

UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID

FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

Departamento de Filología Inglesa I
(Lengua y Lingüística Inglesa)



TESIS DOCTORAL

A cross-cultural socio-pragmatic study of invitations in Palestinian arabic and American english

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

PRESENTADA POR

Mahmood K.M. Eshreteh

Directores

Mariann Ellen Larsen Pehrzon
Adil Moustououi Sghir

Madrid, 2014

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ENGLISH**

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Bajo la dirección de los Doctores

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Memoria para optar al grado de doctor presentada por

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**Dra. Mariann Ellen Larsen Pehrzon
Dr. Adil Moustououi Sghir**

Madrid, 2013

DEDICATION

To my wife and my children

Who have offered me all possible support throughout my study.

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Transliteration Key

The following system of transliteration has been adopted in this study:

1. Consonants

Phonetic Symbol	Arabic Sound
ʔ	ء
b	ب
t	ت
θ	ث
j	ج
ħ	ح
x	خ
d	د
ð	ذ
r	ر
z	ز
s	س
š	ش
ʃ	ص
Ḍ	ض
T	ط
ž	ظ
ʕ	ع
ɣ	غ
f	ف
Q	ق
K	ك
L	ل
m	م
n	ن
h	ه
w	و (Semi Vowel)
y	ي (Semi Vowel)

2. Vowels

a	َ (Short Vowel)
ǎ	ا (Long Vowel)
u	ُ (Short Vowel)
ū	و (Long Vowel)
i	ِ (Short Vowel)
ī	ي (Long Vowel)

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AE	American (US) English
AES	American English Speaker
B&L	Brown and Levinson
BOR	Bold-on Record
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
CID	Conventional Indirect
CP	Cooperative Principle
SD	Social Distance
DCT	Discourse Completion Test
EPA	Educated Palestinian Arabic
FEA	Face Enhancing Act
FTA	Face Threatening Act
H	Hearer
L1	First (Native) language
L2	Second Language
MP	Model Person
NCID	Non-Conventional Indirect
NP	Negative Politeness
NVC	Non-Verbal Communication
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territories
OR	Off-record
P	Power
PP	Positive Politeness
PA	Palestinian Arabic
PAS	Palestinian Arabic Speaker
R	Ranking of Imposition
S	Speaker
SAT	Speech Accommodation Theory

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RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL
(SEGÚN LO DISPUESTO POR EL ARTÍCULO 4.3 DE LA
NORMATIVA DEL REAL DECRETO 1393/2007)

ESTUDIO INTERCULTURAL Y SOCIO-PRAGMÁTICO DE LAS
INVITACIONES EN ÁRABE PALESTINO E INGLÉS AMERICANO

Mahmood K. M. Eshreteh

Resumen:

Este estudio intercultural explora la naturaleza del hecho de invitar y de reaccionar ante una invitación en las sociedades palestina y estadounidense desde una perspectiva pragmática. Trataremos de sistematizar las diversas estrategias empleadas para realizar una invitación en ambas sociedades y así destacar las restricciones socio-pragmáticas que rigen su uso. Abordaremos los tres principales aspectos de las invitaciones: invitar, aceptar una invitación y rechazarla.

Se trata de un estudio significativo, como la revisión bibliográfica revela, debido a que parece que no hay prácticamente ninguna investigación sistemática sobre el acto de habla de invitar en árabe. Es más, hasta donde alcanza nuestro conocimiento, este sería el primer trabajo que investiga el fenómeno de la invitación en árabe palestino. Esperamos que los resultados de este estudio tengan incidencia en disciplinas como la comunicación intercultural, la lingüística aplicada e incluso en la teoría de la enseñanza de segundas lenguas o lenguas extranjeras.

El objetivo de este estudio es investigar las preferencias de uso en la elección de estrategias de cortesía (directas e indirectas) por parte de hablantes nativos de inglés americano y árabe palestino al realizar invitaciones, aceptarlas y rechazarlas, teniendo en cuenta las variables de estatus social, distancia social, edad y género. De este modo, el investigador tiene previsto alcanzar dos objetivos: estudiar la aplicabilidad de la teoría de Brown y Levinson (1987) en el contexto palestino y ofrecer algunas propuestas para la enseñanza de la invitación a estudiantes de lenguas extranjeras, haciendo especial hincapié en el impacto de la cortesía.

Utilizamos diferentes métodos en la recogida de datos. Empleamos el método de observación inmediata para la compilación de los datos de la sociedad palestina. Reunimos el corpus de invitaciones procedentes del inglés americano a partir de distintas fuentes, entre las que se incluyen trabajos previos llevados a cabo en inglés americano cuya finalidad era revelar las características propias de la invitación en esta lengua. Se revisaron obras que abordaban el estudio de la invitación en inglés americano (Suzuki 2009; Rakowicz 2009; Wolfson et al. 1983 and Wolfson 1989). El investigador también decidió contar con series y películas emitidas en televisión e internet, o grabadas en vídeo o CD, con el fin de obtener más datos de inglés americano. Además, distribuimos a una serie de informantes palestinos y estadounidenses un cuestionario con 35 campos, en el que se describían diferentes escenarios sociales en los que todos ellos pudieran encontrarse a lo largo de sus interacciones cotidianas. Estos campos requerían bien que los informantes realizaran una invitación a un hipotético destinatario, bien que respondieran a una invitación de un hipotético hablante.

Analizamos los datos siguiendo la teoría de actos de habla de Searle (1967, 1976) y los modelos de cortesía y de actos de habla que amenazan la imagen de Leech (1983) y de Brown y Levinson (1978, 1987). Asimismo, fueron de gran relevancia en el análisis de los datos otras contribuciones teóricas recientes (van Dijk 2009, 2008 y Watts 2003, entre otras). Este estudio ha demostrado que el proceso de invitar, aceptar una invitación o rechazarla sigue un patrón, es funcional y está gobernado por una serie de reglas. Es más, muestra que la distancia social, relacionada con el género y la edad del hablante, es un factor determinante con respecto al tipo de estrategias que se emplearán a la hora de invitar, aceptar o rechazar una invitación. También se sostiene que el árabe hablado en Palestina sigue un patrón determinado de invitación que sólo pueden entender y apreciar las personas que comparten un mismo contexto sociocultural.

Esta tesis se divide en doce capítulos. El primero es una introducción que está constituida por los preliminares, los objetivos, la relevancia, el alcance y la organización del estudio. El segundo presenta el marco teórico fundamental, enfocando la atención en conceptos como *pragmática*, *fracaso* y *transferencia pragmática*. También proporciona una revisión sistemática acerca de la importancia tanto de la competencia socio-pragmática como de la gramatical a la hora de aprender una segunda lengua o una lengua extranjera. El tercer capítulo observa el desarrollo histórico de los actos de habla

y hace hincapié en sus diversas definiciones, clasificaciones y condiciones de adecuación y éxito (*felicity conditions*). Asimismo, este capítulo subraya nociones tales como *situación comunicativa*, *evento comunicativo*, *actos de habla*, actos de habla *macro* y *micro*; aclara la diferencia entre acto de habla directo e indirecto y su relación con la implicatura de Grice; y ofrece una crítica a la teoría de los actos de habla.

Los capítulos cuarto y quinto se ocupan de la cortesía y la imagen o *face*. El capítulo cuatro presenta una investigación intercultural de la noción de *face*, centrándose principalmente en el inglés americano y el árabe palestino. También ofrece una revisión del concepto de la pérdida de la imagen (*loss of face*) y de las acciones que originan esta pérdida tanto en árabe palestino como en inglés americano. El capítulo cinco nos brinda una revisión de las definiciones, tipos y teorías modernas y tradicionales de cortesía (*politeness*). Revisa las nociones de colectivismo e individualismo frente a la cortesía y proporciona una crítica a las teorías sobre la cortesía, en general, y a los modelos de Brown y Levinson (1987) y de Leech, en particular. Y lo que es más importante, este capítulo cinco examina la importancia de la comunicación no verbal a través de los diferentes contextos culturales y destaca su contribución a la cortesía, al mismo tiempo que investiga las diferentes variables sociales que afectan a la cortesía de forma detallada.

El capítulo sexto explora los métodos que se han usado, por lo general, en la recolección de datos para estudiar los actos de habla. Presenta los sujetos de estudio y describe los materiales y métodos empleados en este trabajo, además de los procedimientos utilizados para el análisis de los datos.

El capítulo séptimo es una revisión bibliográfica. En él se exploran las diferentes definiciones, tipos, clasificaciones y condiciones de adecuación y éxito (*felicity conditions*) del acto de habla de invitar, tal y como lo han elaborado otros investigadores. Se examinan los problemas y las razones para realizar invitaciones, y se revisan, de forma pormenorizada, las obras tanto teóricas como empíricas sobre la invitación que se han realizado en árabe, inglés y otras lenguas.

El capítulo octavo investiga las estructuras, funciones e implicaciones culturales del acto de invitar en inglés americano y árabe palestino, e ilustra la manera en que se invita en ambas culturas; revisa las diferentes concepciones de la noción *hospitalidad* tal y como se conoce en árabe palestino e inglés americano. Asimismo, examina los aspectos de comunicación no verbal de las invitaciones en ambos contextos culturales y

proporciona una investigación detallada del estilo comunicativo en árabe palestino e inglés americano.

Los capítulos nueve, diez y once tienen como objetivo responder a las preguntas de investigación. En el capítulo noveno, comparamos el empleo global de estrategias de cortesía y las preferencias de uso de estas entre dos grupos de sujetos, tomando en consideración las variables de estatus, edad y género. Utilizamos la escala dirección-indirección como modelo de análisis interlingüístico de las estrategias de invitación. Los resultados demostraron que se favorecen en mayor medida las estrategias de invitación directa entre los hablantes de árabe palestino, mientras que la preferencia entre los hablantes de inglés americano eran las estrategias indirectas convencionales. El capítulo décimo analiza la aplicabilidad de la teoría de Brown y Levinson (1987) en las sociedades palestina y estadounidense y presenta una muestra detallada de las estrategias de actos amenazantes de la imagen (AAI) en árabe palestino e inglés americano; también se examinan cómo funcionan y por qué se eligen estos actos de cortesía lingüística en las situaciones en las que se produce una invitación. El capítulo onceavo estudia las reacciones a una invitación en las sociedades palestina y estadounidense, elaborando una categorización de las estrategias empleadas. También explora las diferentes situaciones en las que encontramos el acto de habla de invitar, tomando en consideración nociones como la *insistencia*, la *(in)dirección*, la *imposición* y los *rituales de rechazo* de una invitación. El último capítulo ofrece un resumen de esta investigación, las conclusiones del estudio y las implicaciones pedagógicas que derivan de este trabajo, además de sugerir una serie de propuestas para avanzar en la investigación.

Este estudio ha revelado que una invitación es un acto de habla complejo que conlleva distintas intervenciones. Una invitación no se lleva a cabo únicamente en el enunciado inicial de un determinado discurso, sino que la podemos encontrar en un conjunto de intervenciones dentro del discurso. Hemos tratado de demostrar a lo largo de este trabajo que, al invitar, los palestinos y estadounidenses se implican en un juego de imágenes (*facework*). Esto es, los hablantes tienen en cuenta la vulnerabilidad de la imagen (*face*) y, debido a esto, emplean determinados procedimientos para mantenerla o protegerla. Es en este contexto en el que las cuestiones relacionadas con la cortesía toman relevancia, no sólo por su importancia con respecto a cualquier interacción social, sino también debido a la naturaleza específica de la invitación, que está

aparejada de manera simultánea con amenazar o realzar diferentes aspectos de la imagen de ambos interlocutores, es decir, de “la auto-imagen pública que todo miembro [de una sociedad] quiere reivindicar para sí” (Brown y Levinson 1987: 61).

En cuanto a los objetivos de este estudio, el análisis se realiza en la línea de van Dijk (2009: 7), cuando afirma que las “variables” sociales tradicionales de clase, género, etnicidad o edad podrían influir en el discurso debido a “representaciones más o menos subjetivas de las identidades sociales en modelos de contexto”. Los resultados de este trabajo muestran que la distancia social y el poder no son estáticos; se modifican una y otra vez en el desarrollo de una interacción. Por lo tanto, nuestro estudio ha intentado desmentir la noción de acto de habla intrínsecamente cortés de Leech (1983). De hecho, la hipótesis de Leech (1983) versa sobre contextos de gran similitud; así, ignora la naturaleza en proceso y cambiante del contexto y de sus factores determinantes, así como las diferentes realizaciones culturales.

Hemos observado que los hablantes de árabe palestino empleaban en mayor grado estrategias de cortesía directa al expresar el enunciado inicial del acto de invitar; mientras que los hablantes de inglés americano mostraban una mayor frecuencia de uso en el empleo de la indirección. Así, los resultados demostraron que se favorecen en mayor medida las estrategias de invitación directa entre los hablantes de árabe palestino, mientras que la preferencia entre los hablantes de inglés americano eran las estrategias indirectas convencionales. Además, estos resultados arrojaron luz acerca de la importancia que se da en inglés americano al empleo de la indirección convencional (normalmente en forma interrogativa), incluso en los casos en los que el acto de invitación aporta beneficios al destinatario. Este debate no quiere decir que los hablantes de árabe palestino sean menos educados que los hablantes de inglés americano, ni que los hablantes de inglés americano sean más educados que los hablantes de árabe palestino a la hora de emitir una invitación. Este hecho refleja únicamente diferentes costumbres lingüísticas que se originan en distintos contextos culturales. Debido a que el hecho de invitar es un tipo de acto que amenaza la imagen negativa (*negative face threatening act*) en contextos culturales de habla inglesa, el hablante de inglés americano parece considerar la limitación de la imposición, la costumbre de dar opciones y la indirección como formas de elaborar actos que protegen la imagen del otro (*face saving acts*). Por tanto, el hecho de que los hablantes de inglés americano prefieran emplear el formato de invitación indirecta se podría explicar por la

coherencia de esta forma con sus valores culturales, donde se respetan extremadamente la libertad individual y la independencia.

Este estudio intercultural ha revelado que el sistema de cortesía lingüística palestino sitúa el énfasis en poner de manifiesto las relaciones humanas, y no tanto en minimizar la imposición. De ahí que la cortesía positiva predomine en los datos del árabe palestino y sea el hallazgo más sólido y persistente en el uso conversacional de esta lengua. La forma directa es el tipo de estrategia que se da mayoritariamente, lo cual puede originar ciertos agravios si se emplea con personas pertenecientes a las sociedades occidentales en las que la cortesía negativa es la estrategia predominante.

Este trabajo ha examinado la práctica de la insistencia, con respecto a la invitación, entre las personas de la sociedad palestina. A pesar de que la insistencia se percibe como un acto que amenaza la imagen (AAI) en algunas sociedades (Brown y Levinson 1987), este estudio demuestra que la insistencia en la sociedad palestina es un comportamiento deseable y esperado que a menudo se emplea con el fin de resaltar la solidaridad intergrupala y poner de manifiesto la afiliación, la conexión y la hospitalidad. En este sentido, es evidente que tanto el comportamiento de aceptar de forma inmediata una invitación como el de no estar “invitando de forma constante” se desvían de la norma interaccional palestina y se aleja del marco de cortesía de Brown y Levinson, que fue creado de acuerdo a criterios occidentales.

Por el contrario, hemos descubierto que la insistencia constituye un acto que respeta la imagen (*face respecting act*) en árabe palestino y no un acto que amenaza la imagen (AAI), como lo es en el caso del inglés americano. Y esto se debe a que el interlocutor en árabe palestino normalmente expresa reconocimiento y agradecimiento por las invitaciones, independientemente de cómo se sientan a nivel personal con respecto a la perspectiva de pasar un tiempo con el hablante.

Es obvio que el modelo de Brown y Levinson (1987) no es del todo adecuado o pertinente en su aplicación a la sociedad palestina. De hecho, este modelo fue creado con criterios occidentales y –lo que es más importante- sus autores fundaron sus principios y observaron su implementación en contextos culturales occidentales. No obstante, estos principios son viables y se pueden aplicar con toda certeza a otras sociedades, añadiendo algunos ajustes culturales.

Es más, este estudio ha señalado que los palestinos y estadounidenses emplean diferentes expresiones predecibles para aceptar y rechazar invitaciones y que

implementan diferentes estrategias para ello. Los estadounidenses economizan más en la elección del número de muestras de rechazo o aceptación.

A partir de todas estas evidencias, defendemos que las diferencias interculturales se deben a diferencias básicas en valores culturales, es decir, los estadounidenses valoran el individualismo y la igualdad, mientras que los palestinos valoran el colectivismo y la jerarquía social. El colectivismo influye en los palestinos, de manera que las personas tratan de posicionarse en armonía con los demás y se auto-reprimen en la comunicación social. Los estadounidenses abogan por el individualismo y la libertad, por tanto la asociación entre ellos es más simple y directa. Sin embargo, a las personas de ambas culturas les afecta la cortesía.

En conclusión, hemos proporcionado un análisis detallado de los recursos pragmáticos empleados por palestinos y estadounidenses para invitar, aceptar una invitación y/o rechazarla. Hemos examinado conceptos tales como *insistencia*, *rituales de rechazo*, *dirección*, *cortesía*, *imposición*, *individualismo* y *colectivismo*, y hemos destacado ciertos aspectos de las distintas estrategias, enfocándolos desde una perspectiva socio-pragmática. El análisis ha ilustrado cómo las estrategias empleadas por palestinos y estadounidenses con la finalidad de invitar, aceptar una invitación o rechazarla están determinadas culturalmente por medio de elementos interaccionales y que éstas se pueden entender y apreciar por personas que comparten un mismo contexto cultural. Los resultados del presente estudio, por lo tanto, defienden firmemente la posición de Y. Kachru (1997) que reivindica que “a las personas que comparten una lengua y cultura común les resulta más fácil ‘dar sentido’ a las intervenciones y acciones que se dan entre ellas”.

A Cross-Cultural Socio-Pragmatic Study of Invitations in Palestinian Arabic and American English

Mahmood K. M. Eshreteh

Abstract:

This cross-cultural study explores the nature of invitation making and acceptance in Palestinian and USA societies from a pragmatic point of view. It attempts to systemize the various strategies used for the purpose of inviting in both societies; and to highlight the socio-pragmatic constraints governing their use. Three major aspects of inviting were examined: inviting, accepting an invitation and declining it.

This is a significant study because, as the review of the literature has revealed, there seems to have been virtually no systematic investigation of the speech act of inviting in Arabic. Furthermore, up to my knowledge, this research is the first on invitations as issued in Palestinian Arabic. It is hoped that the results of the study will have implications for intercultural communication, and applied linguistics as well as for a possible theory of foreign/second language teaching.

This study aims at investigating the preference for and use of politeness strategies (indirect and direct) by American English native speakers and Palestinian Arabic speakers when issuing invitations, accepting them and declining them in relation to social status, social distance, age and gender. Therefore, the researcher has aimed at investigating the applicability of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory in the Palestinian context and to suggest some implications for teaching invitations to learners of foreign languages with a close attention to the effect of politeness.

Data were collected using different methods. The immediate observation method was used for data collection in the Palestinian society. The corpus of invitations issued in American English was gathered from different resources including previous studies conducted in American English for the purpose of revealing the features of invitations in American English. Comprehensible studies on invitations in American English (Suzuki 2009; Rakowicz 2009; Wolfson et al. 1983 and Wolfson 1989) were reviewed. The researcher decided also to rely on series and films shown on TV and internet or recorded on video cassettes or CDs in order to collect data from American English. Moreover, a questionnaire which consisted of 35 items describing different social

settings that everyone may encounter during his/her everyday interactions was distributed to a number of Palestinian and US respondents. The items either required the respondent to extend an invitation to hypothetical addressee or to respond to an invitation from a hypothetical speaker.

The data were studied and analyzed following Searle's (1967, 1976) concepts on speech act theory, and Leech's (1983) and Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) models of politeness and face threatening acts. Moreover, recent theoretical contributions (van Dijk, 2009, 2008; Watts, 2003; among others) have been essential in the analysis of data. In fact, this study has attempted to show that a new rethinking of such models is still valid in investigating discourse. The study has shown that the process of making invitations, accepting or declining them is patterned, functional and rule-governed. Furthermore, it shows that social distance in relation to sex and age of the individual speaker is important factor in determining the type of strategies used for inviting, accepting an invitation or refusing it. It has also been argued that Palestinian Arabic has a special patterning of inviting that can be understood and appreciated only by people sharing the same socio-cultural background.

This dissertation is divided into twelve chapters. The first is an introduction which introduces preliminaries, the aims, significance, scope and organization of this study. The second presents the relevant theoretical background focusing on notions such as *pragmatic failure* and *pragmatic transfer*. It also provides a full-fledged account of the importance of both socio-pragmatic and grammatical competence in acquiring a second/foreign language. The third traces the development of speech acts and focuses on the different definitions, classifications and felicity conditions of speech acts. Moreover, the chapter highlights notions such as *speech situation*, *speech event*, *speech acts*, *macro* and *micro* speech acts, clarifies the difference between direct and indirect speech acts and their relation with Grice's implicature, and presents a critique of speech act theory.

Chapters four and five deal with politeness and face. The fourth chapter presents a cross-cultural investigation of the notion of *face*, focusing mainly on American English and Palestinian Arabic. It also reviews the notion of *the loss of face* and actions that cause face loss in PA and AE. The fifth chapter reviews definitions, types and modern and traditional theories of politeness. It reviews the notions of *collectivism* and *individualism* versus politeness and provides a critique of politeness theories in general

and Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Leech's models in particular. Most importantly, the fifth chapter traces the importance of nonverbal communication cross-culturally and its contribution to politeness and investigates different social variables that affect politeness in detail.

Chapter six explores the methods that are generally used for data collection in speech act studies. It introduces the subjects of the study, describes the materials and methods used in the study and elaborates on the procedures used for the analysis of the data.

The seventh chapter is a review of literature. It explores different definitions, types, classifications, and felicity conditions of the speech act of inviting as explored by some scholars. It explores problems and reasons for making invitations, and reviews, in a detailed manner, the studies, both theoretical and empirical, that have been carried out on invitations in Arabic, English and other languages.

The eighth chapter explores the structures, functions and cultural implications of invitations in American English and Palestinian Arabic and illustrates how an invitation is made in both cultures; it reviews the different conceptions of the notion of *hospitality* as realized in PA and AE. Moreover, it explores the non-verbal communicative aspects of invitations in both cultures and provides a detailed investigation of the communication style in PA and AE.

Chapters nine, ten and eleven aim at answering the research questions. In the ninth chapter, I examined the overall use and preference for politeness strategies between two groups of subjects including status, age and gender. I used the scale of directness-indirectness as the model for cross-linguistic analysis of inviting strategies. The results showed how direct invitations are the most favored strategies for PAS while conventional indirect ones are the most preferred strategies for AES. The tenth chapter tests the applicability of B & L's (1987) theory in Palestinian and American societies and presents a detailed account of strategies of doing FTAs in PA and AE; it also explores how these polite linguistic acts function in situations involving invitations, and why they are chosen. The eleventh chapter analyzes responses to invitations in Palestinian and US societies according to a categorization of strategies. It also explores different situations including the speech act of inviting taking into account notions such as *insistence*, *(in)directness*, *imposition*, and *ritual refusals*. The last chapter provides a

summary of the study, discusses the conclusions of the study, provides the pedagogical implications of the study, and suggests some suggestions for further research.

The study has revealed that an invitation is a complex speech act involving various utterances. Invitation is not only realized in the initial utterance in a certain discourse, but a set of utterances within discourse. An attempt has been made in this study to demonstrate that upon inviting Palestinians and Americans engage in a "facework". Specifically, they take into account the vulnerability of "face", and therefore take certain procedures to maintain it. Issues of politeness are relevant in this context, not only because of their importance for any social interaction, but also due to the special nature of invitations, which may lead to the simultaneous threatening and enhancing of different aspects of both interlocutors' face, i. e., "the public self-image that every member [of a society] wants to claim for himself" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61).

Concerning the objectives of the study, the analysis is in conformity with van Dijk (2009:7) as he states that traditional social 'variables' such as class, gender, ethnicity or age might influence discourse due to "more or less subjective-representation of social identities in context models". The results of this study have showed that social distance and power are not static; they move back and forth in an ongoing interaction. Therefore, the study has made an attempt to refute Leech's (1983) notion of inherently polite speech act. In fact, Leech's assumption (1983) treats all the contexts alike; it ignores the ongoing and changing nature of the context and its determinants, and their different cultural realizations.

The PAS were found to employ a higher degree of directness as far as the head acts of their invitations were concerned while AES showed a pretty high frequency of employing indirectness. The results also showed how direct invitations are the most favored strategies for PAS while conventional indirect ones are the most preferred strategies for AES. Besides, they showed how important it is in AE to acknowledge the use of conventional indirectness (normally in interrogative form) even with the inviting act which brings benefits to the addressee. This discussion does not mean PAS are less polite than AES or AES are more polite than PAS in delivering invitations. It only reflects different language habits which originate from different cultures. Because inviting is a kind of negative face threatening acts, in English speaking cultures, AES would consider the limitation of imposition, the use of giving options together with the indirectness as ways of performing face saving acts. Therefore, the preference for

indirect invitations by AES could be explained by their cultural values where individual's freedom and independence is highly respected.

This cross-cultural study has revealed that Palestinian polite language system places emphasis on showing human relationships rather than minimizing imposition. Therefore, positive politeness predominates in PA data and is the strongest and most persistent finding in PA conversational usage. The direct form is the most commonly occurring type of strategy, which may cause affront if used with people from those Western societies in which negative politeness may be the most predominant strategy.

The study has explored the practice of insisting among people in the Palestinian society with respect to invitations. Even though insistence is perceived as a Face-Threatening Act (FTA) in some societies (Brown and Levinson, 1987), the study has shown that insistence in Palestinian society is desirable and expected behavior which usually aims at highlighting in-group solidarity and revealing affiliation, connectedness and hospitality. In this sense, it is obvious that both the behavior of immediately accepting the invitation and that of not giving "continuous invitation" deviate from the Palestinian norm of interaction and disconfirm with Brown and Levinson's politeness framework which was built on Western criteria.

Therefore, I have found that insistence constitutes a face respecting act in PA rather than a face threatening act as it is the case in AE. That is because the hearer in PA commonly expresses appreciation for invitations no matter how personally they feel about the prospects of spending time with the speaker.

It is clear that Brown & Levinson's (1987) model is not suitable or does not apply entirely in Palestinian society. In fact, the model was built on Western criteria and – more important – its authors set up principles, and observed their applicability to Western cultures. However, these principles are viable and certainly can be applied, with culturally motivated adjustments, to some other societies.

Furthermore, the study has indicated that the Palestinian and the Americans use different formulaic expressions in accepting and refusing and apply different strategies. The Americans are more economical in their choices of the number of the tokens of the refusal and acceptance strategies.

From all these evidence, we maintain that the cross-linguistic differences are due to basic differences in cultural values, i.e., Americans value individualism and equality, while Palestinians value collectivism and social hierarchy. Collectivism influenced

Palestinians, so people try to be harmonious and self-restrained in the social communication. Americans advocate individualism and freedom, so their association is more simple and direct. However, politeness is what people in both cultures are concerned about.

To sum up, I have provided a detailed analysis of the pragmatic devices which are employed by Palestinians and Americans in inviting, accepting an invitation and/or declining it. Notions such as *insistence*, *ritual refusals*, *directness*, *politeness*, *imposition*, *individualism* and *collectivism* have been explored and several aspects of the many strategies have been highlighted and approached from a socio-pragmatic perspective. The analysis has shown that the interactional strategies utilized by Palestinians and US Americans for the purposes of inviting, accepting an invitation and rejecting it are culturally shaped by interactive elements and that they could be understood and appreciated by people sharing the same cultural background. The results of the current study, therefore, stand in strong support of Y. Kachru's (1997) claim that "people who share a common language and culture have an easier time 'making sense' of each other's utterances and actions".

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the study:

One of the main functions of language is to establish and maintain human relationships. In interaction, the participants' assumptions and expectations about people, events, places, etc, play a significant role in the performance and interpretation of verbal exchanges. The choice of linguistic expressions and strategies to convey certain communicative purposes "is governed by social conventions and the individual's assessment of situations" (Nureddeen, 2008:279).

Consequently, any research that identifies cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influences on the use of various speech act realization strategies in Palestinian Arabic can be extensively beneficial to understand the culture of its speech community. As Wierzbicka (1991) has pointed out, speech acts reflect fundamental cultural values that may be specific to a speech community. Cultures have been shown to vary drastically in their interactional styles, leading to different preferences for modes of speech act behaviors. As a result, lack of knowledge of speech act realization patterns and strategies across cultures can lead to breakdowns in intercultural and inter-ethnic communication. A similar view was adopted by Nelson et al (2002:53) as they stated that one of the reasons for studying communication in Arabic relates to "the misunderstanding of Arabs by many outside the Arab world".

Consequently, there has been no single attempt to investigate the features of conventionalized speech acts performed in Palestinian Arabic, more specifically invitations in social interaction. Thus, understanding and familiarization with Palestinian culture and the way Palestinians invite are required to improve communication with speakers of Palestinian Arabic who have internalized the conventionalized speech acts conveying the meaning of invitation. There are even many differences between the Palestinian culture and the cultures of other Arab countries.

Nowadays, more and more people want to study foreign languages so that they can use them not only to access information and knowledge but also to communicate effectively in social interactions. For instance, many Palestinian learners of English, in spite of having developed good linguistic competence, still face communication difficulties arising from the lack of sociolinguistic and communicative competence. They are not well aware of the fact that different languages express feelings, construct

messages in different ways and each community has its own rules constraining speech behavior. Therefore, they usually let their native language transfer inappropriately into the target language. For example, the hospitality and friendliness of the Palestinians sometimes influence them to issue utterances: “ لازم تيجي عالحفلة، احنا بدنا اياك تيجي ” *You must go to our party. We really want you to come*”, or the like as invitations which are quite inappropriate in English speaking cultures.

As a matter of fact, the lack of knowledge on how to say, what to say and when to say can result in misunderstanding in cross-cultural communication or lead to wrong judgment such as: Palestinians are curious and impolite people who just want to know other's personal matter and to impose their minds on others. Therefore, obviously the ability of using a foreign language fluently, effectively and socially requires more than knowing its grammatical, semantic rules or getting native-like pronunciation but also requires the learners' certain knowledge of socio-cultural factors in the use of language.

In social communication, politeness¹ is one of the aspects of culture which clearly influences the use of language. It is of great value to not only scholars with particular interests but also to foreign language teachers who aim at enabling their non-native learners to use target language in the most appropriate way. Politeness in its relation to speech acts in general and to directive² speech acts in particular has long been a great concern of many linguistics and educators all over the world. Invitation, which is a kind of directive speech act, has also been taken into consideration recently.

Edmondson and House (1981: 132 as cited in Wolfson 1983) state that an invitation is a social activity and has a particular significance in social life. It may happen daily in all communities, all cultures. Nowadays, as communication among people across cultures is increasing, invitation has become a more essential and effective means of establishing, maintaining social relationships with other people than ever before. As a matter of fact, there have been some studies that took this field as a main subject. Wolfson (1989) pointed out the need to have knowledge of how to give, interpret and response to invitations as one of the aspects to interact socially. Dang (1992) investigated how speakers of Vietnamese and speakers of English issue, accept, and decline spoken invitation. Félix-Brasdefer (2003) presented a cross-cultural study of how American English and Latin American Spanish decline invitations.

¹ See chapter 5 for more illustration of the notion of *politeness*.

² See chapter 3 for Searle's (1979) classification of speech acts.

Frankly speaking, making people well aware of the interactional similarities and differences in issuing, accepting and/or declining invitations in cross-cultural contexts can contribute significantly to better competence of performing this speech act. However, with the purpose of the improvement of communication and the elimination of misunderstandings relating to this speech behavior among cultures, the investigation of the impact of politeness on the production of invitations across cultures is extremely necessary. Because of the great significance of polite invitations in social interaction among nations where English is currently the major language and at the time when Arabic is opening its door widely to the world for international integration, there is a need to investigate the politeness phenomenon in its relation to English invitations in comparison to Palestinian invitations.

As a university instructor of English whose learners are majored in English as a foreign language, I totally acknowledge the importance of politeness in every day interactions. Issuing invitations can also become one of the learners' social activities once they graduate and access the world of business people. Therefore, in order to help them avoid inappropriate transfer of Palestinian cultural belief to American culture, I would like to focus my Dissertation on politeness in direct and indirect invitations in Palestinian Arabic (PA) and in American³ English (AE). It is worth mentioning that I will adopt Brown and Levinson's⁴ (1987), Leech's⁵ (1983) and Searle's⁶ (1979) models for the purpose of data analysis in this cross-cultural study. Recent contributions by Wierzbecka (1991; 2006; 2008), van Dijk (2009; 2008), Watts (2003), and Leech (2005) among others will also be highlighted in the course of data analysis. In fact, this study attempts to show that a new rethinking of such models is still valid in investigating discourse.

To sum up, this study investigates the similarities and differences between Palestinian Arabic and US English communication style by focusing on the speech act of making invitations. In fact, there are different varieties of English. However, the variety that will be considered in this study is American English. It is worth mentioning that the United States of America thrives on diversity of cultures, habits and traditions

³ In this study, "American" is used to mean "of the United States of America", not the broad meaning which includes the American continents.

⁴ See B & L's (1987) theory of politeness in chapter 5.

⁵ See Leech's (1983) theory of politeness in Chapter 5.

⁶ See chapter 3 for more illustration of Searle's (1979) contributions in the speech act theory.

and, therefore; the corpus of data that was collected might not be completely representative of the diversified nature of US society. One reason for adopting American English in this study is due to the fact that it is used by more people, and is now widely taught in Europe and the Middle East over British English. Most textbooks of English language and curricula in Palestinian schools and universities focus on American English rather than the other varieties. Moreover, after reviewing a great deal of cross cultural studies on speech acts, I noticed that most scholars have adopted American English in their investigations. Focusing on American English gives the researcher the chance and the advantage to build on and benefit from the findings of other cross cultural studies on American English.

1.2. The aims of the study:

This cross-cultural study will focus on politeness in issuing direct and indirect Palestinian and American invitations to see if there are any similarities and differences between them. The aims of the study are:

1. To investigate the preference for and use of politeness strategies (indirect and direct) by American English native speakers when issuing invitations, accepting them and declining them in relation to social status, social distance, age and gender;
2. To investigate the preference for and use of politeness strategies (indirect and direct) by native speakers of Palestinian Arabic when issuing invitations, accepting them and declining them in relation to social status, social distance, age and gender;
3. To investigate the applicability of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory to the Palestinian context; and
4. To suggest some implications for teaching invitations to learners of foreign languages with a close attention to the effect of politeness.

Needless to say, any description of speech acts should take into account the relationships which exist between the act and the context in which the act is used. In exactly the same way, a description of invitations should evaluate the use of such exchanges in context. This study aims to do so. To this end, the following checklist will be of great help:

A. What is the inviter's social role (in situation and in relation to the invitee's)?

1. Male or female?
 2. Age: young, adult, old?
 3. Economical, social, and educational status?
 4. Feeling of solidarity with the invitee?
- B. What is the conversational situation?
1. The length of the acquaintance of the interlocutors?
 2. The number of the participants in the discourse?
 3. The type of the discourse?
 - a. Social small talk?
 - b. Information sharing?
- C. What is the inviter's psychological context?
1. The inviter's confidence in what he is saying?
 2. The impression the inviter wants to make?
 3. The assumptions the inviter has about the invitee, himself/herself, and of conversation?

This study will endeavor to clarify the relationships that may exist between invitations and the above checklist.

1.3. Significance of the study:

It is hoped that the results of the study will have implications for intercultural communication, and applied linguistics as well as for a possible theory of foreign/second language teaching.

This study matters because, as the review of the literature has revealed, there seems to have been virtually no systematic investigation of the speech act of inviting in Arabic. Furthermore, up to my knowledge, this research is the first on invitations as issued in Palestinian Arabic. Therefore, this research is the first of its type to shed some light on this common widespread socialization process from which one learns "the rules and practices of social groups" (Worsley et al., 1970: 153). "Learning foreign languages is learning how to behave linguistically in cultures other than one's own" (Ventola, 1987: 6); thus, this study is deemed necessary for those who are interested in becoming familiar with and participating in the social life of members from another culture. Further, such studies would provide interesting contrasts, necessary for cross-cultural communication. "Studies of patterns of speech behaviour in a variety of languages

would provide a solid basis for badly needed cross linguistic analysis; research which would greatly aid in efforts toward intercultural communication” (Wolfson, 1981: 21).

The study is hoped to add to the testing of the universality of Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory in Arab culture, particularly, in the Palestinian context. The model has already been tested on Egyptian Arabic (El-Shafey, 1990), Tunisian Arabic (Elarbi, 1997), and Jordanian Arabic (Al-Khatib, 2006).

In intercultural communication, pragmatic failure has aroused much attention. People often fail to achieve the communicative goal due to misunderstanding with people from other cultures. Though being polite is preferred universally, the connotation of politeness might vary across culture. Therefore, studies of invitation as a speech act in specific cultures need to be probed to identify the patterns and discourse strategies.

Modern linguistics has always been trying to establish a general, exhaustive, comprehensive, and unified theory of (the nature of) language. In this respect, various research projects have been carried out to explore the nature of this phenomenon. Some of these studies have scanned the linguistic aspects of language. Yet, others have delved into the relationship between language and society. The present study tries to shed light on the interaction of form and pragmatics.

This study will contribute to different domains of applied linguistics. Aspects of language use in general, and sociopragmatic aspects of language in specific, could be and should be employed in language. It is, therefore, the responsibility of ESL and EFL teachers to endeavor to make their students aware of and sensitive to the sociolinguistic variables that play an important role in different kinds of situational frames. These will serve as useful strategies for communication which will enable the learner to communicate his/her thoughts in actual contexts long after s/he has left the language classroom.

This study is also significant for translation purposes. Having mastered the specific function of a given utterance, a translator will find it exceptionally easy to find the most appropriate equivalents in the target language. Knowledge of contrastive invitation formulas will help translators, especially those involved in the translation of texts with heavy cultural and social orientations.

It is hoped that the study will show that the process of inviting is patterned, functional and rule-governed. The researcher believes that social distance in relation to sex and age of the individual speaker is an important factor in determining the type of

strategies used for inviting, accepting an invitation or refusing it. It is also argued that Palestinian Arabic has a special patterning of inviting that can be understood and appreciated only by people sharing the same socio-cultural background.

Furthermore, because many research projects have focused on the written aspects of language, it is vital to carry out research with the aim of explicating the nature of spoken language. Studies of this kind will undoubtedly enable us to find out the different forms and functions of spoken language. The present study will be carried out with the aim of examining the different functions invitations seek to satisfy.

To sum up, this study is pedagogically significant. The result of this study will be the fundamental information used to assist learners to develop their pragmatic competence in learning another language. Language learners' understanding and awareness of how to act appropriately in another language are beneficial in many ways. First, it opens doors for the learners to be successful in learning the target language. Then, it prevents the hurtful feeling and negative stereotypes which cultures may have of each other. Finally, it helps facilitate cross-cultural understanding and communication.

1.4. Scope of this study

The review of the literature shows that a large variety of social parameters and linguistic variables have been investigated by sociolinguists. In fact, there are a number of issues that have slipped the attention of sociolinguists and other scholars in the field. However, because a good number of social factors such as culture, ethnicity, and generation are not easy to process, researchers usually keep aloof from them. In other words, most researchers entertain themselves with the study of easy-to-handle factors and variables. For this reason, the present study includes such variables which are very important in insuring successful cross-cultural communication. Furthermore, this study tackles parameters as sex, age, and social status which are readily manageable and lend themselves to quantitative analyses. In fact, the researcher focuses on invitations as social activities of interaction. Therefore, invitations will be investigated within discourse.

This study will also endeavor to contribute to the notion of *language universals* through the examination of invitations in both Palestinian Arabic and American English in terms of the defining properties and features of invitations. To this end, specific

methods of data analysis and interpretation will be employed in the analysis, quantification, and interpretation of the corpus.

1.5. The organization of the study:

The study is organized into twelve chapters. In addition to **Chapter One, Introduction**, which introduces preliminaries, the aims, significance, scope and organization of this study, this dissertation is composed of eleven other chapters.

Chapter Two, *Theoretical background*:

1. presents the relevant theoretical background focusing on notions such as *pragmatic failure* and *pragmatic transfer*;
2. elaborates on the significance of context and tries to illustrate the relationship between form, meaning, and function of an utterance;
3. provides a definition of pragmatics, traces the historical origin of the different usages the term pragmatics has been put to, and outlines the scope of pragmatics; and
4. provides a full-fledged account of the importance of both socio-pragmatic and grammatical competence in acquiring a second/foreign language.

Chapter three, *Speech Acts*:

1. discusses certain definitions of speech acts;
2. traces the development of speech acts as proposed by Searle following Austin;
3. focuses on the different classifications of speech acts and felicity conditions;
4. highlights notions such as *speech situation*, *speech event*, *speech acts*, *macro* and *micro* speech acts;
5. clarifies the difference between direct and indirect speech acts and their relation with Grice's implicature; and
6. presents a critique of speech act theory and explores some research that has to do with speech acts.

Chapter Four, *The Notion of face*:

1. presents a cross-cultural investigation of the notion of *face*;
2. explores different definitions of the notion of *face*;
3. investigates the notion of *face* in both American English and Palestinian Arabic;

4. explores face upgrading and downgrading expressions as used in Palestinian Arabic; and
5. finally, reviews the notion of *the loss of face* and actions that cause face loss in PA and AE.

Chapter five, *Politeness*:

1. deals with the notion of *politeness* by exploring different definitions suggested by different scholars;
2. reviews types and modern and traditional theories of politeness.
3. provides a critique of politeness theories in general and Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Leech's (1983) models in particular;
4. explores the notion of *politeness* across cultures, and in PA and AE in particular;
5. reviews the notions of *collectivism* and *individualism* versus politeness;
6. traces the importance of nonverbal communication cross-culturally and its contribution to politeness; and
7. investigates different social variables that affect politeness in detail.

Chapter six, *Methodology and Procedures*, does the following respectively:

1. illustrates methods of data elicitation on speech acts;
2. defines the key terms and concepts used throughout the study for purposes of clarifying the study;
3. introduces the subjects of the study;
4. describes the materials used in the study and justifies the selection of the corpus for the study;
5. outlines the characteristics of the data and explains the framework for the study; and
6. elaborates on the procedures used for the analysis of the data.

Chapter seven, *The Speech Act of Invitations (Review of literature)*:

1. explores different definitions of the speech act of inviting;
2. provides theoretical classifications of the speech act of inviting taking into consideration classifications provided by Searle (1975), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987), Wierzbicka (1991), etc.
3. explores felicity conditions that have to do with the speech act of inviting;

4. compares and contrasts invitations with requests and other directive speech acts;
5. differentiates between written vs. oral invitations and ambiguous vs. unambiguous invitations;
6. explores problems and reasons for making invitations; and
7. reviews, in a detailed manner, the studies, both theoretical and empirical, that have been carried out on invitations in Arabic, English and other languages;

Chapter Eight, *Structures and Functions of invitations in AE and PA:*

1. explores the structures and functions of invitations in American English and Palestinian Arabic and illustrates how an invitation is made;
2. reviews some cultural implications of invitations in PA and AE
3. reviews the different conceptions of the notion of *hospitality* as realized in PA and AE;
4. explores the non-verbal communicative aspects of invitations in PA and AE; and
5. provides a detailed investigation of the communication style in PA and AE.

Chapter Nine, *Invitations and Directness in AE and PA:*

1. presents the results of the study regarding the preference for and the use of politeness strategies (direct or indirect) by speakers of both AE and PA on issuing invitations;
2. illustrates some linguistic aspects of invitations;
3. explores the influence of interlocutors' status, age, social distance and gender on strategies of inviting as used in PA and AE;
4. uses necessary tables to present the results and findings of the data analysis; and
5. interprets the table(s) for purposes of making the study understandable.

Chapter Ten, *Invitations and Politeness Strategies in PA and AE:*

1. tests the applicability of B & L's (1987) theory in Palestinian and American societies;
2. presents a detailed account of strategies of doing FTAs in PA and AE; and
3. explores how these polite linguistic acts function in situations involving invitations, and why they are chosen.

Chapter Eleven, *Responses to Invitations in PA and AE:*

1. analyzes responses to invitations in Palestinian and US societies according to a categorization of strategies; and
2. explores different situations including the speech act of inviting taking into account notions such as *insistence*, *(in)directness*, *ritual refusals*, etc.

Chapter Twelve, *Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications:*

1. provides a summary of the study;
2. discusses the conclusions of the study;
3. discusses the pedagogical implications of the study; and
4. provides some suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Preliminaries:

Over the past thirty years linguists have investigated the realization strategies of speech acts across a number of languages and cultures. The concept of the *speech act* was first introduced by Austin (1962), and it captures an important feature of language: saying something can also involve doing something. For example, by saying “*I am sorry*”, a speaker is not only uttering a phrase in English but is also performing an act, that of apologizing. Speech acts that have been frequently investigated in the literature include apologies, requests, compliments, compliment responses, complaints, expressions of gratitude, refusals, and disagreements.

In the field of speech act research, a number of theories and concepts have formed the theoretical framework for the empirical investigation of speech acts cross-culturally. The work of language philosophers such as Austin (1962) and Searle (1975) has formed the basis of our understanding of speech acts. Other important concepts and theories include communicative competence (Canale & Swain, 1980; Hymes, 1974), pragmatic competence (Leech, 1983; Thomas, 1983), theories of politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987), and to some extent theories of culture and intercultural communication (Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Some of these concepts and theories will be discussed in this study.

Speech acts have been investigated for a number of reasons. Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985) explain that the empirical investigation of speech acts can provide a better understanding of how human communication is carried out through the use of linguistic behavior. In addition, a major objective of cross-cultural speech act research is to describe similarities and differences in the way communicative interactions are carried out under similar circumstances across different languages and cultures. Speech act research can also have an important role in identifying the social and cultural norms and beliefs that inform speech act realization in a given speech community (Aijmer & Vandenberg, 2011; Meier, 1995, 1997; Richards & Schmidt, 1983). In addition, it can provide empirical data against which theories of politeness (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987) and of intercultural communication (e.g., Prykarpatska, 2008; Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Triandis, 1995) can be evaluated. Finally, cross-cultural speech act research is particularly important in the field of foreign and second language teaching and learning.

Findings from speech act studies can be an invaluable source for foreign language teachers and developers of teaching materials (Yang, 2008; Bardovi-Harlig, 1996). It has been observed that teaching these pragmatic aspects of language can minimize intercultural communication breakdowns and help reduce cultural stereotyping (Meier, 1995; Takahashi & Beebe, 1993).

Therefore, in order to broaden our understanding of communication in different social contexts, we must study sociolinguistic phenomena. Even though sociolinguistics has taken its roots in sociology, they are distinct in terms of the objectives they pursue. The former concentrates on society for purposes of understanding the features of language use in social contexts. The latter, however, focuses on language for understanding the society and its structure (Giglioli, 1972). Sociolinguistics began to flourish from the early sixties. Its origins, however, can be traced back to a long time ago (see Bassiouney, 2009). A review of the history of the field manifests the theoretical development it has undergone in progression towards its contemporary state. In fact, the progression has been from a context-free view of language towards the treatment of language in its social context. This change of view is the result of different theories proposed of language and its nature. One has to review the theories and philosophies on which the study of language has rested during its evolution to understand the tenets of sociolinguistics and to get an idea of how it has been developed. This chapter, therefore, presents certain key concepts that are of great importance before we explore the speech act of inviting. In fact, this chapter aims at the following: (1) elaborating on the relationship between form, meaning, and function of an utterance, (2) explaining the significance of context in the course of communication, (3) discussing the notion of *pragmatics*, as well as its scope, (4) discussing the notions of *pragmatic transfer* and *pragmatic failure*, and (5) making some remarks on structuralism and other linguistic approaches.

The present investigation takes the following as its theoretical framework: 1) speech act theory, 2) face theory and politeness and 3) findings from some recent contributions and studies of cross-cultural pragmatics and pedagogy. The subsequent chapters and sections present the foundations of each model, highlighting those premises which have contributed towards a better understanding of the nature of invitations. The continuous evolution of each model, sometimes within a single theoretical work, indicated that invitations are highly complex speech acts which are

best characterized not by universal principles of language use or social dynamics alone, but by these principles in conjunction with context-sensitive sociocultural factors and norms of interaction operating on macro- and micro- levels within a given speech community.

2.1. Early Approaches to the Study of Language:

From among the early approaches to the study of language, the most systematic and elaborated one is the so-called structuralism. It developed out of Saussure's (1916) concept of *langue* as the subject matter of linguistics. He divided language into *langue* and *parole*. According to Saussure, *la langue* is localized in the "limited segment of the speaking circuit where an auditory image (s) becomes associated with a concept". *La langue* is the "social side of language, outside the individual who can never create or modify it by himself; it exists only by virtue of a sort of contract signed by the members of a community" (Kristeva, 1989: 9). In other words, *la langue* exists perfectly only within a collectivity⁷. *La parole* (i.e. speech) is always "individual, and the individual is always its matter" (Kristeva, 1989: 9). Speech is, according to Saussure's definition, an individual, willful, and intelligent act. It is composed of (1) the combination by which the speaker uses *la langue*'s code; and (2) the psychophysical mechanism that allows him to externalize these combinations.

With such a view of language, structuralism considered it necessary to bother with the study of actual speech in social interactions. On the basis of the linguistic intuitions of a few informants, structuralists found it fruitful to analyze the homogeneous, abstract, and invariant rules of language. In structuralism, the aim of linguistics is the elaboration of context-free grammatical rules that account for that part of linguistic behavior which is uniform and homogeneous. Structuralists, therefore, viewed language variation as some unimportant deviations from the norm.

Chomsky introduced his concept of *linguistic competence* as a major development in formal linguistics. In his notion of *linguistic competence*, Chomsky introduced Saussure's notion of *langue* with greater emphasis on the homogeneity of language knowledge. For him, linguistics is the study of a homogeneous speech community where everyone speaks alike. According to Chomsky, the data of linguistics are not the utterances of the individual. They are rather the individual's intuitions about language.

⁷ See section (5.9.) for more illustration of the notions of *collectivism* and *individualism*.

Formal linguistics, therefore, is not concerned with social patterns in language use. It excludes the study of speech and social behavior (Fishman, 1971). On the basis of formal linguistics, therefore, one would conclude that a person endowed with mere linguistic competence would only know the grammatical rules of his language. He would not know when to speak, which sociolinguistic options to select, and on what occasion.

The advent of Chomsky's TGG (Transformational Generative Grammar) in the middle fifties and its emphasis on the independence and isolation of language from social effects resulted in the evolution of an opposition group. This group was composed of anthropological linguists and sociolinguists who maintained that the context of language, the ethnography of communication, and the description of language function must be incorporated in the grammar of language (see van Dijk, 2008). Chomsky's notion of *language uniformity* and his idealized, context-free treatment of grammar came under heavy attack.

Some anthropologists were exclusively concerned with the structural analysis of grammar in different cultures. With this viewpoint, they recognized the problems of formal linguistics stated above, and directed their efforts away from its direction. These scholars never considered language in isolation from social life. They, however, insisted on the interdependence of language and cultural and social structures. This, in turn, led linguists to recognize the use of multiple linguistic codes within the same community. In this way, the notion of *linguistic homogeneity* was challenged.

The influence of anthropologists stimulated formal grammarians to begin to free themselves from their previous misconception about language. They began to recognize the importance of language variation, change, planning, etc. in relation to social factors. Firth (1957), for instance, shifted towards the incorporation of social factors into grammar. He considered it doubtful whether there is any meaning in language apart from its context. He introduced the notion of *contextuality* to language analysis (my italics). This, in turn, influenced the British school of structuralism to consider social context of linguistic forms. Along the same lines, Prague linguists shifted toward the adoption, according to Dittmar (1976), of a similar stance in the investigation of language.

To sum up, according to van Dijk (2008:5-6), one does not need much historical knowledge of linguistics to know that the discipline for decades was limited to a

“formalist”, “structuralist” or “transformational” study of signs, sounds, words, sentences, meanings or speech acts. We may conclude from this informal characterization of the notion of *context* that we do not properly understand complex phenomena without understanding their context.

2.2. Communicative competence (The Birth of sociolinguistics):

The changes that have occurred in linguistic theory have resulted in the emergence of sociolinguistics. In fact, sociolinguistic theory is the offspring of the process of transition from the so-called structuralism to contextualism. In contrast to linguistic theory, sociolinguistic theory emphasizes the appropriateness of verbal message in context. Gumperz and Hymes (1972) argue that this theory posits beyond the grammar a level of rule-governed verbal behavior that relates linguistic and social constraints. Hymes (1972a: xix) claims that “*The key to understanding language in context is to start not with language, but with context*” (my emphasis). Realizing a speech event means not only having a choice of grammatical and lexical structures but it also involves the ability to decide which of them to choose according to the whole situation. Doughty, et al. (1972), however, assume a more radical view in this regard. They argue that the constraints upon what we say and the way in which we say it are of a social origin. They even go on to admit that “speakers do not have a direct acquaintance with language any more than they do with society. What they actually experience is the linguistic manifestation of relationships” (Doughty, et al., 1972: 83).

Therefore, the interest in sociolinguistics or the so-called social aspects of language stimulated the linguists to go beyond the mere structural analysis of grammatical systems (Shammas, 2005). They, as a result, concentrated on the language use by human groups, social strata, geographical regions, etc. They began to entertain themselves with the socially-patterned variation in linguistic behavior and the identification of those factors that affect and predict such variations. Sociolinguists turned out to be considerate of variable rules for the description of those linguistic forms that were socially loaded (cf. Bassiouney, 2009). This caused linguists to question the validity of Chomsky's linguistic competence and any other descriptive method that ruled out any concern for variation and diversity in language. The flaws of the notion of *linguistic competence* paved the way for the birth of the more comprehensive notion of *communicative competence*.

Hymes (1974) introduced the concept of *communicative competence*. He argued that communication is not governed by fixed linguistic rules. It is, however, a two-step process in which the speaker, first, evaluates the social context of the speech and then selects among the communicative options available for encoding his intent. In other words, linguistic competence is not the only element responsible for communication. Rather, an interaction is perceivable between linguistic knowledge and society. According to Saville-Troike (2003:18) “*Communicative competence* involves knowing not only the language code but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in any given situation.” Further, it involves the social and cultural knowledge speakers are presumed to have which enable them to use and interpret linguistic forms.

Communicative competence postulates linguistic diversity or a repertoire of linguistic codes for the same concept. On the basis of the situation, the competent speaker can choose an appropriate code. Hymes (1974) devised his own set of factors to describe the situational context of the speech event. He lists these under the acronym SPEAKING.

Setting - the place is of certain importance – we tend to change our language in accordance with the setting of our conversation. Does the conversation take place in a café, in the street, in a railway station, in the director’s office, on a conference?

