

## Gender Performativity and Identity Construction: Discourse analysis of beggars' linguistic choices while begging

Kaleem Raza Khan<sup>1</sup>  
Shumaila Shafket Ali<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract:

*Linguistic choices often reveal gender identity which reinforces the notion of gender performativity introduced by Butler (1990; 1999). This qualitative study using discourse analysis as its framework, was undertaken with the aim to explore how the linguistic choices made by beggars who have the same intention --- the intention of extracting money or food --- synchronize with the notion of gender performativity. The data for the study are based on the discourse of beggars in some of the major cities and hill stations in Pakistan. Since the study focused on gender differences in the employment of language used for begging, the data were collected by employing both convenience and stratified sampling techniques based on the discourse of 50 beggars: 25 male and 25 female beggars of different age groups. The speech acts of beggars were analyzed with reference to five major categories: number of utterances produced within a single speech act, the syntactic features of beggars' discourse, the nature of the request for help, the kind of prayers offered in exchange of help and the nature of their verbal responses in case of the denial of help from their potential benefactors. The results of the study show significant gender differences in the use of beggars' discourse. The study is a significant contribution in the field of research on gender differences in discourse style in general and differences in the discourse of beggars, in particular. The study's significance also lies in its attempt to explore the manipulative function of discourse, and seen from this perspective, beggars' discourse is not much different from political discourse and the discourse of advertising, as in both the cases the aim is to appeal to the psychology of the target audience.*

**Keywords:** *gender; gender performativity; gender identity; beggars; speech acts*

### 1. Introduction

Beggars' presence on the streets and other public places, especially outside local markets, and holy sites, like mosques, shrines, temples, and churches, is a common sight in many countries, particularly in the third

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<sup>1</sup> Registrar, Salim Habib University

<sup>2</sup> Assistant Professor, Department of English, University of Karachi

world countries due to the high rate of poverty. However, their presence is not just restricted to the third world countries, as one can also find them at different public places in the developed countries as well. Matiza (2021) defines begging as “an act performed in public spaces, kindly asking for help from the society either in cash or goods so as to sustain oneself out of hunger caused by unemployment and poverty.” (p. 41). In Pakistan, according to Sarim (2018), street begging can be divided into three categories: those who have no resources to earn a livelihood, those who beg out of sheer laziness and convenience, and finally those who are controlled by different gangs and are compelled to beg.

On the basis of their degree of begging, beggars can be divided into two categories: fulltime and part time beggars. Abebe (2009) draws a clear distinction between the two:

Full-time beggars are those who spend most of their time and energy begging for either food or cash, and derive much of their income in this way. Part-time beggars, on the other hand, are those who either combine begging with other income generating activities, such as selling items on streets, or resort to begging only when their income generating potential from other activities is limited. (p. 1042)

Irrespective of the category beggars belong to, and irrespective of their appearance and the style of begging, which may vary across cultures and sometimes within the same culture depending on their circumstances and locality, their goal is similar: that is strategic and persuasive use of discourse to gain sympathy in order to extract money and food from the passers-by. For achieving this goal, beggars employ a variety of persuasive techniques through linguistic manoeuvring, which the current study aims to investigate with a specific focus on the construction of gender identity in their discourse during begging. Since beggars are a common sight in the public space in Pakistan, we decided to focus on gender identity construction in beggars’ discourse after observing the language of beggars in different public places in the country. The study specifically seeks to answer the following research questions:

### **1.1 Research Questions:**

1. What linguistic features do beggars employ in their discourse with passers-by?
2. How do the beggars construct their gender identity while begging?

## 2. Literature Review

Language and Gender studies first emerged in the early 1970s. The publication of the book *Language and Woman's Place* by Lakoff (1975) led to an exponential growth in the number of research studies focusing on gender differences in language. Although most of Lakoff's ideas were based on assumptions rather than empirical evidence, it provided scholars the impetus needed to empirically investigate gender differences in language. The theoretical approaches proposed for conceptualizing and constructing gender further paved the way for a number of empirical studies to understand the complex relation that exists between language and gender (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 2005; Coates, 2015; Christie, 2000; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013; Holmes, 2001; 2008; Sunderland, 2006; Tannen, 1990).

