased (1983: 108). On the other hand, Brown and Levinson view politeness as divergent from Grice’s Cooperative Principle (1975). According to their politeness model, when performing a face-threatening act, three types of strategies can be used:

- Off-record strategies focus on face redress and take place by violating Grice’s conversational maxims.
- On-record strategies, which are combined with redressive action, can convey the act clearly and politely.
- Bald-on-record strategies accord with Grice’s maxims and focus on efficiency and clarity, but without giving concern to the face. (1987: 95)

Brown and Levinson assume these directness levels are universal in all languages. Still, it is worth mentioning that equating politeness with indirectness does not reflect all cultures since directness is an aspect of honesty in some cultures (e.g., Wierzbicka 2002). Indirectness, from a pragmatic point of view, is more about style than politeness, as politeness can be direct, indirect, and even rude (Larina 2020b).

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) proposed three main levels of requests, depending on the degree of their in/directness: *direct*, *conventionally indirect*, and *non-conventionally indirect* requests. However, politeness does not always correlate with indirectness when performing a Request.

Although many studies follow the framework developed in the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), which suggested the existence of nine sub-strategies of requests, other researchers developed eighteen types of requests (Aijmer 1996: 132-133).

This study focuses on two main types of requests, direct and indirect, based on how they are performed, which form the corresponding dominant features of communicative styles (Larina 2009, 2015).

The Next section summarises the main strategies for expressing direct and indirect requests and traces the main language tools used for realisation.

2.3. Request strategies and linguistic means of their realisation

Direct requests are performed explicitly, without ambiguity. Here are certain linguistic means used to perform direct requests, including:

- Mood derivable, manifested using the imperative; it can be performed with or without softeners (please). Thus, the requests can be a bald imperative, e.g. repeat your answer. Or softened imperative using the politeness marker 'please', such as: Repeat, please.
- The speaker can go badly on record (Brown and Levinson 1987) using the imperative strategy. Alternatively, he can soften his speech with a softening expression like 'please'.
- Performatives that refer to the speaker's use of explicit illocutionary acts using verbs such as *I tell you, I am asking you*, etc.
- Hedged performatives where hedged expressions modify utterances like *I would like to ask you.....*
- Obligation statements indicate that the Hearer has to perform an act when the speaker uses expressions like *You have to, you must....*
- Want statements that express the speaker's want and desire to the Hearer to perform an act by using expressions such as *I want you to, I'd like you to....*

The syntactic structure and pragmatic interpretation at this level are closely related. The negative politeness strategy "be conventionally indirect" (Brown & Levinson 1987) realises the indirect act by asking questions about the Hearer's ability or willingness to do the act using the modal verbs 'can or could', which in turn are used as internal modifiers (syntactic downgraders) to modify the request internally (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989).

Moreover, the ability questions can be realised from different perspectives: *a speaker-oriented perspective* which focuses on the speaker's role in request (*Can I*), *a hearer-oriented perspective* (*Can you*) or *an inclusive perspective* (*Can we*) which includes both the Speaker and the Hearer. The speaker may also choose *the*

impersonal perspective of request by avoiding reference to either the Speaker or the Hearer, using expressions such as: *Is it possible, Is there any chance/ any possibility*, etc.

The hearer-oriented perspective and the speaker perspective are the most used in requests; however, according to Brown & Levinson (1987), the hearer-oriented perspective is seen as more embarrassing than the speaker perspective, which minimises the threat to the Hearer's face since s/he is not named. Also, the speaker-oriented perspective is the most preferred as it does not encounter any control over the addressee, the hearer (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 19) as “avoidance to name the hearer as an actor can reduce the form’s level of coerciveness” (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 19). Leech (1983) also associated the softening of a request with “omission of reference to the cost to h” and explains that *Could I borrow this electric drill?* is marginally more polite than *Could you lend me this electric drill?* (Leech, 1983: 134).

However, Brown and Levinson (1987) suggested the ‘impersonalizing Speaker and Hearer’ strategy to perform indirect requests and use the reference terms instead to keep distance between the speaker and the Hearer and thus fulfil the negative face wants.

Conventional indirectness is also achieved by the strategy “minimise the imposition’ which is realised by using expressions like “just, a few, a little, etc.” the following expression can explain this strategy clearly, e.g. *Could you lend me your pen for just a minute?* The example shows that the imposition became smaller by saying “just a minute”. In contrast, the speaker intends to talk for some more minutes with the Hearer.

Moreover, the strategy of ‘Being Pessimistic’ helps the speaker to perform indirect requests by employing expressions that show his/her doubt whether the Hearer will positively react to his/her need. The Hearer's negative face is redressed using the negative associated with a tag, subjunctive, or remote possible markers. For instance, *if you have time this afternoon, can you please help me with the homework?* Here, the strategy is implemented through conditional clauses which is another syntactic downgrader. The remote possibility marker is adopted in the expression “If you had a

little time..., " allowing the H to accept or refuse the request. Thus, giving options helps to save the hearer's negative face.

By showing respect using honorific expressions with the hearer, his negative face can be saved. The 'giving deference' strategy helps to perform the request indirectly, using expressions such as "sir, Mr. President, professor...", which shows the difference and the boundary between the speaker and the Hearer.

When the speaker wants to do a face-threatening act indirectly, he/she may apologise first to show his/her unwillingness to take responsibility and impose the Hearer's negative face. This strategy, in turn, includes 'giving overwhelming reason' so the speaker reveals his unwillingness to threaten the Hearer's negative face (Brown and Levinson 1978: 189). Giving such reasons minimises the imposition, and the Hearer accepts the face-threatening act.

The indirectness can be also fulfilled by being non-conventionally indirect which is characterised either by partial reference to the object or element needed to implement the act by reliance on contextual clues (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 47). The addressee at this level has to depend on the context to interpret the illocution since it is performed by using strong hints, which contain elements that refer to the act. Mild hints do not include any relevant element and are based only on the Hearer's interpretation. Using hints are described as bald-off-record politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987: 69). To lessen the threat, the speaker may go baldly off-record by producing his utterances indirectly and ambiguously, allowing the Hearer to guess the exact intentions and provide the appropriate feedback according to the hints provided by the speaker.

In short, the different levels of requests are related to the degree of directness the speaker has to adopt when requesting the Hearer. The direct level is mostly adopted to show efficiency and clarity. In contrast, the conventionally indirect request is preferred when the speaker has to respect and consider the Hearer. Non-conventional indirect requests are used in case of a high risk of damage to the Hearer's face.

To express politeness, certain external and internal modifiers added to the request head act as mitigating devices to reduce imposition. The internal modification comes in the form of phrases and words within the head act, *Including* Syntactic downgraders (modal verbs, past tense, and embedded if) and Lexical downgraders that contain:

- a. The speaker uses consultative devices to involve the Hearer in the speech act and seek cooperation. (***Do you think I could borrow your pen?***)
- b. Understaters refers to those expressions utilised to minimise the
- c. requested action (*Could you lend me your pen **for just a second?***) which in turn helps to achieve the negative politeness strategy of ‘minimising the imposition.
- d. Hedges which are adopted to avoid specification in requests (*I would be thankful if you did **something** about this mess.*)
- e. Downtoner refers to the speaker's attempt to minimise the imposition by offering the possibility of non-compliance (*Can you **perhaps** give me your pen for a while?*) which adheres the negative politeness strategy of “Being pessimistic”.
- f. The politeness device is used at the beginning, in the middle, or by the end of a request to soften the imposition using expressions like please (*Can I use your pen for a while, **please?***)

The head act can be preceded or followed by some external modifiers named ‘supportive moves’ which mainly constitute other head acts accompanied with the main head act. They are used to modify the illocutionary force of the request indirectly using the following modifiers:

- Checking on availability that allows the speaker to check if the precondition required to perform the request is true (***are you free now?*** And if so, is it possible to help me with the homework?)
- Getting a precommitment when the speaker tries to obtain a precommitment from the Hearer (***will you do me a favour?*** Can you help me do the homework?)

- The speaker exaggerates in using sweeteners to show his/ her appreciation to the requestee and get his/her cooperation. Thus, the imposition is minimised and the Hearer's positive face is saved as this strategy constitutes the positive politeness strategy of 'exaggerating' used by the speaker to demonstrate his/her feelings through showing sympathy, approval, or interest towards the Hearer (You are the most intelligent student in our class! Would you please help me do the homework?)
- Disarmer indicates the speaker's awareness of the threat and the possibility of refusal (I know you are busy, but can you help me with the homework?).
- Cost minimiser is used by the speaker to "minimise the imposition." It is a negative politeness strategy that also gives the hearer options to accept or refuse to perform the act. Here, the speaker is aware of the high risk on the requestee's part (could you help me with homework? If you have spare time after class).
- Grounders supply a reason for making the request and reduce the threat to the Hearer's face (Faerch & Kasper 1989). They are meant to get the requestee's positive response (Brown & Levinson 1978) (***I was absent and did not understand anything; could you please help me do the homework?***). This modifier constitutes another head act associated with the main one. It correlates with the positive politeness strategy of 'giving or asking for reasons' to convince the H to cooperate and let him want what the speaker wants.
- Apologies are used to extend the level of politeness, as the speaker knows that the request will impose a high risk on the Hearer's face; thus, he/she apologises before performing the speech act (***I am sorry I did not understand the homework, can you please help me to do it?***). (Negative politeness strategy).

Thus, a set of negative politeness strategies can be used to perform a request indirectly, which requires several lexical and syntactic means that function as

downgraders. The more strategies are used, the more indirect and formal the request is. The social and cultural context determines the level of indirectness and formality of the request.

2.4. Speech act of Request in a cross-cultural perspective

The successful performance of speech acts depends not only on the mastery of grammatical rules but also on the pragmatic aspects of certain languages or dialects that must be mastered. Mastering the pragmatic aspects is defined as the ‘pragmatic competence’ that deals with "the speaker's knowledge and use of rules of appropriateness and politeness which dictate the way the speaker will understand and formulate speech acts" (Koike 1989: 279).

The performance of speech acts in communication is governed by socio-cultural norms and values (Kecskes 2014, Trosborg 1995, Wierzbicka 1991/2003). Hymes (1962) introduced his taxonomy model, including speech events, situations, and acts. His idea was that the speech situation occurs in a speech community, and a speech event happens in a speech situation. A speech act, such as requests or compliments, occurs within the speech event. One of the major concerns in cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics is the study of the SA of Request, as it is one of the most frequent speech acts in everyday communication, known for its contextual variation.

Investigating the claim that directness is more polite than giving hints has attracted the attention of many researchers trying to find the correlation between the concept of in/directness and politeness. For instance, Blum-Kulka (1987), who studied English and Hebrew polite behaviour, also investigated polite and indirect behaviour. The relation between politeness and in/directness was examined to prove that politeness and indirectness are different notions. Blum-Kulka confirms that the most indirect requests are not the most polite, and she adds that, in Hebrew, “lengthening the inferential path beyond reasonable limits increases the degree of imposition and hence decreases the level of politeness” (1987: 132). Similarly, Wierzbicka (1985) compared the English and Polish request strategies, and she found that the English respondents use more interrogative constructions and conditional forms than their

Polish counterparts. The findings assumed that the differences between the participant groups come from their cultural differences.

Moreover, Félix-Brasdefer (2005) studied the performance of Mexican requests, which showed a considerable tendency towards on-record or direct requests. He concluded that the directness in the Mexicans' requests reflects the expected norm of their behaviour. Thus, he claims that indirectness does not necessarily equate with politeness, the same belief held by Wierzbicka (2003), who also proved that Polish directness does not mean they are impolite. Still, in contrast, it represents their closeness.

Le Pair (2005) also confirmed that Spaniards use more direct requests than the Dutch. The direct requests in Spanish culture reflect appropriateness rather than impoliteness.

Ogiermann (2009b), in her comparative study of politeness patterns of requests in English, Polish, Russian, and German, finds that Polish and Russian prefer to be direct in their requests, while in English and German, indirectness is the most preferred, with a tendency to adopt imperatives more in the east. She explains that directness and getting straight to the point are required in some cultures because they are associated with honesty. Likewise, Larina (2005, 2009) focused on studying Russian politeness compared to British English. Her study reveals that the hearer-oriented perspective and indirectness characterise the English communicative style, whereas the Russian style is more message-oriented and prefers directness rather than indirectness. This is not to say that Russian culture is impolite, but it is a matter of the cultural norms and values that associate politeness with directness.

Jalilifar (2009) conducted a comparative study between Australian native speakers of English and Iranian learners of English as a foreign language to compare their use of request strategies. He found that learners of English as a foreign language use indirect strategies more, whereas Australian native speakers tend to use indirect strategies. The study also revealed the impact of social variables on the choice of request strategies.

2.4.1. Requests in Arabic

The study of politeness aspects in Arabic requests was mainly directed towards studying the requests' levels of directness. Many linguists revealed that the Arab participants in their research were more direct when performing the speech act of requests in comparison to their investigated counterparts (Scarcella & Brunak 1981; El-Shafey 1990; Al-Hamzi 1999; Umar 2004; Aba-Alalaa 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie 2010; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily 2012), and what characterises their direct requests is the use of impositives/ imperatives with or even without any softeners (Al-Zumor 2003; Aba-Alalaa 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie 2010).

The choice of direct requests comes as a result of the Arabs' cultural norms and features; for instance, the Saudis preferred to request their friends directly in comparison to the Americans because of equal power between friends regardless of the weight of imposition as Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily (2012) concluded in their contrastive study of Saudis and Americans (in)direct requests. They claim that directness in the Saudi context is not considered impolite, it expresses "connectedness, closeness, camaraderie, and affiliation" (Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily 2012: 94).

In the same sense, Atawneh (1991), as cited in Boubendir (2012: 6-57), compared the Arabic and English use of politeness strategies when performing requests. The results revealed that Arabs use different politeness strategies compared to their English counterparts to compensate for their inability to use the modal verbs that exist more in English. Atawneh (1991) and Atawneh and Sridhar (1993) concluded that numerous modal verbs in English enable the speaker to mitigate the addressee's face because of hedging, for example, which is reflected in the employment of indirect requests. On the other hand, the lack of these modal verbs in Saudi Arabic leads to a pragmatic failure when performing the same request form in Arabic and English.

For the same aim, Al-Aqra (2001) investigated the translation of polite requests. She explored how her Palestinian participants translated English modal verbs into Arabic. This study revealed a noticeable distinction in the use of modal verbs between Arabs and Native Americans, besides their unequal use of indirect requests. The lack

of those modal verbs in Arabic leads language users to show deference in other ways. For example, to request someone to open the window in English, one may say indirectly, "Could you please open the window?" which in Arabic would be uttered directly but with the addition of the religious softeners as 'افتح الشباك الله يسعدك' 'may God keep you happy, open the window,' to mitigate the imposition.

The Islamic religion shapes the way Arabs live and interact; thus, religious expressions can be noticed in most of their daily speech, as when they discuss future actions or events, they use the term ان شاء الله (Inshallah) to mean if God wills. When the Arabs thank someone, they may say جزاك الله خيرا (may God bless you) (Sweid 2014: 26). Also, in thanking God 'Allah' for the bad before the good things using الحمد لله (thank God) (Hussein & Hammouri 1998). Religious expressions soften most direct Arab requests, and positive politeness strategies are considered to strengthen the urgency of the request from one side and share common grounds with the Hearer from the other side (Bajri: 2005).

Another Arab researcher, such as Al-Marrani (2010), continued investigating politeness strategies in Arabic requests, focusing on Yamani Arabic. He found that males adopted direct requests with softeners when addressing other males because of their close relationship. Meanwhile, when requesting females, they preferred indirect requests because of their cultural norms and religious values, emphasising politeness and respect to women (Al-Marrani 2010). Moreover, Al-Marrani concluded that direct requests in the form of imperatives used by Yamani males are acceptable in their culture, but their English counterparts see them as impolite. Moreover, as Mills (2004) explains, indirect requests can be rude in Arabic when the requester and requestee have a close relationship. Thus, the speech act of request may be perceived differently in English and Arabic; for instance, in Arab countries, an older man or lady can request a stranger to help with heavy bags without any fear of threatening his/her face because, in Islam, one must respect older people. God helps people when they help their brothers (other people), besides the Arab cultural values that necessitate helping others, especially the elderly. Conversely, in English culture, privacy is highly valued, and asking for someone's help invades the requestee's privacy.

Directness and positive politeness are preferred strategies in Arabic when the speaker has power over the Hearer (-P) or if they have equal power (Rizk 1997; Soliman 2003). On the contrary, when the Hearer has more power over the speaker (+P), indirectness and negative politeness strategies are adopted (Al-Qahtani 2009; Morkus 2009; Jebahi 2011). This indicates that the level of directness and the choice of politeness strategies in Arab contexts is determined by the social factor of power.

Although different research methods have been used to understand politeness in Arabic dialects, the number of research studies dealing with speech acts in those dialects is still limited. Nonetheless, the increasing eagerness towards politeness, besides the scholars' willingness to discover it in their own languages and dialects, leads to the development of new studies to investigate the use of politeness strategies by native speakers of those languages and dialects when performing different speech acts. Thus, the present research is an addition to those studies in Arabic contexts, and it aims to explore politeness strategies when performing requests in Algerian Arabic in a classroom context.

2.4.1.1. Requests in Algerian Arabic

Research on politeness is not only limited to languages but also to dialects such as Algerian Arabic (AA), characterised by its multilingual aspect, including a mixture of Berber, colloquial Arabic, official Arabic, and French. This language variety in Algeria is called "Algerian colloquial Arabic," which is mainly made of classical Arabic and French as a result of the French colonisation of the country for a long time.

Similar to other Arab countries, religious expressions are used widely by Algerians to seem polite, especially when performing the speech act of request, religious expressions such as 'الله يعيشك' (may God give you long life), 'بارك الله فيك' (may God grant you), 'يعطيك الصحة' (may God give you good health), 'الله يحفظك' (may God protect you) are employed to soften the request and pragmatically they are similar to 'please' in English.

El Hadj Said (2016) investigated politeness strategies in Algerians' requests in the Telemcen region. The study revealed that Algerians in Telemcen were direct when requesting people with whom they have a close social distance without fear of

threatening their addressee's face. Thus, positive politeness and bald-on-record strategies were adopted in this case of close relationships with friends or those of the same age or gender. On the other hand, the participants adopted indirect requests choosing negative politeness and off-record strategies when the social distance is high and with elders or those of different genders. She added that "when the rank or degree of imposition of the speech act is high like in the example of borrowing money, directness is adopted and linked with softeners like: "Allah ykhalik" (2016: 75). Moreover, she found that Algerians use forms of address that include both the speaker and the Hearer in one commonality as a positive politeness strategy. That is why direct requests can be softened in AA by addressing others as members of the same family, even though they are strangers. This claim was supported by Dali Ali (2022) who suggested that politeness in AA requests can be shown by using kinship terms such as *خويا* (brother) and *أختي* (sister) with people of the same age. To address someone older relative or non-relative, Algerians use *عمي* 'Aammi' (my uncle) and *طاطا* "Tata" (my aunt). And with older people who are over 60 years, for example, it is better in Algeria to call them *الحاجة* (el-Haajja) for the female and *الحاج* (el-Haajj) for the male. Besides *بنتي* "Benti" (daughter), *ولدي* "Weldi" (son) when an older man or woman addresses young people.

Atamna (2016) examined the politeness and the (in)directness in the performance of requests by Algerian learners of English. He concluded that learners used direct strategies when requesting to show closeness and affiliation. He referred to the choice of those direct requests as being in the learners' culture; thus, directness cannot be seen as impoliteness but as a culture-dependent feature.

Lounis (2019) conducted a contrastive study of Algerian and British politeness strategies in requests and refusals. She found that while the British native speakers preferred negative politeness strategies, the AA native speakers adopted positive politeness strategies and were more direct in their requests and refusals. Furthermore, she assumed that social power is more important in British English than in Algerian Arabic, where more consideration is given to social distance. She adds that the social

variables influence the Algerian requests and refusals, and religious norms and beliefs are weighed.

All the above-mentioned Algerian studies opened the door for other researchers to explore the phenomenon of politeness in different aspects of Algerian Arabic.

2.4.2. Requests in Russian

Although Brown and Levinson assume a universal aspect of politeness and indirectness for performing speech acts, empirical research has proved that the utterances' pragmatic force differs across cultures. In other words, the universality principle cannot be true in all cultures because, in Russian culture, for example, honesty is associated with the speaker's clarity and directness. At the same time, indirectness is seen as a waste of the Hearer's time that can lead to communicative failure (Zemskaja 1997: 297). Therefore, generally request is not seen as a face-threatening act by Russians because the Hearer does not feel embarrassed or threatened to lose his negative face, and the potential refusal never threatens the Russian speaker's face (Rathmayr 1994: 274).

Russian requests in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics have been investigated in many studies, starting with the works of Wierzbicka (1985, 1991, 1992), which focused on the Russian and Polish use of imperatives in performing requests softened by diminutives and avoided the interrogative constructions. Mills (1992) also found that interrogative constructions as ability questions are restricted in Russian requests since they are regarded as hyper-polite. Instead, Russians tended to use negative constructions frequently in their requests. She adds that the speaker in Russian gets “a richer combinatory variety by which to formulate his indirection” (1992: 76) than does English.

The Russian preference for imperative constructions in request has been confirmed by many researchers (Rathmayr 1994; Berger 1997; Brehmer 2000; Betsch 2003; Larina 2003), who in turn noticed the complexity of its functions and forms. For instance, Rathmayr (1994) studied the pragmatic differences that can be found in perfective and imperfective imperatives. For the same aim, Benacchio (2002) compared the politeness levels of perfective and imperfective imperatives in Russian.

She found that negative politeness correlates with perfective imperatives and positive politeness with imperfective ones.

Rathmayr (2003) compared notions of politeness in Western and Russian cultures. She concludes that in Russian culture, the positive face is prioritised over the negative one, as Russians make more efforts to maintain solidarity than Westerners (ibid.: 27).

After her comparative analysis of politeness and (in) directness in Polish, Russian, English, and German requests, Ogiermann (2009) found that English and German are different from other Slavic languages since German and English informants utilise indirect requests realised by the use of interrogative constructions in comparison to their Slavic counterparts, who performed requests directly by the use of imperatives. Ogiermann proposed directness and the use of imperatives to perform requests in Slavic cultures such as Russian and Polish because this speech act is not considered as face-threatening as it is in Western cultures. At the same time, she explained the shift in the Russian interactive styles and the use of indirect strategies by some Russian participants due to the influence of Western culture on this culture.

In the same vein, Dong (2010) investigated internal and external modifications to soften requests in English, Russian, and Chinese academic settings. The results showed that the query preparatory using modal verbs ‘can/ could’ was the most adopted in all languages, but they differ in using internal and external modifiers. For instance, Russian and American English participants use attention-getters similarly, but terms of address were used differently. Furthermore, while Russians prefer the mood- derivable, English informants use the preparatory strategy.

Kotorova (2015) studied requests in Russian and German to reveal that Russians usually use direct requests in communicative situations of the close social distance between interactants in the culture, an aspect missing in German. She concluded that requests in Russian are imperatives, while the requests in German are interrogative constructions.

Larina (2009), in her contrastive study of Russian and British politeness strategies in various speech acts, concludes that the Russian communication style is

generally characterised by a straightforwardness that is different from the British style, which she describes as indirect. She attributes these differences to cultural, axiological, and cognitive factors, which influence the ways people communicate in each culture.

Conclusion

This chapter significantly delves into the intricate relationship between politeness and the speech act of request. It begins by thoroughly examining the speech act theory, a crucial foundation for understanding the performative function of speech acts. This includes requests that convey information and initiate actions, underscoring their pivotal role in social interactions.

The key idea behind the speech acts theory, which formed the basis for pragmatics, is that words are used not only to describe events, but also to perform acts. Searle proposed a typology of speech acts and attributed the request to the group of directives by which the speaker encourages the listener to certain actions. As a result, they restrict the freedom of the hearer and pose some threat to their independence, i.e. to their negative face. For this reason, these acts are called face-threatening acts, and their performance requires certain politeness strategies.

Requests represent the speakers' intentions and the 'social dynamics' they aim to achieve. These social dynamics refer to the changes or effects the request intends to bring about in the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, such as maintaining or enhancing social harmony, asserting power or authority, or showing respect.

Searle's classification of direct and indirect speech acts is a key contribution to pragmatics. He proposes that when performing direct speech acts, the speaker's locution aligns with the intended illocutionary force, whereas in indirect speech acts the literal meaning differs from the intended one. Searle considers request an indirect speech act when speakers convey their message without stating them explicitly by using indirect requests to maintain politeness and social harmony. This approach shows how indirectness provides subtleness in interactions, depending on shared context and inference to catch the exact intended meaning behind the words. Throughout the chapter, various types of requests and strategies adopted to perform them are explored to reveal how cultural norms and expectations influence the choices between direct and indirect requests. The discussion of the request strategies highlights the linguistic means adopted by the speakers to demonstrate politeness and mitigate the imposition.

Exploring the cross-cultural perspective of requests, it becomes evident that requests serve a universal function, albeit with cultural variations in their realisation. Each culture's unique perception of politeness, shaped by its values and practices, influences the performance of requests. The Russian and Arabic contexts are highlighted, with a particular emphasis on the Algerian one, to illustrate how societal norms shape the performance of requests.