Participants carry various roles during their conversation. In various situations, participants are given roles, for example, a parent, a teacher, a classmate, a patient, a shop assistant, a client, a business partner. A child cannot be talked to in the same manner as an adult. We tend to be more polite when talking to a person we do not know well, a person more senior in age or someone who is of a higher status. English has no special pronouns through which we show politeness and familiarity like some languages, for instance Czech *ty/Vy*. Familiarity is expressed in other ways, for example we tend to omit polite addresses in front of people’s surnames such as Ms, Mrs, Mr, professor, doctor etc. We can use first names or even nicknames instead.

Ends - the purpose of a conversation is also significant. Students have to be familiar with the aim of a conversation they are going to perform as a role-play or simulation. They need to know why they are having a conversation and what the

outcome is supposed to be: an arrangement to meet, to make a bargain in a shop, to give an honest opinion to a friend, to ask someone a favour, etc.

Act sequences - certain types of talk require certain linguistic forms. They are culture specific. Each culture has its adjacency pairs typical for certain speech events. One way meanings are communicated and interpreted through the use of adjacency pairs. They can be classified as utterances produced successively by two speakers in such a way that the second utterance is identified as closely related to the first one. These utterances are related, not any second pair can follow any first pair part, but only an appropriate one, a greeting is followed by a another greeting, an apology by an acknowledge, a congratulation by a thanks, and the like. McCarthy (1991:120) argues that the function of the initial part of an adjacency pair is determined by the context which it is uttered in. Thus, a single word *Thanks* can be an expression of appreciation, surprise, reproach, relief, etc. depending maybe on the intonation.

This is closely related to what Hymes calls **the key** – the tone, manner or spirit of the act, which can be serious or ironic. For example the word *Hello* can be said in many various ways according to the situation.

Instrumentalities - learners have to be aware of the differences between written and spoken English which affect our language in several ways. Spoken communication usually requires fast, immediate production and understanding. On the other hand, when we write, we usually have time to revise, check and rewrite what we have written. Similarly, the addressee can read, reread and discuss the piece of writing he or she receives. In spontaneous speech we have very little or no time to prepare what we are going to say. Our speech is often filled with silent pauses, voiced-filled pauses (erm), repetitions, false starts. We use discourse markers – small words or fixed phrases that indicate our involvement in the conversation and how we want it to continue. Contractions are used instead of full forms in order to make the conversation more natural. There are also phenomena such as the dialect, accent or other variety of English that learners should be aware of, but it is not very likely that learners will be able to imitate these.

Knowledge of **norms** of interpretation and interaction, especially turn-taking signals an already existing very good command of language. This can only be achieved by careful and consistent training and it also requires certain intrinsic personal qualities for such skill to be developed.

Context is also determined by different **genres** – categories such as anecdotes, presentations and other public speeches, commercials, newspaper articles, poems, riddles etc. Dittmar (1976) and Saille-Troike (2003) point out that linguistic codes are not the only component of communicative competence. They argue that communicative competence also includes a whole repertoire of psychological, social, and pragmatic strategies.

In distinguishing the communicative competence from the linguistic competence, Saille-Troike (2003:18) states:

Hymes (1974, 1987) augmented Chomsky's notion of *linguistic competence* (knowledge of systematic potential, or whether or not an utterance is a possible grammatical structure in a language) with knowledge of appropriateness (whether and to what extent something is appropriate), occurrence (whether and to what extent something is done), and feasibility (whether and to what extent something is possible under particular circumstances).

My argument is that the elaboration of communicative competence and the identification of its components gave sociopragmatics the new role of determining "what a speaker needs to know to be able to communicate effectively in culturally significant settings" (Rivers, 1981: 84). The possession of this kind of knowledge and the ability to use it in organizing communication had been noted as related to the degree of socialization of the speaker.

Therefore, Hymes' (1962, 1974) pioneering work emphasized the importance of language as a system of communication in which knowledge of language use is as important as grammatical knowledge. While grammatical knowledge is still very important, especially as argued by Chomsky (1965), knowledge of the rules that govern the appropriate use of language is particularly important since without this knowledge a speaker cannot interact adequately with other members in a given speech community. This knowledge would allow a speaker to know, for example, what to say, when to say it, to whom and how to say it in a socially and culturally appropriate way.

There have been a number of attempts to develop models based on Hymes' concept of *communicative competence*. This includes work by Canale and Swain (1980) and Bachman and Palmer (1982). Canale and Swain (1980), for example, proposed a theory of communicative competence to be used as a general framework for understanding second language learning. According to this theory, communicative competence consists of three components: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic

competence and strategic competence. Canale's (1983) model is particularly important since it emphasizes the importance of the socio-culturally-based rules that govern language use. This kind of knowledge has been referred to by other researchers as pragmatic competence. This important concept has been used as the theoretical basis for studies investigating how foreign language learners realize speech acts in the target language. Likewise, Ellis (1994:696) states that communicative competence "entails both linguistic competence and pragmatic competence".

To sum up, I adopt the view that it is important to notice that languages significantly influence our personal relations. Appropriate communication is of vital importance in our interactions with others and in establishing relationships. Communication within the same cultural and linguistic community has many challenges, but far more challenges and problems seem to arise when we communicate across cultures (Kasper & Rose, 2003, 2006; Dufon & Churchill, 2006; van Dijk, 2008; Al-Marrani & Binti Sazalie, 2010).

2.3. Context:

My argument is that the mere knowledge of meanings, forms, and functions of a particular language is insufficient for the speakers because communication is a complicated process. This knowledge should also be applicable to the negotiation of meaning. The interaction between hearers and speakers, or readers and writers makes meaning clear. In reaction to the utterances of the speaker, the hearer does provide him/her with feedback as to whether or not s/he understands what the speaker has said. This guarantees the speaker's ability to, whenever necessary, revise what s/he has said. It will also give the speaker some hints as to whether s/he should repeat her/himself or not. Therefore, in a number of cases the form of the utterance is supposed to guarantee the discourse function; the grammar can be a token for the hearer to infer the speaker's intention. However, as it was first proved by speech act specialists, form does not serve as the only signal of function.

It has been repeatedly emphasized by linguists that the functions of language should be performed within a context. As such, it seems crucially important to define the term *context* here.

Ochs (1979:1) points out that the scope of context includes "the social and the psychological world in which the language user operates at any given time" and he

explains that all this involves “the language user’s beliefs and assumptions about temporal and social settings, prior, ongoing and future actions (verbal, non-verbal), and the state of knowledge and attentiveness of those participating in the social interaction in hand” (ibid., 5).

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975:28) define their “context of situation” as “all relevant factors in the environment, social conventions and the shared experience of the participants”, but they do not go beyond this general statement. Van Dijk’s (1977) view about the relationship between discourse and context is that one needs to distinguish between the actual situations of utterances in all their multiplicity of features, and the selection of only those features that are linguistically and culturally relevant to the production of utterances. In his later work van Dijk advances a socio-cognitive description of context by providing a mental model embedded into a social context and situation (2005; 2006; 2008; 2009).

Dash (2008:22) argues to classify context into four broad types:

- (a) Local Context,
- (b) Sentential Context,
- (c) Topical Context, and
- (d) Global Context

The local context refers to the immediate circle of the key word. The sentential context refers to a sentence where the key word has occurred. It supplies syntactic information to know if the key word has any explicit or implicit syntactic relation with the other words used in the sentence. The topical context refers to the topic of discussion and focuses on the content of a piece of text, while the global context refers to the world at large (cf. Dash, 2008:22-31).

My argument is that although such a stratified layering of the contexts is not always explicit in a piece of text, it helps us to visualize tentatively how the contexts should be interpreted for understanding the actual contextual meaning. Moreover, the conceptual layering of the contexts will lead us to deal with the problem in a systematic manner and thereby reduce the amount of errors in interpretation and understanding the contextual meaning.

Some cognitivists emphasize that, in communication, social meaning and context are conceived of as internal rather than external phenomena (Marmaridou 2000:13;

Fetzer 2004:226; van Dijk 2005; 2006; 2008; 2009). Likewise, van Dijk (2006), in a broad multidisciplinary approach, considers context a “participant construct”.

According to van Dijk (2009: 5), the traditional conceptions of context fail to account for a crucial missing link: the way participants *understand* and *represent* the social situation. Van Dijk’s (2009:vii) new theory of context emphasizes that “the relation between society and discourse is indirect, and mediated by *the socially based but subjective definitions of the communicative situation as they are construed and dynamically updated by the participants*” (van Dijk’s emphasis). He argues that instead of the usual direct relationship being established between society and discourse, this influence is indirect and depends on how language users themselves define the communicative situation. The new concept van Dijk (2009) introduces for such definitions is that of context models. These models control all language production and understanding and explain how discourse is made appropriate in each situation. In fact, context model information is not limited to discursive situations, but more generally derives from the ongoing ‘experience models’ people construct and update each moment during the day.

In fact, context is both social and interpersonal. It is social in the sense that context encompasses the internal organization of a society, its intentions, internal differences, sub-groupings, and so on. Therefore, the study of language in a social context consists of the study of the linguistic material produced within the structure of the society. It focuses on the way in which particular characteristics of the society affect the structure of change and variation of the language spoken, and, conversely, to the way in which different attitudes about its variation affect the internal dimensions and forces of the recipient community.

The interpersonal context usually takes priority over the social context in such sub-disciplines as pragmatics, discourse analysis, conversation(al) analysis, etc. These disciplines are not devoted to understanding the interaction of the linguistic structure of the society. The focus is rather on the individuals involved in the interaction. These individuals are the speaker and the hearer, or the reader and the writer. The interpersonal context, here, is essential to the understanding of the exchanged utterances or texts. Such a context usually includes statements rooted in psychology, such as intentions, beliefs, and rationality.

My argument is that even if members of a community which speaks the same language communicate a message, it may be interpreted according to different interpretive conventions. In social interaction, how an utterance is said is more important than what is said. The utterances people exchange are related to the situational and cultural context in which they occur. There are certain verbal, paraverbal (stress, intonation, tempo, laughter) and non-verbal signs (gaze direction, gesture, body posture, tone of voice) that help to interpret the utterances. Gumperz calls them “contextualization cues” (see Kramsh, 1998:27). In fact, contextualization conventions are required through primary socialization in family or friendship circles or intensive communicative co-operation in a finite range of institutionalized environments.” (See Rose & Kasper, 2001: 82)

Moreover, context schemas and their categories may be culturally variable, thus defining different appropriateness conditions for discourse in different societies (van Dijk 2008:22). Although some context categories may (or must) be universal, as is the case for Speakers and various kinds of Recipients, as well as Knowledge, others may be more culturally variable, for instance specific social properties of participants. Status, power and kinship are relevant Participant properties in the context schemas of many cultures – controlling for instance various expression of politeness and deference – whereas others (say, talking to one’s mother-in-law) may be more specific, and others again probably irrelevant anywhere (such as the length of one’s hair). A general theory of context should account for such cultural universals and differences of context.

To conclude, in (classical) Arabic the notion of *maqām* مقام was traditionally used by rhetoricians to evaluate the normative appropriateness of discourse, following the general principle *li kulli maqālin maqām* لكل مقال مقام (“for each text- article, essay-there is a context”). Meanings may be dependent on text or verbal context (*maqāl* مقال) or on social context (*maqām* مقام).

2.4. Pragmatics:

Compared with other branches of linguistics, pragmatics has only recently come on to the linguistic map. It nevertheless became a significant factor in linguistic thinking in the 1970's. Since then, pragmatics has developed as an important field of research. Pragmatics may be roughly described as "the study of the meaning of linguistic utterances for their users and interpreters" (Leech, and Thomas, 1985: 173).

Thus, at the boundary of linguistics and philosophy, the study of speech acts, implicatures and conversational postulates (Austin, 1962; Grice, 1975, 68–134; Searle, 1969) for the first time not only emphasized the role of social action in language use, but also accounted for the (formal) contextual conditions of the *appropriateness* of utterances, as one of the characteristics of the new cross-discipline of *pragmatics* (cf. van Dijk, 2008:6). Moreover, van Dijk (2008:20), in his attempt to distinguish pragmatics from semantics states that “a *pragmatic* account is not about reference (extension, truth, etc.) but about the *appropriateness* of the use of such and other expressions in the current communicative situation” (van Dijk’s emphasis).

Pragmatics distinguishes two intents or meanings in each utterance or communicative act of verbal communication. One is the informative intent to the sentence meaning, and the other the communicative intent or speaker meaning (Leech, 1983; Sperber & Wilson, 1986). Thus, pragmatics is a study which explains language use in context. It is concerned with speaker meaning and not utterance meaning and seeks to explain social language interactions.

Modern linguistics has been referred to as the study of language as a system of human communication. In this tradition, pragmatics has come to be applied to the study of language from the point of view of its users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language may have on other participants in an act of communication. According to Levinson (1983: 24), pragmatics is the study of “ability of language users to pair sentences in the contexts in which they would be appropriate”. In fact, the focus of pragmatics has been on an area between semantics, sociolinguistics, and extralinguistic context. The boundaries between pragmatics and other areas have not been determined precisely (cf. Leech, 1983: 5-7; and Wierzbicka, 1991: 15-19).

Pragmatics, however, has not been without its own discrepancies. To resolve some of its oddities, several derivative terms have been proposed for the classification of the wide range of subject matters involved in pragmatics. Leech (1983: 11) draws on the term “pragma-linguistics” to refer to the study of “the more linguistic end of pragmatics where we consider the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions (namely, the speech act performed by an utterance)”.

In fact, pragmatics is often divided into two components: pragmalinguistics, which concerns appropriateness of form, and sociopragmatics, which concerns appropriateness

of meaning in social context (Leech, 1983). Pragmatic competence is the speaker's knowledge and use of rules of appropriateness and politeness which dictate the way the speaker will understand and formulate speech acts. Speech acts are one of the key areas of linguistic pragmatics. Specific speech acts include apology, complaint, invitation, compliment, refusal, request, and suggestion.

Leech (1983: 10) uses the term *sociopragmatics* to refer to the "sociological interface of pragmatics." In other words, sociopragmatics is the study of the way in which conditions on language use derive from the social situation. In his treatment of the "register" of pragmatics, Leech uses the term "general pragmatics" to refer to the so-called "abstract study of the general conditions of the communicative use of language, and to exclude more specific 'local' conditions on language use". Along the same lines, Crystal (1992: 310) speaks of "applied pragmatics" as the study of "verbal interaction in such domains as counseling, medical interviews, judicial sessions, where problems of communication are of critical importance". Crystal (1992: 233) refers to "literary pragmatics" as the study of the relationship of "production and reception of literary texts to their use of linguistic forms". This area of research usually involves an interaction between linguistics, literary theory, and the philosophy of language.

According to Shamma (2005:27), the pragmatic force of an utterance will be dependent on several factors, the most important of which will be the relation of the pragmatic components to one another, their relations to context and the freedom of linguistic choice available to the communicator. Moreover, Martinez-Flor and Uso-Juan (2006) Pishghadam & Sharafadini (2011) and Naiditch (2011) regarded pragmatics as a linguistic concept related to language use which involves speakers' intentions while communicating utterances in particular contexts and considered the notion of *pragmatics* as a reaction to Chomsky's abstract construct of language in which grammar played a predominant role.

In brief, most linguists seem to agree that pragmatics is the study of language from the point of view of the users, especially of the choice they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in the act of communication. In other words, pragmatics includes the study of: (1) how the interpretation and use of utterances depends on knowledge of real world; (2) how the relationship between the speaker and the hearer

influences the structure of sentences; and (3) how speech acts are used and understood by speakers.

2.4.1. Pragmatic competence:

Al-Erayani (2007) recognized that the learners' ability to use appropriate speech acts in a given speech act event and to use appropriate linguistic forms to realize this speech act is a main component of pragmatic competence. In fact, pragmatic competence is an important component of communicative competence (cf. Lihui and Jianbin, 2010). As Kasper (2001) states, pragmatic competence refers to the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge and to gaining automatic control in processing it in real time. Pragmatic knowledge of appropriateness reflects two major concepts: *sociopragmatic* (i.e. evaluation of contextual factors) and *pragmalinguistic* (i.e. linguistic resources available to perform language functions) (Kasper, 1992; Leech, 1983).

Fraser (1983, p. 29, as cited in Allami & Naeimi, 2010) defines pragmatic competence as “the knowledge how an addressee determines what a speaker is saying and recognizes intended illocutionary force conveyed through subtle attitudes in the speaker's utterance”.

In Bachman's model (1990: 87), language competence is divided into two areas consisting of “organizational competence” and “pragmatic competence”. Organizational competence consists of knowledge of linguistic units and the rules of joining them together at the level of sentence (‘grammatical competence’) and discourse (‘textual competence’). Pragmatic competence subdivides into “illocutionary competence” and “sociolinguistic competence”. Illocutionary competence is the knowledge of communicative action and how to carry it out. “Sociolinguistic competence” is the ability to use language appropriately according to the context.

Fraser, et al. (1980:76) define pragmatic competence as “the knowledge of how to use the linguistic competence in a social context”. (1) This definition should be seen in light of the fact that “a grammar is a system of rules that characterizes the sentences of a language, not the rules for use of the sentences” (ibid:76). They then (ibid.:77) sum up the situation by stating that whereas linguistic competence can be viewed as the knowledge required to construct or understand well-formed sentences of the language, pragmatic competence can be viewed as the knowledge required to determine what such sentences mean when spoken in a certain way in a particular context.

To sum up, we should bear in mind that pragmatic competence deals with the utterance level, while the more general level of communicative competence embodies some other areas (e.g. conversation structure, and participants' choices of language structures) as well as the relevant nonverbal aspects of language use.

2.5. Teaching Pragmatics to EFL Learners

In exploring the teaching of pragmatic to EFL learners, pragmatic transfer is probed into to discuss the development of L2 learners' knowledge of the target language at a pragmatic level. Kasper (1996, as cited in Jiang, 2006) states learners' lack of appropriate pragmatic competence can be attributed to the insufficient input supplied by pedagogical materials. As Scotton and Bernsten (1988, as cited in Jiang, 2006) indicate there is inconsistency between real life language and textbook language.

2.5.1. Pragmatic Transfer:

Pragmatic transfer, by definition, refers to "the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of language and culture other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information" (Kasper, 1992:207). Kasper (1992) follows Leech's (1983) division of pragmatics to propose pragmalinguistic transfer and sociopragmatic transfer. The former concerns the transfer of learner's choice of language recourses which are given to convey certain illocutions. On the other hand, the latter deals with a language user's interpretation and performance of the linguistic behavior which is influenced by the gap between L1 and L2 contexts, subjectively assessed by the language user.

Pragmatic transfer is divided into positive and negative transfer (Kasper, 1992 and Pishghadam & Sharafadini, 2011). When L1 and L2 share the same language- or culture- specific conventions of usage and use, positive pragmatic transfer occurs. However, negative pragmatic transfer occurs "when a pragmatic feature in the interlanguage is (structurally, functionally, distributionally) the same as in L1 but different from L2" (Kasper, 1998:194), which results in pragmatic failure proposed by Thomas (1983).

According to Naiditch (2011:73), some scholars argue that pragmatic transfer is related to the learner's personality (Littlewood, 1983), to issues of conventional usage, the interactional dimensions of a conversation (Richards and Sukwiwat, 1983), and even to discourse rules (Blum-Kulka, 1996). Conversational routines do have a specific

illocutionary force and their use reveals social competence in a language. Yet the problem for L2 learners is that these routines are usually acquired before their function is fully understood. Because of differences between the form and function of routines in the learner's native language (L1) and L2, there is a strong possibility of negative language transfer, especially in areas where there is no L1–L2 correspondence. Such correspondence is often lacking, not only because of differences in social situations but also because of differences in routines when situations appear similar.

For example, the meaning of the phrase "*I'd like to have lunch with you some time*" varies from language to language in terms of time, intention, and sincerity (Naiditch, 2011:73). The response to this statement will vary according to its interpretation as a real or phatic invitation. Here, conversational discourse reflects relationships and interactions between participants, marking dimensions of social distance, status, and politeness (Blum-Kulka 1987). Pragmatic transfer explores how linguistic conventions for marking these dimensions affect the interlanguage of L2 learners, who may operate according to L1 interactional patterns.

2.5.2. Pragmatic Failure:

2.5.2.1. Definitions of Pragmatic Failure:

Many researchers in the area of second language acquisition (SLA) and sociolinguistics have claimed that in order to acquire native-like competence, language learners should acquire the rules of language use and ways of speaking as well as linguistic competence (Gumperz, 1982a; Wolfson, 1983). Research studies often revealed that although second language learners have already acquired an advanced level of grammatical competence, their inappropriate uses of language in context often result in interpersonal communication breakdowns. This kind of failure is called pragmatic failure.

Pragmatic failure is the term for the learner attempting to encode and transmit a particular intention unsuccessfully. Pragmalinguistic decisions involve word choice "linguistic strategies for implementing speech intentions," while sociopragmatics involves "appropriate language use, social rules for 'what to do, when, and to whom'" (Roever, 2006:320). Therefore, pragmatic failure (also referred to as pragmatic error) (cf. Richards, Platt, and Platt, 1992: 127) refers to the speaker's production of wrong

communicative effects through the faulty use of speech acts or one of the rules of speaking.

J. Thomas (1983) defines pragmatic failure in *Cross-cultural Pragmatic Failure* (my emphasis) as “the inability to understand what is meant by what is said”. She points out that pragmatic failure has occurred on any occasion “On which H (the hearer) perceives the force of S’s (the speaker’s) utterance as other than S intended she or he should perceive it” (Thomas, 1983). The following examples are used by Thomas to illustrate her definition:

- a. H perceives the force of S’s utterance stronger or weaker than S intended s/he should perceive it;
- b. H perceives as an order an utterance that S intended s/he should perceive as a request;
- c. H perceives S’s utterance as ambivalent where S intended no ambivalence;
- d. S expects H to be able to infer the force of his/her utterance, but is relying on the system of knowledge or beliefs that S and H do not share.” (1983: 94)

Lihui & and Jianbin (2010) point out that pragmatic failure refers to failure to achieve the desired communicative effect in communication. He Ziran (1997) further indicates that “Pragmatic failures are not the errors in diction, but those mistakes failing to fulfill communication because of infelicitous style, incompatible expressions, and improper habit”. Qian Guanlian (2002) defines pragmatic failure in a more specific way pointing out that “Pragmatic failure is committed when the speaker uses grammatically correct sentences, but unconsciously violates the interpersonal relationship rules, social conventions, or takes little notice of time, space and addressee”.

2.5.2.2. Classification of Pragmatic Failure:

Particularly interesting about Thomas's description of pragmatic failure is the dichotomy between two types of pragmatic failure. She makes this distinction on the basis of the difficulty of analysis and possible remedies in terms of both the responsibility of language teachers and the responses of language learners. She calls the two categories of failure "pragmalinguistic" and "sociopragmatic" failure.

2.5.2.2.1. Pragmalinguistic Failure:

Thomas (1983) points out that “pragmalinguistic failure occurs when the pragmatic force mapped by the speaker onto a given utterance is systematically different

from most frequently assigned to it by native speakers of the target language, or when conversational strategies are inappropriately transferred from the speaker's mother tongue to the target language". In fact, she refrains from using the term *pragmalinguistic error* because, to her, pragmatics is not strictly formalizable. The term *error*, therefore, does not seem applicable here. In other words, although grammar can be judged according to prescriptive rules, the nature of pragmatic or sociopragmatic patterns is such that it is not possible to say that "the pragmatic force of an utterance is wrong. All we can say is that it failed to achieve the speaker's goal" (cited in Wolfson, 1989: 16).

The learners, however, fail to get their meaning across because the communicative conventions behind the utterances used are different. This, as Thomas points out, is more a linguistic, hence pragmalinguistic, problem than a pragmatic one because: (1) it has little to do with speaker's perception of what constitutes appropriate behavior; and (2) it has a great deal to do with knowing how to phrase a request, for instance, so that it will be interpreted as a request rather than as an information question. For example, at pragmalinguistic level, "Would you like to read?" is conventionalized as a polite request or directive in the American culture; however, Russians tend to respond "No, I wouldn't" by regarding it as a real question (Thomas, 1983). Thomas (1983:101-103) also identified two sources of pragmalinguistic failure. The first one is "teaching-induced errors". It refers to the errors resulting from the teacher's explicit statement of wrong input or the teacher's unconsciously omitting of particular input. The other source is "pragmalinguistic transfer", which occurs when learners inappropriately transfer speech act strategies from L1 to L2. In terms of teaching-induced errors, Kasper (1982) proposes that foreign language teaching itself may cause failures by directly providing the inputs deviating from the language norms from, namely, "primary teaching induction" (p.102), or by indirectly involving students in a psycholinguistic process to yield specific interlanguage rules resulting from the way they practice or the input in the materials in the classrooms, namely, "secondary teaching induction" (p.102). Moreover, Kasper (1996) thinks that it is the incomplete input of the target language given by the teacher that results in students' inability to be native-like in pragmatic behavior. These two sources possibly lead to pragmatic overgeneralization. For example, Russian speakers appear to use "to be to" on any occasion to express obligation in English; however, "to be to" is pragmatically restricted to be used by people of higher status.

2.5.2.2.2. *Sociopragmatic Failure*

The second type of "pragmatic failure" that Thomas identifies is what she calls "sociopragmatic failure". It has to do with knowing "what to say" and "whom to say it to". Many of the misunderstandings that occur stem from what Thomas identifies as differences in evaluation regarding what she terms "size of imposition," "tabus", "cross-culturally different assessments of relative power or social distance", and "value judgments". Thomas provides a useful way of looking at the type of diversity which exists across cultures and which often leads to cross-cultural problems. In doing so, she separates out what she sees as major areas in which there exist differences in cultural rules regarding speech behavior. In Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz's (1990) study on refusal, Japanese learners of English choose different excuses to refuse suggestions by interlocutors of higher ranking status or lower ranking status. However, for American native speakers, the standard of excuse selection is based status, i.e., the interlocutors being equal or unequal. That is, the excuses made by Japanese learners of English at the sociopragmatic level are negatively transferred from Japanese culture to American contexts. To repeat, communication needs far more than just a set of linguistic rules. Both pragmalinguistic knowledge and sociopragmatic knowledge are necessary to determine the appropriateness of a verbal behavior.

Therefore, sociopragmatic failure results from different cultural norms and pragmatic principles that govern linguistic behaviors in different cultures. Since speakers with different cultural backgrounds have different understandings of the appropriateness of linguistic behavior, there may be barriers to effective communication. As Thomas (1983) points out, different cultures have different ways of thinking, rules of speaking, social values and place different relative weights on the pragmatic principles, and these cross-culturally different assessments of social parameters have negatively affected language users' linguistic choices, which finally result in sociopragmatic failure.

Moreover, according to Naiditch (2011:73), pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure are crucial to understanding a learner's language use for two main reasons: First, because when using language, learners show their knowledge of grammar as well as their own belief systems (both about the language and about the world); Second, because the only way to interpret a speaker's intended meaning is to consider it from its linguistic and contextual aspects. Separating linguistic issues from appropriate

sociolinguistic behavior is ill advised because these two areas are clarifying and useful for researchers' descriptions of interlanguage. Indeed, understanding how pragmatics influences behavior in other cultures is the first step toward eliminating stereotypes and improving L2 pragmatic performance.

2.5.2.3. *He Ziran's Classification:*

He Ziran & Xinren (2004) point out that pragmatic failure has the following three manifestations: pragmalinguistic failure, sociopragmatic failure and pragmatic failure in cross-cultural communication. Pragmalinguistic failure can be considered from both sides of the conversation. On the one hand, the speaker commits pragmatic failure because he\she takes for granted that the listener is able to understand his\her meaning and he\she thus makes an inappropriate utterance. On the other hand, the listener commits pragmatic failure by deducing the meaning of the speaker's utterance incorrectly. Sociopragmatic failure occurs when the speaker does not give concern to the identity and social status of the listener during the conversation. He\she may produce pragmatic failure by using a polite form of expression toward a close person or someone of a lower social status; or by addressing a remote person or someone of a higher social status with an intimate form. The speaker's lack of knowledge about the politeness principle of social interaction is a major cause of sociopragmatic failure. He Ziran points out that pragmatic failure in cross-cultural communication occurs under the following four circumstances:

- a.** The speaker chooses an inappropriate topic. Different cultures usually have different beliefs, value views and living habits. Therefore, people need to distinguish between free and constrained topics in intercultural communication.
- b.** The speaker uses expressions which have different implications in the target language, or which deviate from his own intention in producing such utterance. This kind of pragmatic failure commonly happens in greetings. Besides, misuse of fixed expressions in the target language also gives rise to misunderstanding.
- c.** The utterance made by the speaker to express a certain idea does not conform to the convention of the target language. Since people with different cultural backgrounds tend to use different expressions and strategies to convey the same information, they tend to commit pragmatic failure while speaking a language other than their mother tongue.

d. A participant in a conversation makes an inappropriate response to a certain question or statement. He Ziran & Xinren (2004) point out that Chinese people prefer to show their modesty while being complimented, however, on the contrary, people in the west like to show their talents directly and would accept praise happily.

In fact, pragmatic failure may possibly result from other factors. Language proficiency has been considered as an influential factor to achieve pragmatic transfer. Learners of a higher language proficiency show greater pragmatic transfer than low-level learners, because low-level learners are subject to the interference of their native language (Maeshba, Yoshinaga, Kasper & Rose, 1996; Takahashi, 1996; Wannaruk, 2009). Bardovi-Harlig and Dórnyci (1998) propose that when ESL learners achieve a high level of English proficiency, they are able to be aware of the pragmatic aspect of language. Moreover, Cook and Liddicoat (2002) propose that learners at high-proficiency level are able to automatically process the language. It is this processing automaticity which effectively process pragmatic and linguistic knowledge, which are essential to obtain the intended meaning of the speech. According to Carrell and Konneker (1981:27), another possible cause of pragmatic failure is “oversensitivity” of English learners. They note that as English learners tend to consider that each linguistic form is given to meet certain communicative intention, it is likely for them to oversense differentiation of syntactic or semantic forms. In addition, it is found that language learners, even with satisfactory proficiency in vocabulary and grammar, fail to communicate appropriately with other people simply because they are not equipped with the competence to detect appropriate cross-cultural differences between L1 and L2, without their communicative competence of L2 will not be complete (Ellis, 1992; Cohen, Olshtain & Rosenstein, 1986; Gumperz, 1982b; Wofson, 1989). However, Ellis (1992) indicates that it is not easy for target language learners to develop the sociolinguistic competence in the classroom. In the study on language learning of college students, Bardovi-Harig and Hartford (1993) point out that learners’ failure to employ appropriate forms of a speech act within contexts lies in little feedback from the teacher on the appropriateness of the sociolinguistic forms. Some researchers have shown that L2 learners tend to apply their L1 conventions in the L2 sociolinguistic behavior (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989; Yu, 1999). Miscommunication may most likely occur when L1 and L2 display cross-cultural differences and lead to negative sociolinguistic transfer. Cohen, Olshtain & Rosentein (1986) also find that

non-native speakers do not have efficient sensitivity to sociolinguistic awareness as native speakers do. Therefore, since the importance of sociolinguistic awareness is singled out in these studies on teaching speech acts, teachers can first develop learners' awareness of those concepts of language functions on sociopragmatic level and cross-cultural differences.

2.6. Conclusion:

To sum up, it is unavoidable that cultural differences between Palestine and English-speaking countries set up barriers to cross-cultural communication. Differences in social conventions, value views, thinking patterns, social habits and customs are all possible sources of pragmatic failure. As Lihui and Jianbin (2010:46) pointed out, different cultures have different ways of thinking, rules of speaking, social values and relative weights of pragmatic principles, and these cross-culturally different assessments of social parameters have negatively affected language users' linguistic choices, which finally result in sociopragmatic failure. In intercultural interaction, participants from different cultural backgrounds may adhere to their own cultural conventions, and behave in the way they believe is appropriate. Therefore, they may find it difficult to adapt to each other's manner of speaking and they will commit pragmatic failure which inevitably leads to misunderstanding. For instance, Palestinian people believe that it is extremely impolite and even sometimes arrogant to invite without insistence. It would be better not to invite at all. However, American English speakers usually believe that insistence could be a kind of imposition or a Face Threatening Act (FTA).

CHAPTER THREE: SPEECH ACTS

3.0. Introduction:

The term *speech act* has been used by Crystal (1992: 362) to refer to a communicative activity defined with reference to the intentions of a speaker while speaking and the effects achieved on a listener. Forms of language generally serve specific communicative functions. An interrogative like *How about a cup of tea?* is usually a grammatical form functioning as a question. A question, however, is a basic speech act which can function as an invitation. For instance, the question *Can you pass the salt?* uttered at a dinner table does not signal the speaker's attempt at eliciting information about the listener's abilities or inabilities. It rather functions as a request for action. This manifests the fact that linguistic forms are not always unambiguous in their functions. For illustration, consider the following sentence uttered by a frustrated adult who is late for work on a rainy day:

I can't find my umbrella?

This may possibly be a frantic request for all the people in the household to join in the search for the umbrella.

According to Crystal (1992: 72), “communication is the transmission and reception of information between a signaler and a receiver”. In other words, it is the exchange of ideas, information, etc. between two or more persons. However, speech act theory states that communication is more than the transmission of information. It is clear that Crystal's (1992) definition is ‘rudimentary’, and it needs to be expanded. Communication is usually regarded as the combination of speech acts, a series of elements with purpose and intent. A good number of characteristics have been proposed for communication. These characteristics have been proposed to represent communication as being purposive, functional, and designed to bring about some effect on the environment of hearers and speakers. In fact, any definition of communication should highlight that it relies on activities accompanied with certain contextual, sociolinguistic, cross cultural dimensions.

3.1. Definitions of speech acts

I have observed that although there are numerous opinions regarding how to define speech acts, early studies in speech acts stem from the field of philosophy (e.g., Austin 1962; Grice 1975; Habermas 1988 and Searle 1969, 1975, 1986) and have been

expanded and amplified on by scholars from a number of different fields (e.g., linguistics- Sadock 1974; anthropology - Hymes 1974; Gumperz 1982; child language - Ochs- Schiefflin 1979). What these studies have in common is the assumption that fundamental to human communication is the notion of *speech act*, that is, the performance of a certain act through words (e.g., requesting, refusing, complimenting, inviting, etc...).

My argument is that linguists and language philosophers tackle the notion of *speech acts* taking into consideration different perspectives. The language philosopher Austin (1962) was the first to introduce the concept of *speech act*, and his theory of speech acts was initially further developed by Searle (1969). Austin (1962:12) points out that, in their ordinary use of language, people do not only produce utterances to merely say things about the world; rather, people also produce utterances in order to do things. In other words, according to Austin, people also use language in order to perform certain actions.

Developing further Austin's (1962) speech act theory, Searle (1969:16) considers speech acts as "the basic or minimal units of all linguistic communication". Searle prefers using the term *speech act* to refer to what Austin calls *illocutionary act*. Moreover, according to Searle (1969:24), a speaker's performance of a speech act involves three different acts which make up the complete speech act. These three acts are "utterance act" (uttering words), "propositional act" (referring and predicating) and "illocutionary act" (e.g., stating, commanding, or requesting).

Downing and Locke (2006:176) state that "speech acts are the acts we perform through words. Certain general speech acts are basic to everyday interaction; these are statements, questions, exclamations and directives, the latter covering orders, requests and instructions among others". Downing and Locke (2006:176) explore both direct and indirect speech acts. In their illustration of direct speech acts, they clarify the point that each of these "basic speech acts is associated in the grammar with a type of clause: the declarative is typically used to encode a statement, the interrogative a question, the imperative a directive and the exclamative an exclamation." However, Downing and Locke (2006) illustrate that indirect⁸ correspondences are also common in English.

According to Miller (2006:3), "a speech act is an utterance that serves a function in communication. Some examples are an apology, greeting, request, complaint,

⁸ See section (3.6) for indirect speech acts.

invitation, compliment or refusal.” A speech act might contain just one word such as ‘No’ to perform a refusal or several words or sentences such as: *I’m sorry, I can’t, I have a prior engagement*. Miller (2006:3-4) confirms that it is important to mention that “speech acts include real-life interactions and require not only knowledge of the language but also appropriate use of that language within a given culture. Socio-cultural variables like power, social distance, and situational setting influence the appropriateness and effectiveness of politeness strategies used to realize directive speech acts”.

Widdowson (1996:131) states that speech acts are acts of communication “performed by the use of language, either in speech or writing, involving reference, force, and effect”. On the other hand, according to Suzuki (2008:87), the concept *speech act* refers to the realization of the speaker’s (S’s) intention in a single or a sequence of utterances.

According to Abbas (2012:336), speech acts are one of the most important components of pragmatic competence. They are also defined as “the minimal units of linguistic communication”. Abbas (2012:336) states that speech acts constitute the core of pragmatic competence and this feature of speech acts has made them the focus of many studies conducted in the Applied Linguistic field.

Mey (2001:219) and Zielinska (2011:138) present the notion of *situated speech acts*. They stress the importance of considering the context in defining speech acts. In this respect, Mey (2001:219) states:

Speech acts, in order to be effective, have to be situated. That is to say, they both rely on, and actively create, the situation in which they are realized. Thus, a situated speech act comes close to what has been called a speech event in ethnographic and anthropological studies (Bauman and Sherzer, 1974): speech as centered on an institutionalized social activity of a certain kind, such as teaching, visiting a doctor’s office, participating in a tea-ceremony, and so on. In all such activities, speech is, in a way, prescribed: only certain utterances can be expected and will thus be acceptable; conversely, the participants in the situation, by their acceptance of their own and others’ utterances, establish and reaffirm the social situation in which the utterances are uttered and in which they find themselves as utterers (Mey, 2001:219).

Therefore, on many occasions, a physical setting alone is not enough to codify a situation being talked about—i.e., as noted by Mey, pragmatic factors often co-define the situation. According to Zielinska (2011:138), elaborate discussion concerning the

need for including pragmatic factors in interpreting truth conditions of a sentence must be considered.

In illustrating the importance of mastering sociolinguistic competence in English language teaching, Baleghizadeh (2007:146) defines “a speech act as a functional unit in communication”. Speech acts have an important role in effective communication and hence are important components of sociolinguistic competence to be mastered by learners. Baleghizadeh (2007:147) reaffirms that

It is now quite clear why speech acts have an important role in our daily use of language: they are important because they allow us to perform a wide range of functions. They enable us to compliment, apologize, request, complain, etc. Now if speech acts give us the chance to do all this in our native language for sure they can do the same thing in the second/foreign language that we are attempting to learn. It is important to master speech acts while learning a second language because they not only facilitate the process of communication, but also make it more effective. The important question to be considered is this: Are speech acts haphazardly picked up in the process of second language acquisition, or should they be systematically taught?

Asher and Lascarides (2006:6) provide formal account of speech acts. They state that “many types of speech acts must be understood relationally, because successfully performing them is logically dependent on the content of an antecedent utterance”. For example, if one uses an utterance to conclude something, then that conclusion must be relative to some antecedent hypothesis or argument. Answering is also inherently relational: an answer is an answer to some prior question.

In clarifying the cross-cultural dimension of speech acts, Wierzbicka (1991) claims that most of the early definitions of speech acts are ethnocentric, and that thus they fail to take into consideration what she believed is one of the most important characteristics of speech acts, namely cultural specificity. She says that, cultural values and characteristics such as indirectness, objectivism, courtesy, and cordiality are reflected in the way speakers produce speech acts. Not taking this into consideration can have serious practical implications. Moreover, Wierzbicka (2003:vi) points out that since people interact in cultural contexts which are governed by specific cultural norms and values, speech acts are performed and understood according to these norms and values.

Similarly, according to Gass (1996:1), “Not only does the linguistic realization of the same speech act differ, but the force of a speech act might differ”. For example, in some cultures to refuse an invitation may necessitate much “hedging” or “beating

around the bush” before an actual refusal might be made. In other cultures, a refusal may not necessitate as much mitigation.

There is an argument shared by some philosophers and linguists in favour of the possible extension of speech act theory to discourse analysis. This argument is the following:

Speech acts are not isolated moves in communication: they appear in more global units of communication, defined as conversations or discourses (Vanderveken, 1994: 53).

To sum up, the study of speech acts focuses on the “action” dimension of utterances, thus going beyond the study of syntactic form and semantic meaning by adding “illocutionary meaning”. “Utterances, when made in *specific situations*, are thus defined not merely as expressions of sentences or propositions but also as social acts such as assertions, promises or threats” (van Dijk, 2009: 13). I have observed that there is an agreement among most linguists and philosophers that speech acts are the minimal units of linguistic communication. So far, we have seen that some scholars present a narrow sentence-oriented view in exploring speech acts. However, there is a need to deal with speech acts from a context-oriented view taking into consideration external pragmatic factors that affect the communication as a process. The next section tackles the speech act theory in detail.

3.2. Speech Act Theory.

Speech act theory stems from philosophy of language. It was initiated by J. Austin in *How To Do Things With Words* (1962). Austin distinguished constative utterances from the performative ones. Unlike the constatives that simply provide information, the performatives create a world, in which a certain action can be performed by the speaker or the hearer. The truth/falsity criterion is applicable to constatives, because they describe world with words, but not to the performatives, which create world with words (cf. Zimmerman, 2005:14).

The theory was further developed by J. Searle in *Speech Acts* (1962) and subsequent work. Searle has defined speech acts more broadly as basic units of communication. Central to the theory, as expounded by Searle (2002), is the principle of *expressibility*: whatever can be meant can be said, while the intention of an utterance can be deciphered by a hearer who has a sufficient linguistic competence. Speech acts provide information (words relate to world), impose directives on the hearer (words

create world, in which the hearer is expected to perform an action), or commit the speaker to a certain action. As will be illustrated in section (3.3.), the speech act taxonomy is based on these functions with a set of rules defining each class of speech acts.

Searle (1962) believes that, given the propositional content is already understood, the exact meaning of speech act is determined by its assignment to the taxonomy of illocutionary roles. According to Kannetzky (2002:78), Searle's "principle of expressibility aims at ensuring the context-independent meaning of utterances". Later on, Searle (1968:18) admits the principle requires at least one additional condition, namely an appropriate background or context of the speech act.

Moreover, and later on in elaborating the theory of speech acts, Searle (2002:4) states his notion of *intentionality*. The methodology he had used for analyzing speech acts was to analyze the necessary and sufficient conditions for the successful and non-defective performance of the act. According to Searle (2002: 8), "the most fruitful way to analyze intentional states is to analyze their conditions of satisfaction". Searle (ibid: 8) adds that "If I have a prior intention to perform an action, then it is part of the conditions of satisfaction of that prior intention, that it should cause the performance of the action that constitutes the rest of its conditions of satisfaction". Therefore, "precisely because intentional states are states and not facts, there are no conditions for their successful performance" (ibid:8).

In other words, speech acts are the basic or "minimal units" of linguistic communication (Searle 1976:16). They are not mere artificial linguistic constructs as they may seem, and their understanding together with the acquaintance of context in which they are performed are often essential for decoding the whole utterance and its proper meaning. According to Searle (2007:31), "the theory of speech acts tells us something about the structure and functioning of illocutionary acts".

A central part of Searle's theory is the idea that "speaking a language is performing acts according to rules" (Searle 1969:36-7), where by "rule" he means a conventional association between a certain kind of act and its socially determined consequences. These are CONSTITUTIVE RULES, he said, in the same sense that the rules of chess are constitutive of the game itself. To perform an illocutionary act, according to Searle, is to follow certain conventional rules that are constitutive of that kind of act.

The single greatest criticism Searle presented toward Austin's work concerned the notion of *speech act versus speech act verbs*. According to Searle, Austin not only failed to recognize the difference between these two notions, but he also equated the existence or non-existence of speech act verbs with speech acts themselves, using the two terms basically interchangeably. However, according to Mey (2001:105-110), Searle advocated that "it is quite possible for a speaker to perform a speech act without using a speech act (performative) verb". A case in point is exemplified in the following utterance:

Ahmed: *I have an exam tomorrow.*

This statement may be just that, a statement whose force expresses a declaration of the reality in which the speaker finds himself (he has an exam tomorrow). However, if uttered to someone else, the same utterance may also carry the force of a refusal, in this case a refusal of an invitation, albeit an indirect one. Notice, however, that there is no such *performative* or *speech act verb* included in the utterance (Emphasis is mine).

There are other scholars who suggested certain points as contributions towards a more practical speech act theory. Geis (1995) introduces his Dynamic Speech Act Theory in which he argues that "it is necessary to play emphasis on the social interactional nature of utterances and treat them as communications rather than merely focus on their linguistic nature". Then, he strongly recommends that the study of speech acts should carefully take account of the effect of social features of context such as social relationships between participants, psychological states, and attitudes of participants, etc. in which utterances happen.

Therefore, John Searle (1969) has been credited with the speech act theory. He brought greater systematicity to the ideas which Austin had so perceptively explored. He focused on the idea that meaning is a kind of doing. He claimed that the study of language is just a sub-part of the theory of action. In fact, Searle crystallized the concepts of *illocutionary act* and *illocutionary force* to the extent where one can reasonably speak of his speech act theory as the classical account which functions as a point of departure for subsequent work on speech acts. The term *speech act theory* is in practice a reference to illocutionary acts. Perlocutionary acts are usually neglected. Most linguists focus on the speaker's meaning in their investigation to speech acts. The inclusion of the listener's meaning is also important. There is a need to explore the way the listener interprets a certain speech act in a certain situation. Therefore, this study

presents a different dimension by making an attempt to tackle both speaker's and listener's meanings in exploring the speech act of inviting in Palestinian Arabic and American English.

Real-life acts of speech usually involve interpersonal relations of some kind: A speaker does something with respect to an audience by saying certain words to that audience. Thus it would seem that ethnographic studies of such relationships and the study of discourse should be central to speech act theory.

3.3. Classification of speech acts:

Speech act theory lends itself to establishing systems of classification for illocutions. According to Allan (1998) there are two ways of classifying speech acts. One is what he calls "a lexical classification", which distinguishes among speech acts according to the illocutionary verbs they express. The second approach classifies them "according to the act they express", such as requesting, apologizing, promising, and so on.

According to Austin, the same utterance could at the same time constitute three kinds of acts:

- (1) a locutionary act (or locution): The particular sense and reference of an utterance;
- (2) an illocutionary act (or illocution): The act performed in, or by virtue of, the performance of the illocution; and
- (3) a perlocutionary act (or perlocution): The act performed by means of what is said (cf. Wagner, 1999).

Austin focused on the second of these acts. The locution belongs to the traditional territory of truth-based semantics. The perlocution belongs strictly beyond the investigation of language and meaning since it deals with the results or effects of an utterance. The illocution occupies the middle ground between them. This ground is now considered the territory of pragmatics, of meaning in context. Austin emphasizes his claim that only the verbs used to describe illocutions can be used as performative verbs.

However, an illocutionary act cannot be successfully achieved without confirming to some conditions. Therefore, Austin (1962) proposes a set of felicity conditions which will be illustrated in section (3.4).

On a final note, while the formalized classification system proposed by Austin (1962: 150-163) has been labeled "problematic" (see especially Searle 1969, 1977;

Leech 1983; and Mey 2001, 2004), it is worth a brief look inasmuch as it serves as the basis for much of the literature generated to date on the subject of speech act theory.

VERDICATIVES

Verdicatives are those utterances rendering a verdict or a judgment of some sort. However, such judgments need not be final.

Example: *I find his sense of humor very unique.*

EXERTIVES

These utterances exercise their own power, rights, or influence.

Example: *I order you to stop running.*

COMMISSIVES

These utterances include promises to do some future act, announcements of intentions to do some future act, or espousals.

Example: *I plan on finishing my thesis this year.*

BEHABITIVES

Austin states that this category comprises “a very miscellaneous group ... which includes apologizing, congratulating, commending, cursing, etc.

Example: *I apologize for not returning your phone call sooner.*

EXPOSITIVES

Austin admits that this category is “difficult to define.” He adds that these utterances are expository in nature and that their goal is to make clear how other utterances fit into discourse.

Example: *I argue that classifying apologies is a complex task.*

The end of this section presents the reader with a brief summary of the criticisms offered by J. P. Searle of Austin’s speech act classification system as reviewed above, and an overview of the contributions made by Searle in the wake of such criticism. In fact, Searle (1979), as an improvement of the classification of the speech acts proposed by Austin, classifies speech acts into:

- a) Assertives: commit S(peaker) to the truth of some proposition;
- b) Directives: count as attempts to bring about some effect through the action of H(earer);
- c) Expressives: count as the expression of some psychological state;

- d) Commissives: commit S to some future action;
- e) Declaratives: are speech acts whose "successful" performance brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality. (cf. Leech and Thomas, 1985: 179)

According to Zaefferer (2006:2), "At its time Searle's proposal constituted a tremendous step forward towards a principled terminology in speech act theory". It replaced the rather poorly defined classification outlined in the last lecture of Austin's *How to do things with Words* (Austin 1962) with a much more systematic account based on a decomposition of the notion of illocutionary force into its main factors. Searle found out that "there are (at least) twelve dimensions of variation in which illocutionary acts differ from one another" (1975:345): 1. Point or purpose; 2. direction of fit; 3. expressed psychological state; 4. strength of the point; 5. status of participants; 6. relations to interests of participants; 7. relations to rest of discourse; 8. propositional content; 9. non-linguistic performability; 10. dependence on extra-linguistic institution; 11. possibility of performative use of describing verb; 12. style.

Moreover, Zaefferer (2006:2) presents a critique of Searle's classification. He states that "Although the resulting classification is based mainly on the first three of these factors represents certainly a major improvement over its predecessor, at closer scrutiny this account turns out to be less systematic than it looks".

Searle's classification is "not exhaustive" and according to Levinson (1983: 240), it lacks "a principled basis". In fact, conversations are multifunctional. Some utterances can perform several speech acts simultaneously. Yet, Searle's classification helped to become aware of basic types of illocutionary acts and their potential perlocutionary effect on the hearer.

While Searle classifies speech acts (illocutionary acts, in fact) into five categories, Thuy (2007) and Bach and Harnish (1979) consider illocutionary acts as communicative actions and hence divide them into four classes (constatives, directives, commissives and acknowledgements) according to distinctions between the expression of beliefs, attitudes, intentions or desires to act or to cause others to act and show their feelings.

Taking into consideration various criteria, other scholars present different systems of classification. Todd's (1983) classification of speech acts is based on a "Preliminary Speech Act Category System". He classifies speech acts as follows:

- A. *Statements* (expositives, representatives, as-ertions) reports / quotes / instantiations / claims / stimulations / inferences;
- B. *Directives* (requests, orders, exercitives) suggest / request / order / request object / agree as to truth / expression of approval / sympathy / support / com-mitment / direct action / direct / indirect;
- C. *Questions* / wh-form / yes/no form / tag form / intonation-only form / information-only versus other uses /
- D. *Re-actives* (various kinds of agreement or disagreement with what has previously been stated) agree as to truth versus disagree as to truth / give attention / ac-cede (agree to commit, or actually do) versus refuse;
- E. *Expressives* / give approval versus disapproval (sympathy, regret, exasperation, etc.) direct versus indirect (accusation, disagreement, etc.);
- F. *Commissives* / promise, offer, vow, etc.

Adopting the notion of *politeness*⁹ as an important criterion, Parvaresh and Rasekh (2009:4) advocate Leech's (1983) classification. According to this classification, illocutionary goals are divided into four categories of a) competitives, b) convivials, c) collaboratives, and d) conflictives based on how they relate to the social goal of establishing and maintaining comity. Being in agreement with this kind of classification, Parvaresh and Rasekh (2009:4) state that the first (competitives) and the last category (conflictives) were regarded as impolite with the latter being the rudest; and the second (convivials) and the third category (collaboratives) were regarded as polite in nature (cf. Parvaresh and Rasekh, 2009).

According to Searle's categorization, the target speech act of this study, invitation¹⁰, is a directive, which demands the hearers' response to the speakers' proposal of doing something; and if a positive response is given, the hearer confines himself –herself to a future act. However, taking into consideration politeness as a criterion, the speech act of inviting might belong to other categories as will be illustrated in detail in chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10.

To sum up this section, in nearly all of these studies, there are many more dimensions than are needed to form a taxonomy with a small number of basic categories. It is interesting to note that in almost all of the schemes that have been put

⁹ See chapter 5 on politeness.

¹⁰ See chapter 7 on classifications of invitations.

forward, the imprint of Austin's original, highly intuitive compartmentalization is clearly visible. Austin's class of commissives, for example, seems to survive intact on everyone's list of basic illocutionary types. Searle (1975) presented a taxonomy of illocutionary acts based on a number of essentially pragmatic parameters, some of which are closely related to the notion of *felicity conditions*. The most important of the added parameters is what Searle called DIRECTION OF FIT. This has to do with whether the words are supposed to fit the facts of the world or whether the world is supposed to come to fit the words. On the other hand, Leech (1983) adopts politeness as his basic criterion in suggesting a taxonomy of speech acts. Therefore, Searle's and Leech's contributions are very significant. That is why their contributions, in addition to some other recent contributions, are adopted as a theoretical framework for the purpose of exploring invitations in PA and AE.

3.4. Speech Acts and Felicity Conditions:

My argument is that any account of speech act theory should never overlook the so-called felicity conditions. According to Austin (1962: 63), the term *felicity conditions* refers to the criteria which must be satisfied if a speech act is to achieve its purpose. In other words, for a speech act to be appropriately performed or realized, there are some conventions. These are referred to as felicity conditions or the so-called social conventions. The speakers and the listeners should heed these conditions to guarantee the achievement of the purposes for which any given speech act is performed. Therefore, the term of *felicity conditions* was proposed by Austin who defines them as follows (Austin, 1962: 14-15):

- A. There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, that procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances.
- B. The particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked.
- C. The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and completely.
- D. Where, as often, the procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings, or for the inauguration of certain consequential conduct on the part of any participant, then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must

intend so to conduct themselves, and further must actually so conduct themselves subsequently.

On the other hand, several types of felicity conditions have been suggested by Searle (1981). The conditions which were required to be present if a given speech act was to be effectively performed, were used by Searle to offer definitions of various speech acts. Searle proposes four kinds of rules on the basis of these conditions:

- (1) **Propositional Content Rules:** specify the kind of meaning expressed by the propositional part of an utterance;
- (2) **Preparatory Rules:** delineate the conditions which are pre-requisite to the performance of the speech act;
- (3) **Sincerity Rules:** outline the conditions which must obtain if the speech act is to be performed sincerely;
- (4) **Essential Rules:** specify what the speech act must conventionally count as.

In addition to having the knowledge of the four conditions, interlocutors have to assign functions to a number of infinite sentences for attaining the intended meaning from each other. As no sentence is function-free in the context, interlocutors must recognize the category of the illocutionary act of each sentence to communicate successfully and avoid misunderstanding in cross cultural situations.

