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Master's Degree in Linguistics and Didactics**

**The Different Use of Indirectness between Men and
Women When Giving Orders and Apologizing at the
Workplace**

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my parents, family, teachers and friends who believed in my potential and inspired me to pursue my dreams. I also dedicate this work to my friends in Adrar English Corner (ADEC) who always try their best to leave their fingerprint by bringing new and creative ideas to our university.

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General Introduction

Learning how to be an effective communicator is a life-long process, and the mastery of language use can only be achieved when people learn and are aware of the factors that could influence their language use. That is why our success, or failure, as a human civilization depends mainly on our ability to overcome and recognize the barriers that may come between our interlocutors and us.

One of the factors that can have a huge impact on our language use is gender because the way society views the difference between genders is inevitably reflected in people's communication. For this reason, the relationship between gender and language has attracted a lot of interest, especially after the rise of Western Feminist Movement, from both scholars and ordinary people. This area of language study explores and studies the way men and women use language, how they differ in its use, and how language itself treats men and women.

Now, more than ever, there is an urgent need to study the differences between men's and women's language because unlike in the past, there are more women in the workplace, and the success of any organization depends primarily on how smooth the communication is between the different members of the team. One of the aspects of the difference between men's and women's language that were discussed and examined by many scholars such as Deborah Tannen is the use of indirectness in cross-gender communication. In one of her studies in the US business sector, she found that men are more indirect than women when admitting their faults and apologizing while women are more indirect than men when giving orders.

Throughout this research, an attempt is made to investigate whether the findings of Tannen are true or not in the context of the Adrarian community, and hopefully, come up with some

insights to improve the communication process between men and women in the workplace and even in their personal lives. For this reason, chapter one introduces the domain of gender and language by defining some important terms, providing a historical background of the field and finally explaining the challenges of cross-gender communication and why it is important to overcome them. Chapter two deals with the concept of indirectness by providing a definition, and explaining the principles and different factors that make speakers use indirectness. Then, it clarifies the reasons why speakers use indirectness with a special focus on how men and women use indirectness in various contexts and the workplace in particular. Finally, the third chapter is a case study where an investigation is carried out to confirm or disconfirm the hypothesis that men use indirectness more when they want to apologize, and women use it more when they want to give orders in the Adrarian Community.

Language is still one of the greatest inventions of humanity, and it came from our desire to socialize and communicate with each other in order to survive. Language was and is still a field of interest to many philosophers, linguists, and thinkers who have been trying to study language from different angles and its intersection with different disciplines. One of the growing fields of language study that has gained a lot of interest in the recent years, especially after the rise of Western Feminist Movements, is gender and language or feminist linguistics. The latter is interested in studying the way men and women use language, how they differ in its use, and how language itself treats men and women. In this chapter, light is shed on the history of language with regard to gender, definition of some important key points in the field, and the development of theories of language and gender. Finally, an attempt is made to understand why it is important to study the communication between genders and what the challenges in cross-gender communication are.

A- Key Points in the Field of Gender Communication (Feminist Linguistics)

1-Communication

Communication is the lifeblood of our existence as social creatures in this world. Because of their need to socialize, humans have developed signals to transmit messages in order to interact with each other. In this respect, Mcpheat says: “communication is the art and process of creating and sharing ideas” (2010). There are different categories of communication; first there is verbal communication such as face-to-face, telephone, radio or television and other media. Second, there is non-verbal communication, for instance, body language, gestures and even how to dress and act. Then written communication that is used in written forms such as: letters, emails, and books.

Finally, there are visualizations that involve graphs, charts, graphic design and so on (Nordquist, 2016).

Communication is composed of several components related in a way that determines the success or failure of the communication process. First, the context is the place or circumstances in which the communication happens, for instance home, school or the parliament. Second, the sender is the one responsible for sending the message, and the latter is another important component of communication. Then, there is the medium which is the means used in transmitting the message (written form, orally, etc.). Moreover, the receiver, decoder or the recipient of the message is the one who is going to interpret the message intended by the sender. Finally, the outcome or the feedback of the receiver is the reaction or response of the receiver to the message (“notesdesk,” 2009). In order to have a good conversation, it is important to think about the basic rule that one person talks at a time and by using this rule participants show respect and avoid dominance. One of the issues that may prevent people from having an effective conversation is their inability to understand the different communication styles of men and women because for many years women were not allowed to communicate freely, and they were seen as second-class citizens. That is why, it is challenge nowadays to try to understand this difference and try to find tips to avoid them especially now that there are more women in the workplace, and having an effective conversation is crucial to increase the productivity of workers.

2-Androcentrism

Derived from the Greek word “male”, androcentrism refers to the privileging of men over women which is a kind of sexism (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). In other words, it is when people consider men and masculine traits as the norm and as a result, women and feminine traits are seen

as a weakness that should be overcome to be in conformity with the standards (masculine traits). Examples of androcentrism can be seen in daily life, in literature and even in language itself. In the Algerian society, for instance, this can be noticed when people compliment a woman who does a courageous thing by saying things like “you are the man” or “this is what men do” as if courage is exclusively a masculine trait. An early use of this term can be traced to the book of Charlotte Perkins Gillman entitled *Our Androcentric Culture* where she claims that “most societies, historically and in the present, exhibit androcentric tendencies whereby their culture, knowledge, organization and institution reflect and reproduce the dominance and power of men” (as cited in Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004, p.1). This injustice paved the way to the rise of feminist movements mainly in the West to fight for women’s right.

3- Feminism

Feminism is an organized movement that supports women’s rights, and it is driven by the desire of social, economic and political equality for the sexes (Burkett and Brunell, 2016). It can also be known as the women’s liberation movement or the women’s movement. Women in the West (USA, Canada and Europe) organized strong campaigns to empower women all over the world, and they addressed domestic violence, equal pay, women’s suffrage and sexual harassment in particular because these topics affect women directly (Burkett and Brunell, 2016). Recently, the word “feminism” started to have bad connotation due to the practices of some so-called feminists who advocate the dominance of women over men whilst true feminism is all about giving women the choice to choose the path they want with having the respect, support and dignity from society (Brunell and Burkett, 2016)

The history of feminism can be divided into three waves: first wave (1830's-early 1900's), second wave (1960's-1980) and third wave (1990's- present) feminism (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). During the first and second wave, women fought for equal contract and prosperity rights in addition to giving a clear focus on the rights of women in their families, workplace and reproductive rights for example getting the maternity leave. However, unlike these two waves where the focus was mainly on American white women, during the third wave of feminism, the focus changed from only demanding the rights of white American women, to demanding the wellbeing of all women regardless of their color, nationality or race Each wave of women's liberation movement contributed in some way to women's role and status in their societies.

4- Gender

The word "gender" refers to the label used to describe the sociocultural concept of what is considered female and male. This first person who made the distinction between biological sex and gender as a role is the sexologist John Money in 1955 (Udry, 1994). Cameron states that "gender is socially constructed rather than natural" (1997), and this means that people learn the rules of female and male behavior in their socialization process, and these rules constitute their gender role. The latter can be noticed in the different linguistic styles of men and women, and feminist linguists are really interested in knowing these differences and investigating them in order to separate the facts and myths in this domain.

5- Linguistic Style

Linguistic style refers to a person's characteristic speaking pattern. It has some features like directness or indirectness, pacing or pausing, word choice, and the use of such elements as jokes, figures of speech, stories, questions and apologies. In other words, linguistic style is a set of

signals learned in a given culture by which people communicate and interpret others' messages (Tannen, 1995).

6- Double-Voiced Discourse

Double-voiced discourse was first coined by the Russian philosopher and linguist theorist Mikhail Bakhtin ("Mikhail_Bakhtin", n.d.). Unlike single-voiced discourse in which people express what they want directly, double-voiced discourse is a kind of linguistic second guessing in which people adapt their language according to their interlocutors (Baxter, 2010). An example where double-voiced discourse can occur is when someone says something silly, and instead of telling them the truth, people will probably respond in this way: "This may not be the best idea, but here's what I think, or I may not be an expert like all of you, but may I suggest."

