

**Matching and Mismatching Verbal and Nonverbal Politeness in Egyptians' Congratulation, Condolence, and Consolation**

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**Abstract**

As how it is to be said is as important as what is said, being polite does not depend only on polite uttering but more on behaving politely. To argue for this regard, this study investigates the influence of speech-behavior matching and mismatching on the perception of politeness in Egyptians' social interactions of offering and responding to congratulations, condolences, and consolations. By multimodally analyzing the verbal expressions and their synchronous nonverbal behaviors including facial expressions, gestures, body positions and orientations, touching, and tones of voice, in 165 scenes collected from three Egyptian television series concerning the interactions of congratulation, condolence, and consolation, this study aims at fulfilling a multimodal attitude of politeness through covering its linguistic and non-linguistic manifestations in the light of Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory. With respect to the disparity of the social variables of gender, social distance, and power among Egyptian interlocutors, the attitude of politeness is appeared to be highly influenced by matching the verbal expressions with their co-nonverbal behaviors. In relation to the tackled contexts, the results reveal that perceiving positive social attitudes of politeness are only

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checked on speech-behavior matches. Nevertheless, not all mismatches are impolite. Considering some consolation attitudes, the interlocutors are found to mismatch their speech-behavior to save the other's face.

***Keywords:*** verbal politeness, nonverbal politeness, co-occurring behavior-speech matching and mismatching.

## Introduction

### Research Background

In addition to its social understanding as a sort of etiquette, politeness has captured the attention of many scholars not only in linguistics but also in sociology, psychology, anthropology, and philosophy. Dating back to the 1970s, conceptualizing definitions, developing theories, and examining standards of politeness in different cultures have been the focal point of consideration for a tremendous number of studies in linguistics to the extent that politeness has been recognized as a sub-discipline of pragmatics (Thomas, 1995). The focus of attention in most of these studies has tended to deal with politeness as mostly a linguistic performance. Moreover, the term “politeness” has been identified mainly to refer to “linguistic politeness”. In this respect, Lakoff and Ide (2005) claim that “politeness is largely, but by no means exclusively, linguistic behavior” (p. 3). Furthermore, the most elaborated theoretical frameworks in pragmatics (e.g. Lakoff, 1975; Leech, 1983; Thomas, 1995; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Gu, 1990; Holmes, 1995; Watts, 2003) have tackled politeness from a linguistic perspective. These frameworks have advocated the verbal investigation of politeness in interpersonal interactions with distinctive rules and norms according to the contexts.

Otherwise, in spoken discourses, words do not act on their own since there are several types of nonverbal activities as gestures, facial expressions, body orientations and postures, and voice tones that usually and relevantly accompany any social discourse. These two means of communication are closely related and mutually complementary; while words represent the primary means of exchanging thoughts and ideas, nonverbal behaviors speak volumes about intentions and

emotions. That is exactly what Wharton (2009) reveals when affirming that:

Sentences are rarely uttered in a behavioral vacuum. We color and flavor our speech with a variety of natural vocal, facial expressions and bodily gestures, which indicate our internal state by conveying attitudes to the propositions we express or information about our emotions or our feelings. (p. 1)

In the same vein of arguing for the role of nonverbal behaviors in communication, Calero (2005) confirms that “a person’s behavior when interacting with others can tell you as much as the words he or she uses”, and concludes that “how you act is more important than what you say” (p. 5). Consequently, in interpersonal interactions, nonverbal behaviors can be distinguished as appropriate or not to either the uttered words or the contextual attitude or both of them. Therefore, realizing politeness as exclusively a linguistic performance is inadequate as (im)politeness has been manifested much more in nonverbal aspects of communication than in verbal aspects. In such a context, communicative politeness has been divided into linguistic politeness and non-linguistic politeness (Haverkate, 1987; Ambady, Koo, Lee, Rosenthal & 1996; Márquez Reiter, 2000).

