ВОДЕЩА ТЕМА НА БРОЯ: *ЕКСПЕРИМЕНТАЛНИ ПОЛЕТА В ЕЗИКА И ЛИТЕРАТУРАТА*

Mohammed Nasser Abdulsada, Balsam Yousef Yacoub
POLITENESS MAXIMS IN SAAD AL-HARIRI'S AND FRANÇOIS HOLLANDE'S SPEECHES ON REFUGEES

Мохамед Насър Абдулсада, Балсам Юсеф Якуб
МАКСИМИ ЗА УЧТИВОСТ В РЕЧИТЕ НА СААД АЛ-ХАРИРИ И ФРАНСОА ОЛАНД ОТНОСНО БЕЖАНЦИТЕ

This study explores the politeness maxims implied in two refugee-centric speeches given by Lebanese prime minister Saad Al-Hariri and French president François Hollande. Drawing on Leech's (1983) six-maxim politeness approach, the study aims at recognizing these maxims, describing their forms, and uncovering the intended purposes. The research, additionally, elaborates on sympathy as a key element in the pragmatic analysis of the two speeches sampled for analysis. To do so, a careful investigation of the words, phrases, and sentences is conducted so as to sort and highlight all sympathetic forms. Then, a brief comparison is made between the two speeches in terms of sympathy and politeness. To do so, a qualitative methodology is followed in the analysis, where frequencies are reached. First, the research introduces the preliminaries of the study as to the definition of key terms, elaborates on politeness, draws on Leech's politeness theory, and reviews a few related studies. Then, a sample of two speeches is chosen, analyzed, and investigated for politeness. Finally, the paper reaches a few conclusions and findings, in addition to some further studies. The paper finds that the two speeches under study are very sympathetic towards refugees and that the relevant references carry multiple forms of politeness maxims. The paper, also, reports a noticeable difference between the Arab discourse and the European discourse concerning refugees and their suffering.
Keywords: *Politeness; Pragmatic maxims; Refugees; Sympathy; Political discourse; Political speeches.*

Статията изследва максимите за учтивост в две речи, отнасящи се за бежанците, изнесени от ливанския премиер Саад Ал-Харири и френския президент Франсоа Оланд. Въз основа на подхода за учтивост на Лийч (1983), състоящ се от шест максими, изследването има за цел да разпознае тези максими, да опише техните форми и да разкрие техните цели. Освен това статията обсъжда състраданието като ключов елемент в прагматичния анализ на двете подбрани за анализа речи. За целта се провежда внимателно проучване на думите, фразите и изреченията, така че да се подредят и подчертаят всички форми на състрадание, след което се прави кратко сравнение между двете речи по отношение на състраданието и учтивостта. За целта се използва квалитативна методология на анализа, която води до достигане на честоти. В началото изследването въвежда предварителната информация за проучването по отношение на дефиницията на ключовите терми-

 * Мохамед Насър Абдулсада – ас., Департамент по английски език, Педагогически колеж, Университет на Уасит, Ирак, malsharhani@uowasit.edu.iq.

 ** Балсам Юсеф Якуб – инструктор, Педагогически колеж, Университет на Уасит, Ирак, balsamyousef@gmail.com.

ни, обсъжда учтивостта, позовава се на теорията за учтивостта на Лийч и прави преглед на няколко свързани проучвания. След това се избира извадка от две речи, анализира се и се изследва по отношение на учтивостта. Накрая статията стига до няколко заключения и констатации, в допълнение към някои проучвания, и установява, че двете изследвани речи са много състрадателни към бежанците и че съответните препратки носят множество форми на максими за учтивост. Статията също така съобщава за ясна разлика между арабския и европейския дискурс относно бежанците и тяхното страдание.

Ключови думи: *учтивост; прагматични максими; бежанци; състрадание; политически дискурс; политически речи.*

1. Introduction

People need language to communicate and form connections. So language becomes the main mode of communication. Language allows individuals to express themselves, share knowledge, laugh with others, and order others to perform things. Taylor and Taylor (1990) said that language is a system of signals used to communicate. Using language, whether spoken or written, individuals convey their thoughts and ideas. In everyday conversation, language becomes a vital vehicle for conveying and receiving meaning. People utilize spoken language to communicate effectively. Their words have a deeper significance beyond the plain meaning. This is due to the context of the words.