Despite the presence of a large body of published research literature on gender differences in the discourse of male and female speakers, beggars' discourse has rarely been explored in terms of gender identity. Nevertheless, there is a substantial body of research literature available on beggars. There are studies that revolve around urban begging and the problems that beggars face (Burke, 1999; Butovskaya et.al, 2000; Jamil et.al, 2019; Khan et.al, 2013), studies that exclusively focus on child beggars (Abebe, 2008; 2009; Brito, 2013b; Delap, 2009; Hecht, 2000; Hoot et.al, 2006; Nieuwenhuys, 2001), while in some studies the focus is on attitudes of givers towards beggars. Butovskaya et.al, (2002), for instance, conducted a study to explore the attitude and practice of alms giving to beggars by administering a close-ended questionnaire on 497 students of Moscow. The findings of the study revealed different attitudes of the givers based on gender and social class. The study though significant in terms of investigating students' attitude towards beggars has one major limitation. It utilizes only one tool that is a close-ended questionnaire for gathering data. Since a questionnaire is based on self-reporting, the information gathered solely through this tool cannot be considered completely reliable.

A respectable body of published research literature is also available on the discourse of beggars (Esan, 2009; Hayati & Manayati, 2010; Tladi, 2017). In a study by Andriotis (2016), for instance, the focus is on beggars' interaction with tourists. The study conducted in Heraklion, Crete utilized Goffman's (1971) concept of public space interaction by collecting data based on non-participant observations and photographing. The study is

unique in the sense that it not only explores the strategies beggars use for extracting money from tourists but also categorizes beggars and tourists on the basis of their interactions.

Because of the high rate of poverty in Africa, begging is very common in African countries and therefore most of the research on beggars' discourse is conducted in African context. A study by Esan (2009) is significant with reference to the undertaken research as it focused on how the beggars manipulate language to extract money from passers-by. The study, conducted in the south western part of Nigeria, utilized Speech Act Theory proposed by Back and Harnish (1979) as well as Critical Discourse Analysis framework by Fairclough (2000). The data comprised documentation and recording of beggars' discourse to explore the linguistic manoeuvring on their part along with a focus on exploring attitude towards begging and the categories of beggars found in Nigeria. According to the results of the study, beggars' discourse is based on a combination of phonokinetic, phatic and rhetic acts.

Another significant study conducted on beggars' discourse is the one by Okpeadua (2012). This study conducted in Lagos, the most populous city in Nigeria, is based on pragmatic analysis of the speech acts produced by beggars. The data for this study comprised speech acts of 100 beggars who were chosen from different locations in the city using purposive sampling. Using observation, note-taking, and tape recording, the communicative acts of beggars were collected for pragmatic analysis. The findings of the study revealed that both, Discourse Conditioning Acts (DCAs), which rely on indirectness, and Purpose Execution Acts (PEAs), which are based on directness, are employed by the beggars in Lagos. The Discourse Conditioning Acts, which were based on three categories included, indirect speech acts, psychological, and physical acts. A variety of indirect speech acts employed by the beggars included: *arguing, negotiating, attention-seeking, claiming, denying, complaining, protesting, questioning, threatening, use of different politeness strategies, and idiomatic expressions*. Among the Purposive Execution Acts, the most frequently employed direct acts included, *commissive, directive, and expressive acts*. This study is different from other research studies as it not only provides a comprehensive analysis of beggars' verbal discourse, but also their non-verbal discourse through a comprehensive pragmatic analysis.

With reference to the visually impaired beggars, Matiza(2021), conducted a quality inquiry employing Critical Discourse Analysis CDA to analyze the discourse of visually impaired beggars in Zimbabwe along with the aim to explore the Zimbabweans' attitude towards these beggars' discourse. Using purposive as well as random sampling techniques, the data were collected from buses and footpaths that the visually impaired beggars abound. The data were based on observation of the discourse of the visually-impaired beggars, their helpers, passengers in buses, bus drivers and conductors. Besides collecting instances of their discourse, some people were also randomly selected for interviews to find out their perception of the visually impaired beggars' discourse. The findings of the study reveal that the visually impaired beggars often use songs and chants to gain the sympathy of travellers and passers-by but they do not succeed in convincing those whose ideologies contradict with the beggars' discourse as discovered through the findings of the interview analysis. The study is a significant contribution in reinforcing the concept of discourse as a tool to project certain political and religious ideologies.