Ultimately, this chapter stresses the importance of politeness as a guiding social phenomenon in the performance of requests, illustrating how polite practices can help to enhance comprehension and foster successful interaction across different cultures. The following chapter will focus on the practical part of the work by describing the methodology and procedure adopted in the present study. Moreover, the data and the results will be displayed throughout this chapter, and an analysis, discussion, and interpretation of the collected data will be provided.

CHAPTER III: CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN ALGERIAN AND RUSSIAN REQUESTS

This chapter presents the main results of the analysis adopted in this study, which aimed to compare politeness strategies in Algerian Arabic and Russian requests and highlight their similarities and differences.

The first section of this chapter describes the research methodology and design. It includes a restatement of the research aims and questions, the instruments used, and the data collection and analysis methods adopted in the research.

The second and third sections present the results of a contrastive analysis of Algerian and Russian politeness strategies in classroom requests among teachers and students, considering different social factors of Power (P), Distance(D), and rank of imposition (R). They also provide a discussion and interpretation of the obtained results.

3.1. Data and methodology

The research design includes data collection and analysis procedures, which refers to “the procedures for conducting the study, including when, from whom and under what conditions the data were obtained. Its purpose is to provide the most valid, accurate answers as possible to the research question” (McMillan and Schumacher 1993: 31, qtd in Atamna 2008). One of the main concerns of speech act and politeness research is the appropriate collection of data since reliability, validity, and linguistic action authenticity depend on the proper choice of data collection instruments.

3.1.1. Data collection and participants

To collect the present research data, an open-ended DCT form was created and distributed among 140 university students (70 Algerians and 70 Russians). Algerian students were selected from the Department of Arabic Literature at Hadj Lakhder University (also named Batna 1 University) in the Batna province of Algeria. Russian respondents were from the faculty of Philology at the People's Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University) in Moscow. The participants were asked to indicate what they would say in different situations of classroom requests. Overall, 1260 request utterances were collected and analysed quantitatively and qualitatively, with

the implementation of discourse-pragmatic and sociocultural analysis, to determine the influence of socio-cultural variables on the choice of politeness strategies and request type.

The discourse completion task (DCT) has been chosen as it is considered by many scholars (e.g., Tran 2006, Labben 2016) to be the best method to collect speech act data in cross-cultural studies. Atamna (2008) claimed that the ease of use of the written DCTs is one of the advantages this questionnaire can provide. Also, besides gathering a large amount of data, DCTs can save researchers time and costs in coding that data (Labben 2016) compared to other tools (Tran 2006). Blum Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) find that DCTs' advantage resides in their capacity to provide real speech acts even if the situations are imaginary. They deal with formulaic politeness expressions and conventional speech acts as they occur in real-life situations.

On the other hand, other scholars argue against this method for many reasons, such as the authenticity of data (Labben 2016), as it does not demonstrate the whole formulas as they happen in natural productions (Tran 2006). The other weak point is that DCTs cannot cover some features of oral discourse, such as turn-taking, prosodic features, elaborations, and repetitions, besides aspects of non-verbal communication (Cohen 1996). Although DCTs encounter different drawbacks, some researchers support their use, especially in politeness and speech act research. Kasper (2000) found that the DCT is the most suitable method when emphasising speech act data.

To elicit the present research data, the DCT was selected for its ease of use and the ability to collect a considerable amount of data concerning similar situations regarding social distance, power, and rank of imposition variables. Also, as the current research is a cross-cultural contrastive study, the DCT seems to be the best choice for comparing politeness strategies in the performance of requests in the two cultural contexts. Moreover, using a DCT, both participant groups could complete the tasks in their natural environment.

The DCT consisted of two sections. The first section covered participants' information, including age, gender, educational level, occupation, and nationality. The second section consisted of nine situations meant to elicit requests. Three social

contexts were considered – top-down context (teacher to student), bottom-up context (student to teacher) and linear context (student to student). In each context, three situations varied in the rank of imposition (low, moderate and high). To choose the situations that differ in the degree of imposition, we held a discussion with teachers and students and focused on the following: low rank of imposition: student's / teacher's request to repeat something; moderate rank of imposition: student's / teacher's request to send the homework by email; high rank of imposition: student's request for a consultation, student's request to help with the homework, teacher's request to take books to the library (for more detail see Table 01).

Thus, the focus was on three variables: social power (vertical distance), social distance between the interlocutors (horizontal distance), and rank of imposition across the nine situations (See Table 01). Gender and level of education variables were not considered in the present study. The participants were asked to give natural answers that could occur in real-life situations.

Table 01: Social variables across the Request situation

Social relations	Situation	Power	Distance	Rank of imposition	Request type
Bottom-up (Student-teacher interaction)	1	P+ ↑	D+	Low	Request for repetition
	2	P+ ↑	D+	Moderate	Request to send the homework by email
	3	P+ ↑	D+	High	Request for a consultation
Top-down (Teacher-student interaction)	4	P+ ↓	D+	Low	Request for repetition
	5	P+ ↓	D+	Moderate	Request to send the homework by email
	6	P+ ↓	D+	High	Request to take books to the library
Linear (Student-student interaction)	7	P=	D=	Low	Request for an extra pen
	8	P=	D=	Moderate	Request to send the homework by email
	9	P=	D=	High	Request to help with the homework

First, the DCT was written in English, then translated into Arabic and Russian, and two versions were distributed. The process of translating the DCT (Discourse Completion Test) involved initially drafting the instrument in English. This decision was made to ensure that there was a single, controlled source from which translations into Arabic and Russian could be derived. By standardising the original language, we aimed to maintain consistency and accuracy across both translated versions. As a native Arabic speaker with a strong educational background in English, I confidently translated the document into Arabic. The Russian version was also crafted based on my understanding and was thoroughly reviewed by my supervisor, who is a native Russian speaker fluent in English.

To verify that the Arabic and Russian versions matched the English DCT, we employed a back-translation method as recommended by Beaton et al. (2000), which emphasizes the importance of comparing the translated versions against the source material to identify any discrepancies and ensure that the intended meaning is preserved. This thorough review process was crucial in affirming that the translations accurately reflected the nuances of the original English text, providing reliable tools for participants in both language contexts.

Before sending the two versions of the DCT to the participants, they were consulted and discussed with Russian and Algerian teachers; then, two participants were taken from each group and asked to evaluate the appropriateness of the DCT to the participants' socio-cultural environment. Both participant groups were reached via the Internet. All incomplete and irrelevant contributions were excluded.

Thus, the DCT was designed online using a Google Drive form, one in Russian and the other in Arabic:

1. https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1WK0eUqFDW7fqIg_ehgRA1IYqx3rgMVkoJlb9LmtIwQ/edit?usp=drive_web
2. https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSdvwF0E71oOaKnDHrilXNwj1SGwLuLnzR3BAatw6MYP-bEgIA/viewform?usp=sf_link

Sampling: Algerian and Russian university students were selected as the research participants for data collection. The total sample of participants was 140 (70 Algerian

students and 70 Russians). Their ages ranged from 19 to 35, and they were of both sexes. They were all consulted and agreed to voluntary participation in this study. Most of them are students, but three have other occupations besides education.

3.1.2. The analytical basis

The data analysis was based on Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987) concerning Negative and Positive politeness strategies and a discursive approach to politeness (Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003). Drawing on the CCSARP coding scheme, the focus was on the type of request performance, namely direct, conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect. However, as the CCSARP is an old methodology, a pragma-discursive modified methodology based on the CCSARP was adopted for the present research.

The contrastive pragma-discursive analysis of the data was conducted to reveal the impact of three social variables – Power, Social Distance and Rank of imposition on the performance of requests in Algerian and Russian classroom discourse.

The following research questions were addressed:

- Which type of request – direct or indirect – dominates in top-down, bottom-up and linear contexts in the two cultural environments?
- How and to what extent do Algerian Arabic and Russian speakers soften their imposition?
- What politeness strategies and linguistic means do they use?
- To what extent do the request strategies used by Algerian participants differ from those of the Russian speakers, and how do these differences affect communicative styles?
- To what extent do social power, distance, and imposition rank affect their choice? Moreover, which one is the most influential?

First, request tables were created to show the frequency of request types used by each group. Each type was coded, and the number of times used was counted.

In the second step, different windows were created for each situation, and each type used was entered. The objective of this step was to count the frequencies of each type/model of request used per group in each situation. Then, the percentage, the

frequency, and the cumulative and valid percentage were strategically displayed.

In the table below (2), Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) request types are presented in relation to Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies (1987).

Table 02: request types and politeness strategies

Type/strategies of request	Linguistic models	Examples
Direct (On-record politeness)	Imperative	<i>Repeat, please.</i>
	Explicit performative	<i>I am asking you to raise your voice and repeat your answer.</i>
	Hedged performative	<i>I would like to ask you to send the homework by email.</i>
Indirect Conventionally indirect (Negative politeness strategies)	Interrogative constructions Speaker-oriented Hearer-oriented Impersonal question Inclusive question	<i>Can I ask you a favour? Could you repeat, please? Is it possible to repeat? Can we have a consultation?</i>
	Suggestory formula	<i>How about helping me with books?</i>
Non-conventionally indirect (Off Record politeness strategies)	Strong hints	<i>I was absent and I did not understand the homework.</i>
	Mild hints	<i>I cannot hear.</i>

As Table 02 shows, the request head act can be achieved from another dimension of 'request perspective', which is classified in Blum-Kulka's (1989) CCSARP project, as follows:

1. The hearer-oriented perspective, e.g., *Can you repeat, please?*
2. The speaker-oriented perspective, such as *Can I have a consultation, please?*
3. Inclusive perspective, for instance: *Could we do the homework?*
4. Impersonal perspective, for example: *Is it possible to borrow your pen?*

Moreover, we considered internal modifiers (syntactic and semantic means) and external modifiers (supportive moves such as grounders, preparators, apologies, address terms and others).

Syntactic downgraders, including modal verbs, negation, and tense, internally

modify the illocutionary force of the head act. They are described as forms of internal modification, in addition to lexical downgraders, which are also forms of internal modification.

Table 03: Internal Modifiers of the Request Head Act

Syntactic downgraders	Examples
Interrogative constructions: <i>Can you .../ Could you...</i>	<i>Could you send the homework by email?</i>
Conditional clause	<i>I would appreciate it if you could send the homework by email.</i>
Negation	<i>Would you not send the homework by email?</i>
Lexical modifiers	Examples
Minimisers	<i>Can I borrow your pen for a while?</i>
Consultative devices	<i>What do you think about helping me with the homework?</i>
Downtoners	<i>I cannot understand the homework; perhaps you will have time tomorrow to help me.</i>
Politeness marker “please”	<i>Can you repeat your answer, please?</i>

Along with internal modifiers, the distribution of external modification, the so-called supportive moves, is also considered to highlight the cross-cultural differences in request modification as presented in Table 4:

Table 04: External modifiers of the request head act

External modifiers	Examples
Grounder	<i>I was sick, and I could not attend the classes.</i>
Apology	<i>Sorry, can you send me the homework by email?</i>
giving option	<i>If you are free after classes</i>
Disarmer	<i>I hope I am not bothering you.</i>
Preparators	<i>Could you do me a favour?</i>
Address terms	<i>Brother, can I borrow your pen?</i>

Other modifiers are included in the CCSARP supportive moves, but they are not mentioned as they are not the focus of the study. In addition, the methodology adopted was developed and modified according to the present research data.

To classify politeness strategies Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model was used of bald on-record strategy (direct), negative politeness strategies (be conventionally indirect, minimize your imposition, be pessimistic, use titles and others), positive politeness (give and ask for reasons, use in-group identity markers, be optimistic and others) and off-record politeness (by being non-conventionally indirect using both strong and mild hints).

We will present separately all situations that differ in social characteristics (ascending, descending, and linear) and the degree of imposition.

3.2. Case 1. Bottom-up context: Student's requests to the teacher

In the bottom-up context of interaction, the requester is a student, and the requestee is the teacher; thus, asymmetric social relations occur. Therefore, in this situation of student-teacher interaction, there is some power distance (H+) and some social distance between the interlocutors (D+) throughout all the request situations in this case. However, according to each situation, the rank/cost of imposition (R) varies from low (request to repeat) to moderate (Request to send the homework by email) and to high cost (Request for a consultation).

3.2.1. Situation 1.1: Low cost of imposition

In this situation, a student asks the teacher to repeat what was said because the student did not hear him/ her, which the raters gave a low ranking of imposition.

Below is the frequency distribution table (and the number of respondents) for request types used by the two groups in this situation.

Table 05: Requests from Algerian and Russian students to the teacher: Low cost of imposition

TYPE OF REQUEST AND MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
DIRECT		19 (27.1)		13 (18.6)
Imperative		18 (25.7)		13 (18.6)
Bald imperative	واش قلت عاود (Repeat what you have said).	2 (2.9)		0
Softened imperative	عاودلي الله يسترک (Repeat, may God preserve you).	16 (22.8)	Повторите пожалуйста (Repeat, please).	13 (18.6)
Want statement	حابك تعاودلي واش قلت من فضلك (I want you to repeat what you have said, please).	1 (1.4)		0
INDIRECT		47 (67.2)		53 (75.7)

Conventionally indirect		37 (52.8)		53 (75.7)
Questions with modal verbs		36 (51.4)		53 (75.7)
Can you	تقدر تعاود من فضلك؟ (Can you repeat, please?)	36 (51.4)	Можете повторить, пожалуйста? (Can you repeat, please)	35 (50)
Could you		0	Вы могли бы повторить? (Could you repeat?)	15 (21.4)
With negation		0	Не могли бы вы повторить вопрос? (Could you repeat the question?)	3 (4.3)
With softeners	من فضلك أستاذ تقدر تعاود؟ (Please sir, can you repeat?)	26 (37.1)	Пожалуйста, не могли бы вы повторить последнее предложение? (Please, could you repeat the last sentence?)	28 (40)
S – oriented (Can I)		0		0
H-oriented (Can you)	تقدر تعاودلي من فضلك؟ (Can you repeat for me, please?)	42.8	Можете повторить, пожалуйста? (Can you repeat, please)	48.6
Inclusive (Can we)		0		0
Impersonal (Is it possible/ is there a possibility)	ممکن الاعادة من فضلك (Is it possible to repeat, please?)	8.6	Можно ли повторить? (Is it possible to repeat?)	1.4
Suggestory formulae	واش تبالك أستاذ لوكان تعاودلنا واش قلت؟ (What about repeating what you have said?)	1 (1.4)		0
Non-conventionally Indirect		10 (14.3)		0
Hints				
Strong hints	نعم استاذ؟ من فضلك (Yes, sir? Please).	1 (1.4)		0
Mild hints	صوتك مايشي مسموع (Your voice is not clear).	9 (12.9)		
Other	لا داعي لسؤال الأستاذ (No need to ask the teacher).	4 (5.7)	Спрошу у одноклассников (I will ask my classmate).	4 (5.7)
Total		70 (100)		70 (100)

The results showed that direct strategies were not used in high percentages by any participant groups; however, the direct requests were used more by Algerian students (27.1%) than Russians (18.6%). Similarly, Algerian students used the imperatives more frequently (25.7%), while only 18.6% of Russians adopted the same strategy. The bald imperatives appeared only twice in Algerian data (1), and none of the Russians performed the request directly without softening it with the lexical downgrade *пожалуйста* (please) (2):

(1) عاوديلنا (Repeat for us).

(2) *Повторите, пожалуйста (Repeat, please).*

While Russian students (18.6%) softened their imperative requests, Algerian students softened their bald imperatives less regularly (22.8%). In contrast to Russian students, they did not use *please* repeatedly. However, in most of their requests (20.8 %), they preferred to utilise the Arabic Islamic blessing “*May God preserve/protect you/ May God give you long life...*” as its pragmatic function is to soften the imposition:

(3) *عاودلي الله يسترک (Repeat, may God preserve you)*

In this situation, there are no other direct request models, only one want statement

appeared in Algerian data:

(4) *حابك تعاودلي واش قلت من فضلك (I want you to repeat what you have you said, please).*

Most Algerian and Russian students preferred indirect requests. However, the conventionally indirect constructions appeared more frequently in Russian requests (75.7%) compared to Algerian requests (52.8%). Both groups performed the conventional indirect requests in the form of interrogative constructions with modals *تقدر/ можем (can you)*, *(не) могли бы (could you)*.

Table 5 illustrates the use of ability questions, considering internal modification of the request head act using syntactic downgraders. Ability questions with the modal verb *can/ μόчы/ تقدر* appeared to be the most frequent request type in the Algerian (51.4%) and Russian data (50%).

(5) *تقدر تعاودلي من فضلك؟ (Can you repeat for me, please?)*

(6) *Можете повторить, пожалуйста? (Can you repeat, please)*

The modal verb “could”, which is used to form hypothetical statements, contributes to minimising assumptions about Hearer’s abilities to perform the act and adds some pessimism in accordance with Negative politeness strategies, was only observed in the Russian data (25.7%): 21.4% in the positive form (7) and 4.3% with negation. Negation comes here as a syntactic downgrader and another marker of the strategy “be pessimistic”, which lessens the directness of the request:

(7) *Вы могли бы повторить? (Could you repeat?)*

(8) *Не могли бы вы повторить вопрос, пожалуйста? (Could you repeat the question, please?)*

Lexical modifiers were also observed in the performance of indirect requests: 40% of Russian students accompanied their indirect requests with the softener, *пожалуйста* (please), whereas the Algerians (37.1%) used the softener *من فضلك* (please) less frequently in comparison to the religious blessings such as *ربي يحفظك، ربي يخليك...* (may God protect you, may God give you long life...) to soften their requests to teachers:

- (9) *من فضلك تقدر تعاود واش تقول؟* (Please, can you repeat what you have said?)
 (10) *الله يسترک يا الشيخ عاود واش كنت تقول* (May God preserve you, sir, repeat what you have said).
 (11) *ما سمعتش واش كنت تقول تقدر تعاودلي الله يحفظك الشيخ* (I did not hear what you were saying, can you repeat, may God protect you?)

Although Russian politeness markers are known to occur exclusively with imperative constructions (Betsch 2003: 280), they also occurred with ability questions in our data, showing a tendency to increasing indirectness in the Russian language:

- (12) *Можете повторить, пожалуйста, что Вы сказали?* (Can you repeat please what have you said?).

In both participants' requests, the interrogative constructions were either H-oriented (*Can you...?*) or had an impersonal perspective (*Is it possible...?*). The hearer perspective was used more in Russian requests (48.6%) in comparison to 42.8% of Algerian students, as in:

- (13) *Не могли бы вы повторить, пожалуйста?* (Could you repeat, please ?)

On the other hand, the impersonal request perspective '*Is it possible to?*' has been performed more frequently by Algerian students (8.6%) than by Russians (1.4%):

- (14) *Можно повторить?* (Is it possible to repeat?)
 (15) *ممکن الا عادة من فضلك؟* (Is it possible to repeat, please?)

Furthermore, 14.3% of Algerian students showed their indirectness using non-conventional indirect strategies, namely bald-off-record strategies of strong hints (1.4%) and mild hints (12.9%), which were absent in the Russian data:

- (16) *نعم استاذ؟ من فضلك* (Yes, sir? Please).
 (17) *صوتك ماشي مسموع* (Your voice is not clear).

Both participant groups chose to refrain from requesting this situation in equal percentages (5.7%):

- (18) *لا داعي لسؤال الأستاذ* (No need to ask the teacher).

(19) *Спрошу у одноклассников (I will ask my classmate).*

Along with the politeness marker ‘please’, consultative devices are adopted to lessen the imposition of the request by consulting the hearer’s opinion (House & Kasper 1987: 1269). However, this formula was observed only once in Algerian data:

(20) *واش تبالك أستاذ لو كان تعاودلنا واش قلت؟ (What about repeating what you have said?)*

In addition to internal modification, supportive moves (grounders, apology, addressing) were used as external modifiers of the head act of Request to soften its illocutionary force. For instance, an Apology shows the speaker’s unwillingness to impose and thus confirms his/her cooperation.

(21) *عفو على المقاطعة، تقدر تعاودلي لخر نقطة؟ (Sorry to interrupt you, can you repeat the last point?).*

(22) *Извините, не могли бы вы повторить? (Excuse me, could you repeat?)*

Similarly, when grounders accompany the head act, they supply a reason why the speakers impose on the hearer, which makes the imposition more plausible and raises the hearer’s willingness to comply with the request. Brown and Levinson (1987) characterise Apology as a Negative Politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987: 186-189) and consider ‘Give overwhelming reasons’ as one of its types:

(23) *من فضلك ماسمعتش عاودلي مرة أخرى (please, I did not hear you, repeat again)*

(24) *Повторите, пожалуйста, я не расслышала (Repeat please, I did not hear you)*

Table 6 shows that the most frequent external modifier in the Algerian material was grounder. It was used by 21.4% Algerian students, who explained the reason for their request. Thus, they used reasoning as a negative politeness strategy to mitigate their request. In our Russian material, this strategy was not frequent (4.3%). In contrast to Algerians, Russian students preferred to perform an apology before requesting as a negative politeness strategy to show their unwillingness to impose. Within the present data, apologies were used by 50% of Russian students, while in the Algerian material, they appeared to be rather scarce (2,9%).

Table 06: Algerian and Russian students’ use of external modifiers

External modifiers	Algerian		Russian	
	Count	%	Count	%
Grounder	19	21.4	3	4.3

Apology	2	2.9	35	50
Apology+grounder	4	5.7	7	10
Addressing	32	45.7	8	11.4
None	9	18.6	13	18.6
Other	4	5.7	4	5.7
Total	70	100	70	100

While one-fifth of the Algerian and Russian students did not use a single pragmatic move to soften their request, some used two moves. A combination of apology and grounder was used by 10% of Russian and 5% of Algerian respondents.

(25) *Извините, можете, пожалуйста, повторить? Я не расслышала* (Excuse me, can you repeat that, please? I didn't hear you).

(26) *Извините, я сбился, можете повторить вопрос?* (Sorry, I got lost, can you repeat the question?)

(27) *اسمحي أستاذ ماسمعتكش مليح تقدر تعاودلي* (Sorry, sir, I did not hear you well, can you repeat?).

As the above examples show, the students resorted to pragmatic reasoning and apologising to modify their request and make it more formal and polite. The apology expressions and grounders are meant to soften the face-threatening act of request and manage the face rapport as required by situations that involve the social factors of power and distance. More importantly, when choosing a mitigator, the participants have drawn on their language and norms.

Furthermore, address terms were used by students to show respect and deference to their teacher. Algerian students (45.7%) used them more often than Russians (11.4%). Moreover, Algerian forms of address appeared to be more formal. They were 'استاذ' 'teacher', 'دكتور' 'doctor', 'sir', 'سيدي', 'doctor':

(28) *أستاذ ما سمعتكش واش قلت تقدر تعاود* (Sir, I did not hear what have you said, can you repeat?).

Russian students addressed their teachers 4 times less frequently (11.4%) and used a conventional address form “name + patronymic name” which shows less formality and more intimacy than Algerian AFs.

(29) *Виктор Анатольевич, повторите, пожалуйста* (Victor Anatolyevich, repeat, please).

What is noticed in Russian addressing formulas is the use of a formal ‘Vy’ (vous) form with teachers, which is absent in Algerian Arabic addressing practices, which adds formality to the Russian Request:

(30) *Не могли бы Вы повторить, пожалуйста?*

Thus, in situation 1 (P+, D+, R low), both Algerian and Russian students used Negative politeness strategies and internal and external modifiers to soften their requests and minimise the imposition. However, there are some differences in the performance of this SA which can be generalised as follows: Algerian students tend to perform requests to their teachers in a more direct form than Russian ones, and they use religious blessings (*May God protect you/preserve you, may God give you long life...*) as an internal modifier and prefer grounders to apology among mitigating pragmatic moves.

Russian requests are less direct. They are conventionally modified by *пожалуйста* (please) and accompanied by an apology. Although representatives of both linguistic-cultural groups use formal forms of address when making a request, their regularity and formality are higher in the Algerian context compared to the Russian one.

3.2.2. Situation 1.2: Moderate cost of imposition

In this situation, the homework is requested to be sent by email. The requester is a student, and the requestee is a teacher; thus, power and distance are also in focus (bottom-up, distant). Because the request in this situation is to send the homework by email, according to our informants, teachers are not going to make too many efforts, which assigns a moderate rate of imposition on the hearer.

Similar to the first situation, the results revealed that the direct strategies were not used frequently by both groups; however, they were observed more in Algerian data (30%), and only 14.3% of Russians adopted them in this situation (see Table 7).