7- Back-Channeling

Back-channeling is a way of showing the speaker that you are following what he/she is saying, and it can be verbal by the use of interjections like "emm, huh, wow". It can also be non-verbal by the use of gestures and facial expressions. The term was first coined by Victor Yngve (1970), in the following passage:

In fact, both the person who has the turn and his partner are simultaneously engaged in both speaking and listening. This is because of the existence of what I call the back channel, over which the person who has the turn receives short messages such as 'yes' and 'uh-huh' without relinquishing the turn. (p.568)

B- Historical Background to the Study of Language and Gender

Language is the mirror of society which means that any change that happens in any given society will inevitably influence language in a way or another (Litosseliti, 2014). Sociolinguists are very interested in learning more about these changes and identifying the factors that lead to them. At first, gender was treated as a fixed and universal variable that affects the use of language just like social class, age and ethnicity (Baxter, 2010). Variationist linguists' focus was mainly on syntactic, phonological and morphological variations. Many studies were conducted in this area by Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974), and they found that men and women use language differently. This difference lies in the fact that women are more status-conscious, which is why they use more standard forms than men (as cited in Baxter, 2010, p. 332). This led to the assumption that there is a "sex-preferential perspective" which means that men and women prefer using different forms in the same language.

The research in the relationship between language and gender is often said to have begun in 1975 with Robin Lakoff's essay "Language and Woman's Place". Her work introduced many new ideas in the field of sociolinguistics concerning women's language, and it is considered the cornerstone of feminist linguistics (Bassiouney, 2009).

C- Theories of Language and Gender

In the recent years, the field of language and gender has become mainly interrelated with a range of "interactional" studies that focus on how people act and interact in different social contexts (Baxter, 2010). This section is devoted to the three early theories that had a great influence on the development of the field (deficit, dominance and difference theories) (Baxter, 2010). These

theories put a lot of emphasis on the notion of gender dichotomies that tends to compare men and women according to different variables.

1- Deficit Theory

This theory was first introduced with the article of Robin Lakoff entitled *Language and Woman's Place* where she states that at an early age girls are taught to use a separate language i.e. a ladylike language or women's language. This use of a different language is linked with the subordinate role and status of women in the American society in the 1970s, and this made women's language to be constructed differently than men's language. It was more tentative, hesitant and indirect, and it is more likely to lack authority and assertiveness (Lakoff, 1975). Lakoff (1975) suggests that "language uses us as much as we use language." which means that when young girls learn the language they also learn their status and adapt to their subordinate role within their societies. However, what is ironic about this is that if the girl learns her subordinate role, she will be seen as weak, and if she does not, she will be judged as tomboy or unfeminine. In this respect Lakoff added:

A girl is damned if she does and damned if she does not. If she refuses to talk like a lady, she is ridiculed and subjected to criticism as unfeminine. If she does learn 'lady-like language', she is ridiculed as unable to think clearly, unable to take part in a serious discussion: in some sense as less than fully human. These two choices which a woman has –to be less than a woman or less than a person-are highly painful. (1975)

In this respect, Lakoff (1975) said that there are features that characterize women's language, and claims that women use more:

- 1- Hedges which are words that express uncertainty and lack of authority like “sort of” and “kind of”.
- 2- Empty adjectives like “adorable” and “divine”.
- 3- Super polite Forms like “would you mind” and “please”.
- 4- Apologetic terms such as “I am sorry, but I think”
- 5- Tag questions that express the need of confirmation from the interlocutor.
- 6- Hyper-correct grammar and punctuation.
- 7- Question intonation in declarative statements by raising the pitch of their voice at the end of statement, expressing uncertainty. In addition to the fact that they speak less frequently in mixed groups.

Lakoff did most of her research on American women; however, even in Arab societies, women’s language is seen to be less direct and full of empty words and adjectives. In this respect, here is a quote taken from the oral tradition of Egyptians concerning the story of Adam and Eve: “God created Eve from Adam’s bent lower rib. That is why women are always twisted. They never talk straight” (as cited in Bassiouney, 2009).

Lakoff was strongly criticized for making these generalizations about women’s language, starting with Dubois and Crouch (1975) whose observations showed that men used more tag questions than women. Another study was done by O’barr and Atkins (1980) in the courtroom and their findings partially agree with Lakoff’s theory. However, they also noticed similarities between women’s language and the language used by men of the lower social class. They concluded that the deficient language has a direct relation with power rather than gender as Lakoff suggested in her theory. Based on this, they suggested using the term “powerless language” rather than “women’s language”. Later, Holmes (1992) added that tag questions were not used to show

inferiority but rather for the desire to co-operate with the interlocutor. In addition, she said that the use of hedges and fillers was not only associated with indecision, but with a variety of reasons. After these findings, another theory, called the dominance theory, emerged to explain the difference between men and women's language.

2- Dominance Theory

Lakoff's theory which says that the subordinate role of women is reinforced by the use of their language is considered the cornerstone of the dominance theory. The latter has two branches that go hand in hand which are: language as social interaction that deals with the gender inequalities in cross-gender communication, and language as a system that deals with "sexism" within the language (Lakoff, 1975).

Concerning language as social interaction, dominance theorists conducted a series of investigations on ordinary conversations between men and women to examine the nature and frequency of talk, silences, questions, interruptions and back-channeling. As an example of these investigations, a prominent study conducted by Fishman (1978) concluded that unlike what most people think about women speaking more than men, the contrary is true. In cross-gender communication, women serve only as supportive and encouraging listeners while men do all the talking.

Concerning language as a system, Spender (1980) noticed that the language people use in their daily life serves only male needs and interests and describes male experiences. In a nutshell, it is "man-made". This can be seen in the use of masculine terms such as "he", "man" and "mankind" to refer to men and women that automatically reinforce the andro-centric view of the world. In this respect, Spender (1980) added that "it has been the dominant group-in the case,

males, who have created the world, invented the categories, construed sexism and its justification, and developed a language trap which is in their interest".

However, the criticism of the dominance theorists was that they were adopting the same andro-centric perspective that they were criticizing. For instance, by saying that the male speech style is assertive, direct and goal-oriented, this makes it more powerful than the female speech style that is seen as supportive, co-operative and process-oriented. They suggested that females should have an "assertiveness training" strategy in order to learn to speak and sound like men (Cameron, 1997).

3- Difference Theory

This theory was a reaction to Lakoff's deficit and dominance theories, and it suggested that the difference between male and female speeches was due to their early socializing. Boys and girls socialize differently, go through different experiences and most importantly have different views of the world which make them speak differently.

Deborah Tannen examined, in her book *You Just Don't Understand* (1990), a range of speech actions like advice-giving, story-telling, reactions to another's account problems, asking for and giving information, compliments and gossip. She concluded that while men approach the world as individuals in a hierarchical social order in which they are either one up or one down, women approach the world as individuals in a network of connections. According to Tannen, boys create relationships with each other by doing things together; activities are central to their relationships. Girls, on the other hand, create close relationships with each other by talking, "talk is the essence of intimacy" (Tannen, 1990). She suggests that cross-gender communication is just like cross-

cultural communication simply because males and females grow up in a different culture, although they are in the same place. In this respect, she states that:

Culture is simply a network of habits and patterns gleaned from past experiences, and women and men have different past experiences. From the time they were born they were treated differently, talked to differently, and talk differently as a result. (1986, p.125)

D- Men and Women's Communication in the Workplace

Communication is not simply saying what we mean, the way used in transferring the message can be very crucial, and this is what makes people confused when they are misunderstood. In this respect, Tannen states that: "our lives and survival depends mainly on our ability to communicate effectively" (1990). Communication between sexes, in particular, has been an area of interest for both scholars and ordinary people, and they have looked everywhere to find the sources of communication difference. Some believe that the war between sexes has no end, while others suggest that there is no war, only a struggle to understand each other. The field of language and gender is concerned with the conversational styles of men and women. Men and women use language differently, and these differences in the choice of vocabulary, grammatical patterns and prosodic means are distinct enough to speak about men and women different linguistic styles (Tannen, 1990). In this respect, Baron states:

women's speech differs from men's is accepted in much the same way that the psychological differences between the sexes are accepted, and because language is perceived as an innate and essential part of our humanity, sex differences in language are treated as natural, genetic, only to be expected and frequently to be reinforced. (1986, p.55)

The reason why it is important to acknowledge that there is a difference between men and women's communication style is to try to find solutions and ways to make their communication more effective. As a result, productivity will increase in the workplace because everyone will be understood and valued according to their nature.