2. Background and Theoretical Foundations

Levinson and Brown's (1978) concept of politeness held that a face has two aspects: positive and negative. It happens when someone wants to be liked, accepted, regarded, and acknowledged. A negative face is the desire to be unhindered and to act as one pleases (Brown, Levinson 1978). According to Lakoff "societies create politeness to avoid personal friction" (1977: 64). The same definition is given by Leech (1980). Leech added that politeness "may be quantified in terms of the degree of effort invested towards avoiding a conflict scenario" (1980: 19). Leech also posited that "Acknowledging others' autonomy and preventing interference (negative politeness) while encouraging closeness and admiration (positive politeness)" (1980: 24).

Numerous scholars in the 1970s and 1980s believed that "politeness" influenced language choice and relational meaning negotiation. Lakoff (1973), Brown & Levinson (1978), and Leech (1983) were early and significant contributors to the study of politeness. These academics suggested that there are not only syntactic criteria that define sentence grammaticality but also pragmatic norms that determine proper language usage (Locher 2012). In addition, Lakoff (1973) and Elen (2001) have investigated the concept of politeness. According to Lakoff, politeness is "a framework for interpersonal connections" (1977: 88). According to Watts (2003), societies develop politeness to reduce conflict in personal contact, which leads one to feel that conflict in personal contact is undesirable. Politeness is one way in which communities develop methods to reduce conflict. Consequently, politeness is a set of principles for cooperative behavior (Mirza 2017).

People may harm or endanger another's face, according to Levinson et al. (1978). Their theory of politeness is a complicated framework for softening aggressive behaviors. Conversely, a "Face-Threatening-Act" is one that threatens to destroy or harm someone's appearance (Erbert, Floyd 2004: 325–327). Elen (2001), on the other hand, likened politeness to a coin, saying that a coin has two aspects.

A positive politeness strategy is one that appeals to the hearer's (H) need to be accepted and appreciated, according to Khattab (2010). In positive face, interactants demonstrate persistent positive self-image or personality (Fraser 2005). Everyone wants to be attractive". Unlike the obvious on-record method, this strategy shows respect for the recipient. This strategy helps close friends to bridge social gaps. Disputes are positive-face threatening acts, according to Brown & Levinson (1987).

3. Related Literature

Several studies have previously investigated refugee crises and suffering in various parts of the world through different modes, methodologies, and approaches. Schweitzer et al. (2005) explored the

status of the prejudicially treated refugees in Australia. The questionnaire-based study highlighted the refugee-related risks and conditions, including public opinion, prejudice, media, public acceptance, and anti-migration views. Schweitzer et al. posited that there is a variation among Australians regarding refugees and immigrants and whether their presence amounts to a threat.

Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016) examined how the Greek, German, and British online media have covered the refugee wave in Europe. The findings stated that the media in three nations depicted the refugees' situation in different terms. Additionally, the shaky EU-Turkey deal and the mismanagement of the refugee issue contributed to the worsening of the refugees' conditions, and therefore the changing portrayal of the refugee image in media.

Sabouni (2018) analyzed the status of Syrian refugees living in the United Kingdom by conducting an all-need analysis of refugees' necessities and requirements. Sabouni concluded that the trip of the Syrian refugees into Europe involved multiple psychological, emotional, and physical barriers, obstacles, and impairments.

Haider and Olimy (2018) researched the image of refugees, asylum-seekers, and immigrants in the state-run Jordan News Agency (PETRA). Using a corpus of Arabic newspaper reports published between 2012 and 2016, the study revealed a remarkable shift in sentiments on refugees and migrants.

Öztürk and Ayvaz (2018) examined popular attitudes and feelings on the globally popularized, humanity-touching crisis of Syrian refugees in many Turkish- and English-posted tweets using sentiment analytics. The study concluded that most Turkish-posted tweets reflected compassion, emotionality, and pro-refugee stances, while most English-posted tweets were neutral and anti-refugee.