When an invitation is offered, the four conditions must be conformed to achieving the function of inviting. First of all, the utterance of the invitation concerns Propositional Content Condition. As to the Preparatory Condition, the inviter must have the ability to offer the invitation and, similarly, the invitee must have high possibility to receive the invitation. Next, the inviter must intend to invite sincerely according to Sincerity Condition. Finally, when the inviting sentences are uttered by the inviter, the invitation act must be done *in the future* in accordance with Essential Condition.

Yule (1996:50), working on originally Searle's assumptions, proposes further classification of felicity conditions into five classes:

1. **General conditions** presuppose the participants' knowledge of the language being used and his non-playacting,
2. **Content conditions** concern the appropriate content of the utterance.
3. **Preparatory conditions** deal with differences of various illocutionary acts (e.g. those of promising or warning).

4. **Sincerity conditions** count with speaker's intention to carry out a certain act, and
5. **Essential conditions** combine with a specification of what must be in the utterance content, the context and the speaker's intention in order for a specific act to be appropriately (felicitously) performed.

Therefore, felicity conditions determine whether a certain speech act is successful. Speakers of a language, however, may sometimes fail to commit the felicity conditions of an utterance for one purpose or another. According to Lyons (1977: 157), the utterance *Will you drive?* is inappropriate as a request if the speaker knows that the hearer has not learnt to drive, and the mutual recognition of such inappropriateness would, in turn, lead to an interpretation of a different order (e.g. joking, sarcasm, etc.). Austin (1962) refers to such utterances as infelicitous. However, according to Grice (1975, 1989) such utterances are regarded as implicatures.

3.5. Macro and Micro speech acts

According to Stein (1992:262), conversation functions "in a well-structured, hierarchical manner". It contains a series of local speech acts. These two kinds of speech acts are often referred to as "micro-" and "macro-speech acts" (van Dijk, 1981). Since micro- and macro- speech acts have such an intertwined relationship, they tend to be constructed as "resembling the relationship of part and whole, element and set or member and class (van Dijk, 1980:3-9). Van Dijk (1977:238) argues:

Just like action in general, speech-act sequences require global planning and interpretation. That is, certain sequences of various speech acts may be intended and understood, and hence function socially, as one speech act. Such a speech act performed by a sequence of speech acts will be called a global speech act or a macro-speech act.

For example, a micro-speech act, be it an assertive or a directive, has its own characteristics, or properties; therefore, it can be understood on its own terms without being "referred up" to any macro-speech act. Its essential dimensions, such as the purpose of the act and the direction of fit between words and the world, will remain intact regardless of what kind of macro-speech act it belongs to.

On the other hand, although our conception and full understanding of any macro-speech act within a discourse does, in one way or another, trace back to or call upon the meaning of low-level micro-speech acts, it has its own cognitive "necessity" (van Dijk

1981:210). In order to secure the overall discourse coherence, to comprehend local speech acts, we have to mentally formulate some macro-speech acts relative to the topic discourse but not necessarily derivable from each and every micro-speech act.

In fact, van Dijk (1981) uses the term macro- speech acts to refer to sequences of speech acts which have an *overall unity*. This “overall unity”, according to Van Eemeren (1983), implies that the macro- speech act consists of a group of speech acts which are in some way related and thus constitute a whole. But van Dijk goes on to comment: ‘Thus we can *overall* issue a request or a protest in a letter which itself consists of all sorts of other speech acts, e.g. assertions, questions, suggestions, etc.’

Ferrara (1985), drawing on van Dijk (1977, 1981), explains the need to talk about macro speech acts. Ferrara argues that speech act theory must be extended to capture the core action of discourse. He claims that there is a distinction between understanding the text semantically (what the talk means) and understanding the text pragmatically (what the talk does). According to Ferrara, capturing “what the text does” involves identifying the set of macro speech acts that “underlies the entire text and insures its pragmatic coherence” (1985:149). Although the macro speech act is composed of myriad single speech acts in the text, it can only be determined by reference to the dominant speech acts in the text. Ferrara (1995) thus argues for a broader unit of analysis, the macro speech act, as a way of more effectively investigating the relationship between language and action.

Similarly, to capture the interactive nature of speech acts, Edmondson (1981:55) suggested that speech acts be examined as speech act sequences: “a sequence of speech acts, rather than having a closed pair of such acts”.

Some scholars state that it is necessary to work with units of interaction so as to study the communicative behavior within a speech community. Hymes (1972:58-9) suggested that a “nested hierarchy” of units called the speech situation, speech event, and speech act would be useful, and his suggestion has been widely accepted. The three units are a nested hierarchy in the sense that speech acts are part of speech events which are, in turn, part of speech situations. Hymes described speech situations as “situations associated with (or marked by the absence of) speech”. The examples he gives are ceremonies, fights, hunts, or lovemaking. As Hymes sees it, speech situations are not purely communicative; they may be composed of both communicative and other kinds

of events. “Speech situations are not themselves subject to rules of speaking, but can be referred to by rules of speaking as contexts” (Fasold, 1990:42-43).

Speech events, on the other hand, are both communicative and governed by rules for the use of speech. “The focus on speech events has emerged as one of the most important contributions of ethnographers speaking in the analysis of speech habits of communities” (Gumperz, 1972:16-17). A speech event takes place within a speech situation and is composed of one or more speech acts. For example, a joke might be a speech act that is part of a conversation (a speech event) which takes place at a party (a speech situation). It is also possible for a speech act to be, in itself, the entire speech event which might be the only event in a speech situation. A single invocation which is all there is to a prayer when that prayer is the only event in a rite is the example Hymes (1972:59) gives.

The third level in the hierarchy is the speech act. ‘Speech act’ is the simplest and the most troublesome level at the same time. It is the simplest because it is the “minimal term of the set” (Hymes 1972:56). It is troublesome because it has a slightly different meaning in the study of the ethnography of communication from the meaning given to the term in linguistic pragmatics and in philosophy (for example, Austin 1962, chapter 4), and because it seems it is not quite “minimal” after all. According to Hymes, a speech act is to be distinguished from the sentence and is not to be identified with any unit at any level of grammar. A speech act could have forms ranging from, ‘*By the authority vested in me by the laws of this state, I hereby command you to leave this building immediately*’, to, ‘*Would you mind leaving now?*’, to, ‘*I sure would like some peace and quiet*’, to, ‘*Out!*’ (all interpretable as commands, if the context is right). For Hymes, a speech act gets its status from the social context as well as grammatical form and intonation. As he puts it, “the level of speech acts mediates immediately between the usual levels of grammar and the rest of a speech event or situation in that it implicates both linguistic form and social norms” (Hymes 1972:57).

To sum up, since this research has to do with invitations, within a community one finds many situations associated with speech, such as meals, parties, etc. These situations, however, are not in themselves governed by consistent rules throughout. Consequently, a simple relabeling of them in terms of speech will not do much. It is, therefore, more useful to restrict the term *speech event* to activities that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech. Samples of conversations occurring in

such activities as private conversations, class lectures, etc. belong in this category. *Speech acts*, in a narrower sense, are the minimal terms of the set "speech situation, speech event, and speech act". Therefore, a speech act is an utterance which functions as a functional unit in communication. It serves as the minimal unit of analysis. Speech acts are conditioned by rules of conduct and interpretation. Acts such as, inviting, refusing, thanking, etc. belong in this category.

3. 6. Indirect Speech Acts:

Pragmatics literature classifies speech acts according to the degree of their explicitness or directness. Speech acts have been divided into direct speech acts and indirect speech acts (Leech, 1983; Searle, 1969, 1979, 1975). Accordingly, direct speech acts are those acts where the utterance explicitly abides by its felicity conditions (especially the structural ones) whereas indirect acts rely more on context in order to reconstruct the underlying speech act performed. Thus speech acts could be placed on a continuum ranging from the most direct down to the least direct act which may even be confused with a normal constative utterance.

Searle (1975) argues for a distinction of speech acts into direct speech acts and indirect speech acts, and he claims that indirect speech acts are cases in which the literal meaning of a speech act is not equal to its intended meaning. Leech (1983:97) regards the use of indirect speech acts as a "hinting strategy" to utter "an illocution whose goal is interpreted as a subsidiary goal for the performance of another illocution. Searle (1975) defines direct and indirect speech acts in terms of "means-ends analysis", which explains speaker's problem-solving strategy.

Searle (1975:62) views indirect speech acting as a combination of two acts, a primary illocutionary act, and a secondary one. Moreover, in his speech act theory, Searle (1975) took the line that there are basically two types of indirectness: **conventional** indirectness and **non-conventional** indirectness (Emphasis is mine). Conventional indirectness refers to those utterances which are standardized to perform only those acts conventionally designated for certain functional purposes which are not assigned to them in their grammatical forms (Searle, 1975). In the case of "*Can you pass the salt?*" both the means, i.e., the kind of ability that is used as an indirect utterance, and the form, i.e., the exact wording (e.g., "*can you*" as opposed to "*are you able to*") are conventionalized to signal the illocutionary force.

The second type of indirectness, non-conventional indirectness, also referred to as “hints”, comprises those utterances, which are ambiguous on either propositional content or illocutionary force or both. For example, by replying “*I have to study for an exam*” to an invitation to a movie, the literal meaning of the utterance and the intended meaning, i.e., refusal, do not match. There is no systematic relation between the utterance and rejecting a proposal as there is between “*can you pass the salt*” and its directive illocution. Its meaning is very much context embedded. Non-conventional indirectness is “pragmatically vague, heterogeneous in realization, high in deniability potential and infinite in number” (Searle, 1975).

For more clarification, according to Searle (1975), parts of indirect speech acts are conventionally used to perform certain functions. Searle lists some linguistic forms conventionally used to perform the function of directives. The conventionally indirect directives are listed as follows:

Group 1 Sentences concerning H’s ability to perform A:

Can you reach the salt?

Group 2 Sentences concerning S’s wish or want that H will do A:

I would like you to go now.

Group 3 Sentences concerning H’s doing A:

Will you quit making that awful racket?

Group 4 Sentences concerning H’s desire or willingness to do A:

Do you want to hand me that hammer over there on the table?

Group 5 Sentences concerning reasons for doing A:

Why not stop here?

Group 6 Sentences embedding one of these elements inside another; also, sentences embedding an explicit directive illocutionary verb inside one of these contexts.

Might I ask you to take off your hat? (pp.268-269)

In illustrating indirect speech acts, McGowan, Tam and Hall (2009:496) explore another example as illustrated below:

David approaches Monica at a club and says, ‘*Hey, let’s dance,*’ to which Monica replies, ‘*I don’t like this song.*’

Notice that Monica’s utterance is literally a statement about her dislike of a particular song. However, in this context, her utterance is also a rejection of David’s invitation. Moreover, to reject David’s invitation is Monica’s primary illocutionary intention and she satisfies that intention by way of making a statement about her dislike

of a particular song. As one can see, on the standard account, this utterance constitutes two distinct illocutionary acts: the primary indirect illocutionary act of rejecting (David's invitation to dance) and the secondary direct illocutionary act of stating (her dislike of a particular song).

Searle (1975) extends the standard account by explaining how the addressee manages to recognize the primary (indirect illocutionary) intention of the speaker. In other words, Searle accounts for how the indirect speech act is successfully communicated. Appealing to Gricean-style reasoning, Searle offers a potential reconstruction of how David might come to realize that Monica's statement is really a rejection of his offer:

- Step 1: David made a proposal to Monica, and in response she has made a statement to the effect that she does not like the song that is being played (facts about the conversation).
- Step 2: David assumes that Monica is cooperating in the conversation and that therefore her remark is intended to be relevant (principles of conversational cooperation).
- Step 3: A relevant response must be one of acceptance, rejection, counterproposal, further discussion, etc. (theory of speech acts).
- Step 4: But her literal utterance was not one of these, and so was not a relevant response (inference from Steps 1 and 3).
- Step 5: Therefore, she probably means more than she says. Assuming that her remark is relevant, her primary illocutionary point must differ from her literal one (inference from Steps 2 and 4).
- Step 6: David knows that people normally do not dance to songs they do not like (factual background information).
- Step 7: Therefore, Monica probably does not want to dance to a song she does not like (inference from Step 6).
- Step 8: A preparatory condition of accepting an offer is to want the thing being offered (theory of speech acts).
- Step 9: Therefore, David knows that Monica has said something that has the consequence that she probably does not want to dance with him (inference from Steps 1, 7, and 8).
- Step 10: Therefore, her primary illocutionary intention is probably to reject the offer to dance (inference from Steps 5 and 9). (McGowan, Tam and Hall 2009:496)

Notice that a crucial step in David's reasoning occurs at step 8 when he realizes that what Monica actually said means that an important pragmatic pre-condition for accepting his offer is unmet. As a result, David realizes that Monica intends to reject his offer. Thus, as one can see, Searle's theory of speech acts has an important role in explaining how David manages to recognize Monica's primary illocutionary intention

to reject his offer. As Searle stresses, there is an important connection between what Monica actually said and one of the conditions for the indirect speech act that she primarily intended to perform.

In talking about invitations, the target of this study, here is an example originally due to Searle (1975:61). Somebody says to a friend:

Let's go to the movies tonight.

And the friend answers:

I have to study for an exam.

In the example above, the second utterance in fact is a rejection of the proposal contained in the first, while seeming to be completely unrelated to it and not containing any overt or hidden negation, denial or rejection, or even a mention of the rejected offer. It is obvious that in our daily conversations, interlocutors intentionally use a large number of indirect utterances, instead of direct speech to achieve the goals of communication for some reasons, such as politeness consideration or sarcastic purpose. Therefore, any indirect speech act is a combination of two acts, a primary illocutionary act (in the example above, rejecting a proposal), and a secondary one (in this case, making a statement), where the primary act operates through, and in force of, the secondary one.

According to McGowan, Tam and Hall (2009:491), it is well known that a single utterance, on a single occasion, can serve multiple purposes. When, for example, a woman says, *'I'm not feeling well'* in response to an invitation to a date, her utterance both describes her state of wellbeing and it also functions as a refusal of that invitation. When a particular utterance serves such multiple purposes, it is an indirect speech act. In this case, the direct and literal assertion (that the speaker is not feeling well) also manages to communicate the woman's indirect and non-literal refusal.

For more illustration, *"Can you come to my party?"* is a syntactic form which is conventionally used to perform the function of invitation. The inferential procedure by the hearer is described as follows:

STEP 1: The speaker asked me a question about my ability to come to his party (the fact of the conversation).

STEP 2: I assume that he is cooperating in the conversation and his utterances have some aim (cooperative principle).

STEP 3: In the situation, the utterance does not indicate a theoretical interest in the ability to come to his party (background information)

STEP 4: It is probable that the inviter knows the answer of the question is *yes* (background information).

STEP 5: Therefore, he probably does not intend to ask a question but to give another illocutionary point.

STEP 6: A preparatory condition for a directive illocutionary act is the ability to perform the act (theory of speech acts).

STEP 7: Therefore, the speaker asks me a question. The affirmative answer of which entails the preparatory condition for inviting me to come to his party.

By correctly inferring the literal meaning from the primary illocutionary act, the hearer can successfully interpret the question as an expression for invitation by relying on the inferential abilities of the hearer and mutually shared linguistic and extra-linguistic information. According to Wagner (1999:15), the hearer's job is a complex one: he needs to develop a strategy for establishing the existence of an illocutionary point beyond the illocutionary point present in the structure of the utterance. In the case of nonliteral utterances, we do not mean what our words mean but something else instead. With NONLITERALITY the force or the content of the illocutionary act being performed is not the one that would be predicted just from the meanings of the words being used.

Attaining the intended meaning of indirect speech acts heavily relies on inference, with some tools necessarily involved to well operate the inference. Devices for inference include theory of speech acts, cooperative principle, mutual background information between interlocutors, and inference ability. Downing and Locke (2006:176) add that "Hearers use inference to recover the intended meaning of specific points in a conversation, based on assumptions of cooperativeness, truth, relevance and cultural knowledge".

There are numerous contextual factors operating on both micro- and macro- social levels, which may determine the way in which a given speech act is realized. Examples of contextual factors include, but are not limited to: 1) the situation, 2) the roles of the speaker and the hearer, 3) past conversational history between participants, 4) manner of speaking, 5) the domain of interaction, and 6) prescribed social conventions operating for a given event, eg., filing a lawsuit. In sum, neither Austin nor Searle mentions the notion of *context* as it related to the validity and legitimate performance of speech acts.

Indirectness, as an effective communicative skill, is widely used to achieve certain goals. When people speak or behave indirectly, they must have various purposes or motives beneath, which need our attention to find out. In fact, the notion of *indirect speech acts* is still a fertile field of study.

Mey (2001: 111) states that “Often, we may have to disregard that form, and instead look for a ‘deeper’ or ‘implied’ meaning”. According to Pinker, Nowak and Lee (2008:838), “people often don’t blurt out what they mean in so many words but veil their intentions in innuendo, euphemism, or doublespeak”. The surface form of a particular linguistic expression does not always and necessarily tell the truth about what it is doing. According to Chen (2010:148), this straightforward means is not unique. In fact, in daily life, in most cases, people do not utter what they intend to say directly and without preamble, but insinuate to others to express their thought indirectly and implicitly.

Similarly, Zhang and You (2009:99) state that in our daily communication, we always “want to form and keep good relationships with others, avoid embarrassment, misunderstanding or friction, and maintain interpersonal and social harmony”. According to Locastro (2006), Felix-Brasdefer (2005) and AlFattah (2010), the use of indirectness leaves the speaker a way out if he is challenged by the addressee. Indirectness provides “means to deny perceived intentions, avoid conflict and escape from responsibility for an utterance”; it allows the speaker to avoid responsibility for a direct request (Locastro, 2006).

The notions of *indirectness* and *politeness*¹¹ have generated much discussion among linguists and pragmaticians (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Fraser, 1978; Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Searle, 1975). Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) made a strong connection between the two, arguing that a higher degree of indirectness shows more politeness. That is, the more the speaker risks loss of face in performing an act such as a request, the more indirect the strategy he or she uses to be polite. In their model politeness means to minimize the threat of face loss incurred by performing the act, and indirectness is a strategy used to achieve the goal (Kobayashi and Rinnert, 1999:1174). Therefore, indirectness is frequently regarded as polite, although researchers on this topic (Locastro, 2006: 123) and Thomas, (1995: 119-192) regards

¹¹ A detailed exploration of indirectness and its relation to politeness is available in Chapter 5.

indirectness, both conventional and conversational, as a strategy to achieve communicative goals, face-saving being one.

Leech (1983:108) maintained the same parallel relation between indirectness and politeness, offering two rationales:

- (1) Indirectness increases the degree of optionality, and (2) when an illocution (speech act) is more indirect, its force tends to be diminished and more tentative.

To sum up, the notion of *politeness* and its relation with invitations will be explored in detail in the next chapters. However, in conclusion, what is or is not taken to be a polite utterance depends completely on the moment of the utterance in linguistic practice and relies on the participants' habits in the verbal interaction. In fact, the motivation for indirectness seems to be more or less clear but the question most linguists deal with is: How is it possible that the hearer understands what the speaker actually communicates by his utterance? To answer this cardinal question, the theory of implicature and the cooperative principle have been developed.

3.7. Speech acts and the Cooperative Principle (CP):

While verbal exchanges go beyond sentential level to involve conversation inference, the interlocutors need a communicative principle consented to both interlocutors to ensure that their verbal exchanges in the conversation comply to cooperation, which is the basic requirement to have a successful communication. Grice (1975:45) proposes "Cooperative Principle", claiming that the principles control speech acts to achieve verbal exchange. One could assume that the interactants in a conversation have to regard what Grice (1957) calls the cooperative principle:

"Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged."

According to Grice, the Cooperative Principle (CP, hereafter) includes four maxims, as given below, and these maxims and their submaxims can be implemented either by conformation or violation.

(1) Maxim of Quantity:

- (a) Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange;
- (b) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required;

According to Widdowson (2007), there is no need to give information by means of language if it is already common knowledge. He says “If they underestimate how much context is shared and so overtextualize by producing too much language then what they say will be heard or read as pointlessly wordy, or verbose. If, on the other hand, they overestimate the extent of shared contextual knowledge, and so under-textualize, then what they say will be heard read as obscure” (2007:57).

- (2) Maxim of Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true, specifically:
- (a) Do not say what you believe to be false;
 - (b) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence;

Yule (1996) says that the importance of the maxim of quality for cooperative interaction in English may be measured by the number of expressions which we use in our conversation to show that what we are saying is not totally accurate. He mentions the examples below for more illustration:

A- *As far as I know*, they are married.

B- *I may be mistaken*, but I thought I saw a wedding ring on her finger.

C- He could not live without her, *I guess*. (Ibid: 38).

The initial italicized phrases of A and B, and the final phrase of C are notes to the listener regarding the accuracy of the main statement.

- (3) Maxim of Relation: Do make your contribution relevant;

According to Widdowson (2007:61) relation is “to make what you say relevant to the topic or purpose of the communication”.

- (4) Maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous and specifically:

- (a) Avoid obscurity.
- (b) Avoid ambiguity.
- (c) Be brief.
- (d) Be orderly.

My argument is that these maxims are not rules that conversationalists are required to obey. Rather they are rational and logical principles to be observed for a coherent and efficient communication of meaning by cooperation between interactants. Grice is only referring to the kind and degree of cooperation that is necessary for people to make sense of one another’s contributions. In some occasions, interactants may decide to flout some of Grice’s four maxims, to be uninformative, evasive, irrelevant or obscure. Still, their ambiguous behavior is itself intended to be meaningful, and is going

to be inferred as meaningful by the recipient “Implicature”. Grice (1975:32) says “If the maxims are breached, or ostentatiously flouted, the hearer infers that the speaker must have something else that is that speaker must have had some special reason for not observing the maxims”. He says flouting the maxims also leads to implicatures.

In fact, the conversational implicature is a message that is not found in the plain sense of the sentence. The speaker implies it. The hearer is able to infer (work out, read between the lines) this message in the utterance, by appealing to the rules governing successful conversational interaction. Grice (1975:32) proposed that implicatures can be calculated by understanding three things:

1. The usual linguistic meaning of what is said.
2. Contextual information (shared or general knowledge).
3. The assumption that the speaker is obeying what Grice calls the cooperative principle.

Leech and Thomas (1985: 181) define conversational implicatures as "pragmatic implications which the addressee figures out by assuming the speaker's underlying adherence to the CP". The blatancy of the flouting of the maxims leads to the generation of a conversational implicature. Therefore, Grice distinguished between what is SAID in making an utterance, that which determines the truth value of the contribution, and the total of what is communicated.

Many commentators have assumed that Grice's cooperative principle is built on some prior notion of human benevolence and cooperativeness. They have argued that Grice is making some kind of ethical claim about human behavior (cf. Kiefer, 1979; Platt, 1977, 1982; Sampson, 1982 and Pinker, 2007). But nothing is further from the truth. The cooperative principle functions as a device to explain how people arrive at meaning. There is certainly no assumption that people are inevitably truthful, informative, and relevant in what they say (see Thomas, 1986: chapter 2). In other words, a speaker may sometimes maliciously and falsely tell the hearer what he himself does not believe to be true. This flouting of a maxim can serve as a good device for leading the addressee toward a covert, implied meaning (cf. Grice, 1975, 1989). This last kind of explanation of the cooperative principle is basic to what Grice called Conversational Implicatures.

The cooperative principle has been criticized on two grounds:

1. The cooperative principle cannot, in itself, explain why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean;
2. It fails to account for what the relationship between sense and force (considering non-directive utterances) is.

My argument is that that the cooperative principle does not stand up to the evidence of real language use. Larkin and O'Malley (1973), for instance, argue that the majority of declarative sentences do not have an information bearing function. Keenan (1976) believes that the maxims of the cooperative principle are not universal to language because there are linguistic communities to which not all of them apply.

Grice does not of course prescribe the use of such maxims. Nor does he (I hope) suggest that we use them artificially to construct conversations. But they are useful for analyzing and interpreting conversation, and may reveal purposes of which (either as speaker or listener) we were not previously aware. Very often, we communicate particular non-literal meanings by appearing to “violate” or “flout” these maxims. If you were to hear someone described as having “one good eye”, you might well assume the person's other eye was defective, even though nothing had been said about it at all.

The author of this theory, an English language philosopher Paul Grice, scientifically clarifies the subject of mutual speaker-hearer understanding and says that we are able to converse with one another because we recognize common goals in conversation and specific ways of achieving these goals. In any conversation, only certain kinds of moves are possible at any particular time because of the constraints that operate to govern exchanges (Wardhaugh, 1992: 289). According to Grice, there is a set of over-arching assumptions guiding the conduct of conversation which arise from basic rational consideration (Levinson, 1983: 101). Levinson also adds to this that the assumptions can be understood as guidelines leading the course of the conversation (Levinson, 1983: 101).

My argument is that speech act theory and the cooperative principle have created much debate. In fact, Grice's influential articles (1957, 1967), while not dealing directly with the problems that occupied Austin, nevertheless have had a profound influence on speech act theory. In the earlier of these papers, Grice promulgated the idea that ordinary communication takes place not directly by means of convention, but in virtue of a speaker's evincing certain intentions and getting his or her audience to recognize those intentions (and to recognize that it was the speaker's intention to secure this

recognition.) This holds, Grice suggested, both for speech and for other sorts of intentional communicative acts. In his view, the utterance is not in itself communicative, but only provides clues to the intentions of the speaker.

Grice (1975) suggests four categories of maxims that are applicable to linguistic actions but which have analogues in other types of actions. The maxims given here are applicable to actions in general but apply to speech acts as a special case.

While not denying the role of Gricean intentions in communication, Searle (1969:49-50) argues that such an account is incomplete because 1) it fails to distinguish communication that proceeds by using meanings of the kind that only natural languages make available, and 2) it fails to distinguish between acts that succeed solely by means of getting the addressee to recognize the speaker's intention to achieve a certain (perlocutionary) effect and those for which and those for which that recognition is "...in virtue of (by means of) H[earer]'s knowledge of (certain of) the rules governing (the elements of) [the uttered sentence]" (Searle 1970: 49-50). These Searle labels ILLOCUTIONARY EFFECTS.

Searle (2002) states that his objections to Grice rest on the fact that Grice was confusing meaning with communication. Searle (2002:8) argues that:

Within a speech act we need to distinguish the part which represents conditions of satisfaction in one or the other illocutionary modes, from the part that has to do with communicating that whole package to a hearer. Meaning, in short cannot be identified with communication. Grice gives a theory of communication, not a theory of meaning. I analyzed meaning, then, in terms of a double level of intentionality in the performance of the speech act.

Searle (2002:4) adds

By analyzing meaning in terms of the intention to produce an effect on a hearer, Grice treats as identical two distinct features of the speech act: the content and force of the speech act (the meaning of the utterance) on the one hand, and the communication of that content and force to the hearer (the production of the effect), on the other. By giving an account of meaning in term of intentionality, and distinguishing meaning from communication, I believe I got a much simpler and a more powerful theory of speech acts.

To sum up this section, my argument is that the cooperative principle is a good start, but it is not complete. "Like many good-of-the-group theories in social science, CP assumes the speaker and the hearer are working in perfect harmony. We need to understand what happens when the interests of a speaker and a hearer are partly in conflict, as they often are in real life" (Pinker, 2007:443)

3.8. Universality versus Culture-Specificity of Speech Acts

When it comes to linguistic behavior like speech acts, the issue of universality versus culture-specificity has been of great interest to pragmatics. Some scholars claim that speech acts operate by universal principles of pragmatics (e.g., Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969, 1975, 1979), by which communicative interaction between speaker and addressee is governed, as well as by some general mechanisms such as principles of cooperation (Grice, 1975) or of politeness (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987; Leech, 1983). Furthermore, it is suggested that the strategies for realizing specific linguistic behavior are essentially identical across different cultures and languages, although the appropriate use of any given strategy may not be identical across speech communities (Fraser, 1985). In contrast, other theorists maintain that speech acts vary in both conceptualization and realization across languages and cultures, and that their modes of performance are mainly motivated by differences in deep-seated cultural conventions and assumptions (e.g., Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Green, 1975).

The issue of universality versus culture-specificity in speech act studies is still hotly debated. Typical of this debate are the opposing views of Searle (e.g., 1975) and Wierzbicka (e.g., 1991). For example, Searle (1975), supporting Austin's (1962) claim that speech acts are semantic universals and hence not culture-bound, maintains that across languages and cultures, there are general norms for realizing speech acts and conducting politeness behavior, and that while the forms embodying these norms may vary from one language to another, the cross-cultural differences are not that important. However, Wierzbicka (1991), providing examples from Polish and Japanese, objects to this universalistic stand and contends that choosing circumstances for performing certain speech acts is based on cultural norms and values rather than on general mechanisms. She argues that any existing claims to universality in speech act behavior are necessarily subjective and ethnocentric. Given the fact that only a few speech acts and languages have been studied in the literature, existing claims for universality are severely called into question by studies such as Wierzbicka's (Yu, 2005).

To examine whether there are universal pragmatic mechanisms in speech act realization, Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) engaged in a comprehensive study that can be considered the most ambitious and comprehensive speech act study to date--the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project. They focused on three linguistic varieties of English and five other languages to investigate whether or not there were

universal pragmatic principles in the realization patterns of requests and apologies. Although seeming to support claims for universal categories of main request and apology strategies, their findings indicated not only that the particular manifestations of these strategies were not similar across languages, but that these strategies carried different social meanings across cultures. Nevertheless, there was an inherent flaw in that study, that is, its potential Western bias, for all languages studied were either Western or heavily affected by Western cultures. It is conceivable that only when speech act research is extended to include more non-Western languages, especially those like Chinese and Arabic which are reputed to bear very different socio-cultural conventions from the Western languages, could substantive universal claims be warranted (Yu, 2005). Accordingly, the present cross-cultural study widens the scope of speech act studies by examining the speech act of inviting in Palestinian Arabic, and may hence shed some light on the issue of universality versus culture-specificity.

3.9. A critique of the Speech Act Theory:

I argue that although speech act theory has been commented upon by many linguistic philosophers, it is still a fertile field of study. Even though influential in a number of fields, it has not been without its critics. One significant misconception that may stem from Searle's classification of speech acts is that each conversation consists of only one single speech act. A good number of conversations, however, are multifunctional. According to Labov and Fanshel (1977: 29), "most utterances can be seen as performing several speech acts simultaneously." Conversation is not a chain of utterances, but rather a matrix of utterances and actions "bound together by a web of understanding and reactions."

Flowerdew (1990: 81-103) lists the most important flaws and drawbacks of the speech act theory. These flaws are perceivable in the following domains:

- 1) The exact number of speech acts;
- 2) Discrete categories versus scale of meaning;
- 3) Indirect speech acts and concept of literal force;
- 4) Contrast between specific and diffuse acts;
- 5) Size of speech act realization forms;
- 6) Relation between locution, illocution, and interaction; and
- 7) Relation between the whole and the parts in discourse.

LoCastro (2006) also claims there is a need to expand the analysis of speech acts in isolation to study them in context, since the comprehension of the pragmatic meaning implied in a speech act must take into consideration not only linguistic forms but all other contextual and interactional factors. In this regard, Kasper (2006) argues for the need to analyze speech acts in interaction by applying a discursive approach to speech act pragmatics.

Vanderveken (1994:53) argues that “There is a common sense argument shared by philosophers and linguists in favor of the possible extension of speech act theory to discourse analysis”. Vanderveken (1994:53) adds that “Speech acts are not isolated moves in communication: they appear in more global units of communication, defined as conversations or discourses”.

Likewise van Dijk (2008:vi) states that speech act theories have “formally accounted for some of the properties of Speakers and Hearers, such as their knowledge, wishes or status, so as to formulate appropriateness conditions, but have not further pursued a systematic analysis of such contextual conditions”.

Martines-Flor and Uso-Juan (2010:8) present a prolonged critique of Searle’s theory of speech acts. One of the most important issues that they have argued against Searle’s (1976) suggested typology that refers to the fact that the illocutionary force of a concrete speech act cannot take the form of a sentence as Searle considered it. They claim that a sentence is a grammatical unit within the formal system of language, whereas the speech act involves a communicative function. Moreover, Martines-Flor and Uso-Juan (2010:8) defend conversation contextual analysis as the most suitable proposal to be applied in speech act research.

Thomas (1995) criticizes Searle’s Typology on the grounds that it only accounts for formal considerations. In fact, she states that speech acts cannot be regarded in a way appropriate to grammar as Searle tried to do and suggests these functional units of communication may be characterized in terms of principles instead of formal rules. In line with Leech (1983), who focuses on meaning and presents a functional perspective of speech acts against a formal viewpoint, Thomas (1995) also suggests “functional, psychological and affective factors influencing speech acts”. Additionally, as claimed by her, distinguishing among speech acts in clear-cut categories following Searle’s rules is not always possible.

Zimmerman (2005:19) criticizes speech act theory and focuses on the way indirect speech acts are dealt with in Interactional Sociolinguistics. He affirms that Speech Act Theory also recognizes indirect speech acts (as those in which form does not match the intention), but does not fully account for “symbolic value of speech”. It considers “situational cues as marginal to what is said”. In contrast, Interactional Sociolinguistics deals primarily with these aspects of verbal communication. Insofar as any speech act intention is modified in respect to anticipated behavior of other participants, all speech acts are multifunctional and are to a certain degree indirect. Their multiple meanings are revealed by relating them to a linguistic system of social interaction. The interpersonal conventions, ambiguity, avoidance devices, face saving and risk taking aspects of linguistic behavior are the means by which the discourse participants are aligned (or realigned) according to their roles in defining the conversational framework and accepting it. For instance, interrogative form can be employed in directives, reminders, in nagging, and in other speech acts widely different from information requests (Boxer, 2002). According to Zimmerman (2005:19), the differentiation of meaning depends on contextualization cues: the non-verbal signals that are intuitively decoded, as well as the verbal signals, such as the details of intonation, and also lexical and syntactic choices.

Habermas (1988) sees the importance of Searle's approach in that he considers language as a means for coordinating actions. He criticizes Searle, however, for overlooking the orientation of the participants. According to Habermas (1988), Searle does not distinguish between the situation in which H performs the requested act because he wants to evade sanctions, and the situation in which he does so because he accepts the validity of S's claims in a rational way. According to Habermas (1988), communication succeeds only when H does what is requested because he considers the request to be valid. When he does not accept the validity claim of S, the communication has not *eo ipso* failed but can be continued by negotiating about the validity claims.

Masaki (2004:33) illustrates Strawson's (1969) critique on Speech Act Theory. According to Masaki (2004), “Strawson views speech acts as not necessarily dependent on conventions that function as connecting factors between utterance and what is meant by it”. In other words, a person can act without using an existing convention all the time in order to perform an act by saying something. Instead, the contention by Strawson is that it is “intention” that takes a role of acting by saying something.

To sum up this section on speech acts, my argument is that speech act theory is a widely disputed field and issues such as what speech acts are and how they are classified seem to be culture specific, and not as universal as some of the studies presented above have described. Evidence on speech act perception and realization from different cultures have demonstrated that more research needs to be done in order to provide a theory that has an integrated approach to speech acts. Thus, besides carefully defining the term used in the research and creating an appropriate taxonomy, social, cultural, and pragmatic influences on the meaning, perception, and production of speech acts need to be considered.

3.10. Speech Act Research:

Speech act studies can be classified into four broad categories. First, there are those studies that are referred to as intra-lingual as they focus on examining speech acts within a single language or culture, such as apologies in Arabic (Samara, 2010), apologies in Korean (Hahn, 2006) compliments in Chinese (Yuan, 1998), requests in Yemeni Arabic (Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010) or congratulations in Peruvian Spanish (García, 2009). These studies, in fact, explored speech acts' strategies in regard to speakers' native language (see also Al-Kahtani, 2005; Cheng, 2009; Karimnia & Afghari, 2010; Sharifian, 2005).

A second group of studies is referred to as cross-cultural, and these examine the realization of speech acts in two or more languages or cultures; for example, comparing the speech act of apology in Arabic and American English (Bataineh, 2004) and thanking in English and Spanish (De Pablos-Ortega, 2010), or examining refusal strategies in German and American English (Beckers, 1999). The present study falls within this category since it tackles the speech act of inviting in Palestinian Arabic and American English by highlighting differences and similarities that exist in the two speech communities.

A third group of studies examines the effectiveness of different data collection methods in speech act research, such as comparing writing-based data collection instruments to observation of naturally-occurring speech (Golato, 2003).

A fourth group of studies focuses on the language learner by examining how learners perform speech acts and how their performance compares to that of native speakers of L1 and L2. These learner-centered studies are generally referred to as

interlanguage pragmatic studies. Some of these studies also investigated characteristics of non-native speakers' speech acts in comparison to native speakers (Ahmadian & Vahid Dastjerdi, 2010; Al-Eryani, 2007; Bryant Smith, 2009; Parvaresh & Eslami Rasekh, 2009; Wannaruk, 2009; Wolfson, 1981). The present study belongs also to this category due to its importance to language learners and their performance.

Therefore, the interlanguage pragmatic studies can also be further subdivided into four subcategories: descriptive studies, instruction-based studies, study-abroad studies, and studies investigating the realization of speech acts online. The descriptive studies describe the strategies used by learners and compare them to those used by native speaker of L1 and L2. The word *strategies* here refers to the semantic formulas speakers use to perform a certain speech act. For example, the strategies used for performing the speech act of refusal may include: apologizing, thanking, giving an excuse, giving an explanation, expressing hesitation, setting conditions for acceptance, expressing empathy etc. Analysis of these strategies also includes an examination of the mitigation devices speakers use to soften the illocutionary force of their refusals (e.g., hedging devices such as modifiers or quantifiers). Tamanaha (2003), for example, examined the realization of the speech acts of apology and complaint by American learners of Japanese and compared their performance to that of native speakers of Japanese and native speakers of American English.

The second sub-category of instruction-based studies (also called interventional studies) includes studies that examine the effects of instruction on the development of the language learner's pragmatic competence. For example, Rueda (2004) looked at whether pragmatic instruction improved Colombian EFL learners' ability to produce the speech acts of requests, apologies and compliments appropriately and whether the effects of such instruction were retained over time.

The third sub-category of study abroad studies includes studies that are usually longitudinal and examine the effects of study abroad programs on the foreign language learner's acquisition of pragmatic competence. For example, Warga and Scholmberger (2007) investigated the effects of immersion in the target language community on the pragmatic competence of a group of learners. They specifically examined the development of the pragmatic ability in the production of the speech act of apology by a group of Austrian learners of French who spent ten months studying at the University of Quebec in Montreal, Canada.

Finally, the fourth sub-category of interlanguage speech act studies refers to those studies that explore how language learners realize speech acts online. This is a new but growing field of investigation. Chen (2004), for example, investigated how Taiwanese students communicated meaning successfully in their e-mail correspondence with their American counterparts. He examined how the Taiwanese students' speech act behavior as well as their cultural background affected their communication online. Although some might argue that this group of studies belongs to the sub-category of descriptive studies, the use of the medium of computer-mediated communication, and what it entails in terms of the type of language used as well as other methodological implications warrants the investigation of this line of research under a separate category.

With regard to data collection methods, most of speech act studies have used the Discourse Completion Test (DCT), which was first introduced by Blum-Kulka (1982). Other data collection methods include the role play which involves the researcher or some other native speaker role playing, or acting out, a number of scenarios with the participants. These scenarios are designed to elicit specific speech acts. Speech act data can also be collected through observation of naturally-occurring speech as it is the case with this study.

Some of these different methods will be explained in detail in chapter six. Data analysis in speech act research has usually included both quantitative and qualitative methods. Almost all speech act studies include frequency counts of the different strategies used by speakers in realizing speech acts. In many of these studies both descriptive and inferential statistics are used. Qualitative analysis is also used, especially in studies that use naturally-occurring data or role play data.

Furthermore, many pragmatic studies have been involved with investigating the influential factors in speech act performance such as gender (e.g. Allami, 2006; Bryant Smith, 2009; Sumhung Li, 2010) and proficiency (e.g. Allami & Naimi, 2010; Nguyen, 2007; Wannaruk , 2009). Thus, this study aims to investigate the influence of gender, age and social distance as factors that might affect the realization of the speech act of inviting in Palestinian Arabic and American English.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE NOTION OF *FACE* (A CROSS-CULTURAL INVESTIGATION)

4.0. Introduction

The concept of *face* has been used to explain various social phenomena by a wide range of social science researchers, including social anthropologists, pragmalinguists, sociolinguists, sociologists and psychologists. In their study of politeness and face, Haugh and Hinze, (2003:2) state that *face* has been applied in an academic sense as an explanatory mechanism in the study of politeness discourse (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Mao, 1994; Nwoye, 1992; Scollon & Scollon, 1995), compliance-gaining and request/persuasive strategies (Leichty & Applegate, 1991), impression management (Tedeschi & Riess, 1981), negotiation and conflict management (Trubisky, Ting-Toomey, Lin, 1990), courtroom dramas (Penman, 1990), management practice and organizational behavior (Earley, 1997), and communicative competence (Lim, 1994).

Moreover, the notion of *face* has been in use as a metaphor in different cultures of the world for a very long time. It has metaphorically referred to individual qualities and/or abstract entities such as honor, respect, esteem and the self. In fact, the notions of both *face* and *politeness* are interrelated. Any illustration of the latter necessitates further illustration of the former, so both notions are explored in two different related chapters. Therefore, this chapter investigates the concept of *face* across cultures, focusing in particular, on the Palestinian and American contexts. The origin of the concept *face* will be addressed using evidence provided by researchers such as Ho (1976; 1994), Mao (1994), Oetzel et al. (2001), Watts (2003), Farahat (2009) among others. Since there is no consensus on the definition of *face*, I will discuss some of the definitions available in an attempt to establish a better understanding of this key concept.

I will also investigate expressions related to *face*, such as, upgrading/ honoring expressions and face demeaning/threatening ones. The term *loss of face* and acts that cause loss of face in American English and Palestinian Arabic will also be addressed. The chapter will also investigate acts that enhance face in American and Palestinian cultures, in order to fully understand how people can enhance each other's face during an encounter. Areas of similarities and differences between both cultures will be emphasized.

4.1. Background

Some scholars, (Al Fattah, 2010; Farahat, 2009; Watts, 2003; Oetzel et al., 2001; Ho, 1994; Mao, 1994) believe that that the concept of *face* originated in China. Ho (1976:867) argues that the concept of *face* is, of course, Chinese in origin, and the term is a literal translation of the Chinese *lien* and *mien-tzu*. Oetzel et al. (2001) argue that “Goffman¹² (1955:237) was one of the first Western writers to examine the notion of ‘face’ and his definition of ‘face’ was influenced by the Chinese concept of ‘face’”.

Goffman (1967) states that all people within all cultures project a public face-image, and “a sense of positive identity and public self-esteem”. He also emphasizes the fact that face is a public image and can be lost, or maintained or withdrawn. All individuals do their best to present themselves, in public, as proficient, experienced, appealing and interesting. Therefore, they do their utmost to negotiate face in order to save their faces and their interlocutors’ faces (see chapter five for further discussion of Goffman’s important work). Since the appearance of Goffman’s seminal work, the study of face has become an issue of great interest. Many researchers have built on Goffman’s notion of *face*. Brown and Levinson¹³ (1987) use Goffman’s work as an underpinning for their study of politeness theory. More recently, Ting-Toomey (1988) lays the basis for “face negotiation theory”, where she claims that face represents an individual’s claimed sense of positive image in the context of social interaction.

Following Goffman’s (1967) concept of *face*, Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory, and Ting-Toomey’s (1988) face-negotiation theory, researchers have become aware of the effects of face and politeness when learning a second or a foreign language. Wang et al. (2005) investigates the role of politeness in educational contexts. Watson (1999) investigates the effects of the fear of intimidation, embarrassment, and loss of face on Asian students’ academic achievements while learning in Australia. Similarly, Greenwood (1997) investigates the behavior of three Japanese female students inside the classroom and the effects of the concept of the *loss of face* on their behavioral interaction on the one hand and on their academic achievements on the other.

4.2. Discussions on the definitions of the term *face*

The meaning of the notion of *face* has apparently been incorporated into the definitions provided by many contemporary English dictionaries. For example,

¹² See chapter 5 for Goffman’s theory of politeness.

¹³ Brown & Levinson’s theory of politeness is explored in chapter 5.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1986) defines face as "dignity of prestige"; *the American Heritage Dictionary* (1981) characterizes face as "Value or standing in the eyes of others"; and *the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1985) sees face as "a state of being respected by others".

The notion of *face* was defined by different scholars. Although *face* as a universal concept exists nearly in every culture, it has lacked a universal definition. Ng (2008) argues in this regard that although there is an agreement about the universality of face, there is little agreement about the definition of *face* across cultures. Ho (1976:876) maintains that "although everyone appears to have some notion of what face entails, a precise definition of it proves to be a most difficult task". In order to address this issue, various definitions of the term *face* will be discussed in the following pages.

Goffman (1967:7) conceptualizes an individual's face as something that is not "lodged in or on his body, but rather something that is diffusely located in the flow of events in the encounter". Building on this conceptualization and understanding of the nature of face, Goffman (1967:5) defines *face* as

The positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self- delineated in terms of approved social attributes- albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself.

Brown and Levinson (1987:61) define *face* as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself. There are two facets of the public image a person wants to claim: positive, to be loved and approved, and negative, to have unrestricted action and be free from imposition¹⁴.

Scollon and Scollon (1995) proposed a paradoxical concept of *face* from communicational view. So as not to confuse with terms of *positive politeness* as good and *negative politeness* as bad, they came up with two sides of face: *involvement* and *independence*¹⁵. They claimed that "in human interactions, we have a need to be involved with other participants and to show them our involvement. On the other hand, we need to maintain some degree of independence from other participants, and to show them that we respect their independence" (ibid: 36). The involvement aspect of face shows "what participants have in common" and has been called solidarity politeness.

¹⁴ See chapter 5 for more illustration of Brown & Levinson's theory of politeness.

¹⁵ Emphasis is mine.

The independence aspect “is shown by such discourse strategies as making minimal assumptions about the needs or interests of others, by not “putting words into their mouths,” by giving others the widest range of options, or by using more formal names and titles” and thus has been called negative politeness (ibid: 37). They also claimed that “any communication is a risk to face; it is a risk to one’s own face at the same time it is a risk to other person’s,” for example, “if we exclude others, while that may increase our own independence, it at the same time decreases our own involvement ...if we include others, we risk our own independent face” (ibid: 38). Therefore, “the choice of language in discourse is not simply a matter of practical choice governed by efficiency of communication of information. Every such choice is also a matter of the negotiation of the face of the participants” (ibid: 1995, 40). Scollon and Scollon (1995) list some possible linguistic strategies of involvement and independence. For instance, the strategies of involvement are: to notice or attend to H, to claim in-group membership with H, to assume or assert reciprocity or to use given names and nicknames. The strategies of independence are: to minimize threat, to apologize, to state a general rule, to use family name and titles or to be taciturn.

Ting-Toomey (1999:1) defines *face* as “identity and respect. It is a keen sense of favorable feelings about self-worth and we want others to think. It is the degree that we are willing to consider the other person’s identity in a wide range of communication situations”. In another study, Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998:187) envisages *face* as a “claimed sense of favorable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of her or him. It is vulnerable identity-based resource because it can be enhanced or threatened in any uncertain social situation”.

Watts’¹⁶ (2003:10) definition of *face* is strongly influenced by Goffman’s (1967) definition, in particular that face is “on loan” during the whole conversation between a speaker and a hearer. Watts (2003:125) argues that

Face, then, is a socially attributed aspect of self that is temporarily on loan for the duration of the interaction in accordance with the line or lines that the individual has adopted. It is not our personal construction of the self, although the different faces we are required to adopt in different interactions do contribute towards that construction.

Lee-Wong (2000) stresses the social identity of face. She envisages *face* in terms of social relationships with other people. In other words, *face* in Lee-Wongs’s view is

¹⁶ See chapter 5 for more illustration of Watts’ (2003) theory of politeness.

something that can be lost or maintained during the course of an interaction. Therefore, protecting face is a reciprocal process between a speaker and a hearer. This conceptualization is very similar to Goffman's, where the person is defined within a social context.

If one loves one's face, one should avoid face and attempt to maintain one's face; in looking after one's own face, it is imperative that one looks after other's face. Face maintenance is essentially an act of balancing-the perception of self in relation to other. (Lee-Wong, 2000:24)

O'Driscoll (1996:12) conceptualizes *face* as an additional want to the negative and positive wants shared by all higher animals, arguing that

We are being with a highly complex social organization. The result of this is that our self-esteem depends in large part on the attitudes of other people towards us. This aspect of our self-esteem-the part that depends on others' attitudes towards us-is *face*.

Ho (1976:883) treats *face* as the immediate respect a person would like to have from others. He argues that

Face is the respectability and/or deference which a person can claim for himself from others, by virtue of the relative position he occupies in his social network and the degree to which he is judged to have functioned in his social network and degree to which he is judged to have functioned adequately in that position as well as acceptably in his general conduct.

Spencer-Oatey (2005:102-3) distinguishes between two face types: "Respectability face" and "Identity face". She defines "respectability face" as the "prestige, honor or good name that a person or social group holds and claims within a (broader) community". "Identity face", on the other hand, is defined as a "situation-specific face sensitivity, that is highly vulnerable". She argues that "respectability face" can be quantitatively measured. There are certain variables that play a crucial role in determining the relative weight of one's face such as age, sex, education, wealth, and status. For example, in Palestinian culture, age is a very important variable. The face of an old man takes precedence over the face of a young man.

Ruhi and Isik-Guler (2007:690) distinguish three aspects related to *face* in Turkey: "face as self-representation", "face maintained" and "face as relational work". They argue in connection to the first aspect that face is "linked to attributes of a person or a group that are claimed as the public image by the person/group or presented as the image perceived by others". Face maintained involves the "evaluation of the person's (or groups) attributes, achievements, and behaviors with respect to social norms, legal

regulations, role specifications, expectations that the person or the group have of themselves, or expectations that others have of the group/person” (ibid: 691). Face as relational work “concerns the quality of interpersonal attention directed to a person/group” (ibid: 693).

Nwoye (1992:313) distinguishes between what he calls “individual face” versus “group face”. He uses “individual face” to refer to the individual’s needs to satisfy his or her face wants and desires to project a good self-image for himself or herself in public. “Group face”, on the other hand, refers to the individual’s face “desire to behave in conformity with culturally expected norms of behavior that are institutionalized and sanctioned by society”. Put it in another way, in cultures that embrace “individual face” the individual places his desires and needs over group’s, whereas in cultures that adopt the “groups face” the individual sacrifices his desires for the sake of the group s/he belongs to. Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) argue that in collective cultures¹⁷, the face of the group is more important than the individual’s face. In individualistic cultures, on the other hand, the face of the individual is more important than the face of the group. Similarly, Markus & Kitayama (1991) propose the concepts of *independent self* and *interdependent self* by claiming that people in Western countries seem to rely more heavily on the concept of *independent self*, but people from East Asia and the Middle East put stronger emphasis on *interdependent self*.

Some researchers such as Ukosakul (2005) have equated face with expressions such as self-esteem, honor, pride, but Lim (1994:210) holds a different view, arguing that face is not what one thinks of oneself, but what one thinks others should think of one’s worth.

Since the claim of face is about one’s image held by others, one cannot claim face unilaterally without regard to the other’s perspective. ... The claim for face is the claim that the other should acknowledge, whether explicitly or implicitly, that one possesses the claimed virtues. ... Face in this sense, is different from such psychological concepts as self-esteem, self-concept, ego, and pride, which can be claimed without regard to the other’s perspective.

The definitions of *face* have generated a great deal of discussion. Building on the definitions above, it seems important to draw attention to some basic principles related to the definition. First, *face* may be defined in terms of the projection of one’s social self in public domain, i.e., the aspects of one’s self that a person reveals to others.

¹⁷ See chapter 5.9. for more illustration of collective and individualistic cultures.

Second, it could be argued that the majority of the definitions discussed earlier conceptualize *face* as more than the mere possession of the individual. The person cannot assign a value to his/her own face. It is the social group that one belongs to which gives an evaluative judgment regarding the person's face. Since people build their judgments on the values upheld by society, the conceptualization of *face* across cultures would be, to some extent, different due to the existence of different values. In the following pages, various empirical studies investigating the concept of *face* cross-culturally will be discussed in order to further explore the complexities of the concept of *face*.

4.3. The Concept of *Face* across Cultures

People have different conceptualizations of *face*. In many cultures, the upper part of the body is considered to be the most important part of the body because it contains the head and the face. For example, in Thai culture, according to Ukosakul (2005), a human body is divided into three parts which have different levels of importance. The most important and meaningful is the upper part of the body, which includes the head. Being located at the highest part of the body, the head, as perceived by Thai people, is believed to be exalted whereas the feet are dishonored. Therefore, touching someone's head carelessly or casually must be avoided and if it happens accidentally, repair work should be undertaken immediately. Ukosakul (2005) also argues that it is considered as an offence to pass any object over someone's head. In Igbo society, as described by Nwoye (1992), *face* refers to the area above the neck from the front of the head to the hairline. The most prominent part of the face is the eyebrows. They are considered the locale where concepts such as shame and honor reside. Similarly, in Palestinian culture the most prominent part of the body is the head because it contains the face. As it is the case in Thai culture, it is considered as an offence to pass any item over the head of the person.

Face is also used metaphorically across cultures to stand for notions such as "respect, honor, status, reputation, credibility, competence, family/network connection, loyalty, trust, relational indebtedness and obligation issues" (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi 1998:190). For example, in Thai culture, face-related idioms reveal that *face* metaphorically represents four aspects of a person: "one's personality, one's countenance, one's emotions and the concept of honor". These aspects of Thai *face* are

similar to the concepts held by other cultures such as Chinese, Japanese and other Asian cultures which associate *face* with concepts such as *dignity*, *self-esteem*, *prestige*, *reputation* and *pride* (Ukosakul, 2005:119).

Al Fattah (2010) and Mao (1994) argue that Chinese face consists of two components, namely, *mianzi* and *lian*. *Mianzi* stands for “prestige or reputation which is either achieved through getting on in life, or ascribed (or even imagined) by members of one’s own community”, whereas *lian* refers to the respect a person gains from the people due to his moral behavior (Mao 1994:457). Mao also maintains that there is also difference between losing *lian* and losing *mianzi*. To lose *lian* is considered far more dangerous than to lose *mianzi*. If someone’s *mianzi* is lost due to a misfortune or to a certain failure, say, losing a financial fortune in the share market, his/her *lian* will not be affected. However, if one’s *lian* is lost, it is difficult to keep his/her *mianzi* intact.

In fact, for Mao (1994:469), the notion of *face* embraces the relative placement of individuals in social hierarchies. Chinese face encodes a reputable image that individuals can claim for themselves as they interact with others in a given community. “Chinese face emphasizes not the accommodation of individual ‘wants’ or ‘desires’ but the harmony of individual conduct with the views and judgment of the community”.