1-General Claims about Gender Differences

For many years, men's language was treated as the norm and the standard one, while women's language was perceived as the exception. With the rise of feminist movements, feminists realized that language was one of the instruments of female oppression by males. It did not only reflect a patriarchal system, but also emphasized male supremacy over females. In the following section, a series of some differences between men and women in communication will be presented.

1.1- Women Talk more/less than Men

According to Coates (1985), there are many factors that influence the amount of talk like the interlocutor and the place of the conversation. Series of studies were conducted to investigate whether women talk more or less than men, and the findings were not decisive. While Brizendine (1994) states that women talk three times more than men, Drass (1986) found that men speak more than women. Further research is required to investigate this issue bearing in mind all the other factors that could influence the results of the experiment.

1.2- Women Break the Rules of Turn-Taking less than Men

The two main theories of language and gender are the dominance and the difference theories. For dominance theorists, in a mix-sex conversation, men are more likely to interrupt than women (Spender, 1980). The experiment that was made to prove this claim was conducted by

Zimmerman and West at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California in 1975. They reported that in 11 conversations between men and women, men used 45 interruptions while women used only two. However, Tannen (1990) a difference theorist, presented a series of six differences between male and female speech.

-Status vs. Support

This claims that women communicate to enhance social connection and create relationships, while men communicate in order to dominate and achieve tangible goals (Wood, 1996).

-Independence vs. Intimacy

In general, women think in order to build a relationship and get closer to their interlocutor while men are more concerned with their status and independence.

-Advice vs. Understanding

Tannen claims that for men, a complaint is a challenge, and they need to find a solution to solve it. In this respect, she (1984) states:

When my mother tells my father she doesn't feel well, he invariably offers to take her to the doctor. Invariably, she is disappointed with his reaction. Like many men, he is focused on what he can do whereas she wants sympathy. (p. 180)

-Information vs. Feelings

Culturally and historically speaking, women's concerns were seen less valuable than men's because the latter were more concerned with transmitting facts and information.

-Orders vs. Proposals

There is a claim that women use indirectness when they want to give orders while men use and prefer to hear direct ones.

-Conflicts vs. Compromise

Men are not afraid to start a conflict, while women will most likely choose to compromise.

2- Gender Differences in Communication Styles

2.1-Tannen's View on Gender Different Communication Styles

Tannen (1984) emphasized the existence of two major types of conversational styles which are: high-involvement style and the opposing high-considerateness style. While women prefer high-involvement style, men prefer high-considerateness style. Tannen's two types of conversational styles differ from each other in terms of rate of speech, length of pauses, and occurrence of simultaneous speech. High-involvement style is characterized by a minimization of pauses (faster turn-taking), faster rate of speech and the application of signals of active listening like back channeling and encouraging feedback. On the other hand, high-considerateness style is characterized by longer pauses within and between speaker turns (slower turn-taking), slower rate of speech and avoidance of simultaneous talk. However, the main difference for Tannen is the use of "cooperative overlap" in the high-involvement style, and in this respect, she says (1994):

One of the most striking aspects of high involvement style that I found and analyzed in detail was the use of what I called 'cooperative overlap': a listener talking along with a speaker not in order to interrupt but to show enthusiastic listenership and participation. The concept of overlap versus interruption became one of the cornerstones of my argument that the stereotype of New York Jews as pushy and aggressive is an unfortunate reflection of

the effect of high involvement style in conversation with speakers who use a different style. (In my study, I called the other style 'high-considerateness').

2.2-Baxter's view on the Difference in Gender's Communication Styles

During her study of men, women, and language use in corporations, Judith Baxter investigated the use of the double-voiced style. One may argue that it is actually a positive thing to consider the interlocutors' profile and adapt the language used accordingly; however, Baxter's research about women in senior management meetings showed that more women use this discourse which makes them look less assertive and lacking confidence (Baxter, 2010). "It is the awareness that when you are talking you are always considering the agenda of the person you are talking to" (Baxter, 2010). She gathered over half million words of data from men and women's conversation in the workplace and found that, statistically, women were four times more likely to use this type of hedging than men. The issue with this kind of language is that it can make women look hesitant, and they may use expressions such as "I may be wrong, but". However, double-voiced style is not totally negative; it has some advantages like avoiding unnecessary conflicts, but men and women should learn a wise use of this style to make their communication in the workplace more effective.

To conclude, as seen throughout this chapter, gender and language studies is a rapidly growing field of linguistics because it gained a lot of interest for both academics and ordinary people. This change in the way people treat this field was due to the rise of feminist movement that paved the way to more research in the difference between men's and women's language in order to separate myths from facts. This movement went through three waves (first, second and third), and its main goal is to get social, economic and political equality for both sexes. Robin Lakoff's essay "Language and Woman's Place" is said to be the cornerstone of feminist linguistics, and this work introduced many new ideas in the field of sociolinguistics concerning women's language. She introduced the deficit theory that is one of the three major theories of language and gender alongside with dominance and difference theories.

There is a crucial need to understand how men and women communicate especially in the workplace because workplace communication is vital to an organization's ability to be productive and operate smoothly. It can also improve the worker's productivity and satisfaction. Having an effective communication within the workplace can really have a positive impact on the workers and their productivity which will make that association or business more successful. According to Tannen, pretending that women and men are the same hurts women, because the ways they are treated are based on the norms for men. It also hurts men who with good intentions speak to women as they would to men. That is why understanding the other's conversational style can help in filling the gap between men and women, and this will make life much easier.

Our ability to communicate effectively is one of the outstanding human skills that have helped us in creating such an extraordinary civilization. However, it was also miscommunication that has triggered so many wars throughout history because people violated one of the language rules which created misunderstanding. That is why learning how to communicate effectively can help us evolve and avoid many troubles in our lives both personally and as a community.

Because saying what we mean is not always simple, and meaning what we say can be tricky too; both researchers and ordinary people have always tried to identify the problems that may prevent people from understanding each other. One of the growing fields of linguistics that deals with this issue is pragmatics. The latter is interested in studying all the aspects of meaning and language use that are dependent on the speaker, the listener and the context of the utterance (Mey, 1993). Simply put, it studies how the meaning of words and phrases in everyday language can be interpreted in different ways based on the situation.

One of the phenomena that pragmatics is interested in studying and understanding how it works is indirectness. That is why light will be shed on the speech act theory to set the floor to the origins of the concept of indirectness followed by a definition, principles and different factors that make speakers use indirectness, and finally why speakers use indirectness. Then, a clarification will make clear how men and women use indirectness in various contexts and in the workplace in particular.

A-Speech-Act Theory

Each sentence, taken as a whole, is made to send a message. This message is critical to communication because speakers expect the listeners to react to what they say. For instance, hearing a question requires the audience to respond accordingly by responding to the question otherwise the communication is broken. To answer some questions related to this matter like how this message or function is to be characterized, and how each sentence conveys its particular function, Austin put forward the speech act theory to answer them.

1-Definition of Speech Act

A speech act is an utterance that is defined regarding the speaker's intention, and the effect it has on the listener. In other words, this utterance must have a performative function in language and communication (Nordquist, 2016). Speech acts are commonly taken to include such acts as promising, ordering, greeting, warning, inviting, and congratulating. For example, when someone says: "I'll *be there at six*," they are not just speaking, they seem to be performing the speech act of 'promising.'

The speech-act theory was first introduced by the Oxford philosopher J L. Austin in his posthumous book *How to Do Things with Words* in 1962. Then this theory was further developed by the American philosopher J R. Searle who elaborated the ideas of Austin. The speech act theory is a comprehensive theory of linguistic communication. It is the set of rules that govern communication that both the speaker and listener need to know to communicate effectively. On this subject, Stelmann states that: "linguistic communication is more than merely saying something; it is saying something in a particular context, with certain intentions, and with the listener's recognition of what is said of these intentions" (1982, p.279).