Since begging has turned into a profession in Pakistan and India, some local scholars have conducted research on this issue to draw attention of the authorities to curb this evil (Jamil, et.al, 2019; Khan et.al, 2013; Malik & Roy, 2012). Nevertheless, it has not been systematically studied from linguistic perspective. In spite of the availability of research literature on the beggars' discourse at global level, the field is hardly explored in Pakistan, where beggars are a common sight. After an exhaustive search, we could find only one significant collaborative study conducted in this regard in Pakistani context by Zaidi et.al, (2020). This relatively recent study conducted in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, focused on three sectors of the city I-8, I-9, and I-10 for data-collection. The data based on the discourse of beggars were analyzed with reference to Grice's maxims to determine the degree to which each of the maxims: maxim of quality, quantity, manner, and relevance are violated. The findings of this small scale study indicate that the most frequently violated maxim by the beggars is the maxim of quantity. However, these findings cannot be generalized as the study covers only three sectors of Islamabad.

Although the current study also aims to explore the discourse of beggars, the focus is on the construction of gender identity in their discourse. Another point that makes this study distinct from the ones reviewed in this section is that the data for this study are collected from

different localities of the five major cities of Pakistan: Karachi, Islamabad, Multan, Bahawalpur, and Chital, along with three major hill stations: Murree, Ayubia, and Nathiagali.

### **3. Methodology:**

This qualitative inquiry utilized discourse analysis framework to answer the research questions posed in the study. The data collection instruments included field-notes based on observations of the beggars' interactions with people along with the recording of some instances where feasible. We mainly used unobtrusive methods for collecting the data because by observing people interact in a natural setting as a non-participant observer one can get unpolluted data unlike the data collected through administering questionnaires or conducting interviews. Andriotis (2016) has made a similar comment in this regard as according to him, "where the focus of research is to investigate human beings and their social world, methods which do not involve talking with people can result in more spontaneous behaviours" (p. 66). Our role, as non-participant observers, was not disclosed to any of the beggars to avoid data contamination, as according to O'Brien (2010) "when subjects know they are being observed, they might skew data, consciously or unconsciously, to create a different impression to the outsider" (p.4). However, we also became participant-observers at some places where the beggars approached us for money. In order to elicit their response to denial of request for charity, we initially refused to offer them anything. The refusal on our part helped us collect instances of speech acts they usually produce in response to any denial for help.

The sample size for the study was based on total 100 examples of fifty beggars' utterances. Among the fifty beggars, twenty-five were males and twenty-five were females from different age groups. The participants were chosen using convenience and stratified sampling and the data were collected not only from Karachi where we live but also from four other cities of Pakistan: Islamabad, Multan, Bahawalpur, and Chitral, as well as three of the famous hill stations of Pakistan: Murree, Ayubia, and Nathiagali, during our official and unofficial visit to these places. In order to find rich data for this study, we visited places where beggars are found in abundance like, railway stations, bus terminals, local markets, and shrines, along with some famous tourist spots.

#### 4. Data Analysis:

In order to analyze the data systematically with a specific focus on gender identity construction, five categories were designed based on: *number of utterances within a single speech act, syntactic features, nature of request for help, nature of prayers offered in exchange of help, and nature of verbal/non-verbal responses in case of denial for help.*

##### 4.1 Number of utterances within a single speech act

Since women are considered to be more talkative than men, this feature is so strongly connected with feminine discourse that any man who is found to be very talkative is stereotyped as possessing feminine attributes. Although the findings of some studies indicate that the amount of discourse that males produce in cross-gender conversations is higher than the discourse by females (Holmes, 2008; McHugh & Hambaugh, 2010; Tannen, 1990), such findings cannot be overgeneralized as the roles assigned to each gender may vary across cultures, which in turn may not only affect the amount of discourse but also the nature of discourse that males and females produce in different settings. During the field work for this study, for instance, the female beggars were found to be more verbose, using multiple utterances within a single speech act which corroborates the findings of previous research on gender differences in discourse that report the use of longer utterances and/or sentences on the part of females in both spoken and written discourse respectively (Mulac et.al, 2001; Mulac & Lundell, 1994).