Koutlaki (2002) mentions that Iranian face consists of two face components, namely, *saxsiat* and *ehteram*. *Saxsiat* means “personality, character, honor, self-respect, social standing”. A person who behaves according to the codes of behavior endorsed by the society can be characterized as *basaxsiat*, meaning “with *saxsiat*”, whereas a person who shows no respect to others and behave in an offensive manner is characterized as *bisaxsiat*, meaning “without *saxsiat*” (ibid: 1742). The second component of face is *ehteram*. It can be rendered as “honor, respect, esteem, dignity”. *Ehteram* establishes the positions and statuses of the interactants with respect to one another and is shown through “the adherence to the established norms of behavior according to the addressee’s position, age, status and interlocutors’ relationship” (ibid: 1742).

Elarabi (1997:14) argues that *wijjeh* (وجه) in Tunisian Arabic can be glossed as “face” in English. It is used metaphorically to represent politeness. Besides *wijjeh*, according to Elarabi, the “beard”, “moustache” and “eyes” as parts of the face are also used metaphorically to describe certain behavior. The beard and moustache represent prestige and reputation when they are used to describe men. Both terms can be used interchangeably to refer to the same thing. A person described as having a beard or a

moustache is being approved by his society as reputable and moral. Whereas, if the person is described as having no beard or no moustache, this indicates shame, and it is considered a serious accusation to the person's reputation and represents his group's condemnation of his despicable or immoral behavior.

The metaphorical usage of *face* among Igbo is prominent. Nwoye (1992:314) argues that *face* is used to stand for "shame, negative, or positive dispositions toward others, honor, good and bad fortune, and so forth". This is noticeable in Igbo society, where people use a variety of expressions to stress this fact. For example, the expression "there is no shame on his (eye) brows" indicates an assessment of the person being described as shameless (Nwoye, 1992:312).

Rosenberg (2004:1) argues that *face* is a "multi-faceted term, and its meaning is inextricably linked with culture and other terms such as *honor* and its opposite, humiliation". She also points out that cultures have different assessments of the importance of *face*. According to Rosenberg (2004:2), in "high-context cultures"¹⁸, which include countries such as Korea, China, and Japan in Asia, Middle-eastern countries such as Egypt and Iran", the concepts of *shame* and *honor* are important than in low-context societies such as "U.S. and Western countries". Similarly, Fox (2008:1) points out that the "Asian concept of *face* is similar to the Western concept of *face*, but it is far more important in most Asian countries". Ng (2008) stresses the importance of *face* in Asian cultures as well as Western ones. Ho (1976:881-2) states that "while it is true that the conceptualization of what constitutes face and the rules governing face behavior vary considerably across cultures, the concern for face is invariant".

It could be argued that both Rosenberg (2004) and Fox's (2008) claims are questionable. The point in question is that what constitutes shame and honor is culture-specific. Each culture assesses shame and honor in relation to its values, traditions and social norms. For example, according to Strecker (1993), in Hamar culture, the bigger an animal a person kills, the more honorable he will appear among his people. This tradition would probably seem ridiculous to Western people and appalling to vegetarians who refrain from eating meat to protect animals. Since honor can be achieved through actions that are valued differently in high-context cultures and low-

¹⁸ Castillo and Eduardo (2009) propose two different categories of context to categorize communication styles: low context where the message is direct, explicit and high context where the speech is indirect, subtle and understood because of social situation signs.

context cultures, it seems that honor is valued differently in these two cultural groups. Likewise, the concept of *shame* cannot be understood across two cultural groups. For example, while certain issues relating to women are very sensitive in countries like Palestine, Egypt and Jordan, the same issues may not be as significant in U.S. and Western countries. It is worth mentioning that Sara Palin (American Vice Presidential candidate for the Republicans in 2009) has a daughter who gave birth to a baby before getting married. In Egypt, Palestine and Iran, such an action is among the most shameful, whereas as in U.S. it is no longer considered as a despicable act. In short, researchers who issue evaluative judgments on cultural issues, describing one value or standard as more or less important in one culture than in another, ignore the fact that “every culture is so distinctive than one would have to spend years if not a lifetime mastering its rich intricacies and nuances” (Morand, 1995:54).

The second point to be addressed is Fox’s (2008) claim that face is far more important in Asian cultures than in Western cultures. Redding and Ng (1982) comment on this point, arguing that the negative consequences of losing face in Chinese culture affect the individual as much as they affect the group one belongs to. This claim invites the question “*How do Westerners (e.g. Americans) and Arabs (e.g. Palestinians) conceptualize face?*” “*How can we measure the importance of face in two different cultures?*” In order to answer the first question we need a thorough investigation in both cultures to identify how these cultures define and conceptualize *face*. To answer the second question, we need to find the common ground between Western and Arab cultures so that this shared basis can be used as a starting point for comparison. This is no easy matter, since we are talking about different cultures which embrace different values and traditions. It could be also argued that the stronger consequences of losing face in Palestinian culture, compared to those of its loss in Western cultures are attributed to different norms of social life. While in Western cultures the individual constitutes the core concept of the societal structure, in Arab countries the group, or collectivity, constitutes the basis. Nevertheless, in every society people strive to project a good self-image in public and, accordingly, use face-saving procedures as much as necessary during an encounter.

4.3.1. *The concept of face in Palestinian culture*

In Arabic, the concept of *face* is derived from an expression in classical Arabic (Fusha) that literally translates as “losing the water of one’s face” (*Iragat maa alwajh* اراقاة ماء الوجه) which is used to mean losing one’s positive face wants (Nureddeen, 2008).

Wajih, meaning *face*, in Palestinian culture, is used to describe the front part of the head from forehead to the lower jaw. However, it is also used metaphorically to stand for expressions such as *respect*, *shame*, *honor*, and *dignity*. In his study of the notion of *face* in the Palestinian context, Farahat (2009) explores some expressions that have to do with *face* in the Palestinian society. Farahat (2009:85) notices that unlike other cultures such as Chinese culture (Mao, 1994) and Iranian culture (Koutlaki, 2002) which employ two expressions to refer to *face*, Palestinian culture does not make such a distinction. However, in the folk sense, Palestinian culture distinguished between two types of face-related expressions. Echoing Agyekum’s (2004:77) classification, the key concepts can be referred to as “face upgrading/honoring” and “face demeaning/threatening” actions. Both types figure prominently in many face-related expressions.

Goffman’s¹⁹ (1967:5) definition of *face* as the “positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” fits well with Palestinian face. Every person takes care of his/her social behavior because *face* is not an individual property, but rather, it is the possession of the whole social group one belongs to. So, avoiding anti-social behavior is not only desirable but also obligatory as well. In order not to tarnish the name of the family and put one’s face in danger, every person has to think twice before uttering a word and ten times before carrying out an action. In some situations a person has to avoid some actions, even though carrying out these actions may make one feel good and fulfill one’s ordinary expectations, in order not to create a clash between one’s face wants and the face wants of his or her social circle. If it happens and one’s face is lost through committing some anti-social actions or violating certain social rules, it is not easy to redeem face and make a fresh restart.

According to Goffman (1967:12), face functions as “the traffic rules of social interaction”. Brown and Levinson (1987) stress the role of face as a significant factor

¹⁹ See chapter 5 for Goffman’s notion of *face*.

that affects the manner in which interlocutors interact socially (Ruhi & Isik-Guler, 2007). According to Farahat (2009:86), “*Wajih* in Palestinian culture functions as a deterrent, making people abide by the institutionalized and sanctioned code of politeness”. At the same time, the significance of face in the Palestinian society prevents people from violating social rules and engaging in actions that might be considered as antithetical to the interests of the group. Similarly, as Strecker (1993:3) argues, in Hamar culture, face is a “coercive social concept and indirectly speaks of social chains”. Ruhi and Isik-Guler (2007:695) claim that in Turkish culture “it is the avoidance of face damage that is the predominant cultural schema”. De Kadt (1998) argues that the fear of losing face prevents Zulu people from behaving inappropriately. Nwoye (1992) also maintains that in Igbo society, the fear of darkening face and, hence, tarnishing the name of the group the person belongs to deters people to behave from breaking the norm of politeness. In Thai society, face guides people to behave well in order to be socially acceptable (Ukosakul, 2005). Igbo face, according to Nwoye (1992:314-315), is used as a “mechanism of social control and as a deterrent against anti-social behavior”. Likewise, Lee-Wong (2000) states that the Chinese face has a major and basic role to play in the establishment of the social code.

Farahat (2009:86) stresses the important role of *face* in Palestinian culture in which face has an important role in solving disputes among people. In most cases, if members of two families engage in any kind of dispute which leads to direct confrontation, a mediator is always called in.

The first step the mediator takes is to prevent any future clashes or confrontation between the members of the two families. This can be always done by using an expression such as *wijhi çaleeha* which could be interpreted as “I stake my reputation on it”. Once the two families agree to show respect to the face of the mediator, it is considered as a commitment from the two families to end all kind of hostilities. If a member of one family harasses any member from the other family, he or she is said to “affront the face of the mediator” (ibid:86).

In fact, affronting the face of the mediator is a very serious matter, because mediators are always well-respected people in the Palestinian community. The facework used to restore the face of the mediator is in proportion to the severity of the affront. It is worth mentioning that the work of the mediator usually ends in arranging big banquets which aim at honoring the agreement to stop all actions of enmity and controversy between the two sides. Reaching a settlement between the two sides

sometimes ends in arranging banquets to celebrate the agreement. Groups exchange invitations to indicate the end of disputes.

Like Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987), Ho (1976) stresses the reciprocity concerns for saving face during an encounter. According to Ho, the need to save face exerts a pressure on the individual to behave in line with the requirements necessary to maintain face in a particular culture. The actions carried out by one person will be under scrutiny and the more face he or she claims the more pressure will be put on them in terms of the social visibility of his or her actions, and hence the constraints imposed on their action will be greater. The need to protect self's face and the other's face affects the line of the encounter. Therefore, to avoid losing face is an overriding concern in many cultures. Such reciprocity concerns dominate in Palestinian culture. The proverb *çāmil annās kamā tuḥib ?an tuçāmal* (عامل الناس كما تُحبُّ ان تُعامل), meaning "Do as you would be done by" encapsulates such concepts (Baalbaki & Baalbaki, 2003:32). This sense of reciprocity prevails among members of the community irrespective of the social status of the person or his/her relative power. People in power cannot overlook other's face needs to be treated politely in public. Hence showing respect to other people means paying respect to the self in Palestinian culture. In fact, the analysis of face as a metaphor to describe politeness in action uncovers both the informational and affective dimensions of language use in structuring human relationship and friendship in both American and Palestinian cultures.

4.3.1.1. Face upgrading/honoring expressions

People in different cultures use certain expressions to offer judgments and assessments of honorable actions that are carried out in the society. In Palestinian Arabic, there are some expressions that uphold face and portray positive image of the person. Farahat (2009:88) points out that some of these expressions are used to describe face and give an overall picture about the person being described, while others are used to describe a person after carrying out an immediately honorable action. For example, the expression *fi wajhu nūr* (في وجهه نور) which literally means that "there is light on his face" is used to describe people who have good and sincere faith in God. It is also taken for granted as an indication that the person being described is good and righteous. Being a righteous person implies that the person is moral, polite, well behaved and considerate. It is hard to describe a person as being righteous where such features are

absent. The above expression is more general in that it covers social and religious values. Farahat (2009:88) mentions another example which is used to describe the face of people who show sincere devotion to God. This expression is *wajhu kalqamar* (وجهه كالقمر), meaning “his face is like the moon”. Linguistically speaking, this expression is a simile where the face of the person is described as the moon. It has the same connotative functions as the expression *fi wajhu nūr* (في وجهه نور), but it is less popular when it comes to describing religious people. It is often connected with description of the face and it is considered as certifying the beauty of the person being described. It is also associated with women rather than men and denotes their physical beauty (cf. Farahat, 2009).

Two expressions used in Palestinian culture to enhance face are *fi wajhu dam* and *fi wajhu haya*? (في وجهه دم و في وجهه حياء) meaning literally “there is blood on his face” and “there is bashfulness on his face” respectively. Since blood is vital for life in human body, it is used metaphorically to describe polite people. This expression is used for people who behave according to the sanctioned rules and to the codes of politeness. It is important to mention that this expression is not used to address the person directly, but it is used to praise and elevate the person’s face in his or her absence. Other related expressions connected with the concept of *politeness* are *?insān Ūaqīl* and *?insān xajūl* (انسان ثقيل و انسان خجول) which are literally “a heavy person” and “a modest person” respectively. The person is described as a heavy man or woman only if he or she is polite and well respected in the community. In the second expression, although the word *xajūl* (خجول) has a negative meaning in other situations, it is considered the opposite in this situation and is equivalent to the adjective *polite*.

Farahat (2009:89) mentions two other face upgrading/honoring expressions which are connected directly with actions. They are *bayaD wajhu/bayaD wjuhna* (بيض وجهه و بيض وجهنا), meaning “he whitens his face/he whitens our faces” and *rafaç rāsu/rafaç rūsna* (رفع رأسه أو رفع رأسنا), meaning “he raised his head/he raised our heads”. These expressions are connected only with honorable actions, irrespective of whether the action is religious, social, educational or humanitarian. They are used to enhance and support not only the face of the person but also the face of his/her family. Similarly, in Akan culture of Ghana, expressions that upgrade or honor face are used to show respect and exalt the person. Expressions such as “she brightens my face”, “to bring glory” and “she uplifts my face” are used when a person has achieved a reputable action that

reflects well on his/her family members, friends or the community (Agyekum, 2004:83).

The speech act of inviting, the target act of this study, is issued by most Palestinian people to enhance and support not only the face of the speaker but also the face of his/her family. For example, in Palestinian culture, the bigger a party or a banquet a person has and the larger the number of the invitees, the more 'honorable' he/she will be among his/her people. There is a belief that inviting a large number of people to such parties is an indication of generosity. However, such practices are troublesome for poor people who cannot make such large banquets. In fact, poor people sometimes receive financial support from their extended families or clans so that they can prepare such banquets. This tradition may seem ridiculous to Americans who have different values concerning such acts.

4.3.1.2. Face demeaning/threatening expressions

People also use certain expressions to portray the negative aspects of actions. What has been said so far about upgrading/honoring expressions represents the positive side of the face. Face demeaning/threatening expressions use the exact opposites of the literal meanings of the upgrading/honoring expressions and are used to describe the negative side of face. According to Farahat (2009:89), the expression *wajih miḥbis* (وجهه معبس) meaning "he has a dark face" is used as an exact opposite for the expression *fi wajhu nūr* (في وجهه نور) "there is light on his face". It is used to describe people who are not friendly. It is also used to describe people who are not keen on showing respect to God or who behave badly.

According to Farahat (2009:89), two face-related expressions are *ma feeš fi wajhu dam* (ما فيش في وجهه دم) and *ma feeš fi wajhu ḥayāʾ*?, (ما فيش في وجهه حياء) literally meaning "there is no blood on his face" and "there is no bashfulness on his face", respectively. The word *dam* (blood) is very similar to polite behavior in this expression, where the absence of blood is interpreted as the absence of polite behavior. Another expression connected with impoliteness is *?insān xafīf* (انسان خفيف), meaning "he is a light person". In Palestinian culture, if a person is described as a light person in terms of weight, he/she is perceived as impolite and inconsiderate. This is similar to Akan culture where the same expression (light) is collocated with face as in the expression "his/her face in light". Such an expression damages the person's good image and also threatens one's

positive face by portraying him/her as a demeaned or undignified person in the community (Agyekum, 2004:85). According to Agyekum, there are also some face-related expressions that represent an insult to the person. For example, the expression “to use one’s face as a plantain” is considered as an insult to the person being addressed (ibid:86).

In the same vein, in Tunisian culture, some expressions are offensive or insulting in nature. Unlike beard/mustache-related expressions, eye related expressions, according to Elarbi (1997:16), are not gender specific. The expression “he/she fell from my eye” is used when someone’s behavior is considered repugnant. It also shows the speaker’s anger and dissatisfaction. The expression, “his/her face is covered with shit, may God protect you from [from having the same disgrace]” (ibid: 17) is used when someone’s face is tarnished because the person has committed a very serious breach of moral behavior. It is important to mention that these face-related expressions are used in accordance with the weight for the actions committed. In Palestinian culture, a similar expression to the Tunisian “he/she fell from my eye” is used in very similar situations.

The last two face-related expressions are closely connected with “committing shameful and immoral acts” (Farahat, 2009:90). They are *sawad wajhu/wjūhna* and *waTa rāsu/rūsna* (سود وجهه أو وجهنا و وطا رأسه أو رؤوسنا), meaning “he blackens his face/our faces” and “he lowered his head/our heads”. White is symbolic in Palestinian culture: it stands for chastity, honor and freedom from wrong-doing. In contrast, black is a color of dishonor, disgrace and signals wrong-doing. It collocates with face to describe how much damage one does to his or her face or to the face of the family. Similarly, according to Ruhi and Isik-Guler (2007), in Turkish culture white, black and red, are used metaphorically to make judgments about one’s social behavior. While “white” is associated with “pride”, “black” is associated with “disgrace”. Red is connected with “embarrassment and shame” (ibid: 689). The second expression *waTa rāsu/rūsna* is used if a person commits a serious anti-social act such as theft or rape and, hence, commits a very serious breach of the codes of morality and politeness. In such a case the lowering of the head indicates shame and disgrace. People sometimes say “he/she cannot raise his/her head” because the burden of shame is unbearable.

Farahat (2009:91) mentions two other face-related expressions used to attack face. These expressions can be used in face-to-face interaction to offend or they can be used to describe a person’s face to others in his or her absence. In both cases the offensive

nature of these expressions is presented. These offensive expressions are *wajhu kalqird* (وجهه كالقرد), meaning “he has a monkey face” and *wajhu kashayTan* (وجهه كالشيطان), meaning “he has a devil face”. Although the monkey is considered as a pleasing intelligent animal, in Palestinian culture the word *kalqird* is used as an offensive word. Describing a person as having a monkey face is considered as an insult. In the second expression, although the devil is considered a legendary being, it has a wicked ugly face in Palestinian folk-tales. In short, using these expressions to attack a person’s face is immediately connected with certain speech situations. People use such offensive expressions when they feel outraged and cannot control their behavior.

Concerning the speech act of inviting, people are supposed not to turn down invitations so as not to affect badly on the faces of both the inviter and the invitee. It is impolite to refuse an invitation without a reason. People are supposed to share and attend happy and sad occasions with others. Refusing affects badly on the faces of both the inviter and the invitee. On the other hand, in most cases it is not polite to make a banquet without inviting friends, relatives and people of one’s tribe. Therefore, speakers usually try to meet certain social expectations in the Palestinian Society.

4.3.2. The concept of face in American culture

According to *The Collins English Dictionary* (2001:543), *face* refers to the “front of the head from the forehead to the lower jaw”. Metaphorically speaking, and after reviewing previous literature, *face* stands for concepts such as *respect, reputation, social status, pride, embarrassment* and *shame*. The American notion of *face* spirals outward from individual desires or wants, and see the self as the initiating agent.

Americans use some expressions that have to do with the notion of *face*. *Rub it in your face* is a common expression in AE. It is used to mean that you are somehow reminding someone of an unpleasant fact or occurrence more or more prominently or more harshly than you need to. That is, you need to tell them about it, but you need to be diplomatic and not crow over your good fortune in front of your bandmates - that would be rubbing it in their faces. Another expression is *someone's face fits* which is used for saying that someone is the right type of person for something (cf. Yuka, 2009:59). It is worth mentioning that in contrast to Palestinian culture, face-related expressions are not widely found in previous literature that has to do with American culture.

4.4. The concept of 'loss of face'

Goffman (1976:9) argues that “in our Anglo-American society, as in some others, the phrase ‘to lose face’ seems to mean to be in the wrong face, to be out of face, or to be shamefaced”. Ho (1976:870) argues that losing face refers to important changes that have occurred to one’s face. That is to say face may be lost “when the changes constitute a departure from the quality or quantity of the individual’s claim”. Brown and Levinson (1987) conceptualize *face* as consisting of two aspects: negative face and positive face. When they are talking about the concept of *losing face*, they are talking about threatening either aspect of face, depending on the type of the speech act performed.

4.4.1. Acts that cause loss of face

Face may be lost as a result of one’s inability to meet social expectations and also as a result of other people’s failure to meet social expectations. The distinction between one’s failure and others’ failure to meet certain social expectations is worth considering when discussing acts that cause loss of face because it gives us information about the effect of a person’s social circle on his or her social behavior. Bearing this in mind, it is worth mentioning the speech act of inviting in Palestine and in America might lead to the loss of face as a result of one’s inability to satisfy certain social expectations within each speech community.

The notion of *face* is related to the English expression *losing face* as in the sense of being embarrassed or humiliated. Face becomes established as something that is emotionally invested, that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. Generally, people’s mutual cooperation in maintaining each other’s face is based on the knowledge of its vulnerability. People expect others to defend their face if it is threatened; however, defining one’s own face can lead to threatening another’s face, which is why mutual cooperation can usually be assumed (Ruzickova, 1998: 1-2).

Farahat (2009:93) states that *face loss* can be in the form of embarrassment. Embarrassment is defined as an “emotional state experienced upon having a socially or professionally unacceptable act or condition witnessed by or revealed to others. Usually, some amount of honor or dignity is involved”²⁰. According to Ho (1976:872), “failure

²⁰ See (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Face_negotiation_theory).

to maintain one's social status, to function adequately in a given role, or to safeguard integrity of character in one's general conduct will make the loss of face a likely possibility". In fact, according to Oetzel et al (2001:235), face represents the "individual's claimed sense of positive image in the context of social interaction".

Loss of face can be also caused by the behavior of family. According to Ho (1976:867) face is lost "when the individual, either through his action or that of people closely related to him, fails to meet the essential requirements placed upon him by virtue of the social position he occupies". Farahat (2009:93) tells a story by a Palestinian woman who mentioned a situation where her face was lost as a result of the bad behavior of her child at one of her friend's house. The woman comments on the situation, "I was very embarrassed when my children started running from one room to another in a friend's house. They refused to stop when I told them". Although children are children in all cultures, according to Farahat (2009:93), "sometimes they cause embarrassment to their parents when their behavior falls below what is thought to be acceptable and as a result parents lose face".

Ho (1976:871) states that face can be lost when conduct or performance falls below the minimum level considered acceptable". In Palestinian culture, for example, people are not free to comment negatively on another's performance. They are held accountable by their families for every word they utter about someone. Farahat (2009:94) argues that "describing a story told by someone as silly would be taken as a direct insult to the person who tells the story. Therefore, facework in such a case is necessary". Unlike apologies in American culture, apologies such as "I'm very sorry" addressed to someone after insulting him or her in a public arena cannot redeem or restore face in Palestinian society. Other forms of remedial work should take place afterwards, depending on how serious the damage to face is. Insulting a person is less serious than insulting his or her family. The age and gender of both participants are also crucially important. An insult from an old man to a young one is less serious than an insult from a young man to old man. An insult from a man to a woman is more serious than an insult from a woman to a man.

Similarly, if a Palestinian makes a wedding party, without preparing a huge banquet and without inviting all relatives and acquaintances, this leads to the possibility that all family will lose face. Making big banquets is an indication of generosity which is a highly considered value in the Palestinian culture. Families are usually proud of the

generosity of individuals. Palestinians are supposed to attend and support each other in happy occasions, such as wedding parties. Therefore, Palestinian people take into consideration, not just the face of the individual but also the face of the whole group.

According to Farahat (2009:96), loss of face can be attributed to differences in family rules. In Palestinian culture, although smoking is considered a bad habit if it is practiced in front of parents by either adults or teenagers and may cause face loss. It could be argued that such an action would never cause any face loss for speakers of American English because the cultures have different values in terms of family relationships. In Palestinian culture, smoking is considered socially taboo if it is practiced by young and adults in front of their parents because it is considered disrespectful and a serious affront to the parents.

Related to the concept of *respectability* is the use of titles when addressing people in Palestinian culture. The titles *Dr./ Prof.* are used by university students to show respect to their instructors. Similarly, the title *Haj/ Haji* is used to address old people to show respect to them. Conversely, addressing an old man or woman without using the title will definitely indicate disrespect and cause loss of face. What causes loss of face in such situations is the fact that an old man might become humiliated or belittled for not receiving due respect from a younger person. However, it could be argued that in American culture a situation like the one above would never cause any face loss to either a speaker or hearer. It is because the habit of addressing people in the two cultures is different.

The proverb *al-maniya wala adaniya* (المنية ولا الدنيا), meaning “death is better than being belittled in the eyes of people”, shows how serious the concept of *being belittled or humiliated* in Palestinian culture is. This is because the concept *belittled* entails loss of respectability among your people. If someone loses his or her respectability, he or she will be hated or ostracized and will suffer the consequences of being alone in a culture which is based on the group rather than the individual. In fact, it is clear that differences between American and Palestinian cultures arise as a result of a person’s social connections.

4.5.Conclusion:

Cross-cultural differences are one of the major factors that cause face loss. Problems may arise if one tries to transfer his or her politeness strategies to another

culture. In fact, there are cultural differences in assessing what constitutes a face-threatening act. Cultural differences were found to cause face loss for students studying in another cultural environment. According to Watson (1999), the fear of losing face stands a barrier for many Asian students at Australian institutions. Watson found that students' reluctance to participate in classroom discussion was attributable to fear of making mistakes and, hence, appearing foolish in front of class.

Finally, face negotiation theory tackles these issues from a cultural perspective. As stated by Ting-Toomey (1999), it could be argued that cultural differences between individualistic cultures versus collectivistic cultures could be a significant reason for the different values that exist in Palestinian and American cultures. It is worth mentioning that in the work of Ting-Toomey American culture, like some other Western cultures, can be classified as belonging to the individualistic cultures²¹ whereas Palestinian culture can be classified under the collectivistic cultures. In individualistic cultures, Ting-Toomey argues, individuals tend to show a greater degree of self-face maintenance concerns and fewer other-face maintenance concerns. In contrast, in collectivistic cultures, individuals show a greater degree of other-face concerns and fewer self-maintenance concerns. Hence, in collectivistic cultures, an individual's main priority is to maintain the face of the other person, whereas in individualistic cultures individuals do their best to maintain their own faces. The next chapter will, in detail, tackle the notion of *face* and its relation with some theories of politeness.

²¹ See section 5.9. for more illustration of the notions of *collectivism* and *individualism*.

CHAPTER FIVE: POLITENESS

5.0. Introduction

Politeness is a complex area of study, encompassing linguistic, non-linguistic phenomena. It can be manifested in social and communicative strategies. In fact, it represents cultural aspects and values of certain communities. Politeness "is basic to the production of social order, and a precondition of human cooperation" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:xiii). Since the words people use are mostly determined by relationship to other interlocutors, they need to make sure that theirs as well as others' needs and identities are accepted, maintained and enhanced to the full. Linguistic politeness explains how some of these activities are performed and provides specific codes of speech behavior in order to bring about conflict-free communication.

My argument is that politeness theories²² have to be tempered by the idea that politeness is always situational. No absolutes are possible. So any analysis we do has to take the specific situation into account and be comparative across situations. In order to do so, we need to develop an analytical framework that accounts for cultural assumptions in human relationships and social requirements for interaction in a specific situation, as well as social variables called for in politeness theories. I call this a situation-oriented approach to the study of politeness by exploring a certain speech act, such as inviting, across cultures.

A situation-oriented approach views politeness as linguistic strategies and discourse resources available to participants to employ in order to achieve certain interactional goals. Participants utilize these strategies and resources according to the situation, the participant's role, and the goal(s) of the interaction. In order to define politeness, we need, first of all, to define the situation of the interaction. The fluid nature of politeness makes it subtle and elusive if the situation or the context of interaction is not taken into account in the analysis.

Politeness permeates every stage of interaction. However, at the same time, it is subject to change according to the social requirements and communication norms of the situation. It is also subject to the evaluation and judgment of participants in a given situation. What is considered polite by one language group may be considered impolite by another group. What is deemed appropriate in one situation may be seen as

²² See section (5.2.) for a detailed illustration of theories of politeness.

inappropriate in another. The seemingly inconsistency of politeness often leads analysis or comparison to fall into binary oppositions and stereotyping.

This chapter will try to show that politeness may indeed be a universal phenomenon (found in every culture and every individual has his face wants). However, what counts as polite behavior is, as this study attempts to demonstrate, culture-specific and language-specific. For example, Palestinian culture tends to minimize social distance, thus a positive politeness oriented society, whereas American English indicates preference for deference and respect for private space.

5.1. Discussions of Definitions of Politeness

I have observed that there is a surprising lack of definitions for politeness in the literature and instead different proposals about its conceptualization²³, ranging from the very global view of politeness as *appropriateness* to the linguistic frameworks viewing politeness as intertwined with conversational maxims (Leech, 1983)²⁴ or with threat to face (Brown and Levinson, 1987)²⁵.

Carey McIntosh, who focuses on the development of written style in English prose writing of the 18th century, argues that “[p]oliteness...meant something more than just etiquette, however important manners and ceremony may have been; it was a matter of civilization. It measured in part the distance a person or community had come from savagery” (1998:160). Thus, politeness is associated with civilization and is considered as something more than just etiquette.

A global way of approaching politeness is from the angle of social appropriateness, as illustrated by the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, where *politeness* is defined as "having or showing good manners, consideration for others, and/or correct social behavior". According to *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, politeness is “behaving in a way that is socially correct and shows understanding of and care for other people's feelings”. Some of the sociolinguistic literature espouses this view as well. For Lakoff (1975: 53) "to be polite is saying the socially correct thing", while for Adegbija (1989: 58) politeness is associated within situations in which one "speaks or behaves in a way that is socially or culturally

²³ Some scholars do not provide direct definitions of politeness. However, they conceptualize (provide indirect definitions of) politeness differently.

²⁴ See section (5.3.4.2.) on Leech's (1983) model of politeness.

²⁵ See section (5.3.5.2.) on Brown and Levinson's model of politeness. Both Leech's (1983) and Brown & Levinson's models will be adopted for the purpose of data analysis in this cross cultural study.

acceptable and pleasant to the hearer". Similarly, Ide (1993:7) views *politeness* as a cover term for behavior "without friction", while Brown (1980:114) sees it as "saying and doing things in such a way as to take into account the other person's feeling". Fraser and Nolen (1981:96) take a more general approach "to be polite is to abide by the rules of the relationship. The speaker becomes impolite just in cases where he violates one or more of the contractual terms". For Nwoye (1992: 310) "being polite is...conforming to socially agreed codes of good conduct" and for Watts, Ide and Ehlich (1992:2) politeness "help[s] us to achieve 'effective social living'".

Spolsky (1998) defines politeness as expressions made by an addresser that recognize the rights of the addressee or other participants in an interaction. Expressions of politeness can be achieved by saying something that makes the addressee feel important and/or by showing appreciation towards what the addressee has done or said, or not saying something that can potentially offend or demean the addressee (Leech, 1983; Brown & Levinson, 1987). These expressions can be made linguistically and non-linguistically.

Sifianou and Tzanne (2010:662) confirm that "politeness is broad phenomena that involve verbal and/or non-verbal means of expression" and manifest themselves primarily at a societal level. They believe that what is impolite is not inherent in any specific behavior and does not depend only on the speaker's understanding or intention, but it is the result of negotiation between interlocutors and their evaluation of what goes on in interaction (ibid:663). Moreover, even though evaluations are subjective and relate to local events, they reflect individuals' expectations that are based on "experiential" and "social" norms. The former draw from "each individual's total experience" and the latter from "the structures of society" (Culpeper, 2008: 29). As Locher (2006:250) rightly argues, "what is perceived to be (im)polite will thus ultimately rely on the interactants' assessments of social norms of appropriateness." However, Sifianou and Tzanne (2010:669) state that there is an overall consensus that politeness means consideration and respect toward others and to some extent "good manners." However, notions, such as *consideration* and *respect* may take a variety of forms and may be equated with keeping a certain social distance or expressing friendly concern for the well-being of others.

According to the observations mentioned above, impoliteness may result from someone who is not aware of the social or cultural accepted politeness behavior which

is expected in a particular situation by others (Mills, 2005:268). However it is argued that impoliteness and politeness are not binary opposites²⁶ because that might mislead to that notion that behavior is either politeness or impoliteness. An utterance is not necessarily polite or impolite when analyzed without a specific context.

To sum up, I have observed that although scholars have not yet agreed on a definition of politeness, there appears to be a general agreement by which linguistic politeness is taken to refer to the principles, strategies and choice of linguistic forms involved in “smooth” communication, in other words, the use of verbal strategies in order to keep social interaction friction-free.

5.2. Types of Politeness:

In an attempt to elaborate and refine the notion of *politeness* beyond the idea of *appropriateness*, some researchers have distinguished between this more traditional notion of *politeness* and a more theoretical, linguistic notion (Watts, Ide and Ehlich, 1992). Developing this idea, some linguists differentiate between two types of politeness; first-order (or politeness1) and second-order (or politeness2) politeness respectively. This twofold distinction is a crucial one in the linguistics literature. It is probably the most basic and far reaching in the field.

5.2.1. First-order politeness

Kasper (1994:3206) discusses first-order politeness as the social notion of "proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others". Janney and Arndt (1992) follow the same categorization, referring to first-order politeness as *social politeness*. According to Janney and Arndt, the function of social politeness is to provide routine strategies in social situations to "coordinate social interaction" (1992:24). In this classification of approaches to politeness, Fraser (1990) views politeness as etiquette and social appropriacy (*the social-norm* view and *the conversational contract* view in his terminology), i.e., the first-order politeness.

²⁶ Terms can be regarded as binary opposites if they complete each other. For example, *dead* and *alive* are binary opposites. If somebody is not alive, then he/she will be dead. However, the adjectives *polite* and *impolite* are not binary opposites because the two adjectives do not complete each other. Utterances cannot be judged as either polite or impolite. If sth is not impolite, that does not mean that it is going to be polite. Utterances or behaviors lie on a scale of politeness that has values such as *polite*, *less polite*, *impolite*, *rude*, etc.

Another basic categorization has emerged. Watts²⁷ (1992) proposes the term *polite behaviour* (first-order politeness). He sets two marked forms of behaviour: *non-politic*, i.e. behaviour leading to communicative breakdowns, and *polite*, i.e., behaviour whose function is to "enhance the individual's own image in the eyes of the others" (Meier, 1995:347).

Van De Walle refers to the same dichotomy in his analysis of two frameworks (Brown and Levinson's and Fraser's), where he proposes a broader definition of politeness in terms of "*adequacy*"(1993:76), i.e. first-order politeness.

5.2.2. *Second-order politeness*

Kasper (1994:3206) discusses second-order politeness as the pragmatic concept of "ways in which rational function in linguistic action is expressed". Janney and Arndt (1992) refer to second-order politeness as *interpersonal politeness* (also called *tact*). Janney and Arndt point out that tact involves looking at politeness on the pragmatic level as a supportive relationship with the function to "preserve face and regulate interpersonal relationships" (1992:24). According to Fraser, second-order politeness is politeness as seen through a linguistic perspective (*the conversational-maxim view and the face-saving view*). Watts (1992) uses *politic behaviour* to refer to second-order politeness. He defines politic behaviour as "socioculturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of the social group" (Watts, 1992:50), i.e., socially appropriate behaviour. Van De Walle proposes a narrow concept of politeness of the strategic/social indexing type (1993:76), i.e. second-order politeness.

The distinction proposed by Watts (1992) is a useful one since it allows for layers in the conceptualization. In other words, *politic behaviour* is the broader concept of *social appropriateness* from which the narrow concept of *politeness* may be derived. Brown and Levinson (1978) view politeness₂ as "a complex system for softening face-threatening acts". They are concerned with avoiding threatening the face of the speaker. Leech (1980:19) defines politeness₂ as "strategic conflict avoidance", which "can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation" and "the establishment and maintenance of comity". Here, the avoidance of conflict is

²⁷ See section (5.3.1.) for Watts' detailed theory of politeness.

represented as a conscious effort on the part of the person being polite, since it is strategic.

The categorizations presented above rest on an important point: the duality of the two levels of politeness and the conceptual need for them to be separated although they are constantly interrelated. If the distinction between them is not addressed, the confusion between politeness as a commonsense term and politeness as a technical term will continue to lead to more contradictory research since different levels of analysis will be used each time without this difference being taken into consideration.

5.3. Theories of Politeness²⁸:

There are several theories of politeness but most of them subsume similar explanatory tendencies (Sifianou and Tzanne, 2010). Some major politeness principles proposed by Lakoff (1975), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Leech (1983), Watts (1992), Scollon and Scollon (2001), Giles et al. (1987) and others are critically overviewed below. Therefore, it is my purpose to attempt a revision of some theories of politeness. In fact, B & L's (1978, 1987) and Leech's (1983) theories of politeness are adopted for the purpose of data analysis in this study. In the course of my argument throughout this dissertation, I shall however provide further objections to the claimed universality of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, as well as to Leech's maxims which can hardly reach cross-cultural validity.

5.3.1. *Politeness as Tact*

Watts (1992), as we have mentioned in the previous section, distinguishes between *social politeness* and *interpersonal politeness – tact*. Both types of politeness – *social* and *interpersonal* – are culturally acquired, and interrelated in speech. Social politeness is rooted in people's need for smoothly organized interaction with other members of their group. *Tact* is rooted in people's need to maintain face, in their fear of losing it, and in their reluctance to deprive others of it (Goffman 1967).

The difference between *tact* and *social* politeness is that whereas the function of *social* politeness is essentially to coordinate social interaction – to regulate the mechanical exchange of roles and activities – the function of *tact* is quite different: namely to preserve face and regulate interpersonal relationships.

²⁸ This section reviews some important, not all, theories of politeness. There are other theories by other scholars.

In fact, it is probably not *social* politeness that enables people to avoid most everyday interpersonal conflicts, but *tact*. Linguistic politeness, in turn, is based on *interpersonal* politeness. Watts (1989) uses the term *politic verbal behaviour* to cover various realizations of linguistic politeness in language usage.

It is very difficult to draw the distinction between linguistic and nonlinguistic politeness as there is a clear interrelation between them.

5.3.2. *The Social-Norm View of Politeness:*

The social-norm view of politeness has its historical basis in the general understanding of politeness possessed by the public in English speaking parts of the world. This view assumes that each society has a certain set of social norms based on rules that prescribe a particular behavior, a state of affairs, or a manner of thinking in a context (Fraser, 1990:220). According to this belief, politeness arises when an action adheres to the norm, while impoliteness or rudeness results when an action stands in violation of the norm. It is also crucial to note that the social-normative view historically relates politeness to speech style, and in doing so equates a higher degree of formality with greater politeness.

Furthermore, Garfinkel (see Fraser 1990:221) conducted studies in which students were instructed to act more politely than usual toward their families and to note the reaction. The majority of students equated increased politeness with increased formality, while their families viewed their more formal behavior as impolite and disrespectful. In terms of traditional linguistic contributions, politeness was referred to very rarely. Given the stronger focus on prescriptive grammar at this time, Fraser (1990:221) hypothesizes that “what little mention of politeness could be found was indeed equated with language usage and not with language itself”.

It is safe to say that the social-norm approach has few adherents among current researchers.

5.3.3. *The Conversational-Contract View of Politeness:*

According to Fraser and Nolan (1981), speakers operate in terms of a conversational contract. This contract serves as the unspoken guidelines for successful communication. When the conversational contract is violated, one possible result is impoliteness. Fraser and Nolan view politeness as a voluntary action which is not inherently present in sentences (1981:96). Instead, the judgment of politeness is

determined by the conditions under which utterances are used. It is the hearer who ultimately judges whether an utterance is polite or impolite. These judgments made by the hearer are both individual and social in nature. It is not uncommon for two hearers to interpret a given utterance differently. However, for the majority of conversational exchanges to be successful, there must be a certain set of norms which determine whether an utterance is judged as polite or impolite under specific conditions.

5.3.4. *The Conversational-Maxim View*

The conversational-maxim perspective relies principally on the work of Grice (1975) – his now classic paper *Logic and conversation*. In an attempt to clarify how it is that speakers can mean more than they ‘say’, Grice argued that conversationalists are rational individuals who are, all other things being equal, primarily interested in the efficient conveying of messages. To this end, he proposed the Cooperative Principle²⁹ (CP) which postulates that one should say what he/she has to say, when he/she has to say it, and the way he/she has to say it.

5.3.4.1. *Politeness as Rapport:*

Lakoff (1973) was among the first to adopt Grice’s construct of Conversational Principles in an effort to account for politeness. Unlike Grice, however, Lakoff (1973) explicitly extends the notion of *grammatical rule* and its associated notion of *well-formedness* to pragmatics: *We should like to have some kind of pragmatic rules, dictating whether an utterance is pragmatically wellformed or not, and the extent to which it deviates if it does*³⁰ (Lakoff 1973:296).

Extending this to the domain of politeness, she considers the form of sentences – i.e., specific constructions to be polite or not. In her later works she refers to politeness as: a device used in order to reduce friction in personal interaction (Lakoff 1979:64). Lakoff (1973) suggests two rules of Pragmatic Competence: (i) Be Clear (essentially Grice’s maxims), and (ii) Be Polite.

She takes these to be in opposition to each other, and notes that they are at times reinforcing, at other times in conflict. Lakoff (1975) claims that people use politeness principles (PP) to avoid confrontation in interpersonal interaction. So, she posits sub-maxims (sub-rules or Rules of Politeness) or “Rules of Rapport” used to describe the

²⁹ See section (3.7.) for more illustration for the Cooperative Principle and Maxims.

³⁰ Emphasis is mine.

universal selection of linguistic forms. Her maxims (or rules of politeness) include formality (keep aloof), deference (give options), and camaraderie (show sympathy). Lakoff proposes that formality and camaraderie are mutually inclusive whereas difference tends to go with formality for keeping aloof or go with camaraderie for showing sympathy.

Accordingly, in addressing an invitation, the interlocutors will apply different politeness rules according to their interpersonal relationship. First, formality concerns not being too close to others in order to keep a polite distance. When the inviter is not so close to the invitee, the inviter will try not to impose the invitee by wanting the invitee to do nothing but come. Moreover, deference represents another way of offering invitation to a distant person. In this case, the speaker (e.g. the employee regards himself/herself as inferior to the invitee (e.g. the boss) and, therefore, gives the invitee a chance to make decision of whether to come or not. On the other hand, camaraderie concerns that the speaker considers the hearer as equal (e.g. relationship of classmates). When offering an invitation, the speaker tries to be friendly in the interaction with direct and open behavior. From the given examples above, it is obvious that conversation is not an easy interacting process merely regarding how people interact. Lakoff devaluates what and how people say in different ways. In other words, CP, only, illustrates how interlocutors are cooperating in the conversation, but it is PP that explains why they say something in the way they say it.

In fact, Lakoff's three rules are applicable more or less depending on the type of politeness situation as understood by the speaker. For example, if a speaker assesses a given situation as requiring Intimate Politeness, window shutting might be requested by uttering: *Shut the window*, while Informal Politeness might be met with *Please shut the window*. The reader is never told how the speaker or hearer is to assess what level of politeness is required.

Answering objections to the universality of politeness, Lakoff claimed that her theory does not contradict the fact that different cultures have different customs. She believed that what creates differences in the interpretation of politeness across cultures is the order these rules take precedence one over the other.

5.3.4.2. *Politeness as Comity:*

The position of Leech (1983) is a grand elaboration of the Conversational Maxim approach to politeness. Like Lakoff, Leech (1983) adopts the framework initially set out by Grice: there exists a set of maxims and sub-maxims that guide and constrain the conversation of rational people.

Important to Leech's theory is his distinction between a speaker's illocutionary goals (what speech act(s) the speaker intends to be conveyed by the utterance) and the speaker's social goals (what position the speaker is taking on being truthful, polite, ironic, and the like). In this regard, he posits two sets of conversational (rhetorical) principles – Interpersonal Rhetoric and Textual Rhetoric, each constituted by a set of maxims, which socially constrain communicative behavior in specific ways.

Leech (1983) treats politeness within the domain of Interpersonal Rhetoric, which contains the following first-order principles: those falling under the terms of Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP), those associated with a Politeness Principle (PP), those associated with an Interest Principle (IP) and Pollyanna Principle. The Interest principle is briefly characterized as: "say what is unpredictable, and hence interesting", the Polyanna Principle postulates that participants in a conversation will prefer pleasant topics of conversation to unpleasant ones (euphemism is one aspect of this principle) (cf. Pikor-Niedzialek, 2005:105-7).

Each of these Interpersonal Principles has the same status in his pragmatic theory, with the (CP) and its associated maxims used to explain how an utterance may be interpreted to convey indirect messages, and the (PP) and its maxims used to explain why such indirectness might be used.

Although CP successfully accounts for how the utterances of the interlocutors cooperate in the conversation, CP in itself cannot explain why the interlocutors do not directly convey the intended meaning. As CP fails to take situational factors into consideration, Leech (1983) proposes Politeness Principle (PP) to keep the balance of social necessity and the friendly relations in the situations in which the politeness acts as backup. According to Leech (1983:132) PP includes six maxims:

1. Tact Maxim (in impositives and commissives)
 - (a) Minimize cost to other.
 - (b) maximize benefit to other.
2. Generosity Maxim (in impositives and commissives)
 - (a) Minimize benefit to self.
 - (b) Maximize cost to self.
3. Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives)

- (a) Minimize dispraise to other. (b) Maximize praise to other.
- 4. Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives)
 - (a) Minimize praise to self (b) Maximize dispraise of self.
- 5. Agreement Maxim (in assertives)
 - (a) Minimize disagreement between self and other
 - (b) Maximize agreement between self and other.
- 6. Sympathy Maxim (in assertives)
 - (a) Minimize antipathy between self and other.
 - (b) Maximize sympathy between self and other.

Leech's Principle of Politeness can be stated as the following: *other things being equal, minimize the expression of beliefs which are unfavorable to the hearer and at the same time (but less important) maximize the expression of beliefs which are favorable to the hearer* (My emphasis). According to Leech, politeness is emphasized more on other than on self. Moreover, sub-maxim (a) appears more important than sub-maxim (b), which implies that negative politeness is a more important consideration than positive politeness.

The speech act of invitation, the target act of this study, is related to the first two maxims (namely, Tact Maxim and Generosity maxim). In the case of invitation, when a speaker intends to invite a friend to dinner, he/she would prepare a dinner to maximize the invitee's benefit, and the invitee does not have to do anything but come to the house to minimize the invitee's benefit by conforming to Tact Maxim. On the other hand, the speaker spends time preparing dinner to maximize his/her own cost, and the speaker does not intend to get anything from the invitee to minimize his/her benefit by conforming to Generosity Maxim.

The above example indicates that for the sake of cost-benefit and/or modesty, PP determines how CP is to be implemented. Very often, the need of politeness may collide with Manner Maxims of CP, which demands brevity and clarity. The following conversation can be used as an example:

- A: *We'll all miss Bill and Agatha, won't we?*
- B: *Well, we'll all miss Bill.* (Leech, 1983, p.80)

In the above example, in order to follow the Maxim of Quality to give a contribution that is as informative as possible to respond to A's utterance, B should probably answer, "*Well, we'll all miss Bill, but we won't all miss Agatha.*" However, B, for politeness's sake, retains only the first clause and deletes the second one to implicate that they do not miss Agatha. Another example is given to illustrate the trade-off of

Politeness Principle under sociocultural controls. Yu (2003), in his study on compliments, noticed that English speakers tend to conform to the Agreement Maxim by accepting other's compliment. That is to say, English speakers tend to maximize praise of self by de-emphasizing Modesty Maxim, which Chinese speakers incline to minimize praise to self by upgrading Modesty Maxim. For these reasons, the speech act of invitation is expected not follow the CP and the PP completely, and the choices of linguistic forms will change with contextual factors, such as the relationship between interlocutors and the social situations. Accordingly, CP will be weakly operating when politeness plays an important role in specific contexts.

Another problem that speech acts raise in connection with politeness is the belief that some speech acts seem to be impolite by their nature, such as orders or commands, while others are polite by nature, such as offers or invitations (Leech, 1983). Thus, according to Leech, when we talk about speech acts, we must distinguish between positive politeness, which increases the politeness in the case of inherently polite speech acts, and negative politeness, which reduces the impoliteness of inherently impolite speech acts. He also argues that one has to pay attention to the relativity of politeness, as this depends on the culture of the speakers. My argument in this study is that there are no speech acts that are inherently polite. It is the situation or context that determines whether a speech act is polite or not. Speech acts are not decontextualized, but they appear within discourse.

The desire to be polite also influences what kind of speech act one decides to use. Thus, one may choose an indirect speech act instead of a direct one in order to be more polite (Leech, 1983). Leech called this "the metalinguistic use of politeness in speech acts". Leech suggests that it is possible to increase the degree of politeness by using more indirect illocutions: "(a) because they increase the degree of optionality, and (b) because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be" (1983: 131-32).

According to Leech (2005:7), certain maxims (such as the Tact Maxim and the Modesty Maxim) represented the goals people pursue in order to maintain communicative concord.

The POP³¹ approach (which I still adhere to, although I now avoid the term 'maxim') is a goal-oriented approach. It is assumed that we have some illocutionary

³¹ POP (*Principles of Pragmatics*): is a name of a book written by Leech.

goals, i.e. the primary goals we want to achieve in linguistic communication (e.g. persuading someone to help us). We also have social goals, i.e. maintaining good communicative relations with people. But illocutionary goals may either support or compete with social goals –especially the goal of being polite (Leech, 2005:7).

According to Leech (2005:9), politeness makes us behave in ways which our visitor from Mars would think irrational: e.g. a sequence of polite utterances such as the following may occur in certain cultures (traditionally, in Chinese, for example):

invitation → refusal → invitation → refusal → invitation → accept

It is worth mentioning that a sequence of such utterances usually occurs in Palestinian Arabic as well, but not in American English. According to Leech (2005:10), such sequences represent “battles for politeness”³². These battles can be resolved by negotiating with the other person’s politeness. Thus traditionally, after a third invitation, say, an invitee will ‘reluctantly’ accept the invitation. Or one person will ‘reluctantly’ agree to go first through the doorway before the other.

Therefore, the relationship between politeness and speech acts seems therefore very much similar to that between direct and indirect speech acts. This study adopts the idea that it is very difficult to label a certain speech act as polite or impolite, and use these labels as rules. Whether the meaning a certain speech act conveys is polite or impolite is rather very much dependent on the contextual circumstances in which they are uttered.

To sum up this section on the conversational –maxim view of politeness and as has been presented above, Lakoff (1973) considered (CP) to be a subcase of the rules of politeness. Leech (1983) claims that (CP) and (PP) are pragmatic principles of the first-order, i.e. they are principles of equal linguistic status, coordinate and complementary rather than subordinate (of one in relation to the other). Despite Leech’s postulate, it must be claimed that the (CP) is always basic because it defines a norm from which departures are accounted for in terms of other principles, e.g. (PP). Furthermore, the maxims of (CP) are valid for and may apply to the maxims of (PP) rather than the other way round; which seems to support the view of (CP) as the basic conversational principle in pragmatics (cf. Pikor-Niedzialek, 2005).

³² See chapter 11 on the notions of *insistence* and *ritual refusals*.

5.3.5. *The Face*³³ -View of Politeness

Face as a notion to the study of politeness was adopted by some scholars in their investigations of social interactions (Goffman, 1967; and Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987). *Face* was a crucial point in the analysis of politeness.

5.3.5.1. *Politeness as Face by Goffman:*

Goffman (1967) is concerned with social interaction, whether it is face-to-face or mediated interaction. By social interaction, Goffman means the behavior of individuals as an attribute of social order in a particular society, rather than an attribute of the behavior of an individual person (Marquez-Reiter, 2000). According to Sarangi (2011:248), for Goffman, “this social behavior is on loan to the individual from society and is governed by certain legalized and endorsed societal rules”. Presenting a view similar to that of Goffman, Sarangi (2011:252) states that “when in the presence of others, the individual is guided by a special set of rules which have been here called situational properties. Upon examination, these rules prove to govern the allocation of the individual’s involvement within a situation, as expressed through a conventionalized idiom of behavioral clues”.

As mentioned earlier, the term *face* was employed by Goffman (1967:5) to refer to the public image a person projects for himself or herself. Goffman assumes that social interaction plays an important role in determining our position in, as well as our knowledge, of the world. Therefore, *face* is central to social interaction in that its presentation achieves some sort of social harmony. Hence, it is interactants’ mutual responsibility to maintain *face* because the loss of *face* during an encounter may precipitate a breakdown in the exchange.

Therefore, Goffman (1967:10) maintains that, “although *face* is the possession of the individual, it is on loan from society and can be withdrawn from the person once he or she behaves in a way that runs contrary to the rules endorsed by the society”. In short, Goffman’s image of *face* is collectively³⁴ oriented. The individual does not have an absolute freedom to do whatever he or she wants; instead the society monitors the behavior of individuals and gives accreditation to their *face* wants if they keep themselves in line with its norms. Once a person behaves otherwise, *face* will be definitely at risk and its possible loss may incur negative consequences.

³³ See chapter 4 for a detailed cross-cultural investigation of the notion of *face*.

³⁴ See section (5.9) on Collectivism Vs Individualism.

As far as face is concerned, Goffman (1967) distinguishes three terms pertaining to face. First, we can say that a person has a “good face” when the “line he effectively takes presents an image of him that is internally consistent, that is supported by judgments and evidence conveyed by other participants, and that is confirmed by evidence conveyed through impersonal agencies in the situation” (ibid: 8). Second, we can say that a person is in “wrong face” when “information is brought forth in some way about his social worth which cannot be integrated, even with effort, into the line that is being sustained for him” (ibid: 8). Third, we can say that a person is “out of face” when he “participates in a context with others without having ready a line of the kind participants in such situations are expected to take” (ibid: 8).

However, according to Goffman (1967), once contact takes place, other procedures, namely: “defensive procedures”, should be introduced to maintain face and enhance hearers’ face. First, when feeling that an activity may incur face threat to the hearer, one may, at once, cease the activity. Second, one may, at a suitable moment, alter the subject of the talk if one feels that the conversation is incompatible with the line supported by others. Third, one is required to show “diffidence and composure” (ibid:16).

Goffman (1967) was aware of individual as well as of cross-cultural differences when dealing with face saving, stressing the fact that “each person, subculture, and society seems to have its own repertoire of face-saving practices. It is to this repertoire that people partly refer when they ask what person or culture is really like” (ibid: 13).

According to Parvaresh and Pasekh (2009:2), not only does Goffman (1967) define the concept of *face*; he also acknowledges the crucial role in saving self-face, arguing that: “The combined effect of the rule of self-respect and the rule of considerateness is that the person tends to conduct himself during an encounter so as to maintain both his own face and the face of other participants” (Goffman, 1967:11). Moreover, Goffman also puts forward certain practical procedures that might help to save face, beginning with the avoidance process in which a person abjures interaction with others, if a potential loss of face is likely to happen.