Table 07: Requests from Algerian and Russian students to the teacher: Moderate cost of imposition

TYPE OF REQUEST AND MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
DIRECT		21 (30)		10 (4.3)
Imperative		15 (21.4)		9 (12.9)
Bald imperative	استاذ بعثلي فالإيميل الواجب (Sir, send me the homework by email)	9 (12.9)		(0)

Softened imperative	الشيخ الله يسترک، ابعتلي الواجب بالايمل (Sir, may God protect you, send me the homework by email)	6 (8.6)	Пришлите, пожалуйста, домашнее задание (Please send me the homework).	9 (12.9)
Want statement	نتمنى منك أستاذي تبعتلي الواجب المنزلي (I wish you, my teacher, to send the homework).	6 (8.6)	Хотела бы Вас попросить выслать домашнее задание (I would like to ask you to send the Homework).	1 (1.4)
INDIRECT		47 (67.1)		60 (85.7)
Conventionally indirect		45 (64.3)		60 (85.7)
Questions with modal verbs		45 (64.3)		60 (85.7)
<i>Can you</i>	تقدر تعاودلي من فضلك؟ (Can you repeat for me, please?)	45 (64.3)	Можете повторить, пожалуйста? (Can you repeat, please)	30 (42.9)
<i>Could you</i>		0	Вы могли бы повторить? (Could you repeat?)	7 (10)
With negation		0	Не могли бы вы повторить вопрос, пожалуйста? (Could you repeat the question, please?)	23 (32.9)
With softeners	الله يحفظك أستاذ اقدر تبعتلي الواجب بالايمل (May God protect you sir, can you send the homework by email?)	21 (30)	Скажите, пожалуйста, можете прислать домашнее задание на почту? (Tell me please, can you send the homework by email)	31 (44.2)
S-oriented (Can I)	تقدر نطلب منك تبعتلي الواجب بالايمل إذا ماكانش ازعاج (Can I ask you to send me the homework by email if this does not bother you?)	2.9	Могу Вас попросить прислать домашнее задание на почту? (Can I ask you to send the homework by email?)	5.7
H-oriented (Can you)	تقدر تبعتلي الواجب بالايمل من فضلك؟ (Can you send the homework by email, please?)	52.9	Можете пожалуйста прислать домашнюю работу мне на почту? (Can you please send the homework by email?).	75.7
Inclusive (Can we)		0		0
Impersonal (Is it possible/ is there any possibility)	كاين احتمالية ارسال الواجب بالايمل (Is there a possibility to send the homework by email?)	7.1	Можно ли отправить домашнее задание по почте (Is it possible to send the homework by email ?)	4.3
Suggestory formulae	واش تبالك أستاذ لو ترسل لي الواجب المنزلي الذي كلفتنا به عبر البريد الإلكتروني (What about sending to my email the homework you gave us?)	2 (2.9)		0
Non-conventional indirect strategies		0		0
Other	مانروحش نقولو اصلا، عمبالي ميش راح يرد عليا (I will not go and tell him as I know he will not answer me).	2 (2.9)		0
Total		70 (100)		70 (100)

Likewise, Algerian students adopted the imperative constructions more (21.4%), and only 12.9% of Russians used the same strategy. Moreover, all Russian imperative requests were softened by the modifier "пожалуйста" (please), while 12.9% of Algerian participants used bald imperative construction:

(31) *استاذ بعثلي فالايمايل الواجب* (Sir, send me the homework in email).

(32) *Пришлите, пожалуйста, домашнее задание* (Please send me the homework).

On the other hand, only 8.6% of the Algerians accompanied the bald imperatives with softeners such as "من فضلك" (please), or religious blessings "الله يحفظك، الله يسترك، الله يطول في عمرك" (May God protect you/ preserve you/ give you long life), which all have pragmatic meaning to 'please':

- (33) الشيخ الله يسترك، ابعتلي الواجب بالايمل (Sir, may God protect you, send me the homework by email).

The direct requests were also performed using the want statement strategy, which appeared more frequently in the Algerian material (8.6%), and was observed only once in the Russian data in the conditional form, which decreases the level of directness:

- (34) نتمنى منك أستاذي تبعتلي لي الواجب المنزلي (I wish you, my teacher, to send the homework).
 (35) Хотела бы Вас попросить выслать домашнее задание (I would like to ask you to send the homework).

The obtained data in this situation also show that both participant groups showed a high tendency towards indirect requests with teachers. Yet, the higher frequency of conventionally indirect requests was noticed in the Russian responses (85.7%) compared to 67.1% of their Algerian counterparts. The conventionally indirect requests were performed by both groups in the form of interrogative constructions, adopted more by Russians (85.7%) compared to 64.3% of Algerian students. Ability questions with the modal verb "can" in its positive form and present tense constitute the most frequent construction, especially in Algerian requests, as all the interrogative constructions (64.3%) have the modal verb 'can' in comparison to only 42.9% of Russians who also used the verb *could*:

- (36) تقدر تبعتلي الواجب بالايمل من فضلك؟ (Can you send the homework by email, please?)
 (37) Можете, пожалуйста, прислать домашнюю работу мне на почту? (Can you please send the homework by email?)

The modal verb "could" was absent in Algerian data and used only by Russian students in the positive form by 10% of the participants, and 32.9% of the Russian students softened the requests with negation, which comes as a syntactic downgrader to lessen the directness of the requests:

(38) *Могли бы Вы отправить задание мне на почту? (Could you send the homework by email?).*

(39) *Не могли бы Вы отправить нам по почте домашнее задание? (Could you send by email the homework?).*

The data also show that ability questions were performed with and without softening expressions. However, Russian requests were accompanied by softening expressions more regularly (44.2%) than Algerian ones (30%):

(40) *تقدر تبعثلي الواجب بالايمل من فضلك؟ (Can you send the homework by email, please?).*

(41) *Можете, пожалуйста, прислать домашнее задание по почте? (Can you please send the homework by email?).*

(42) *استاذ ممكن تبعثلي الواجب بالايمل؟ (Sir, can you send me the homework by email?)*

(43) *Не могли бы вы отправить нам домашнее задание по почте? (Could you please send us homework by mail?).*

Also, most ability questions were performed using the Hearer-oriented perspective in this situation. It was preferred by 75.7% of Russians and 52.9% of Algerians:

(44) *تقدر تبعثلي الواجب بالايمل الله يخليك؟ (Can you send the homework by email; may God protect you?).*

(45) *Можете, пожалуйста, прислать домашнее задание по почте? (Can you please send the homework by email?).*

However, in the second position, Russians adopted the speaker perspective (5.7%) in comparison to 2.9% of Algerians:

(46) *Могу Вас попросить прислать домашнее задание на почту? (Can I ask you to send the homework by email?)*

(47) *نقدر نطلب منك تبعثلي الواجب بالايمل إذا ماكانش ازعاج (Can I ask you to send me the homework by email if this does not bother you?)*

On the other hand, the impersonal perspective was used in the second position by Algerian students (7.1%) compared to 4.3% of Russians:

(48) *كاين احتمالية ارسال الواجب بالايمل (Is there a possibility to send the homework by email ?)*

(49) *Можно ли отправить домашнее задание по почте (Is it possible to send the homework by email?)*

The conventionally indirect requests were also performed by a few Algerian participants (2.9%) in the form of the suggestory formulae, which were not observed in the Russian material:

(50) *واش لو كان تبعتلي الواجب المنزلي الذي كلفتنا به عبر البريد الإلكتروني الخاص بي (What about sending to my email the homework you gave us?)*

None of the Algerian and Russian students used the off-record strategies to be non-conventional indirect when requesting their teachers. Only 2.9% of Algerian students (and none of the Russians) refrained from making an 'FTA' and gave the following explanation:

(51) *مانروحش نقولو اصلا، عمبالي ميش راح يرد عليا (I will not go and tell him, as I know he will not answer me).*

Among other lexical downgraders used by the research participants in this situation are the consultative devices used in small percentages by both groups, with a slight predominance in the Algerian material (4.3%). This kind of lexical downgrader seeks to consult the hearer's opinion and involve him in the act of request, which can mitigate the hearer's negative face:

(52) *الشيخ تبالك تقدر تبعتلي الواجب بالايمل اليوم في الليل؟ (Sheikh do you think you could send me the homework by email tonight?)*

The most preferred lexical downgrader by both Algerian and Russian students is the modifier *please*, “من فضلك ”, “пожалуйста”, which was adopted with direct and indirect requests and more frequently by Russians (57.1%) and least by Algerians (38.6%).

The speech act of Request can also be softened by external modifiers, including grounders, apology expressions, cost minimisers, and address terms, as presented in Table 8:

Table 8: The distribution of external modifiers in Algerian and Russian requests

External modifiers	Algerian		Russian	
	Count	%	Count	%
Grounder	4	5.7	0	0
Apology	3	4.3	7	10
Apology+grounder	0	0	1	1.4
Addressing	39	55.7	17	24.3
Cost minimizer	5	7.1	2	2.9
None	17	24.3	43	61.4
Other	2	2.9	0	0

Total	70	100	70	100
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In this situation, grounders are also used more frequently by Algerian students (5.7%) who chose to give reasons as a positive politeness strategy:

- (53) أستاذة تقدرى تبعتيلي الواجب بالاييميل لاني عندي ظرف خاص (Teacher, can you send me the homework by email because I have certain circumstances).

However, grounders were not observed as a single supportive move in the Russian data; they were accompanied by apologies:

- (54) Извините, могу ли я прислать домашнее задание по почте, я уезжаю и не приду на семинар (I am sorry, can I send the homework by mail, I am leaving and I will not come to the seminar).

Such construction was not observed in the Algerian data.

On the other hand, Russian students preferred to save face by apologising before requesting, which is a negative politeness strategy aimed at softening the imposition. Apology constructions appeared as the most frequent Russian external modifier in this situation (10%) in comparison to 4.3% of the Algerian softened requests:

- (55) Извините, не могли бы Вы, пожалуйста, прислать домашнее задание на почту? (Sorry, could you, please send the homework by email?)
- (56) اسمحلي الشيخ، معليش تعثلي الواجب بالاييميل؟ (Sorry, sir, is it possible to send the homework by email?)

In this situation, cost minimisers indicate consideration of the imposition on the requestee involved in compliance with the request. Algerians used this external modifier in 7.1% of requests, and only 2.9% of Russian requests had it:

- (57) استاذ اذا ما كانش ازعاج ليك، تبعتلس الواجب بالاييميل (Sir, if it would not bother you to send us the homework by email).
- (58) Не трудно ли вам будет прислать мне домашнее задание по почте, если это возможно? (Would it be difficult for you to send me my homework by mail, if possible?)
- (59) Будет ли вам удобно отправить по почте (Will it be convenient for you to send by mail).
- (60) Могли бы Вы прислать домашнее задание по почте, если Вам не составит труда (Good afternoon, could you send your homework by mail if it's not difficult for you).

(61) *أستاذ ممكن ندي دقيقة من وقتك الثمين ونطلب منك تبعتلي الواجب بالايمل طبعاً اذا مش راح يسببك هذا الامر*
ازعاج (Sir, can I take a minute from your precious time and ask you to send me the homework by email, of course, if this would not bother you).

Thus, by adding a condition under which the addressee may not perform the act (*if this would not bother you, if it's not difficult for you*), the speaker expresses doubt about the possibility of fulfilling their request and allows the addressee not to perform it. Thus, the negative politeness strategy “give Hearer the option not to do the act” (Scollon & Scollon 2001: 51) as well as “be pessimistic” can be observed.

Addressing constitutes the most frequent supportive move in Algerian material (55.7%) compared to only 24.3% in the Russian material. Algerian students employed address terms such as *استاذي، دكتور، الشيخ، أستاذة* (my teacher, sheikh¹, doctor, teacher). Russians, on the other hand, addressed their teachers with the conventional formula “first name + patronymic name” (*Виталий Максимович / Ирина Петровна*). These address terms indicate a distance between the speaker and the hearer and some level of formality of their relationship; however, they are not as formal as Algerian forms 'sheikh', 'doctor' and 'teacher', which are employed by students to emphasise their teachers' high social position, authority and distance.

Thus, although indirect requests were the most frequent in this situation, both in the Algerian and Russian data, the direct requests were observed more frequently in the Algerian data set. The Algerian directness was mitigated by internal and external modifiers such as grounders, cost minimisers, consultative devices and some religious expressions. The impact of the moderate cost of imposition was observed in the Russian data through a tendency towards fewer direct requests, as opposed to the first situation, where the rate of imposition was low. Politeness marker *пожалуйста* (please) and apology were the most adopted Russian modifiers of direct and even conventionally indirect requests.

3.2.3. Situation 1.3: High cost of imposition

Similar to situations 01 and 02, the social power is asymmetrical (bottom-up), and the interlocutors have a distant relationship. However, the rate of imposition is

¹ الشيخ in English Sheikh literally means a leader of a Muslim organisation or group who is found in the mosque and gives Islamic teachings.

considered high, as requesting a consultation from the teacher requires some effort and time.

Table 9 demonstrates the distribution of the frequency of direct vs. indirect requests performed by Algerian and Russian participants in this situation.

Table 9: Requests from Algerian and Russian students to the teacher: High cost of imposition

TYPES OF REQUEST AND MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
DIRECT		17 (24.3)		6 (8.6)
Imperative		3 (4.3)		3 (4.3)
Bald imperative		0	<i>Дайте мне консультацию</i> (Give me consultation.)	1 (1.4)
Softened imperative	استاذ من فضلك استشارة (Sir please a consultation).	3 (4.3)	<i>Помогите с консультацией, пожалуйста!</i> (Help me with a consultation, please)	2 (2.9)
Want statement	استاذ نتمنى منك تقديم استشارة (Sir, I wish you give me a consultation)	14 (20)	<i>Хотела бы попросить Вас дать мне консультацию по пройденному материалу.</i> (I would like to ask you to give me a consultation about the covered materials).	3 (4.3)
Indirect		34 (48.5)		63 (90)
Conventionally indirect		33 (47.1)		60 (85.7)
Questions with a modal verb		33 (47.1)		60 (85.7)
<i>Can you</i>	استاذ نقدر نستشيرك على الدروس التي فاتتني (Sir, can I consult you about what I have missed ?)	33 (47.1)	<i>Можете провести консультацию по пропущенным темам?</i> (Can you give me a consultation about the missed lessons?).	32 (45.7)
<i>Could you</i>		0	<i>Могли бы Вы провести консультацию?</i> (Could conduct a consultation?).	7 (10)
With negation		0	<i>Не могли бы Вы дать мне консультацию по пропущенной теме?</i> (Could you give me a consultation on a missed topic?)	21 (30)
With softener	دكتور الله بحفظك تقدر تعطيني استشارة بعد الحصة (Doctor, may God protect you, can you give me a consultation after the class?).	1 (1.4)	<i>Не могли бы вы помочь мне с консультацией пожалуйста</i> (Could you help me with a consultation, please?)	8 (11.4)
S-oriented (Can I)	استاذ نقدر نستشيرك على الدروس التي فاتتني (Sir, can I consult you about what I have missed ?)	28.5	<i>Могу я попросить Вас дать мне консультацию. Пожалуйста?</i> (Can I ask you to give me a consultation, please).	14.3
H-oriented (Can you)	استاذة، تقدري تعطيني استشارة؟ (Teacher, can you give me a consultation?)	14.3	<i>Можете найти время для меня и провести консультацию по пропущенным темам?</i> (Can you find time for me and give me a consultation about the missed lessons?).	57.1
Inclusive (Can we)		0	<i>Могли бы мы провести консультацию по пропущенным темам?</i> (Could we have a consultation on the missed topics?)	2.9
Impersonal (Is it possible)	كاين إمكانية تعاودلي الدروس اللي فاتتني كي كنت مريض (Is there a possibility to repeat for me the lessons I missed when I was sick?)	4.3	<i>Возможно ли провести нам консультацию по теме, которую я пропустила?</i> (Is it possible to give us a consultation on a topic that I missed?)	11.4
Non-conventionally Indirect		1 (1.4)		3 (4.3)

Hints Strong hints		0		0
Mild hints	أستاذ كنت غائبة وراحوا عليا الدروس ومانيش فاهمة، واش تقترح عليا ندير؟ (Sir I was absent and I missed the lessons and I cannot understand, what do you suggest on me to do?).	1 (1.4)	Я болел, я не знаю что я пропустил? (I was sick and do not know what I missed.)	3 (4.3)
Other	لا استشيريه (I would not consult him).	19 (27.1)	Я бы не подходил с таким вопросом (I would not approach with such a question).	1 (1.4)
Total		70 (100)	70 (100)	70 (100)

In situation 3, direct requests were used the least by Algerian and Russian students; however, the directness is also observed more frequently in the Algerian data (24.3%) and less in the Russian data set (8.6%). The directness in this situation comes more in the form of a want statement used repeatedly by Algerians (20%) and less frequently by Russians (4.3%):

(62) *استاذ نتمنى منك تقديمي استشارة (I wish you give me a consultation, sir)*

(63) *Хотела бы попросить вас дать мне консультацию по пройденному материалу? (I want to ask you to give a consultation about the covered materials).*

The bald imperative appeared only in the Russian data just once (1.4%), whereas none of the Algerians used the imperatives without softening them:

All Algerian imperative requests (4.3%) and only 2.9% of Russian ones were accompanied by softening expressions.:

(64) *استاذ من فضلك اعطيني استشارة (Sir, please, give me a consultation).*

(65) *Помогите с консультацией, пожалуйста! (Help me with a consultation, please).*

In this situation, the conventionally indirect requests are the most used by both groups, but they were adopted more by Russians (85.7%) than by Algerians (47.1%). To perform the conventionally indirect requests, students employed the modal verb ‘can’, the only used construction by Algerian participants in approximately equal frequency in Russian (47.1% of Algerian students, 45.7% of Russians). This syntactic downgrader shows the students’ willingness to mitigate their imposition by adopting a negative politeness strategy, “be conventionally indirect”:

(66) *Могу я попросить Вас дать мне консультацию, пожалуйста (Can I ask you to give me a consultation, please).*

(67) *Можете найти время для меня и провести консультацию по пропущенным темам?* (Can you find time for me and give me a consultation about the missed lessons?).

(68) *أستاذ نقدر نستشيرك على الدروس اللي فاتتني* (Sir, can I consult you about what I have missed?).

(69) *أستاذة، تقدري تعطيني استشارة؟* (Teacher, can you give me a consultation?)

While the modal verb ‘could’ was not observed in the Algerian requests, 10% of Russian students employed it as another syntactic downgrader, which adds some pessimism to the addressee’s ability to do the act. This pessimism becomes even more apparent in the negative form of the modal, which was used by 30% of Russian students.

(70) *Могли бы Вы помочь мне разобраться в теме и провести консультацию?* (Could you help me determine the topic and conduct a consultation?).

(71) *По причине того, что я болел, не могли бы Вы дать мне консультацию по пропущенной теме?* (Because I was ill, could you give me a consultation on a missed topic?).

Most of the interrogative constructions did not contain a softener; nevertheless, 11.4% of Russian students accompanied their requests with the softener “*пожалуйста*” (please), while in the Algerian data, there was only one request which contained the religious blessing used for this purpose:

(72) *Могу я попросить Вас дать мне консультацию, пожалуйста* (Can I ask you to give me a consultation, please).

(73) *سلام الشيخ، تقدر تقدملي استشارة من فضلك؟* (Peace be upon you Sheikh, can you give me a consultation please?)

There were a few cases where the request was performed non-conventionally indirectly by the use of mild hints strategies of bald-off-record politeness to lessen the threat without mentioning the request directly and without threatening the H’s face, for instance:

(74) *أستاذ كنت غائبة وراحوا عليا الدروس ومانيش فاهمة، واش تقترح عليا ندير؟* (Sir, I was absent, and I missed the lessons, and I cannot understand, what do you suggest on me to do?).

(75) *Я болел, я не знаю, что я пропустил?* (I was sick, and I do not know what I missed.)

Unlike previous situations, many Algerian students (27.1%) chose to avoid making an FTA by saying, for example:

(76) ما رانيش راح نشناورو كيعدا علا بالي راح يحرقني (I will not consult him because I know he will burn² me).

Whereas in the Russian data, only one student refused to request for the following reason:

(77) Я бы не подходил с таким вопросом, так как преподаватель сказал бы скорее всего, чтобы я посмотрел тетрадки других ребят и прочитал бы и переписал информацию оттуда (I would not approach such a question because the teacher would most likely tell me to look at the notebooks of other guys and read and rewrite the information from there).

In this situation, the speaker-oriented perspective was the most used by Algerian students (28.5%), followed by the hearer perspective (14.3%). The impersonal perspective of requests appeared more frequently in the Russian data (11.4%) than in the Algerian data (4.3%):

(78) Иван Иванович, возможно ли провести нам консультацию по теме, которую я пропустила? (Ivan Ivanovich, is it possible to give us a consultation on a topic that I missed?)

(79) كايين إمكانية تعاودلي الدروس اللي فاتتني كي كنت مريض (Is there a possibility to repeat for me the lessons I missed when I was sick?)

Compared to their Algerian counterparts, Russians preferred the hearer-oriented perspective (57.1%) to the speaker-oriented perspective (14.3%) in this situation. A few Russian students (2.9%) chose the inclusive-oriented perspective, which was not observed in the Algerian data:

(80) Добрый день, прошу прощения, что пропустила несколько занятий, могли бы мы провести консультацию по пропущенным темам? (Good afternoon, I'm sorry that I missed a few classes, could we have a consultation on the missed topics?)

This kind of request enables Russian students to save their teachers' positive face by including both the S and the H in the activity, which is a positive politeness strategy.

Some of the Algerian (8.6%) and Russian (11.4%) requests contained internal lexical modifiers minimising the cost of the request (*a minute, a couple of minutes, briefly, just the last idea*):

² Burn is used by Algerians as a metaphorical expression to show that the teacher will embarrass him to the point he feels burned

- (81) *Я пропустила несколько занятий по причине болезни. не могли бы вы уделить мне пару минут на консультацию по пропущенному материалу? (I missed several classes due to illness. Could you give me a few minutes to consult on the missing material?)*
- (82) *أستاذ اعطيني دقيقة من وقت نستشيرك فيها على بعض النقاط ما فهمتهاش (Sir, give me a minute from your time to consult you about few points I did not understand).*
- (83) *Не могли бы Вы объяснить кратко пройденную тему, если Вам несложно (Could you explain the topic briefly, if it is not difficult for you).*
- (84) *أستاذ تقدر تشرحي غير اخر فكرة من الدرس ما فهمتهاش (Sir, can you explain just the last idea of the lesson, I did not understand it).*

Table 10 presents the most adopted supportive moves that can modify the illocutionary force of the head speech act externally. They are grounders, apologies and addressing.

Table 10: The distribution of external modifiers in Algerian and Russian requests

EXTERNAL MODIFIERS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Count	%	Count	%
Grounder	23	32.8	34	48.6
Apology	2	2.9	5	7.1
Apology + grounder	5	7.1	12	17.1
Addressing	33	47.1	15	21.4
Other	19	27.1	1	1.4

In the third situation, unlike in previous situations, Russian students used grounders more often than their Algerian counterparts (48.6% Russians, 32.8% Algerians) to soften the speech act of request by giving reasons, which is classified as a positive politeness strategy by Brown and Levinson (1987):

- (85) *Можете ли вы проконсультировать меня по предыдущим темам, так как я отсутствовал по причине болезни? (Can you consult me on the previous topics since I was absent due to illness?).*
- (86) *أستاذ كنت غائبة عن الدروس كيعد كنت مريضه وماقدرتش نجي حابة نطلب منك استشارة لو سمحت (Sir, I was absent from the classes because I was sick and I could not come. I want to request a consultation from you, please).*

Similarly, apology expressions were used more often by Russians than Algerians (7.1% to 2.9%) to soften the imposition as they are considered external modifiers and a negative politeness strategy:

(87) *معذرة استاذي الفاضل تقدر تعطيني دقيقة من وقتك للإستشيرك (Sorry my dear teacher, can you give me one minute from your time to consult you).*

(88) *Извините, что беспокою, есть ли у Вас возможность провести консультацию? (Is there a possibility to have consultation?)*

While 17.1% of Russians also adopted two moves to soften their requests by accompanying grounders with apologies, 7.1% of Algerian students used the same moves to avoid their responsibility for the requests and show their unwillingness to the threat the H's face as in the following examples:

(89) *Извините, есть какая-то возможность провести консультацию, я болела и не смогла присутствовать (Sorry, is there a possibility to have a consultation, I was sick and I could not attend).*

(90) *عذرا كنت متغيبية عن الفصل لفترة تقدر تشرح لي ما سلف بطريقة مبسطة (Sorry, I was absent from classes for a period, can you explain to me what I have missed simply?)*

The other adjunct external modifier used in this situation is addressing. As in previous situations, *unt* was used more often by Algerians (47.1%) than Russians (21.4%):

(91) *استاذ بسبب ظروف الصحية اضطررت ان اغيب عن الدرس هل يمكنك ان تعيد شرح بعض النقاط (Sir, because of some health problems I was obliged to be absent, can you explain some points again?)*

(92) *دكتور كنت غائبة عن الحصص بسبب ظرف صحي، من فضلك ممكن استشارة (Doctor, I was absent on classes because of health problems, please can I have a consultation?)*

(93) *Марина Анатольевна, подскажите пожалуйста у меня такая ситуация... я в целом круглый отличник и пар ваших никогда не пропускал, но приболел сильно. не могли бы Вы дать консультацию? (Marina Anatolyevna, please tell me I have such a situation... I'm generally an excellent student and I've never missed your classes, could you give me a consultation?)*

The total number of external modifiers is greater than the number of participants in this situation (70 participants in each group), as different modifiers were observed in the same request utterance.

Although in the third situation the cost of imposition is high (P+, D+, R+) and the indirect requests were the most used by both groups, Algerians still showed a greater tendency towards the direct requests and less utilisation of internal and external modifiers in comparison to their Russian counterparts. Russians, on the other hand, adopted more indirect requests and used internal and external modifiers more regularly to reduce the illocutionary force of the request. This finding seems surprising, given that Algerian culture is known for its high power index, which implies formality in bottom-up communication. However, what is evident is the repeated avoidance of the Algerian students to perform the request (Don't do an FTA) as the best strategy to save their and the hearer's face, as the cost of imposition is high, especially in such a formal context.