Thus to effectively handle social interactions in a way that establishes social relationships and maintains harmony between people; at the time in which language use is a matter of probabilities, either verbal language or nonverbal language (Jumanto, 2014), interlocutors do not only have to handle both languages but rather have to match what they say with how they say it. Accordingly, this study aims at investigating the phenomenon of politeness linguistically as well as non-linguistically by measuring the extent to which the co-

occurring of verbal expressions and nonverbal behaviors (mis)matches affect perceiving a complete attitude of (im)politeness through analyzing the social interactions of giving and responding to congratulations, condolences, and consolations. To apply, this study explores a corpus of televised Egyptian verbal and nonverbal interactions concerning the aforementioned social interactions in three Egyptian dramas, namely *Al Du:? El-Shaarid* (Stray Light, 1998), *Lann A?i:sh fi Gilbab Aby* (Falling Far from My Father's Shadow, 1996), and *El-Watad* (The Wedge, 1996), in relation to Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory.

### Review of the Literature

The reviewed literature exposes that the main stream in investigating politeness is fashioned out of the studies that focus largely on the linguistic aspects via which either respect and deference or intimacy and solidarity can be expressed whether in eastern or western languages. However, part of that review witnesses remarkable studies rejecting that marginalization of the other hand of interpersonal communication, namely nonverbal behaviors, on studying politeness.

In this respect, some studies have been found to tackle various means of nonverbal behaviors, whether on their presence with the verbal means of communication or not, to feature their influence on the interpretation of the uttered speech and consequently on the perception of politeness or impoliteness attitudes. Ambady et al.'s (1996) study is the first to judge the validity of investigating politeness non-linguistically through examining some nonverbal channels as gaze, facial expressions, and tone of voice to find that these nonverbal means can manifest politeness, both when co-occurring with speech and when isolating from it. Similarly,

Culpeper's (2011a) findings reveal how prosody functions in evoking on-record impoliteness and in recalling off-record impoliteness. Beattie and Sale (2012) find that the speaker's integrity and likeability are influenced largely by the matches and the mismatches between verbal expressions and their co-occurring metaphoric gestures. Additionally, through the nonverbal cues of facial expressions, body orientations and positions, manual gestures and touching, Brown and Winter (2018) outline the non-verbal features of doing deference and performing intimacy regarding Korean context. Otherwise, on highlighting the efficiency of displaying politeness non-linguistically, those studies overlook, by their own, the semantic and pragmatic interactional link between these two types of communication (speech and behavior) and the influence of their matching or mismatching on realizing the meaning of the utterances and maintaining harmony in social relationships.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study can be one of the few studies that provide a multimodal approach in covering the phenomenon of politeness in Arabic Egyptian language through considering speech-behavior matching or mismatching in the contexts of congratulating, condoling, and consoling. Though politeness phenomenon have been, for so many decades, explored linguistically in Arabic culture alongside a vast range of cultures in relation to various theories and approaches, there is still an important, yet, marginalized channel of communication through which politeness can be displayed, namely nonverbal language. Moreover, in taking into account the complementary relationship between verbal and nonverbal languages and their synchronously occurring, investigating verbal politeness apart from nonverbal politeness is insufficient. Therefore, this study attempts to investigate the phenomenon of politeness multi-

modally in Egyptian social interactions by exploring how the matches of verbal and nonverbal behaviors affect threatening or saving face.

### **Theoretical framework**

#### **Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory**

In spite of being one of the most controversial theories in the field of pragma-linguistics, Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) Politeness Theory (PT) remains the most influential, most known, and most extensive approach to the study of politeness, as Goldsmith (2013) argues that Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory is universally praised for its excellent heuristic value and broad scope. Leech (2005) identifies it as "the most frequently cited publication on language and politeness" (p. 2). According to Harris (2003), Politeness Theory "has attained canonical status, exercised immense influence, and is still the model against which research on politeness defines itself" (pp. 27-28). Furthermore, Mazid (2008) recognizes Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory to be "the most fully elaborated work on linguistic politeness, as it provides a systematic description of cross-linguistic politeness phenomena which is used to support an explanatory model capable of accounting for any instance of politeness" (p. 26).

Through their 1978 firstly published framework and its 1987 modified version, Brown and Levinson (henceforth B&L) propose a new perspective of politeness; politeness as a face saving. B&L center their theory on that of Goffman's (1967), in favor of whom the theme of 'face' is adopted in indicating politeness. Through defining face as "an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes" (p. 5), Goffman (1967) is given the credit for being the first to introduce the concept of face and to declare its weight and

necessity in any particular social interaction (Brunet, Cowie, Donnan, & Douglas-Cowie, 2012).