Here are two examples of female beggars' discourse with the use of longer and multiple utterances within a single speech act:

- i. An old female beggar outside a historical tourist site in Bahawalpur: *ni Allah sona teri mann dia~ muraada~ puuriaa~ hon, Allah Makke Madine di hajj karaave, ni Allah sona teri pasand di shaadi karaave, ni de de haajane, tannu koi thoR na hoe* [May Allah grant your heart's desires! May Allah give you a chance to visit Mecca and Medina for hajj! May you get married to a person of your choice! Please give charity *haajan* (a title used to refer to any Muslim woman who has performed hajj). May you never fall short of anything!]
- ii. A young female beggar outside the gate of a public sector university in Karachi: *baaji madad kar de! Allah tuje har pareshaani se duur rakhe. tere maa baap jiiie~. tu pass ho jaae. teri muraade~ puuri ho~* [Baaji

help me! May Allah keep you away from every trouble! May your parents live long! May you pass! May all your wishes be granted!]

Both these examples prove the tendency on the part of the female beggars to use multiple utterances in a single speech event. In contrast to the female beggars, the male beggars were rarely seen using too many utterances within a single speech act. In fact, some of the male beggars just used a single utterance, while some avoided making any verbal request by opting for the use of their body language like stretching out their hand to ask for charity. Here are a few examples of male beggars' discourse:

- i. An old beggar outside a shrine in Multan: "*Allah ke naam pe de de*" (Give in the name of Allah);
- ii. A middle-aged male beggar outside a local market in Karachi: "*Allah ke naam pe Ghariib ki madad kar do*" (Help the poor in the name of Allah)
- iii. A male child beggar outside a bakery in Islamabad: "*Baaji khaana le do*" (Baaji get me food).
- iv. A male child begging near a traffic signal in Clifton, Karachi: "*Madam bhuuk lag rahi he*". (Madam! I feel hungry).

Although in the first three examples, there is a direct request for help, example iv is an indirect request for money. The illocutionary force of this utterance was a clear indication of the request for monetary help as there was no food outlet near the traffic signal.

#### 4.2 Syntactic features

There were not many differences between male and female beggars' discourse at the syntactic level as both the genders used declaratives more frequently except that there were quite a few instances of exclamatory wishes in the female beggars' discourse, like "*Allah bot de ga*" (God will grant you a lot); *Allah tere dil diyaa~ aasaa~ puuria~ kare* (May God fulfil your heart's desires!), *Allah kare tu pass ho jaae!* (May you pass your exams!). Irrespective of their age, the female beggars were found to use exclamatory wishes more than their male counterparts, who mostly relied on the use of declaratives. For instance, one young boy outside a bakery in Karachi was seen addressing a lady "*Baaji biis rupe de do*" (Baaji give twenty rupees), which implies that he would not accept any amount less than Rs 20. A physically disabled male beggar sitting in a corner outside the main bazaar in Ayubia, a famous hill station in KPK, was seen addressing a female



passer-by as “*baaji xe’raat de de~. dekhe~ me’~ maazuur hu~ mera haq banta he’* (Baaji give charity. See I am handicapped. It is my right). The examples from the two male beggars cited here very clearly indicate the degree of authority with which they demanded money in contrast to the female beggars’ syntactic choices making use of exclamatory wishes to achieve the desired perlocutionary effect. The male beggars’ use of declaratives also reinforces the concept of ‘gender performativity’ introduced by Butler (1990), as both the examples reflect authoritative tone of the speaker implying as if it is their right to ask for charity.

#### 4.3 Nature of request for help

There were significant gender differences in the nature of request for help that the beggars under investigation made. The male beggars made situation-specific requests for help as compared to the female beggars whose requests were general rather than specific.

For example, a young boy selling newspaper at one of the traffic signals in a posh area in Karachi requested for help in these words: “*Madam kuchh help karde~ aaTa lena he’ be’hno~ ke liye Eid ki shopping karlu~ ga. Allah aapko bohat de*” [Madam help a little! Have to buy flour; will do Eid shopping for sisters. May God grant you more]. Another example is that of an old male beggar standing outside a bakery in Karachi: “*BeTi samosa khaane ka dil chaah raha he’. pe’se de de.*” [Daughter! I wish to eat samosa (a famous local snack available in bakeries and confectionaries). Give me money].

As opposed to the male beggars, the female beggars who we observed begging were found to make general requests irrespective of the situation and the setting. One of the female beggars, for instance, requested for help in these words: “*Allah ke naam pe madad kar de! Allah tuje Hajj karaae baaji, kuch de ja! subaah se kuchh nai khaaya. Allah bot de ga Ghariib ki dua le ja.*” [Help in the name of Allah! May Allah help you perform Hajj (Muslim pilgrimage). Haven’t eaten anything since morning. Allah will bless you a lot! Take a poor person’s prayers].