3.2.4. The impact of the cost of imposition in bottom-up contexts

The results of the quantitative analysis of the first case will be presented to show the impact of the cost of imposition on students' choice of politeness strategies and types of requests from students to teachers. In other words, in all the situations discussed, the distances of power (vertical distance) and social distance (horizontal distance) remained the same. At the same time, the third variable, namely the cost of imposition, varied across the three situations from low to moderate and high.

Figure 2 shows the impact of the cost of imposition on students' choice of the type of requests and their models.

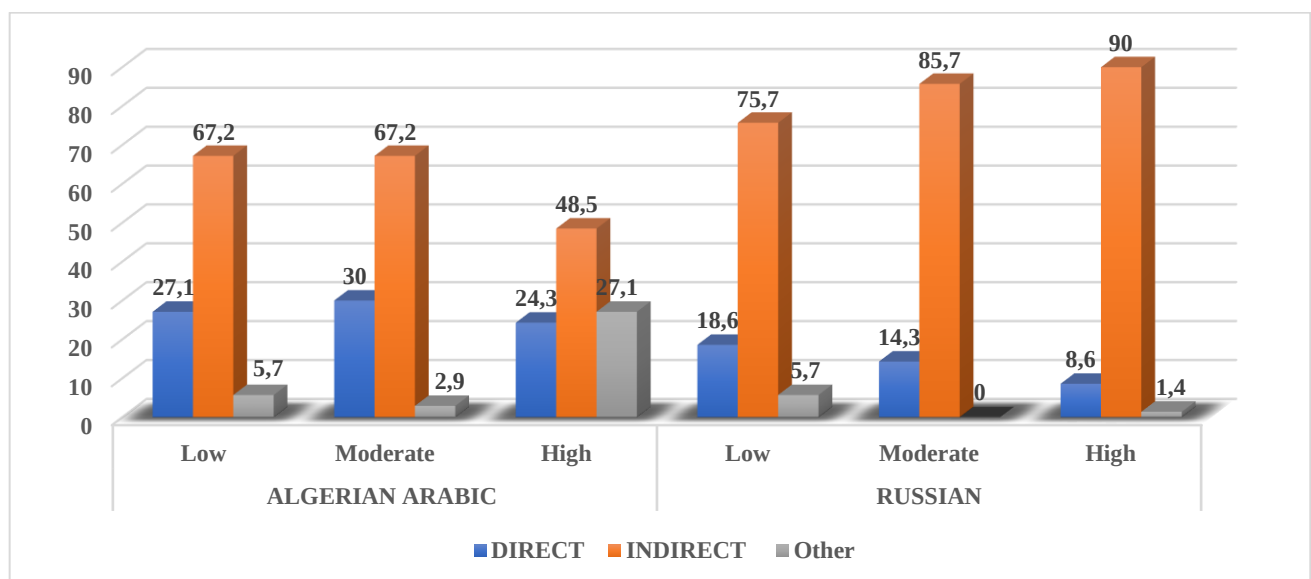


Figure 2: The impact of the cost of imposition on Algerian and Russian student's request to the teacher

Figure 2 shows that both Algerian and Russian students preferred to be indirect when requesting their teachers, followed by the direct request. This aligns with previous studies (e.g., Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; Trosborg 1995; Al-Kahtani 2005), which found that conventionally indirect requests are the most preferred and polite way of making requests across different languages and cultures. In the words of House (1986: 50), in a lower-ranking to a higher-ranking situation (bottom-up contexts), there is a "relatively low obligation for the addressee to comply and equally low rights on the part of the requester, thus resulting in greater difficulty in performing the request". More importantly, indirectness is contextually expected because the teacher-student social power is high. Thus, the indirectness was high due to the high index of power and distance in these situations. However, Russian students demonstrated a stronger tendency towards indirectness than Algerian students did in all three situations (see Figure 2). Furthermore, the results revealed a clear correlation between the level of indirectness and the rank of imposition in the Russian context. As the rank of imposition increased, the number of direct requests decreased, and the number of indirect requests increased. In situation 3, which involved a high level of imposition, the indirectness of Russian students reached 90% (compared to 48.5% in the Algerian context).

The correlation between indirectness and the level of imposition is less pronounced in the Algerian context. In some cases, we even observed some contradictions. For instance, in situations 1 and 2 with a low and moderate rank of imposition, the proportion of indirect utterances was 62.7%. In contrast, in situation 3, characterised by a high rank of imposition, it fell to 48.5%. Instead, they compensated for the indirectness by avoiding making the request (27.1%, as shown in Table 9).

Therefore, one can deduce that the social variables of social power, distance and imposition motivated the students' indirectness in all the situations. However, Russian students demonstrated a more pronounced tendency to indirectness (see Figure 2).

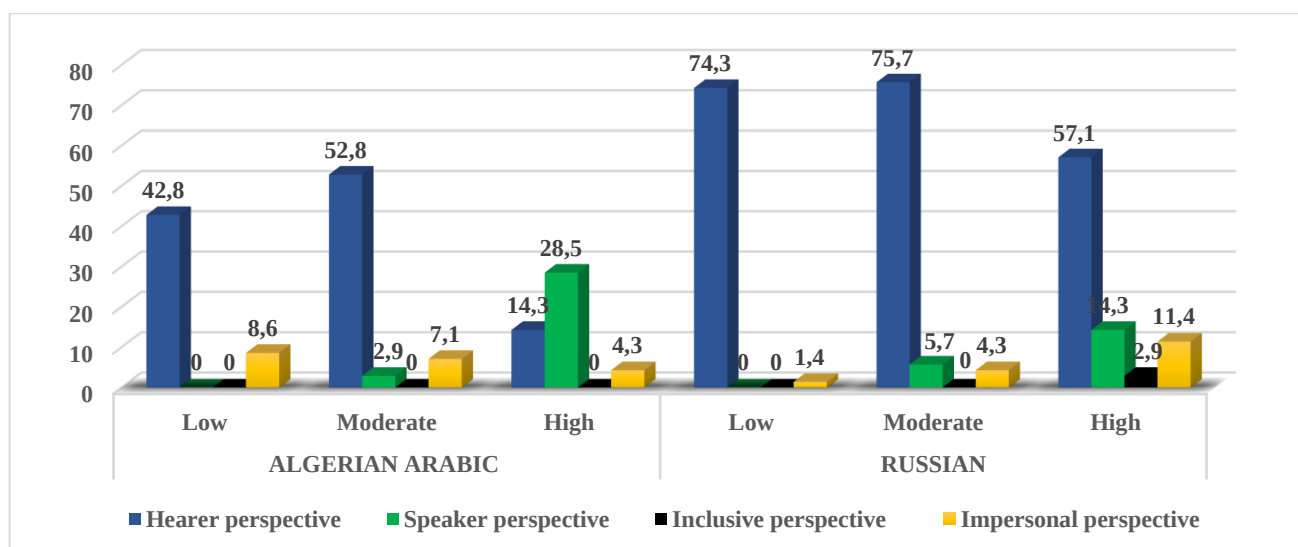


Figure 3: The impact of the cost of imposition on Algerian and Russian students' request perspectives

Figure 3 shows the impact of the three social variables on the request perspective or orientation. Here, we can also observe a consistent influence of the rank of imposition on the speech model in the Russian material. With an increase in imposition, we observe a decrease in addressee-oriented utterances (*Вы (не) могли бы? Can/could you...?*) and an increase in speaker-oriented utterances (*Могу я попросить Вас...? Can I ask you...?*), as well as impersonal utterances (*Можно....? It is possible...?*). This observation is consistent with the strategies of negative politeness, one of which prescribes dissociating the speaker and hearer from the discourse. Thus, in speaker-oriented utterances, we observe the dissociation of the Hearer from discourse and the transfer of imposition to the speaker. This is consistent with the opinion of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) who state that “avoidance to name the hearer as an actor can reduce the form's level of coerciveness” (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 19). Leech (1983) also notes that requests can be softened by avoiding reference to the hearer and referring to the speaker (Leech 1983: 134). In impersonal utterances, both the Hearer and the Speaker are absent. This further softens the impact on the Hearer, as it presents the action implied by the speaker as a hypothetical possibility. In addition to indirectness, we also see the strategy “be pessimistic” here.

Thus, the results confirm that the hearer perspective is preferred in cultures that value directness. However, Russian first-person requests are not impossible (Formanovskaja 1982: 131), as noticed in the second and third situations.

In the Algerian context, the impact of the cost of imposition on the students' use of request perspectives was only noticed in the third situation when the rank of imposition was high; the speaker perspective was used more frequently to avoid addressing the Hearer directly as the addressee is the student's teacher and teachers in Algerian classroom have a high situation. The impersonal perspective was also observed in Algerian students' requests for a consultation, but it was less frequent than in other situations where the cost was low or moderate. With low and moderate cost of imposition, Algerians utilised the Hearer perspective (تقدر) (can you) the most and its use was not impacted by the degree of imposition as it increases with moderate imposition and decreases with low one.

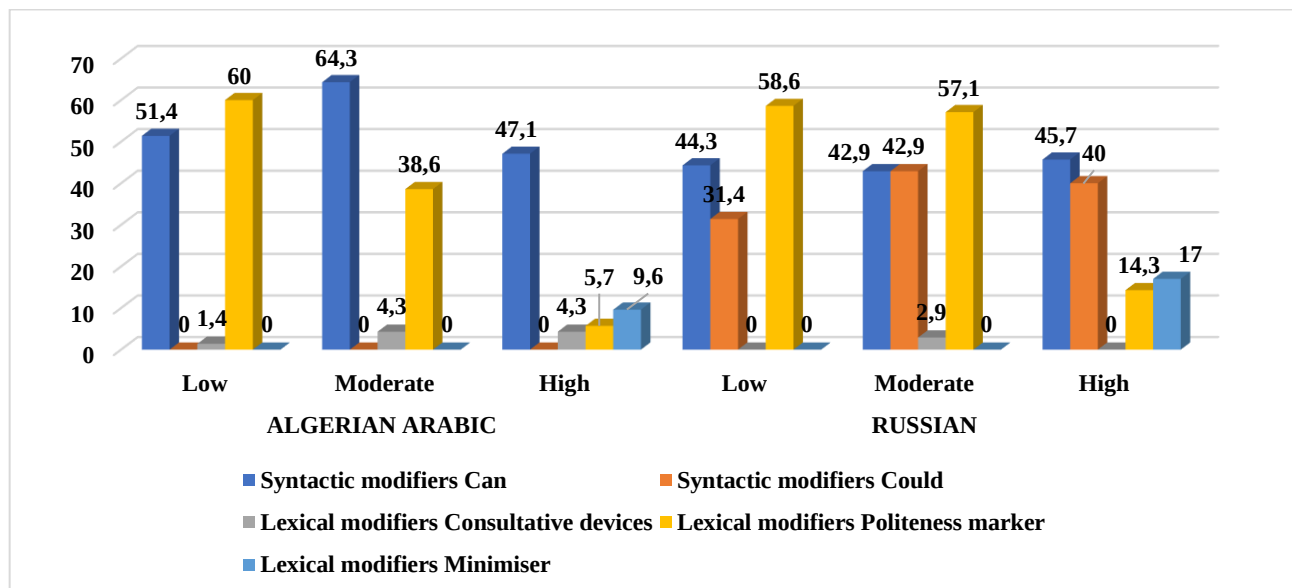


Figure 4. The impact of the cost of imposition on the use of internal modifiers in the student's request to the teacher

Figure 4 shows that using syntactic and lexical modifiers in Algerian and Russian students' requests demonstrates considerable differences in mitigating strategies. Notably, both groups adopted the modal verb "can" as the most frequent syntactic modifier with a marked preference in Algerian requests. However, the Algerians' use of the modal verb does not seem affected by the degree of imposition associated with the request. As the table shows, in the situations where the cost of imposition was low or moderate, the modal verb was used more regularly than in situations characterised by a high cost of imposition. In contrast, Russians demonstrate a more pronounced sensitivity to the cost of imposition.

This strategic selection reflects an understanding of the relational dynamics between the speaker and the hearer, where the cost of imposition directly influences the formality and structure of requests. Additionally, the Russian-specific use of the modal verb “could” highlights a deeper linguistic complexity, where negation plays a pivotal role. In Russian, the lack of negation in requests risks being interpreted as a straightforward question rather than a polite request, showcasing a key distinction in how politeness is negotiated through language.

The investigation into lexical downgrader usage reveals that Russian students predominantly favoured the politeness marker “please,” suggesting a direct cultural inclination towards explicit politeness in their requests. Conversely, Algerian students preferred invoking religious prayers and blessings, effectively using divine references as softening mechanisms. This divergence underscores the role of cultural values in shaping communicative practices, with Algerians drawing on religious frameworks to convey respect and politeness.

Neither group exhibited a direct relationship regarding the correlation between politeness markers and the degree of imposition. Instead, both tended to use politeness markers more in scenarios with lower to moderate imposition, while the higher-cost situation demonstrated a reduction in these markers. This pattern raises questions about the cognitive and cultural motivations underlying such strategic choices.

Consultative devices were not frequent. However, they were observed more frequently in Algerian requests, indicating a strategic effort to gauge the teacher's willingness before making the request. This practice reflects an intention to minimise face-threatening acts and maintain a cooperative rapport with teachers who are higher in status. The use of consultative language highlights a careful navigation of power dynamics in academic settings, particularly in high-imposition contexts.

The findings suggest that the cost of imposition has a more pronounced effect on the Russian students' use of lexical downgraders, indicating a pragmatic alignment with cultural norms that value explicit politeness. In contrast, Algerian students appear less sensitive to the degree of imposition when employing lexical modifiers, relying more on culturally ingrained expressions of respect. This analysis reveals the intricate

interplay between language, culture, and social expectations in shaping how politeness is expressed in request-making contexts.

Figure 5 demonstrates significant insights into how the cost of imposition influences the length of requests made by Algerian and Russian students. The findings indicate distinct patterns in communication styles between the two groups, particularly as the perceived cost of imposition varies.

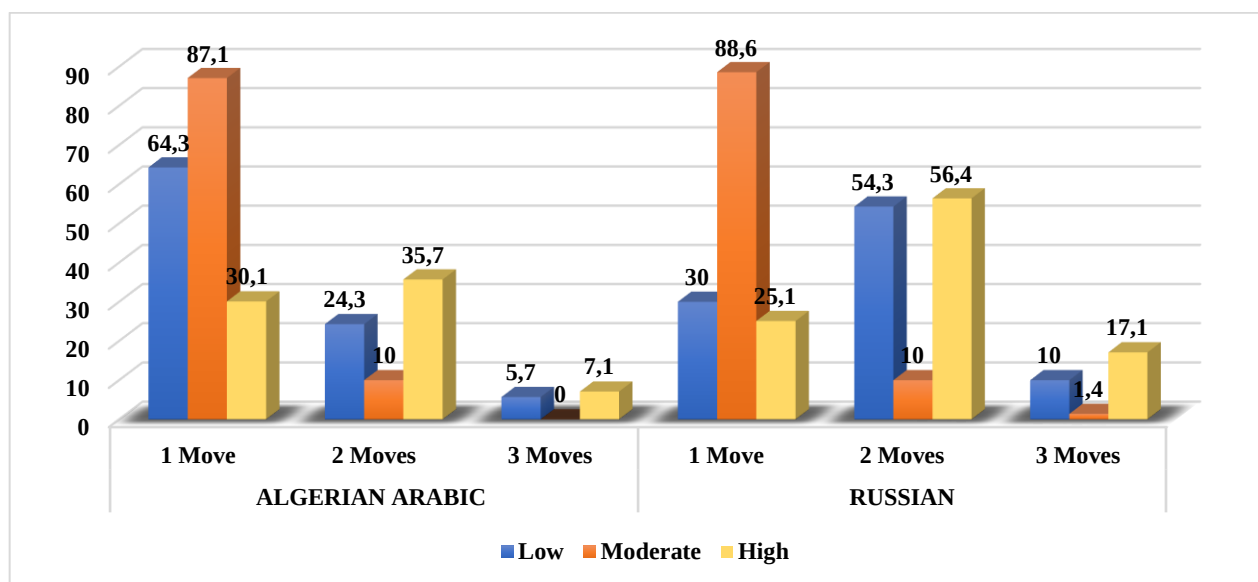


Figure 5. The impact of the cost of imposition on the length of students' requests

In the first situation, characterised by the low imposition cost, the Algerian students predominantly relied on a single request move (64.3%), resulting in shorter requests. This reflects a more straightforward communication style. In contrast, Russian students exhibited a preference for a more elaborate approach, with a higher frequency of two moves (54.3%) and the inclusion of apologies as a politeness strategy. This suggests that the Russian students are more attuned to mitigating the face-threatening nature of their requests, even when the imposition is low.

As the imposition cost transitions to moderate in the second situation, both groups demonstrate a reduction in the length of requests compared to the first situation. This suggests an adaptive strategy to balance politeness while managing brevity. Interestingly, the use of two or three moves decreased, indicating that the students sought to streamline their requests instead of complicating them with additional grounders or apologies. This might consolidate the idea that with moderate

imposition, efficiency in communication takes precedence over extensive politeness strategies.

However, in the third situation featuring a high cost of imposition, the dynamics shift significantly. The Russian students again take the lead, with 48.6% opting for a request combined with grounders, illustrating their tendency to maintain politeness through structured requests. This move strategy aligns with the concept of 'positive politeness,' as it serves to furnish a rationale for the request, thus reducing face threat and enhancing the likelihood of a favourable response. Algerians, while still employing grounders, showed a lesser frequency (32.8%), indicating a cultural variance in how imposition is navigated in high-pressure situations.

The analysis also emphasises the role of apologies in both groups. While Russian students consistently employed apologies across all situations, Algerian requests were more context-dependent, with a marked increase in apologies only during high-cost scenarios.

The most notable point is Russian students' tendency to combine grounders and apologies, amplifying the length and formality of their requests. This is particularly evident in high imposition scenarios, where the combination serves to soften the request's impact further. Russians' tendency to create longer, formal request constructions might suggest a civic culture that values thoroughness and politeness in communicative practices.

Addressing the hearer is the other supportive move employed to modify the request externally. This act appeared to be more frequent and formal in all the situations in the Algerian context compared to the Russian one. By using formal forms of address such as sir/ doctor/ professor/ Sheikh, Algerian students comply with the teacher's negative face wants and show them respect. However, both investigated groups used addressing terms more frequently in the second and third situations, where the cost of imposition was higher than in the first.

In conclusion, the interplay between the cost of imposition and request types highlights how cultural nuances influence communication styles. The first case analysis suggests that although both participant groups showed high levels of

indirectness in bottom-up interactions, Russians' requests were more indirect than Algerians'. Moreover, Russian students showed a higher tendency to modify the requests internally and externally to make them soft and more polite, which reveals that the cost of imposition has a greater impact on Russian requests than Algerian ones. The data underscore the complex interplay between language, culture, and politeness strategies in student-teacher interactions. The distinct patterns of linguistic modulation highlight the necessity of considering cultural orientations when assessing communication styles and their implications for effective pedagogical engagement.

3.3. Case 2. Top-down context: Teacher's requests to student

In this case, the requester is the teacher, whereas the addressee is the student, and the request goes from high to low. The notion of distance is considered in terms of closeness (close or distant), which addresses the asymmetrical power relationships between interlocutors that show imbalance in power as a teacher-student relationship (top-down). Therefore, throughout the three situations of teacher-student requests, there exists a high power (vertical) distance (+P) and horizontal distance (+D) between the interlocutors. The rate of imposition differs between low (request to repeat), moderate (request to send the homework by email), and high (request to take the books to the library).

The responses of the two cultural groups are presented in the tables below, going through three different request situations.

3.3.1. Situation 2.1: Low cost of imposition

In this situation, the teacher's request to the student to repeat what he/she has said is low-cost for the requestee.

The findings showed that due to power distance and the low cost of imposition, most of the Algerian and Russian teachers made their requests to students directly, with a slightly higher frequency in the Russian data (78.6% to 72.9%):

(94) عاود واش قلّت (Repeat what have you said).

(95) Попробуйте ответить (Repeat the answer).

While most imperative constructions were performed without softening expressions in Algerian and Russian requests, 24.3% of Algerian imperative requests and 21.4% of Russians were softened by ‘please’ (*пожалуйста/ من فضلك*):

(96) *من فضلك، عاود اجابتك* (Please, repeat your answer).

(97) *Повторите пожалуйста, что вы сказали* (Repeat please, what have you said).

Below is the frequency distribution table (10) for (in)direct requests used by Algerian and Russian groups in this situation.

Table 10: Requests from Algerian and Russian teachers to students: Low cost of imposition

TYPE OF REQUEST MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
Direct		51 (72.8)		55 (78.6)
Imperative		50 (71.4)		55 (78.6)
Bald imperative	عاود واش قلت Repeat what you have said.	33 (47.1)	<i>Повторите ответ</i> (Repeat the answer).	40 (57.1)
Softened imperative	<i>من فضلك، عاود اجابتك</i> (Please, repeat your answer).	17 (24.3)	<i>Повторите, пожалуйста, что вы сказали</i> (Repeat please, what have you said).	15 (21.4)
Want statement	<i>حاب منك تعاود الاجابة</i> (I want you to repeat the answer).	1 (1.4)		0
Indirect		15 (21.5)		15 (21.4)
Conventionally indirect		9 (12.9)		15 (21.4)
Questions with modal verbs		9 (12.9)		15 (21.4)
<i>Can you</i>	<i>تقدر تعاود</i> (Can you repeat?)	9 (12.9)	<i>Можете повторить?</i> (Can you repeat?).	11 (15.7)
<i>Could you</i>		0	<i>Вы могли бы повторить?</i> (Could you repeat?)	2 (2.8)
With negation		0	<i>Не могли бы Вы повторить?</i> (Could you repeat, please?)	2 (2.8)
With softeners	<i>تقدر تعيد الإجابة من فضلك؟</i> (Can you repeat your answer please?)	2 (2.9)	<i>Может, пожалуйста, повторить свой ответ?</i> (Can you please repeat your answer?) <i>Можете</i>	7 (10)
S-oriented (<i>Can I</i>)		0		0
H-oriented (<i>Can you</i>)	<i>تقدر تعاود؟</i> (Can you repeat?)	11.5	<i>повторить, пожалуйста</i> (Can you repeat, please)	20
Inclusive (<i>Can we</i>)		0		0
Impersonal (<i>Is it possible/ Is there a possibility</i>)	<i>هل من الممكن الإعادة؟</i> (Is it possible to repeat?)	1.4%	<i>Можно повторить? не расслышала</i> (Is it possible to repeat? I did not hear.)	1.4%
Non-conventionally Indirect		6 (8.6)		0

Hints		6 (8.6)		0
Strong hints	الاجابة غير واضحة (The answer is not clear)	4 (5.7)		0
Mild hints	لم اسمع ارفع صوتك (I did not hear, raise your voice).	2 (2.9)		0
Other	لا داعي لطلب اعادة الجواب (No need to ask the teacher).	4 (5.7)		0
Total		70 (100)		70 (100)

The results showed the number of indirect requests appeared to be the same. However, Russian teachers used conventionally indirect requests more often than their Algerian counterparts (21.4% to 12.9%). They came in the form of interrogative constructions with the modal verbs *can* (مочь/ تقدر) or *could* (не) могли бы to ask about the hearer's ability. These interrogative constructions reflect the negative politeness strategies of 'being conventionally indirect' or 'being pessimistic' as well as 'giving the option not to do the act' adopted by teachers in this situation as internal modifiers performed in the form of the syntactic downgraders, including the modal verb "can" and negation.

The modal verb "can" was used more frequently by Russian speakers (15.6%) compared to Algerian teachers (12.9%):

(98) Можете повторить, пожалуйста (Can you repeat, please).

(99) تقدر تعاود؟ (Can you repeat?)

As in the previous situations, the modal verb "could" used to reduce the directness of the request was adopted only by Russians (2.8%). Equally, 2.8% of Russian teachers used negation:

(100) Извините, не могли бы вы повторить? (Sorry, could you repeat?)

In both cultural groups, the ability questions were performed more without softening expressions, as 10% of Algerians chose not to soften the indirect requests. Approximately the same number of Russians did not adopt the softening modifiers (11.4%). However, the softened indirect requests with the politeness marker *пожалуйста* (please) were noticed more often in the Russian data (10%) in comparison to the Algerians (2.9%), who preferred to use religious blessings instead:

(101) Можете повторить, пожалуйста, последнее предложение? (Could you repeat the last sentence?)

(102) ممكن ان تكرر اجابتك الله يحفظك (Can you repeat what you have said? May God protect you?)

In this situation, the hearer-oriented perspective was used most in teachers' indirect requests in both groups. However, it was more prevalent in Russian requests (20% of Russian teachers to 11.5% of Algerians). Additionally, the impersonal perspective 'is it possible +infinitive' appeared just once in the Russian material:

(103) Можно повторит? не расслышала (Is it possible to repeat, I did not hear).

Algerian teachers also chose to be indirect by the bald-off-record strategies, using hints with their students so they can repeat the answer. Thus, the data show that non-conventional indirect requests were used only by Algerian teachers (8.6%) using strong and mild hints, for example:

(104) الاجابة غير مسموعة (the answer is not heard)

(105) نعم؟ (Yes ?)