For a start, after Goffman's face being extended into their politeness framework, B&L redefine that notion into "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p. 61). Furthermore, in arguing for the role of face in cooperating interactions, and maintaining relationships, they confirm that "face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to interaction" (p. 61).

In this respect, B&L distinguish two types of faces and hence two types of politeness: *Negative Face* and *Positive Face*. They identify negative face as "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others" (p. 62), in other words, "it is the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (p. 61). Trying to simplify it, Brown (2015) reintroduces negative politeness as that kind of politeness that arises whenever "what is about to be said may be unwelcome, prompting expressions of respect and restraint avoidance" (p. 326). On the other hand, they view positive face as "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (p. 62). Similarly, positive face is "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (p. 61). In a similar way, Brown (2015) re-identifies positive politeness as that kind of politeness which arises from "the fact that long term relationships with people can be important in taking their feelings into account, prompting expressions of social closeness, caring, and approval" (p. 326).

### Strategies for Doing FTAs

Emphasizing on the importance of ‘face-saving’ as “it is the traffic rules of social interactions” (Goffman, 1967, p. 12), B&L feature some certain speech acts that inherently and intrinsically threaten that ‘face-saving’ of either the hearer (H) and/or of the speaker (S) by acting in opposition to the wants and the desires of the other throughout social interactions. These acts are termed as *Face-Threatening Acts* (henceforth FTAs) and defined as “acts which run contrary to the addressee’s and/or the speaker’s positive or negative face” (p. 65). These FTAs are “intrinsically threatening to face and thus require ‘softening’” (p. 24). Although these acts are verbal, they can also be expressed or conveyed nonverbally through tones and inflections or in any nonverbal forms of communication. Consequently, B&L indicate that “by ‘act’ we have in mind what is intended to be done by verbal or nonverbal communication, just as one or more ‘speech act’ can be assigned to an utterance” (p. 65).

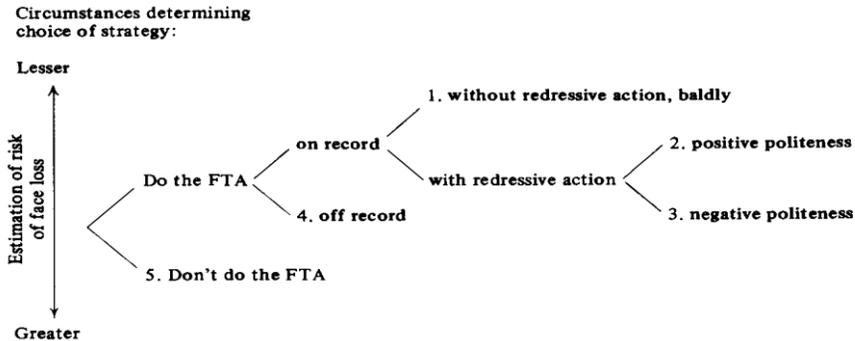
B&L claim that any speech act has the potential to threaten the face of either S or H. Accordingly, FTAs are categorized in regard to which and whose face is threatened. Hence, there are two ways for classifying FTAs: by whether S’s face or H’s face is mainly threatened, or by whether it is mainly positive face or negative face that is at stake (p. 68). By putting pressure on H, there are acts that threaten H’s negative face which include ordering, requesting, suggesting, advising, reminding, threatening, warning, daring, offering, promising, complimenting, expressing envy or admiration, and expressing strong negative emotions. Acts threatening S’s negative face include accepting an offer, accepting thanks, and promising unwillingly. (pp. 65-66)

Similarly, B&L distinguish speech acts that threaten the positive face of both S and H. The acts threatening H’s

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positive face encompass the expressions of disapproval, disagreements, accusations, interruptions, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, insults, contradictions or disagreement, challenges, expressions of violent emotions, irreverence, mention of taboo topics, bringing bad news about H or good news about S, raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics, interrupting H's talk, and use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters. The acts that threaten S's positive face include apologizing, accepting compliments, and confessing. (pp. 67-68)



Adopted from Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 69)