1.1-Performatives

Austin made a new category of utterances called the performatives by distinguishing between two kinds of utterances, constative and performative (Austin, 1962). Austin states that a performative utterance is one that contains a special kind of verbs called a performative verb. (Wardhaugh, 1992). Unlike constatives, performatives cannot be true or false because they serve an action not a statement and that they do not describe or report anything. He also claims that from the grammatical point of view, a performative is a first-person indicative active sentence in the simple present tense. This definition may seem ambiguous, though, and that is why, Austin introduces a *hereby* test to distinguish the performative use from other possible uses of first person indicative active pattern since performative verbs only can collocate with this adverb.

- a. I hereby resign from the post of the company.
- b. I hereby get up at seven o'clock in the morning every day.

While the first sentence would make sense under specific conditions, the second would be rather weird. From this, it follows that sentence "a" is a performative, "b" is not. Having defined performatives, Austin then draws a fundamental distinction between them. He distinguishes two general groups - explicit and implicit performatives.

1.2- Explicit and Implicit Performatives

According to Austin, there are two kinds of performatives, indirect or implicit where you do not use any particular verb, for example, saying that "My book should be returned tomorrow" is an indirect order. The second performative is direct or explicit, where the intention of the speaker is clearly stated for example saying "I remind you to bring my book tomorrow." Although the two

forms of performatives have different word choice, they have the same effect on the hearer (or at least the intention of the speaker is the same). However, the explicit and implicit versions are not equivalent. Saying the explicit performative version of a command has much more serious impact than saying the implicit version (Yule, 1996).

Austin later realized that distinguishing between performatives and constatives was not sufficient and for that reason, in an attempt to create a general theory of speech acts, he created three basic senses in which in saying something one is doing something. These three kinds of acts are the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts (Levinson, 1983).

1.3- Locutionary, Illocutionary and Perlocutionary Acts

Speech act theory considers three components of these utterances: Locutionary Acts, Illocutionary Acts, and Perlocutionary Acts. Firstly, a locutionary act is the performance of an utterance, in other words, it equally refers to the surface meaning of an utterance (Austin, 1962). In this regard, Austin adds:

In performing a locutionary act we shall also be performing such an act as asking or answering a question; giving some information or an assurance or a warning; announcing a verdict or an intention; pronouncing sentence; making an appointment or an appeal or a criticism; making identification or giving a description; and the numerous like. (1962)

Secondly, an illocutionary act is the semantic illocutionary force of the utterance; this means the real and intended meaning by an utterance (Austin 1962). In this respect, Salgado says that: "the illocutionary act is that utterance which attempts to achieve some communicative purpose. At the moment the utterance is produced an action is performed. Promising, warning, greeting, informing, and commanding are all distinct illocutionary acts" (2011). Finally, a perlocutionary act is the

actual effect of the utterance, whether intended or not. According to the Routledge Pragmatics Encyclopedia (2010), “the perlocutionary act is the act performed by saying something. So, by saying 'There is a bull in that field' I may frighten you. The perlocutionary act is one that results in an actual effect on the hearer.” Giving an example to understand the relationship between these components, the utterance "Don't go into the water!" is a locutionary act with distinct phonetic, syntactic and semantic features. The intended meaning in this example is a warning (although it depends mainly on the situation) which is the illocutionary act or the force. Then the perlocutionary act is the effect of these words on the listener.

1.4- Conditions of a Successful Communication

Having a successful communication depends mainly on the fulfilling of some contextual conditions. These are usually called happiness conditions or felicity conditions. Some of these are conditions of any linguistic communication, for instance, the fact that speaker and hearer have mutual intelligibility (usually speak the same language), can hear one another, and so on (Thomas, 1995). There are three types of conditions that need to be checked to have a successful communication: preparatory, sincerity and essential conditions.

-Preparatory Conditions

Preparatory conditions do not define the speech act but are essential because if they do not hold, the act will not happen (Thomas, 1995). Taking the example of declarative speech acts, the person performing the act must have authority to do it, and must do it in appropriate circumstances and with appropriate actions. For instance, it is not enough for a couple to say that we are married without the legal and religious ceremonies (Thomas, 1995).

-Sincerity Conditions

For sincerity conditions to be fulfilled, the person performing the act must believe in what they are saying (Thomas, 1995). For instance, in performing an act of warning, the speaker must mean it. If the sincerity conditions are not met, the act is performed, but there is said to be an abuse.

-Essential Conditions

Essential conditions describe the act being carried out. For a request, the speaker must intend that the utterance will get the hearer to do what is requested (Thomas, 1995); for a promise, the speaker must intend that uttering that utterance will put them under an obligation to carry out the act; for a statement, the hearer must intend that the utterance is true; for a question, the hearer must intend that the utterance gets an answer from the hearer, and so on. If the essential conditions are not met, the act has not been carried out (Thomas, 1995).

B- Indirectness

1. Definition of Indirectness

Indirectness is a universal and persuasive phenomenon that exists in all human communication (Tannen, 1995). It is a way of transmitting the message through hints, questions, and gestures; unlike directness in which the speaker is straightforward and concise (Nordquist, 2016). According to Searle (1975), indirectness is defined as: "those cases in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by ways of performing another." In other words, indirectness happens when the speaker says something, but their intention by that utterance is different. Indirectness can sometimes cause confusion if the listener fails to understand the intended meaning of the speaker. Searle (1975) adds that: "in indirect speech acts the speaker

communicates to the hearer more than what he says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information." Indirectness is primarily expressed using lexical choice, syntactic structure, conversational implicature and discourse structure (Cheng, 2003). Research on communication style (Lakoff 1973, 1976), speech act theory (Austin, 1962), conversational implicature (Grice, 1975), and politeness phenomena (Brown and Levinson, 1987) have all presented evidence that most communication is characterized by indirectness (Cheng, 2003).

There are two types of indirectness: intentional and unintentional indirectness. The latter occurs when the ambiguity happens because of linguistic inadequacy or some performance error. For example, in this sentence "They are looking for teachers of French, German and Japanese," the hearer will be confused; does the speaker mean they are looking for French teachers, German teachers, and Japanese teachers or they are looking for teachers who can teach all three languages. However, in pragmatics, it is only intentional indirectness that is examined, although it is not always possible to say with certainty whether indirectness is intended or not (as cited in Cheng, 2003). Answering the question why people use indirectness intentionally when they have the choice to speak directly, but they rather choose the indirect way is central to all research of indirectness, and it can only be done by identifying the internal and external factors.

As a conversational strategy, indirectness is more commonly used in some cultures (for example Indian or Chinese) than in others (North American and Northern European), and it is used more frequently by women than men (Nordquist, 2016). That is why it is important to find ways to make it easier for people to understand the implied meaning of an utterance, especially for cross-cultural and cross-gender communication.

2. Directness vs. Indirectness

Direct communicators say exactly what they think which means that their message is mainly transmitted by the words they use. The ultimate goal of this conversation is "getting or giving information." (Joyce, 2012). Regarding speech acts, directness could be understood as matching the speech act with the grammatical structure it most naturally takes. Direct communication is more common in low-context cultures, which are usually more culturally heterogeneous, and they value individualism, independence, and self-reliance. Because of the difference in their background, people tend to communicate their feelings, ideas, and opinions more clearly to avoid misunderstanding (Joyce, 2012). In direct communication, the speaker is responsible for a clear communication. Some of the characteristics of direct communicators are: they believe that honesty is the best policy, and they value saying the truth at the expense of sparing someone's feelings. They also think that it is important to disagree with their superiors if needed (Joyce, 2012).

In indirect communication, the meaning is transmitted not only by the words used but also by nonverbal behaviors ("pauses, silence, and tone of voice"), implication, understatement, and a widely shared understanding of the context of the communication (Joyce, 2012). The ultimate goal of indirect communicators is exchanging information, maintaining harmony and saving face. Indirect communicators aim to avoid conflicts, tensions, and uncomfortable situations. In a high-context culture, which is more homogeneous and tends to value interdependence and social relationships, people become more familiar with what to expect from each other. Because of the shared expectations about behavior, the context can be altered by the speaker to convey information (as cited in Cheng, 2003, p.50). Some of the characteristics of indirect communicators are: they believe that being polite is more important than being honest, and they prefer softening

the truth in order not to hurt the feelings of others. In addition to that, they also think that criticism of other, especially people with more authority, should be carefully put (Joyce, 2012).