Galyga et al. (2019) elaborated on the media-framed representations of refugees and migrants in the mainstream European media. The study identified a five-country rhetorical representation underlying discourse and semantic levels. Galyga et al. found that the language of the press may alter persons' and administrations' perspectives on crucial subjects and occurrences such as immigration and refugees.

Ashby (2020) investigated sympathy debated in Canadian newspapers over illegals' children held in immigration facilities. The study uncovered pro-immigrant sympathy in selected politically and ideologically different news articles. Ashby's study found that these newspapers used framing and hedging as linguistic tools to attract public compassion toward illegal immigrants.

The present study is similar to the above-mentioned studies. It is, however, different as well. It investigates refugees' suffering through a comparison between Arab and European political discourse. It is, also, concerned with sympathy as a key theme. The tool follows a six-maxim model of politeness.

4. The Statement of Research

This research focuses on refugees' suffering by analyzing two sympathy-enriched speeches, one given by the former Lebanese prime minister Saad Al-Hariri and another by the former French president François Hollande. The research, also, draws on differences and similarities in politeness maxims used in the said speeches. To address these different sub-themes, two research questions are formulated:

1. Which politeness maxims (PMs) were used in the two speeches?
2. How do the two speeches reflect on refugees' suffering through sympathy?

5. Data, Source, and Limitations

The data chosen for analysis are two refugee-centric speeches given by two different politicians, the former Lebanese prime minister Saad Al-Hariri and the former French president François Hollande. The two speeches were reproduced from the relevant sources along with the other information, as detailed in Table (2) below. 25 excerpts were chosen for analysis; 12 excerpts by the Lebanese prime minister and 13 excerpts by the French president. This paper is limited to the above-mentioned speeches, with an emphasis on refugee-centric sympathy contained therein following Leech's (1983) politeness model (6 maxims of politeness were chosen). These two politicians' speeches were chosen because they are representative of the refugees' suffering, they carry a considerable amount of sympathy towards refugees, France and Lebanon have been the most tolerant countries in treating, aiding, and supporting refugees, and they imply different senses of politeness.

Table (1) Sample information

#	Speaker	Nationality	Position	Date	Source
1	Saad Al-Harairi	Lebanese	Prime Minister	September 7, 2015	https://youtu.be/njkLBfLhcyk
2	François Hollande	French	President	February 1, 2018	https://youtu.be/ pH4cAoau4PQ

6. Methodology, Approach, and Procedures

The research is qualitative in nature, which means that percentages and frequencies are not only derived but are also elaborated on. The approach is pragmatic politeness, following Leech's (1983) maxims of politeness. To accomplish this research, these steps are followed:

1. Choosing two political speeches on refugees; downloading, transcribing, and annotating them.
2. Adopting a model of analysis.
3. Analyzing the two speeches by sorting refugee-sympathetic sentences.
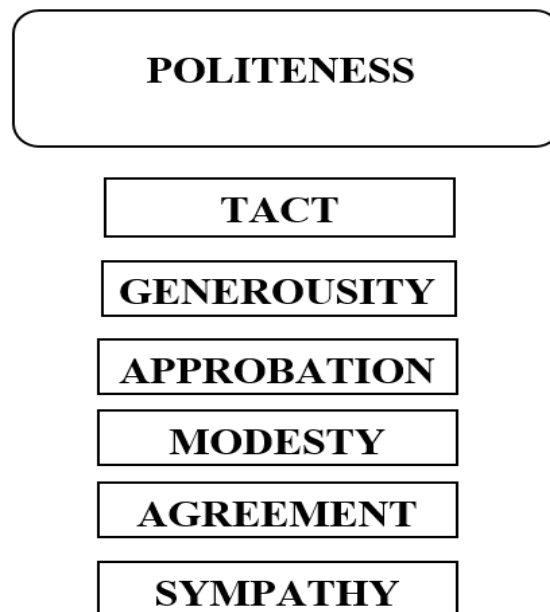4. Reaching conclusions and findings.