**1. Bald on-record:** through this strategy, the risk of losing face is provided as nothing is taken to minimize the threat of the hearer's face. No redressive action is needed but rather S approaches H in "the most direct, clear, unambiguous, and concise way possible" (p. 69). There is just "one unambiguously attributable intention with which witnesses would concur" (p. 69). Normally, an FTA is carried out in this way only if S does not fear retribution from H. This strategy is adopted in certain acts such as offers, requests, and suggestions where the danger to H's face is very small and which are clearly in H's interest and do not require great sacrifices of S (e.g., 'Come in' or 'Do sit down'); and where politeness

considerations are not of high weight when “S is vastly superior in power to H” (p. 69).

**2. Positive politeness:** No such intended or desired face threat is clearly indicated in this strategy. It is oriented toward the positive face of H, and the positive self-image that he claims for her/himself. Through this “approach-based” strategy, S recognizes that H has a desire to be respected and approved of (p. 70). Positive face redress appeals to solidarity to reduce the potential for criticism or rejection. This strategy, therefore, confirms the friendly and intimately relationship and expresses group reciprocity. B&L (1987) indicate that:

Positive politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent even between strangers who perceive themselves ... positive-politeness techniques are usable not only for FTA redress, but in general as a kind of social accelerator, where S, in using them, indicates that he wants to “come closer” to H. (p. 103)

Among the strategies used to achieve positive politeness are the use of in-group identity markers, compliments, seeking agreement, avoiding disagreement, joking, offering and promising, giving (or asking) for reasons, expressing sympathy, assuming or asserting reciprocity, and giving gifts to H.

**3. Negative politeness:** with attention to very restricted aspects of H’s self-image and self-determination centering on H’s want to be unimpeded, negative politeness “is oriented mainly towards satisfying and redressing H’s negative face” (p. 70). This “avoidance-based” strategy allows S to express recognition of H’s “want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded” (p. 129). By employing linguistic and non-linguistic deference, using hedges on the illocutionary force of the act, and

impersonalizing and softening mechanisms, face-threatening acts are redressed keeping in this way H's face-saving.

**4. Off-record:** No risk of losing face is involved in such a strategy since the communicative act is done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act (p. 211). Through off-record option, S is out of committing himself to just one particular interpretation of her/his act since all kinds of hints "as to what a speaker wants or means to communicate, without doing so directly, so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable" (p. 69) are available. Accordingly, S avoids responsibility for the FTA as all hints and their interpretations are left to H.

**5. Do not do the FTA:** No thing is said or performed in such a strategy due to greatness of the risk of losing face. This option prevents S from performing the FTA and thus the threat of the H's face-losing is avoided.

### **Methodology**

To measure the influence of speech-behavior matching on perceiving a complete attitude of politeness in Egyptians' social interactions, the study under investigation takes up three of the most rated and popular social Egyptian television series, namely *Al Du:? El-Shaarid* (Stray Light, 1998), *Lann A?i:sh fi Gilbab Aby* (Falling Far from My Father's Shadow, 1996), and *El-Watad* (The Wedge), as its sources for collecting data. Through adopting the participant observation technique by which "the researcher observes a particular aspect of human behavior with as much objectivity as possible and records the data" (Williams, 2007, p. 67), the extracted scenes tackle mainly the televised Egyptian interactions of offering and responding to congratulations, condolences and consolations presented in these three series which are documented in the study by using the screenshot technique. These televised

interactions are transcribed and annotated for verbal and nonverbal behaviors.

By adopting *Content Analysis method* that provides “a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of materials for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, or bases” (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001, p. 155), which enables the researcher to explore “verbal, visual, behavioral patterns, themes, or biases” (Williams, 2007, p. 69), the televised Egyptian interactions under investigation are analyzed in the light of the aforementioned theories with high focus given to B&L’s (1987) Politeness Theory.

### **Data analysis and results**

When investigating the conveyed and the received interactions regarding the contexts of congratulating and condoling/consoling in the previously mentioned three Egyptian series, 165 scenes are extracted to set up a dataset of 248 interactions (actions and reactions). Out of these 248 interactions, 187 (75.4%) interactions are characterized by offering and responding to congratulations while the other 61 (24.6%) interactions are characterized by expressing and/or accepting condolences and consolations.