According to Tannen (1994), “directness is not necessarily logical or effective, and indirectness is not necessarily manipulative and insecure,” that is why people need to learn when and how to use these different styles to make the communication smooth and successful and especially in the workplace. In this respect, Thomas (1995) adds that indirectness is a rational behavior that allows the speaker to get some social communicative advantage or avoid some negative consequences (as cited in Cheng, 2003).

3. When to Use Indirectness

The main factors that make people use indirectness are firstly, the notion of power between the speaker and the hearer which means that people tend to use indirectness with people with higher authority, for instance, giving an order to your boss will not be the same as giving an order to your brother (as cited in Cheng, 2003). Secondly, how great the request you are making, for example, asking a brother to close the door will be in a direct way “Close the door!”; however, if the request is big, the request will be more indirect: “Could you please find time to go to the market to buy some fruits?” (as cited in Cheng, 2003). Thirdly, the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, and it can include: status, age, sex, the degree of intimacy, social class, occupation, and ethnicity. However, sometimes it can be hard to distinguish the cases where indirectness is caused by social distance or power. Finally, the notion of rights and obligations can play a role in how indirect to be, in particular, when people ask for their rights, they tend to be direct for example saying to the driver: “Next stop, driver!” Nevertheless, if that stop is not included on the list, the

utterance will be more indirect such as: “do you think it could be possible to stop just beyond the traffic lights, please?” (Thomas, 1995).

4. Motives of Indirectness

Why do people use indirectness? Is it just to make their language more varied and interesting? Or is there a crucial need to use indirectness? The use of indirectness can originate from different reasons. Firstly, the desire to make one’s language more or less interesting for instance, if someone was asked to define literature, a direct way of defining it can be “pieces of writing that are valued as works of art, especially novels, plays and poems” (Oxford dictionary, 7th edition). However, the indirect and the more interesting way to describe it would be, for instance, literature is a reflection of life or it is the place where real life exists. Secondly, indirectness can also occur to make one’s message more powerful with a stronger impact on the hearer. As an example to this case, a teacher is in a conflict between giving honest feedback to a student and his concern about discouraging the student. Furthermore, indirectness can also be used to perform different functions such as joking, being ironic, and most importantly expressing politeness by saving the face of both speakers (as cited in Lakoff and Ide, 2005).

4.1- Indirectness and Politeness

First formulated in 1987 by Penelope Brown and Stephan Levinson, Politeness theory investigates one's attempt to employ politeness strategies to their interaction to save face (Tsuda, 1993). In other words, it is a battery of social skills whose goal is to ensure everyone feels affirmed in social interaction. In the literature on politeness and indirectness, it is often said that the two concepts represent scalable, parallel dimensions. Leech (1989) says:

Given the same propositional content, it is possible to increase the degree of politeness by using a more and more indirect kind of illocution. Indirect illocutions tend to be more polite because they increase the degree of optionality and also because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be” (as cited in Blum Kulka, 1987).

According to Searle’s example, the indirect illocution of the sentence: “I am thinking if you would mind leaving the room” is required as a more polite directive instead of a flat imperative or an explicit sentence such as “ Leave the room!”. Brown and Levinson (1987) define indirectness as a set of politeness strategies that can be used to minimize imposition on the hearer and to establish solidarity between the speaker and the hearer (as cited in Lakoff and Ide, 2005, p.176). Deborah Tannen (1986) said:

Through indirectness, we give others an idea of what we have in mind, testing the interactional waters before committing too much—a natural way of balancing our needs with the needs of others. Rather than blurt out ideas and let them fall where they may, we send out feelers, get a sense of others' ideas and their potential reaction to ours, and shape our thoughts as we go.

5. Benefits of Indirectness

Lakoff identifies two benefits of indirectness: defensiveness and rapport (as cited in Tannen, 1994). It is motivated by the two dynamics of communication: the coexisting (rapport) and conflicting human needs for involvement and independence (defensiveness). Defensiveness refers to a speaker's preference not to go into an argument if they know that they will not get a positive response. The rapport benefit of indirectness results from the pleasant experience of

meeting someone else's needs, not because one demanded it (power) but because the other person wanted the same thing (solidarity). Many researchers have focused on the defensive or power benefit of indirectness and ignored the payoff in rapport or solidarity (Tannen, 1994).

C. Indirectness in Cross-Gender Communication in the Workplace

Talk is the lifeblood of business life, and understanding that different people have different linguistic styles. As a result, different ways of saying what they mean will make it possible to take advantage of all talents of people. The problem with communication in the workplace nowadays in the US is that one linguistic style is valued more than another which will cause a lot of misunderstanding within business life (Tannen, 1995). In her research, Deborah Tannen investigates this issue, how men and women differ and how this difference creates a lot of misunderstanding that will hinder the productivity of the team. She says: "my research in companies across the United States shows that the lessons learned in childhood carry over the workplace" (1995). In other words, she is supporting her difference theory that states that the root of the difference between women's and men's language is their different socializing process. She adds:

Allowing for cultural, ethnic, regional, and individual differences, women are especially likely to be indirect when it comes to telling people what to do, which is not surprising, considering girls' readiness to brand other girls as bossy. On the other hand, men are especially likely to be indirect when it comes to admitting faults or weakness, which also is not surprising, considering boys readiness to push around boys who assume the one-down position. (1995)

The difference between women's and men's language can be seen in all conversational rituals such as asking questions, giving criticism and compliments, but throughout this research, the focus will be mainly on how men and women give orders and how men and women apologize.

1. Giving Orders in Cross-Gender Communication in the Workplace

Giving orders is one essential part of communication in general and in the workplace in particular. To get things done, managers should plan, organize, and direct the work of others and not do the whole tasks on their own (Seidenfled, 2006). That means giving orders, and giving orders that work is an art. A good order is one that the employee clearly understands, and is motivated to carry out in a positive, cooperative way, and this will help in boosting the good relationship between coworkers. As a result, the productivity will increase (Seidenfled, 2006).

In her research, Deborah Tannen saw a case where a woman in a leading position that used to give orders in an indirect way in the form of a question, for example, she asked, "how would you like to do the X project with Y?" Or "I was thinking of putting you on the X project, Is that okay?" this way worked very well with her team, they appreciated her way of asking them and how it made things get done in an efficient way. However, when she was evaluated by her boss, he criticized her for not being "bossy" enough because apparently, people in powerful positions are likely to reward linguistic styles similar to their own (Tannen, 1995). In this respect, here is another story, where Tannen observed a female manager trying to correct the mistakes that her secretary made in the report. She said, laughing, "you know, it's hard to do things around here, isn't it, with all people coming in!" The problem with this way of talking is that sometimes it is perceived as weak and the managers may seem like they do not know what they are doing, and this happens because of the lack of understanding of the different linguistic styles. This way of

giving orders is the result of something bigger than it may seem and way deeper. However, women are suffering whether they give orders directly or indirectly. If they give them indirectly, they will be perceived as weak and lacking confidence, and if they give them directly, they may be perceived as too aggressive (Tannen, 1995).

2. Apologizing in Cross-Gender Communication in the Workplace

No one is perfect, and inevitably people will commit a mistake. That is why apologizing is crucial in getting things going, especially in the workplace. Apologies are expressive speech acts, where the speaker tries to express their regrets towards a malicious act (Austin, 1962). The apology can be done effectively only when it states a true feeling. The issue with apologies is that they can be difficult, or even awkward, to make, and apologies in the workplace can be particularly tough because things may get personal (Doyle, 2016). While some people believe apologies, particularly in the workplace, are a sign of weakness, they can, in fact, appear how that you are capable and in control, because an apology establishes that you recognize an error and how to fix it (Doyle, 2016).

Women tend to say “I’m sorry” more than men because they perceive it as a sign of politeness and expressing concern, while men avoid apologies because they do not want to look weak (Tannen, 1995). However, women may fall into over-apologizing (some men too!), and this apology impulse may have its roots in childhood because they are taught that being nice equates to likability.