Figure (1) The model of analysis following Leech (1983)

7. Analysis

The analysis of the two speeches is conducted in terms of maxims, namely, politeness maxims (PMs). These are tact, generosity, approbation, agreement, and sympathy maxims.

1. The Tact maxim strives to reduce the expense to others while maximizing their gain (Leech, 1983). It is more concerned with the hearer than with any other speaker, which is applicable for impositive or commissive phrases.

For instance, if I could explain this (Leech 1983).

2. The generosity maxim aims at maximizing self-benefit while minimizing self-cost. It is directed toward the speaker. It is exclusively used in impositive or commissive phrases, such as in the following:

You relax while I take care of the dishes (Leech 1983).

3. The approbation maxim reduces criticism and increases the admiration for the speaker. It is used to compliment people. It is not applicable to declarative or expressive phrases (Leech 1983). That is better than praising others or being quiet, for instance:

Jan, I'm sure you're a genius — could you please explain how to solve this math problem? (Leech 1983).

4. The Modesty maxim refers to the practice of minimizing self-praise and increasing self-criticism. It is not applicable to declarative or expressive phrases. For instance:

I'm so foolish — I forgot to take notes throughout our talk! Have you? (Leech 1983).

5. The Agreement maxim decreases conflict between oneself and others and increases agreement between oneself and others. It is appropriate for aggressive statements.

I do not want my daughter to accomplish this; rather, I wish for her to do that (Leech, 1983).

6. The sympathy maxim decreases hostility toward others and maximizes affection for others. It is relevant solely to affirmative phrases:

Teacher: Alice. I'm hoping it won't be too long until she reverts to her normal self. The compassion maxim conveys the teacher's concern for Alice.

PMs

The Analysis of Saad Al-Hariri's (henceforth SH) Speech

The Sympathy Maxim

Extract 1

"Seven years Lebanon has been hosting all these refugees and this is one family."

The sympathy maxim, according to Leech (1983), increases self-other empathy and decreases self-other hostility. SH applauds the fact that refugees in Lebanon live together as a family unit.

Extract 2

"One family tiny and I think Lebanon has shown hospitality like no country has shown"

SH commends Lebanon for hosting refugees in a manner that no other nation does.

Extract 3

"We believe in human rights, in humanity, and in the right of refugees to return to their own country."

As a consequence, SH indicates that they will continue to shelter refugees. He provides the impression that he sympathizes with refugees' right to return to their homeland.

Extract 4

"We believe that what is happening in Syria is something exciting or a conflict that has led to a large number of victims and has led the Syrian people to despair."

SH commends the fact that what is occurring in Syria caused the Syrian people to despair.

Extract 5

"We should create help jobs a good thing, but what we should see is that our brothers are working to earn a living."

SH refers to refugees as brothers as a consequence.

Extract 6

"But I firmly believe that whoever these refugees live in dignity, and that their children go to school so that a new generation of Syrians will be able to return to their country to contribute to building it."

SH refers to refugees' longing to return to their homeland.

Extract 7

"I hope we see more smiles on the faces of these refugees. Thank you to everyone."

SH asserts that the time has come to address the issue of refugees and assist them in returning to their homeland.

The Tact Maxim

SH Speech

Extract 1

"So we are here today to make sure that launching a CRP project or initiative is for the benefit of the refugees and the host community as well."

The tact maxim of politeness seeks to minimize the discussion of ideas that indicate harm to others while maximizing the presentation of viewpoints that imply a benefit to others. SH lowers the cost to others by saying that the benefit of the refugees outweighs the cost to others, and he increases the value to others by claiming that this direct help and the benefit of the host community outweigh the cost to others.

Extract 2

"Our doors will remain open, but we will ask you more and more, and we will pressure you more and more for the interests of the refugees and for the interests of the host community."

SH reduces the cost to others by arguing that the benefit to refugees outweighs the cost to others. This is by stating that this direct assistance and benefit to the host community surpasses the cost to others.