(106) لم اسمع ارفع صوتك (I did not hear, you raise your voice)

Want statement is another direct strategy that appeared just once in Algerian data, and none of the Russians adopted it:

(107) حاب منك تعاود الاجابة (I want you to repeat the answer).

The teachers' use of external modifiers in this situation was limited and varied between grounders, apologies, addressing terms and cost minimisers as presented in the table below.

Table 11: The distribution of external modifiers in Algerian and Russian requests

External modifiers	Algerian		Russian	
	Count	%	Count	%
Grounder	6	8.6	7	10
Apology	0	0	1	1.4
Apology + grounder	1	1.4	2	2.9
Addressing	8	11.4	15	21.4
Cost minimiser	0	0	1	1.4
None	51	72.9	44	62.8
Other	4	5.7	0	0
Total	70	100	70	100

Some teachers (10% of Russian and 8.6% of Algerian) adopt grounders to lessen the threat of the request by giving reasons behind each requestive act, which in turn serves as a positive politeness strategy.

(108) *Повторите пожалуйста свой ответ, не было слышно* (Repeat please your answer, It was not heard).

(109) *من فضلك كرري ما قلته لكي يسمع زملائك أو لكي اعطيك رأيي الخاص لأنني لم اسمعك جيدا* (Please repeat what have you said so your classmates can hear you and to give you my opinion because I did not hear you well).

While none of the Algerian teachers used to apologise before requesting, only one Russian teacher (1.4%) used this negative politeness strategy to lessen the threat as follows:

(151) *Извините, не могли бы вы повторить?* (Sorry, could you repeat?)

Grounders accompanied with apologies were used by only one Algerian teacher and 2.9% of Russians to soften the imposition of their requests:

(110) *العفو، لم أستمع جيدا هل بإمكانك إعادة الإجابة، من فضلك؟* (Sorry, I did not hear well can you repeat your answer please?)

(111) *Извините, я не расслышал, можете повторить* (Sorry, I did not hear, can you repeat?)

The other supportive move teachers use is addressing Algerian teachers (11.4%) employed expressions like *طالبة، ولدي، بنيتي* (student, my son, my daughter) or the student's first name, which indicate the teachers' willingness to claim common membership with their students using in-group identity markers as a positive politeness strategy to enhance the students' positive face. Russian teachers (21.4%) addressed their students by their first names when requesting them.

The "none" category, which constitutes the majority, indicates the requests performed without any external minimisers / supportive moves.

It is worth mentioning that most Algerian teachers' answers in this situation were in official Arabic. In Algerian classrooms, Algerian Arabic is not allowed to be used by teachers, as their role is to teach official Arabic to their students and use it as much as possible in academic contexts.

Thus, in situation 04, where the request for repetition goes from high (teacher) to low (student), social power and distance are high (P+, D+), and the rate of imposition is low (R—). The use of internal and external modifiers is limited, and approximately the same tendency towards direct requests rather than indirect ones in both contexts is observed. Hence, Algerian and Russian teachers' directness and use of modifiers were approximately the same, with a slight preference for softening the performed requests in Russian.

3.3.2. Situation 2.2: Moderate cost of imposition

In this situation, the homework is requested to be sent by email. The requester is a teacher, and the requestee is a student. Thus, the focus is also on social power and social distance. In comparison, the cost of imposition in this situation is moderate (R°).

The analysis shows that the direct request in this situation was the most used type by both groups, with a slightly higher preference in the Algerian data (84.3% to 81.4%). Similarly, bald imperatives were performed more by Algerians (60%) compared to 50% of Russians:

(112) *ارسل واجبك عبر البريد الإلكتروني* (Send the homework by email).

(113) *Домашнее задание отправьте мне на почту* (Send me The homework by email).

However, the softened imperative constructions were used more by Russians (31.4%), and only 8 Algerian teachers (11.4%) accompanied the imperative with a softener:

(114) *رجاء يا طلبة ارسلوا لي الواجب عبر الايميل* (Please, students, send your homework by email).

(115) *Отправьте, пожалуйста, свою работу* (Send please your work).

8.6% of Algerian teachers adopted another direct strategy of obligation statement, which was absent in Russian data:

(116) *تفضلوا البريد الإلكتروني، وعليكم إرسال الإجابة عليه* (Here is the email, where you have to send the answer,).

(117) *يجب ان ترسل لي واجبك عن طريق البريد الإلكتروني* (You have to send the homework by email).

Want statements adopted by 4.3% of Algerian teachers were not observed in the Russian material either:

(118) طالبة اريد منك ارسال واجبك المنزلي عبر بريدي الالكتروني (Student I want from you to send the homework by email).

(119) أرجو منكم أن ترسلوا الواجب إلى البريد الإلكتروني الخاص بي (I wish you send the homework to my email).

The frequency distribution table below demonstrates the Algerian and Russian teachers' requests to students in this situation.

Table 12: Requests from Algerian and Russian teachers to student: Moderate cost of imposition

TYPE OF REQUEST AND MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
Direct		59 (84.3)		57 (81.4)
Imperative		50 (71.4)		57 (81.4)
Bald imperative	ارسل واجبك عبر البريد الإلكتروني (Send the homework by email).	42 (60)	Домашнее задание посылайте мне на почту (Send me the homework by email).	35 (50)
Softened Imperative	رجاء يا طلبة ارسلاوا لي الواجب عبر الايميل (Please, students send your homework by email).	8 (11.4)	Отправьте, пожалуйста, свою работу (Send please your work).	22 (31.4)
Obligation statement	لديكم واجب عليكم بإرساله عبر البريد الإلكتروني (You have homework and you have to send it to my email)	6 (8.6)		0
Want statement	طالبة اريد منك ارسال واجبك المنزلي عبر بريدي الالكتروني (Student, I want you to send your homework by email)	3 (4.3)		0
Indirect		6 (8.6)		10 (14.3)
Conventionally indirect		5 (7.1)		7 (10)
Questions with the modal verbs		5 (7.1)		7 (10)
Can you	هل يمكنك ارسال واجباتك المدرسية عبر البريد الإلكتروني من فضلك؟ (Can you send your homework by email, please?)	5 (7.1)	Можешь ли ты отправить домашнее задание мне на почту? (Can you send the homework by email?)	7 (10)
Could you		0		0
With negation		0		0
With softeners	هل يمكنك ارسال واجباتك المدرسية عبر البريد الإلكتروني من فضلك؟ (Can you send your homework by email please?)	3 (4.3)	Можете, пожалуйста, прислать домашнее задание? (Can you please send the home work?)	1 (1.4)
S-oriented (can I)		0	Могу ли я получить домашнее задание на почту? (Can I receive your homework by email?)	2.9
H-oriented (can you)	السلام عليكم أيمكنك إرسال الواجب هنا عبر البريد الإلكتروني؟ (Peace be upon you, can you send the homework by email?)	5.7	Можете, пожалуйста, прислать ваше домашнее задание мне на почту? (Can you please send the homework by email?)	7.1
Inclusive (can we)		0		0

Impersonal (is it possible)	فيه إمكانية إرسال الواجب بالايمل (Is there a possibility of sending the homework by email tonight?)	1.4		0
Non-conventionally Indirect		1 (1.4)		3 (4.3)
Hints Strong hints	انتظر اجاباتكم عبر البريد الالكتروني (I am waiting for your answers by email)	1 (1.4)	Жду ваше домашнее задание на почту (I am waiting for your homework by email).	3 (4.3)
Mild hints		0		0
Other	لا داعي يحب يشوف الواجب بعينو على الكراس (No need, he likes to see the homework by his eyes on the copybook)	5 (7.1)	Преподаватель отправляет домашнее задание напрямую, без просьбы (The teacher sends homework without requesting).	3 (4.3)
Total		70 (100)		70 (100)

Indirect requests were still used by a few teachers in both groups, with a higher use by Russian participants (14.3% to 8.6%). They were mostly conventionally indirect requests, in the form of interrogative constructions with the modal verb ‘can’ in its positive form and the present tense:

(120) هل يمكنك إرسال واجباتك المدرسية عبر البريد الإلكتروني؟ (Can you send your homework by email)

(121) Можешь ли ты отправить домашнее задание мне на почту? (Can you send the homework by email?)

In this situation, the modal verb ‘can’ is used to perform requests indirectly, taking different request perspectives, including the hearer-oriented perspective, which was the most used by teachers in approximately equal use (5.7% by Algerians and 7.1% by Russians).

(122) أيمكنك إرسال الواجب هنا عبر البريد الإلكتروني؟ (Peace be upon you, can you send the homework by email?)

(123) Можете прислать ваше домашнее задание мне на почту (Can you send your homework by email?)

Whereas the speaker perspective appeared just twice in Russian data (2.9%), it was absent in Algerian requests and the impersonal requests were adopted only by one Algerian teacher.

(124) Могу ли я получить домашнее задание на почту? (Can I receive your homework by email?)

(125) فيه إمكانية إرسال الواجب بالايمل الليلة (Is there a possibility of sending the homework by email tonight?)

In this situation, the non-conventional indirect strategies were used more by Russian teachers (4.3%), and only one Algerian adopted the off-record strategy of strong hints, for instance:

(126) انتظر اجاباتكم عبر البريد الالكتروني (I am waiting your answers by email).

(127) Жду ваше домашнее задание на почту (I am waiting for your homework by email).

7.1% of Algerian students and only 4.3% of Russians refrained from requesting this situation:

(128) لا داعي يحب يشوف الواجب بعينو على الكراس (No need, he likes to see the homework by his eyes on the copybook)

(129) Преподаватель просто отправляет домашнее заданин без просьбы (The teacher just sends the homework without requesting).

Consultative devices were employed as lexical modifiers by only one Russian teacher:

(130) Вам было бы удобно отправить свое домашнее задание по почте? (Would it be convenient for you to send the homework by email?)

External modifiers or supportive moves, such as grounders, preparators, addressing terms, and minimisers that create off-record requests, can also soften or emphasise the speech act. However, in this situation, they were hardly used (see Table 13).

Table 13: The distribution of external modifiers in Algerian and Russian teachers' requests

External modifiers	Algerian		Russian	
	Count	%	Count	%
Grounder	2	2.9	0	0
Apology	0	0	0	0
Apology+grounder	0	0	0	0
Address terms	3	4.3	11	15.7
None	60	85.7	56	80
Other	5	7.1	3	4.3
Total	70	100	70	100

In this situation, grounders were only used by Algerian teachers (2.9%), and none of the Russians employed them:

(131) أَلَمْ اسْتَطِعْ الاطلاع على واجبك اليوم في القسم لذلك ارسله رجاءا عبر البريد (I could not check your homework in class today; thus, send it by email).

None of the Algerian or Russian teachers apologised to modify and soften the request.

Address terms are used less by Algerian teachers (4.3%) to address students with the following terms: طالب، طالبة، اسم الطالب (*student male or female, name of the student*). 15.7% of Russians addressed their students with their first names or 'Ребята!' (Guys!) addressing a group.

(132) طالب ابعث واجبك بالايمل (*Student, send your homework by email*)

(133) Ребята, не забудьте отправить домашнее задание по электронной почте (*Guys, do not forget to send your homework by email*).

Thus, the situation is characterised by the horizontal and vertical distance and moderate cost of imposition on the hearer (R°). Algerian and Russian teachers preferred to request their students directly. However, indirect requests have also been observed with some predominance in the Russian material (14,3% to 8,6%). The politeness marker *please* ('من فضلك' / 'пожалуйста') as an internal modifier was also used more regularly by Russian teachers. As for external modifiers, they were scarce in both cultural groups.

3.3.3. Situation 2.3: High cost of imposition

Similarly, social power and distance are concerns in this situation, but asking students to take the books to the library for personal benefit entails a high cost of imposition.

The results show that in this situation of a teacher's request to students, the direct requests were used less regularly and appeared more frequently in Russian teachers' requests (38.6%) compared to 35.7% of their Algerian counterparts. However, all the Russian direct requests were accompanied by a softening expression:

(134) Отнесите, пожалуйста, книги в библиотеку (*Take, please, the books to the library*).

Whereas 22.8% of Algerians used softeners and the remaining 7.1% utilised bald imperatives:

(135) خذها الى المكتب (*Take them to the library*)

The table below demonstrates the frequency of direct and indirect requests performed by Algerian and Russian teachers.

Table 14: Requests from Algerian and Russian teachers to student: High cost of imposition

TYPE OF REQUEST MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
Direct		25 (35.7)		27 (38.6)
Imperative		21 (30)		27 (38.6)
Bald imperative	خذ هذه الكتب إلى المكتبة (Take these books to the library)	5 (7.1)		0
Softened Imperative	من فضلك اوصل لي الكتب إلى المكتبة (Please, take for me the books to the library)	16 (22.8)	Отнесите, пожалуйста, книги в библиотеку (Take, please, the books to the library).	27 (38.6)
Want statement	من فضلك اتمنى مساعدتك في أخذ هذه الكتب إلى المكتبة (Please, I wish your help to take these books to the library).	4 (5.7)		0
Indirect		36 (51.4)		41 (58.6)
Conventionally indirect		36 (51.4)		41 (58.6)
Questions with the modal verbs		36 (51.4)		41 (58.6)
<i>Can you</i>	هل يمكنك أن تأخذي لي كتيبي إلى المكتبة من فضلك؟ (Can you take my books to the library, please?)	36 (51.4)	Можете помочь отнести книги в библиотеку? (Can you help to take books to the library?)	24 (34.3)
<i>Could you</i>		0	Могли бы Вы мне помочь отнести книги в библиотеку? (Could you help me take the books to the library?)	17 (24.3)
With negation		0	Не могли бы Вы отнести мои книги в библиотеку? (Could you take my book to the library?).	15 (21.4)
With softeners	هل بإمكانك أن تحضري لي كتيبي إلى المكتبة من فضلك؟ (Can you bring my books to the library, please?)	4 (17.2)	Можете, пожалуйста, помочь отнести книги в библиотеку? (Can you help me take the books to the library?)	13 (18.5)
S-oriented	من فضلك هل يمكنك أن أطلب منك خدمة وهي إعادة هذه الكتب للمكتبة إن لم يكن في الأمر إزعاج (Please, can I ask you a favour which is to take back the books to the library, if it does not bother you).	1.4	Могу я Вас попросить отнести мои книги в библиотеку? (Can I ask you to carry my books to the library).	5.7
H-oriented	هل يمكنك أن تأخذي لي كتيبي إلى المكتبة من فضلك؟ (Can you take my books to the library, please?)	47.1	Можете помочь отнести книги в библиотеку? (Can you help to take books to the library?)	52.9
Inclusive		0		0
Impersonal	ممکن اخذ الكتب الى المكتبة؟ (Is it possible to take the books to the library?)	2.9		0
Non-conventionally Indirect		0		0
Hints		0		0
Other	لم يطلب مني ذلك ابدا (He never asked me that)	9 (12.9)	Никогда не просил (Never asked)	2 (2.9)
Total		70 (100)		70 (100)

To show directness, 5.7% of Algerian teachers used the want statements, which were absent in Russian direct requests:

(136) من فضلك اتمنى مساعدتك في أخذ هذه الكتب الى المكتبة (Please, I wish your help to take these books to the library).

(137) اريد منك مساعدتي واخذ كتبتي الى المكتبة من فضلك (I want you to help me and take my books to the library).

On the other hand, although the index of social power and distance is also high in this situation, the high cost of imposition pushes teachers in the two groups to perform most of their requests conventionally indirectly, with a slight preference in Russian data (58.6%) compared to Algerian ones (51.4%). Teachers' indirectness was performed via the interrogative constructions in the form of ability questions with the modal verb 'can' (34.3% of Russian requests and 51.4% of Algerian ones):

(138) Можете помочь отнести книги в библиотеку? (Can you help to take books to the library?)

(139) هل يمكنك أن تأخذي لي كتبتي الى المكتبة من فضلك؟ (Can you take my books to the library, please?)

Only Russian teachers adopted the 'pessimistic' negative politeness strategy to perform the request using the modal verb 'could' in the negative form as a syntactic downgrader (21.4%):

(140) Не могли бы Вы отнести мою книгу в библиотеку? (Could you take my book to the library?).

Ability questions also contained lexical modifiers *пожалуйста* (please) used frequently by Russians (40.1%).

(141) Можете, **пожалуйста**, помочь отнести книги в библиотеку? (Can you help me take the books to the library?)

Algerian teachers softened the performed indirect requests less frequently, using *من فضلك* (please) by 34.2%:

(142) من فضلك، هل يمكن أن تأخذ لي كتبتي الى المكتبة (**Please**, can you take the books to the library?)

In this situation, the hearer-oriented perspective was the most used by teachers and more frequently in Russian requests (52.9%), while 47.1% of Algerian teachers adopted this perspective. Similarly, Russians used the speaker perspective more than their Algerian counterparts (5.7% to 1.4%):

(143) من فضلك هل يمكن أن أطلب منك خدمة وهي إعادة هذه الكتب للمكتبة (Please, can I ask you a favour which is to take back the books to the library).

(144) Можу вас попросить отнести мои книги в библиотеку (Can I ask you to carry my books to the library).

The impersonal perspective appeared only in Algerian data just twice (2.9%) to impersonalise both the speaker and the hearer. In other words, we can observe here the negative politeness strategy “Dissociate Speaker and Hearer from the discourse” (Brown and Levinson 1987):

(145) ممكن اخذ الكتب الى المكتبة؟ (Is it possible to take the books to the library?)

The non-conventional indirect requests did not appear either in Algerian or Russian teachers' requests.

In addition to the politeness markers, Algerian and Russian teachers also used consultative devices as lexical modifiers in equal percentages (2.9%). They consulted students' opinions and involve them in the act of request: and at the same time functions as a negative politeness strategy by ‘being pessimistic’ about the hearer’s wants to do the act:

(146) هل سيكون احراج إذا اخذت الكتب إلى المكتبة (Would it be embarrassing if you take the books to the library?)

(147) Не затруднит ли Вас отнести книги за меня? (Would it be difficult for you to carry books for me?)

In these examples we can observe a bundle of negative politeness strategies, such as “be conventionally indirect”, “be pessimistic”, “minimise assumptions about H’s wants” and “give H the option nit to do the act”.

Teachers also employed external modifiers to modify the head act when requesting their students. Table 15 presents the supportive moves of grounders, apology, address terms, used in this situation.

Table 15: The distribution of external modifiers in Algerian and Russian requests

External modifiers	Algerian		Russian	
	Count	%	Count	%
Grounder	1	1.4	2	2.9
Apology	1	1.4	3	4.3
Addressing	8	11.4	15	21.4

None	55	78.7	47	67.1
Other	5	7.1	3	4.3
Total	70	100	70	100

In this situation, both Algerian and Russian teachers had a limited use of grounders, with a slightly higher use by Russians (1.4% Algerians, 2.9% Russians):

(148) أنا مشغول في الإدارة، معليش تديلي هذوا لكتابات للمكتبة؟ (I am busy in the administration, is it possible to take these books to the library?).

(149) Мне необходимо отнести книги в библиотеку, но сейчас еще несколько семинаров. Не затруднит ли Вас отнести их за меня? (I need to take the books to the library, but there are still a few seminars right now. Would it be difficult for you to carry them for me?)

A few examples contained Apology:

(150) Извините, не могли бы вы отнести мои книги в библиотеку (Sorry, could you carry my books to the library).

(151) عفوا، هل يمكن مساعدتي في أخذ الكتب الى مكتبي؟ (I am sorry. Can you help me take the books to the library?)

Another adjunct external modifier teachers use is addressing their students. 21.4% of Russians kept using their first names:

(152) Виктория, могу я Вас попросить отнести мои книги в библиотеку? (Victoria, can I ask you to carry my books to the library).

Algerian teachers addressed their students with the first name accompanied with an endearment term العزیزة / العزیز "the dear" or kinship terms ولدي، بنتي "my son/ my daughter" accompanied with or without + the student's first name which are in-group identity markers used to show the hearer that he/she is identified as a family member and perform a positive politeness strategy:

(153) رضوى بنتي عاونيني من فضلك ناخذ الكتب للمكتبة (My daughter Radwa help me o take these books to the library).

Thus, in situation 6, characterised by power (P+), distance (D+), and the high cost of imposition, the most observed request type was the indirect one in both Algerian and Russian data, but Russian teachers tended to be more indirect than their Algerian counterparts. Similarly, Russians adopted more internal and external modifiers to soften the imposition.

Although the use of address terms was noticed more in Russian material, Algerians' most forms of address represent the collectivist nature of the country. Even in the formal context, teachers address their students using in-group identity markers such as *ولدي، بنتي* (son or daughter) to ask for their students' help as they ask their children.

The Algerians' directness and limited use of modifiers in this situation, even if the cost of imposition was high, stems from the nature of Algerian classroom standards, where teachers are always assigned high power and can perform requests without the fear of threatening their students' faces.

3.3.4. The impact of the cost of imposition on top-down context

In the second case, the request was made from the teacher (a high position) to the student (a low position), which is characterised by power distance and social distance, and the high cost of imposition.

Therefore, the Chart summarises all the teachers' requests throughout all the situations, considering the impact of the cost of imposition of teachers' requests.

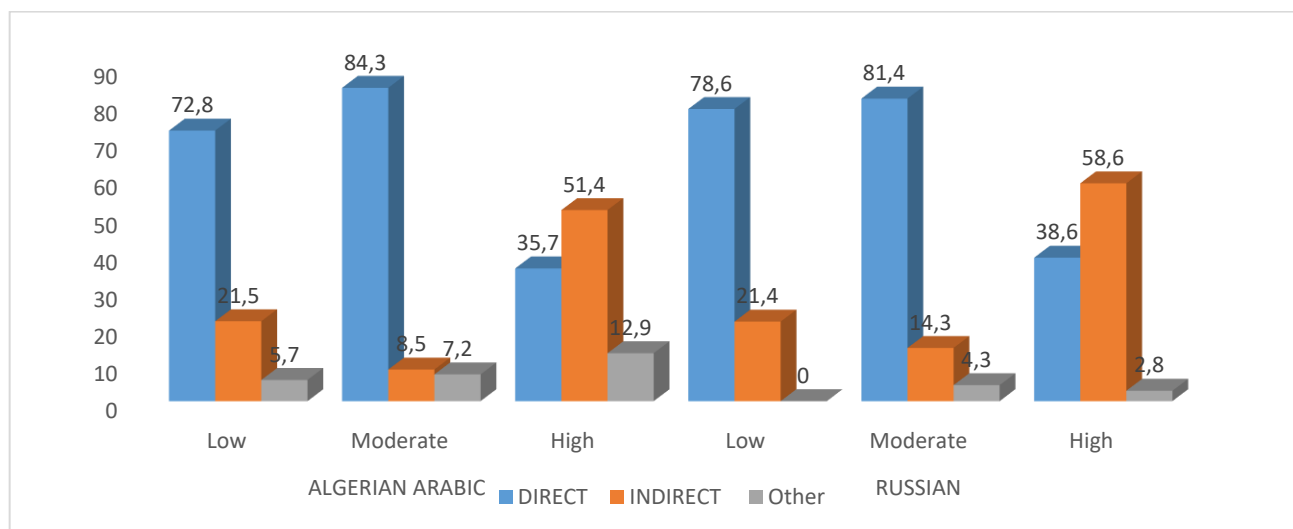


Figure 6. The impact of the cost of imposition on Algerian and Russian teacher's request to student

The findings reveal significant insights into the dynamics of power and politeness in teacher-student interactions in Algerian and Russian classroom settings. They indicate that both groups predominantly use direct requests when the speaker holds more power over the hearer, aligning with the hierarchical framework posited by Scollon and Scollon (1995, 2001). In scenarios where teachers (the speakers) exert

authority over students (the hearers), they exhibit a tendency to employ direct strategies. This suggests that the hierarchical relationship allows teachers to forego the mitigation of their pressure on students, especially in the Algerian context.

Interestingly, while direct requests are favoured, it is notable that teachers used conventionally indirect requests more frequently in only one of the three situations assessed. This implementation can be attributed to the varying costs of imposition associated with each request. Teachers can afford to be more direct when the imposition is perceived as low or moderate; however, when requests require students to extend their efforts beyond classroom obligations, such as taking books to the library, the nature of the request shifts. Here, the heightened cost of imposition leads to a divergence in strategies; Russian teachers opted for a more indirect approach than their Algerian counterparts, even in potential threats to students' faces. This preference among Russian teachers may indicate a culturally rooted inclination towards preserving politeness, even when occupying a position of authority, as well as the respect of students' individual autonomy.