As shown in (Table 1), it is observed that the interlocutors match their spoken expressions of congratulations, condolences/consolations with their performed nonverbal behaviors in 210 (84.7%) interactions out of 248. On the other hand, still in the same contexts, the co-occurring nonverbal behaviors of the interlocutors are appeared to be mismatched with their verbal expressions in 38 (15.3%) interactions.

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**Table 1: Matches and Mismatches Distribution**

Relation	Interactions	Total	Percent
	N.	Interactions N.	%
<b>Matching</b>	210	248	84.7%
<b>Mismatching</b>	38	248	15.3%

The following chosen set of scenes provides two different attitudes of congratulation. To investigate the influence of speech-behavior matching on saving the speaker's and/or the hearer's faces or not, one of these scenes explores speech-behavior matching while the other scene explores speech-behavior mismatching.



**Scene 1: *Falling Far from My Father's Shadow*, Episode 33**

The scene starts when Fawzia comes to visit Fatma and congratulates her upon her (Fatma) daughter who gave birth.

**Fawzia:** /ألف مبروك على نوفا/

“Congratulations for Nofa's giving birth”

**Fatma:** /الله يبارك فيكي/

“God bless you”

**Fawzia:** /إلا جابت إية صحيح/

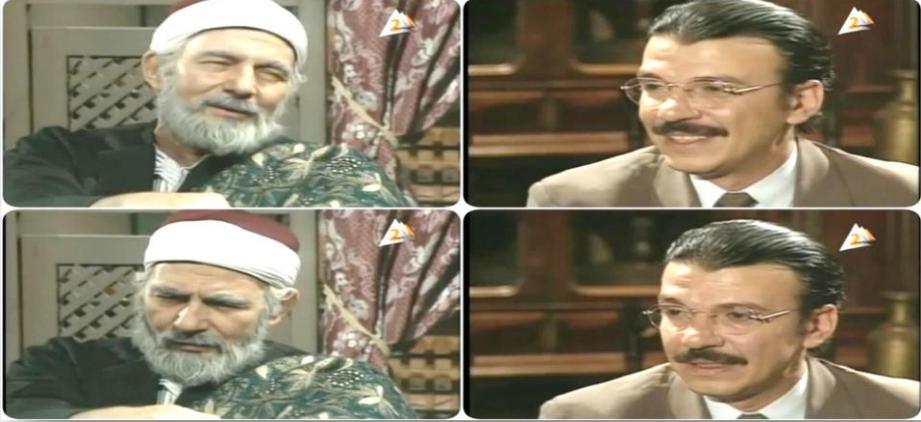
“Is he a boy or is she a girl?”

**Fatma:** /جابت عبدالغفور/

“He is a boy named Abdul Ghafoor”

**Fawzia:** /بسم الله ماشاء الله... يزي ويبارك/

“Oh! Mashalla... May Allah increase and blessing”



## Scene 2: *Stray Light*, Episode 29

While joyously exchanging their talk about marriage, Dr. Feşal tells his father his decision of marrying a girl whom his father does not approve of.

**Son:** /أنا أستخرت ربنا وقررت/

“I prayed to our Lord and decided.”

**Father:** /ونعم بالله... في واحدة معينة/

“And yes, by Allah... is there a particular girl?”

**Son:** /طبعاً يا أباي/

“Of course, dad... there is.”

**Father:** /ألف مبروك يا ولدي/

“Congratulations, my son.”

**Son:** /الله يبارك فيك... ومالك بتقولها كدا/

“God bless you... but why you said it in this way?!”

**Father:** /بقولها كيف يعني/

“And what is wrong in that way?!”

**Son:** /يعني مش هي الفرحة اللي أتوقعها /

“As if you are not happy.”

Throughout the first scene, Fawzia, after being warmly welcomed, with a smiley looking face and a straight looking gaze in an active cheerful tone of voice congratulates Fatma on the new baby of her daughter (Nofa). In return, Fatma accepts her congratulations and in the same friendly way with a smiling face and cheerful tone responds to them to the extent that encourages Fawzia to comfortably ask about the baby's gender. On regarding the second scene, while happily exchanging their talk about marriage, dr.Fasal tells his father his decision of marrying a girl whom his father disapproves of. In order to show his disapproval, the father responds to his son by turning his sad looking face away and saying in a low tone of voice

“(/ألف مبروك يا ولدي/), Congratulations, my son”. In turn, in spite of responding to his father's congratulation, the son, who suddenly turned sad, deprecatingly wonders about the manner in which his father congratulates him.