Extract 3

"We should not fail, this will be a disgrace to us in the year two thousand and eighteen in this twenty-first century."

SH minimizes the cost to others by reducing our response, and maximizes the benefit to others by considering what may happen in the future.

The Generosity Maxim

SH Speech

Extract 1

"My government has always looked at this issue and strives to do more, as all the ministers, the United Nations, all the ambassadors, all the donors who have worked with us."

This extract demonstrates an abundance of the generosity maxim. SH applies the generosity maxim of politeness, which is dedicated to minimizing self-profit via the creation of the appearance that Lebanon is committed to addressing the refugee issues. Additionally, since resolving such a problem is complex, this maxim is focused on minimizing the expense to other nations.

Extract 2

"but I tell you that we are much better than some countries that do not allow these refugees into their country. We at least opened our doors, and at least we saw Elias among the victims of this conflict."

SH adheres to the PMs of generosity, which is devoted to limiting self-profit by creating the illusion that Lebanon is committed to resolving refugee issues. Additionally, given the complexity of addressing such a crisis, this maxim is geared toward reducing the cost to other countries.

The Analysis of François Hollande's (henceforth FH) Speech

The Generosity Maxim

Extract 1

"Thousands of refugees on the way to Europe on the European roads a lifeless child washed in the Turkish shore."

This extract demonstrates an abundance of generosity. FH employs the generosity maxim of civility, which is devoted to minimizing self-profit by creating the illusion that France is committed to resolving the issues of immigration. Additionally, given the difficulty of resolving such a dilemma, this maxim is devoted to minimizing the cost to Turkey.

Extract 2

"It is France's duty to offer asylum. The French flesh is a matter of history reason why we have this responsibility."

FH is dedicated to minimizing profit to self by showing that it will be France's duty to offer asylum. Furthermore, since it is difficult to work on such a problem, this maxim maximizes their responsibility.

Extract 3

"A history that have been match by generations of refugees who have come to France of the past decades in order to build the country together."

FH is committed to maximizing self-profit by demonstrating that it is France's obligation to grant shelter. Additionally, while working on such an issue is tough, this maxim is committed to maximizing their duty, which has been matched by generations of refugees who have migrated to France over the last years.

The Sympathy Maxim
FH Speech
Extract 1

"A matter, the symbol of three thousand who have perished on the martialing waters since the beginning of the year."

According to Leech (1983), the sympathy maxim promotes self-other empathy and reduces self-other hostility. FH indicates that since the start of the year thousands of migrants have died in martialing waters.

Extract 2

"I welcome this it is got to be organized in serious and dignified manner and in order to do that the minister of the interior will be meeting those males concerned next today."

FH praises the serious and polite way in which asylum seekers are welcomed.

The Tact Maxim
FH Speech
Extract 1

"This is why faced with the strategy with this critical situation I have proposed together with Angela Merkel, a mechanism standing, binding mechanism to let refugees into countries and this reputes this a fit among all of the European countries."

The tact maxim of courtesy attempts to limit the presentation of ideas that suggest the cost to others while promoting the presentation of ideas that imply a benefit to others. FH minimizes the cost to others by proposing a mechanism with Angela Merkel, the German chancellor. To address this critical situation, FH states that this reputes a fit for all the European countries.

Extract 2

"The European Commission is proposing all shall soon propose that 120000 refugees be distributed and resettled over the next two years."

FH minimizes the expense to others by asserting that it is our duty to follow all regulations and maximize the value to the European Commission since these regulations are intended to aid refugees.

Extract 3

"I believe that France's committed we will do it because this is a proposal that we are seen be forward that we want to see adopted by all Europeans."

FH reduces the expense to others by stating that France is dedicated to doing so, and he maximizes the benefit to others by approving it by all Europeans.

Extract 4

"Many males, many communities, many associations, many churches, and private individuals, I already providing such shelter to asylum seekers."

FH minimizes the cost to others by stating that it is our responsibility to implement all policies in order to ensure their realization and maximization of benefit to others, as these policies are for the benefit of refugees.