5.3.5.2. Politeness as Face (Brown and Levinson, 1987)

Goffman (1974:224) relates politeness to face which is defined as “social value” and “image of self” which people claim for themselves. Following Goffman’s concept

of *politeness*, Brown and Levinson (1987) propose that politeness is related to face work, which achieves the goal of social interaction in which the interlocutors try to maintain or enhance the face of each other.

According to ALFattah (2010:114), Goffman's face as being "located in the flow of 'public property' is only assigned to individual contingent upon their interactional behavior. In contrast, Brown and Levinson characterize face as an image that intrinsically belongs to the individual to 'self'. Here, the public characteristic that is 'essential' to Goffman's analysis of face seems to become as 'external' modifier or adjunct for rather than an 'intrinsic' constituent of, this image".

Brown and Levinson's (1978) model is believed to have the ability to account for cross-cultural similarities and be a tool for investigating the quality of social relations in any society. The doctrine of cultural relativity is rebutted and cultural diversities, according to them, emerge from underlying universal principles. Brown and Levinson's face theory contains three basic notions: *face*, *face threatening acts* (FTAs) and *politeness strategies*. They argue that everyone in the society has two kinds of face needs. One is negative face which is defined as one's desire that nobody impede his or her actions. The other is the positive face which implies that people expect their needs to be desirable to others as well. Therefore, every utterance is potentially a face threatening act (FTA), either to the negative face or to the positive face. Therefore, people need to employ politeness strategies to redress the FTA.

For Brown and Levinson (Brown & Levinson, 1978: 66), *face* means "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction." *Face* is a favorable public image consisting of two different kinds of face wants, the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions, and the desire to be approved of. People in interaction, according to this model, try to preserve both kinds of face for themselves and the people they interact with; they cooperate in maintaining face because it is their best interest to do so.

In more details, Brown & Levinson (1978) construct a "Model Person" representing a willful and fluent speaker of a natural language, endowed with two special properties – *rationality* and *face*. Rationality is to be understood as the availability to the (MP) of a mode of reasoning 'from ends to the means that will achieve those end'. *Rationality* here means the ability to choose appropriate means to meet their goals (Brown and Levinson 1978:63). The MP is also endowed with face, i.e.

with two particular wants: (a) the want to be unimpeded (b) the want to be approved of in certain respects. It is worth mentioning that the notion of *face*, on which the whole theory is based, is derived from the English folk term *lose face*³⁵ that ties face up with notions of *being embarrassed or humiliated*.

Since different speakers put different emphases on the two kinds of faces under different sociocultural needs, misunderstanding may be aroused because the interlocutors do not comprehend each other's face need. Therefore, before messages and intentions are exchanged, interlocutors need to negotiate, in advance, the relationship between them, which, in turn, would determine the necessity of maintaining each other's face. In sum, linguistic manifestations are reflections of such expectations (Brown & Levinson, 1878, 1987).

In fact, Brown and Levinson (1987:60) claim that acts that threaten the hearer's positive face consist of expressions of disapproval or disagreement, criticism, and the mentioning of taboo topics. They further explain that, under normal circumstances, all individuals are motivated to avoid conveying FTAs and are more motivated to minimize the face threat of the acts they use. Consequently, individuals must often prioritize three wants, the want to communicate the content of a face-threatening act, the want to be efficient, and the want to maintain the hearer's face.

Therefore, while face can be preserved, it can be damaged, which will result in impoliteness. In fact, Brown and Levinson further explain this issue with the notion of *face threatening acts* (FTAs) which are Illocutionary acts that are capable of damaging other people's face. To deal with those acts, Brown and Levinson (1978) identify a set of strategies which can help either to avoid or minimize them.

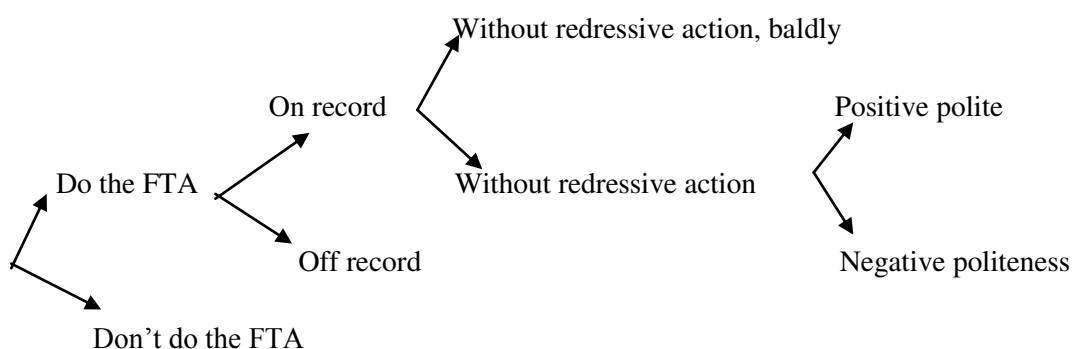


Figure 5.1.: Possible strategies for doing FTAs (Brown and Levinson, 1978)

³⁵ See chapter 4 (section 4.4) for a detailed illustration of the notion of *loss of face*.

FTAs can come with four strategies: 1) on record, baldly, with no redressive action; 2) on record with redressive action and positive politeness; 3) on record with redressive action and negative politeness; and 4) off record. Off-record politeness, means flouting one of the Gricean (1975) maxims on the assumption that the addressee is able to infer the intended meaning. On a more general level, Gricean model of Cooperative Principle is another building block in Brown & Levinson's theory. "On record" means directly saying something in an unambiguous way, while "off record" means expressing in an indirect way so that it can be interpreted ambiguously as a way to minimize the extent to which the addressee's face is threatened. On record FTAs can be committed with redressive action, which is "action that 'gives face' to the addressee, that is, that attempts to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 69). In other words, when the message about to be delivered has the potential to damage the addressee's face, the speaker can modify the message to show that no such face damage is intended. Redressive action can be employed towards either the positive face or the negative face of the hearer. One can, of course, choose not to do an FTA, which results in no utterance of words.

Brown and Levinson (1987:102/132) list 15 substrategies³⁶ of positive politeness and 10 of negative politeness and say that even these lists are not exhaustive. A slightly simplified and modified version of the substrategies of positive politeness is presented in Brown and Gilman (1989:167).

To conclude, the point that is considered throughout this dissertation is that Brown and Levinson (1987) adopt a reductionist method by reducing social facts – some norms of language usage – to the outcome of the rational choices of individuals. In fact, Brown and Levinson view linguistic politeness as a formal, deductive and predictive system. However, Brown and Levinson contend that any speech act has the potential of threatening either the face of the speaker or that of the hearer. They believe that conversation is much more concerned with observing politeness expectations designed to ensure the "redress of face than with the exchange of information" (Salmani-Nodoushan, 1995:4). They have proposed a direct relationship between social distance and politeness in such a way as to indicate that an increase in social distance will bring about an increase in the degree of politeness and vice versa.

³⁶ The strategies of positive and negative politeness will be investigated thoroughly with regard to the speech act of inviting in chapter 10.

5.3.6. *Rapport -Management View*

Spencer-Oatey (2005) presents a rapport management model in dealing with politeness. According to Spencer-Oatey (2005) the success or lack of success in human interaction depends on people's behavioral expectations, face sensitivities and interactional wants.

Behavioral expectations are based on what people judge to be socially appropriate – i.e. what they believe is prescribed, permitted or proscribed behavior (ibid:97) - and this assessment is based on contextually-based conventions, norms and protocols which vary according to the communicative activity and setting and the type of relationship subjects have (ibid:99). Conventions, however, exist across a range of domains: the illocutionary domain, which deals with the performance of different speech acts; the discourse domain concerned with the “content and structure of an interchange including topic choice, and the organization and sequencing of information”; the participation domain which considers “the procedural aspects of an interchange”, such as turn-taking, overlaps, pauses, listener's responses; the stylistic domain which considers choice of tone, address forms, honorifics, for example; the nonverbal³⁷ domain which considers aspects as gestures, eye contact, proxemics (ibid:99).

Garcia (2009:203) states that, behavioral expectations, according to Spencer-Oatey, also result from contextually-dependent interactional principles: the equity principle, i.e. people's right to be treated fairly and not imposed upon; and, the association principle, i.e. people's right to associate with others. The equity principle, in turn, has three components: cost-benefit, fairness-reciprocity and autonomy-control. The association principle has three components as well: involvement, empathy and respect.

Spencer-Oatey (2005) distinguishes then between “respectability face” and “identity face”. Respectability face, as mentioned earlier in section (4.2.), is “the prestige, honor or ‘good name’ that a person or social group holds and claims within a broader community” (ibid: 102) and “reflects attributes such as biographical variables, relational attributes, social status indicators, formal title/position/rank, personal reputation and integrity (ibid: 103). Identity face, on the other hand, is based on Goffman's (1967: 5) concept of *face*, defined as being “based on the positive social values that [people] associate with their various self-aspects”. These may include bodily

³⁷ Non-verbal aspects of communication and politeness will be explored in section (5.8.).

features and control, possessions and belongings, performance/skills, social behavior and verbal behavior (Spencer-Oatey, 2005:104). Spencer-Oatey also includes people's "claims to social group membership" as part of identity face.

Interactional wants, the third component in Spencer-Oatey rapport management model, can be either transactional or relational. Transactional wants are task oriented and relational goals aim at "effective relationship management" (ibid: 107). Spencer-Oatey argues that both goals might be interconnected since the success of a transactional goal might depend on the management of a relational goal.

5.3.7. Scollon and Scollon's Model of Politeness

The Scollon and Scollon's (2001) approach to the study of politeness is different from traditional treatment of politeness in that their approach ties the Brown and Levinson's ([1978] 1987) concept of *face* to social and cultural systems.

According to Al-Marrani & Sazalie (2010:65), the main idea of Scollon & Scollon's model of politeness or politeness systems is that face relationships are divided into three politeness systems (deference politeness system, solidarity politeness system and hierarchical politeness system). According to this model of politeness, in a deference politeness system, the speaker and hearer see themselves at the same social level with no interlocutor exerting power over the other (-Power), but with a distant relationship (+Distance). As a result, both interlocutors use independence strategies, including expressions that minimize threat to avoid the risk of losing face. In a solidarity politeness system, interlocutors see themselves as being of equal social position (-Power) and with a close relationship (-Distance); in this system, the interlocutors use involvement strategies to assume or express reciprocity or to claim a common point of view (cf. Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010:65) .

Finally, in a hierarchical politeness system, one participant is in a superordinate position (+Power) and the other is in a subordinate position (-Power). In this asymmetrical system, where the relationship may be close or distant (-Distance or +Distance), Scollon and Scollon observed that the participant with power may use involvement strategies. The participant in a lower position may employ independence strategies to minimize threat or to show respect to the interlocutor. In particular, this independence aspect of face shows that "a person may act with some degree of

autonomy and that he or she respects the rights of others to their own autonomy” (Scollon and Scollon, 1995: 37).

To sum up, it is clear that Scollon and Scollon (1995) use the concept of *face* to refer to the ways a cultural group organizes its social relationships and the politeness strategies depend on the culture differences. They state that the idea of self in Western societies corresponds to highly individualistic and self-motivated ideology and open to ongoing negotiation, whereas Asians societies concentrate on a more collectivistic self which is more connected to membership in basic group.

5.3.8. Communication Accommodation Theory and Politeness

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT henceforth) addresses behavioral adjustments, including alternations in levels of politeness, individuals make during communication in order to express values, attitudes, and intentions. Specifically, CAT sets out “to clarify the motivations underlying, as well as the constraints operating upon, speech shifts during social interactions and the social consequences of these” (Giles et al., 1987: 14).

CAT explores the various reasons why individuals emphasize or minimize the social differences between themselves and their interlocutors through verbal and non-verbal communication. This theory is concerned with the links between “language, context and identity”. It focuses on both the intergroup and interpersonal factors that lead to accommodation as well as the ways in which power, macro and micro-context concerns affect communication behaviors (See Mirzaiyan et al. 2010).

CAT assumes that people bring in their backgrounds and fields of experience into their interactions through their speech and behaviors, and that therefore speech and behavioral similarities exist in all conversations. It also assumes that “accommodation is influenced by the way in which people perceive and evaluate what takes place during a conversation, that is: how people interpret and judge the messages exchanged in conversation”³⁸.

In fact, CAT was developed by Howard Giles, professor of linguistics. It evolved from the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT henceforth), which was developed in order to demonstrate the value of social psychological concepts to understanding the dynamics of speech. It sought to explain “the motivations underlying certain shifts in

³⁸ See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communication_accommodation_theory

people's speech styles during social encounters and some of the social consequences arising from them" (Bunz et al. 2002). Particularly, SAT focused on the cognitive and affective processes underlying individuals' convergence and divergence through speech. CAT has broadened this theory to include not only speech but also the "non-verbal and discursive dimensions of social interaction" (Bunz et al. 2002). Thus, CAT now encompasses other aspects of communication, including politeness. It now also covers a wider range of phenomena.

Two key concepts related to CAT are convergence and divergence. Convergence is the process of individuals adapting toward each other's speech. When Giles (1973) first introduced accommodation theory, he illustrated convergence by reporting that individuals in interview situations adjusted their accents toward that of the interviewer. Divergence, on the other hand, refers to the way individuals adjust their speech away from each other in order to accentuate differences. Bourhis and Giles (1977) reported divergence in their study of the reactions of Welsh people to language questions asked of them by English-sounding speakers. When the English-sounding speakers threatened the ethnic identity of the Welsh by challenging the value of learning the Welsh language, the Welsh individuals diverged from the English by broadening their Welsh accents.

Adaptative behaviors have been identified in several studies (see Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). Features of convergence may include utterance length, speech rate, information density, vocal intensity, pausing frequencies and lengths, response latency, self-disclosure, jokes, expressing solidarity/opinions/orientations, gesture, head nodding, facial affect, and posture.

While excessive convergence may be perceived as patronizing or inappropriate, speech convergence is generally met with positive evaluation. It follows that convergence may reflect an individual's desire for social approval (Giles et al., 1987). Giles et al. (1987) pointed to research demonstrating that similarity in speech rates, response latencies, language, and accent are perceived more favorably than dissimilarity in the realms of social attractiveness, communication effectiveness, and cooperativeness.

Therefore, accommodation tends to occur when the speakers like each other. Alternatively, accommodation has been observed when the need to be deferential arises, or when one person wants to put another person at their ease. Consequently,

accommodation can be interpreted as a polite speech strategy, designed to convey the impression that the addressee's speech is legitimate and worthy of consideration.

To sum up, this study examines politeness as a form of accommodation in making, accepting and refusing invitations. In fact, politeness in invitations can be represented by verbal/ lexical markers and structural elements. Speakers may alternate or accommodate politeness levels during an interaction. Politeness, as a form of accommodation, in invitations is a relevant area that must be thoroughly considered. This study posits that social context cues indicating politeness can easily be, and often are, included in invitations, and it is conceivable that individuals may accommodate to these cues when interacting with others in different contexts.

5.4. Critique of Traditional Theories of Politeness

Brown & Levinson's and Leech's theories, the traditional theories of politeness, have been repeatedly put into question by recent research, both from an empirical and a theoretical point of view. Some scholars have tried to put forward a possible explanation for the incapacity of Leech's and B & L's theories to achieve a universally valid status. The critique of politeness theories has been summarized in various works (Kasper, 1990; Thomas, 1995; Escandell-Vidal, 1996; Watts et al. 1992; Meier, 1995). This section addresses some criticisms that appear to be the most important.

In fact, I have noticed that criticisms of Brown & Levinson's theory concentrate on four main areas:

1. The absence of context (both situational and cultural)
2. The neglect of discourse
3. The rigidity of the politeness scale in relation to the three sociological variables (P, D, and R).
4. The universality³⁹ of the concept of *face* and of their ranking of politeness strategies.

It is worth mentioning that most of those who disagree with theories of politeness systems focus their argument on the work of B & L (1987) since this is the most comprehensive statement of the universal case. A number of linguists undermine the universality of Politeness Principles. This criticism seems to have originated in Wierzbicka (1985), later to be followed by many others: Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1994),

³⁹ The notions of *Universality Vs Culture-specificity* of politeness will be explored in section (5.9).

Liao (1994), Janney and Arndt (1993), Chen (1993), Kasper (1990), Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), Wierzbicka (1991), Watts et al. (1992), to name a few.

Hernandez (1999:213) argues that Brown & Levinson's and Leech's theories "make use of imaginative mental tools of a metaphorical nature (i.e. conceptual metaphors) in order to make sense of an inherently abstract concept". B & L's model is based on the metaphor 'politeness is the preservation of face'. The face metaphor of politeness can be said to be grounded in that people's faces are regarded as reflections of their inner selves. Within this interpretation, our faces are made to stand for the whole person (i.e. for both physical and spiritual selves). In a literal sense, polite behavior saves the people's face by preventing embarrassing blushings. Metaphorically, saving our faces can also count as preserving other non-physical, but equally important aspects of our selves (e.g. prestige, public image, reputation, etc.)

It is clear that Leech's approach to the study of politeness also relies on a conceptual metaphor related to the world of economy. His metaphorical cognitive model of politeness views people as economists or businessmen and he considers politeness as the minimization of cost and maximization of benefit. Hernandez (1999:213) believes that "since metaphors are intrinsically culture-specific, it follows that any account of politeness which rests on such mechanisms will be bound to fail the test of cross-cultural applicability". As conceptual metaphors are intrinsically non-universal, those theories will be inevitably linked to a concrete culture, and as a result, will not be liable to achieve a universally valid status.

Strecker (1993:120), criticizes Brown and Levinson for "run[ning] the risk of forgetting that 'face' is, after all, not an 'etic' but an 'emic' category and should be studied as such". "Etic" refers to "concepts and systems of classification which could be applied across cultures without reference to the culture's own categories for classifying meaning", whereas "emic" refers to "descriptions of cultural phenomena in terms which make sense to those actually living in a specific culture" (Befu, 1989: 325). The claim that face is an "emic" category, therefore, supports the stance that cultural values are embodied in the notion of *face*. Without studying the cultural aspect, it would be impossible to fully understand politeness. Conversely, the adoption of different face saving / threatening strategies can reflect some aspects of the culture which the users belong to.

The second criticism of Brown & Levinson is that their distinction between negative politeness and positive politeness is dubious (Meier 1995:384). This problem, according to Meier (1995:385), has arisen from the fact that Brown and Levinson categorize many FTAs as threatening both negative and positive face.

Moreover, Kopytko (1993) views Brown and Levinson's theory as a system in which the concepts such as *face*, *rationality*, *reductionism* and *context* are vague and indeterminate in nature, thus, it would be wishful thinking to claim that it is possible, at least theoretically, to formulate a deterministic theory based on those notions. A more realistic view, and still very ambitious, would be to claim that pragmatic phenomena (including linguistic politeness) although, clearly, indeterministic in character, achieve some kind of "probabilistic tendency", especially, when analyzed as the properties of speech communities rather than those of individual speakers (Kopytko 1993).

Further criticisms that have been cited against Brown & Levinson model target its apparent neglect of impoliteness. The theory repeatedly refers to different forms of *politeness*, yet inherently takes this synonymous to *polite* rather than regarding it as a scale spanning both kinds of behavior. By neglecting one end of the politeness scale it is arguable that the model is incomprehensive (cf. Gilks, 2010:96). However, it may be argued that although the model explicitly deals with politeness, Brown & Levinson do take into account impoliteness by allowing the option of a FTA without redress.

Objections of the same kind can be raised as regards other similar strategic approaches to politeness such as Leech's (1983). Although nowhere in his writings does he explicitly assert the universality of his account, Leech does not deny it either. However, "his theory of politeness is liable to suffer from an even higher degree of cultural specificity than Brown and Levinson's, since his analysis of politeness is restricted to data from the English language exclusively" (Hernandez, 1999:211). Consequently, the results arising from his investigations are bound to suffer, to a lesser or greater extent, from a tendency towards ethnocentrism.

Leech's rule oriented presentation of politeness is said to be suffering from other shortcomings. Fasold (1990:161) draws against this theory since it does not explain the nature of politeness: "if you start with a set of rules like Leech's maxims of politeness, you can understand politeness phenomena in terms of these rules, but you do not learn very much about why there should be such rules in the first place". He even goes too far maintaining that B & L's theory has a strength over Leech's model in the sense that the

former attempts to “*explain* politeness by deriving it from more fundamental notions of what it is to be a human being” (Fasold’s italics).

My argument is that Brown & Levinson’s and Leech’s theories can also be criticized for the fact that the focus is on the speaker’s perception of politeness, rather than the recipient’s. Yet speakers and writers often overestimate their ability to convey subtler cues, such as sarcasm. Given this overestimation and myriad cultural norms regarding politeness, it is possible that intended politeness is not always received. Therefore, the current project attempts to match ratings of perceived politeness with intended politeness.

At any rate, the above discussion should not be taken as an argument in favor of rejecting traditional theories of politeness together. In spite of their limitations, they can, somewhat, explain politeness in those concrete societies in which they refer. It should be admitted that these approaches have played an important role in the development of politeness studies, and have made very important contributions to the understanding of politeness phenomena. My argument in this dissertation is that Brown & Levinson’s and Leech’s theories are fundamentally prominent and are still the best tools in the investigation of politeness – as analytical tools rather than as a dogmatic picture of reality. In fact, what one views as polite or impolite behavior in normal interaction is subject to immediate and unique contextually- negotiated factors. While Brown and Levinson have taken their evidence from short interactions, I will test their theory on longer stretches of conversation.

To sum up, this cross-cultural study attempts to apply B& L’s (1978) and Leech’s (1983) concepts to investigate some conversations, including inviting situations, as a socio-pragmatic analysis, probing both speaker meaning and utterance interpretation. Recent contributions and models by other scholars will also be highlighted in the course of data analysis. However, the discussion about politeness encompasses both polite and impolite speech acts (Thomas 1995). Thus this study focuses on both dimensions of politeness. As Holmes (1995: 21) claims, (im)politeness is “always context dependent”. The study of (im)politeness shall involve both (a) the referential function as information transmission, and (b) the affective function as the representation of feelings and relationships (Holmes 1995). Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) found situational factors, such as social status, familiarity or gender considerably influenced people’s politeness strategies. Therefore, this study examines the politeness strategies in inviting situations

in terms of “the linguistic form + the context of utterance + the relationship between the speaker and the hearer” (Thomas 1995:157).

5.5. Politeness and Indirectness:

According to Sifianou (1992), most scholars, basing on the investigation of English, have argued that the degree of indirectness determines the degree of politeness to a great extent. Although there are some ideas that indirectness and politeness are not the same (Kasper, 1998; Holtgraves, 1986), most scholars have argued that overall, in English, indirectness and politeness are closely related, especially in request- a kind of directive speech acts. While the scale of indirectness seems to be universal, the assertion between indirectness and politeness differs across cultures.

I have observed that contrary to most English societies where the display of non-imposition and concerns for distancing in speech acts are believed to help avoid face threatening acts and hence to be more polite, a number of cultures prefer a show of solidarity and sincerity by directly delivering them. Sifianou (1992) has proved that Greeks request, advise and suggest structurally more directly than English because they see those acts as their duty to help and support each other without any idea about imposition or non-imposition. In another study which examines the politeness perceptions of speakers of Israeli Hebrew, Blum-Kulka (1987) finds that speakers of Hebrew favor directness rather than indirectness. Wierzbicka (1985) comes to a similar result with the speakers of Polish. Generally speaking, speakers from those mentioned cultures either seem to pay much attention to involvement and solidarity relation, i.e. the positive aspect of face, or belong to a kind of societies where people depend on each other more and therefore individuals are less emphasized than interdependent social relations. In other words, most of them probably correspond to positive politeness societies where indirectness will not necessarily be related to politeness.

To sum up, my argument is that the claim for a linear relationship between indirectness and politeness is not adequate. Studies of some languages, such as French, Chinese, Spanish and Polish show that there is clearly a problem in establishing an objective measure of directness as related to politeness. In this sense, one can easily accept that politeness is a phenomenon found in all languages, but it is not logical or convincing to consider it universal in its operations, rules, and strategies. Therefore, the

association of politeness and indirectness in Palestinian and American cultures should be investigated in concerning to a specific kind of speech acts such as inviting.

5.6. Linguistic Choice by Indirectness and Politeness:

As we have seen earlier, it has been claimed by some scholars (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983) that the notion of *politeness* is related to the degree of indirectness. For example, Brown and Levinson (1987) maintain that politeness is highly based on the strategy for doing face-threatening acts. When the speaker goes on record and baldly does the act without redress, the degree of politeness which the speaker conveys is very low. Next, politeness increases as the speaker tries to employ redressive actions. Moreover, the “off-record” behavior yields a high degree of politeness. Leech (1983) advocates the same idea by claiming that when the degree of optionality or indirectness of illocution increases, the indirect act becomes more polite. However, the concept is questionable. That is to say, a higher degree of indirectness does not necessarily imply a higher degree of politeness (See the previous section).

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) divide request strategies into three categories. First, direct strategy of request is the least indirect one compared to the other strategies; next, conventional indirect strategy (such as willingness, desire, and ability) is more indirect than direct strategy; then, non-conventional indirect strategy (such as hints) is considered the most indirect (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). However, it is pointed out that politeness does not correlate with indirectness for the three strategies (i.e., direct strategy, conventional indirect strategy and non-conventional indirect strategy). Rinnert and Kobayashi (1999) claim that selections of certain strategies for the sake of politeness are different in different cultures. In their investigation on Japanese culture, requestive hints of high indirectness may be polite and impolite in different situations. As noted by Blum-Kulka (1987:13), the use of hints for requests is not necessarily polite because the lack of “the pragmatic clarity” is essential to get the intended meaning of the speech. A similar phenomenon appears in imperatives. In Kallia’s (2005) study on the speech acts of request and suggestion, imperative is found to be both polite and impolite in Greek. Moreover, some scholars found that hinting sentences and imperative sentences are not polite (Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999). The results of these studies reveal that the linguistic choice for the sake of politeness is different from one culture to culture.

Conventional indirect strategy is most frequently used by American English speakers (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; House & Kasper, 1981; Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999). Carrel and Konneker (1981) claim that the syntactic pattern is a primary indicator to differentiate the degree of politeness. That is, interrogative is the most polite, declarative is the next most polite, and imperative is the least polite. Therefore, in general, conventionally indirect strategy can be divided into two groups-the interrogative one and the affirmative one in linguistic structure level, with the former being more polite than the latter.

5.7. Why is Politeness Interesting?

Only in the past few decades have philosophers, linguists and others become interested in the pragmatic study of language, i.e. they developed an interest in the way language is used in communication between people. In 1962, Austin introduced his theory of speech acts, and Searle (1969) systematized it; then came Grice (1975) with his co-operative principles and implicatures as a means to study discourse. Grice himself noted the importance of politeness as a factor in the account of conversational meaning, though he did not deal with it in detail.

It is only in recent years that discourse analysts began to investigate the area of polite language usage, and this partly because the Gricean CP does not fully explain the use of language. According to Leech (1983), “the CP in itself cannot explain (i) why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean; and (ii) what is the relation between the sense [meaning as semantically determined] and force [meaning as pragmatically as well as semantically determined] when non-declarative types of sentence are being considered.” (p. 80). So he introduces what he calls the PP (politeness principle) and shows that both the CP and the PP are needed for pragmatic interpretations (see Alaoui, 2011).

Very often in everyday speech, utterances which flout the Gricean CP are used and are understood. The force of these indirect illocutions can be worked out if the Hearer uses implicatures. Leech illustrates this with the example,

It's cold in here

as a request to switch on the heater. Surely in producing this indirect illocution instead of a direct one, the speaker intends to fulfill a goal beside just attaining the desired state and that is to maintain a good social relationship with the hearer by being polite and yet at the same time imposing his own will. The choice of one of the different realizations

of speech act in part depends on the extent to which the contextual situation requires politeness, for the PP applies differently in different contexts. This is what Leech sets out to study while Brown and Levinson move toward the study of politeness as a universal phenomenon. Brown and Levinson try to account for the observed cross cultural similarities in the abstract principles which underlie polite usage. Therefore, this study will be grounded in Leech's view of politeness and Brown and Levinson's model as a theoretical framework for the purpose of investigating politeness in issuing invitations in Palestinian Arabic and American English.

Though it cannot be denied that there are certain features of politeness common to some languages, if not all, yet the use of politeness does alter from one culture to the other, in that, one society can give precedence to one maxim of PP rather than another while other societies would not; for example, the Palestinian society gives preference to the generosity maxim while the American does so to the agreement maxim. In this respect, politeness can be said to be a culture-specific norm.

The fact that politeness is culture specific⁴⁰ probably accounts for the difficulties EFL learners face when they try to be polite in L2. Indeed, even if they master the lexical and grammatical aspects of the English language, they sometimes fail to communicate well at the pragmatic level. "In part, second language speakers' pragmatic failures have shown to be traceable to cross-linguistic differences in the speech act realization rules, indicating in Widdowson's terms (Widdowson, 1978) that learners are just as liable to transfer rules of use (having to do with contextual appropriacy) as those of 'usage' (related to grammatical accuracy)" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 196).

Arabic speakers of English, for example, sound phony or lacking sincerity to native speakers because of the excessive usage they make of polite forms. The following illustration will make this point more explicit. If say a Palestinian speaker of English met a person s/he knows, even though this person is not their close friend, a likely greeting s/he could come up with could be the following:

Hello, hello, hello! How are you? It's been such a long time since I last saw you. Where have you been all this time? How is the family, the wife, the children, your parents... ? Are they alright? My regards to all of them...

This is a kind of ritual greeting that one has to go through in Arabic, or at least a Palestinian society, but a greeting of this sort might shock a native speaker of English

⁴⁰ The notions of *universality* Vs *Culture-specificity* will be illustrated in details in section (5.9).

who would regard it as overfriendly; perhaps they might consider the speaker as treading on their private territory because s/he (the speaker) is not keeping the social distance usual in the American society.

5.8. Non-Verbal Communication VS. Politeness⁴¹:

For politeness purposes, speakers might utilize all possible strategies of both verbal and/or non-verbal signals in communication depending on different contexts. In fact, speakers have a tendency towards non-verbal signals in all languages, but speakers in different cultures assign different values of politeness to the same nonverbal signals. In fact, certain politeness strategies, whether verbal or nonverbal, are culture-specific.

Castillo and Eduardo (2009: 12-14) explore practices, including practices expressing verbal and non-verbal politeness, which members of a culture use to carry out their way of life. They investigate very concrete actions or behaviors that affect the *appropriateness* of communication. This specificity makes the pragmatic elements more visible. Castillo and Eduardo (2009: 12-14) organize features of communication into two broad categories: linguistic and extralinguistic. Linguistic features are those that deal with language, verbal or written, including paralanguage, the vocal effects that accompany oral language. Extralinguistic features are those that are commonly referred to as non-verbal communication. It necessary to mention that these features have different politeness values in different cultures. The extralinguistic category of components refers to important elements such as: kinesics, proxemics, oculusics, chronemics, and haptics, and context (cf. Castillo and Eduardo, 2009: 13-14). Below I list some of these extralinguistic features with brief definitions and examples.

1. **Oculusics:** This consists of eye movements used to convey meaning. These movements include maintaining or avoiding direct eye contact, blinking, winking, staring, squinting, rolling the eyes, crossing the eyes, closing the eyes, and other eye behaviors. These movements convey meanings. For example, avoiding direct eye contact conveys meanings of respect and deference in some cultures, but in others, messages of guilt or embarrassment.

2. **Context:** Edward T. Hall (in Castillo and Eduardo, 2009) propose two different categories of context to categorize the differences in communication style: Low context is where the message is direct, explicit, as in the utterance (“Oh I forgot my cell

⁴¹ See section 8.3 for a detailed exploration of non-verbal communication in AE and PA.

phone... Would you mind if I use yours to make a phone call?”), and high context where the speech is indirect, subtle, and understood basically because of social situation signs. For example, a person is looking desperately for something in her purse. She is trying to find a payphone and another person offers her a phone.

3. **Chronemics:** This element of communication or politeness can be defined as the use of time in nonverbal communication. In fact, most cultures follow a particular time pattern or even certain human groups in within that culture use a different time pattern. The time perceptions include punctuality, willingness to wait, and interactions in conversations.

Chronemics has identified two different patterns of behavior in cultures: *polychronic* and *monochronic*. The United States is considered a monochronic culture which means that things are generally done separately, as in “one thing at a time”. People value their own time and therefore, they value the times of others. These factors of punctuality and respect for the time are rooted in the industrial revolution where according to Guerrero, DeVito & Hecht (2009:236) (as cited in Castillo and Eduardo, 2009) "factory life required the labor force to be on hand and in place at an appointed hour".

On the other hand, Latin America and the Arabic world are polychronic cultures, where people do many things at once, and are highly distracted and subject to interruptions when a conversation takes place. This pragmatic component of chronemics is important for learners of English since it also includes interesting elements that vary according to the culture such as the pace of the conversation, also known as register, and even how long the people are willing to wait in a conversation.

4. **Haptics:** This is how touching conveys messages in nonverbal communication. Even though touching is part of all cultures, in some of them it can carry positive and negative denotations. A touching gesture can be perceived as positive/polite in certain situations, but in others a person may get the opposite feeling when it is interpreted as insincere or suggesting ulterior motives. For some cultures touching is highly determined by the age, sexual orientation, gender and rank of the individuals who intervene in the conversation.

5. **Kinesics:** This is the term used to describe body language. Kinesics includes movement of the hands, arms, head and other parts of the body.

6. Proxemics: This is the use of space between objects and between persons to convey meanings. For example, the distance between two people standing face to face conveys meaning. The closer the distance, generally speaking, the more intimate the message.

Similarly, Argyle (1972) stresses the importance of including non-verbal signals, such as head-nods, shifts of gaze, fine hand-movements, etc., in any analysis of social interaction. Argyle (1972:246-270) classifies non-verbal communication (NVC) under ten headings:

1. *Bodily contact:* This may take a number of forms-hitting, pushing, stroking, etc.-most of which may involve a variety of areas of the body.
2. *Proximity:* Argyle (1972:247) states that how close people sit or stand can easily be measured. According to Argyle (1972:247), there are much greater cross-cultural variations, in that Arabs stand very close, while Swedes, Scots and the English stand much further apart. However, Argyle (1972:247) also admits that differences may exist due to personal tendencies.
3. *Orientation:* This is the angle at which people sit or stand in relation to each other. According to Argyle (1972:247), Arabs prefer the head-on position.
4. *Appearance:* Many aspects of personal appearance are under control-clothes, hair, and skin, while others are partly so-physique and bodily condition.
5. *Posture:* In any given culture, many different ways of standing, sitting or lying are possible. Posture is used to convey interpersonal attitudes. Distinctive postures are adopted for friendly, hostile, superior, and inferior attitudes.
6. *Head-nods:* these are the faster-moving non-verbal signals.
7. *Facial expressions:* The face is a specialized communication area. Facial expressions express surprise, disagreement, pleasure, etc.
8. *Gestures:* The hands are able to communicate a great deal: movements of head, feet, and other parts of the body may also be used.
9. *Looking:* During conversations each participant looks intermittently at the other. According to Argyle (1972:250), "Looking plays an important role in communicating interpersonal attitudes and establishing relations. The act of looking sends a signal to the other that a certain amount of interest is being taken in him, and interest is a kind which is signaled by the accompanying facial expression".

10. *Non-verbal aspects of speech*: The same word can be delivered in quite different ways by variations in pitch, stress and timing.

The above lists, as mentioned, presents concrete behaviors that second language learners need to recognize and to employ effectively and appropriately to achieve successful friction-free interaction. These behaviors are set within particular situations and social circumstances that also need to be understood.

Feghali (1997) tries to present an important account of non-verbal and paralinguistic patterns of communication in the Arab World. Arabs in general use certain non-verbal representations that are culture specific. According to Feghali (1997:364), members of Arab communities interact with a direct body orientation. Direct eye contact between same-sex communicators for extended periods, for example, allows interactants to ascertain the truthfulness of the other's words, as well as to reciprocate interest. Lowering gaze, on the other hand, signals "submission, expected of religious persons with strangers of the opposite sex or politeness in children being chastised".

Feghali (1997:364) argues that Arab societies have been commonly accepted as "contact" cultures, in which people tend to stand close together and touch frequently. La Barre (1976) (as cited in Feghali 1997) suggests that touching in Arab societies "replaces" the bowing and handshaking rituals of other societies. (Such a statement, of course, is relative to cultures in which handshaking or bowing are the norm.) It is more accurate, however, to stress tendencies toward same-sex touching. Dyads of men or dyads of women frequently walk hand in hand or arm in arm down streets in Arab countries.

Touching between members of the opposite sex occurs less often in Arab public and can be considered extremely offensive, especially in Palestine, Saudi Arabia and the Arabian Peninsula countries. As Nydell (1987) (as cited in Feghali, 1997) warns, display of intimacy between men and women "is strictly forbidden by the Arab social code, including holding hands or linking arms or any gesture of affection such as kissing or prolonged touching".

Relative to personal space, Arabs as compared with Westerners demonstrate tolerance for crowding, pushing, and close proximity in public places. Arabs do not distinguish between public and private self, which is common in Western societies and representative of separation between mind and body (cf. Feghali, 1997).

Paralinguistics-or vocalizations which impact how something is said have distinct functions, yet few empirical studies have examined paralinguistic phenomena in Arab societies. Rather, introductory texts and other publications rely on descriptive anecdotes to discuss volume and rate of speech, intonation, use of silence, and the role of smell. Members of Arab societies tend to speak fast and loudly. To Arabs loudness connotes strength and sincerity, a soft one implies weakness or even deviousness (cf. Feghali, 1997).

To sum up, it does not make sense to generalize things. Arabs do not have one single Arab culture. Even in Palestine there are different sub-cultures. Regional variations, which have different implications, do exist, and these variations have different politeness values. In fact, touch and personal space are regulated by a wide variety of contextual variables. We should be skeptical of stereotypical descriptions that suggest, for example, Arabs are comfortable with an interpersonal distance of about two feet, as compared to five feet for Americans (Almaney & Alwan, 1982, pp. 96-97) (as cited in Feghali, 1997). It is more effective to say that Americans in intercultural encounters may feel disturbed by invasion of their personal space, because physical nearness may carry sexual, impolite, aggressive, or belligerent connotations. Arabs, on the other hand, may feel slighted or unattended to if Americans or others back away from them. Therefore, some aspects of Arab nonverbal and paralinguistic patterns have received more attention than others. Gestures and interpersonal distance now have a foundation with which to compare to other societies. Additional empirical examination of eye contact, attitude toward time and paralinguistics is necessary.

5.9. Universality versus culture-specificity of Politeness:

Politeness is one of the most important impressions of human and human beings cannot live with each other and communicate together if conventions of politeness are not observed in the society that they live in. It is a universal, interdisciplinary phenomenon. I argue that every culture, every language, has its ways of displaying respect and deference, saving face, avoiding, or minimizing, imposition and exercising good manners verbally and non-verbally. Numerous studies have shown that “the conventions of politeness are different from one culture to another” (Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010:63).

What might be polite in one culture might not be so in other cultures. Eelen (2001:128) supports the notion that politeness differs from culture to culture and cultural norms reflected in speech acts differ not only from one language to another but also from one regional and social variety to another. She claims that "communicative success depends on the right amount of and kinds of politeness applied at the right time to the right speech act, as determined by social norms that stipulate what is appropriate for a specific interactional situation" (ibid:128).

Likewise, De Pablos-Ortega (2010:149) states that the principles upon which the linguistic phenomenon of politeness is based differ from language to language and, as a consequence, misunderstandings may arise when non-native speakers come into contact with a specific language. This type of a misunderstanding may refer to either particular linguistic structures used to express a type of communicative function, such as asking, or may refer to the norms and social elements that are an integral part of a specific culture. Similarly, according to Parvaresh and Rasekh (2009), politeness is not only culturally, but also contextually determined. They state that "cultures differ from each other as far as the realization of polite behavior is concerned".

According to Samarah (2010:57), it is important to be polite in the Arabic culture. "Maybe this is one interesting difference between Arabic society and Western society". Sometimes Westerners react to what they feel is extreme politeness on part of Arabic speakers. There are even people who interpret this kind of politeness as the ingratiation. For this reason it is important to emphasize the cultural value of politeness.

This topic reminds me of an incident that took place upon my arrival to Madrid to conduct my doctorate research. I used to go to the university by Metro. It was about ten o'clock in the morning and, luckily, I was sitting on a seat. Usually there were not enough seats for all passengers. An old woman, looked tired, in her fifties was standing. I invited her to take my seat as I usually do in Palestine. However, she refused my offer/invitation. All I intended to do was to be polite with her, but she refused even though the offer was for her benefit. I sat again in my seat, but I was very embarrassed that she refused my invitation. I continued my journey thinking of reasons of her refusal. When I offered her the invitation, I thought of my offer as a face-enhancing act since it was for her benefit. However, later on I became convinced that my offer was regarded by the old woman as a face-threatening act. It seemed that the woman interpreted my invitation to her to have my seat as an attack to her face, and she wanted to tell me that she was

not a weak person. In Palestine, offering a woman, whether she is old or young, a seat in a public means of transportation is a behavior that is considered extremely polite. It is not polite to keep sitting while there is a woman who is standing in public transportation.

Therefore, the speech act of inviting is realized differently in different cultures which have different values in assessing the force of same speech act. In fact, cross-cultural differences of politeness should be regarded carefully in any conversation.

Individualism and *collectivism* have been major concepts used to explain differences and similarities in communication across cultures (Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, 1995; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988; Kim, 1995). In general, cultural differences are derived from two tendencies: individualism and collectivism, with the former focusing on an individual's goal, while the latter emphasizing the goal of a group of people (Hofstede, 1980; Kim, 1994; Triandis, 1995) as it is the case in the Palestinian society.

My argument is that the fundamental cultural difference lies in the fact that Palestinian people strictly stick to collectivism in their speech and acts, while people in the West and English-speaking countries are characterized by individualism. In Palestine, the concept *collectivity* is considered as the core of the Palestinian culture, which means that people should always care about other in-group members, regard themselves as members of a collectivity and give priority to the collectivity over individuals. "In cultures that tend toward collectivism, a 'we' consciousness prevails: identity is based on the social system; the individual is emotionally dependent on organizations which invade private life". (Lihui and Jianbin, 2010:46)

Consequently, in the Palestinian value system, the interests of the collectivity outweigh the individual's interests. Furthermore, the aim of each individual is to contribute to the comfort and prosperity of the group/country. Social hierarchy, Cooperation and harmony are valued in interpersonal relationships and people respect authority. Conversely, individualism is the core of Western culture. In Western society, individual development, benefits and achievements are encouraged and protected and people should satisfy their own needs first. "In cultures that tend toward individualism, an 'I' consciousness prevails: competition rather than cooperation is encouraged; personal goals take precedence over group goals; people tend not to be emotionally dependent on organizations. These cultures stress individual initiative and achievement, they value

individual decision making. Individualism promotes self-efficiency, individual responsibilities and personal autonomy” (Lihui and Jianbin, 2010). So, in many Western societies, people have been taught to think and behave independently since childhood and for them, the concept of collectivity is quite obscure (see also Honglin, 2007:64).

In fact, exploring cross cultural differences of politeness necessitates further exploration of the notions of *universality* and *relativity*. The issue of universality and linguistic relativity in language has always been controversial and appears to be related to earlier considerations such as the Whorfian⁴² hypothesis and its views on the relationship between language and thought. In the field of politeness, the issue of universality attracts much debate. Some linguists, focusing on cross-cultural differences, try to refute the idea that politeness is a universal notion. Wierzbicka (1991) states that treatments of politeness by Brown and Levinson have a Western bias: they emphasize an individualist ethos versus group orientation. The cornerstone of politeness theorizing, for B&L, has been their individual-wants concept of face.

Wierzbicka (2003), in her introduction to her 2nd edition, espouses ‘the idea that interpersonal interaction is governed, to a large extent, by norms which are culture-specific and which reflect cultural values cherished by a particular society’. Later, she criticizes Leech and “tars” him with the same universalist brush as Brown and Levinson, referring to

the once popular assumption that the “principles of politeness” are essentially the same everywhere and can be described in terms of “universal maxims” such as those listed in Leech (1983: 132)...

Actually, Leech (2005:3) denies using the words in double quotes in this passage: “principles of politeness” (in the plural) and “universal maxims”. Leech (2005:3) says “In fact, I never made any claim for the universality of my model of politeness.”

However, according to Leech (2005:2), “despite differences, there is no East-West divide in politeness”. Leech (2005:2) states that the concepts of *collective*, group culture (East) and *individualist*, egalitarian culture (West) are not absolutes: they are positions on a scale. All polite communication implies that the speaker is taking account of both

⁴² The principle of *linguistic relativity* holds that the structure of a language affects the ways in which its speakers are able to conceptualize their world, i.e. their world view. Popularly known as the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, or Whorfianism, the principle is often defined as having two versions: (i) the *strong* version that language determines thought and that linguistic categories limit and determine cognitive categories and (ii) the *weak* version that linguistic categories and usage influence thought and certain kinds of non-linguistic behaviour.

individual and group values. In the East, the group values are more powerful, whereas in the West, individual values are.

Therefore, individualism and collectivism can be used as criteria to differentiate Western cultures from Arab cultures. However, these two tendencies do not appear separately; instead, they coexist in all cultures, and it is the matter of predominance that determines which culture a country belongs to. In many researches, Western cultures are empirically proved to be more individualistic than Arab Cultures (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995). Correspondingly, American culture gives priority to individualism, which is self-oriented, by emphasizing on individual goals, independent self, and internal attribution. On the other hand, Palestinian culture is characterized as a culture focusing more on collectivism, which is others-oriented, and stress in-group goals, interdependent self, and external attribution.

Concerning politeness strategies, Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) argue that “the members of collectivistic cultures use other-oriented face-saving strategies and use other face approval-enhancement interaction strategies more than members of individualistic cultures. Conversely, members of individualistic cultures use more self-oriented face-saving strategies and use self-face approval-seeking interaction strategies more than members of collectivistic cultures” (as cited in Gudykunst and Lee, 2002:40). Gudykunst, Yoon and Nashida (1987 as cited in Gudykunst & Lee, 2002:30) also note that “the greater the degree of collectivism in cultures, the greater the differences in the intimacy of communication, the synchronization of the communication, and the difficulty of communication in in-group and out-group relationship”.

According to Hofstede’s study (1980), cultural differences could also be explained in power distance dimension. Gudykunst and Lee indicate that “members of high power distance culture accept power as part of the society. Members of low power distance cultures, in contrast, believe power should be used only when it is legitimate and prefer expert or legitimate power” (ibid:2002:37). Collectivist cultures are believed to be in high power distance nations where the hierarchical position of unequals is more clearly identified. On the other hand, individualist cultures, are also believed to be low power distance nations, tend to de-emphasize power distance.

The fact that there are differences between languages in relation to the sociocultural norms and to the linguistic components and elements used to express a specific function in language, may give rise to and develop certain attitudes in the

learners of a foreign language. Therefore, teachers of foreign languages need to be aware of the presence of the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic components of a language in order to facilitate the development of the pragmatic competence of the foreign language learner. Consequently, the aim is to educate speakers to become competent not only from a linguistic, but also from an intercultural point of view.

This study aims to investigate the different interpretations of the notion of *politeness* by different cultures, in particular, Palestinian and American cultures, which are generally perceived to be representing two extremes with the former one being more conservative and the latter being more open.

5.9.1. *Politeness in Palestinian Arabic:*

Palestinians have a rich cultural, religious, political and social system. Palestinians are also known to have a strong adherence to Islam belief. Other important facets of the Palestinian social system such as social status, age, and gender differences contribute to the strong and unique characteristics of the Palestinian society. It is clear that the critical political situation in Palestine (Israeli occupation, wars, refugees, etc.) has been important in fostering and upgrading certain values such as cooperation and solidarity among Palestinian people. The political situation, as well as the absence of a strong political leadership, has been a main factor in strengthening Palestinian tendencies towards in-group collective practices.

In the Palestinian society, people exploit the usage of some speech acts to express their politeness. They are greetings, thanks, invitation, and apology. I assume that, like Greece (see Sifiano 1989), Arab society in general, and Palestinian society in particular are positive politeness societies when compared with USA.

Al Shurafa (2002:7) studies the notion of *politeness* in Educated Palestinian Arabic (EPA). The Palestinian variety used in her study may be best referred to as *educated colloquial*, the variety dialect of Arabic used in social interaction. She found that Positive Politeness (PP) predominates in her data and is the strongest and most persistent finding in EPA conversational usage. The direct form is the most commonly occurring type of strategy, which may cause affront if used with people from Western societies in which negative politeness may be the most predominant strategy.

Similarly, Feghali (1997:352), argues that in contrast to U.S. American's self-reliant and *individual-centered* approach to live, "social life in the Arab region is

characterized by ‘situation-centeredness’, in which loyalty to one’s extended family and larger in-group takes precedence over individual needs and goals calls communal cohesion undoubtedly the most desired value within Arabs’ value system”.

I argue that in societies where interdependence rather than individual autonomy is stressed, behaviors such as invitations which enhance social relations are crucial. Nomadic hospitality⁴³ or *diyafa* in the Palestinian society dates to pre-Islamic times and emerged as a coping mechanism in the desert environment, where individuals were utterly dependent on the assistance of others during travel or for protection from avengers or oppressors.

The notion of *politeness* influences the speech act of making an invitation, accepting it and refusing it in the Palestinian society. There are two main types of invitation: a formal written invitation using a letter and oral invitations. Written invitations are thought to be more genuine by some members of the Palestinian society and are mostly used for very formal occasions such as a wedding party. An oral invitation is quite informal and may be given by delegating some people to go to other houses to invite the residents to a particular occasion or party. However, it is more polite to invite others in person as an indication of respect and appreciation. Politeness is also expressed in the use of appropriate terms of address. Influenced by Islamic teachings, Palestinian people value invitations as a way to maintain solidarity. Therefore, it is recommended that they give and accept invitations to other people, especially close neighbors and relatives. People offer an invitation because they would really like the invitee to attend. A famous Palestinian saying is “اعزم والزم *iczim wa ilzim*” (Invite others and oblige them). Another saying is “*Al-luqam tubṣid al-nuqam* اللقم تبعد النقم” (Invitations prevent disasters). This indicates that the extended invitation is usually a genuine one which aims at honoring both the inviter and the invitee. Therefore, invitations are seen as an in-group collective practices that seek solidarity with others.

To conclude, traditionally, in Palestinian Arabic, invitation, which can be considered as a collective practice, has to be repeated and declined a number of times before it is accepted as an indication of politeness. Accepting from the first offer is regarded as an impolite bad form, so S/H go through a ritualized behavior where each

⁴³ See section 8.2. for more illustration of the notion of *hospitality* in the Palestinian society.

one has a defined role. In fact, inviting and being polite are interrelated since exploring one necessitates exploring the other.

5.9.2. Politeness in American English:

Through the use of language, various aspects of the values and attitudes in a culture and the perception on politeness are manifested. Therefore, it is also worthwhile to consider the case of English, where a number of distinct varieties exist. Politeness in English is traditionally defined as showing both one's good manners and courtesy towards others, as well as one's good social standing (Haugh and Hinze, 2003; Haugh, 2004: 88). However, while the use of politeness as an indicator of social class is still apparent in British society today to some extent (Watts, 1999), politeness has become more egalitarian in nature in the emergence of other varieties, including American and Australian English.

Arundale (2005:13) suggests that politeness in mainstream American English emerges from showing reciprocal approval, and respect for a person's autonomy of action in order to satisfy their individual wants or desires. The importance of these underlying dimensions to the generation of politeness in American English is apparent from the elaborate compliment sequences, and emphasis that is put on fulfilling the wants of others. Compared to other language communities, everyday interaction in the United States is often characterized by a heavy dose of polite linguistic routines such as *thank you*, *please* and *I'm sorry*. In his exploration of politeness in American culture, Pinto (2011:215) states that "The style of politeness in the United States is such that foreigners may find Americans to be false or insincere in their daily social encounters with friends and strangers alike". Pinto (ibid: 215) concludes that routine attempts to be polite simultaneously entail both sincerity and insincerity:

... there are two distinct perspectives that help explain how common acts of courtesy can be interpreted differently. The first perspective is the more traditional view of sincerity, where an individual judges speakers to be sincere when it appears that they are expressing their true beliefs or feelings. The second view is oriented more toward interactional aspects of communication, where an interlocutor evaluates a speaker as sincere if s/he appears to be concerned with issues related to rapport, such as making the listener feel comfortable and the interaction run smoothly (Pinto, 2011:215).

Scollon and Scollon (1995) roughly show how Western (American) people are oriented to negative politeness strategies and the East-Asian people, such as Chinese, Korean and Japanese, are oriented to positive politeness strategies. Likewise,

Shigemitsu and Ohtani (2003) study Japanese people's verbal behavior and show how they try to use more negative politeness strategies comparing with the people from the United States. Similarly, Brown and Levinson (1987) remarked that America is a negative politeness culture. Although Brown and Levinson's claim that America is a negative politeness-oriented culture and Japan is a positive politeness-oriented culture is intuitively attractive, it needs more empirical verification by exploring a certain speech act such as inviting within different contexts. (See Al Shurafa, 2002).

The American term *polite* tends to have a wider range of meaning including "considerate" and "friendly" in addition to "well-mannered" and "respectful". Hill et al. (1986) conducted quantitative, questionnaire-based research on the uses of request forms by American college students. In their results they claimed that the concept of *politeness* is fundamental in the American culture. The use of polite strategies is based on "discernment," the minimal social obligation that people should meet in their interaction.

To sum up, the American culture is generally regarded as highly individualism-oriented (See Hofstede, 1980 as cited in Triandis, 1995:41) while the Palestinian collectivism-oriented. In an individualism-oriented country, an "I" will take priority over the idea of "we". As Samovar, Porter and Stefani (1998:68) observe, "In cultures that tend toward individualism, ..., every individual has the right to his or her private property, thoughts, and opinions. These cultures stress individual initiative and achievement, and they value individual decision making", while in a society like Palestine where collectivism is highly appreciated, a "we" consciousness prevails. Cooperation and concern for others enjoy much popularity.

5.10. Social Variables Affecting Politeness

The study adopts a combined socio-pragmatic/pragmalinguistic approach to explain, analyze and interpret the data. Contextual factors ranging from cultural, social and situational to conversational sequences will also be considered. Therefore, this section discusses two factors affecting the choice of politeness strategies in delivering speech acts as suggested by Brown and Levinson which are Power and Social distance. Then, Age and Gender which are also believed to cause more or less significant impact on language use in spoken interactions are also pointed out. (cf. Bassiouney, 2009: 97-116). The researcher postulates that social distance in relation to sex and age of the

individual speaker is an important factor in determining the type of strategies used for inviting, accepting an invitation or refusing it.