These two scenes compare two distinct attitudes of displaying congratulation both verbally and nonverbally. Through exploring the contexts and identifying the verbal expressions and the nonverbal behaviors the interlocutors adopt in offering and responding to congratulations, it is observed that congratulating actions in both attitudes are lined in the same verbal formulas that are perfectly matched with the congratulating contexts. However, on regarding the manners in which these verbal formulas are performed, it is shown that they are viewed to be different in both scenes as reflected on the hearers' faces and consequently on their nonverbal then

verbal responses. In the first scene, both the action and the response of congratulation are appeared to be verbally and nonverbally matched with each other and altogether with the context and hence a complete attitude of congratulation is perceived that saves the faces of both the hearer and the speaker. On the other hand, the second scene reveals another attitude of congratulation where neither the nonverbal behaviors of the congratulating act nor its response match the displayed verbal formula nor the context of congratulation. Though the verbal formula of the speaker (*ألف مبروك*) fits perfectly the act of congratulation, its accompanied nonverbal patterns of behaviors (including facial expressions, gestures, and voice tone) fail to reflect such an attitude of congratulation, and consequently threaten the hearer's face. Moreover, these inappropriate behaviors reverse the impact of that verbal formula which is obviously mirrored in the hearer's nonverbal as well as verbal response.

The following scenes indicate the different strategies interlocutors depend on when expressing their sympathy and empathy to the hearers and identify the verbal expressions and nonverbal behaviors they use towards the contexts of condolence and consolation, respectively.



**Figure 1:** *Falling Far from My Father's Shadow*, Episode 26  
Scene 3

In this scene, Sayed condoles his employer Abd El-Ghafour upon losing his loyal employee and close friend (Faheem Afandy) who passed away.

**Sayed:** /ربنا يجعله آخر الأحزان يا حج/

“May God make it the last of your sorrows, Hag”

**Abd El-Ghafour:** (nodding his head)



**Scene 4:** *Falling Far from My Father's Shadow*, Episode 24

In this scene, Abd El-Ghafour (the father) paternally consoles his daughter who newly got divorced after realizing that her husband married her because of her dad's wealth and not for loving her.

**Abd El-Ghafour (the father):** / يا بت أنتي لسه صغيرة والدنيا كلها /  
قدامك بالطول والعرض، وإن شاء الله إن شاء الله ربنا يرزقك بابن الحلال  
اللي يسعدك/

“My darling, you are still young and your life is still in the palm of your hand. Do not be sorry for him and, Insha'Allah, you will get the right one who loves you for yourself”

Although the preceding scenes view the saddening attitudes in which Hs are engaged, however; the verbal expressions and their co-occurring nonverbal behaviors Ss adopt in expressing their sympathy and empathy towards Hs' states are contrarily different. In scene 3, Sayed adopts, for both expressing his sad emotions upon the deceased person and conveying his sympathy toward Abd El-Ghafour (H), sad facial expressions

as raising inner-brow and pulling lip corners down, looking-down gaze, stable hand gestures, and sad low tone of voice in uttering his condolence “/ ربنا يجعله آخر الأحزان يا حج /” (May God make it the last of your sorrows). All provided nonverbal behaviors alongside the verbal expressions of scene 3 are matched with each other and altogether with the condoling context. On regarding the attitude of consolation in scene 4, S depends on a more positive strategy in consoling his daughter who newly got divorced. He (S) performs a group of nonverbal behaviors that may seem inappropriate in different consoling contexts such as happy facial expressions (as smiling, raising eyebrows, tightening eyes), active gestures (as waving and pointing with hands, nodding head, rubbing arm), and speaking in an active tone of voice, while uttering his consoling verbal expressions.