Irrespective of their gender, one common feature found in the request for help on part of most of the beggars was their choice of such expressions that could help them gain sympathies from their potential benefactors, as is evident from the given examples:

- i. A female beggar requesting for money in Ayubia:  
*baaji thoRe pe'se de do. mera shohar faut ho gaya he'. dekho na mere kitne bachche he'~* (pointing towards her four little children)  
 [Baaji give some money. My husband has passed away. See how many children I have!]
- ii. A middle-aged female beggar outside the gate of a university in Karachi:  
*baaji naashta karna e pe'se de de.dekh mera bachcha bhi bhuuka e.*[Baaji, need to have breakfast. See my child is also hungry]
- iii. A young female beggar outside Daewoo bus terminal in Islamabad:  
*baaji baarish horai e' aaTa lena e pe'se de do. thoRe ziyada dena* [Baaji it's raining. Have to buy flour. Give money. Give a little extra]
- iv. A middle-aged male beggar sitting on the pavement outside a local market in Karachi:  
*Allah ke naam pe kuchh de do kab se be'Tha hu~ koi madad nai karra.* [Give something in the name of Allah! Have been sitting here for long. Nobody is helping.]
- v. A young boy begging outside Jinnah Super market, Islamabad:  
*Sir bhuuk lag rai he', khaana khaana he', pe'se de do* [Sir I feel hungry. Have to eat food. Give money]
- vi. A male beggar outside a market in Clifton, one of the posh areas in Karachi:  
*Madam sau rupe de do. me~' bhikaari nahi~ hu~ majbuuri me~ maa~g raha hu~ meri bachchi bimaar he'* [Madam, give hundred rupees. I'm not a beggar. I'm begging out of compulsion. My daughter is ill]

It is essential to clarify here that 'baaji' is a frequently employed term for addressing female strangers in Pakistan and does not have an exact equivalent in English. It is used as a mark of respect and is a common term of address used by local shopkeepers, ticket collectors in public buses as well as by male and female beggars to address females in Pakistan. However, the term is replaced by 'madam' in posh areas in major urban centres, where it is interesting to observe the use of this term of address not only by shopkeepers but also by beggars, which is also evident from example vi. The same holds true for the use of the term 'Sir' instead of 'saahab' to address males in these posh areas, as seen in example v.

#### 4.4 Nature of prayers offered in exchange of help

It is not only the beggars' speech acts based on requests for help that provide insight into their use of language and how it helps construct their gender identity, but also the nature of prayers offered after receiving help that sheds light on gender differences in their discourse style. Here are a few examples from the collected data:

- i. An old man selling rosaries outside a mall in Clifton, one of the posh areas in Karachi, after receiving charity from a lady, expressed his gratitude by praying for her in these words: "*Allah Madiine ki ziyaarat karaae*" [May Allah give you a chance to visit Medina!].
- ii. Another old male beggar outside a local bazaar in Multan expressed his gratitude in a somewhat similar style after receiving money from a lady: "*meri dua ve ke tannu Hajj nasiib hove*" [It is my prayer that you get an opportunity to perform Hajj (the most important pilgrimage offered by those Muslims who can afford to travel to Mecca and Medina)].

Since Mecca and Medina are considered holy cities by Muslims across the world, beggars either offer such prayers to extract money from the passers-by or offer such prayers after receiving alms. However, unlike the male beggars whose response revolved around offering prayers to visit Mecca and Medina, assuming that those who offer them charity are all Muslims, which may not necessarily be the case, most of the female beggars (with one or two exceptions) used neutral prayers without reference to any specific religious practice, which is evident from the following example:

- i. A middle-aged female beggar outside Derawar Fort, a historical site near Bahawalpur, after receiving money from a female tourist, prayed for her in Seraiki (one of the indigenous languages spoken in South Punjab) by saying: "*Allah tere dil diyaa~ aasaa~ puuria~ kare, Allah tera ma~ baap jiive, Allah xushiya~ nasiib hon*" [May Allah fulfil all your desires! May your parents live long! May Allah grant you happiness!]