5.10.1. Power

J.César-Félix-Brasdefer (2003) in his study has proved that the social status (power) of participants did play a role in the selection of strategies employed in declining an invitation. Similarly, Hussein (1995) discusses making refusals in Arabic and maintains that in three levels of social status (equal and unequal), speakers use different refusal strategies. Likewise, the findings of Beebe et al. (1990) reveal the interaction of power with the directness of refusals. As Robin Lakoff (1989) argued, politeness and power are closely related. According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 77), power or social status is “an asymmetric social dimension of relative power involving the degree to which the hearer can impose his/her own plans and self-evaluation (face) at the expense of the speaker’s plans and self-evaluation”. Similarly, Scollon and Scollon (1995) state that power refers to the vertical disparity between the participants in a hierarchical structure. Brown and Levinson predict that the greater the power hierarchy distance, the more redressive strategies will be used by the less powerful interactant. As a result, in a situation where there is explicit hierarchical difference between participants like the relationship between a boss and an employee, a professor and a student or between people of higher and lower social status in general, the politeness strategies used are relatively predictable. The more powerful the hearer is in relation to the speaker, the more polite the speaker would be. Then, in a situation where that difference is not clear like the relationship between close friends or between people of equal social status, participants are expected to adopt various politeness strategies in particular circumstances and to people at particular social distance.

5.10.2. Social distance

Janet Holmes (1996: 12) points out that “the relative social distance between the speaker and the addressee(s) is one of the most basic factors determining appropriate levels of politeness behavior in most, if not all, societies”. Brown and Levinson (1987: 76) identify social distance as “a symmetric social dimension of similarity or difference... based on assessment of the frequency of interaction and the kind of material or non-material goods (including face) between speaker and hearer”. Likewise, Leech (1983: 126) defines social distance as “a crucial factor determining politeness

behavior which involves considering the roles people are taking in relation to one another in a particular situation”. Concerning social distance as a factor in accounting for differences in politeness behavior, Wolfson’s ‘bulge’ model (1988: 32) suggests that:

Generally we behave similarly with less explicit linguistic politeness to those at the two extremes of social distance that is to people we do not know at all and to intimates. Meanwhile, people who are neither in the category of complete strangers nor close and intimate friends receive a great deal of attention in the form of linguistically polite interactions.

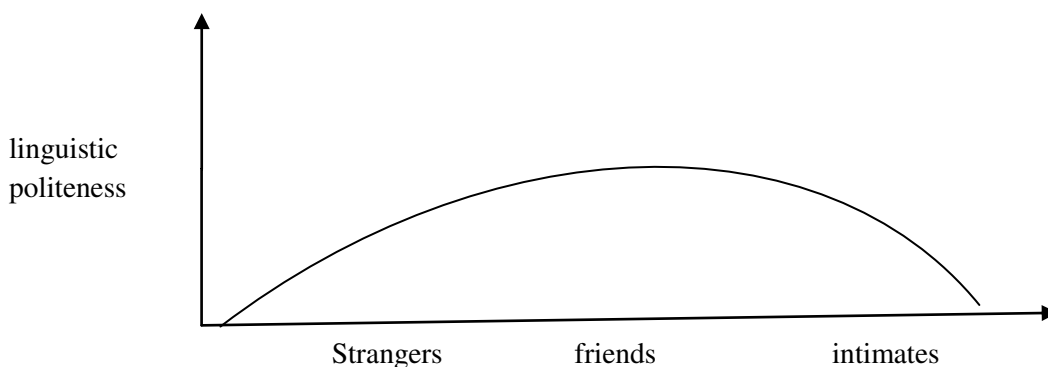


Figure 5.2.: Wolfson’s “bulge” model (1988, cited in Holmes, 1996: 14)

According to Janet Holmes (1996), because positive politeness generally involves emphasizing what people share, it minimizes the distance between them. On the other hand, negative politeness emphasizes the social distance among people. As a result, she says, “negative politeness strategies tend both to express distance and to emphasize power distinctions...Positive politeness strategies express solidarity and also emphasize equality between participants”(1996: 19). Power and social distance affect differently to different cultures in determining appropriate linguistic behavior. In most Western societies nowadays, as Holmes (1996: 19) points out, “solidarity has largely won out over power”. The manager of a company and his/her staff are obviously quite different in power (social status). However, because they work together daily and know each other well, they may have relatively close distance and hence often use positive politeness strategies. They may call each other by their first names only and may more frequently use direct speech in interactions. Same situation happens between a professor and her/his students at university. In those cases, politeness usage will be determined by factors like the formality of context, gender of participants other than power and distance (See also Bassiouney, 2009:114-116).

In Palestinian culture, the terms of *solidarity* and *power* are mutually integrated. Most Palestinians are well aware of who is in higher position and who is in lower one. The power differences may arise from age, institutional position, gender and education, etc, in which age factor plays a rather crucial role. No matter how well participants know each other and whether they are in formal or informal context, the power of the superior is always respected. In no cases can the lower person call the higher by his/her first name. In no circumstances can the status of the participants be challenged. However, solidarity factor is also taken into account in Palestinian spoken interactions. Since the use of softeners and hierarchical kinship terms of address which make people sound to be all members in the same big family, Palestinian people balance the need of power realization and the need of solidarity. In fact, appropriate terms of address together with suitable softeners can shorten the social distance between participants but help maintain their power (social status) at the same time. Generally, it seems that distance does not influence as much on the choice of appropriate polite linguistic behaviors in Palestinian culture as power, age and gender of participants.

5.10.3. Gender

Nowadays it is widely accepted that women and men talk differently (Bassiouny, 2009; Thorne and Henley, 1975; Thorne, Kramarea and Henley, 1983; Coates, 1986; Graddol and Swann, 1989; Mills, 1995; Lakoff, 1975). Deborah Tannen (1990) claims that women and men have different linguistic styles and communication goals. Women's speech tends to be cooperative in character in that women acknowledge one another's contributions and engage in more active listening. What women value connection, intimacy and solidarity, so they are likely to insist on the commonality of their experience, not its uniqueness in talking. They seek involvement and focus on interdependencies between people. Meanwhile, men's conversations are less social and more individualistic and aim at controlling the flow of talk. They "see the world as a hierarchy in which any individual may be one -up or one-down" and the interactive task they set themselves is to gain, assert or maintain status. As a result, their speech shows a tendency to seek independencies and focus on hierarchical relationship (Chodorou, 1978; Gilligan, 1982).

Concerning the differences of gender politeness in speech, Holmes (1996:115) states that because they are more sensitive to the positive face needs of intimates and

friends, women are much more likely than men to express positive politeness or friendliness in private interactions. Women's utterances show evidence of concern for the feelings of the people they are talking to more explicitly than men's do. However, in public, being well aware of the fact that what they say may threaten face of other people, women tend to use the extremes of negative politeness more frequently than men do. Similarly, McKay and Hornberger (1996: 251) suggest that men are more likely to be polite in a way that honors the wishes of others not to be imposed upon (negative politeness) rather than polite in a way that recognizes the desire of others to be liked, admired and ratified (positive politeness).

In Palestinian culture, it is believed that straightforwardness is one of the most typical qualities for men while women usually prefer "beating about the bush", which is a sign of the stylistic variation in language use between females and males. Besides, like in most English speaking societies, under the influence of social, cultural and historical factors which govern the reciprocal social status between women and men as well as different social expectations on them and soon, there are obviously many empirical evidences for gender differences in other aspects of Palestinian language use such as lexical variation, intonation contours, voice quality, etc. Gender differences in language use seem to be universal. The difference, if there is any between males and females in American and Palestinian cultures, will partly reflect their opinions on politeness in issuing invitations. In other words, the question of how gender as a social variable affects the choice of making indirect or direct invitations in American English and Palestinian Arabic is still under the need of investigation for the purpose of the study and will be discussed later on while analyzing the data.

5.10.4. Age

Apart from gender and social status, age is also a social variable which influences significantly and differently to human behavior in different cultures. Arab cultures in general emphasize the importance of age related to respect and the amount of wisdom a person has. When a person gets older, (s)he is believed to become wiser. So, elderly people are often given the right to decide important things within the family. Besides, the older a person is, the more respect (s)he would receive from the young people. As a result, when talking to older addressees, speech behavior of Palestinian people is considered to be highly deference.

As a matter of fact, age obviously has a significant impact on speech behavior in social communication. Palestinian people always try to know the age of interlocutors to choose the appropriate terms of address for polite purpose. That explains the reason why Palestinians often have the habit of asking the age of any people they communicate, which normally irritates many Westerners. Conversational style and politeness strategy of Palestinian people to people of various age levels is quite different. Meanwhile, it seems that English native speakers do not take age factor into great consideration. Though they do respect elderly people, the age of addressees is not considered to be the factor that automatically decides the amount of respect. Westerners tend to demand more information and interaction before showing their respect to someone. To them, age is just as important as other social factors. A person would be respected for his own values not because of his age. Therefore, less deference and control is given to elderly people in the majority of those cultures in comparison to most Arab cultures. The differences between Western and Arab ideas about age will surely trouble Palestinian learners of English. The choice of politeness strategies in issuing invitations is differently affected by age factor in English speaking cultures and in Palestinian culture.

5.11. Conclusion:

It has been pointed out that social factors influence the speech behavior in the social context, and that the social dynamics always determine the contribution of face among interlocutors (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Scollon & Schollon, 1995). In order to evaluate the degree of politeness, interlocutors must take social factors into consideration. There are three essential factors involved in the politeness system to manipulate face relations- power, distance, and the weight of the imposition. First, power, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), concerns asymmetric social status among people. When the two interlocutors are of different social distance, the more powerful one may unconsciously put imposition on the one of low status. Usually, the larger the power differences between the interlocutors, the stronger the force of the imposition on the lower status one. So the degree of imposition increases depending on the distance between the interlocutors. Moreover, social distance may result from differences in gender, ranking, and intimacy. These three factors, individually as well as in combination, manipulate and develop politeness and its linguistics manifestations.

It should be made clear that this work does not aim to tackle politeness for the sake of establishing ‘cultural rules’ which are again too difficult to be captured by a list or a recipe. Instead, it aims to consolidate the cultural approach to the teaching of language. It tries to shed light on the causes of pragmatic failure due to misconceptions of the target culture in order to help learners understand their own world and others’. This study hints at the different ingredients that come to cook politeness beyond borders: the mould of context and situation, the taste of language and culture and concentrates on the flavor of society. Thus, the best way to show how language is related to society and culture (see Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis) is to discuss a topic such as politeness which in turn “leads to a deeper understanding of linguistic behavior as it both creates and is created by society ... an understanding that may empower language learners as citizens of the a world growing ever smaller” (Meier, 1997:26).

To sum up, the cultural and social values and norms which differ cross-culturally and the diversity of contextual elements involved in any communicative act make rules of politeness unable to cover such a complex phenomenon. Therefore, I would like to end up this incursion into the nature of politeness by presenting it as a *social, cultural, and pragmatic phenomenon which is specific in its linguistic devices and universal in its objectives*⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ The researcher’s own definition of politeness.

CHAPTER SIX: METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

6.0. Introduction:

Researchers on speech acts have used different methods for data collection. The decision upon which method to use or which method is the best usually depends on the specific objectives of the researcher. In the first part of this chapter, some of the methods that are used to collect data on speech acts will be discussed. Then the methods that will be adopted to collect data for the present study will be presented. The procedures that will be employed in analyzing the data elicited for this study will also be explained.

There are a variety of data collection methodologies available for pragmatics studies. In conducting speech act studies, the methodology used to collect data can greatly affect the reliability and validity of the results and, therefore, it is important to discuss each data collection method, since each method has advantages and disadvantages. Several methods including observation, role plays, and DCT will be discussed.

This chapter also aims at exploring the following issues respectively: (1) defining the key terms and concepts used throughout the study for clarifying the study; (2) introducing the subjects of the study; (3) describing the materials used in the study; (4) outlining the characteristics of the data; and (5) explaining the procedures of data analysis.

6.1. Methods of data elicitation on speech acts:

When the aim of the research is to obtain dialogues which are as spontaneous and natural as possible, data can be elicited through role plays. Participants might be videotaped in face-to-face conversations. House and Kasper (1981) followed this method when they studied politeness markers in English and German. Pairs of German and English native speakers, all of them students, were given role descriptions of informal everyday situations and were asked to act them out verbally. The role relationship of the interactants was varied along two parameters: - it was characterized either by authority or lack of authority of one interactant over the other, and the interactants either knew each other or they did not.

The role-play method offers many advantages. The role-play method is real, and the pragmatic interactions are contextualized (Garcia, 2007; Kasper & Dahl, 1991).

Role-play interviews also provide a wider range of speech act production strategies than discourse completion tests do (Barron, 2000; Sasaki, 1998). Yuan's (2001) study reveals that some linguistic features such as exclamation particles, repetitions and omissions which stood out as prominent features in natural data as in field notes and interviews did show up in role-play but were missing in written DCTs.

The method of role plays has also some drawbacks. First, it may be difficult for the one who constructs the roles to imagine all social situations in which the intended speech act is expected to appear. Even if he/she is able to do so, it will take an incredible amount of time to write them down and to act them out by the participants. Second, we shall not expect all subjects to be aware of the assumed social setting or to know what one might say in such situations. Third, the data elicited may not be as natural as spontaneous as the data elicited from everyday interactions. Although participants may not be interested in the item, they have to produce it since the researcher is interested in it. In fact, role-plays can sometimes result in unnatural behavior on the part of the subjects. The subjects may exaggerate the interaction in order to make a dramatic effect. While open role-plays provide a wider context, they are more difficult to transcribe and code (Kasper & Dahl, 1991).

Finally, the role-play method has a weak point in differences in the subjects' ability to imagine the task situations which are presented to them, or "difference in subjects" construal of the experimental situations that may affect their responses to role-play tasks. However, from Rintell and Mitchell's (1989) work, data collected with DCT and closed role-play yielded very similar results. Also, no significant differences in results have been found when comparing the two methods of DCT and role-play (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989).

Another method to elicit data for speech act analysis is role enactment. This method is in all ways similar to role plays except that the subjects here have to perform roles that are part of their normal life or personality. This means that the subject here is not expected to imagine himself/herself someone else or to act roles which he/she has never experienced or which he/she may never pass through. On the contrary, the subject is part of his/her environment and part of his/her everyday interactions.

The role enactment method was considered to have some advantages, which meant that role plays had to be tailor-made to the participants, or, at least, contain problems and characters which were known beforehand to be familiar to those involved.

This method would facilitate the process for learners of foreign languages considerably especially if they were unused to performing in this kind of situation.

The researcher here may not be able to identify all social situations that are familiar to the subjects and even if he/she does, what may look familiar to the researcher may not be familiar to the subject himself/herself. When, for example, we ask a college student to act a role where he invites his girlfriend to the cafeteria, it may happen this student has never got a girlfriend. Likewise, it may be impossible for a worker who has never talked to the manager to act a role where he/she invites him to a party. In such situations a role enactment will turn to be a role play and will consequently have the same limitations.

Another method for data collection in speech act analysis is the videotape/cassette recordings. Videotape recordings can best be used when the setting of the interaction is limited as, for example, in the studies about classroom interactions between the teacher and the students, or in studies about doctor-patient communications and so on.

It is worth mentioning that videotape and cassette recordings may accompany the other methods such as role plays and role enactment. The only limitation that can be thought of for this approach is that if the subjects are aware that they are being observed, this may inhibit their ability to give data which is as natural and spontaneous as everyday interactions.

Data for speech act analysis can also be drawn from literary works (such as novels, plays, folktales). Some researchers believe that such secondary sources cannot be depended upon to reflect exactly the complexity of actual speech use because they are mediated by stylistic requirements of the artist (cf. Zimmerman, 2005).

Data for speech act analysis can also be obtained by the use of controlled procedures such as questionnaires and tests. The most popular and widespread method used in speech act studies is the Discourse Completion Task (DCT). A DCT is a form of production questionnaire, which is essentially “a series of short written role-plays based on everyday situations which are designed to elicit a specific speech act by requiring informants to complete a turn of dialogue for each item” (Barron, 2003: 83). For example, a DCT scenario is as follows:

You friend invited you to his birthday party, but you can't come because you have an exam. What would you say to your friend?

DCT was originally introduced by Blum-Kulka (1982) and then adapted into the first large scale speech act study, the Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns Project (CCSARP) (1984). It has been observed that a DCT has many advantages as a method of data collection. Wolfson, Marmor and Jones (1989) describe the use of DCT as an effective means of gathering a large number of data in a relatively short period. A large number of participants can be surveyed with the DCT more easily than role-plays, thus making statistical analysis more feasible. For Suzuki (2009) and Rakowics (2009), DCTs have the advantage over natural data in that they provide a controlled context for speech acts and can be used to collect large amounts of data quite quickly as well as help to classify the formulas and strategies that may occur in natural speech.

According to Beebe and Cummings (1996: 80), DCTs can be considered an effective research instrument as a mean of:

1. Gathering a large amount of data quickly;
2. Creating an initial classification of semantic formulas and strategies that will occur in natural speech;
3. Studying the stereotypical, perceived requirements for socially appropriate responses;
4. Gaining insight into social and psychological factors that are likely to affect speech and performance, and
5. Ascertaining the canonical shape of speech acts in the minds of speakers of that language.

Many researchers such as Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986), Iwai and Rinnert (2001), Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985), Suzuki (2009) and Rakowicz (2009) have relied on the use of data obtained by using a Discourse Completion Task. According to these researchers, the written responses from the participants are valid due to participants' intuitions about what they would say corresponding closely to what other participants did say in the same situation. Moreover, it is believed that data analysis from this method is more consistent and reliable since all participants respond to the same situations in the same written form.

Although the DCT has been chosen as the data gathering method by many researchers, there are some disadvantages when using this type of data collecting method. It is not natural speech. It is more accurately described as what participants think they would say, or perhaps what they want the researcher to think they would say,

rather than a record of real behavior. This might lead to responses that differ from natural speech patterns.

Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993) compared naturally-occurring rejections of offers with rejections from an open-ended DCT. They found that participants use a narrower range of semantic formulas on the DCT and DCT allows students to be less polite, i.e., to use fewer face-saving strategies. According to them, DCT does not promote the turn-taking and negotiation strategies found in natural conversation.

Other research studies have also shown DCT data to differ in significant ways from data collected in comparable natural settings (see Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Holmes, 1991).

To sum up, DCTs do not represent what the speaker would say in naturally occurring situations because of:

1. Actual wording used in real interaction;
2. The range of formulas and strategies used (some, like avoidance, tend to be left out);
3. The length of response or the number of turns it takes to fulfill the functions;
4. The depth of emotion that in turn qualitatively affects the tone, content, and form of linguistic performance;
5. The number of repetitions and elaborations that occur;
6. The actual rate of occurrence of a speech act - e.g. whether or not someone would refuse at all in a given situation (Beebe & Cummings, 1996: 80).

The observation of authentic discourse is considered the best way of collecting data on the production of speech acts. The methods used to collect actual verbal interaction data through observation are of an ethnographic or naturalistic approach and often involve field-notes or tape-recordings. In the authentic observation data collecting method, researchers or their assistants immediately record the natural speech when a certain speech act occurs (Al-Khatib, 2006).

Researchers also document utterances with detailed records of the event, the situation, and the non-verbal reactions. Thus, the authentic observation data collecting method has a high internal validity since the speech acts that occurred are described in detail. In fact, this method enables the researcher to sample as large a variety of speech situations as possible. It also enables him/her to observe interactions where the speaker and addressee are men and women of all ages and from a range of occupational and educational backgrounds.

Eslami (2005) used this method to study invitations in Persian and American English. The invitations which made up the corpus of their study were gathered in everyday interactions which the researchers observed or in which they participated. Wolfson et al. (1983) used the same method to study invitations in American English. Wolfson et al. (1983) advocates this method and argues that it is the only reliable method of collecting data about the way speech acts function in interaction.

However, this does not mean that using naturally occurring data does not have its disadvantages. Some scholars point out that researchers have great difficulty in observing speakers' interactions and later jotting down what they heard and that collecting a certain speech act that rarely occurs in a real situation is extremely time consuming. There also might be an observer effect, as the participants may be more or less consciously influenced by the simple fact that somebody is observing them. In addition, it is more difficult to control variables in this kind of data, and therefore it is more difficult to establish the exact causes that lead to the particular results of the study. In DCT, if researchers want to examine a social variable, they can easily include the social factors such as social distance and social status in the given situations. This is not as easily done in authentic observation. Finally, it is very difficult to collect enough examples for analysis in authentic observation.

As studied thus far, the study of speech act production is complex and needs much care in designing data collection instruments. Cohen and Olshtain (1994) suggested using a combination of instruments, as it is the case in this study. There are many speech act studies which used a combined method for data collection. Bergman and Kasper (1993) used DCT and a metapragmatic assessment questionnaire as a combined method to compare Thai non-native speakers' apologies with those of English native speakers in terms of social distance, dominance, age, sex and severity of offense. Their findings indicate that the context-external factors such as distance and dominance do not correlate directly to the context-internal factors, including severity of offense and offender's loss of face.

Garcia (1989) investigated the English interlanguage apologies used by Venezuelan Spanish speakers by means of role-play. Following the open role-play, the participants were individually interviewed by the researcher. According to Garcia, the L2 learners transferred their L1 positive politeness strategies, but were not contrite and expressed themselves in terms of solidarity with the interlocutor to the L2 context.

Moreover, Garcia (2007) adopted role-plays in her study of refusals to invitations in Argentina.

Thus, the conclusion that one can consider from study of the different types of instruments and close consideration of their advantages and disadvantages is that one should choose the method or methods most appropriate to the specific purpose of the study.

6.2. Ethnography of communication:

The ethnographic approach seeks to discover universals of language use (Wagner: 1999, p. 62). However, the focus for ethnographers of communication is one of meaning rather than form. Ethnographers conduct in-depth investigation within specific speech community in order to determine culture-specific categories. According to Davis and Henze (1998: 401 as cited in Wagner, 1999), in essence, ethnographic research is conducted for the purpose of establishing typologies to organize culture-specific versus universal patterns of verbal and non-verbal communication for a given speech community (cf. Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b; Izadi et al. 2012)

Ethnographic studies rely heavily on *triangulation*, an integration of methodologies usually consisting of multiple sources, techniques and the use of numerous investigators in the collection and analysis of data for a single project. More often than not triangulation specifically refers to the data collection techniques themselves, which are often based on an eclectic composition of observation, questionnaires and other documents. An ethnographer begins with participation observation, in which he/she attempts to identify and categorize the types of communicative situations in which speech community members participate. The ethnographer then may choose to focus on a particular speech event (e.g. intimate conversation, religious services, educational settings, etc.). He/ she relies to a large extent on a “self-made reconstructed description” of the behaviors practiced in the community under consideration (Wagner, 1999: 63).

Ethnographers do not bring to an investigation a perceived scheme for characterizing a particular group or behavioral phenomenon. Rather, the goal of their research is to use prolonged engagement in the community to acquire the data necessary for constructing such a scheme. From this observation, ethnographers are able to create hypotheses concerning expectations for language and other social behavior. These

hypotheses are further tested by means of interviews. This process of observation and interviewing is repeated until the researcher recognizes enough repetition of a pattern so as to consider this phenomenon salient for members of a given speech community. Ethnographers submit to the notion that research descriptions are subjective, and thus do not seek to validate discoveries of truth or empirical facts. Instead, the result of ethnographic research is presented in the form of *grounded theories*. Grounded theories are those theories about human behavior which are based on inductive analyses of data from a particular cultural group (Davis and Henze, 1998 as cited in Wagner, 1999).

While ethnography of communication is primarily a qualitative approach to the study of language and culture, many ethnographers do choose to employ quantitative methods of investigation. The degree to which quantitative data is viewed as a valuable component of ethnographic research remains a highly debated issue within the field. Nevertheless, there are a number of principles and practices within the ethnography of communication to which most ethnographers adhere. To contrast the theoretical and methodological considerations of the ethnography of communication with those previously outlined for pragmatics and speech act theory, a brief sketch of the former is needed. Davis and Henze (1998:401 as cited in Wagner, 1999) offer the following list to illustrate some of the most commonly shared practices among ethnographers:

Common Assumptions and Practices Shared Among Current Ethnographers

- (1) A belief that realities are multiple, constructed and holistic
- (2) An overt recognition of the researcher's own positionality.
- (3) A concern with documenting variation and cultural change across a community.
- (4) Prolonged engagement and persistent observation
- (5) Triangulation of data sources
- (6) Working (grounded) hypotheses
- (7) Thick description
- (8) Application of research finding to address issues.

In summary, there are two distinct approaches used to address the universality of speech act behavior: 1) the pragmatic- and speech act theory- based approaches, whose focus is on the structural properties of speech acts by means of contrastive analysis of language units, and 2) the ethnographically-oriented approaches, whose goal is to

illustrate the differences in speaker perception of language and its use by focusing on a given speech community and its members.

6.3. Methods used in the present study:

For the purpose of achieving the objectives of this study (see chapter one), different methods of data collection were adopted. The immediate observation method was used for data collection in the Palestinian society. The reason why the researcher decided to use this method is that it is important in an analysis of this sort to have data from as broad a range of speakers and speech situations as possible. Thus the corpus of data gathered from the Palestinian society included invitations given and received by men and women in varying socioeconomic groups, levels of education and occupations. Even the relationships of the interlocutors observed were varied. This means that we will have exchanges between family members, intimate friends and colleagues, neighbors, etc. In some cases the interlocutors were of similar age and status and in other cases considerable disparity existed.

For the data on Palestinian Arabic, all I had to do was to write down all instances of inviting when I was present with two or more interlocutors during everyday interactions. In fact, I also depended on some assistants for this purpose of data collection. The assistants were told extensively about the research, its objectives, and the kind of data I needed.

Since factors such as age, sex, social background, the relationship of the speaker and addressee, and the setting in which the exchange took place may all be important in understanding the structure and function of invitations in AE and PA. I kept careful records of as much information about these features of the speech situation as was available to me.

Due to the fact that the US society is very heterogeneous and diversified, the corpus of invitations issued in American English was gathered from different resources in an attempt to represent most linguistic and cultural aspects that appear in US society upon extending and responding to invitations. In fact, Native speakers of American English in Palestine, or in Spain where the study was carried out, are very few. It was difficult to find a sample that represents the different age groups. Therefore, I decided to rely on previous studies conducted in American English for the purpose of revealing the features of invitations in American English. Comprehensible studies on invitations in

American English (Suzuki 2009; Rakowicz 2009; Wolfson et al. 1983 and Wolfson 1989) were reviewed. In fact, Wolfson's studies adopted also the immediate observation method for data collection from naturally occurring interactions. Therefore, some of Wolfson's data were used for analysis in this cross cultural study. I decided also to rely on series and films shown on TV and internet or recorded on video cassettes or CDs in order to collect data from American English. It is difficult to list all the films and series that I have watched to collect data but the list includes the following: "The qualizer", "Midnight Caller", "Million Dollar Baby", "Hemingway", "El Dorado", among others.

In an attempt to collect data that might be reliable and representative of both societies and as it was impossible for me to spend all the day talking to people in order to collect data on PA, and because I discovered that even when I did so, I never collected more than three to four examples each day, I used another method for collecting data from PA and AE; namely, a questionnaire.

6.4. The questionnaire:

The use of questionnaires allows investigators to collect a considerable amount of data about the speech forms considered appropriate by social members within a relatively short time. Moreover, this type of data collection permits the researchers to control for "specific variables of the situation, thus giving coherence to the findings which may be difficult to achieve otherwise" (Wolfson: 1989:70). In fact, by using the same situations for both AE native speakers and Palestinian native speakers as respondents, I could directly compare the strategies used by both groups of subjects to determine similarities and differences. Furthermore, according to Dang (1992: 46), with questionnaires, "fear and embarrassment of direct contact with the researcher can be avoided and guaranteed confidentiality may elicit more truthful responses than in a personal interview".

Obviously, the use of questionnaires as a method of data collection is sometimes a problem. Wolfson (1989: 70) points out that "writing an answer permits more time to plan and evaluate it than one normally has while participating in an outgoing interaction". Therefore, what people claim they say in a given situation may not be necessarily what they actually say in a real situation.

I acknowledge that this type of data collection cannot elicit data that provide the full range of insights into the speech phenomenon under investigation. However,

comparing to naturalistic data collection such as role plays, interviews, observations, etc. suggested by Wolfson (1983; 1989) and others (Hymes: 1962; Wolfson et al: 1989, Al-Khatib, 2006), this type has the advantages of less time consuming, of controlling social variables and can help avoid the problems of note-taking that relies on the researchers' memory as well as avoid matters of legal and ethical issues recording in naturalistic situations. I perceive that though this method of eliciting data underlies limitations, it does provide appropriate responses which can help answer the research questions of the study. In addition, I do believe that my informal talks to some foreigners whom I met and to my colleagues would more or less contribute to the findings and give reliable answers to the research questions.

6.4.1. Description of the questionnaires:

Two similar questionnaires (see appendices A and B) containing five situations that ask for invitations were organized into two parts. The first part of the questionnaire was conducted to obtain the subjects' personal information such as their educational background, age, gender and status which all have significant impact on their choice of politeness strategies when issuing invitations in given situations. The second part of the questionnaire consisted of five situations together with a number of discourse completion questions to collect data for the study. The five situations were formulated as follows:

Situation 1: inviting someone to have more food during the meal.

Situation 2: inviting someone to join the inviter's house warming party.

Situation 3: inviting someone to join the inviter's promotion party.

Situation 4: turning down an invitation to a wedding party.

Situation 5: accepting an invitation to a wedding party.

Concerning the appropriateness of situations, I could say that: firstly, because all subjects are intentionally chosen for their relatively high educational background, the five given situations can be considered to be much likely to happen and familiar to them; secondly, following the result of the investigation on invitations done by Wolfson et. al. (1983), both AES (American English Speakers) and PAS (Palestinian Arabic Speakers) often issue invitations for showing hospitality, celebrating special events or of socializing themselves. In general, five given situations are appropriate for the

purpose of the study, which is to investigate common spoken invitations (See Appendices A and B for more details on the two forms of the questionnaires).

The questions cover a wide range of strategies of inviting, accepting an invitation and refusing it, ranging in formality from the most formal (e.g. inviting someone for a wedding party or dinner) to the least formal (e.g. inviting someone for to have some more food during dinner). The basic of the questions included in these sections were two scales; the social distance scale which is concerned with the participant relationships, and the formality scale relating to the setting and type of interaction. Scenarios involved the subject and another colleague, the subject and a boss, the subject and a classmate, or the subject and a relative. In each scenario, the subject is supposed to be familiar with the participant. Each prompt simulated a situation that could be formal (i.e. where the invitation is made to take part in a wedding party), or informal (i.e. where the invitation could be made for having more food during dinner).

Therefore, a questionnaire which consisted of 35 items describing different social settings that everyone may encounter during his/her everyday interactions was distributed to a number of Palestinian and US respondents. The items either required the respondent to extend an invitation to hypothetical addressee or to respond to an invitation from a hypothetical speaker.

The items included cues about the addressee such as age, social status and relation to the respondent. Gender was also taken as a variable and whenever it affected the structure or the function of the invitation, it was pointed out. The items of the questionnaire were distributed as follows:

Item		No.
Issuing an invitation		23
Responses to invitations	Refusing an invitation	6
	Accepting the invitation	6
Total		35

Table 6.1. *The distribution of the items within the questionnaire.*

The reason why the number of items which demanded issuing invitations are more than those which demanded a response to an invitation is that the social setting that call for the former are usually more varied and perhaps more predictable than those which call for responses.

The items of the questionnaire looked like role plays except that the respondents were told to write down what they may say in the specific setting instead of acting it out. The respondents were instructed to consult their acquaintances and their relatives if they did not know what to say in a particular context and to try to make their answers as real as spontaneous as possible.

Some subjects remarked that it might have been easier for them if I had provided them with a number of answers for each item from which to choose what they think is the most appropriate to the specific setting being described. My response was that I did not want them to choose the best among the answers but that I wanted to know what they themselves may say in each setting. Besides, what should respondents do if they believed that none of my responses suited a particular setting? Yet another reason why I did not provide respondents with answers was that my answers will represent one age category, one sex category and one social and educational background only. This will certainly contradict the objectives of this study.

6.4.2. *The characteristics of the subjects:*

Two groups of subjects took part in the study. The first group consisted of 40 AES. The second group included 40 PAS. All of the subjects were selected intentionally with the purpose of investigating the following factors: social status, age and gender which may have some influence on their speech behavior.

6.4.2.1. *The first group of subjects:*

The sample of this study consisted of 40 Palestinian subjects who were made up of 18 females and 22 males. The subjects involved are of various age groups: 19 were below 20 years-old and 4 above 40 years-old. 10 subjects were in between 20=29 and 7 were in between 30-39 years-old. It should also be noted that 20 of the respondents were from Hebron city and 20 from Nablus city, the largest urban centers in the country. We have also tried from the very beginning to diversify our sample in the best possible way according to the residential area and socio-economic status of the subjects. Moreover, an examination of the educational background of the subjects indicates that 12 have completed their high school, 21 have a bachelor degree, 5 have a master degree and 2 have a PhD degree.

The information about the PAS subjects was presented in table 6.2.

Characteristics of the subjects		Number	Percentage
Age range	Below 20	19	47.5%
	20-29	10	25%
	30-39	7	17.5%
	Over 40	4	10%
Gender	Female	18	45%
	male	22	55%
Education	High school completion	12	30%
	Bachelor	21	52.5%
	Master	5	12.5%
	PhD	2	5%

Table 6.2. *The first group of the subjects.*

6.4.2.2. *The second group of subjects:*

Meanwhile, AES subjects' age range was from 20 to 60. 26 of them were female and the rest was male. 33 participants were students at the Complutense University of Madrid (UCM) who were having a course of Spanish and 7 were not students: 4 were missionaries of Christianity (Followers of Mormon) and 3 were tourists I met in Barcelona; 25 were doing their Bachelor; 8 had master degree; 2 had PhD degree and 5 had completed their high school. The information about the AES subjects was presented in table 6.3.

Characteristics of the subjects		Number	Percentage
Age range	Below 20	23	57.5%
	20-29	11	27.5%
	30-39	4	10%
	Over 40	2	5%
Gender	Female	26	65%
	male	14	35%
Education	High school completion	5	12.5%
	Bachelor	25	62.5%
	Master	8	20%
	PhD	2	5%

Table 6.3. *The second group of the subjects.*

6.5. Sample:

Generally speaking, the data falls into two main groups: oral and written. The oral portion of data from PA is spontaneous and naturally occurring intraconversational invitation acts used in real environments of everyday communication between intimates. Among the many sources we collected our data from are: daily interactions between dyads in the workplace, department meetings, television programs, family gatherings,

campus, coffee shops, etc. Whenever we tried to collect the data no attempt was made by us to inform the participants being involved in the interactions about our intention.

The written subset of the data from PA, on the other hand, was collected by means of a questionnaire with the help of five male and female university students enrolled at two Palestinian universities: the University of Hebron in Hebron city, and An-Najah National University in Nablus city. The questionnaire was distributed to AES with the help of some teachers at CENTRO COMLUTENSE PARA LA ENSEÑANZA DEL ESPAÑOL in Madrid. It is worth mentioning that the sample from AE (restricted data) might not be representative of US society due to the diverse nature of US society. Moreover, the oral portion of data from AE does not rely on my own observation. In fact, I have relied on data collected by other scholars (Suzuki, 2009; Rakowicz 2009; Wolfson, 1983).

The reason why we used assistants to help us in collecting the data from PA is because people in Palestinian society in general are very suspicious of outsiders with whom they are not acquainted, or to whom they are not, at least, been introduced through a third party, therefore a random selection of informants was neither possible nor available. So, the only possible way for us to draw the sample was to follow the "social network" model, suggested by Milroy and Milroy (1978), and approach the subjects with the help of the assistants in the capacity of "a friend of a friend" or in some cases through "a friend of a friend's friend" (see also Al-Khatib 2006). By following this method, we were able to collect a huge number of instances of spontaneous expressions of the type usually used by Palestinian people in genuine social interactions. In addition, the assistants who helped us in collecting the data were trained beforehand how to use the questionnaire. Also, they were asked beforehand to note down the comments made by the interviewee together with the relevant contextual details as soon and as exactly as possible. One advantage of so doing was to elicit some extra information on the various ways in which an invitation is made, accepted or turned down.

6.6. Data analysis:

The data was, then, coded and analyzed with the help of quantitative techniques which aimed at a full analysis of the descriptive data related to the answers to the research questions. They are analyzed according to the scale of indirectness and

directness to investigate the preference for and use of politeness strategies(indirect and direct) by AE native speakers (AES) and Palestinian Arabic native speakers (PAS) when issuing spoken invitations under the influence of social status, age and gender of subjects.

The collected data was analyzed by the researcher for the components of each speech act included in the responses. Employing the subjects' responses to the questionnaire, a speech act set was formulated for each item depending on the subject's response. For instance, an acceptance could be comprised of one speech act (e.g. thank you) or three individual speech act components: (a) Thanking (e.g. thank you very much), (b) Stressing common membership (e.g. I need no invitation, I consider myself one of you), (b) Offering good-wishes (e.g. I much hope you always have happy occasions). The presence of each component was calculated for frequency of use for the subjects, and then we worked out the percentage score for the type of speech acts (strategies) used by each subject. By way of comparison, the percentage scores for the different speech acts are presented in the form of tables. Therefore, the study would be the combination of both the qualitative and the quantitative method.

My approach to the present data is based on pervasive principles which have been used widely in the field of interactional discourse. These are: speech act theory which was developed earlier by Searle (1969), following Austin's (1962) work; and the notion of *politeness* as developed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and Leech (1983). Recent contributions by Wierzbicka (1991; 2006; 2008), van Dijk (2009; 2008), Watts (2003), and Leech (2005) among others will also be considered in the course of discussion and data analysis.

To sum up, the following research will be anchored in cross-cultural pragmatics, a field of studies that sprang up in the 1980s. Its emergence is strongly associated with the names of such world-famous scholars as A. Wierzbicka, C. Goddard, D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin, Mizutani O. - N. Mizutani etc. The fundamental tenet of cross-cultural pragmatics is best delineated in the following way:

In different societies and different communities, people speak differently; these differences in ways of speaking are profound and systematic, they reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values; different ways of speaking, different communicative styles, can be explained and made sense of in terms of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities (Wierzbicka, 1991: 69).

Taking for granted the isomorphism between language and culture, and viewing human language as a series of acts performed according to socio-cultural conventions, we will study the differences in the realization of invitations and responses to them in Palestinian Arabic and American English in face-to-face interactions, and interpret them contextually since they are shared by representatives of certain cultural groups.

CHAPTER SEVEN: INVITATIONS

7.0. Introduction:

Invitations are a common occurrence in everyday life, particularly in the maintenance of good relationships. They usually aim to address the invitee's positive face. Invitations are important for social interaction and the accomplishment of social commitments (Bella, 2009:243) and are thus very revealing for the communicative patterns and the sociocultural norms of any linguistic community, especially with regard to matters of politeness, whose contested nature across cultures has been emphasized by many scholars (see, for example, Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003).

This chapter aims at exploring the different definitions and perceptions of the speech act of inviting as provided by some scholars (Bella, 2011; Al-Ali, 2006; Izadi, 2012; among others). I will next present the felicity conditions of the speech act of inviting in the light of Searle's (1979), Leech's (1983) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) classifications. Types of invitations will also be explored. Therefore, in this chapter I will review previous literature on studies on invitations before I start analyzing the data collected on invitations in PA (Palestinian Arabic) and AE (American English) in the next two chapters.

In fact, it is worth mentioning there are relatively few studies discussing the ways different linguistic communities issue invitations and respond to them (Wolfson et al. 1983; García 1999; Félix-Brasdefer 2003; Eslami 2005) and, to my knowledge, there is no research at all on Palestinian invitations and their implications for politeness. Therefore, this study aims to partially fill this gap and to provide insights not only for researchers of intercultural pragmatics but also for teachers and learners of Arabic and English as second/foreign languages. More specifically, it attempts to investigate the preference for and use of politeness strategies in Palestinian Arabic and American English upon performing the speech act of inviting. In fact, for the purpose of this study, by invitation making we mean all those social occasions (e.g. party, meal, drink etc.) in which someone is verbally invited to take part. However, some features of written invitations will be also highlighted.

7.1. The speech act of inviting: Discussions of Definitions

As a polite and constructive type of behavior, an invitation can be seen as a social act. Speech act theory as developed by Searle's (1969) following Austin's (1962) model is based on the assumption that language is a form of behavior, and it is conditioned by

a set of rules (1969:22). The idea that language is behavior is the basic element that helps us understand how language functions in a social context.

Making and accepting invitations are speech acts used very often and naturally in our daily life. They have an important role in communication. In day-to-day life, we are in interpersonal relationship. Therefore, we are often in some cases of making and accepting invitation. In order to get a harmonious relationship, we should master the ways to make and accept invitation.

In order to understand what *making invitation* means, let us look at the meaning of the verb *invite*. As for *the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, *to invite* means to ask somebody to come to a social event or to ask somebody formally to go somewhere or do something (819).

We can define the action of accepting invitation beginning with the definition of the verb *to accept*. Looking up *the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* in, we can see *to accept* means “to take willingly something that is offered; to say *yes* to an offer, invitation, etc” (7). From this definition, the answer to the question *what accepting invitation* is is “to say *yes* to an invitation”.

Previous research on varied politeness formulas shows that social norms vary from culture to culture. Therefore, what can be seen as a polite behavior in one culture may not be seen so in another. However, in almost all speech communities, an invitation can be seen socially as an acceptable humanitarian polite behavior. Parallel to the definitions suggested by Holmes (1990) of an apology, and Al-Khatib (1997) of congratulation and thank-you announcements, an invitation for this study can be defined as *a communicative act addressed to B's face-needs and intended to enhance and strengthen good and healthy relations between A and B (where A is the inviter and B is the invitee)* (see Al-Khatib 2006:273).

According to Suzuki (2009:87), the speech act of “inviting” appears when the speaker (S) is showing his/her intention to request H's (hearer's) participation in or attendance at a certain occasion, mainly the one hosted by S. It refers to the realization of the speaker's (S's) intention in a single or a sequence of utterances. Invitation is an illocutionary speech act, which is supposed to be basically an FEA (face-enhancing act) for H, because S undertakes in this speech act to offer H an opportunity to enjoy or acquire something for the benefit of H.

Al-Ali (2006: 691) states that invitation, irrespective of form, is a commemorative social action having the function of informing and requesting the presence or participation of a person(s) kindly and courteously to some place, gathering, entertainment, etc., or to do something. For Coulthard (1995: 24), an invitation is an ask for another's time and action and very often for a closer social relationship. It is the inviter's effort to get the invited to join with her/him in a specific event. Furthermore, Eid (1991:105) made it clear that "invitations are not necessarily limited to foods and drinks". One can invite a friend to a party, a meeting with his family, a picnic, a game or even to go shopping.

Similarly, according to Bella (2011:1719), invitations, unlike other speech acts such as requests, "presuppose a rather high degree of integration: in order to receive and decline invitations, a non-native speaker has to be more deeply involved in the social life of the community".

To sum up, I have noticed that most scholars define invitations as social communicative acts. But it must be highlighted that cross cultural differences in the realization of this speech act are undeniable. Having agreed that invitations are communicative acts, we will attempt in this study to uncover *what* communicative functions they intend to serve, *how* and by *what* means such functions are served.

7.2. Classifications and felicity conditions of the speech act of inviting

Speech acts are classified differently by different philosophers (See chapter three). Invitations are the same since they might belong to different classifications that take into consideration different criteria proposed by various scholars. In fact, invitations are also problematic in their classification.

Invitations can be classified as commissives which lead to social commitments according to Austin's taxonomy. Invitations require a request for a response, a time reference, a mention of place or activity and represent a social obligation that both interactants are committed to fulfill. Eid (1991:105) adopts Austin's (1962) classifications of speech act. For him, invitations are also commissives which necessitate "social commitments". Social commitments are usually arrived at through a process of negotiation. The negotiation of an invitation serves to establish the availability of both interactants.

According to some philosophers and linguists (Searle, 1979; Coulthard, 1995), the speech act of inviting is a directive. Coulthard (1995: 24) states:

Directives are all attempts by the speaker to get hearer to do something-in this class the speaker is wanting to achieve a future situation in which the world will match his words and thus this class includes not simply 'order', 'request' but, more subtly, 'invite', 'dare' and 'challenge'.

Likewise, Searle (1979) states that inviting is a directive because it shows the speaker's intention to make the hearer do something. When a speaker invites his/her hearer to participate in a party, the directive focus is substantialized in the hearer's responding action. On the other hand, on issuing an invitation, the inviter commits a course of future action that is beneficial to the hearer. In this sense, inviting is also a commissive, which "commit[s] the speaker to some future course of action" (p.14). To cover both characteristics, Hancher (1979:6) names inviting a "commissive directive".

Moreover, Searle (1975) offers four felicity conditions of directives and commissives, as given in table 1:

Table 7.1.: *Felicity conditions of directives and commissives*

	Directive	Commissive
Preparatory conditions	H is able to perform A ⁴⁵	S is able to perform A. H Wants S to perform A
Sincerity condition	S wants H to do A	S intends to do A
Propositional condition	S predicts a future act A of H.	S predicts a future act A of S.
Essential condition	Counts as an attempt by S to get H to do A.	Counts as the undertaking by S of an obligation to do A.

In order to achieve the purpose of invitation, the four conditions must be confirmed. To be specific, when the speaker invites the hearer to come to a party, first, the invitation is predicted by the interlocutors to meet the propositional content condition. Next, both the inviter and the invitee should have the ability to go to the party to fulfill preparatory condition. Moreover, the inviter must sincerely attempt to and have the responsibility to offer the invitation to conform to Sincerity Condition and Essential Condition.

Wierzbicka (1987:81-82) argues that the importance of performative verbs (or, speech act verbs, according to Wierzbicka) is underestimated. In order to discover the specifically different semantic components of each performative verb and to make a distinction between them, she made up a semantic dictionary to give remedial support for the definition of thirty-seven groups of performative verbs. According to

⁴⁵ A stands for the action.

Wierzbicka's semantic dictionary, the semantic components of the act of invitation include:

- I assume that people can't do X if I don't say that I would want them to do it.
- I think it would be good for you to do it.
- I say: I would want you to do X if you wanted to do it.
- I say this because I want to cause you to do it if you want to do it.
- I don't know if you will do it.
- I assume that you don't have to do it.
- I assume that you would want to do it.

According to Wierzbicka's definition, the act of invitation is more than just a directive which carries the semantic components of S's want for H to do something. However, an inviting act, not pure directive, carries two additional components: It is H who gets benefit from doing things, and S wants H to do things if H really wants. For example, when the speaker invites the hearer to have dinner, the inviter will prepare the dinner for the invitee and the invitee will thus get the benefit from the inviter. Furthermore, the invitee can refuse the invitation if he/she does not want to have dinner with the inviter. Although the invitation benefits the invitee, it may threaten the invitee's face by depriving him/her from freedom to choose.

Brown and Levinson (1987) consider the speech act of invitation as a kind of face threatening acts (FTAs)- inviter's invitation threatens invitee's want of negative face because the invitee may lose the freedom and become imposed. Since direct speech acts may directly threaten the invitee's face, indirect speech acts are expected to function as the "fundamental politeness element" (p.268) to preserve the invitee's want of face. Given that politeness is a way to achieve solidarity and rapport, the speech act of invitation, functioning as the combination of a directive and commissive, can be accounted for by Leech's (1983) Tact Maxim and Generosity Maxim in terms of indirectness to mitigate the mutual threats to the interlocutors' faces. When the inviter offers an invitation to come to his/her party, the inviter will prepare food and drinks, and want the invitee to bring nothing but come to the party to maximize benefit to the invitee, and, at the same time, minimize cost to the invitee by conforming to Tact Maxim. On the other side of the coin, the inviter minimizes his/her benefit, and maximizes cost to self by following Generosity Maxim.

In his study of invitations in Chinese, Gu (1990) argues that Brown & Levinson's model is not suitable in Chinese society. According to Brown & Levinson, inviting

would be perceived as an act which threatens a hearer's negative face for it puts some pressure on hearer to accept or reject. However, a Chinese speaker, as well as a Palestinian one, may insist on inviting the hearer twice or even three times in spite of the hearer's showing explicit unwillingness to comply and by doing in this way the speaker shows the sincerity toward the hearer. Therefore, he predicts that inviting in Chinese, "under ordinary circumstances, will not be considered as threatening H's negative face" (ibid:242). Thus, the behaviors which are polite in one culture may be perceived as impolite in another culture by different weight of social rules.

Appropriately extending an invitation is not merely concerned with obedience to politeness principles. In order to mitigate threats in an invitation, social factors must be taken into consideration. Thus, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), the degree of mitigation correlates with three factors: (1) social distance, including a composite of psychologically real factors such as age, sex, and intimacy; (2) relative power, usually resulting from social and economic status; and (3) strength of imposition. That is to say, when the inviter extends an invitation to an invitee of intimate relationship or equal ranking, mutual threats will be mitigated.

However, invitations are of a particularly interesting nature, since apart from the potential imposition, they express at the same time "approval and liking of the interlocutor" (García 1999: 401). It also appears that invitations encompass a commissive component since in issuing an invitation the speaker (S) makes a "commitment" to provide a "course of action that is beneficial for the hearer (H)" (Eslami 2005: 455 and Bella 2009:245). This seems to be the main distinctive feature between invitations and requests, since the latter do not entail any obvious benefit for the addressee.

Therefore, the speech act of "inviting", according to Suzuki (2009:87), appears when S is showing his/her intention to request H's (hearer's) participation in or attendance at a certain occasion, mainly the one hosted by S. Invitation is an illocutionary speech act, which is supposed to be basically an FEA (face-enhancing act) for H (cf. Kerbat-Orecchioni, 1997: 14), because S undertakes in this speech act to offer H an opportunity to enjoy or acquire something for the benefit of H. In this sense, "invitation" is assumed to belong chiefly to Searle's EXPRESSIVE (1975: 15) and Leech's CONVIVIAL speech act categories (1983: 104) because of its FEA nature. However, it has been confirmed that "invitation" is sometimes achieved as one type of

“requesting”, when S needs to ask H to participate in or attend at a certain event. In such a case, “invitation” enters Searle’s (ibid.) DIRECTIVE or Leech’s (ibid.) COMPETITIVE domains, which are mainly concerned with Brown & Levinson’s (1987) FTA (face-threatening act) framework.

To sum up, it is therefore essential in this cross cultural research to investigate how the two opposite concepts, FEA and FTA, are realized in the data from the two different societies. Emphasis, simplicity, clarity, and other face-enhancing elements are usually observed in FEA strategies, while indirectness, tentativeness, mitigation and other face-saving components are the features of FTA achieving strategies.

7.3. Invitations VS Requests

Invitations and requests are directives according to Searle’s (1979) classification. Some scholars have tried to distinguish invitations from requests by exploring differences and similarities between them. Searle (1990a: 359-360) in his explanation of directives claims that directives “may be very modest attempts as when I **invite** you to do it or suggest that you do it” and that “the verbs denoting members of this class are “ask, command, request, beg, plead, pray, entreat and also **invite**, permit, advise” (my emphasis).

Not only do invitations belong to the category of directives but more specifically, they are also much similar to requests in the way that the speaker acts out of a desire/wish to cause the hearer perform an action and the hearer is indeed able to perform that action. It is argued by Geis (1995) that invitations constitute face respecting acts rather than face threatening acts. He reasons that because the hearer commonly expresses appreciation for invitations no matter how personally they feel about the prospects of spending time with the speaker, invitations pay respect to the hearer’s positive face. However, according to Thuy (2007:40), as the nature of issuing an invitation is, more or less, the imposition of the speaker’s desire on the hearer to perform the suggested action, like requests, invitations “imply intrusion on the hearer’s territory and limit his freedom of action”(Brown and Levinson, 1978: 70). In other words, they are both “intrinsically face-threatening activities” (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 70) even though the act of inviting involves benefits to the hearer and costs the speaker in some ways. They threaten the negative face of the addressee and therefore “comprise a category of inherently impolite acts in which negative politeness is essential” (Leech, 1983: 106).

According to Geis (1995), invitations and requests are not totally alike. They differ from each other in at least two specific ways. First, in an invitation, the speaker proposes that the hearer do something with him/her rather than for him/her. Second, besides threatening the negative face of the hearer, invitations are more likely to threaten the hearer's positive face than requests. It is possible to reject a request because one is unwilling to perform the action without necessarily threatening the addressee's positive face. For example, if one wants to reject a request to take care of someone's cats, he/she may say that he/she hates cats. This may be an insult to the requester's cats, not the requester himself/herself. However, Geis (1995) argues, it is very difficult to turn down an invitation because one is unwilling to accept it without threatening the addressee's positive face for the action he/she's rejecting involves being with the inviter.

In addition, Edmondson and House (1981: 132) when considering the characteristics of the invitation suggested that:

The invite...has therefore the following characteristics: A wishes B to know that he is in favor of a future action to be performed by B, which he believes may involve costs to himself and benefits to B. He also believes however that the cost involved will be outweighed for himself by the social benefits consequent to B's doing that future action.

Therefore, invitations also include promises. Besides, according to Bach and Harnish (*ibid*: 51), an invitation can be defined as "S requests (directive) H's presence and promises acceptance of his presence". As a result, invitations can also be classified as a kind of commissives. To sum up, invitations can be considered as both a kind of directives and commissives.

As a result, in order to have better understanding about the preference for using indirect or direct politeness strategies in issuing invitations, accepting them and refusing them, it is impossible for us to totally apply the results of similar investigations on requests. However, invitations and requests belong to the same category of speech act (directives) and share somehow similar characteristics. Therefore, some significant achievements gained from researches on requests which have largely been accepted by most scholars such as the scale of indirectness-directness in requests can be used as one of the foundations for our investigations.

7.4. Types of invitations:

Scholars distinguished between different kinds of invitations. Some scholars (Eslami 2005; Isaacs and Clark, 1990; Izadi, 2012; Wolfson et al. 1983; among others) adopted *the sincerity of the inviter* as a criterion to distinguish between two types of invitations (my emphasis). Such scholars believe that invitations can be either genuine (true, real, unambiguous, sincere) or ambiguous (ostensible, untrue, insincere). It is also worth mentioning that it is necessary to distinguish between oral (verbal) and written invitation.

7.4.1. Written and Spoken Invitations:

A social arrangement of some sort or other needs to be made somehow to express solidarity, to maintain existing relationship or to build new relationship and the extending of invitations is a principal means of accomplishing this.

Invitations may be issued in written or spoken forms. Written invitations are usually sent in special events like weddings, workshops or the anniversary of an organization, etc., which are normally formally organized. Obviously, due to the characteristics of those cases, the language written is always well-chosen and follows some fixed conventional styles. It is not flexible and usually very formal. Besides, it would take the sender some sort of time before getting the exact feedback from the receiver. In fact, social variables, gender or age, do not function and do not have any influence on written invitations since the inviter sends the same written invitation to others. Regardless of their age or sex, people receive the same written invitation. In Western societies, written invitations are more usually sent by mails or email than by directly face-to face delivery. Meanwhile, a Palestinian written invitation is more frequently delivered directly from the sender to the receiver accompanying with a spoken one, especially in personal cases such as invitations to a house warming party or to a wedding party. In those events, if the inviter truly wants the invitee to join with her/him, (s)he will give the written invitation directly to the hand of the invitee together with a spoken invitation. Otherwise, (s)he can send it by post but has to invite orally by telephone in advance. Without a word from the sender, the invitation would be more likely to be considered insincere or not important.