3. Tips for a Better Communication in the Workplace between Men and Women

The difference in styles between men and women may put women in disadvantage in the workplace (Tannen, 1995). Generally speaking, if the woman is trying to minimize the status difference, spread the notion of equality and most importantly save face which means being extra-polite, and the other person is trying to dominate and appear superior, it is most likely that the second person will get what they want (Tannen, 1995). So the question that can be asked in this respect, what is the best way to give an order, and what is the best way to apologize to have a better communication and as a result increase the productivity of the team? The answer to these questions is there is no best way. There will always be factors that will influence the success of communication such as the culture of the company, the relative rank of speakers, their linguistic style and how those styles interact with each other; that is why, coworkers have always to bear in mind that it is impossible to generalize these differences, but what can be done is just take some universal facts and try to be aware of them. So, the critical skill of managers is to be aware of the workings and power of linguistic styles and to make sure that everybody's contribution is appreciated. The awareness of conversational styles makes it easier to see the potential of unequal access (Doyle, 2016).

To conclude, as stated before, successful communication is vital, and it is a skill that everybody needs to learn to have a fulfilling life.

Although many of us value directness, indirectness does have its place. At times, conveying information indirectly can be a safe way to preserve or restore well-being and comity within the organization. While Americans believe that “the squeaky wheel gets the grease” which means that it is best to speak up, the Japanese say, “the nail that sticks out gets hammered back in” which means that the best thing we can do is to remain silent if you don’t want to be hit on the head. As a final note, indirectness is very useful in socially distant situations. People have varied levels of directness tolerance, and until you know where the limit is, it is wise to stay well on the polite side.

Learning how to communicate effectively is a skill that everybody should learn especially in our time where the world is developing faster than ever, and an examination should be made in order to identify all factors that may have a negative impact on people's productivity in the workplace. One of the issues that were explored by scholars such as Deborah Tannen concerning workplace communication is how gender affects the way people speak. Knowing these differences can prevent miscommunication problems, enhance the productivity of workers and most importantly celebrate diversity by allowing everyone to contribute for the benefit of the workplace.

In her research, Tannen found that one of the differences that may hinder the success of communication between men and women lies in their different uses of indirectness (1995). She observed that men use indirectness more when they are in the position of apologizing and admitting their mistakes while women use it more when they are in the position of giving orders. She said that these differences are due to the different socializing process of both girls and boys, while boys were constantly reminded that "you are a man!", "you should always know what to do!" they grew up feeling insecure when they admit their mistakes and apologize. On the other hand, girls were always encouraged to listen and obey the orders of their caregivers, to be always polite and to pay more attention to the way they speak and interact with other people. As a result, they grow up to be sensitive towards giving a direct order, and this will make them less effective than their male counterpart, especially in leading positions.

This study aims to investigate whether the findings of Deborah Tannen about the different use of indirectness by both men and women in the situation of giving orders and apologizing are true in the context of the workplace in the Adrarian community. In addition to that, it also explores the reasons behind these differences in communication styles between men and women, and attempts to find out if the Adrarian people think there is a difference between the male and female

languages, and if this study is worthy of further research to help increase the productivity of the workers.

A- Methods

1. Participants

The total number of participants in the interviews is 20, 10 males and 10 females whose native language is Algerian Arabic. The age range of the participants varies between 24 to 59. They were selected from different sectors of work in order to provide a descriptive image of the situation in the Adrarian community, and both genders were represented in each of these professions. Among the participants there are: doctors, nurses, lawyers, business owners, administrators and heads of departments. In the case of the Career Development Center (CDC) which constitutes from 4 members, 2 males and 2 females, and the boss is a male. There is also the team of Akwas which is an independent channel for local News in Adrar. It constitutes from 4 members, 2 males and 2 females, and the boss is a female. For Akwas and the CDC, we interviewed the entire team in order to get a clear idea about how they really communicate with each other, and to know how they perceive the other members in their teams.

2. Instruments

The instruments used in this study are: the semi-structured interview, naturally occurring conversation and observation. A semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of investigation that combines a pre-determined set of open questions (questions that trigger discussion) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses further. According to Bernard (1988), a semi-structured interview is “best used when you will not get more than one

chance to interview someone and when you will be sending several interviewers out into the field to collect data". The choice of semi-structured interviews as a primary research method was because of the aim of the study which is exploring this topic by allowing the interviewees to express themselves freely and also to investigate how people deal with this difference between males and females in terms of the way they apologize and give orders.

Since the topic's nature is an intersection between pragmatics and sociolinguistics, and their primary aim is to investigate how people interact with each other in natural setting, we chose naturally occurring conversation to be a secondary research method, and the members of the Career Development Center (CDC) to be our sample since they are 2 males and 2 females. We managed to have 10 hours of naturally occurring conversation including a meeting of the staff of the CDC with the local companies in the city of Adrar.

Due to the fact that communication is an essential part of our daily life, people come across situations where they observe how both genders communicate between each other. For this reason, using observation as a third research method will give us the most natural data possible because when people are interviewed or being recorded, they may adjust their way of talking.

3. Procedures

In the interviews, the participants were required to answer a set of 11 questions (see the appendix) that starts by asking them about the purpose of their friendship when they were children to get information about their early socialization process. The next question investigates their opinions about being indirect and the reasons that make people use indirectness in their speeches. Then the questions start to target the exact research purposes; at first, we asked both men and women about how they perceived apologizing in the workplace, and if they think it is necessary in

order to get things done. Then we asked them if they admit their mistakes to their coworkers, and how they phrase that apology. Afterwards, we asked the participants about their feeling when they receive a direct order, and how they give orders to their coworkers with a focus on females in leading positions. Finally, we asked the participants if they think there is a difference between male and female language, and if they think that this area of research is worthy of further investigation to improve their productivity.

B-Results

1. The Socialization of Boys and Girls in their Early Childhood

In the process of growing up, both boys and girls hear different messages from their entourage which make them socialize differently according to the research of Tannen. That is why we wanted to see if this is valid in the Adrarian context or not.

1.1- Boys' Socialization Process

All men agreed that they chose their friends in primary school based on a goal they had in their minds. For instance, one of the participants loved football a lot, and he really wanted to improve his skills in this game, and based on that, he befriended people who were at his level or better to organize football games with them, and improve himself. Another participant talked about choosing his friends based on having the same dreams and fantasies such as dreaming to be pilots and discussing plans to free Palestine and so on. They also agreed on choosing friends who are in a direct contact with, for example, their neighbours, classmates and most importantly the boys with whom they can play after school. They mentioned their secret desire to prove that they are the best in the game they played at that time, and that it was important for them to be the best in order to have a say in the rules of the game.

We asked the women too for their opinion about the focus of the friendship between boys, and most of them gave the same answer as men did. They considered the friendship between boys to be based on sharing the same goal either fun, playing video games or sports, and it is not really personal at that age-between the ages of 6 to 11-because boys' main focus is having fun.

1.2- Girls' Socialization Process

There was not a unanimous answer from the women we interviewed concerning the purpose of their friendship when they were children. Some said that they chose their friends based on their trust to tell them their secrets, and some said that they did not really choose them; they became friends because they studied together, or they were neighbors.

However, the common point that was shared by all participants, especially those who have brothers, is that they were evaluated more strictly than boys on being polite, on paying attention to the way they speak and also, they were more encouraged to listen and obey than their brothers.

2- The Concept of Indirectness

The participants were asked about their definition of indirectness and if they use it. 8 males and 1 female said that they are direct speakers, and they do not use indirectness while the rest of the participants said that being indirect is important to get things done and avoid problems with others. But when the participants who said that they do not use indirectness were given its linguistic definition, everybody agreed that they often use indirectness in order to be polite and to respect the social norms of the community.

3. Indirectness in Giving Orders in Cross-Gender Communication

When the participants were asked about their feeling when they receive a direct order from their superiors, 8 men and 3 women said that they are okay with that if the order given to them was part of their jobs. They saw that receiving a direct order is necessary to get things done in the workplace. It is worth mentioning that 2 out of the three women who said that it is okay to receive direct orders from their superiors work in the hospital; so maybe the setting plays a role in their answers.

On the other hand, 7 women and 2 men are strongly against being given direct orders from their superiors even if it is part of their jobs. One of the participants who is now an owner of a private company got so emotional when she was asked to remember how her boss was giving her orders. She said that because she hated being given orders directly, she never does it because she believes that working in a friendly environment that is based on teamwork will increase the productivity of the company. The other female participants agreed with this point saying that it is always better to be polite and to pay attention to other people's feelings.