Extract 5

"It is an overall response and in order for you to effectively protect our countries, we need border controls."

FH minimizes the cost to others by claiming that we are the ones in need of direct protection and maximizes the value to others by claiming that this direct protection is being given for the benefit of refugees and Europe.

Extract 6

"This is one condition that must be made for the external borders of Europe to be protected that is also to be sure that we will come to the refugee's humanity."

FH reduces the expense to others by protecting Europe's external borders, and he maximizes the benefit to refugees.

Extract 7

"we must give massive humanitarian assistance to countries, to associations, to the high commissions of the refugees."

FH minimizes the cost to others by declaring that we are the ones in need of direct protection and maximizes the value to others by stating that this direct protection and assistance is offered for the benefit of refugees.

Extract 8

"We must also work on the countries of the origin and the countries of transit in order to set up sentences that may welcome those who are flaming from the reasons."

FH reduces the expense to others by establishing a sentence that may welcome people who are enraged for any reason, and he maximizes the benefit to others by establishing a genuine policy framework.

8. Results and Discussion

The current study has investigated two political speeches (SH and FH) in terms of PMs. In SH's speech, the sympathy maxim is the dominating tactic (64.71%) followed by the tact maxim (23.53%), whereas in FH's speech, the tact maxim is prevalent (72.22%) followed by the generosity maxim (16.67 %). SH used the generosity maxim in 11.76% of the cases, whereas FH used the sympathy maxim in 11.11% of the cases.

Thus, concerning SH, he favored the sympathy maxim to other forms of politeness because he was more likely to foster sympathy between self and other and aid in the alleviation of hatred between self and other, followed by the tact maxim. FH used the tact maxim more frequently than other forms of politeness because he was more likely to minimize the cost to others and maximize their benefit from working with and assisting refugees, followed by the sympathy and generosity maxims because he was more likely to maximize their cost in relation to the immigration problem.

Both SH and FH refrained from using the agreement maxim, the approbation maxim, and the modesty maxim (Table 2). The goal of the agreement maxim is to reduce disagreement between oneself and others, enhance agreement between oneself and others, and avoid using hostile language. The

approbation maxim minimizes criticism of others and enhances appreciation of others. Neither leader used any adverbial words since they are just interested in resolving the refugee situation. While the purpose of the modesty maxim is to limit self-praise and increase self-criticism, it did not apply to declarative or expressive expressions.

Table 2. Frequency of PMs in SH's and FH's speeches

Maxim	SH's speech		FH's speech	
	Occurrence	**Percentage**	**Occurrence**	**Percentage**
1. Tact	4	23.53%	13	72.22%
2. Approbation	0	0%	0	0%
3. Generosity	2	11.76%	3	16.67%
4. Agreement	0	0%	0	0%
5. Modesty	0	0%	0	0%
6. Sympathy	11	64.71%	2	11.11%
Total	**17**	**100%**	**18**	**100%**

9. Findings

In the light of the discussions and analysis elaborated on above, this paper concludes:

1. In both speeches, the tact, generosity, and sympathy maxims are the highest maxims used, while approbation, agreement, and modesty are the lowest maxims used. This is relevant to research question (1): Which PMs were used in the two speeches?

2. In both speeches, the focus was on fostering and enhancing sympathy for refugees and distancing oneself from criticizing, attacking, or belittling them. This indicates that the two politicians were highly aware of their attitudes and stances on refugees in the public media. This is also relevant to research question (2): How do the two speeches reflect on refugees' suffering through sympathy?

3. Both speeches focus on supporting refugees, promising more aid, and encouraging others to provide refugees with shelter and a safe haven.

10. Suggestions for Further Studies

The paper suggests the following further studies:

1. Refugee-centric sympathy can be investigated in generic news coverage in media outlets as well, including TV channels, print or online newspapers, or on websites

2. Refugee-centric sympathy can be investigated in celebrities' speeches, clergymen's speeches, and those of public speakers.

3. The topic can also be tackled through critical discourse analysis.

4. The topic can be further investigated in the American public or political discourse.

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