Normally spoken invitations are made face-to-face or by telephone. Nowadays, in most daily occasions, spoken invitations have outgrown written ones for the fact that they are more direct, more immediate in getting feedback and they can be issued more

flexibly thanks to the combination with more or less friendly, solidarity attitude from the speakers according to different contexts.

7.4.2. *Ambiguous Vs. Unambiguous Invitations:*

The invitations people issue can be ambiguous (ostensible) or unambiguous (real). Invitations are directly related to the notions of *politeness* and *face*. Politeness is then the manifestation, through speech, of respect for another individual's face. An example of positive politeness is our positive evaluation of our interlocutor's accomplishments, appearance, etc. Positive politeness also includes hints and signals that show the listener he or she is considered a friend and member of the speaker's "in-group". This may be accomplished through such strategies as giving gifts, showing interest in the other, extending invitations towards the other, etc. Negative politeness, however, involves a show of deference. The speaker, through negative politeness, usually tries to show the listener that he does not wish to disturb or to interfere with the other's freedom. Apologies, indirect requests, and other forms of remedial work usually appear in this category. The term *invitation* finds occasion in the contexts of "politeness" and "face" (cf. Izadi, 2012).

Wolfson, et al. (1983:17) classify invitations into two types: ambiguous and unambiguous. According to popular wisdom, social commitments are normally arrived at through unambiguous (genuine) invitations. Wolfson et al. (1983) state that unambiguous invitations involve:

- a. reference to time and/or mention of place or activity, and
- b. a request for response. A simple example would be the following:

Do you want to have lunch tomorrow?
(*request for response*) (*activity*) (*time*) (Salmani-Nodoushan, 1995:5)

The request for response can come before or after a mention of activity/place and time in both Arabic and English.

e.g- انا رايح ازور عمي في نابلس يوم الجمعة شو رأيك ترافقتني ؟

Anna rayeh azoor çami fi Nablus yoom aljumça šu rayak tirafiqni ?.

[Well, I'm going to visit my uncle (activity) in Nablus (place) on Friday (time) and I wonder if you can come along (request for response)].

An ambiguous invitation, according to Wolfson et al. (1983), does not involve a reference to time and /or mention of place or activity and does not involve a request for response.

e.g.- I'd love to see you. We should arrange to get together.
- I'd like for you to come.
- خلينا نشوفك مرة يا زلمة *xalina nišoofak mara ya zalama*.
(Give us the chance to see you, man, one day).

Invitations are usually viewed as arrangements for a social commitment. There are, however, a number of cases in which an invitation is extended but is not necessarily followed by the conclusion of the arrangement under discussion. In other words, one can never be sure whether such invitations were ever intended to be completed. However, the utterance (i.e. the commitment) itself embraces a number of features that make it recognizable to the interlocutors that the invitation is not a real one. These features include: (1) time is always left indefinite; (2) a response is not required (i.e. there is no *yes/no* question); and (3) a modal auxiliary such as *must* or *should* is almost always used.

Along the same lines, Isaacs and Clark (1990) carried out a research project on ostensible invitations. According to them, people sometimes extend invitations they do not intend to be taken seriously. They argued that the aim of such exchanges is not to establish invitations but to accomplish some other, unstated purpose. They have pointed out that ostensible invitations seem patently designed as face-saving devices.

According to Isaacs and Clark (1990), ostensible invitations possess five defining properties: (1) pretense (i.e. the inviter pretends to make a sincere invitation), (2) mutual recognition (i.e. the interactants mutually recognize the inviter's pretense), (3) collusion (i.e. the invitee responds appropriately to the inviter's pretense), (4) ambivalence (i.e. when asked "*Do you really mean it?*" the inviter cannot sincerely answer either "*yes*" or "*no.*"), and (5) off-record purpose (i.e. the inviter's main purpose is tacit).

According to Salmani-Nodoushan (1995:6), the scholars also listed seven defining features for ostensible invitations. These features clearly manifest the strategies employed by the inviters to signal to the invitees that the invitation is an ostensible one. According to Isaacs and Clark, whenever the inviter (A) ostensibly invites the invitee (B) to event (E), the inviter may do one or more of the following:

1. A makes B's presence at E implausible;
2. A extends invitations only after they have been solicited;
3. A doesn't motivate invitation beyond social courtesy;
4. A is vague about arrangements for event E;
5. A doesn't persist or insist on the invitation;

6. A hedges the invitation; and
7. A delivers the invitation with inappropriate cues.

The present study concerns itself with a descriptive survey of ostensible and genuine invitations in the Palestinian and American societies. It will then try to establish a cross-cultural sociopragmatic analysis of both types of invitations in American English and Palestinian Arabic.

7.5. Invitations as Communicative Practices:

Needless to say, any description of speech acts should take into account the relationships which exist between the act and the context in which the act is used. In exactly the same way, a description of invitations should evaluate the use of such exchanges in context. In this section, I will shed some light on the reasons people take into account when they attempt to extend an invitation. I will also highlight certain problems people face when extending or receiving invitations. Moreover, this section focuses on the speech act of refusal to invitations as social practices. Hedging in invitation refusals which is employed to avoid conflicts in communication will also be explored.

7.5. 1. *Reasons for making invitations*

Invitations serve a number of functions that might not be the same in Palestinian and American societies. Concerning the reasons why invitations are made, there are some similarities between American speaking culture and Palestinian culture as the following:

1. To socialize: To enjoy the company of one's friends, to introduce strangers to each other, to go out for fun, etc.;
2. To show hospitality and kindness at great events: public holidays, long weekends, New Year, etc;
3. To share happiness: promotion, house-warming, birthday party, arrival of new baby, etc.;
4. To show respect to elders and teachers;
5. To mark anniversaries: wedding, traditional death anniversaries; and
6. To repay favors and show gratitude. (cf. Dang, 1992: 59, 69)

Eid (1991:172) states that invitations serve a number of functions in Arabic. Invitations can strengthen family ties, solve controversies, establish and maintain

solidarity, prevent cheating and aggression, provide a change and emphasize social status. These functions will be explored in detail in this study from a socio-pragmatic point of view. It is worth mentioning that unlike functions of invitations in America, some of these functions stem from a religious background and some stem from a traditional background. In fact, religion and tradition are important factors prevailing in every aspect of communication and behavior in the Palestinian society.

7.5.2. Problems with Invitations:

According to Dang (1992), in dealing with invitations as a social activity, people may have to face some possible problems of: self-invitation, pseudo-invitation, non-invitation and “who pays”. She points out that self-invitations such as “*Could I drop by to see you tonight?*” or “*Do you mind if I come ...?*” do occur in English but very rarely and only in a very informal situation between familiars for the purpose of expressing intimacy. Meanwhile, pseudo-invitations are very common in American English, but they are very rare in Palestinian Arabic. However, though they can skillfully deal with pseudo-invitations in their native language, Palestinian learners of English sometimes might confuse between a real English invitation and a pseudo one like in the case of “*Let’s get together for lunch sometimes*”. They tend not to realize that the speaker just intends to express his interest in continuing the relationship without making any definite commitment for a future meeting. Consequently, their effort in negotiation for the exact time and place for lunch usually would make the English native speakers confused and uncomfortable.

In addition, Dang’s study (1992) shows that there is the existence of non-invitations which merely act as a greeting or a show of interest but have nothing to do with inviting whereas there is none of this kind in English. Besides, “who pays” can possibly be a real problem to language learners in cross-cultural communication. In the Palestinian context, when one friend, for instance, invites another for a cup of tea in a coffee shop, the two friends should show a kind of competition regarding who is going to pay. Both of them should insist on paying. A situation like this is not possible in America.

In general, further investigations on problems with invitations would be very exciting and useful for both language teachers and language learners. However, considering all of these problems, in detail, in this study would be beyond my keen.

Therefore, in order to have a better and clearer look at the topic, I would like to focus on analyzing the real unambiguous and ambiguous invitations attempting to pay some attention to problems of self-invitations, pseudo-invitations, non-invitations and of “who pays”.

7.5.3. Refusal to invitations: a face - threatening act

By virtue of their nature as politeness phenomena, invitations can be seen as one means through which people attempt to win the social approval of each other. Therefore, they address the participant's positive face wants, i.e. they intend to tell the invitee that his/her acceptance of the invitation is desirable and appreciated. By contrast, declining an invitation may put the inviter's positive face at risk and preserve the invitee's own. Brown and Levinson (1987, 236) were quite aware of the importance of solving such a problem when they pose a "balance principle". This principle is based on the assumption that participants have adequate motives for preserving each other's face. If somebody commits an offence against somebody else, the latter has the right to complain, the offender (i.e. the person who declines the invitation) has the obligation to apologize and the target person (i.e. the inviter) has the obligation to accept the apology. In this way, an offence might be terminated, the inviter's face is preserved and social harmony and interpersonal relationships may be restored. So, it is believed that Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) model could provide an insightful account of the various ways in which linguistic politeness can be conveyed as far as invitation making is concerned.

When declining an invitation we commit an act of refusal, as the word *decline* itself, according to *the Longman Dictionary*, means ‘*refuse to accept*’. However, declining an invitation sometimes is not simply saying *no* to an invitation. It is noticed that normally, an invitation decline is a set of speech acts. According to Murphy and Neu (1996), a speech act set is a combination of individual speech acts that, when produced together, comprise a complete speech act. Often more than one discrete speech act is necessary for a speaker to develop the overarching communicative purpose –or illocutionary force – desired.

Refusals usually include various strategies to avoid offending one's interlocutors. However, the choice of these strategies may vary across languages and cultures. For example, in refusing invitations, offers and suggestions, gratitude was regularly

expressed by American English speakers, but rarely by Egyptian Arabic speakers (see Nelson, Al-batal, and Echols, 1996; Al-Eryani 2007).

Barron (2000:48) differentiates between two types of refusals: genuine refusals and ritual refusals⁴⁶. He states that refusals in German, as it is the case in America, are genuine, also termed substantive refusals (cf. Chen et al. 1995), - in other words - Searle's sincerity condition for refusals, "S wants H not to do x," is satisfied unlike the case with ritual refusals where it is not satisfied since the speaker, S, merely pretends to refuse the offer in question in the interest of the norms of politeness. In reality, however, S, in a ritual refusal, expects a second offer, which s/he can then either accept or refuse, as s/he wishes. As a result, an inviter, in the Palestinian culture, largely expects the first refusal to be ritual, and so proceeds to reoffer.

Therefore, refusals are considered to be a "sticking point" for many non-native speakers (Beebe and Takahashi, 1987). Refusals to invitations occur when a speaker directly or indirectly says 'No' to an invitation. It is, in fact, a face – threatening act. Face, in Brown and Levinson's (1987:61) definition, is "the public self- image that every member wants to claim for himself", that is the emotional and social sense that everyone has and expects everyone else to recognize. Therefore, in interaction, people often cooperate to maintain each other's face. In fact, Al-Eryani (2007:21) states that "not all languages/cultures refuse in the same way nor do they feel comfortable refusing the same invitation or suggestion". Therefore, the speech act of refusal occurs when a speaker directly or indirectly says *no* to request or invitation. Refusal is a face-threatening act to the listener/ requester/ inviter, because it contradicts his or her expectations, and is often realized through indirect strategies.

Therefore, some acts, by their nature, make it difficult to maintain the face of the participants in an interaction. These acts are referred to as face-threatening. Some acts threaten the hearer's face, others threaten the speaker's face, still others threaten the face of both the hearer and the speaker. To reduce the risk of possible communication breakdown due to these face-threatening acts, the participants can say something to lessen the threat to the face of the others. This is referred to as a face-saving act.

In fact, refusing an invitation contradicts the inviter's expectation; thus, it is a face - threatening act. It tends to risk the interpersonal relationship of the speakers. To maintain the face of the inviter, the person who refuses the invitation is expected to use

⁴⁶ See section (11.4) on ritual refusals in PA.

many face-saving acts or strategies. Or in other words, it is important for that person to give the impression that he/she still cares about the inviter's wants, needs or feelings. It requires a high level of pragmatic competence.

To sum up, however, the way people refuse, or the manipulation of the face-saving strategies, varies across languages and cultures. Language learners, due to the limitation in language proficiency and the high requirement of pragmatic competence for this speech act, are at a great risk of offending their interlocutor when carrying out a refusal to an invitation. Beebe and Takahashi (1987:133) claim that "the inability to say 'No' clearly and politely, though not directly has led many non-native speakers to offend their interlocutors". The present study is an attempt to understand more about refusal strategies by both Palestinians and Americans in the hope to raise the pragmatic awareness and partly improve the pragmatic competence in cross-cultural communication.

7.5.4. Hedges in Declining Invitations

Declining an invitation sometimes is not simply saying *no* to an invitation. When declining an invitation, speakers might produce different individual speech acts, for example, (1) an expression of regret, '*I'm so sorry*', followed by (2) an excuse '*I'm out of town on business next week*', followed by (3) a direct refusal, '*I can't come to your wedding party*'. In this case, to perform one communicative purpose of declining an invitation, the speaker is employing a speech act set, which consists of many other individual speech acts.

In the examples above (1) and (2) are hedges which combine with the direct refusal to make up a speech act set. They play as individual speech acts in the whole set.

Taking the five categories set by Searle into consideration, we can say that hedges in invitation declining belong to different types of speech acts. It can be *assertive* when the speaker is giving an excuse '*My daughter is ill today.*', or '*I am busy.*' If the speaker is asking about the invitation or giving some suggestions, for examples: '*When is the wedding party?*' / '*Why not tomorrow?*' it can be considered *Directive*. Hedges are *Commissives* if speaker is talking about his plans or arrangements, or making promises: '*I have to work in the evening*'/'*I will give you a hand in preparing the wedding*'. In the case when speaker express their feelings about the invitation, such as appreciation,

regret, confusion etc., hedges are *Expressive. Declarations* hardly appear among hedges in invitation declining.

Hedging in invitation refusals is employed to avoid conflicts in communication. Hence, it is also a politeness phenomenon that has to do with the notion of *face*. From the theory of face and politeness, declining an invitation can be viewed as an FTA, as it can damage the hearer's self-image. When declining an invitation, speaker can choose to go on-record or off-record. Hedges in this case, are employed as both positive and negative politeness strategies to reduce the weightiness of the decline. A hedge itself can be an off-record decline. For example, when a person says '*I have already had other plans for the evening*', this sentence alone is a hedge, yet it can be understood as an off-record decline. Brown and Levinson include hedges as part of the strategies available for both positive politeness where '*intensifying modifiers fulfill the sub-strategy of exaggerating (interest, approval, sympathy with H)*' (1987: 104) and more normally for negative politeness where they modify the expression of communicative intentions (1987: 145).

To avoid the severity of refusals, people might resort to different mitigation strategies. According to Bella (2011:1720), mitigation strategies can take the form of *external or internal modification*. External modification does not affect the utterance used for realizing a speech act (head act), but rather the context in which the act occurs. It is effected though (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), i.e. various devices that may precede or follow the head act (e.g. reasons or justifications for the act), thus modifying indirectly its illocutionary force.

Internal modifiers, on the other hand, are elements within a speech act the presence of which is not essential for the identification of its illocutionary force, but serve to downgrade its potential negative effects (cf. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:60). This function is usually accomplished by means of syntactic (e.g. conditional or interrogative structures, tense and aspect markings) or lexical/phrasal linguistic means comprising a large number of mitigating devices, such as politeness markers (*please*) modal adverbs (*probably, possibly* etc.) mental state predicates (*I think, I believe* etc.) adjectives or degree modifiers (*kind of, sort of, a bit* etc.) and so forth (cf. Bella, 2011:1720). These modifiers are considered multifunctional, in the sense that they may act ‘both as *indicating devices*, used to signal pragmatic force, as well as *sociopragmatic devices*,

meant to affect the social impact the utterance is likely to have” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:19, emphasis in the original).

Therefore, hedging in invitation declining in particular is apparently a phenomenon of language. And as language is believed to be woven into the very fabric of every human culture, it can be said that hedging in invitation declining is an element of culture. Although there are plenty disagreements on the definition of culture and the relation of language and culture, a majority of people agree that culture overwhelms language and language reflects culture. Nevertheless, cultural features vary from region to region, even when they speak the same language. That is why their reflections in language are different. Hedging in invitation declining is not an exception. It is influenced by cultures.

There are plenty dissimilarities between Palestinian (or Arab culture, in general) and American culture though in this era of rooted globalization, cultural transfers are commonly seen. Cultures are so deeply in people’s awareness that cannot be changed easily in a short time. Each culture still has its own characteristics and dignity. These dissimilarities between two cultures often create breakdowns when people from the two cultures endeavor to communicate.

To sum up, the use of hedges in invitation declining in Palestinian Arabic and American English is surely affected by cultural features. To partially help avoid the cultural shock in this area, this study will partly attempt to shed light on this notion in both English and Palestinian Arabic to see the similarities as well as the differences in the way they employ hedges to make an invitation decline.

7.6. Studies on Invitations:

Studies on the speech act of inviting can be classified into three broad categories. It is worth mentioning that some studies might fit in two categories. First, there are those studies that are referred to as intra-lingual as they focus on examining invitations within a single language or culture; for example, invitations in Persian (Izadi, 2012); in Japanese (Clancy, 1990); in Spanish (De Pablos-Ortega, 2010); in American English (Wolfson et al. 1983) and in Greek (Bella, 2009).

A second group of studies is referred to as cross-cultural, and these examine the realization of the speech act of inviting in two or more languages or cultures; for example, comparing the speech act of inviting in Chinese and Malaysian (Farnia and

Wu, 2012); Polish and English (Rakowicz, 2009); English and Vietnamese (Thuy, 2007); Korean and American English (Kwon, 2004) and Spanish and American English (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008).

A third group of studies focuses on the language learner by examining how learners perform the speech act of inviting and how their performance compares to that of native speakers of L1 and L2. These learner-centered studies are generally referred to as interlanguage pragmatic studies. Some of these studies also investigate characteristics of non-native speakers' speech acts in comparison to native speakers; for example, Bella (2011) and Abdul Sattar et al. (2010).

7.6.1. Studies on Invitation in Different Languages:

Most cross cultural studies focus on invitations as realized in different languages. Scholars found that politeness expressions are deeply related to cultural norms, so it can be difficult to understand them cross culturally. Most studies attempt to highlight differences that might cause misconceptions and misunderstandings in interaction between people belonging to different cultures.

Clancy (1990) explores invitations in Japan. According to him, indirect speech is one of the characteristics of polite interactions. He illustrates how communicative styles are acquired in Japan. Clancy states that in conversations between Japanese mothers and their children, mothers try to teach their children to read behind polite statements of other people. For example, in hostess-guest routines, when a guest says "*Oh, I have had enough,*" with the meaning "*I don't want any more,*" the mother explains to her child, who had persisted on offering food, that "*She says she does not want to eat anymore*" (Clancy 1990:29-30). By explaining the underlying meaning of the utterance, the mother teaches her child to understand indirect speech as polite expressions of strong feeling or wishes with which the child needs to comply. Through this kind of conversation practice, Japanese children gradually acquire the intended meanings of indirect speech.

Barron (2000) studies invitations and refusals in an Irish/German context. He has found that realizations of invitations and refusals of invitations cause difficulty for Irish learners of German due to the presence of ritual refusals in Irish NS realizations, and their absence from German NS realizations. The hypothesis that time spent in the target speech community would lead to an increase in awareness of this linguistic feature, and

more L2-like learner productions has, however, been difficult to test as evidence gathered by employing a FDCT (Free Discourse Completion Task) production questionnaire alone would have been overshadowed by the possibility that any decreases noted in the number of turns employed by learners to realize an invitation in German are triggered by a practice effect or the possibility of declining motivation on the part of the informants. Triangulation of learner pragmalinguistic with metapragmatic data has provided the means of testing this hypothesis, and in this case, confirming it. Both the FDCT production data elicited and also the metapragmatic data from retrospective interviews and a post-year abroad questionnaire confirm movement of the learners toward the L2-norm. Furthermore, the metapragmatic data suggest that the level of awareness of cross-cultural differences is actually higher than the production data suggested, due to adherence by some learners to L1 norms in their offer speech act productions.

Izadi (2012) explores a specific kind of refusals to ostensible offers and invitations in Persian language. The offer-refusal and invitation-refusal sequences, forming part of ritual politeness system in Persian known as *taarof* are gathered through ethnographic approach to communication. The refusal pairs of the sequences are analyzed from the perspective of speech act theory. The study comes with some results that have implications for intercultural communication and speech act theory. The findings can highlight a very important fact that nonnative speakers of Persian must be aware of these ostensible acts in Persian while communicating with Persian speakers.

Bella (2009) investigates invitations and invitation refusals in Greek and their relationship to politeness within Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework. On the basis of data drawn from role plays corroborated with informants' verbal reports, it is argued that age is a determining factor for both the format of the speech event of inviting/refusing and the politeness strategies preferred for its realization. It is shown that the younger age group conceptualize invitations as face-enhancing acts for the addressee, thus, they insist more and prefer positive politeness strategies. By contrast, the older age group conceptualize invitations as addressee face-threatening acts, so they hardly ever insist and appear to favour negative politeness strategies. This latter observation seems to challenge earlier findings regarding the positive politeness orientation of Greek society. However, a closer look at the data reveals that the negative politeness strategies employed are intermingled with positive politeness ones or they

function as such in the specific context. These findings bring to the fore a number of issues relating to Brown and Levinson's theory, including the difficulty of drawing a clear-cut distinction between positive and negative politeness strategies and the caution that should be exercised when attributing type of politeness to decontextualized utterances. The findings have been further used to offer suggestions for foreign language teaching.

In another study, Bella (2011) investigates the politeness strategies and mitigation devices used by native and non-native speakers (advanced learners) of Greek when refusing an invitation from an intimate and their consequences for the expression of politeness. Furthermore, it examines whether length of residence or intensity of interaction with native speakers affect non-native speakers' performance. The data have been drawn from role plays performed by native speakers and non-native speakers of two different groups: one with extended length of residence but limited opportunities for social interaction with native speakers and one with less extended length of residence but considerably more frequent opportunities for social interaction. On the basis of these data, it is argued that with regard to the speech act of declining an invitation from a friend, length of residence can be an insufficient measure whereas intensity of interaction can guarantee better results as regards pragmatic appropriateness and politeness. The significant deviations observed between native speakers and non-native speakers with limited opportunities for intimate interaction are attributed to the fact that the latter being economic migrants, who suffer from social seclusion, cannot rely on length of residence alone, in order to acquire sociocultural norms and develop pragmatic ability in the use of speech acts such as refusals of invitations. This fact combined with the finding that both groups of non-native speakers have displayed an underdeveloped pragmatic ability in relation to mitigation devices, such as lexical/phrasal downgraders highlights the need for pedagogical intervention which aims at providing learners with metapragmatic information and meaningful opportunities for interaction that may promote their pragmatic development.

Placencia (2008) explores the practice of insisting among family and friends in middle-class Quiteño society with respect to suggestions, invitations (including invitations to stay on at leave-taking) and offers. Placencia states that invitations are convivial actions (Leech, 1983), normally aimed at enhancing interpersonal relations. The function of insistence is described as a way of showing affection and that the

person cares. As such, insistence is interpreted in that as a kind of connection talk through which an ideology of connectedness (Fitch, 1990/1991, 1994, 1998) seems to be recreated. Nonetheless, the study reveals that there seems to be some age variation with respect to strong insistence with food offerings, which at present appears to be restricted to the group of the elderly. On the other hand, the study shows the fact that insistence still appears to be a commonplace phenomenon with offers of drink among male friends or relatives, which would suggest some gender variation (a topic in need of further exploration in this current study).

García (1992) compares the politeness strategies used by male and female speakers in a role play situation: refusing an invitation. The respondents are 10 male and 10 female Peruvians with ages ranging from their 20s to their 70s and representing three different social classes. Both groups have performed distinctly marked stages: (1) invitation-response, and (2) insistence-response. In the first stage both genders have used deference politeness strategies for head acts, while in the second stage they have adopted solidarity politeness strategies. In the first stage, both genders have expressed their respect toward their interlocutor and their friendship with him or her. However, in the second stage, males have tended to refuse, while females generally respond affirmatively, though vaguely.

García (1996) explores the teaching of speech acts through inviting and declining an invitation. The author advocates that instructing about frames of participation, underlying preferred politeness strategies, and linguistic strategies is essential to pragmatic development. The importance of using empirical data for instruction is discussed and pedagogical suggestions are made based on Cohen & Olshtain (1991) and DiPetro (1987). Examples of each of the five stages of pragmatic instruction are given—(1) Diagnostic Assessment, (2) Model Dialogue, (3) Evaluation of Situation, (4) Role play Activities, and (5) Feedback, Discussion, Conclusion.

In a third study, García (1999) compares politeness strategies utilized by males (n=10) and females (n=10) when inviting and responding to an invitation. The subjects are all native Venezuelan Spanish-speakers with varying educational levels and occupations. The average age of the males is 41 and the females is 35. Each subject participates in two role plays: one in which they invite a friend to attend a birthday party and a second scenario in which they refuse a friend's invitation to a party. In each role play, the participants interact with the same interlocutor, a 40-year-old female they

know. Following the role plays, a questionnaire has been completed by the participants regarding their perception of the interaction, interlocutor, and level of politeness. An analysis of the data shows that the invitation sequences involve three distinct stages: (1) invitation-response, (2) insistence-response, and (3) wrap-up. In terms of gender analysis, a number of differences are noticed. Females tend to be more verbose and more deferential than their male counterparts when inviting, and they use solidarity politeness strategies only when parting. When refusing invitations, both groups use deferential strategies (males more than females). In general, the author categorizes the Venezuelan participants as belonging to a positive politeness culture, preferring friendliness over imposition.

Farnia and Wu (2012) investigate the pragmatic behavior of refusal to invitation by Chinese international university students and Malaysian university students in Malaysia. The second aim is to seek the respondents' perception in the process of refusing an invitation regarding their cognition, language of thought, and perception of insistence after refusing an invitation. The subjects were selected from forty Chinese international students and forty Malaysian students at University Sains Malaysia, Malaysia. Data were collected through a written discourse completion task and an immediate structured post-interview. An analysis of the data demonstrated that both Chinese and Malaysian respondents used similar type of strategies when refusing an invitation; however, they were different in terms of the number of strategies (i.e. frequency) used in each situation.

7.6.2. *Studies in English:*

This section reviews studies that were conducted in English. Some of these studies investigate the speech act of inviting as practiced in English language only. These studies can be classified as intra-lingual ones; for example, Wolfson et al. (1983). Other studies explore invitations cross culturally. Such studies include English and another one or two languages; for example, American English and Spanish (Félix-Brasdefer, 2003) English and Persian (Eslami, 2005), and American English and Chinese (Kasper & Zhang, 1995).

7.6.2.1. *Intra-lingual Studies in English:*

Studies on invitations in English are not numerous. Wolfson (1989) is the most prominent study which explores invitations in English. In fact, Wolfson's (1989) study

focuses on invitations in the American society. In conducting my cross-cultural study, I will be referring to data and findings of Wolfson's studies for the purpose of revealing similarities and differences between Palestinian Arabic and American English. Therefore, Wolfson's studies will be reviewed in details.

In order for any interaction, even the most frequent, formal, and superficial one, to take place, social arrangements of one sort or another need to be made somehow. This goal is accomplished by middle-class Americans mainly through extending invitations (cf. Wolfson, 1989). In their study of invitations, Wolfson, et al. (1983) observe that since speech communities around the world vary greatly with regard to the rules that constraint speech behavior, the non-native speakers cannot hope to interact effectively in the target speech community unless they learn its rules. In this case, the rules for the appropriate management of invitations are well below the conscious awareness of speakers. Based on these points, they have concluded that the only way that the rules for giving and responding to invitations among speakers of American English can be analyzed and made available to language learners is through the empirically based descriptive analysis.

In their study of invitations, Wolfson, et al. (1983) (cf. Wolfson, 1989) have drawn on observation as the naturalistic method of collecting data. They have tended to record their observations and gathered as much information as possible concerning the so-called dependent variables such as the age, sex, occupation, and the relationship of interlocutors involved in these invitation exchanges. Relationship of interlocutors has been shown in study after study to be significantly critical to what is said and how it is said and responded to. However, it is not clear what is meant by interlocutors' relationship. In order to quantify this point, these scholars have found it most useful to begin by viewing the relationship of interlocutors on a continuum of social distance from intimates to strangers. In order to quantify the term *intimacy*, they draw on membership in a "nuclear family" as a possible feature. They, however, are not heedless of the point that the type of relationship between husband and wife, for instance, differs greatly from that of parents and children or even siblings. This points up to the fact that the social distance continuum should be seen in terms of ranges and not of discrete points. It must also be recognized that social distance, being a cover term, interacts with such factors as age, sex, ethnic background, relative status, etc. Asymmetrical status relationships pertain to the minimum range of social distance continuum. Service

encounters, however, are examples of situations in which one could find the maximum range of social distance.

With this picture in mind, Wolfson, et al. (1983) have started the analysis of the data on invitations. They state that social commitments, according to popular wisdom, are normally arrived at by unambiguous invitations. In their operational definition of the term *invitation*, they assert that " ... such a speech act ... contains reference to time and/or mention of place or activity, and, most important, a request for response." (cited by Wolfson, 1989: 119). The request for response can come before or after the mention of time or activity.

Wolfson, et al. (1983) provide a pattern for invitations they have collected through the observation of middle-class American behavior. The vast majority of social engagements, according to their data, are arrived at by a process of negotiation whereby the interlocutors move turn by turn until a social commitment has been reached. They use the term *lead* to refer to the statement or question which signals the addressee that an invitation will follow if s/he makes the appropriate responses. Based on their function, leads are categorized into four categories:

- 1) The first type of lead is the most obvious in terms of letting the addressee know what can be expected to follow. The function of this beginning to a sequence is to establish the availability of the addressee. This lead type may appear in the form of a question/statement which is meant to elicit not only the desired information but also information about the addressee's availability at a particular time;
- 2) The second type of lead is much less obviously the beginning of an invitation sequence. It is referred to as *expressive* because it usually seeks to convey the feelings of the speaker without any specific commitment. The vagueness of this lead type stimulates some native speakers to refrain from considering it as a lead at all. However, this type of lead is quite frequent and usually ends in a definite invitation;
- 3) *Pseudo-kernel leads*, used to give rise to ambiguous invitations with features of indefinite time. A required response with a modal like "must", "should", or "have to" is almost always used; and
- 4) The fourth type of lead is referred to as the *past tie*. This lead type is related to some shared knowledge of past attempt to negotiate a social arrangement by the interlocutors, or by someone solely associated who is not present at the moment of speaking. This type of lead usually makes it possible for interlocutors to refer to some previous

discussion which did not end in a complete invitation, while still leaving the matter open for further negotiation and a possible refusal by the addressee. (cf. Wolfson, 1989: 120)

In brief, a lead has one of the following four functions:

- a) Expressing the speaker's feelings;
- b) Determining the availability of the addressee;
- c) Referring to a past tie;
- d) Reaffirming a relationship by suggesting a future meeting.

In any case, a lead will normally contain at least one of the components of an unambiguous invitation (i.e. reference to time and/or mention of place, mention of activity, and a request for response). In Leech's (1983) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) concepts of politeness, a speaker may express politeness by using leads to negotiate for completing a speech act. However, politeness can always be shown in different ways, especially when the speaker takes social controls into classification. Wolfson, et al. (1983) indicate that impoliteness may result from using inappropriate leads for negotiation to invite someone who is intimate or is of equal social status with the inviter. In that case, the speaker's "fear of rejection is minimized ... [so] negotiation is often unnecessary" (P. 126).

In another study in the American society, Suzuki (2009) examines pragmatic strategies employed by native English speakers for the performance of an English speech act of "invitation" through analyses of responses provided by U.S. university undergraduate students with the use of the DCT (= discourse completion test). The analyses of the linguistic strategies have been carried out at the (1) lexical, (2) grammatical, and (3) discourse levels, along with the strategy combinations, applied by native American English speakers. The results also indicate that the use of corpus data can be effective for ELT (English Language Teaching) pursuing the methodology of CLT (Communicative Language Teaching) in that the database can supply materials which provide "natural" and "appropriate" examples of English language use in a context where one needs to perform a specific speech act such as "invitation".

7.6.2.2. *Cross-Cultural studies in English:*

This section explores a number of studies that tackle the speech act of inviting in English (American English or/and British English) and another language.

De Pablos-Ortega (2010) explores the invitees' responses to offers and invitations in Spanish and English. When accepting an offering, the Spanish prefer to use request formulae (*por favor*, Spanish for *please*) instead of thanking formulae. The same happens, although less frequently, when declining an offering. It needs to be specified that the offerings refer to material objects in both cases. De Pablos-Ortega (2010:160) states that there is another extra linguistic factor, noted by Escandell (1996:26), which determines the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic choice in a language. As in Spain, in British and American cultures, request formulae are also used when accepting an offering; however, in the British and American cultures, unlike the Spanish, the refusal of an offer tends to be related to thanking formulae exclusively, instead of request formulae. Following Brown and Levinson ([1978] 1987: 94), the act of offering/inviting can be considered a face threatening act (FTA) to the hearer; when offering/inviting, the sender intrudes into the receiver's personal space and, consequently, implies a threat to his negative face. In this situation, the FTA is done baldly, without any redress, as the offering is carried out in a direct and clear way. When declining an offering in Spanish, the receiver completes the negative answer with a request (*No, por favor*; Spanish for *No, please*). In this case, the receiver requires the sender not to perform the action related to the offering. However, in British and American cultures, when declining an offer, the receiver answers negatively but adds a thanking expression (*no, gracias*). This type of answer has the intention of minimizing the imposition that the offering has on the receiver and, in its turn, of reinforcing the positive face of the receiver as he/she notices the action linked to the offering (unaccomplished by the sender) by means of the thanking. In British and American cultures, the action linked to the offering, which is not performed in a material way, is actually thanked for beforehand.

In his study of invitations in Polish and English, Rakowicz (2009) examines the interlanguage behavior of Polish learners of English, focusing on how they respond to the conventionally indirect speech of ambiguous invitation in a second language. In Radowicz's study, Polish learners' response behavior in Polish is compared with their response behavior in English and that of American native English speakers' to reveal how Polish native speakers understand and reply to this speech act in different linguistic

contexts. The data for Rakowicz's (2009) exploratory study have been collected through a questionnaire and an open Discourse Completion Task (DCT), which contained 6 scenarios. Thirty English native speakers and 26 Polish participants have completed DCTs. Semi-structured post-task interviews have been also conducted with the Polish participant group in order to better understand their pragmatic choices.

Rakowicz's (2009) study reveals that some Polish participants perceive the ambiguous invitations as concrete, and there is evidence of pragmatic transfer from Polish to English with similar L1 and L2 realization patterns in terms of strategy use and the volume of production. The findings also show that Polish verbal behavior is more direct than that of native English speaking participants. When responding in English, Polish participants choose to use a refusal strategy to decline invitations, which is clear evidence of violating L2 pragmatic norms. Usage of these strategies does not violate Polish pragmatic rules, however, as directness is linked with sincerity in Polish culture. The interviews show that some participants claim to be aware of cultural differences, yet no significant differences can be detected in their Polish and English dialogues. Males and females have exhibited similar patterns and pragmatic choices; however, females have been found to be more direct than their male counterparts and have been more likely to decline the invitation or forego responding altogether.

Thuy (2007) investigates politeness in issuing English and Vietnamese spoken invitations under the effect of some social variables. The study concludes that the awareness of the interactional similarities and differences in issuing or declining invitations in cross-cultural contexts can contribute significantly to better competence of performing this speech act. Two questionnaires have been delivered to both English native speakers and Vietnamese native speakers as an instrument for the research. The results of the study show that there are both similarities and differences in the selection of politeness strategies employed by English native speakers and Vietnamese native speakers in issuing spoken invitations. Social status, age and gender also affect differently to the choice of strategies used by both groups of subjects. Some pedagogical implications have been suggested for the teachers of English on teaching spoken invitations to Vietnamese learners of English.

Kwon (2004) examines the refusal expressions in Korean and American English. She has used the DCT taken from Beebe et al. (1990) to collect refusals from 40 Korean speakers in Korea and 37 American English speakers in the United States of America.

The DCT includes 12 situations designed to elicit refusals to requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions in lower, equal or higher status situations. The data have been analyzed in terms of semantic formulas and categorized according to the refusal taxonomy by Beebe et al. (1990). Kwon (2004) compares the frequency and content of semantic formulas of the two groups and confirms that although the range of refusal strategies are similar between the two groups, the frequency and content of semantic formulas are different. For instance, Korean speakers hesitate more frequently and use direct refusal formulas much less frequently than English speakers. Thus, Korean speakers' refusals at times sound less transparent and more tentative than those of English speakers. In addition, Korean speakers frequently pause and apologize before refusing while English speakers often state positive opinion and express gratitude for a proposed action. With regard to content of semantic formulas, the two language groups differ in terms of the types of reasons used in their refusals. Korean speakers typically use reasons, for example, referring to a father's 60th birthday when refusing a boss invitation which is not included in the English data.

Dang (2006) focuses on hedging in invitation declining in American English and Vietnamese. The study has used DCT questionnaires to collect data. Dang (2006) mentions seven main hedging strategies utilized by the two groups of informants, Vietnamese and NSs of English, including delaying, showing regret, giving excuses, showing appreciation, blaming the partner, giving an alternative and mixing different ways. Among these, mixing different ways is the favourite strategy of both groups, whereas blaming the partner is the least favoured tactic. The frequency of each strategy used by both parties varies according to age, gender, power, distance of the speakers and the hearers and to the formality of the invitations.

Félix-Brasdefer (2003) investigates the preference for and use of politeness strategies (direct and indirect) by native speakers and advanced non-native speakers of Spanish when declining an invitation (role-play) in three levels of social status (equal and unequal [higher and lower]). Thirty subjects have participated in the study (15 males and 15 females): 10 Latin American speakers of Spanish (SPN SPN), 10 Americans speaking Spanish (ENG SPN), and 10 Americans speaking English (ENG ENG). The variables of gender, education, age, and Spanish dialect have been controlled. Significant differences have been observed between the SPN SPN and the ENG SPN groups in six strategies: Alternative, Set Condition, Hedging, Promise of

Future Acceptance, Solidarity, and Positive Opinion. Results suggest that there is a high degree of interlanguage variation in the use of and preference for refusal strategies among the ENG SPN group. Regarding the preference for direct strategies, the ENG SPN group is more direct than the SPN SPN group; the ENG SPN group exhibit an intermediate frequency of directness. It is noted that the preference for direct strategies is conditioned by the social status of the situation. Positive and negative transfer of these strategies is also attested. As for the transfer of L1 sociocultural knowledge, the subjects' performance and verbal reports show that the lack of L2 sociocultural knowledge is a crucial factor affecting the advanced non-native speakers' interlanguage. Pedagogical implications for the L2 classroom have been also suggested.

In another study, Félix-Brasdefer (2008) explores refusals to invitations in Spanish and American English. He examines the perception of refusals to invitations made by someone of equal and unequal status with respect to: cognition (information attended to), the language of thought for planning and executing a refusal, and the perception of an insistence after refusing an invitation. The participants for the study include 20 males who are advanced learners of Spanish as a foreign language. All learners in the present study have been taking or had taken advanced courses in Spanish literature, linguistics and culture, and have been finishing their major in Spanish at a large Midwestern university in the United States. With respect to the notion of insistence to an invitation in Spanish society, it has been shown that among non-native of Spanish an insistence is considered polite and represents a socio-cultural expectation; not insisting is viewed as rude or insincere. On the contrary, among NSs of American English, a series of insurances after an invitation has been declined is often seen as impolite or face-threatening. The study also examines the extent to which advanced American learners of Spanish perceive an insistence as polite or impolite after living in a Spanish-speaking country in Latin America.

Félix-Brasdefer (2008) demonstrates that by using verbal reports, one can gain insights into the strategies that learners use during the planning/execution of speech acts. In particular, verbal reports, if employed with care, can provide information with regard to: cognition (linguistic and non-linguistic information attended to during the negotiation of a speech act), selection of the language of thought during the planning and execution of a speech act, and the perception of insistence after declining an invitation in a second language. With regard to the learners' pragmatic knowledge, the

findings show that an awareness of cross-cultural norms when declining an invitation is often not concomitant with successful performance during an invitation-refusal interaction with NSs of the target culture.

Kasper & Zhang (1995) study invitations and refusals in Chinese and American English. Learners of Chinese may feel that in response to requests, Chinese speakers sometimes say "yes" when they really mean "no," or mean "no" without saying the word. It may be due to *mišnzi* (face) considerations. *Mišnzi* refers to the need of an individual to conform to social conventions and express his/her desire to be part of this community. It is essential for learners of Chinese to observe how Chinese say "yes" and how they follow it up.

Kasper & Zhang (1995) state that learners of Chinese may have difficulty in making refusals in Chinese. They may find it impossible to refuse offers of food, cigarettes, tea, and so forth, since no one may take learners' "no" for an answer. When Chinese speakers say "*I have something planned,*" the person being refused should not be asked "*What is it that you are going to do?*" because the expression is conventionalized and means "*Don't bother me.*" It is possible that the recipient of the invitation has nothing going on. It means "no" and there should be no further negotiations.

According to Kasper & Zhang (1995), stating principle and folk wisdom is a rarely used refusal strategy in Chinese refusals, although its absence in American English makes this strategy seem more salient than it really is. In formal instruction, stating principles and folk wisdom should probably be taught for receptive purposes, but not necessarily for learners' productive use and not overemphasized. For learners of Chinese who are recipients of invitations, an initial decline may still be expected. It is appropriate to say "*tši m'fan ni le*". 'too much trouble for you.' The learner must not mention anything relating to her own circumstances in a ritual refusal. However, being perceived as a cultural outsider, the learner may not be expected to behave exactly like native speakers of Chinese, refusing as many as three times (a folk rule of refusing). Once or at most twice is probably more than enough for learners of Chinese.

Eslami (2005) explores invitations in American English and Persian. He describes the features of Persian genuine and ostensible invitations. The goal of his research is to broaden the scope of speech act studies to include a non-Western language to extend the scope of intercultural speech act studies to ostensible speech acts. The results of the data

have been compared with the structure of invitations in English reported by Isaacs and Clark (1990). The study examines the intercultural differences in the realization of patterns of invitations in relation to the politeness theory. Data have been collected through observation and participation in a variety of spontaneously occurring speech situations. The researcher has gathered 80 ostensible and 80 genuine invitations in Persian. The participants are 40 graduate students, 25 females and 15 males, from three different Iranian universities. They have been asked to tape-record invitations in which they have participated or they have been witness of those invitations in daily interactions. In addition, 20 native speakers have been interviewed concerning the perceived characteristic and cultural values of genuine and ostensible invitations.

Findings of Eslami's (2005) study reveal that the structures of ostensible invitations in Persian are more complex than in English. The features of ostensible invitation in English are not sufficient to distinguish between ostensible and genuine invitations in Persian. The author asserts that invitations that meet the criteria for being genuine invitations in English could be classified as ostensible by Persian speakers due to their indirect linguistic form, hesitant tone, and lack of persistence. In contrast to Isaac and Clark's finding regarding to the fact that English speakers' ostensible invitations are rare in most situations, the author notes that Persian speakers use a considerable number of ostensible by invitations in their daily activities as a manifestation of their ritual politeness. Furthermore, the study postulates that the main underlying factor in using ostensible invitations in Persian is enhancing face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Thus, in an attempt to adhering to societal norms Persian speakers enhance their face and the interlocutor's one by using ostensible invitations in everyday language.

7.6.3. Studies in Arabic:

Scholars conducted few studies on invitations in Arabic in general. However, such studies did not reveal very much about invitations a social practice. It is important to mention that, up to my knowledge, no studies have been conducted on invitations as a social practice within the Palestinian society. Therefore, in this section I try to review some studies in Arabic that explore the speech act of invitation. In fact, studies in Arabic on linguistic routines and formulaic patterns of the homely genres of Arab societies are not numerous.

Abdul Sattar et al. (2010) examines intercultural communication of the speech act of accepting and refusing an invitation between Iraqi and Malaysian postgraduates at the Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). The study has aimed at finding out the preferred semantic formulas or the appropriate strategies used in accepting and refusing an invitation. For this study, 60 university students were asked to respond to different situations in which they carry out the speech act of acceptance and refusal to invitation. The data, collected by means of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT), were analyzed in terms of semantic formulas (frequency, sequences and content) and were categorized according to the refusal taxonomy by Beebe et al (1990).

Following from Wolfson's (1981) general descriptive analysis of American English oral invitations, Salih (1996) attempts a sociopragmatic analysis of oral invitation formulae and responses to show the similarities and dissimilarities between American English (AmE) and Jordanian Arabic (JA). Salih states that due to religious references in JA, and certain socio-cultural norms in AmE and JA, inviters might use particular formulae or linguistic elements in their invitations that do not have any corresponding equivalents in the other language.

Salih (1996) has used a comparative approach based on exemplary speech acts in isolation cited from a variety of speech situations and highlighted the differences between them. This kind of approach can be criticized for its lack of an analytical framework that focuses on the different types of invitations and it also lacks the necessary sensitivity to the versatility of genre description, in the sense that it allows invitations to be viewed as a single genre at a high level of generalization. In reality, invitations represent a grouping of closely related subgenres, such as invitations for feasts, invitations for weddings, invitations for tribal reconciliation, or for meetings, etc., serving broadly similar communicative purposes although each has its specific communicative function and is different from others in a number of aspects, such as context of use, domain, participant relationships, medium of discourse and other constraints. Each of these variables affects the sequential organization of each communicative event and the kind of component moves used to articulate its specific purpose. The alternative approach is to explore and describe each individual communicative event.

Al-Ali (2005) identifies an unusual type of wedding announcement termed 'martyr's wedding'. This is recognized as one of two types of death announcements in

Jordanian newspapers: one communicates a normal death while the other celebrates an unusual death, called 'martyr's wedding'. Despite observed similarities between the two types of ceremonies in terms of the component moves employed to organize each type, the so called 'martyr's wedding' embodies indications of motivational, promotional, and persuasive input to the perceived audience, as well as a feeling of pride and honor on the part of the announcer. Al-Ali (2005) makes clear that these functions correspond closely to the ideology of the participants and reflect their socio-cultural norms and conventions. Except, perhaps, for the unusual type of wedding (i.e. the martyr's wedding) identified by Al-Ali, no published studies appear to have focused specifically on Arabic wedding invitation genre in terms of its sequential component organizational patterns, and the impact of the broader social norms and values on the articulation of these patterns.

Al-Ali (2006) examines through a genre and critical discourse analysis a total of 200 Arabic written wedding invitations in terms of their component patterns, and the role played by the broader socio-cultural norms and values in shaping this genre. It draws on two analytic frameworks from discourse: genre analysis, and critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA has exposed at least two interrelated aspects of culture – religion and masculine authority – that have a fundamental effect on the organizational details of this communicative event, and a detailed genre analysis has identified eight generic components that are ritually drawn upon in the process of wedding invitation production. CDA results have shown how religious affiliation and masculine kinship authority not only construct and shape text component selection but also color the lexical choices and naming practices.

Al-Khatib (2006) provides a detailed analysis of the pragmatic devices which are employed by Jordanian people in inviting, accepting an invitation and/or declining it. Several aspects of the many strategies are highlighted and approached from a socio-pragmatic perspective. The analysis has shown that the interactional strategies utilized by Jordanian people for the purposes of inviting, accepting an invitation and rejecting it are culturally shaped by interactive elements and that they could be understood and appreciated by people sharing the same cultural background.

Nelson et al., (2002) explore invitations and refusals of invitations in Egyptian Arabic. Native speakers of Egyptian Arabic tend to utilize substantially more indirect rather than direct refusal strategies. Compared to native speakers of American English,

Egyptian Arabic speakers tend to employ fewer refusal strategies. Egyptian refusals of invitations often consist primarily of reasons for the refusal, especially when refusing someone of lower status. Even in refusing a boss's request to work late, offering reasons may be sufficient in order to fully justify the refusals. (However, native speakers of Egyptian Arabic might find such situations very difficult to negotiate and choose not to refuse at all. Therefore, such refusals might rarely occur.) Suggestions of willingness are also often used by Egyptian Arabic speakers.

Atawneh and Sridhar (1993) study invitations as directive speech acts. The paper has three goals: to describe the politeness strategies of Arabic in the performance of the directive speech act and contrast them with those in English; to test the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1978) with Arabic-English bilinguals and Arabic monolinguals; and to explore the cultural determination of pragmatic norms in language. The data come from a carefully designed questionnaire of role-playing situations. The analysis of results shows a strong support for the politeness theory; however, the theory fails to provide the real politeness value for directives whose aim is to benefit the addressee, e.g., in invitations. The treatment of 'silence' as a function of politeness under this theory seems also to be questionable. Therefore, they propose using Leech's (1983) model in part to adjust the theory to overcome these inadequacies. Further, descriptive analysis shows that Arabic has fewer modals than English and therefore different politeness strategies are used to make up for the politeness function of modals in English. The applied part of their paper shows that the culture in which a second or foreign language is learned shapes the pragmatic norms of that language.

Invitations in Morocco are somehow the same. Alaoui (2011:13) mentions that traditionally in Moroccan Arabic "offer has to be repeated and declined a number of times before it is accepted. Accepting from the first offer is regarded as bad form, so S/H go through this ritualized behavior where each one has a defined role." Alaoui (2011) draws on material from English and Moroccan Arabic, making the point that this act is rather complex, involving potential threat to the speaker and/or hearer's face. The analysis indicates that in both languages the speaker's primary goal is to minimize any threat to her/his face and to the face of the hearer; however, the method deployed to undertake this objective is different in the two languages. In English, the devices favored are modals and questions whereas in Moroccan Arabic it is politeness markers and terms of address. Thus to mitigate the impact of the speech act of inviting, English

seems to opt for syntactic downgraders, whereas MA inclines towards lexical downgraders.

In chapter five of his PhD dissertation, Sinan (2004) starts with describing the importance of the awareness of speaking rules related to performing the speech act of invitation in the target community which is not the same as the learner's. Two types of invitations are identified: ostensible and genuine. In this chapter, invitation speech act is seen from the perspective of face and politeness. The responses of the Arab learners of English to the prompts calling for invitations in two socially differentiated situations are analyzed in terms of the main head acts and supportive moves.

Sinan's (2004) study presents some findings drawn after analyzing the production of this speech act. He indicates that Arab learners of English possess a range of various linguistic possibilities for realizing this speech act when addressing their intimates. There is a tendency on the part of the learners to be more direct when they invite their close familiars than when they address their superiors. They use invitations in the imperative mood with high frequency, obligatory statements, tacit declaratives, etc. This high degree of directness would be interpreted as evidence for transfer of social norms from Arabic. However, in the case of inviting a superior interlocutor, directness is minimized considerably. This finding leads to the conclusion that Arabs, while using English, transfer the sensitivity to social relations from Arabic L1 to their English use.

7.7. Conclusion:

It is worth mentioning that work on invitations has been mainly the focus of those who sought to study native speaker's lack of recognition of their own speech patterns. According to Wolfson (1989), and Wolfson, et al. (1983), the knowledge of how to give, interpret, and respond to invitations is an aspect of communicative competence which is critical to those who wish to interact socially. This knowledge is particularly significant to non-native EFL learners in the host speech community.

Reviewing the literature on invitations, I found that this speech act was examined in different cultures. In studying invitations, most scholars focus on the exploring this speech act without any consideration of the contexts or the situations in which invitations are issued. None of the studies reviewed explore invitations in the Palestinian society, so this study will be the first to do so.

The literature suffers shortage in politeness studies on Palestinian Arabic. No published study has focused on Palestinian Variety of Arabic. No single study has been conducted to investigate the politeness strategies in realizing invitations in Palestinian culture. The present study, thus, aims at filling a gap in the field of speech act studies concerning the use of linguistic politeness strategies in the performance of invitations. The investigation will compare the performance of Palestinians to that of US speakers.

In fact, I noticed that some of the studies that were reviewed deal with invitations without any consideration of the social or cultural dimension. There is a need to include the socio-pragmatic dimension in any study of invitations. In fact, invitations have to be investigated within discourse and social interaction. Therefore, this cross cultural study will be the first, up to my knowledge, that deals with invitations as social practices within the Palestinian context.

To conclude, the next chapters will investigate the speech act of extending invitations, accepting them and refusing them. This cross cultural study will explore strategies for expressing this speech act in both Palestinian Arabic (PA) and American English (AE) to determine the similarities and differences in the realization patterns of this speech act in both languages. Certain socio-pragmatic notions such as *insistence*, *imposition*, and *ritual refusals* will be explored in the two different cultures (cf. Placencia, 2008). In exploring inviting situations within discourse, this research is grounded in Searle's (1969), Leech's (1983) and Brown & Levinson (1987) models as theoretical frameworks of data analysis of socio-pragmatic constraints existing in the two speech communities (USA and the Occupied Palestinian Territories OPT).

CHAPTER EIGHT: STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS OF INVITATIONS IN AE AND PA

8.0. Introduction:

As stated earlier, this is a contrastive/cross cultural study of invitations in Palestinian Arabic (PA) and American English (AE). In this chapter, I will investigate the realization patterns of the speech act of inviting in both languages. The structures of invitations will be analyzed and the functions of invitations will be explored in both languages. In discussing the functions, some light will be shed on the cultural values and implications that are reflected by the use of invitations in everyday interactions in American English and Palestinian Arabic. Any speech acts (macro- and micro-) that may occur in conjunction with invitations will be pointed out as well.

Taking all examples of invitations together, I examined them first for linguistic patterning. The percentage occurrence for each pattern was calculated to see which patterns were frequent in each language. This helped to decide whether speakers of the language being analyzed make use of pre-fabricated structures or not. After that I had to review some examples to see what kind of situations needed invitations. So it was possible to tell what functions invitations make. A consideration of the function of the invitation in a particular context in which it was delivered helped to understand the cultural implications of invitations in the languages under analysis.

Since invitations are highly ritualized activities, full of set procedures and etiquette, this chapter provides a considerable account of invitations in US and Palestinian societies focusing mainly on communication as a social interaction between hosts and guests. Certain cultural, verbal and non-verbal, and behavioral practices in both societies will also be highlighted in an attempt to reveal certain culture-specific tendencies while extending invitations. In fact, "Each culture is an empire of verbal and nonverbal signs that structure subjective individual consciousness" (Qleibo, 2011:19). Therefore, focusing mainly on invitation making, I will explore different conceptions and practices of the notion of *hospitality* in Palestinian Arabic (PA) and American English (AE).