Concerning females in a leading position, one of the participants talked about her struggle to give her workers direct orders especially when they are in front of people because she does not want to destroy their social image. As a female manager, she feels that she is watched in every move she takes, and for this reason, she is very careful when she talks with her male workers in front of people. One more interesting point is that sometimes it is really necessary to give them an order to improve their skills in the job they are doing, but she chooses not to tell them in order to preserve their social image.

One of the male participants said that naturally the order goes from a man to a woman, and when doing so he waved his hand from up to down, and that he prefers having female subordinates because they listen to the orders better than men. And 5 out of the female participants agreed that they also prefer to have a male boss because they saw him objective when he gives orders.

3.1- How Men Give Orders

The following table contains some examples of how male participants give orders which are either self-reported (SR) or from naturally occurring conversations (NC). There are also cases where some participants reported how their bosses give orders, and we refer to these cases as “R”.

	The Order in Algerian Arabic	The Translation in English
1	وجد لنا الدواسا تاع الاساتذة المستفيدين من المنح, عندنا (R) اجتماع غدوا.	Prepare for us the files of the teachers, who benefited from a scholarship, we have a meeting tomorrow.
2	عيطي لفلان و فوتيه ليا. (R)	Call that person, and put him on my line.
3	3-الملاذ هداك عندو لي كريس سويفيه. (SR)	That patient has a history of mental crisis, watch him.
4	الجماعة اهي جات واحد الخدمة, انا نشد هدي ايا كل واحد (NC)بخير حاجة.	Guys, we have a lot of work, I will take this part, and come on everybody choose one part.
5	واش مزال ما خدمت الرابور, نستحقو عشية. (R)	Haven't you finished working on that report, yet? I need it this afternoon.
6	كاين اجتماع غدوا الحضور واجب. (SR)	There is a meeting tomorrow, and attendance is obligatory.

7	جيب لي قهوة و مادلين باش نتقهما. (R)	Bring coffee and some cookies for my breakfast.
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Table 1: Cases in which Men Give Orders

The way men give orders does not have the same pattern repeated in all examples. Examples 1, 5 and 7, the order clause is followed by another clause that includes a justification for the order such as “we have a meeting tomorrow” in Example 1 and “I need that report this afternoon” in Example 5. It is worth mentioning that both examples 1 and 5 were made by bosses whose employees are relatively older than them, so maybe in these two cases, the age factor plays a role in this way of softening the order. Examples 2 and 3 are the most direct orders in Table 1, and what is common between them is that they are both from older men with a higher position to their female subordinates. While Examples 4 and 6 are considered very polite because in Example 4 the boss is involving himself in the work by saying and giving the chance to his employees to choose what suits them, and in Example 6, the order is impersonal and given as a general rule.

3.2- How Women Give Orders

Most of the cases in Table 2 are taken from females in a leading position and are either self-reported (SR), taken from the interviews of their subordinates (R), or from naturally occurring conversation (NC).

	The Order in Arabic	The Translation in English
1	الله يخليك, تقدر تخلي الطاقة محلولة? (NC)	God bless you, can you leave the window opened?

2	مادابيك يا استاذ كون تمد لينا النقاط غدوا (SR)	We would like you to bring us the marks tomorrow, sir.
3	معليش نروحو نصوروا هداك الحدث. (SR)	Can we go to cover that event?
4	عندي هاد الفكرة بغيت نديروها, واش رايبكم؟ (SR)	I have a new idea to do concerning this issue, what do you think?
5	تبان ليا لازم نعبروا لاطونصيون كل ساعة, واش رايبكم؟ (R)	It seems to me like we should check the blood pressure every hour, what do you think?
6	يالاهو نبدلوا السرير للملاد, معليش؟ (SR)	Let's change the patient's bed, shall we?
7	معليش تقدري تكلمي تعمار النقاط اليوم, لازم نعلقوهم غدوا؟ (R)	Can you finish typing the marks today; we must publish them tomorrow.

Table 2: Cases in which Women Give Orders

The first thing to note in these examples is that there is not any direct order at all (using the imperative form). In addition to that, the way women give orders has some common features that appear in all examples. For instance, there is the use of “us” instead of “me” in Examples 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 that shows that women like to involve themselves in the work with their workers, and this also makes their orders less forceful and probably more indirect. There is also the use of the tag question in Examples 4, 5, and 6, and the use of hedges in Example 5. What is noticeable in all these orders is that sometimes women use more than one form of indirectness; like in Example 4 the participant used two forms of indirectness which are the first person plural form and the tag question.

4. Indirectness in Apologizing in Cross-Gender Communication

All female participants and 7 of the male participants said that apologizing is so important in the workplace. However, it is worth mentioning that the 3 male participants who said that it is not really important as long as work is getting done are comparatively old (from 40 to 59 years old) with a lot of administrative experience. All female participants said that they have no problem in admitting their mistakes to their team and the female managers reported that apologizing to their teams make them feel strong and respected because it breaks the barrier between a boss and a worker. Furthermore, they also believe that they do not really care about the way in which their workers apologize as long as they feel that they are sorry about the mistake. On the other hand, one of the male managers said that they prefer to hear a direct apology from their workers because it will guarantee that they are really sorry about what they did.

4.1-How Men Apologize

The following table contains some cases where men apologize either self-reported (SR), taken from the interviews of their subordinates (R), or from naturally occurring conversation (NC). Yet it is worth mentioning that most of the cases that men apologize in do not contain words, for instance, one of the male participants said that when he commits a mistake he tries to fix it; if he cannot do it, he would say to his team that the problem is he never did this work before and asks his team to show him how to do it. One of the male participants said that when he commits a mistake, he would offer the manager his services without being asked to, or he would bring his team something to eat as compensation. However, there is one participant who seemed annoyed when we asked this question, and he said that it is not allowed to commit mistakes in his domain.

	The Apology in Arabic	The translation in English
1	سمحولينا ياودي على الغلطة. (NC)	Forgive us for the mistake (although he committed the mistake alone).
2	الجماعة راني غلطت في هادي. (SR)	Guys, I was wrong in this.

Table 3: Cases in which Men Apologize

In the case of apology, there are not many examples to compare between them, but what is observable is the use of “us” instead of me, and this is a way of impersonalizing the mistake.

4.2- How Women Apologize

The following table contains some cases where women apologize either self-reported (SR), taken from the interviews of their subordinates (R), or from naturally occurring conversation (NC). However, we would like to differentiate between an apology from a female manager and a female subordinate, and for this reason, we will add this symbol to the apology made by a female manager “*”.

	The Apology in Arabic	The translation in Arabic
1	هادي مكانش لازم تندار هاكا, علاه ما نبهتونيش عليها؟ (SR*)	This was not supposed to be done like this, why did not you tell me about it?
2	سمحولي كنت غالطة منين قتليكم بدلو سرير هاد الملاد. (R)	Forgive me, I was wrong to ask you to change the bed of this patient.

3	<p>سمحلي لي طولت عليك الله غالب شدونا في الاجتماع.</p> <p>(NC*)</p>	<p>I am sorry for being late, the meeting took so long to finish.</p>
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Table 4: Cases in which Women Apologize

The way women apologize appears to have some common features, for instance, the use of “I” and “me” when saying “forgive me” and “I am sorry”. However, in Example 1, the participant who is the manager of a private company blames her team for not telling her that she was wrong as a way of encouraging them to express their concerns in the future, and she does not seem to be explicitly apologizing. She admits the mistake, but makes it impersonal. This can be because she is the founder of her company.

5- The importance of Studying Cross-Gender Communication

We wanted to know if the participants think there is actually a difference between male and female speech, and if it is worthy of investigating in order to improve the productivity of the workplace. Figure 1 shows the results of the first question.