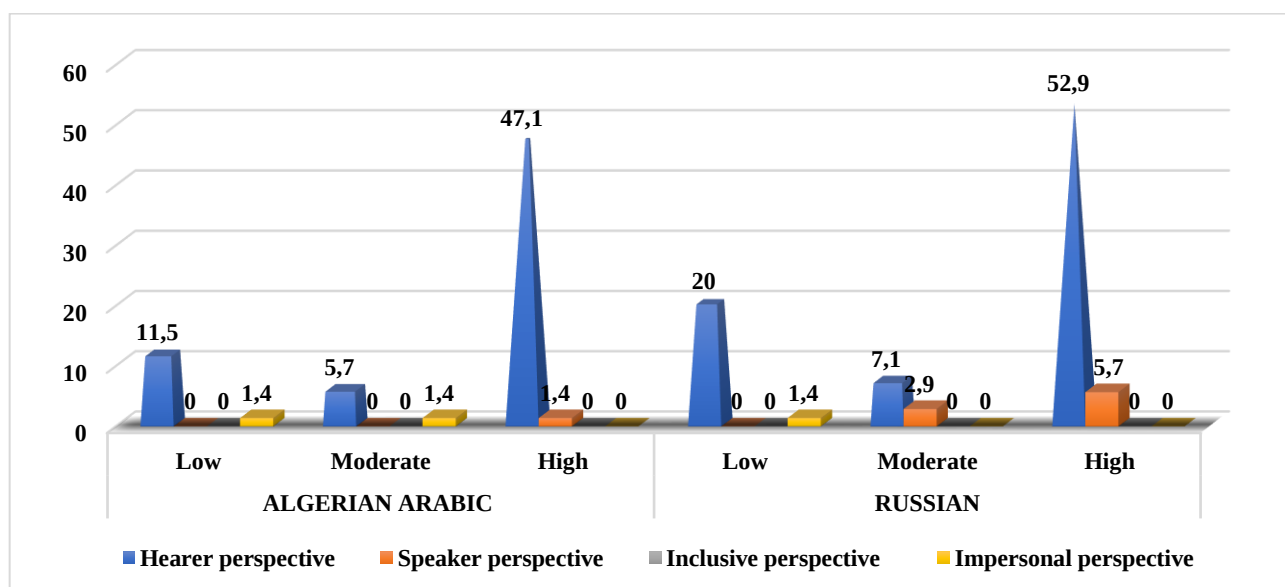


Figure 7: The impact of the cost of imposition on Algerian and Russian teachers' request perspectives

Both Algerian and Russian teachers relied extensively on the Hearer perspective in most of their indirect requests across varying situations; however, the Russian consistent use of the hearer-oriented perspective stems from their frequent use of indirect requests compared to their Algerian counterparts. Thus, the appearance of

more Russian hearer-oriented requests results from their use of more indirect requests compared to Algerians, who adopted more direct ones. The Russians' tendency towards the hearer perspective reflects the cultural nature where second-person address forms are considered more polite than first-person requests, suggesting an established sociolinguistic framework prioritising hearer agency. This tendency towards the hearer-perspective in Russian because speech acts second person are more polite than those requests in the first person (Rathmayr 1996: 22). Similarly, most of the Algerian indirect requests are performed in the second person in this case as the requester is a teacher who has more power over the requestee (a student); thus, he/she did not try to adopt more perspectives to lessen the level of the coerciveness of the request illocutionary force "avoidance to name the hearer as actor can reduce the form's level of coerciveness" (Blum-Kulka et al 1989: 19)

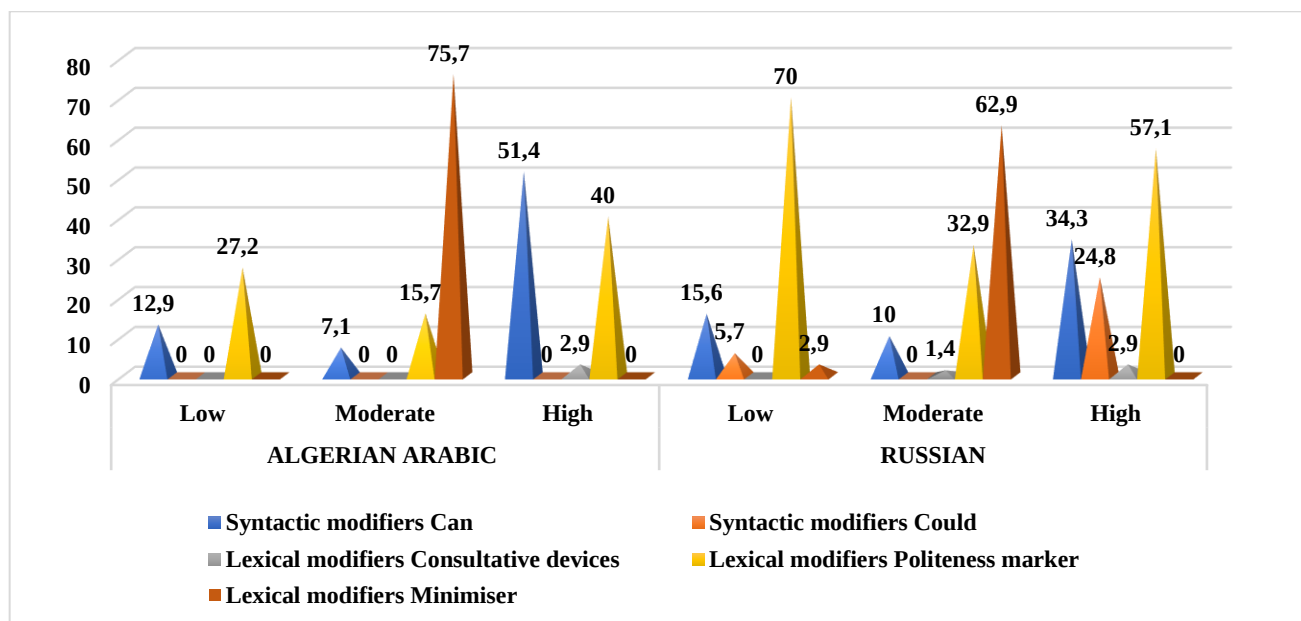


Figure 8. The impact of the cost of imposition on the teachers' use of internal modifiers

The analysis of the use of internal modifiers in Russian and Algerian teachers' requests to students revealed that the predominant politeness marker across both groups is 'please' (*пожалуйста*/ *من فضلك*). Unlike the previous situations, Algerian teachers did not use religious blessings to soften their requests, but they opted to use the softener 'من فضلك' (please). This can be explained by the fact that religious lexicons are mostly used in Arabic dialects (e.g. Algerian Arabic), and speaking

official Arabic is a must in a classroom context. Thus, the variation in usage points to broader cultural differences in the perception of politeness and face management.

Russians exhibit a pronounced reliance on the politeness marker *пожалуйста*, which serves as a critical tool for managing face in communications. This tendency is especially evident in high face-threatening situations.

In the first and second situations, the cost of imposition does not impact the teachers' use of the politeness marker. However, a marked shift is observed in the third situation, characterised by a high cost of imposition. Here, both groups increased their adoption of internal modifiers, highlighting a strategic response to the heightened risk of a face-threatening act.

Moreover, the analysis of syntactic downgrading reveals intriguing patterns. The modal verbs 'can' and 'could' are notably present in the first two situations without significant correlation to the degree of imposition. Yet, in the high imposition context of the third situation, both teacher groups leaned more on ability questions, with Russians showing a notable preference for these politeness-oriented constructions. This trend underscores the recognition of ability questions as particularly polite forms of request formulations and an adaptive strategy to mitigate potential face threats.

Russians further demonstrate a nuanced understanding of modality by strategically using the modal verbs 'can' and 'could'. This adaptive linguistic behaviour reduces the requests' directness while lowering the speaker's expectations regarding compliance. Such an approach is particularly relevant in the context of high imposition, where the potential for face threat is at its peak.

The overall findings suggest that requests that fall outside of the students' academic responsibilities, such as taking books to the library, demand more careful linguistic consideration to maintain politeness and avoid face-threatening implications. Interestingly, although both groups adopted modifiers and were more indirect with a high cost of imposition, mitigated requests were observed more in Russian data, and the impact of the cost of imposition was more influential on their requests.

The analysis of lexical downgrading strategies employed by the two groups revealed complex interrelations between cultural norms, situational dynamics, and linguistic choices in the educational context.

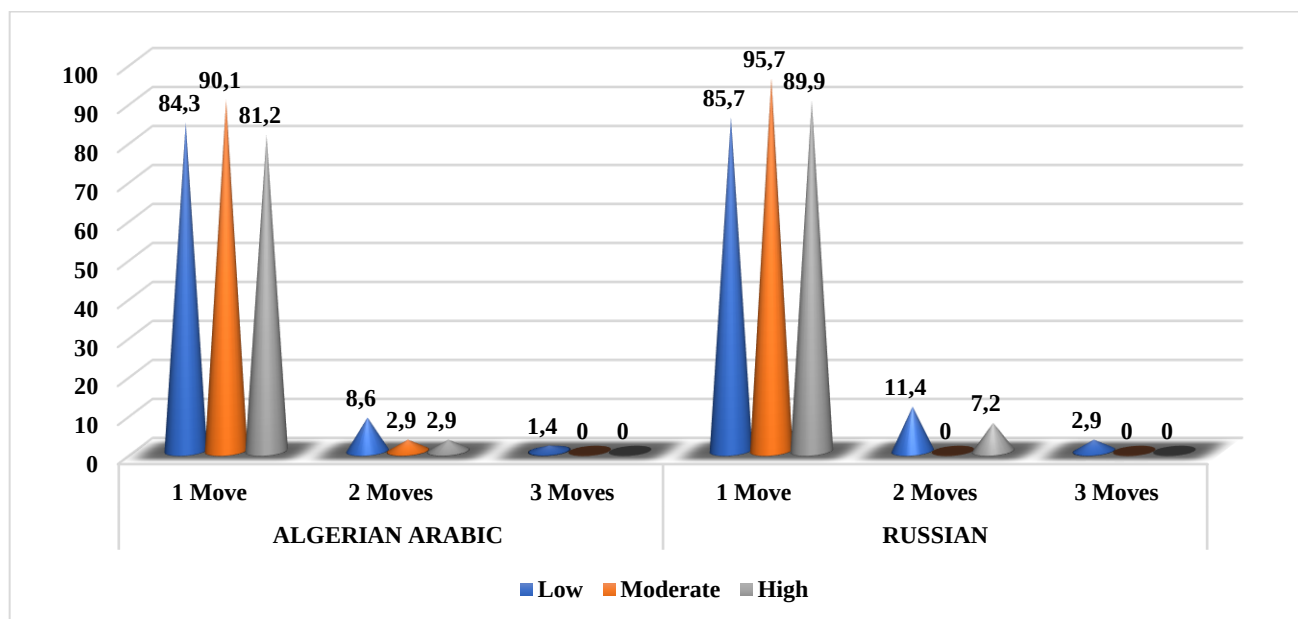


Figure 9. The impact of the cost of imposition on the length of students' request

Concerning the length of the request utterances, the results showed that throughout all the situations of teachers' requests, regardless of the degree of imposition, the short requests were the most used by both participant groups. However, among the supportive moves, the requests accompanied by grounders were the most used by Algerian and Russian teachers in the first situation, where the cost was low. Other moves are used more by Russians without giving concern to the cost of imposition. Thus, in this case of teacher-student requests, the cost of imposition does not play a significant role. We suggest that the teachers' high status enables them to perform the request without considering the possible threat to the hearer's face.

Hence, the analysis of the teachers-students requests showed that what really matters is the index of power and distance between the interlocutors; it is the one that governs teachers' performance of requests. Even though, in this case, teachers did not try to modify the request internally and externally to make their request more polite, the impact of imposition was only noticed in the third situation, as the request was outside of the students' classroom duties. The impact of imposition was mainly seen in

the Russian group, but with approximately the same impact on the request type as in the Algerian group.

Moreover, it was expected to see the impact of social variables more in the Algerian context because, in the Algerian classroom, teachers are highly respected and sacred in Islam, which gives the one who has knowledge a situation of prophets, according to the prophet Mohammed P.B.U.H saying that : (إِنَّ الْعُلَمَاءَ وَرَثَةُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِنَّ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ) : (لم يورثوا دينارًا ولا درهماً إنما ورثوا العلم فمن أخذه به فقد أخذ بحظٍّ وافٍ) to mean “The scholars are the heirs of the Prophets, if the prophets did not inherit dinars or dirhams, but inherited knowledge, whoever took it, he took a lot of luck”. Also, in Quran God said *يَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ* "الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ وَاللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرٌ" (سورة المجادلة، 11)

To mean (Allah exalts those of you who believe and those who have brought knowledge, and Allah knows what you do) (Surah Al-mujaddala, verse 11). Thus, teachers are not obliged to use too many modifiers or adopt indirect levels of request to be polite to their students and save face.

Although teachers have a high status in Algerian culture, addressing practices show their willingness to lessen distance and formality by displacing family address terms such as *بني* (my son, my daughter), which are in-group identity markers that reflect the country's collectivist nature. However, some teachers address other students with official terms such as *طالبة* (*student*) because of the official academic context and distant relations between the speaker and the hearer.

3.4. Case 3. Linear context: student's request to student

The third case was meant to elicit requests between classmates; the requester and the requestee attend the same class. In other words, this kind of relationship is symmetrical in contrast to the previous cases, as both interlocutors have equal power. As the interaction in this situation occurs between classmates, the social distance is approximately close. The only variable is the rank of imposition, which varies from low (request to borrow a pen), moderate (request to send the homework by email) and high cost (request to help with the homework).

3.4.1. Situation 3.1: Low cost of imposition

This situation is characterised by no Power (P-) nor distance (D-) and the low cost of imposition, as requesting a pen from a classmate does not require a significant effort.

The table below demonstrates the frequency of the Algerian and Russian students' request types and models in this situation.

Table 16: Requests from Algerian and Russian student to student: Low cost of imposition

TYPE OF REQUEST AND MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
Direct		33 (47.1)		22 (31.4)
Imperative		29 (41.4)		22 (31.4)
Bald imperative	اعطيني ستيلو (Give me a pen)	19 (27.1)		0
Softened Imperative	زميلتي اعطيني قلم من فضلك (My classmate, give me a pen, please)	10 (14.3)	Одолжи, пожалуйста, мне ручку (Please lend me a pen)	22 (31.4)
Want statement	اذا كنت ما تحتاجيهش باغية قلم زايد (I want an extra pen if you do not need it).	4 (5.7)		0
Indirect		37 (52.8)		48 (68.6)
Conventionally indirect		21 (30)		34 (48.6)
Questions with modal verbs		21 (30)		34 (48.6)
Can you	تقدر تمدلي قلمك؟ (Can you give me your pen?)	21 (30)	Можешь дать мне ручку? (Can you give me a pen?)	32 (45.7)
Could you		0	Мог бы поделиться со мной ручкой? (Could you share a pen with me?)	
With negation		0	Н мог бы ты одолжить мне ручку? (Could you lend me a pen?)	1 (1.4)
With softeners	نقدر ناخذمن عندك قلم من فضلك (Can I take from you a pen, please)	12 (17.1)	Можешь, пожалуйста, одолжить мне ручку? (Can you please lend me a pen)	18 (25.7)
S-oriented (Can I)	نقدر ندي من عندك قلم دقيقة ونردو؟ (Can I take from you a pen for a minute and turn it back?)	7.1	Могу я одолжить у тебя ручку? (Can I borrow a pen from you?)	2.9
H-oriented (Can you)	تقدر تسلفلي قلم من فضلك؟ (Can you lend me a pen, please?)	20	Можешь дать мне, пожалуйста, ручку на некоторое время? (Can you please give me a pen for a while?)	38.6
Inclusive (can we)		0		0
Impersonal (is it possible)	ممکن استعارة القلم؟ (Is it possible to borrow the pen ?)	2.9	Друг, можно взять ручку? (Friend, is it possible to take a pen?)	7.1
Non-conventionally Indirect		16 (22.9)		14 (20)

Hints Strong hints	قلم زائد من فضلك (An extra pen, please).	16 (22.9)	У кого есть лишняя ручка? (Who has an extra pen?)	14 (20)
Other		0 0		0
Total		70 (100)		70 (100)

The results showed that Algerian students preferred direct requests the most, with 47.1% choosing to be direct compared to only 31.4% of their Russian counterparts. Moreover, all Russian direct requests were performed as imperatives with softeners:

(154) *Дай мне пожалуйста ручку (Give me a pen, please).*

However, this strategy was used only by 14.3% of Algerian students, and 27.1% performed requests with bald imperative:

(155) *اعطيني ستيلو (Give me a pen).*

(156) *اعطيني قلمك من فضلك تا عي تكسر (Give me your pen please, mine has broken).*

The Algerian directness was also shown by adopting the want statement (5.7%), while none of the Russians used this strategy.

(157) *هاي صديقتي، باغية قلم زايد اذا كنت ما تحتاجيهش (Hi my friend, I want an extra pen if you do not need it).*

On the contrary, indirect requests were more frequent in the Russian material (68.6%) than in the Algerian material (52.8%). Conventionally indirect requests appeared to be the most frequent type of Russian request (48.6%). At the same time, only 30% of Algerian students adopted the same request type. As a negative politeness strategy, the conventional indirectness is performed by adopting interrogative constructions using ability questions with the modal verb "can" which was the only syntactic downgrader used by Algerian students (30%).

(158) *تقدر تمديلي قلمك؟ (Can you give me your pen?)*

In the Russian data, this type of request amounted to 45.7%; besides, some students used other syntactic downgraders, namely the modal verb *мог бы* (could) (1.4%) and negation *не мог бы* to reduce the directness.:

(159) *Мог бы поделиться со мной ручкой? (Could you share a pen with me?)*

(160) *Извини, не мог бы ты одолжить мне ручку? (Sorry, could you lend me a pen?)*

Although softeners in the ability questions were used more by Russians (25.7%) in comparison to Algerians (17.1%), 22.9% of Russians also used non-softened constructions, such as:

(161) تقدر تمديلي قلمك؟ (Can you give me your pen).

(162) Можешь дать ручку? (Can you give me a pen?).

(163) Можешь, пожалуйста, одолжить мне ручку (Can you please lend me a pen).

(164) تقدر ناخذمن عندك قلم من فضلك (Can I take from you a pen, please)

The ability questions in Algerian and Russian data were formulated mostly in a hearer-oriented perspective; however, Russian participants used this perspective more often (38.6%) and less by Algerians (20%).

(165) تقدر تسلفلي قلم من فضلك؟ (Can you lend me a pen, please?)

(166) Можешь дать мне пожалуйста ручку на некоторое время? (Can you please give me a pen for a while?)

What is remarkable in this situation is that Algerian students used the speaker perspective (7.1%) more often than in other situations, and it only appeared twice (2.9%) in the Russian data.

(167) ممكن ندي من عندك قلم دقيقة ونردو؟ (Can I take from you a pen for a minute and turn it back?)

(168) Могу ли я одолжить у тебя ручку? (Can I borrow a pen from you?)

The impersonal perspective was used by 2.9% of Algerian students and 7.1% of Russians:

(169) Друг, можно взять ручку? (Friend, is it possible to borrow a pen?)

(170) ممكن استعارة القلم؟ (Is it possible to borrow the pen ?)

In this situation, the non-conventional indirect requests were used frequently by both participant groups, approximately in the same frequency (22.9% of Algerian students and 20% of Russians), using the off-record strategy of strong hints:

(171) عندك قلم ثاني؟ (Do you have a second pen?)

(172) У кого есть лишняя ручка? (Who has an extra pen?)

Concerning lexical downgraders in this situation, such as the politeness markers ‘please’ (من فضلك / пожалуйста) or Arabic religious blessings “الله يحفظك، الله يسترلك، الله... يخليك، ربي يعيشك» (May God protect you, may God preserve you, may God give you long life...), they were used as lexical modifiers added to direct requests to bid for cooperative behaviour, more frequently by Russian students (57.1%) and less by their Algerian counterparts (31.4%). This might be explained by the fact that small favours

like requesting a pen from a classmate are not counted as face-threatening acts in Algeria.

Minimisers, which the speaker uses to minimise parts of the imposition, were used more often in Algerian requests (20%) than in Russian ones (17.2%). These minimisers are used to realise a negative politeness strategy to minimise the imposition.

(173) من فضلك حابة نسلف القلم غير شوية (Please, I want to borrow your pen **for a while**).

(174) جزاك الله خيرا حاب نسلف قلمك دقيقة (May God bless you. I want to borrow your pen **for a minute**.)

(175) Можешь дать ручку **на одну пару** (Can you give me a pen for one lesson).

(176) Можешь дать мне, пожалуйста, ручку на некоторое время? (Can you please give me a pen for a while?)

The use of external modifiers also modified the force of the request. Five subtypes of supportive moves (grounders, apology, and addressing) were identified.

Table 17: The distribution of supportive moves in Algerian and Russian requests

External modifiers	Algerian		Russian	
	Count	%	Count	%
Grounder	10	14.3	3	4.3
Apology	0	0	7	10
Apology+grounder	1	1.4	0	0
Addressing	6	8.6	8	11.4
None	48	68.6	49	70
Other	5	7.1	3	4.3
Total	70	100	70	100

The most frequent external modifier in Algerian data was grounder, used by 14.3% of Algerian students. In contrast, in the Russian material, they were used less frequently (4.3%). The grounders are used to mitigate requests by explaining to the Hearer why the speaker performs a face-threatening act:

(177) صاحبي، تكسر قلمي وما عنديش قلم ثاني اذا عندك واحد زايد تقدر تعطيهولي نكتب بيه (My friend, my pen has broken, and I do not have another one if you have an extra pen can you give it to me to write?)

(178) عندك ستيو زايد تسلفهولي، نتاعي نسيتو في الدار (Do you have an extra pen to borrow? I forgot mine at home).

(179) *Можешь, пожалуйста, дать ручка то моя сломалась* (Can you please give me a pen, as mine has broken).

(180) *Оля, у тебя есть ручка лишняя, я свою забыла* (Olia, do you have an extra pen, I forgot mine).

In contrast, Russians preferred to apologise before directing their requests because they were aware of a potential offence and threat to the H's negative face; they thereby adopted this supportive move, which in turn was classified as a negative politeness strategy of apologising.

(181) *Извини, не одолжишь ли ты мне ручку?* (Excuse me, could you lend me a pen?)

Although an apology was absent in Algerian data, 1.4% of Algerian students adopted two moves (apology+grounder) to intensify their politeness level, which was not observed in the Russian requests.:

(182) *اسمحلي نقدر نطلب منك ستيلو ونردهولك كي تكمل الحصة؟ نتاعي تكسرلي؟* (Excuse me, can I ask from you a pen and I will turn it back to you by the end of the class? Mine has broken).

Russian students used address terms more regularly (11.4%) than Algerian students (8.6%), and they mostly used first names. On the contrary, to emphasise common membership, Algerian students used specific address terms, including kinship terms *صاحبي، زميلي، زميلتي، خويا، اختي* (my friend, my classmate, my brother, my sister).

Thus, in situation 7 (P–, D–, R low), Algerian and Russian students used both direct and indirect types of requests. Still, the performance of the requests differs from one group to another. Direct requests were observed more in Algerian material, but most Russian students preferred to be indirect when requesting a pen from their classmates.

Even though borrowing a pen does not limit the Hearer's freedom or impose a high cost, Russians tended to soften their direct and even indirect requests more regularly than their Algerian counterparts. However, giving reasons for the performance of requests by using grounders was an attribute more typical of Algerian students than Russian ones, who preferred to apologise instead.

Because of Algeria's collectivist culture, addressing practices deviated from the family context to the classroom context, using in-group identity markers.

3.4.2. Situation 3.2: Moderate cost of imposition

In this situation, power and distance are equal, but the request to send the homework by email puts the hearer at a moderate cost of imposition.

Table 18: Requests from Algerian and Russian student to student: Moderate cost of imposition

TYPE OF REQUEST AND MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
Direct		43 (61.4)		29 (41.4)
Imperative		38 (54.3)		29 (41.4)
Bald imperative	ابعتھولي فالايمايل (Send it by email).	24 (34.3)	Скинь потом домашнее задание (Send later, the homework)	3 (4.3)
Softened imperative	ارجوك ابعت لي الواجب (Please send me the homework)	14 (20)	Отправь мне домашнее задание на почту, пожалуйста. (Send me the homework by email, please).	26 (37.1)
Want statement	انا رايحة نخرج عندي حاجة ضرورية وحاجة منك تبعثلي الواجب بالايمايل وشكرا (I am leaving I have an important thing and I want from you to send the homework by email and thank you).	5 (7.1)		0
Indirect		26 (37.1)		41 (58.6)
Conventionally indirect		25 (35.7)		40 (57.1)
Questions with modal verbs		25 (35.7)		40 (57.1)
Can you	تقدر تبعثلي الواجب بعد الحصة؟ (Can you send me the homework after the class?)	25 (35.7)	Можешь пожалуйста скинуть дз на почту? (Can you please send the homework by email?)	36 (51.4)
Could you		0	Мог бы ты прислать мне домашнее задание по почте? (Could you send me the homework by mail?)	1 (1.4)
With negation		0	Не мог бы ты прислать мне домашнее задание по почте? (Could you send me homework by mail, i)	3 (4.3)
With softeners	من فضلك مكن تبعثلي الواجب في الايمايل (Please, can you send me the homework on email)	7 (10)	Можешь, пожалуйста, скинуть мне что задали? (Can you send me the homework?)	19 (27.2)
S-oriented (Can I)		0		0
H-oriented (Can you)	تقدر تبعتلي الواجب (Can you send the homework?)	35.7	Можешь пожалуйста скинуть дз на почту? (Can you please send the homework by email?)	57.1
Inclusive (Can we)		0		0
Impersonal (Is it possible)		0		0
Non-conventionally Indirect		1 (1.4)		1 (1.4)
Hints Mild hints	لازم لو كان غير نلقا اللي يبعثلي الواجب نخرج (I hope I can find who can send me the homework I have to leave now)	1 (1.4)	Мне нужно уходить, и я не знаю, где я могу найти домашнее задание (I have to leave and I do not know where I can find the homework).	1 (1.4)

Other	ما نحبش نقولهم وانا علا بالي ماييغتوش	1 (1.4)	0
Total		70 (100)	70 (100)

The respondents of both cultural groups performed their requests in this situation directly and indirectly. However, the Algerian students again showed a tendency towards more directness (61.4%). 54.3% of Algerian students and 41.4% of Russians used direct requests as imperatives. Moreover, almost all the Russian students who used imperative softened their imperative utterance with the modifier *пожалуйста* (37.1%). While approximately the majority of Algerian imperative requests were performed without softening expression (34.3%):

(183) *ابعثهولي فالايمايل* (Send it by email).