### **Discussion**

This study aims to investigate the influence of the co-occurring speech-behavior matching and mismatching on the perception of politeness attitudes, and thus to suggest a multimodal applicability of politeness theories through investigating politeness on its nonverbal aspects as well as verbal ones. By employing an investigation of the verbal expressions and their co-occurring nonverbal behaviors related to the contexts of giving and responding to congratulations and condolences/consolations on three Egyptian dramas, the analysis of the selected data seeks mainly to answer whether or not speech-behavior matching absence affects saving the hearer's and/or speaker's faces and therefore perceiving politeness.

Linguistically speaking, the acts of congratulation, condolence/consolation are classified in Searle's (1979) framework as expressive speech acts that intend to “express

the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content” (p. 15). For him, this class of acts has no direction of fit as the expressed illocution presupposes S’s intended attitude towards H’s affairs. In terms of politeness, Leech (1983) categorizes these previous speech acts as convivial speech acts in which the illocutionary goal coincides with social goals (p. 104). By regarding politeness as an aspect of goal-oriented behavior, Leech singles out convivial speech acts (Seale’s Expressives) to employ the positive strategies of politeness that are associated with his proposed maxims of approbation and modesty (p. 132). On the other hand, B&L (1987) identify positive politeness as “the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self - image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants” (p. 61). By means of this scale of politeness, S recognizes H’s want that her/his emotions and interests should be respected and taken into consideration.

### **Speech-Behavior Matches and Mismatches in Congratulation**

The analysis of the 187 interactions of giving and responding to congratulations provided in the selected televised series reveal two different attitudes of congratulation. The first attitude is presented in the 160 (85.6%) interactions in which the performed nonverbal behaviors of either the speaker and/or the hearer match their uttered verbal expressions of congratulation. The second attitude, in which the performed nonverbal behaviors of the interlocutors mismatch with their uttered verbal expressions and accordingly the contexts of congratulation in which they are engaged, is manifested in the remaining 27 (14.4%) interactions. Although the verbal expressions of giving congratulations and responding to them in both attitudes are varied in formula in order to agree with

the contextual attitudes of congratulation, but all still have the same corresponding pragmatic meaning of showing S's happiness towards H's related event and offering her/his good wishes to H who in return conveys her/his gratefulness toward S's kindness. At this point, those verbal expressions are verbally considered polite behaviors in which S exports a good and a comfortable feeling to H (Lakoff, 1973) and in which H's desire that her/his self-image to be appreciated and her/his interest to be respected is approved (B&L, 1987). Consequently, the previous two attitudes of congratulation can be linguistically announced as polite social attitudes. However, the results show that H's face is once saved and another time threatened respectively in the first attitude then in the second one in spite of employing the same polite verbal expressions of congratulation.

Beside verbal expressions, various cues of co-occurring nonverbal behaviors are observed to be carried out through the act and the react of congratulation in the previous contexts. Nonverbal behaviors as facial expressions, body postures and orientations, touching, gestures, and tone of voice are drawn, in whole or in part, differently in the considered two attitudes of congratulation. Through the first attitude, the verbal expressions of congratulation are accompanied with, just to mention, smiles, laughs, direct faces, straight gazes, close conversational distance, cheek kisses, hugs, hands shaking, arms patting, and cheerful tones of voice. All these nonverbal behaviors match perfectly with the happy context of congratulation and hence with the verbal expressions. On the contrary, all of or part of the co-occurring nonverbal behaviors checked in the first attitude are broken down or even reversed in the second attitude. Subsequently, these nonverbal behaviors are found to be mismatched with the context as well as the verbal expressions of congratulation.

Based on the results of the linguistic and non-linguistic analyses of the aforementioned attitudes of congratulation, it is found that the reason for saving H's face in the first attitude and threatening it in the second one is not associated with the uttered verbal expressions of congratulation, as they mostly have the same formulas and same functions. Instead, it is associated with the performed co-occurring nonverbal behaviors. H's face is being saved in the first attitude due to matching these co-occurring nonverbal behaviors with the verbal expressions of congratulation, and both with the contextual attitude. This speech-behavior match displays a complete attitude of positive politeness in which H's desires to be congratulated and her/his happiness to be shared by others are approved. On the other hand, H's face is being threatened in the second attitude, regardless of the uttered verbal expressions that are linguistically polite, due to the disagreement or the mismatching of the performed co-occurring nonverbal behaviors with both the verbal expressions and the context of congratulation. This speech-behavior mismatching, even if it comes out from the feeling of jealousy or dissatisfaction of either S and/or H, violates not only B&L's (1987) positive politeness through which H desires that her/his self-image to be appreciated but, moreover, violates their negative politeness through which H wants that her/his action to be unimpeded. In such a context, Brown (2001) argues that:

Polite utterances are not necessarily communicating 'real' feeling about another's social persona, but expressing contextually-expected concern for face. This concern is an 'implicature', an inference of polite intentions, not a feature inextricably attached to particular linguistic forms. Politeness is ascribed to a speech act, or to an interactional move (if you prefer), not to a strategy or its linguistic realization. (p. 11623)

Hence, speech-behavior mismatching in congratulation functions not only in preventing politeness attitudes whether on its verbal or nonverbal dimensions from arising but rather functions in displaying impoliteness attitudes. Therefore, politeness in congratulation can be only accomplished by speech-behavior matching and broken down by speech-behavior mismatching.

### **Speech-Behavior Matches and Mismatches in Condolence and Consolation**

On the other hand, politeness in the contexts of giving and/or responding to condolences (for losing someone) and consolations (for any loss other than losing someone) is found to be distinctly interpreted. As in congratulating interactions, the analysis of 61 interactions concerning condoling and consoling interactions in the selected series reveals two different attitudes. The first attitude includes 50 (82.0%) interactions of giving and/or responding to both condolences and consolations where S's and/or H's verbal expressions of showing sympathy match with their drawn sad co-occurring nonverbal behaviors. Regarding this attitude, H's face is found to be saved in matching the verbal expressions of showing sympathy with their co-occurring nonverbal behavior and altogether with the sad contexts of condolence and/or consolation. Hence as in congratulating interactions, politeness is found to be only perceived by speech-behavior matching especially on condoling interactions. The second attitude includes 11 (18.0%) interactions that concern mainly the attitudes of consolation in which neither the consoling verbal expressions that used for expressing S's empathy towards H's loss nor her/his happy co-occurring nonverbal behaviors seem to be matched with the sad contexts of consolation. In spite of

realizing the sad feeling of H's upon her/his loss, S, in the second attitude, prefers to express her/his empathy towards H's loss through a more positive way by using supportive verbal expressions and happy nonverbal behaviors in an attempt for relieving H's sorrow. In addition, H's face is unexpectedly found to be not only non-threatened but rather saved on such a mismatch. Accordingly, concerning some consolation attitudes, not all speech-behavior mismatches are impolite.

### **Conclusion**

This study aims at identifying the influence of speech-behavior matching and mismatching on the perception of social politeness attitudes through the investigation of some Egyptians' social interactions, namely congratulating, condoling, and consoling. The main result is that the perception of social attitudes of politeness associated with Egyptian context is characterized in the multimodal realization and manipulation of the relevant patterns of nonverbal politeness together with the forms of verbal politeness.

Based on the multimodal quantitative and qualitative analyses of the verbal expressions and their co-occurring nonverbal behaviors associated with the speech acts of congratulation, condolence, and consolation in three Egyptian social television series, the results indicate that positive politeness can only be accomplished in offering and responding to congratulations by speech-behavior matches. In such contexts, any mismatch in the speech-behavior, regardless of the verbal politeness implied in the uttered speech, can be negatively interpreted as a sign of jealousy or dissatisfaction that positively functions in realizing impoliteness which on its part destroys the maintenance of social relationships and thus conflicts with the essential social goal of congratulation as a speech act. Similarly, in condolence and consolation interactions, as in congratulation, a complete attitude of

politeness is perceived in the interactions at which the verbal expressions of sharing sympathy match with the sad co-occurring nonverbal behaviors drawn by S and/or H. In this respect, a complete positive attitude of politeness will be achieved when matching the verbal speech with the nonverbal behaviors. However, not all mismatches are impolite. In relation to Egyptian context, expressing empathy for consolation attitudes can be positively accomplished by speech-behavior mismatches when uttering consoling verbal expressions in cheerful, instead of sorrowful, nonverbal behaviors that are not only non-threatening for H's face but rather, thanks to these mismatches, H's face is saved.

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