#### Nature of verbal/non-verbal responses in case of denial for help

Although beggars shape their discourse in such a way that they succeed in extracting money or food from many passers-by, there are people who are unaffected by their requests. Since begging has become a profession, people are of the view that the best way to discourage this practice is to stop providing beggars any monetary help. Nevertheless,

beggars who become the recipients of refusal from their potential benefactors do not easily surrender after the initial refusal. In fact, they often use different coercion strategies which involve forcing the passers-by to give them alms by following them. Some of these beggars even harass people through the use of verbal means either by reminding of God's blessings or intimidate them by invoking God's wrath. According to Brito (2013a), the function of any coercion strategy on the part of beggars is "to bring the passer-by to a psychological breaking point beyond which (he or she) would rather give money to the beggar than continue to suffer the inconvenience created by the begging" (p. 236).

Examples of *coercion strategies* used by beggars in case of denial for help:

- i. A young female beggar following a young lady after her initial refusal to give her alms:  
*"baaji Allah ke vaaste baaji dua karu~ gi baaji pyaari baaji Allah aap ko bohat dega, Allah ke vaaste baaji"* [Baaji I will pray in the name of Allah! Sweet *baaji* Allah will give you a lot. Please give some charity in the name of Allah]
- ii. An old male beggar who was denied help shouted:  
*"tu ne Ghariib ki madad nai ki teri daulat chhin jaae gi"* [You haven't helped a poor person. Your wealth will be taken away]

The coercion strategy used in both these examples is different and indicates gender differences in begging style. The first example by a female beggar involves reminding the passer-by of God's blessings, while the second example by a male beggar involves threatening the potential benefactor by invoking God's wrath.

## 5. Findings

The findings based on this study reveal interesting insights. The female beggars' style of discourse has striking similarities with each other irrespective of their age, which also holds true to a large extent for the male beggars whose discourse is analyzed for the current study. For instance, the female beggars whose discourse is analysed in this study tend to use multiple utterances within a single speech act, which is in contrast with their male counterparts who avoid using too many utterances while begging. It would not be wrong to state that the female beggars were found to be more verbose

as compared to the male beggars. In fact, some of the male beggars that we came across during the data collection phase preferred to use their body language only while begging. Although they were not dumb, as they responded verbally by offering prayers after receiving help from some passers-by, they avoided verbal communication while begging.

Another striking difference noticed during the data collection has to do with the adherence to Urdu on the part of the male beggars irrespective of the place the data were collected from. This is in sharp contrast to the data collected from the female beggars in South Punjab, who were observed begging in Seraiki language. Whether the female beggars in South Punjab use Seraiki to project their distinct indigenous identity or use it to conceal their inability to speak in Urdu is uncertain. Besides differences in the linguistic choices, the male and female beggars also differed in their response to the denial for help. While most of the male beggars did not force their potential benefactors to help after the initial refusal, majority of the female beggars were found employing different coercion strategies to extract money from their potential benefactors.

Nevertheless, irrespective of the differences in their speech style reflecting their gender identity, both male and female beggars were found using Purpose Execution Acts (PEAs), which employ directness, with greater frequency in contrast to Discourse Conditioning Acts (DCAs), which employ indirectness to achieve one's purpose, as is evident from the examples cited in the section on data analysis.

## **6. Conclusion and recommendations for future research**

It is evident from the findings of this study that beggars' discourse despite being driven by the need to extract money from their potential benefactors is shaped in such a way that it helps construct their gender identity. The gender differences that have emerged through the findings of this study reinforce the relevance of the theory of gender performativity proposed by Butler (1990) and calls for the need to further investigate how language helps in the construction and projection of gender identity.

Since the current study does not include examples of beggars' discourse from all the provinces, the findings that have emerged through analysis of the collected data cannot be generalized. There is a need for a large-scale study that covers major cities and tourist spots of all the regions of Pakistan to see if gender differences in the beggars' discourse discovered

through this study are also found in the discourse of the beggars in other regions of the country.

An exhaustive study can also be conducted to explore how different localities within the same city or town influence the style of beggars' discourse including the terms of address they employ to refer to their potential benefactors. Research scholars can also focus on studying the discourse of beggars representing different age groups to locate if age influences their style of begging. Another possibility is to conduct a study with an exclusive focus on inquiring about beggars' linguistic choices, which may be based on factors other than gender and age.

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