(184) *Отправь мне домашнее задание на почту, пожалуйста.* (Send me the homework by email, please).

Moreover, Algerian data showed that besides imperative utterances, 7.1% of the Algerian students used the direct want statements, which were not observed in the Russian material:

(185) *انا رايحة نخرج عندي حاجة ضرورية وحاجة منك تبعثلي الواجب بالايمايل وشكرا* (I am leaving I have an important thing and I want from you to send the homework by email and thank you).

The findings reveal that Russian students adopted more indirect requests (58.6%) than their Algerian counterparts (37,1%). Table 18 shows that the conventionally indirect requests in both investigated groups were performed using questions with the modal verb 'can' (*можешь/تقدر*) (57.1% of Russians and 35.7% of Algerian students). This was the only adopted modal verb by Algerian students:

(186) *Можешь пожалуйста скинуть домашнее задание на почту?* (Can you please send the homework by email?)

(187) *تقدر تبعثلي الواجب بعد الحصة؟* (Can you send me the homework after the class?)

To be less direct, some Russian students adopted another negative politeness strategy of 'being pessimistic' by employing the verb 'could' (*мог бы*) in its positive (1,4%) and negative (4,3%) form:

(188) *Не мог бы ты прислать мне домашнее задание по почте, если не составит труда?* (Could you send me my homework by mail, if it is not difficult?)

(189) *Мне нужно будет досрочно уйти с пары, мог бы ты прислать мне домашнее задание по почте? (I will need to leave the class early, could you send me the homework by mail?)*

The indirect requests softened by the modifier (*пожалуйста/من فضلك* or religious blessings) also appeared more regularly in the Russian data (27.2%) than Algerian ones (10%). However, it was not uncommon that Arabic students used more than one modifier in the same utterance:

(190) *صاحبي العزيز السلام عليكم، راني مزروب نخرج عندي ظرف تقدر تبعثلي الواجب كي تروح الله يحفظك؟ (My dear friend, **peace be upon you**, I am in a hurry I have some circumstances, can you send the homework when you go back home, **may God protect you**).*

(191) *Можешь скинуть домашнее задание после пары, **пожалуйста**? (Can you send the homework after the class, please?)*

Both Algerian and Russian students adopted the hearer-oriented perspective of request in this situation.

The non-conventional indirect requests were not observed in Algerian requests and appeared just once in the Russian data (for more details, see Table 18).

As in the previous situations, Arabic and Russian equivalents of the politeness marker ‘please’, which serve as lexical modifiers, were predominantly used by Russian participants, where 64.3% of them used ‘пожалуйста’ (please) in their direct and indirect requests. While only 30% of Algerian students used the politeness markers of *من فضلك* which is equal to please or religious blessings with the same pragmatic function, such as “الله يجازيك” (May God bless you).

External modification, referred to as "supportive moves, used to modify the force of requests externally, was only used by 50% of Algerian and Russian students, and it was mostly as a grounder. Using a grounder to explain the reason behind requests, the speaker minimises imposition. Giving reasons was used frequently by Algerian and Russian students, with a slightly higher frequency in Russian requests (28.6% to 22.9%):

(192) *Оля, сможешь прислать мне свое домашнее задание, я пропустила занятие, хочу понять как делать (Olya, can you send me your homework, I missed the lesson, I want to understand how to do?).*

(193) *عندي ظرف ولازم نخرج من الحصة تقدر تبعتلي الواجب كي تكملوا؟* (I have circumstances and need to leave the class. Can you send me the homework when you finish?)

In this situation, 18.6% of Algerian students used the positive politeness strategy of 'in-group identity markers', addressing their classmates with the terms *صاحبي، زميلي، زميلتي، خويا، اختي* (my friend, my classmate, my brother, my sister). In comparison, Russian students (14.3%) used first names to address their classmates.

Similarly, in situation 08, the results showed that when there is no power and distance and the cost of imposition is moderate, Algerian students tended to use the direct requests more regularly (61.4%) than Russians, who gave some preference to the indirect ones (58.6%). In addition, Russian students used more internal and external modifiers by adopting softening expressions with both direct and indirect requests, besides using supportive moves as grounders to explain to their classmates why they needed to get the homework by email. However, in the Algerian context, even though some students modified their requests using politeness markers such as *ربي يحفظك، ربي يعيشك، من فضلك* (May God protect you, give you long life, please...) or other lexical and external modifiers, they were not very frequent in their requests. Most of them did not make many efforts to lessen the imposition because requesting a classmate to send the homework by email is not considered a threat among Algerian students.

3.4.3. Situation 3.3: High cost of imposition

Like the two previous situations of the third case, social power is equal and minimal, social distance is close, and the focus is on the cost of imposition, which is high in this situation as the request to help with the homework limits the H's freedom, needs some time and efforts, and thus threatens his/her negative face.

The Algerian and Russian data in this situation show that even though the request was performed from student to student, both groups used conventionally indirect requests the most. However, Russian students were more indirect than their Algerian counterparts since 65.7% of Russians adopted conventionally indirect requests compared to 58.6% of Algerians. Conventional indirect requests are performed using various strategies. The interrogative constructions were the most used

by both participant groups and more by Russians (65.7% of Russians and 58.6% Algerians) in the form of ability questions using the modal verb 'can' or 'could', which serve to realise the negative politeness strategy of 'being conventionally indirect' and 'being pessimistic' to save their classmates' negative face. The frequency of the Algerian and Russian students' request types is presented in the table below.

Table 19: Requests from Algerian and Russian student to student: High cost of imposition

TYPE OF REQUEST AND MODELS	ALGERIAN ARABIC		RUSSIAN	
	Examples	Count (%)	Examples	Count (%)
Direct		26 (37.2)		24 (34.2)
Imperative		16 (22.9)		23 (32.8)
Bald imperative	عاوني فالواجب (Help me with the homework).	8 (11.4)	Помоги мне с домашним заданием (Help me with the homework)	7 (10)
Softened imperative	جزاك الله خيرا، فهمني وش درتو البارح واجبات (May God bless you, explain to me the homework you did yesterday).	8 (11.4)	Помоги мне с выполнением домашнего задания, пожалуйста (help me to do the homework please)	16 (22.8)
Want statement	حاباتك تعاوني في بعض الواجبات (I want you to help me with some homework).	10 (14.3)	Мне нужна твоя помощь по поводу домашки (I need your help with homework).	1 (1.4)
Indirect		41 (58.6)		46 (65.7)
Conventionally indirect		41 (58.6)		46 (65.7)
Questions with modal verbs		41 (58.6)		46 (65.7)
<i>Can you</i>	تقدر تعاوني في الواجب من فضلك؟ (Can you help me with the homework please).	41 (58.6)	Можешь помочь мне в выполнении домашнего задания? (Can you help me with my homework?)	43 (61.4)
<i>Could you</i>		0	Мог бы ты помочь мне с этим заданием? (Could you help me with this homework?)	1 (1.4)
With negation		0	Не мог бы ты помочь мне с домашним заданием? (Could you help me with the homework?)	2 (2.9)
With softeners	الله يجازيك تقدر تعاوني في التمرين (May God grant you, can you help me with the exercise)	7 (10)	Пожалуйста, можешь ли ты помочь мне сделать домашнее задание (Please, can you help me to do the homework)	29 (41.5)
S-oriented (Can I)		0	Могу ли я попросить тебя помочь с домашним заданием? (Can I ask you to help with the homework?)	1.4
H-oriented (Can you)	تقدر تعاوني فالواجب (Can you help me with homework) (hearer perspective)	51.4	Можешь помочь мне с выполнением домашнего задания? (Can you help me to do the homework)	64.3
Inclusive (Can we)	نقدروا نتلاقوا في كانش بلاصة باش نقدروا نحلوا الواجب؟ (Can we meet in a place and so we can solve the homework?)	1.4		0
Impersonal (is it possible)	ممکن المساعدة في الواجب كنت غائبة وما فهمتش (Is it possible to help with the homework? I was absent and I did not understand ?)	5.7		0
Non-conventionally Indirect		0		0

Other		3 (4.3)		0
Total		70 (100)		70 (100)

Whereas the majority of 61.4% of Russian interrogative constructions were performed by using the modal verb *можешь* ‘can’ in its positive form and present tense, 58.6% of the Algerian students adopted the same construction:

(194) *تقدر تعاوني في الواجب من فضلك؟* (Can you help me with the homework please).

(195) *Могу ли я попросить у тебя помощь в выполнении домашнего задания?* (Can I ask you for help with my homework?)

Also, in Russian, another syntactic modifier was adopted to soften the performed head act, such as the negation, which was employed by 2.9% of the students:

(196) *Не мог бы ты помочь мне с домашним заданием?* (Could you help me with the homework?)

While most of the Algerian interrogative constructions (48.6%) were performed without softening expressions, only 24.1% of the Russian indirect requests were not softened, for example:

(197) *يمكن تساعدني في حل الواجب؟* (Can you help me to do the homework?).

(198) *Можешь помочь с домашним заданием?* (Can you help with the homework?)

Russians, on the other hand, accompanied the majority of their ability questions with softeners (41.5%):

(199) *Пожалуйста, могу ли я попросить у тебя помощь в выполнении домашнего задания?* (Please, can I ask you for help with my homework?)

These softeners appeared less in the Algerian data (10%), using softeners to mean please, such as 'من فضلك' or even religious lexicons, as in (200):

(200) *الله يجازيك حبيبي تقدر تعاوني في التمرين* (May God grant you, can you help me with the exercise)

In both Algerian and Russian data, the hearer-oriented perspective was the most used by the students; however, Russians showed a greater tendency towards this perspective (64.3%) compared to 51.4% of Algerians to request their classmates' help with the homework:

(201) Можешь помочь мне с выполнением домашнего задания, а то я пропустила занятие и не понимаю, как делать (Can you help me to solve the homework since I missed lessons and I do not understand how to do)

(202) تقدر تعاوني فالواجب (Can you help me with homework)

The speaker-oriented perspective appeared once (1.4%) in the Russian data and was not used by Algerians.

(203) Могу ли я попросить вас помочь с домашним заданием? (Can I ask you to help with the homework?)

On the other hand, the impersonal and inclusive perspectives were only seen in Algerian requests, as 5.7% of them adopted the impersonal perspective, and 1.4% used the inclusive one:

(204) ممكن المساعدة في الواجب كنت غائبة وما فهمتش (Is it possible to help with the homework? I was absent and I did not understand?)

(205) نتلاقاو في كانش بلاصة باش نقدروا نحلوا الواجب؟ (We meet in a place and so we can solve the homework?)

On the other hand, direct requests were adopted by both groups in approximately equal frequencies (37.2% of Algerians and 34.3% of Russian students) to request their classmates' help with homework. 32.8% of Russian students and 22.9% of Algerians used the bald imperatives, constituting the majority in the direct requests. However, most of the Russian imperative requests were softened with the politeness marker *пожалуйста* (22.8%), and only 10% were not softened:

(206) Помоги мне с выполнением домашнего задания, пожалуйста (Help me to do the homework, please).

(207) Помогимне, пожалуйста, с домашним заданием (Help me please with the homework).

The Algerian students used the imperative requests with and without softening expressions in equal percentages (11.4% bald imperative, 11.4% softened imperative):

(208) عاوني فالواجب (Help me with the homework).

(209) جزاك الله خيرا، فهمني وفي الواجبات اللي درتو البارح (May God bless you, explain to me the homework you did yesterday).

Also, other strategies were used to show the directness, such as the want statements used more by Algerians (14.3%), and only by one Russian student:

(210) حاباتك تعاوني في بعض الواجبات (I want you to help me with some homework).

(211) *Мне нужна твоя помощь по поводу домашки (I need your help with homework).*

In this situation, the non-conventional indirect requests did not appear in either participant's data.

The 'other' category appeared only in Algerian data where students refused to perform the request because it would threaten their faces:

(212) *لا أطلب حتى لو كنت مريضة، لأنني متحكممة في الدروس حتى وإن غبت (I will not request them even I am sick because I have control on my lessons even I was absent).*

(213) *ما نطلبش نعرفهم راح يديروا رواحهم ما علا بالهمش (I will not request I know them they will pretend they do not know).*

The politeness markers are the most used lexical devices by both groups, especially by Russian students. On the other hand, Algerians used more minimisers (11.4%) to minimise the imposition of the act, and 2.9% of Russians adopted 'minimisers' in their requests with their classmates to avoid the rejection of requests and to save the negative face as minimising the imposition is considered as a negative politeness strategy, for example:

(214) *من فضلك تقدر تعطيني لمحة صغيرة على الدروس اللي ما حضرتش (Please can you give me a **brief glance** on the lessons I did not attend).*

(215) *تقدر تعطيني دقيقة من وقتك تشرحلي فيها الواجب؟ (Can you give me a **minute** from your time to explain the homework).*

(216) *Ты бы смог мне вкратце объяснить домашнее задание? (Would you be able to briefly explain your homework to me?).*

Students used to modify the imposition of requests externally by giving reasons, apologising, minimising the cost and using preparators as follows:

Table 20: The distribution of supportive moves in Algerian and Russian requests

External modifiers	Algerian		Russian	
	Count	%	Count	%
Grounder	35	50	28	40
Apology	0	0	3	4.3
Apology+grounder	0	0	2	2.9
Addressing	7	10	11	15.7
None	25	35.7	26	37.1
Other	3	4.3	0	0

Total	70	100	70	100
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The results showed that the most frequent external modifier in both groups was grounder, but more repeatedly by Algerians as 50% of Algerian students compared to 40% of Russians preferred to justify the reason behind the request to get the Hearer's agreement for help, and it is considered a typical positive politeness strategy.:

(217) *Можешь объяснить мне тему, пожалуйста. Я ничего не понимаю* (Can you explain to me the topic please. I do not understand anything?).

(218) *Я пропустила эту тему и не понимаю. Ты бы мог помочь мне с домашним заданием?* (I missed this topic, and I do not understand. Could you help me with the homework?).

(219) *ابعتلي الحل فالماسنجر والله مافهمت فيه والو* (Send me the answer in messenger. I swear I did not understand anything).

(220) *تقدر تعاوني في هذا الواجب كيعاد كنت مريض وما حضرتش الدرس* (Can you help me with this homework because I was sick and missed the lesson?)

While none of the Algerian students apologised before performing the request, three Russian requests (4.3%) show that they feel sorry about the imposition and the threat that their request may cause to his/her negative face:

(221) *Извини, могу я попросить у тебя помощь в выполнении домашнего задания?* (Sorry, can I ask you to help with my homework?)

Similarly, only Russians (2.9%) preferred to adopt two pragmatic moves using apologies beside grounders to explain why they were obliged to make the request, for example:

(222) *Извини, я пропустил несколько занятий, можешь помочь мне сделать домашнее задание* (Sorry, I missed many lessons, can you help me to do the homework?)

Concerning addressing as another external modifier, a similar tendency was observed. Address terms were adopted more by Russian students (15.7%), who used mostly the first name or nickname to address their classmate, with a few examples of *друг* 'friend'. 10% of the Algerian students addressed their classmates with the kinship terms 'اختي', 'خويا' (sister, brother) in addition to *صاحبي* (friend), to highlight their close relationship and belonging to the same group. Thus, they used 'in-group identity markers' as a positive politeness strategy.

The high cost of imposition in the last situation pushes both Algerian and Russian students to adopt indirect requests more than direct ones. However, indirectness was observed more regularly in the Russian data than in the Algerian data, where fewer modifiers were adopted to request students' help with the homework. Russian students considered the imposition that the performed request may cause on the hearer and thus utilised internal modifiers such as the politeness marker 'пожалуйста' (please) with direct and even indirect requests. Also, syntactic downgraders such as the modal verb *можешь* 'can' was adopted more by Russians, whereas 'could' which is more polite than the present tense 'can' (Marcjanik 1997) was only observed in the Russian requests also with negation. Although the supportive move 'grounder' was adopted more by Algerian students, Russians tended to use other modifiers more (apology or two moves apology+grounder).

3.4.4. The impact of the cost of imposition in linear contexts

This section summarises the results with a focus on the impact of the cost of imposition on students' requests in linear contexts.

Figure 10 shows that in the linear context, the request was made from a student to another classmate with equal power distance (symmetrical) and social distance (close relationship). Similar to previous cases, the imposition varies depending on the cost of the threat the request imposes on the H's face.

The impact of the cost of imposition throughout all the situations of student-student request is presented in Chart 10.

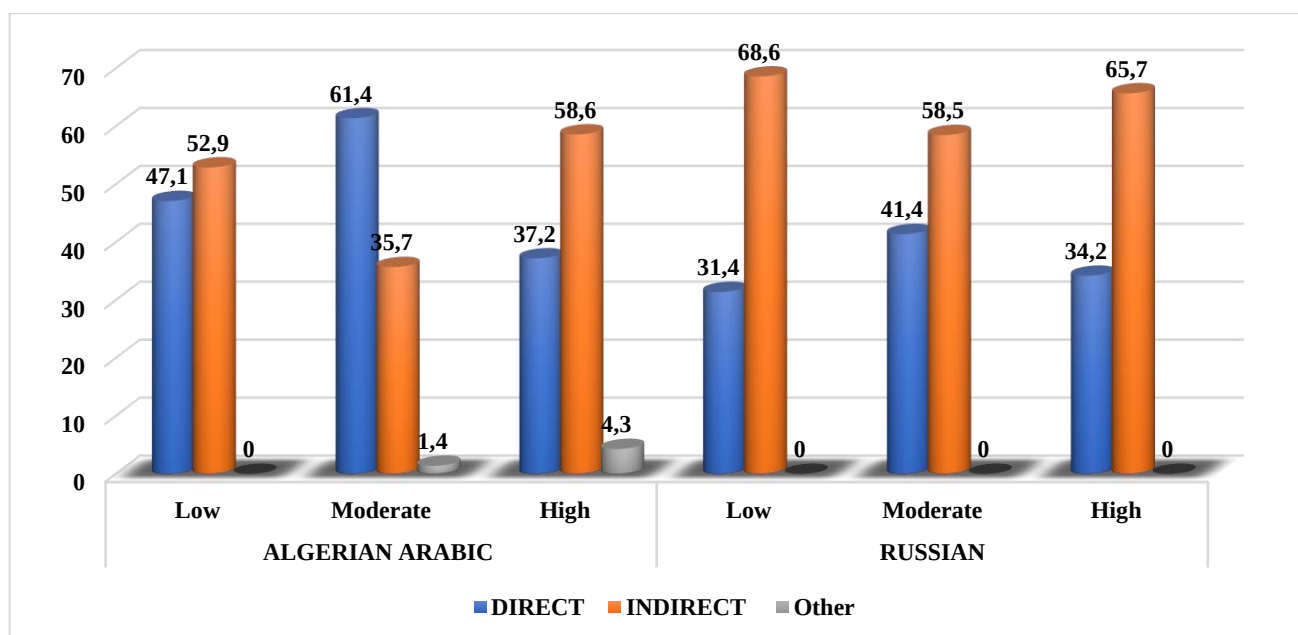


Figure 10. The impact of the cost of imposition on Algerian and Russian student's request to student

The findings of the classroom requests made by Algerian and Russian students to other classmates demonstrate considerable similarities and differences in the impact of social dynamics, power, distance, and rate of imposition in each classroom context. The results indicate that the indirect requests were more predominant in the Russian group data, whereas Algerians were more direct throughout all the request situations. These findings support previous research in Arabic cultures, which proved the directness of requests, mainly when the request is performed between friends or family members (Abdul-Sattar et al. 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie 2010). The Russian indirectness seems surprising as indirectness is advised in formal conversations (Rathmayr 1994: 266), not in informal contexts between friends or classmates. However, our findings showed that even in low-cost imposition, such as requesting a pen from other classmates, the indirectness was noticed more in Russian requests.

Interestingly, in Algerian context, while Algerian students prefer direct requests, indirectness was observed in high-cost imposition requests because asking another classmate to help with the homework requires effort from the Hearer. However, the tendency towards indirect requests noticed in both groups' data was not meant to avoid threatening the H's face but to ask about another pen's availability and waiting for the

Hearer's response to request to borrow the pen. This construction is well-known in classroom contexts between classmates.

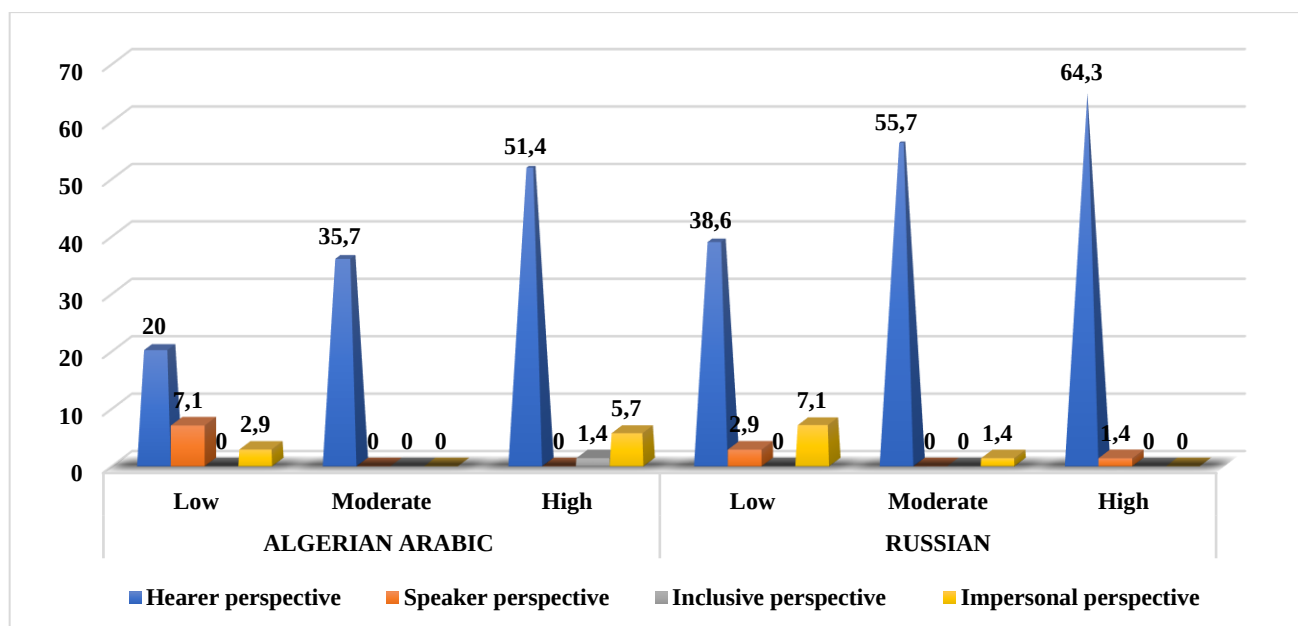


Figure 11. The impact of the cost of imposition on Algerian and Russian teachers' request perspectives

The hearer-oriented perspective was the most used request perspective, especially by Russian participants. Although the hearer perspective was also predominant in Algerian requests, other perspectives, such as the speaker, inclusive, and impersonal perspectives, were adopted. This seems surprising, as what is known about Algerian students is their direct, hearer-oriented request perspectives with other classmates, especially in case of small favours.

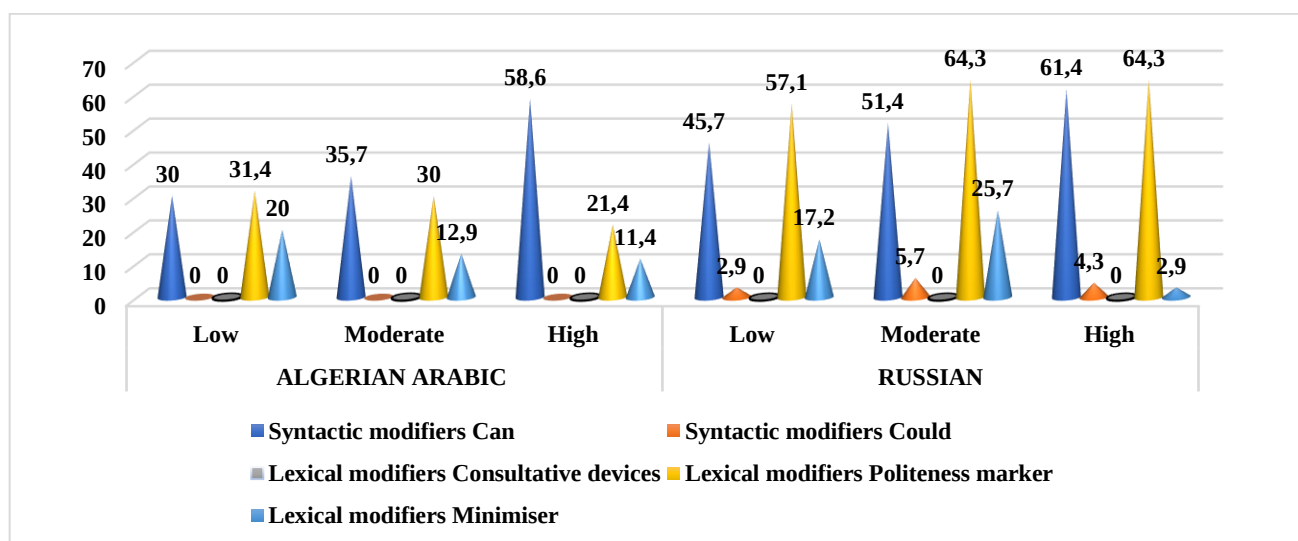


Figure 12. The impact of the cost of imposition on Algerian and Russian students' use of internal modifiers

Figure 12 shows that Russian students used the modal verb 'can' more than their Algerian counterparts. The use of this syntactic downgrader was impacted by the degree of imposition in each situation in both groups, as it was used less in the first situation when the cost was low and a little bit with the moderate cost of imposition, and it was used repeatedly in the third situation, characterised by a high degree of imposition.