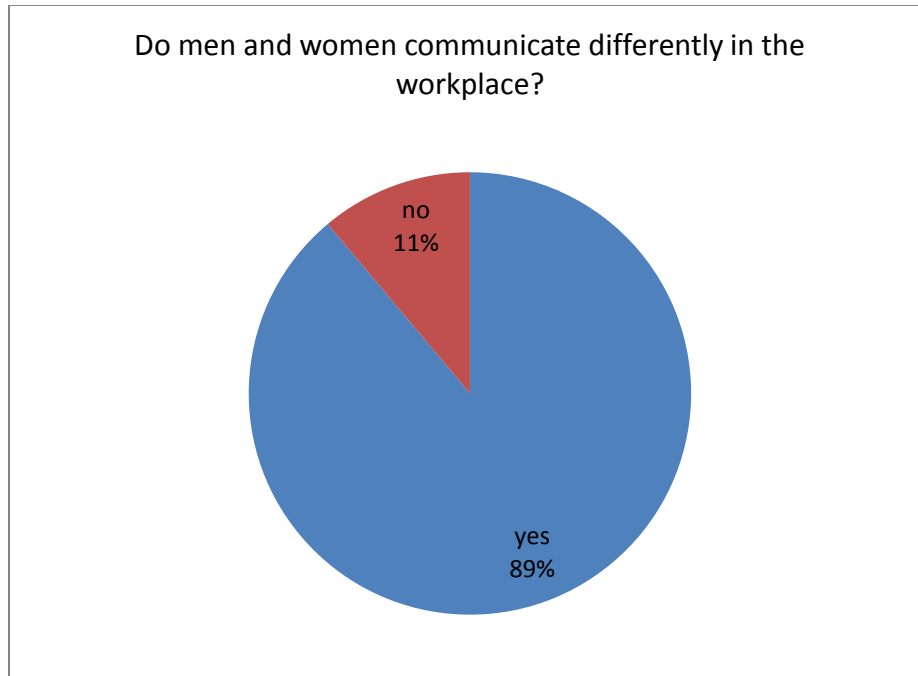


Figure 1: Recognition of the Difference between Male and Female Languages

Concerning the second question that explores the opinion of the participants on whether this topic is worthy of further research or not, 50 percent of the participants, who answered with yes, agreed that people should conduct further research in order to facilitate the communication between the two genders. However, the other half of the participants, who answered with yes, gave some reasons why they think that this topic is not worthy of investigating. One of the participants said there is no professionalism in our workplace that is why we cannot apply the findings of this research. Another one said that it is too early to discuss this topic because what is affecting the productivity of the workplace is the lack of commitment and ignorance.

C- Discussion

1.The Use of Indirectness in Cross-gender Communication in Giving Orders

The findings of this research show that women use an indirect communication pattern when they are in the position of giving orders. This can be traced to their early socialization where they were encouraged to be polite and pay extra-attention to their way of speaking, and in addition to that boys were encouraged and rewarded when they show leadership skills while girls were seen as “too aggressive or bossy”. These lessons learned from childhood automatically go to the workplace

There is also the factor of the Islamic background of the Adrarian community that gives the leading position to the man in his family and people extend this to the workplace. There are also some verses of the Quran and sayings from the Sunnah that support this idea, but the problem is that common people do not really understand what is meant by them properly and these wrong ideas are transmitted from our ancestors to us without any deep analysis of the reasons behind these traditions.

One important factor that can play a major role in the use of indirectness in giving orders by women is age. Our culture values the factor of age, and gives it a huge importance in the interaction with other people.

2.The Use of Indirectness in Cross-gender Communication in Apologizing

The findings of this research show that men are more indirect than women in the situation of admitting their mistakes and apologizing. This can be traced to their childhood where this act of apologizing will be considered as if they are putting themselves down if they show that they do

not know how to do things. This is normal because our culture put so much pressure on boys to be strong, to be the man, so it is expected from the majority of them to not accept orders from females and to not ask for forgiveness if they make a mistake. However, being well-educated can play a role in teaching men to ask for forgiveness when needed, but still it will need a lot of time to eradicate this notion that men should know it all.

D- Limitations

The most important limitation of this research is not having enough naturally occurring data because we did not find many workplaces that can accept being recorded the whole time due to confidentiality issues. This is understandable since this research is new in the area, and not everybody can understand its purposes. Also we faced some troubles in getting people to accept being recorded when having their interviews because they were skeptical about this and as mentioned before because this area of research is not that common. Also, due to the fact that the researcher is a female, this may have influenced the way both males and females responded to the questions. Finally, sometimes the context plays an important role in the way the order and the apology are given, and there are many other factors such as age, social status and even the personality of the person, that is why, we cannot be certain that gender is the only factor that is influencing the way people speak.

To conclude, increasing the productivity of our workplace is an important factor if we want our economy to rise. Investigating this topic of how gender affects the way we communicate with each other is only the beginning of a big struggle to solve the miscommunication problem.

The findings of Tannen that men use indirectness more when they want to apologize, and women use it more when they want to give orders indicates that the difference between men and women is probably universal, and it is not necessarily related to the culture or place. We hope that this research will raise awareness about the way we treat boys and girls because by doing so we will give real and equal opportunities to both genders away from those commercial campaigns that claim they are defending the rights of women.

General Conclusion

Humans' basic desire to communicate and to be understood and valued has motivated a lot of studies on how people communicate and what factors may hinder a successful communication. The gender factor, in particular, has always been a center of a heated debate because of the so-called "war" between men and women. However, now, more than ever, with the rise of the Feminist movement, scholars and thinkers have started to challenge the pre-existed knowledge about this difference by taking a scientific approach to separate myths from facts around this topic. This new approach gave birth to the new, rapidly growing field of language and gender studies, which can also be called feminist linguistics.

There is one important linguistic feature that differentiates between men and women's language which is indirectness. One of the important figures in this field, Deborah Tannen, found that men use indirectness more when apologizing, and women use it more when giving orders in the US business context. She attributed this difference to the early socialization of boys and girls, and that the lessons learned from childhood continue to the workplace. The findings of the present research work indicate that this difference between men and women is probably universal, and its main cause is the different socializing process of both boys and girls. However, we cannot be certain about it because in some examples from the case study, there are many other factors, such as age, position, and level of education, overlapping that can cause indirectness, and it is extremely difficult to separate gender and see the result in a social context. But we can try to pay attention to the messages boys and girls receive in their early childhood, and by doing so, we will give more freedom to boys to accept making mistakes and to girls more confidence to be assertive.

Making the workplace more friendly and open to all varieties of different talents is not an easy job, and we believe that this research work is only the beginning to overcome so many miscommunication problems that could decrease productivity in the workplace. When we started working on this topic, we had an idea that it was only a problem between men and women, but after the research, we realized that the problem of miscommunication in the workplace is much deeper than that. We hope that this research work will spark a lot of ideas that deal with how age, culture, religion and personality affect the relationship between coworkers and hopefully come up with a booklet that can facilitate communication between people, especially from different cultures. The city of Adrar needs this kind of research especially after the arrival of many multinational companies, and having a successful communication is crucial for the success of any project.

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Appendices

Appendix A

The Questions of the Interview

- 1- What do you think is the focus in the friendship between boys?
 - a- Talking
 - b- Activities and winning
 - c- Supporting and creating relationships by sharing secrets
What do you think?
- 2- What do you think is the focus in the friendship between girls?
 - a- Talking
 - b- Activities and competition
 - c- Supporting and creating relationships by sharing secrets
What do you think?
- 3- What do you think about the concept of indirectness? What is it for you?
- 4- How do you perceive apologizing, does it make you feel uncomfortable or not? (Here I can add suggestions but I want to hear their opinions directly).
- 5- In your opinion, why do people need to apologize and in particular in a work setting?
- 6- Imagine you are in a situation where you commit a terrible fault to a coworker, and he/she seems really upset and you need him/her to be okay in order to get things going. Do you admit your mistakes to your coworkers, and how do you apologize to them, please here give me a recent story where you needed to apologize and how did you do it?
- 7- How do you feel when someone gives you a direct order in the two cases from a coworker and a boss?
- 8- How do you give orders to your coworkers, please tell me a recent story that happened to you and how did you phrase the order?
- 9- As a female in a leading position, did you go through an experience where you were perceived as “bossy” because you gave a direct order to someone? And do you think that it influenced your way of giving orders? And why do you think is that?

10- For men how do you perceive a woman who gives orders as bossy, do you like to be given an order by a female superior?

11-Do you think that men and women really have different languages if yes do you think it is worthy of investigating these differences?