Only Russians adopted the modal verb 'could' to soften their requests, especially in the second and third situations, as the cost of imposition was moderate or high; thus, it was used more because it is the preferred tense by Russians to lessen the level of directness (Ogirmann 2009).

Also, in this case, Politeness markers were the most adopted lexical downgraders, especially by Russians; however, the impact of imposition on the use of the politeness markers was noticed only in the Russian requests, as they are used less in the first situation and more in the second and third situations with moderate and high degrees of imposition.

Minimisers were used more by the Algerian students in the first and second situations, but they were noticed more in the Russian requests in the third situation. The use of minimisers in both groups was not governed by the degree of the imposition of the performed request.

Similar to the previous case, the cost of imposition has a greater impact on the Russians' use of lexical downgrades to soften and perform polite requests, whereas it does not have a great influence on the Algerians' use of this kind of modifier.

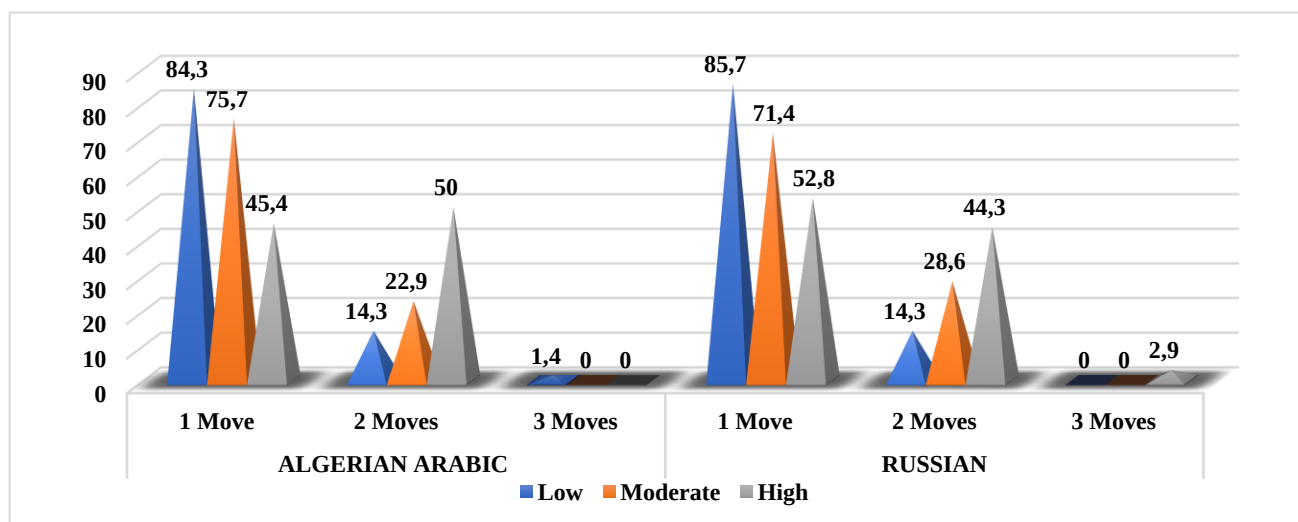


Figure 13. The impact of the cost of imposition on the length of students' request

Figure 13 shows that the short request (1 move) was the most used by both groups in this case of student-student request with equal power and no distance, but the cost of imposition does not highly impact the length of the students' request in all the situations. However, the results show that the request was shorter when the cost was low in the first situation than in the second and third situations with moderate and high degrees of imposition. The degree of imposition was approximately the same in the first situation as both student groups adopted either requests with grounders or requests with apologies (2 moves), and just one adopted three moves (request+ grounder+ apology) in the Algerian data. With the moderate cost of imposition, the impact was observed more in the Russian requests by accompanying requests with grounders than in their Algerian counterparts, who adopted shorter requests. The impact of imposition was obviously noticed in the third situation when the student asked his/her classmate to help with the homework, which requires time and effort from the Hearer and thus threatens his/her face. For this aim, both groups' requests were accompanied by grounders, especially the Algerians. In contrast, Russians preferred either to apologise before requesting or to use long requests by apologising and giving reasons for their requests.

Thus, the impact of the cost of imposition was approximately the same on both groups' requests; however, in this case, short requests, characterised by equal power and no distance, were the most preferable.

Because in this case the social power is equal and distance is short, Algerians did not opt to many address terms. Still, the most common address forms, such as friend, my colleague, my brother, my sister, stem from the Algerian Islamic nature, where Muslims are brothers and sisters and are always in need of each other, which was not noticed in Russian addressing practices, where first names and nicknames are the most used. The Algerians' tendency to use fewer modifiers (internal and external) to soften their requests, in this case, stems from the fact that what matters for the Algerians is the power and distance, which are equal in this situation, and the softening can be taken only in case of the high cost of imposition. At the same time,

the findings revealed that in Russian culture, all three social variables, including the cost of imposition, impact the students' performance of requests.

Conclusion

Throughout the present chapter, requests made by Algerian and Russian students and teachers were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively, with the implementation of discourse-pragmatic and sociocultural analysis, to determine the influence of socio-cultural variables on the choice of politeness strategies and request type. We focused on three parameters of social context — power distance (PD), social distance (SD) and the rank of imposition (R) — and examined them in three contexts of Algerian and Russian classroom: bottom-up context (student's request to teacher), top-down contexts (teacher's request to student) and linear context (request among students).

The analysis showed that the choice of the type of request (direct or indirect) and politeness strategies in both cultures was determined by the social variables of power, distance, and rank of imposition, which were perceived differently. This is observed in terms of the choice of request types, the mitigating devices, and the politeness strategies adopted by each group according to their assessment of power, distance, and cost of imposition.

Algerian and Russian data contained both direct and indirect requests. However, Algerian participants showed a greater tendency towards direct requests in all the situations considered, while the Russians tended to be more indirect, even in communication between students. We suggest that these differences can be explained by a higher power distance and a shorter horizontal distance in Algerian culture compared to the Russian one.

The Algerian culture is known as a high-power distance society where the education is teacher centred and the relationship between students and their teachers is unequal because of the religious and the cultural heritage in the country which gives birth to three relationships governed by respect and power and viewed as the most important: God-human, Father-child and Teacher- student relations (Berrezoug 2021: 8). Thus, it seems logical that the established hierarchy of relationships and the high status of teachers give them the right to use a more direct style of communication with students. Russian teachers, in contrast, performed more indirect requests with their

students, which stems from the culturally rooted inclination towards preserving harmony and politeness even in the case of high status and authority, besides the teachers' willingness to respect the students' autonomy, which led to a shift towards a student-centred education system. A less hierarchical system in the Russian academic context stems from a less pronounced power distance (vertical distance). Still, at the same time, a formal communication system resulted from a more significant social (horizontal) distance (Zhou 2025).

On the other hand, though both Algerian and Russian students mostly performed their requests to the teacher indirectly, direct requests in this context were accepted in the Algerian classroom. This may be due to the use of softening expressions, especially the religious markers and address terms (Bouferrouk 2024). When referring to God in a request, even if it is imperative, the hearer accepts it because he will do it for the sake of God, who will reward him by getting good health, protection, long life, etc. Furthermore, the address terms students use help soften the imposition by establishing distance and respect and drawing boundaries between the requester and requestee (Dendenne 2017).

Directness was also observed more in Algerian students' requests to other classmates, which is not seen as impoliteness but reflects connectedness, familiarity, and friendship (Atamna 2016). Also, the religious blessings and kinship address terms (*brother, sister*) that show solidarity and closeness softened the students' directness. Thus, in the Algerian context, directness is not seen as a threat when it is softened, and to do a favour for another Muslim is not seen as an imposition because of the Islamic teachings that require Muslims to be in need of each other because they are brothers and sisters.

On the other hand, Russian students lean towards indirectness, even in low-cost imposition, such as requesting a pen from other classmates. Although indirectness is more known in formal contexts (Rathmayr 1996), conventional indirect requests are frequently used in Russian culture (Ogiermann 2009b), even in a linear interaction context. The indirectness in the Russian culture reflects the country's new tendency

towards Western culture and individualism, especially among the younger generation (Larina et al. 2017a, b).

Thus, in interaction with their teacher and each other, Russian students maintain some level of distance when addressing requests. This may suggest that social (horizontal) distance is more pronounced in the Russian culture compared to Algeria.

The impact of the third variable, the cost of imposition, was more remarkable in the Russian data than in the Algerian one. When the cost of imposition was high, Russians adopted indirect requests by using more mediating devices, even when the request was performed from student to student who had equal power and distance.

The analysis revealed differences in the use of mitigators between the two groups. Since the Russians have shown a more pronounced tendency towards indirect requests, it was anticipated that they would use a wider range of internal and external methods to mitigate them and soften the illocutionary force of the request.

This was observed in (1) a more frequent use of *please* (*пожалуйста*), which was regularly observed both in direct and indirect requests; (2) in the use of the modal *could* (*не могли бы*), which was not observed in the Algerian material; (3) the frequent use of long requests by accompanying requests with grounders or apologies or both of them.

Algerians, in contrast, were more direct in their requests, which was reflected in their limited use of internal and external modifiers. The majority of their direct requests are softened by religious blessings to soften the performed face-threatening act using expressions such as (*الله يحفظك* / *May God protect you*) to minimise the cost of the request. This corroborates Tobbi's (2019) results, which revealed that religious expressions were used intensively in Algerian speech acts instead of 'please' to reflect solidarity and religious belonging.

External modifiers are also used less frequently than Russians. They mainly adopt grounders to explain the reason behind requests and address terms that indicate respect and distance when requesting teachers and closeness and intimacy when teachers and students utilise family address forms such as 'son, daughter, brother, and sister'.

Regarding the adopted politeness strategies, Russians showed a higher tendency towards ‘negative politeness’, such as “being conventionally indirect, being pessimistic, apologising, and minimising the imposition”, Algerians showed their preference towards ‘positive politeness’ (using in-group identity markers, giving or asking for reasons and giving gifts to the hearer) besides some negative politeness strategies in some situations, such as using titles and honorific expressions when addressing teachers and by being conventionally indirect. Algerians also used the ‘bald on record’ direct strategy more often than Russians, using bald and softened imperatives.

In sum, the findings suggest that social/horizontal distance is more pronounced in Russian requests. In the Russian classroom, respect is prioritized, and boundaries are required in teacher-student interaction (Zhou & Larina 2024).

In Algerian classroom discourse, power dynamics are more considered, with a tendency to establish respect and solidarity depending on the context of the interaction. In an asymmetrical context, boundaries are set using mitigating devices such as honorific expressions and titles when addressing people of higher status (teachers), besides other softening expressions, especially religious lexicons that save face in all contexts. In a symmetrical context or when teachers addressed other students, solidarity was manifested through their repeated use of kinship terms that establish closeness and belongness, which convey politeness and soften the performed requests. Therefore, the Algerian high collectivist and religious nature helped to lessen the threat of the performed speech act and mitigate the face.

The findings also suggest that since Algerian culture, as well as other Muslim cultures, is based on interdependence rather than independence, the speech act of request is less face-threatening, by its nature, and asking for something or to do something for someone is often taken for granted, rather than perceived as an imposition. The Russian style of communication is becoming more distant due to the movement of the Russian culture towards individualism, where independence and personal autonomy seem to be valued more than interdependence and solidarity.

In sum, these nuanced differences in communicative styles underscore the importance of understanding cultural contexts in language use. In light of these observations, the subsequent discussion will synthesise the key findings of this research and explore their implications for communication across these two distinct cultures.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The exploration of foundational theories of politeness illuminates how politeness facilitates effective communication and helps manage social relationships. The study of politeness as a socio-cultural and socio-pragmatic phenomenon revealed that politeness is a multifaceted area that draws not only on linguistic forms but on a set of cultural values and attitudes, social roles and norms; thus, it combines both linguistic and sociocultural levels. Politeness is the product of the interplay between the individual choices of language and the cognitive evaluation of the surrounding social context during communication. In other words, it is not merely a set of linguistic rules but an essential navigating mechanism of social relationships.

The discursive approach to politeness has expanded the theoretical framework by incorporating the context and the hearer's perspective into the field of research. It showed that politeness is a universal and at the same time culture-specific communicative category which functions as a complex socio-cultural and socio-pragmatic phenomenon, intricately intertwining linguistic forms with cultural values and social norms. Cross-cultural discursive studies of politeness reinforced the idea that politeness is shaped by cultural factors such as social organisation and values, which guide the choice of politeness strategies and shape ethnocultural communicative styles.

This study specifically highlighted how the perception of politeness varies significantly between Algerian and Russian cultures, influenced by their distinct societal structures. Algeria's collectivist orientation, deeply rooted in Islamic teachings, fosters a high level of respect for age and status, while Russian society, though respecting elders, leans towards valuing individual autonomy and personal choice. These cultural distinctions manifest in the preferred politeness strategies within classroom discourse, suggesting that communication styles are significantly shaped by cultural context. The interplay between linguistic forms and cultural values emphasises the role of politeness as a mechanism for maintaining social relationships and minimising conflict. This foundational understanding expands into the discourse on speech acts, particularly requests, as highlighted in Chapter 2, where the Speech

Act Theory underscores the performative nature of language. In studying requests, the research illustrates valuable insights into the multifaceted relationship between politeness and requests within the framework of speech act theory. It establishes that requests function not only as means of communication but also as social acts that influence interpersonal dynamics. By framing requests as face-threatening acts, the study underscores the importance of employing politeness strategies to mitigate their impact on the hearer's autonomy.

Searle's classification of direct and indirect speech acts is a key contribution to pragmatics. He proposes that when performing direct speech acts, the speaker's locution aligns with the intended illocutionary force, whereas in indirect speech acts the literal meaning differs from the intended one. The exploration of distinction between direct and indirect speech acts reveals how indirect requests can play a crucial role in showing politeness and maintaining social harmony. Searle considers request an indirect speech act when speakers convey their message without stating them explicitly by using indirect requests to maintain politeness and social harmony.

The study challenges this idea by exploring various types of requests and strategies used to perform them in different cultures and showing how cultural norms and expectations influence the choices between direct and indirect requests. Exploring the cross-cultural perspective of requests, it becomes evident that requests serve a universal function, albeit with cultural variations in their realisation. Each culture's unique perception of politeness, shaped by its values and practices, influences the performance of requests. The Arabic and Russian contexts are highlighted, with a particular emphasis on the Algerian one, to illustrate how societal norms shape the understanding of politeness and performance of requests.

The study focused on request in Arabic and Russian classroom settings and hypothesised that the two cultures, with their different cultural and social aspects of Power, Distance, and Rank of imposition, would encounter different politeness strategies in performing classroom requests. Hence, the present research aimed to identify and contrast the politeness strategies employed in requests within Algerian and Russian classroom discourse, and to determine how socio-cultural variables

influence their choice, interpreting the observed differences through the lens of culture and cognition. The study focused on three key social parameters: power distance (PD), social distance (SD), and rank of imposition (R), examining their influence in various classroom contexts, including requests from students to teachers, teachers to students, and requests among peers in an attempt to answer the thesis's main research questions:

- 1) To what extent do the request types used by Algerian participants differ from those of the Russian speakers?
- 2) To what extent do social power, distance, and imposition rank affect their choice? Moreover, which one is the most dominant?
- 3) What are the possible culture-specific features that characterise requests in each language?

Our quantitative and qualitative analyses, conducted through the lens of discourse-pragmatic and sociocultural frameworks, revealed the following.

Algerian and Russian participants demonstrated some similarities in performing requests; however, differences were often observed in most requests regarding the type of request (direct vs. indirect), the choice of politeness strategies and mitigation tools.

Algerian and Russian participants performed requests both directly and indirectly. However, Algerian participants showed a greater tendency towards direct requests in all the situations considered, while the Russians tended to be more indirect, even in communication between students. Russians applied negative politeness strategies, internal and external modifiers to mitigate imposition more regularly, they used a broader range of modifiers, including apologies and politeness markers, showcasing their tendency to lessen the impact of requests.

Furthermore, study argues that directness and imposition in Request do not necessarily contradict politeness, which can be expressed through other linguistic means, such as the pronominal Vy ('vous') form of address in Russian, kinship terms and religious formulas in Algerian Arabic, which not only signify a sense of religious affiliation but also serve a pragmatic function in showing politeness. Thus, the findings challenge the Anglo-centric perspective that equates requests with indirect

speech acts, showing that directness and politeness are not mutually exclusive and can be realized through culturally specific linguistic resources.

The results revealed that both participant groups varied their request types, strategies, and perspectives according to such social variables as Power, Distance and Rank of imposition. However, the impact of these variables varied. In the Algerian classroom, requests were more affected by the index of power, whereas in the Russian group, the most significant factor seemed to be the cost of imposition, although power and distance were also observed to have an impact. In contrast, the cost of imposition appeared to be less influential in Algerian culture, while solidarity and power dynamics demonstrated their high importance in the Algerian academic context.

The revealed differences are arguably due to a greater vertical distance, hierarchical structure and a high status of teacher in Algerian culture, which prescribes straightforwardness in top-down relations. At the same time a less pronounced horizontal distance allows straightforwardness in linear relations and, to some extent, even in bottom-up relations. Algerian culture also emphasises closeness, interdependence, family orientation and solidarity. Russian discourse reflects a different balance of social variables putting more emphasis on formality and students' autonomy.

This study highlights the interplay between power relations, cultural norms, and the cost of imposition in shaping linguistic politeness strategies in teacher-student interactions. It underscores the importance of contextual factors in influencing how speakers navigate requests, revealing a complex landscape of communication that varies not only across different educational environments but also between cultural frameworks. The findings serve as a critical reminder of the delicate balance that must be maintained in situations of authority and the vital role that cultural perceptions play in effective communication.

The study emphasises the benefits of a discursive approach to studying politeness, which allows us to interpret the revealed differences through the context, specifying the influence of various social and cultural variables on the performance of the request speech act, and refine existing theoretical perspectives and approaches. This approach

not only enhances our understanding of cross-cultural communication differences, but also significantly broadens the explanatory scope of existing models of politeness, emphasizing its vital role in language use.

Ultimately, the study emphasises the intricate relationship between language, culture, cognition and communication, providing new data of the performance of the speech act of Request in two different cultural contexts. This research thus provides theoretical refinement and practical insights essential for sociolinguistics, cross-cultural pragmatics, discourse analysis, contrastive linguistics, cultural studies, as well as second language teaching and effective intercultural communication.

At the same time the study has some limitations.

First, the study was conducted with a small number of participants from only a few universities. In order to generalize the results, more participants from different regions should be included.

Additionally, while the DCT has several advantages for studying speech acts, such as the amount of data collected and the comparability of responses, other methods of data collection, such as recording natural communication, may provide more accurate insights. Recording natural communication would allow researchers to see not only what informants say they would do in a given situation but also what they actually do.

For future research, other speech acts could be explored in line with the current findings, or the same act could be studied by varying the sample based on factors such as gender, year of study, or other variables.

Thus, future research could build on the current study by using a larger number of participants from different regions, using different tools and dimensions, and exploring other speech acts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Algerian Arabic DCT questionnaire

سأكون شاكراً لكم إن قبلتم أن تمنحوا لي بضع دقائق من وقتكم للإجابة عن هذا الاستبيان الذي يهدف إلى جمع معلومات عن أنماط الطلب في الخطاب في القسم الجزائري.

ملاحظة: هذا الاستبيان ليس اختباراً من أي نوع؛ فسلوككم اللغوي هو كل ما يهم، وإجاباتكم ستساعد كثيراً في إتمام بحثي.

في المكان المناسب في ما يلي: X يرجي ملء الفراغات أو وضع

*العمر: _____ الجنس: مذكر: _____ مؤنث: _____

*الجنسية: جزائرية: _____ أخرى: _____

*الجامعة: _____

*المهنة: _____

من فضلك أجب الآن عن الأسئلة بالطريقة التي تبدو لك طبيعية أكثر في هذه المواقف؟

أسئلة الاستبيان:

*الحالة الأولى: التفاعل بين الطالب والأستاذ

الموقف الأول:

ما سمعتش واش قال/ت الأستاذة/ة. تريد أن تطلب منها / منه التكرار.

واش تقول؟

.....
.....

الموقف الثاني:

حاب تطلب من الأستاذة/ة يبعثلك الواجب بالايمل.

واش تقول؟

.....
.....

الموقف الثالث:

غبت على الدروس كي كنت مريض وحاب تطلب من أستاذة/ة استشارة. واش تقول؟

.....
.....

الحالة الثانية: التفاعل بين الأستاذ والطالب

الموقف الرابع:

الأستاذة/ة حاب يطلب من تعالود اجابتك.

واش يقول/تقول؟

.....
.....

الموقف الخامس:

الاستاذة/ة حابك/حابتك تبعث الواجب بالايمل .

واش يقول/تقول؟

.....

.....

الموقف السادس:

الاستاذة/ة حاب/ة يطلب منك تعاونو/ها تدي الكتب للمكتبة.

واش يقول/تقول؟

.....

.....

الحالة الثالثة: التفاعل بين الطالب والطالب

الموقف السابع:

تكسر لك ستيوك وحاب تطلب من زميلك/زميلتك ي/تسلفك قلم.

واش تقول؟

.....

.....

الموقف الثامن:

حاب تخرج قبل ما تكمل الحصة، وحاب تطلب من زميلك/زميلتك ي/تبعثك الواجب بالايمل.

واش تقول؟

.....

.....

الموقف التاسع:

كنت مريض وغبت على الحصص، وحاب تطلب من زميلك/زميلتك ي/تعاونك في الواجب.

واش تقول؟

.....

.....

Appendix 2: Russian DCT questionnaire

Я была бы признательна, если бы вы уделите мне несколько минут вашего времени, чтобы ответить на этот вопросник, который направлен на сбор данных о запросах в русском классном дискурсе. Не могли бы вы заполнить пробелы или поставить крестик в соответствующем месте в следующем.

Примечание: этот вопросник не является каким-либо тестом, ваше языковое поведение - это все, что имеет значение, и ваш ответ очень поможет в завершении моего исследования.

В соответствующем месте следующего, пожалуйста, заполните пробелы или поставьте X.

- **Возраст:** _____ **Пол:** М: ____ :Ж ____
- **Национальность:** русский: _____ Другое _____
- **Университет:** _____
- **профессия:** _____

Не могли бы вы теперь ответить на вопросы так, как вам кажется наиболее естественным в подобных ситуациях? Говорите столько или так мало, сколько сочтете нужным.

• Первый случай взаимодействия студента и преподавателя:

Ситуация 1:

Вы не слышали, что сказал преподаватель. Вы хотите попросить ее /его повторить. Что бы вы сказали?

.....
.....

Ситуация 2:

Вы хотите попросить своего преподавателя прислать вам домашнее задание по почте. Что бы вы сказали?

.....
.....

Ситуация 3:

Вы были больны и пропустили несколько занятий. Вы хотите обратиться за консультацией к своему преподавателю. Что бы вы сказали?

.....
.....

• Второй случай взаимодействия преподавателя и студента:

Ситуация 4:

Преподаватель хочет, чтобы вы повторили свой ответ. Что бы он/она сказал/а?

.....
.....

Ситуация 5:

Преподаватель хочет, чтобы вы отправили ей / ему ваше домашнее задание по почте. Что бы он/она сказал/а?

.....
.....

Ситуация 6:

Преподаватель хочет, чтобы вы отнесли ее / его книги в библиотеку. Что бы он/она сказал/а?

.....
.....

• Пример третий - взаимодействие студента со студентом:

Ситуация 7:

Ваша ручка сломалась. Вы хотите попросить у своего одноклассника ручку на некоторое время. Что бы вы сказали?

.....
.....

Ситуация 8:

Вам нужно покинуть класс до его окончания. Вы хотите попросить своего одноклассника прислать вам домашнее задание по почте. Что бы вы сказали?

.....

.....

Ситуация 9

Вы были больны и пропустили несколько занятий. Вы хотите попросить своего одноклассника помочь вам сделать домашнее задание. Что бы вы сказали?

.....

.....

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Definition
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realisation Patterns
DCT	Discourse Completion Task
FTA	Face Threatening Act
PD/P	Power
SD/D	Distance
R	Rank of imposition
AA	Algerian Arabic
CP	Cooperative Principle
GSP	Grand Strategy of Politeness
PP	Politeness Principle
SA	Speech Act
S	Speaker
H	Hearer
MPs	Model Persons
Afs	Address Forms