The analysis of data shows that Palestinian people, in everyday communication, care a lot about two points. First, Palestinians take into consideration *the respect of the group for a man with a good moral reputation*. On the other hand, the second point has to do with the reputation or prestige which is gained from getting on in life or being

attributed by the members in the community. In fact, these two points can be compared with Brown and Levinson's concept of *face*. These two points stand for a public image as they come from evaluation of others in the community. On the contrary, Brown and Levinson's *face* emphasized self-image which intrinsically belongs to individuals as it is the case in AE. When it comes to the speech act of invitation, in the Palestinian situation, collectivism is more important than Brown and Levinson's negative politeness.

8.1. The structure of invitations:

This section examines the structure of invitations in AE and PA. Normally, the exchange structure of an invitation consists of various moves: the lead (pre-invites), the invitation (the head act), the response including positive response (satisfy) or negative response (contra) (Suzuki, 2009; Edmondson & House, 1981; Wolfson, 1989). Since responses to invitations will be explored in a separate chapter, I will in this chapter focus on invitation making.

8.1.1. Analysis of invitations in American English:

Invitations are commissive-directives that require a request for response, a time reference, a mention of place or activity and present a social obligation that both interactants are committed to fulfill. When an invitation is issued in an interaction, the speaker conventionally commits himself/herself to the fulfillment of this social obligation. By the same token, when the addressee accepts the invitation, he/she will also be committed to keep his/her word. Thus, we usually find that invitations are executed through a process of negotiation. The aim of the negotiation of an invitation is to reach at an agreement that interlocutors can abide by. In such negotiations, interactants usually discuss their schedules carefully in an attempt to specify a time for the invitation that suits both the speaker and the addressee.

Since invitations lead to social commitments, we find that they are not as frequent in everyday interactions as other speech acts. This may explain the reason why the corpus of invitations that were collected for this study are not as much as the corpus of other speech acts collected in other studies. Besides, invitations are expensive and might cost a lot of money. Therefore, people in USA may not issue so many invitations due to some financial reasons since invitations require specific preparations, arrangements and care towards the invitees. Indeed, over a period of one year of data collection, I was not

able to collect more than 113 examples of invitations from different resources while the rest of the data was collected by the means of a questionnaire.

An important feature of invitations that was obvious in the data is that an invitation usually consists of three components:

1. A request for response. 2. Time reference. 3. A mention of the place and activity (cf. Eslami, 2005: 455; Wolfson et al, 1983)

- 1 - *Why don't* (a request for response) *we meet again* (activity) *next week* (time)?
- 2 - *What do you say* (a request for response) *I rent a limo* (activity) *this weekend* (time)?
- 3 - *Would you like* (a request for response) *to come round for coffee* (activity) *tonight* (time)?

The examination of the data indicated that except for the *request for response* the other two components may not be present within the same utterance. They may be implied in the context or they may be stated somewhere in the preceding or following discourse. The example below illustrates this point:

4. *Would you like me to bring you some coffee?*

The time reference in the above example was defined in relation to the time of speaking. In this specific example the time was the present (now). The example below provides more illustration:

5. *Why don't both of you come along?*

The time reference and the activity in this example were negotiated in the preceding discourse between a couple and their friends. This example indicates that invitations should be explored within discourse in social interaction. The fact that time and activity or place may not be present in the same utterance or may not be explicitly stated, combined with the fact that a request for response can be conveyed through intonation accounted for some examples such as:

- 6- *Nice of you to drop in. Tea?*
- 7- *Lunch?*
- 8- *An apple?*

The properties common to an invitation are all present in these single lexical items: the activity is defined in the semantic content; the request for response is conveyed by the intonation and the time reference is implicit from the context. Invitations of this sort accounted for 5.3% of the data and they were easily recognized by the addressees as invitations.

As it is the case in many other conversational interactions, context frequently substitutes for words in giving some of the information to be communicated (See van Dijk, 2009). The request for response could also be signaled by question intonation alone. All these points enable the speaker to extend invitations which are, even though no longer than a single word, perfectly understood. The utterance "*Saturday?*" uttered by a woman as part of a leave-taking sequence could be interpreted as a perfect invitation on the grounds that it is well known to both participants in this interaction that this single utterance referred to the fact that the two women and their husbands were in the habit of spending most Saturday evenings together.

The context, the shared knowledge of the interactants, and the question intonation are three important factors that affect most, if not all, invitation exchanges. Among intimates where a great deal of contextual knowledge is shared, one-word invitations, like the above example are not uncommon. Even though they contain all the information necessary to perform the function intended, non-native speakers of the language treat such speech acts as "truncated" ones which may, on the surface, seem hardly to qualify as speech acts. The utterances are referred to as minimal invitation forms.

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this section, invitations are usually arrived at through a process of negotiation (Eslami, 2005:461). The three components that are common properties of invitations are usually discussed in such negotiations. The negotiation usually starts with an opening which may convey to the hearer that an invitation will follow if the response is encouraging. Indeed, the degree of explicitness of the opening varies with respect to how the addressees succeed in interpreting an opening and consequently may not expect an invitation to follow.

Wolfson, Reisner and Huber (1983:120) and Eslami (2005:461) call these openings the *leads*. They add that the lead may be a question or a comment. In the data of the present study, the leads were sometimes followed by the request for response:

- 9- *I'm giving a celebratory supper and wonder if you'd like to join us?*
- 10- *We're having dinner now. Would you like to join us?*

and sometimes the leads occurred alone.

- 11- *Maybe we can get together for lunch one day.*
- 12- *I'm looking forward to seeing you?*

Leads followed by a request for response appeared in 4.4% of the examples, while leads without the request for response appeared in 17.6% of the data with leads.

One way of opening a negotiation is for the speaker to express a desire for a social commitment and wait for a response. If the response is encouraging, the speaker will start to talk about the specifics until the invitation is complete. Wolfson et al. (1983:120) call this type of opening the *expressive leads*:

13- *I'm looking forward to seeing you.*

14- *I'd like to have a chance to sit down and talk to you* (Wolfson et al. 1983:120).

It is worth mentioning that expressive leads occurred in 24% of the examples with leads.

Another kind of leads that appeared in the data and often followed the expressive lead is what Wolfson et al. call the *availability lead*. This lead is a question which is issued by the speaker or the hearer to establish the availability of the speaker.

15- *I'd like to have a chance to sit down and talk to you. What's your schedule like tomorrow?* (Wolfson et al. 1983:120)

16- A: *I'm looking forward to seeing you?*

B: *Well, when are you free?*

Expressive leads followed by availability leads appeared in 33.3% of the data with leads. However, the data indicated that availability leads can be used without expressives:

17- *Do you have a lot of work to do tonight?* (Wolfson et al. 1983:121)

18- *Are you busy tonight?*

Availability leads occurring alone appeared in 18.7% of the data with leads. The most important thing here is that the hearer is expected to succeed in interpreting the speaker's question. Otherwise, the invitation will not be completed. The speaker in the following example from Wolfson et al (1983:121) managed to interpret the illocutionary intent of the speaker's utterance:

19- A: *Are you busy for dinner tonight?*

B: *A few of us are going to Greek town. Want to come?*

But in the following example between two college students, the hearer was not able to interpret the speaker's question accurately:

20- A: *Do you have a lot of things to do this afternoon?*

B: *I have an assignment to finish.*

According to Wolfson et al. (1983:122) classification of leads, another type of leads that was present in the data is *pseudo leads*. Those are leads which take the form of a comment in which time is left indefinite and which call for an immediate response.

21- *May be we can get together for lunch one day.* (ibid:122)

22- *We have to get together soon.* (ibid:122)

Pseudo leads appeared in 24% of the data with leads. The kinds of leads that appeared in the data and their distribution are clearly shown in the following diagram.

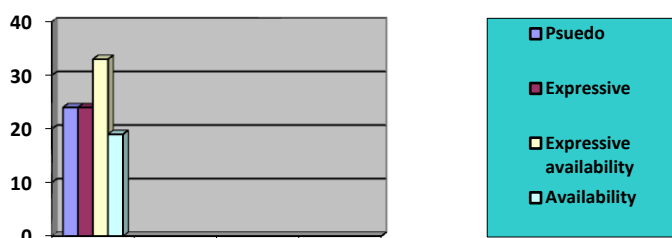


Diagram (8.1.): *The representation of leads in AE data.*

To sum up, it was stated that three components are usually present in the invitation: a request for response, a reference to time and a mention of the place or the activity (Suzuki, 2009:85-104). It was mentioned that the requests for response should always be explicitly stated while the other components can be implied in the context or stated somewhere in the preceding or following discourse. It was as well made in the previous section that an invitation in AE is often achieved through a process of negotiation in an attempt to avoid any imposition or threat of face. This negotiation starts with an opening that takes the form of a question or a comment and which signals to the hearer with varying degrees of explicitness that an invitation is to follow. The success or failure of the invitation will depend on the addressee’s ability to interpret the illocutionary intent of the speaker accurately.

8.1.2. *Functional implications of invitations in AE:*

Invitations are regarded as directives according to Searle’s (1969) classification. However, invitations are also classified as commissives which lead to social commitments according to Austin’s taxonomy (1962). Those commitments are usually arrived through a process of negotiation (Eslami, 2005:466). The negotiation of an invitation, as was indicated in the previous section, serves to establish the availability of both interactants. However, this study confirms that “invitation” in PA, as will be illustrated in the next sections, is sometimes achieved as one type of “requesting”, when S needs to ask H to participate in or attend at a certain event. In such a case, “invitation” enters Searle’s (1969) DIRECTIVE or Leech’s (1983) COMPETITIVE domains, which are mainly concerned with Brown & Levinson’s (1987) FTA (face-threatening act) framework. Speakers in American English try to negotiate an invitation in an attempt to

free themselves from any possible imposition. They try not to extend an invitation that might be considered as a FTA. Appropriately extending an invitation is not merely concerned with obedience to politeness principles. In order to mitigate threats in an invitation, social factors must be taken into consideration (Farnia and Wu, 2012:162).

The first thing that should be made clear is that invitations are not necessarily limited to foods and drinks (Suzuki, 2009:92). One can invite a friend to a party, a meeting with his/her family, a picnic, a movie, a game or even to go shopping. However, the ways invitations are issued and the responses to them are affected to some extent by the age of the interactants, their relations, their sex and their social status relative to each other (cf. Al-Khatib, 2006:272). It is this connection between invitations and these contextual factors that makes knowledge of how to give an invitation and how to respond to it an important aspect of the communicative competence of both native speakers and foreign language learners.

The examination of the data for the present study indicated that one major function of invitations in AE is to establish and maintain intimacy (relative closeness) between interactants. In the example below, a lady in her thirties was inviting a famous person to her house when she knew that he was in the town.

23- A: *Mr. Miyashiro, I'm looking forward to seeing you too. I'm having a special dinner prepared in your honor ... You're most welcome, Mr. Miyashiro and you give my best to your brother Bud.*

In this example, both the speaker and the addressee are not merely new acquaintances. They had met before and intimacy between them is already existent. Thus, by inviting the addressee to her house, the lady assumed that she had to maintain this intimacy in her relation with him.

Sometimes people do not see one another for a long time because they live far away from each other, but perhaps because they are so busy. Thus, motivated by the fear of estrangement, they try to arrange for a meeting. The inviter tries most of the time to avoid any kind of imposition, and the invitee is given the complete freedom to accept or refuse an invitation. Negotiations in an attempt to reach a suitable arrangement for both sides lessen the severity of the invitation as a directive. One characteristic of these negotiations is that they are too long when they occur between intimates.

24- A: *It's really horrible that we never see each other.*
B: *I know. We have to try to arrange something.*
A: *How about dinner? Why don't we go out to dinner together?*
B: *That's a good idea.*

A: *What days are good for you and Joe?*
 B: *Weekends are best.*
 A: *Oh, weekends are bad for us. Don't you ever go out to dinner during the week?*
 B: *Well, we do. But we usually don't make plans till the last minute.*
Joe gets home late a lot and I never know what his schedule is going to be.
 A: *O.K. Well, look. Why don't you call me when you want to go out. Any week night is good.*
 B: *O.K. I will.*
 A: *Really. Don't forget.*
 B: *O.K. I won't. I'll call you.* (Wolfson et al. (1983:123)

What is obvious in this negotiation is that both ladies tried to reach a commitment, but at the end nothing was accomplished except a promise to go out together when both of them find the time to do so. However, regardless of the fact that no commitment was arrived at through this negotiation, both interactants expressed a great desire to maintain intimacy. Indeed, almost always, negotiations of invitations end without reaching at any commitment. The following is an interaction between a student and a faculty member can also serve to prove this fact.

25- A: *Hi, Lyn. It's good to see you. I never see you anymore. Is everything O.K.?*
 B: *Yes, fine.*
 A: *I really miss seeing you.*
 B: *You are so busy. I don't want to bother you.*
 A: *It wouldn't be a bother. I'd love to see you. What we should do is arrange to have lunch together so that we can really talk.*
 B: *O.K.* (Wolfson et al., 1983:125)

When the interactants are totally strangers or just newly acquainted, the invitation helps to establish intimacy between them. In situation 26 below, A is a female Mayor in her forties and B is a young female tourist. A and B just got acquainted and the Mayor is inviting the tourist.

26- A: *Miss Willow. Want some cake?*
 B: *Yes, thank you. May I call you Mayor?*

Example 27 below is a situation between A, a couch in his twenties, and B who is a young girl.

27- A: *Hi, I'm John Bench. Is Iren at home?*
 B: *Iren?*
 A: *Yes, I wanna talk to her about the swim team.*
 B: *Oh, please, sit down.*
 A: *Thank you.*
 B: *A drink?*
 A: *No, no thank you.*

In this example, the young couch came to ask about a girl who is a member of his team. Her sister met him at the door because she felt that he was behaving formally. The

examples mentioned so far prove the value of invitations as a means of creating and maintaining intimacy among people. It is commonly acknowledged that getting together is a social strategy that reinforces intimacy and demolishes estrangement.

The data for the present study indicated that another function of invitations is to lighten the tension of a hard situation. In situation 28 below, A is a man in his thirties and B is a policewoman.

28- A: *Well. Um-shall we have a coffee over there?*
B: *Fine.*

In this example the policewoman was performing a duty in the man's house which was rubbed recently. The man felt that the policewoman was a bit confused and nervous so he invited her to have a cup of coffee.

29- A: *You want a cigarette?*
B: *No. Thanks.*

In this example the manager was investigating an embezzlement case before calling the police. The employee was too nervous so he offered her a cigarette to cool down.

In almost all similar examples, either coffee or cigarettes are the topic of the invitation. But as soon as the case which caused tension is over, people may be invited to go out for food, drink, picnic, or even a walk. In example 30, the same manager in the previous example is inviting all the employees for a drink outside the company after the case was over.

30- A: *Okay, everyone. Let's go to Jasper's. The drinks are on me. I'll even buy you a beer Kelley.*
B: *I don't drink, sir.*

Sometimes, invitations may function as a means of retaining memories. In example 31, A and B are two old men. They have just met after a long time of parting. A is inviting B to practice a game that they need to play when they were young.

31- A: *Eh, how about you and me playing a friendly little game of pool? I can really run a table.*
B: *Yeah, yeah. I know. Big stick, big score, big deal.*

In order to retain memories, as well, people may invite one another to visit a place where they used to go sometime in the past.

32- A: *What do you say I rent a limo this weekend?*
B: *(giggles).*
A: *Dinner at Chedor.*
B: *Oh, that sounds great. It's been long time since we last met there.*
A: *Then it's a date.*
B: *Yeah. It's a date.*

Example 32 above is a situation between two old friends. A is a young male presenter and B is a young policewoman. They have not seen each other for a long time. So, A invited B to a place where they used to have dinner in the past.

Another function of invitations is to provide a change and help get rid of routine. A person, who is used to having lunch at his house, may invite his family to have lunch outdoors. Moreover, a person who gets bored of working over and over for a long time may invite his wife for a journey. Such a function of invitations helps renew activity and liveliness. Otherwise, people will never be able to continue working, or their works will never be productive. In situation 33 below, A is a lady in her thirties and B is a male housekeeper in his twenties. The housekeeper was tired of hard work all through the week. The housewife was tired of hard work all through the week. The housekeeper started to prepare lunch when she stopped him and raised the idea of taking all the family out for a change.

33- A: *Ah, Tony. I'll tell you what. It's a beautiful spring day. Let's go to the Fairfield inn and we'll have a nice refreshing salad.*

B: *You know, Angela. If we are going to do spring, let's do spring, huh I'm talking a big, thick roast beef sandwich dripping with mustard and a side order of beans with them little part cubes floating around in there. Yeah, now that's refreshing.*

The data indicated that intimate friends may sometimes invite themselves. In the following example, A invites himself to B's house without even asking whether she would be available or not. A and B are good friend. A is a male employee in his thirties and B is a female employee about the same age.

34- A: *Linda. What time should I come to your house for dinner tonight?*

B: *Oh, eight o'clock.*

Situation 35 below, where A and B are two intimate young friends, is also an example of self invitations.

35- A: *Are you busy? I thought I'd drop over for a while.* (Wolfson et al. 1983: 126)

In the previous sections, leads that served as openings for the negotiations of invitations were presented. The function of these leads is interesting evidence of the often rapid pace of life in USA. Because time for social life is limited, it is often difficult to keep contact with old friends and acquaintances. It frequently happens that friends or relatives are brought together through one cause or another. Such meetings at parties, weddings, funerals, in the street or at a store may result in a desire for closer relationship. Therefore, a suggestion to get together sometime, for instance, is not

interpreted by the participants as an invitation and neither participant will be insulted if negotiations for invitations are never brought to fruition. Such negotiations, when not completed, will merely be considered as expressions of good intentions.

The question that may be raised here is that why do people in USA negotiate for social commitments if these negotiations usually do not result in such a commitment? Before attempting to answer this question, we should notice that neither participant in the negotiation can tell whether it is sincere or insincere. That is, when a person starts to negotiate for an invitation, he/she may not be sincere. He/she may be just acting a kind of politeness strategy. However, people usually choose to negotiate for a social commitment in order to avoid the probability of exposing themselves to possible rejection.

Anyway, when an invitation is likely to be negotiated or not depends upon the social identity of the participants and their positions relative to each other. Power or inequality of status favors direct invitations and tries to avoid negotiations. However, sometimes negotiation may take place despite inequality of status. This usually happens when participants share either sex or profession because these two factors contribute to creating solidarity. In example 25 at the beginning of this section, the invitation was negotiated because both the student and the faculty member were females. In example 36 below, the negotiation takes place because both interactants are faculty members, but one of them is from a lower rank.

36- A: *Well, it seems that we have a number of things to discuss. We'll have to try to have lunch together.*

B: *That's a good idea.*

A: *Yes, well right now I can hardly keep my head above water, but as soon as I have things cleared away-say in 2 or 3 weeks, I'll give you a call and we'll make a date.*

B: *O.K. Let me know when you are free.* (Wolfson et al. 1983:125)

"Let's *have lunch some time*" is a common refrain among American English speakers. Natives understand that it may lead to a more defined future invitation, may simply be a marker of interest in maintaining a friendship, or may be an insincere way to end a conversation (Rakowicz 2009:1). However, Palestinian speakers of Arabic, as will be illustrated later on, may find this kind of invitation (ostensible invitation) very confusing.

Invitations are usually informal and often oral, but tell the time and place: "*Will you come over Tuesday evening at 8:00?*" (cf. Wolfson, et al, 1983:126; Eslami,

2005:544) A statement such as "*come and see me sometime*" or "*drop in*" is not an invitation. It means that a person must telephone before he/she drops in. If the invitee accepts an invitation, it is important for him/her to go and be punctual. The host expects the invitee to call as soon as possible if he/she must cancel.

To sum up, the discussion above indicated that invitations can serve a number of functions in AE. They establish and maintain intimacy, lighten the tensivity of a difficult or embarrassing situation, help to retain memories, and provide a change. When an invitation is arrived at, both interactants will be committed to the fulfillment of this social obligation.

8.1.3. Analysis of invitations in Palestinian Arabic:

The corpus of invitations which made up the data for this study consisted of some examples that were collected ethnographically while the rest of the data was collected by the means of a questionnaire.

Invitations are usually arrived at through a process of negotiation. The analysis of the data for the present study revealed that the majority of negotiations of invitations in Palestinian Arabic start after one of the interactants issues the invitation. The person who issues the invitation is the one who is responsible for determining the time and the place or the activity. This does not mean that the hearer has no choice or does not have the right to object. On the contrary, the hearer can refuse the invitation if any of these aspects contradicts his/her schedule, or at least he/she may ask the speaker to change any of these aspects. In this case if the speaker is not ready to do so, the invitation may not be achieved.

In the following example, a man invites his relative to his house because he (the relative) has recently returned from a travel:

37- *Yuum ?ljumṣa ḡadak ṣindi.* (يوم الجمعة غداك عندي)
[You will have lunch at my house on Friday].

As the example shows, there is no request for response. The inviter assumes that it is a "social obligation" to invite a relative to his/her house when that relative returns back from a long travel (Eslami, 2005:474). Thus, the inviter does not expect the invitee to say *No* although he/she still has the right to negotiate about time. The reason why a hearer negotiates in such cases is that either the time does not suit his/her schedule or he/she does not want to cause the speaker any trouble in preparing and buying things.

It is not always the case that the request for response is absent. Most of the time the request for response is explicit as in the examples below:

- 38- *šu rayak tišarikni bifinjän qahwa?* شو رايك تشاركني بفنجان قهوة؟
[What do you say of having a cup of coffee together?]
39- *mumkin tiḡada çindna ilyum?* ممكن نتغدا عندنا اليوم؟
[Is it possible that you have lunch with us today?]
40- *btiqdar trawwiḥ maçi çaşan niḡadda maç baçD?*
بتقدر تروح معي عشان نتغدا مع بعض؟
[Can you go home with me so that we can have lunch together?]
41- *bithibi tišrabi iši?* بتحبي تشربي اشى؟
[Would you like something to drink?]

Sometimes the request for response is implicit.

- 42- *qahwa?* قهوة؟ [Coffee?]
43- *bārid walla sāxin?* بارد ولا ساخن؟ [A cold or a hot drink?]
44- *finjän qahwa çalmāši?* فنجان قهوة عالماشي؟ [A cup of coffee and then you can go?]

However, the request for response is an important aspect of the invitation even if it was not stated clearly. Thus, in the following examples:

- 45- *inzil išrab kāsīt šay.* انزل اشرب كاسة شاي. [Come down and have a cup of tea].
46- *xallīna niḡadda maç baçD ilyum.* خلينا نتغدا مع بعض اليوم.
[Let's have lunch together today].
47- *ana dāçik labeity.* انا داعيك على البيت. [I'm inviting you to my house].
48- *bidna tišarifna çalyada fi elddār çindi.* بدنا تشرفنا على الغدا في الدار عندي.
[I'd like you to give us the honor of having lunch with you in my house].

The time and the activity are mentioned but the request for response is not. Still, the hearer is expected to say whether he/she will comply with invitation or not.

Sometimes there is a word or an expression at the beginning of the invitation that allows place for negotiation. The analysis revealed that the most frequent expression that is used to allow for negotiation is *šu rāyak* شو رايك [what do you say]. This expression occurred in 21.4% of the examples.

- 49- *šu rāyak nišrab kāsīt šāy?* شو رايك نشرب كاسة شاي؟
[What do you say of drinking a cup of tea together?]
50- *šu rāy išabbāb ilyuum ḡadāhum çindi?* شو راى الشباب اليوم غداهم عندي
[What do you say, young men, of having lunch at my house?]
51- *šu rāyak titfaDDal maçi çalbeit?* شو رايك تتفضل معي عاليبيت؟
[What do you say of coming with me to my house?]

Other expressions that were not as frequent as *šu rāyak* included *mumkin* (يمكن is it possible), *ya reit* (يا ريت I wish), *fāDi* (فاضي do you have time), *btiqdar* (بتقدر can you) and *iḏa ma çindak māniç* (اذا ما عندك مانع if you do not have any objections). The examples below reveal more illustration:

- 52- *fī çinna ḡafleh basiḡa, yareit law tišarrifna.* في عندنا حفلة بسيطة، يا ريت لو تشرفنا.

- [We have a small party. We wish you would give us the honor by your attendance].
 53- *mumkin tityadda çinna elyum.* ممكن تتغدا عندنا اليوم.
 [Is it possible for you to have lunch with us today].
 54- *ana çāzmik çala kāsīt bārid, iḏa ma çindik māniç.*
 انا عازمك على كاسة بارد، اذا ما عندك مانع.
 [I'd like to invite you for a cold drink if you do not have any objections].
 55- *btigdar tmur laçindi çaşān nihki bilmawDüç maç kāsīt šāy?*
 بتقدر تمر لعندي عشان نحكي بالموضوع مع كاسة شاي؟
 [Can you drop by so that we can talk it over with a cup of tea?]

The examination of the data⁴⁷ indicated that sometimes the speaker may use expressions that do not give the hearer any chances to negotiate. In this case, the invitee has no other choice but to accept the invitation.

- 56- *çalayı ?talaq min marati yeir tityadda çindi.* علي الطلاق من مراتي غير تتغدى عندي.
 [I'll divorce my wife if don't have lunch with me].
 57- *wallah yeir tinzil tişrab kāsīt šāy.* والله غير تنزل تشرب كاسة شاي.
 [I swear by God that you must come down and have a cup of tea].
 58- *qult āh, quly la?, biddak tiji.* قلت اه، قلت لا، بذك تنزل.
 [whether you say yes or no, you must come].

So far, we have seen that the type of reasoning used to make the invitation attractive in PA stems from a cultural obligation to put others, especially guests, before one's self. In a society where hospitality is more than a way of life, presenting an invitation as something that would benefit the host is of utmost importance, and therefore there is also a strong tendency to use the direct impositive form. As shown in the above examples, the reasons used to make the invitation appealing are mostly focused on the inviter's desires and willingness for B to come. The inviter emphasizes that the party would not be good if B did not come, or that B would confer honor on the host if s/he came. Therefore there is a cultural difference between American English and PA that is reflected in the kinds of reasons used to negotiate invitations (cf. Eslami, 2005:466).

The range of verbs that can be used to invite is not easily recognized. In the data of the present study 31 verbs occurred in 91.4% of the examples. This means that the great majority of invitations made use of verbs. The most frequent verbs were *tafaDDal* (تفضل help yourself, welcome), *işrab* (اشرب drink) and *ityadda* (اتغدى have lunch).

- 59- *itfaDDal çindi çalbeit bnityada wa bnitnāqaş bilmawDüç.*
 اتفضل عندي عالييت بتغدى وبتناقش بالموضوع.
 [Welcome to my house to have lunch with me and talk things over].
 60- *bukra bnityadda sawa.* بكرة بتغدا سوى. [Tomorrow we'll have lunch together].
 61- *Şu rāyak tişrab kāsīt šāy?* شو رايك تشرب كاسة شاي؟

⁴⁷ See Chapter 11 for more illustration of the notion of *insistence*.

- [What do you say we drink a cup of tea?]
 62- *itfaDDal ityadda maçaana*. اتفضل اتغدى معانا. [Come and have lunch with us].
 63- *xallīna nitḡadda barra elyūm*. خلىنا نتغدى برا اليوم.
 [Let's have lunch outside today].
 64- *tišrab finjān qahwa maçi*. تشرب فنجان قهوة معي.
 [Do you want to drink a cup of coffee with me].

It is worth mentioning that these verbs were used in 54.8% of the data. That is, one half of the data made use of three verbs only. In the other half, a total of 28 verbs were used.

As for nouns, they were use in 6.4% of the data only. The noun is either used alone with a rising intonation or within an interrogative structure starting with *šurāyak* [what do you say].

- 65- *qahwa?* قهوة [Coffee?]
 66- *ḡadweh willa çaša?* غدوه ولا عشا؟ [A lunch or a dinner?]
 67- *šu rāyak bikāsīt šāy?* شو رايك بكاسة شاي؟ [How about a cup of tea?]
 68- *eiš rāyak bil çaša?* ايش رايك بالعشاء؟ [How about dinner?]

As I have said earlier in this section, negotiations of invitations usually start after one of the interactants had issued the invitation. In the data for the present study, there were only two examples only where the speaker tried to establish the availability of hearer before inviting him. The interaction below took place between two college students in the bus in their way home.

- 69- A: *fāDi ?lyūm?* فاضي اليوم؟ [Are you free today?]
 B: *miš kaθīr, leiš?* مش كثير، ليش؟ [Not exactly. Why?]
 A: *qult yimkin niqdar nitḡadda sawa?* قلت يمكن نقدر نتغدى سوا.
 [I thought we might have lunch together]
 B: *wallah ma baqdarš awçidak*. والله ما بقدر اوعدك. [I cannot promise you, really].

The following example is an interaction between two officials in their mid-forties while they were in the office before they went home.

- 70- A: *fī warāk ḡajeh ilyūm çalyada?* في وراك حاجة اليوم عالغدى؟
 [Do you have anything to do at lunch time today?]
 B: *la warāy wala quddāmi*. لا وراي ولا قدامي. [Nothing]
 A: *iðan bitrawih maçi nitḡadda maç baçaD*. اذا بتروح معي نتغدى مع بعض.
 [Then you will go home with me to have lunch together].
 B: *la, bārak aallah fīk. biddi araweḡ*. لا، بارك الله فيك. بدي اروح.
 [No, God bless you. I want to go home].
 A: *ismaç mini. ilmara Tābxa akleh mabtetfawat*. اسمع مني. المرأة طابخة اكلة ما بتتقوت.
 [Listen to me. My wife has cooked something you should never miss].
 B: *wallah iða muşamim, ðanbak çala janbak*. والله اذا مصمم، ذنك على جنبك.
 [By God. Since you are insisting, then it's your fault].
 A: *muşamim*. مصمم [I insist].
 B: *maši ya sīdi*. ماشي يا سيدي. [O.K.].

Briefly, invitations are carried out through the use of verbs and nouns. These are not used on their own but within longer structures. Negotiations of invitations usually start after the speaker issues the invitation. In cases where a negotiation started before issuing the invitation, the negotiation serves to establish the availability of the addressee only.

The conclusions from this section show that it is uncommon for Palestinians to clear the ground move as “*Are you free next Friday morning (فاضي يوم الجمعة الصبح؟) faDi yūm iljumṣah ilṣubih?*” and the like before issuing the real invitation. Frequently they would indicate the reason for the invitation by expressions as “*bukra ḥindna ḥafleh fi ilbeit. tafadDal ḥindna (تفضل عندنا. tomorrow we will have a party at home, please come and join us)*” and the like. In most cases, invitations reveal the approximate solidarity between speakers.

8.1.4. Functional implications of invitations in PA:

As mentioned in this chapter, negotiations that lead to social commitments in Palestinian Arabic usually occur after the speaker had issued the invitation. In the corpus of invitations that made up the data for the study, there were only two examples where the speaker tried to establish the availability of the addressee before inviting him/her. This may have to do with the value of generosity in the Palestinian society. It is conventionally assumed that the person who invites is the one who is responsible for the costs of the invitation. Thus the speaker actually tries to make his/her statement so decisive to avoid giving the impression of being reluctant or not serious. In example 71 below, a young male college student is inviting his female classmate to a cafeteria:

- 71- A: *šu biḥibbi tišrabi ? شو بتحبي تشربي؟* [What would you like to drink?]
 B: *šukran ma bidīši. شكرا ما بدي شي.* [Thanks. I don't want anything.]
 A: *šu rāyek fi kāsīt qahwa? شو رايك في كاسة قهوة؟* [How about a cup of coffee?]
 B: *la bidīš aklfak. لا بديش اكلفك.* [No, I don't want to increase your expenditure.]
 A: *basīTa. xalīna naxuḍ qahwah. elqahwa jayida ilṣubḥ.*
 بسيطة. خلينا ناخذ قهوة. القهوة جيدة الصبح.
 It's not a big deal. Let's have coffee. Coffee is fine at the morning.]
 B: *maši ilḥal. ما شي الحال.* [It's O.K.]

We notice that the speaker here did not even ask the girl whether or not she wanted to drink. It seems as if he was not even ready to let her refuse. Still, to look more and more determined, some people resort to swearing. In example 72 below, a man in his forties is addressing a co-worker who drove him back home at night.

- 72- A: *wallah yeir tišrab finjān qahwa. ma bin axrak.*
 والله غير تشرب فنجان قهوة. ما بتأخرک.
 [I swear that you should drink a cup of coffee. I won't keep you long.]

B: *barak allah fīk. ilwaqit mit?xir. bidi arawih.* بارك الله فيك. الوقت متأخر. بدي اروح.
[God bless you. It's too late. I have to go home.]

Some people who are extreme in their attitudes may resort to threatening that they will divorce their wives if the addressee does not accept the invitation.

73- *biTTalāq min marati yeir tinzil.* بالطلاق من مراتي غير تنزل.
[I'll divorce my wife if you don't come down.]

This way of inviting expresses a strong desire on the part of interactants to get together. Getting together is one way of establishing solidarity. Sometimes people are too busy that they do not see each other for a long time. So, in any occasional meeting and motivated by the fear of estrangement they try to arrange to get together. Those arrangements are usually arrived at through negotiations whether before or after the invitation is issued by one of the interactants. There are many occasions in the Palestinian society that elicit invitations. People may invite one another in accordance with the social traditions and habits. Someone, for instance, may come back from a long travel outside his country. In this case, his/her relatives and intimate friends feel that it is their duty to invite him/her to lunch or dinner. This is one way of saying *welcome* to that person and a way of congratulating him/her for coming back healthy and safely. Such invitations involve negotiations. Those negotiations are started either after or before issuing the invitation. When they come before the invitations, they serve to establish the availability of the addressee. If they occur after the invitations, they serve either to modify the time because it does not suit the addressee's schedule or to try to convince the speaker that there is no need for the invitation. In most cases these negotiations are too long. Example 74 below illustrates a situation in which a man in his forties is inviting his brother who has recently come back from a long travel.

74- A: *šu fī warāk yūm iljumça ?* شو في وراك يوم الجمعة؟ [What are you doing on Friday?]

B: *wala išī. šāfyeh.* ولا اشي. صافية. [Nothing. I've got nothing to do.]

A: *iđan btityadda çindna inšā? allah.* اذا بتتغدى عندنا ان شاء الله.

[Then you will have lunch with us. God's willing!]

B: *ma fi dāçi ityallib hālak. hu ihna bidna nijarbak.*

[There is no need to bother yourself. We already know that you are a generous man].

A: *la ma fi halleh. biddak tityadda çindna.* لا ما في حلة. بدك تتغدى عندنا.

[I won't accept this excuse/ I won't give up. You must have lunch with us].

B: *ya rajul xalās. bazūrak ziyāra çadiyyeh.* يا رجل خلاص. بزورك زيارة عادية.

[Oh, man. Don't specify a certain day. I'll visit you any day. There is no need for food].

A: *bitzūrna baçid ma tityadda çindna.* بتزورنا بعد ما تتغدى عندنا.

[First you have lunch at my house, and then you can visit me whenever you want].

B: *ya sīdi, bārak allah fīk.* يا سيدي بارك الله فيك. [God bless you].

A: *iðan ittafaqna çala yŭm iljumça* ? اذا اتفقنا على يوم الجمعة. [Then we agreed on Friday ?]
B: *măši. inšă? allāh.* ماشي. ان شاء الله. [O.K. By God's willing.]

There are other occasions where invitations serve to conform to habits and traditions. Inviting the family of the dead person to lunch at one of their relatives' houses after the burial, or inviting the relatives and friends to lunch when celebrating the wedding of a son, or inviting a very close relative who has got married recently are just examples.

Another social occasion that elicits invitations is when people get newly acquainted. This applies to individuals and groups or families. It is culturally assumed that food is supposed to strengthen social ties between people. In this particular occasion, food is symbolized by the use of the expression *çeiš u maliħ* (عيش وملح bread and salt). Hence, the following statement is frequently heard between new acquaintances:

75- *xalli yišŕ beinna çeiš u maliħ.* خلي يصير بيننا عيش وملح.
[Let's have bread and salt together.]

This statement is in itself an invitation which means something like “*Let's eat together*”. This is why sometimes when a person wants to blame someone for not accepting his/her invitation, he/she can say:

76- *ma biddak yišŕ beinna çeiš u maliħ ?* ما بدك يصير بيننا عيش وملح.
[Don't you want us to eat together?]

Indeed, getting together for food, or eating together, in the Palestinian culture has a strong value. It is usually taken implicitly as a social contract that neither of participants will cheat, betray, or deceive the other. In fact, invitations in PA reveal certain features of the Palestinian culture as in the example below between two brothers:

77- *ħamătak bithibak.* حماتك بتحبيك. [Your mother-in-law loves you]

The invitation above is an example of a casual invitation. One of the interactants came to his brother's house while he was having his meal. The one who was eating invites the other using the expression mentioned above. In Palestinian culture, mothers-in-law have a very dominant role in the life of their sons-in-law. Lots of problems are caused because mothers-in-law interfere and try to control every single aspect of their married daughters or sons. The son-in-law who is in a good relation with his mother-in-law is described as a lucky person. Addressees in situations as in the above example do not take into account the literal meaning of the expression, but rather they understand it as

an expression of solidarity. In fact, the above expression is usually used to invite someone who arrives while someone else is eating.

Invitations in the Palestinian society may also serve as a means for change and getting rid of the routine. This usually occurs between friends and within the family. A husband who gets bored of having lunch always at his home will from time to time take his wife to have lunch outside the house. By the same token, when people get bored of working hard all through the week, they may arrange with their friends to go out in a picnic. Example 78 below represents a situation between two male officials in their twenties.

- 78- A: *šu rāyak niTlaç šammit hawa lisbüç iljāy ?* شو رايك نطلع شمة هوا لسبوع الجاي؟
[What do you say we go in a picnic next week?]
B: *wallāhi fikra miš baTTaleh.* والله فكرة مش بطالة. [Good idea].

In example 79 below, A and B are a husband and a wife.

- 79- A: *leiš maniyadda barra ilyūm?* ليش ما نتغدى برا اليوم؟
[Why don't we have lunch outside the house today?]
B: *wein ?* وين؟ [Where?]
A: *ilmaTāçim kiΘīra.* المطاعم كثيرة. [There are a lot of restaurants.]
B: *eiš rāyak fi dār ahli ?* ايش رايك في دار اهلي؟
[What do you say we have lunch at my parents' house?]
A: *bimši ilhāl. ilmuhim inçayyir jaw.* بمشي الحال. الهم ان نغير جو.
[O.K. At least it's a change.]

Invitations in a number of cases may serve as a means of social show-off or they may help to emphasize the social status. A person who is appointed a new higher position may invite his/her friends, relatives or the employees in his department. Some people may even use invitation cards to give more splendor to the invitation and to their status. In some rural areas in Palestine there is still the tradition of inviting the neighbors when one lives in a new neighborhood. The only reason for such invitations is the love of pomp. In example (80) below, A is a newly appointed manager in a branch of the large banking corporation. By the end of his meeting with a number of the officials, he invited them to his house to celebrate his new position.

- 80- A: *ya reit iða fāDyīn illeileh itšarfūnni çala haflah zyīra fi beiti.*
يا ريت اذا فاضيين الليلة اتشرفونا على حفلة زغيرة في البيت.
[I wish that you can attend a little party tonight at my house].

In weddings, before the wedding celebration takes place, the wedding guests, sometimes more than 1500 altogether, are often invited to a huge reception, called "القرءاء" *qira?/walīmah* (the wedding feast). Relatives of the groom usually slaughter the animals for the feast – goats and sheep – and cook the rice and meat and serve the

wedding meal to the guests. Compared with the late 1970s and early 1980s, weddings are becoming extremely expensive affairs so that many grooms and their families cannot actually afford this, and they have to go into debt to pay for the wedding feast. Thus, more grooms nowadays prefer to give up these costly feasts altogether due to the recent economic recession and political changes in the Palestinian society. At least quarter of the couples currently choose the Western style of wedding celebration and the cake-cutting ceremony is imitated in the recently popular weddings. Goldstein-Gidoni (2001: 33) sates that “This kind of West and the spirit of cosmopolitanism it conveys are also embodied in the overseas weddings that have recently gained popularity”.

Sometimes an invitation may serve as a kind of social flattering. This is specially the case between superiors and inferiors. The inequality of status most of the time necessitates the use of some expressions that make the addressee feel how important his/her presence is. Example (81) is a situation in which A is a male official in his thirties is inviting a member of the management.

81- A: *fī çindi haflah basīTa, wa yareit law tišarrifūni biziḡāritkum.* في عندي حفلة بسيطة، و يا ريت لو تشرّفوني بزيارتكم. [I have a little party today and I wish that you (plural pronoun) would give me the honor of your presence].

One can notice the inviter is addressing the invitee using a plural pronoun (*you*) which indicates that the addressee has a higher status than the speaker. In fact, grammatically, the speaker should have used the second person singular pronoun because he is inviting one person. However, it is common in Arabic to use the second person plural pronoun (plural *you*) in place of second person singular pronoun (singular *you*) if the addressee is in a higher status. Even though the inviter is just inviting one person, it appears as if he is inviting more than one.

For more illustration, in example (82) below, a female official in her thirties is inviting the female principle in her department.

82- A: *bakūn mamnūn law tišarifni ça ilḡada ilḡūm.* بأكون ممنون لو تشرّفني عالغدى اليوم. [I shall only be grateful if you will give me the honor of your presence at lunch today.]

Usually, the presence of the superior at the house of the inferior is considered by the latter to be a profit. The inviter indicates that presence of the invitee is a benefit to the invitee. This is usually denoted by the use of the expression *niksabak* (نكسبك gain your presence) as in example 83 below where a 31-year trailer is inviting the owner of the factory to his house for lunch:

83- A: *mumkin niksabak çalyada ilyüm?* ممكن نكسبك عالغدى اليوم?
[Is it possible to gain your presence at lunch today?]

It is clear to notice here that there is no need for a special occasion to make such invitations. They can be issued at any time. What is important in such cases is to win the approval of the superior.

Invitations in the Palestinian culture have a very crucial role in solving controversies. Whenever there is a controversy between individuals or groups, food is the only indicator that the problem is over and that the opponents can feel secure. Banquets which signal the end of conflicts are usually arranged and people exchange invitations to which people from different tribes are invited in an attempt to publicize the idea that conflicts have ended and solutions are arrived at.

Invitations also serve to strengthen the family ties. This function stems from a religious point of view which says that a man should always keep in touch with, care about and invite his sisters, mother, and aunts, among other female relatives.

In cases of intimates, people may invite themselves. In example (84) below, A is a girl in her twenties and B is a doctor. The doctor has been treating the girl for a long time and so their relation became so strong.

84- A: *mumkin ya ustað tiçzimni çalyada?* ممكن يا استاذ تعزمني عالغدى?
[Can you invite me to lunch, sir?]
B: *fikra miš baTāleh, bas çala hisābik.* فكرة مش بطالة، بس على حسابك.
[A good idea, but you will pay.]
A: *mm.* امم. امم. [O.K.]

Even though the doctor is explicitly trying to avoid paying for the meal, in reality he will not allow the girl to pay for it. Males will not allow females do such acts so as not to lose face. In fact, people usually show a kind of competition while trying to pay for meals at restaurants. However, it is not acceptable in the Palestinian culture that a girl pays for a meal in the presence of other males. In such cases, masculinity dominates the situation. Example 85 below can also be used to illustrate the idea of self-invitations. A and B are two businessmen in their forties. They are in A's office.

85- A: *abu xaDir, ana miš fāDīlak. iwsal lilmawDūç bisurça.*
ابو خضير، انا مش فاضي لك. اوصل لموضوعك بسرعة.
[abu xaDir, I'm so busy. Please, get to the point quickly.]
B: *fil?awwal ma fi qahweh laDDeif?* في الاول، ما في قهوة للضيف؟
[Don't you want to bring me some coffee, first?]

It is worth mentioning that the two businessmen are trying to sign a certain contract according to which B is trying to buy a lorry from A. The fact that B is inviting

himself for coffee indicates to B that hospitality is even needed in business. This could be a way through which businessmen can bargain things or reach deals that are acceptable to both sides in a reasonable way.

In the data for this study, there was one example of communicative breakdown. Although the invitation was arrived at, it can be argued that communication failed since the addressee felt that something has gone wrong in the way the speaker tried to justify his invitation. In situation 86 below, A and B are members of two families who became in-laws or relatives by marriage.

86- A: *Yüm iljumça iljāy yadāku çindna.* يوم الجمعة الجاي غداكو عندنا.

[Next Friday, you will have lunch with us].

B: *ma fi dāçi tiyalbu hālku ya jamāça. ihna ahil.*

ما في داعي تغلبوا حالكو يا جماعة. احنا أهل.

[There is no need to bother yourselves. We are one family now.]

A: *ma bişir. into çazamtüna wa hassa dūrna niçzimku.*

ما بيصير. انتم عزمتونا و هسه دورنا نعزمكم.

[That can't be. You invited us and now it's our turn to invite you.]

In the above example, B accepted the invitation but he felt that A invited him to perform a duty and not because he respected him. Therefore, B was not satisfied but he had to accept the invitation also as a duty and not as desire to get together.

Therefore, individuals are expected to issue invitations to commemorate special occasions, such as public festivals, memorial meetings for the departed, weddings, circumcisions, return from a pilgrimage, birth of a child, purchase of a home, store (*dokkän*), or garden, etc. Invitations are usually extended to neighbors, colleagues, relatives, merchants, and possibly well-known people of the neighborhood, quarter, or city, with the extent of hospitality and formality of the gathering being determined by the social and financial status of the host, the status of the guests, and the importance of the occasion.

To conclude, invitations serve a number of functions in Palestinian culture. They can establish and maintain solidarity, prevent cheating and aggression, provide a change, emphasize social status, solve controversies, and strengthen family ties. Some of these functions stem from a religious background and some stem from a traditional background. Therefore, the negotiation on invitation in PA most of the time occurred after the invitation was issued. This happened because the social occasions which call for an invitation in PA are usually so compulsive that they do not allow for such negotiations.

8.2. Invitations and Hospitality/ sociability:

Invitations can be seen as a way of being hospitable to others. Inviters maximize the benefit to the invitee by being hospitable. Hospitality is a value deeply rooted in traditional Bedouin customs of greeting the guest. Almaney and Alwan (1982:91) indicate that “to a foreigner, the Arabs’ outstanding trait may well be hospitality”. Impressed on children very early, hospitality reflects a desired personal quality and symbolizes status. It has been inscribed into Islamic ethos and law in the form of ‘alms for the poor’ (الزكاة، الصدقة -*zakāt, ṣadaqah*), and the extension of a helping hand to the wayfarer (ابن السبيل *ibn al-sabīl*). In fact, hospitality predates the *zakat*, the Muslim duty of giving 2.5% of one’s wealth to the poor, and serves to counterbalance disparity between rich and poor. Certain occasions require elaborate displays of hospitality. During “marriage, burial, circumcision, and the completion of house-building; during the holy month of Ramadan, villagewide visiting, exchanging invitations and sharing of meals... are common” (cf. Feghali, 1997:353).

Palestinian food and hospitality can be somewhat of an overwhelming experience to first timers. Alcohol is prohibited except for medical purposes. According to Hasan (1999), food is offered relentlessly by hosts to their guests. The offers to eat just a bit more keep coming. For Palestinians, hospitality lies at the heart of who they are. How well one treats his guests is a direct measurement of what kind of a person she or he is. Hospitality is among the most highly admired of virtues. Indeed, families judge themselves to each other according to the amount of generosity they bestow upon their guests when they entertain. Whether one's guests are relatives, friends, neighbors, or relative strangers, they are welcomed into the home and to the dinner table with much the same kindness and generosity. Palestinian meals are more often a festive, warm and casual experience than they are formal. Upon inviting, the inviter has to be a real provider of hospitality. An invitation to dinner, for example, may mean the offering of a wide range of food. The more diverse of food the host offers the higher he would be ranked on the scale of generosity.

Actually, another mark of hospitality is that when someone is invited for a meal, the host has to keep on offering the invitee to eat just a bit more. That is to say, the invitee would be kindly asked to eat above and beyond his capacity of eating. Another traditional expectation is that a guest has to be fed before the host feeds himself. At smaller events, it is common to wait to take a bite until everyone at the table has

received a serving. A host or hostess may urge his/her guests to eat immediately upon receiving the food, and he/she should wait until everyone at the table has begun eating.

The guests are made to feel right at home, and to sample everything offered. In fact, most Palestinian hosts feel that they are failing in their role as hosts if their guests have not only tried all courses of the meal, but have also eaten more than is normally comfortable. Sometimes, the visitor who does not overeat may be seen by the host as a guest who is not showing proper appreciation. A meal is usually ended with the word *ṣahtayn* (صحتين) which means *two healths to you*, and this again emphasizes the importance of plentiful and healthy eating to the Palestinian people. Therefore, hospitality in the guest-host relationship is guided by unmentioned and subtle cultural rules which depend on territoriality, and the financial and social statuses of the individuals involved.

Yousef (1974) indicates that social situations in America commonly require a verbal or written invitation, while in Arab societies, the situation is vague, complex, and defined by context. Scholars suggest, in general, that hospitality requires immediate and extensive welcomes or assistance (Almaney & Alwan, 1982; Nydell, 1987). In fact, Palestinians expect hospitality from others, and one's personal status and reputation may be affected by the absence of such behavior.

According to Granara (2010:121), in American society, "Southern hospitality" conjures a host of images "that span a traditional way of life: an idyllic pastoral landscape, easy living, urbane gentility and refined manners, and, above all, warmth and generosity toward the guest or stranger". Implied in this imagery is "the cold, impersonal North in which humanity is lost in the chaos of rapid change, forced integration, and the struggle to eke out a living in an impersonal urban environment" (Granara, 2010: 121). In fact, such an approach though fails to consider the nuances involved in patterns of hospitality and visiting. Eichelman (1981:121 as cited in Granara, 2010) indicates that "these patterns vary considerably according to whether members of the family are urban or rural, wealthy or poor, concentrated in one particular locality, or widely dispersed".

In her study of the etiquette of visiting in the Tunisian village of Sidi Amur, Abu-Zahra (1974) found that paying an uncalled-for visit puts the host in a vulnerable position. Prestige, however, is manifest in one's making few visits to others, while receiving many. The host must have the wealth and ability to provide favors to guests.

In accordance with the set of highly elaborate rules which guide visiting in Sidi Amur, “people should be either formally invited or should be paying back a visit, otherwise their uncalled-for visits are much despised” (p. 127).

More recently, participant observation in several areas in Palestine reveals that hospitality is offered and accepted selectively within a system of checks and balances. If, for instance, a couple does not receive visits from some extended family members or friends after their marriage or the birth of a child, they respond with similar action/refusal to accept invitations to the homes of those they felt slighted them. However, if they meet in a third, neutral context and/or indirect apologies or valid justifications are given for the offense, normal relations can resume. In fact, it is worth mentioning that greetings, visitations, invitations and gift-giving relations between the households usually cease until the violation has been redressed.

Therefore, unlike the case in American English, in the Palestinian culture there is an emphasis on the moral quality of hospitality and generosity. As mentioned earlier, hospitality to one another as well as to foreigners is well known almost everywhere. The linguistic exchange below is one referring to some expected patterns of invitation as typical and general characteristic of conduct:

- 87- A: أهلا وسهلا. عليهم الله حضرتم وما حضر واجبكم. تفضلوا! تفضلوا!
?hlan wa sahlān. ʕalīm ?llah haDarum wma haDar wājibkum. tfaDalu! tfaDalu!
 (You are most welcome! God knows that what you deserve [the food] is not served. Have the graciousness! Have the graciousness!)
- B: أهلين فيك. والله ما كان في داعي تتعب حالك.
?hlein fik. walla makan fi daʕi titʕib halak.
 (Thanks for your kindness! [We are also your family]. I swear you needn't bother yourself.)
- A: تفضلوا يا جماعة. الأكل راح يبرد.
tfaDalu ya jamāʕa il?kil rah yibrud.
 (Have the graciousness all of you! The food is about to get cold!)
- B: الله يزيد فضلك! ما لك حق يا ابو عمر. لشو هالأكل كله؟
allah yizid faDlak! mālak haq ya abu Omar, lašu hal ?kil kilu.
 (God increases your graciousness! You are to be blamed Abu Omar! What is all this food for? [This is too much food])
- A: اعوذ بالله ما في شيء من الواجب
aʕūdu billāh maʕi ši mnilwājib!
 (Don't say that! You deserve much more!)
- B: الله يكبر واجبك ويقدرك ان شاء الله.
allāh yikabir wājibak wi yqadrak inšallah.
 (God increases what you deserve! God enable you [give you much more money] to offer meals like this one!)

Having started to eat, the guests are urged to eat more and more by their host:

- 88- A: شو هالأكل هاظ! والله غير تاكل هاي من ايدي
šu hal ?kil haẓ! Wallāh yeir tākul hāy min îdi.
 (What you have eaten is very little! I swear that you eat this from my hand!)

inviting him/her to join for the meal and/or drink. However, such a behavior is not practiced by Palestinians. Moreover, in Palestinian society if someone arrives while others are eating, they will offer to share, but an unexpected guest should feel free to decline. However, hospitality in Palestinian society is not confined only to the home. So, when two friends or acquaintances, for example, go to a coffee-shop, as a matter of courtesy, each one of them feels obliged to compete for paying for the drink.

أهلا وسهلا *Ahlan wa Sahlan* or مرحبا *Marhaba* means “welcome” and will be stated when a guest arrives and usually several times throughout the visit. Guests often are given a seat of honor and will be asked frequently if they are comfortable. Even under inconvenient or unexpected circumstances, a guest would never be refused entrance. However, if a woman was at home alone and the guest was a man, in this situation, the guest should refuse to enter, regardless of how soon the male member of the household is expected to be home. When a guest leaves the table, it is customary to mention one of these expressions which are prayers aimed at offering good wishes:

1. سفرة دائمة *sufra dāyma* – “may your table always be thus”.
2. في الافراح *fi ?alafrāh* – “in similar happy occasions”.
3. في عرسك *fi ?ursak*⁴⁸ - “In your wedding ceremony”.
4. يخلف *yixlif* – “May God compensate you and increase your fortune”.
5. وانت جايك الصبي *Wa ?inta jāyak ?ilšabi*⁴⁹ – “to be repeated (the meal) when you have your first male child”.

On the other hand, it is customary for the host to respond to the above expressions saying:

1. صحتين *sahtayn* – “two healths to you”.
2. ما في شيء من واجبكم *ma fi šei? min wājibkum*⁵⁰ – “you deserve more or better than this food”.

In the U.S., it is the guest, not the host, who chooses what to eat and when to end the evening and return home. However, in PA, a saying which is well-known is *alDeif asīr limhili* الضيف اسير المحلي (The guest/invitee is a prisoner in the host’s house). Doing the best to be hospitable to guests/invitees is implied in this saying. In fact, this saying reveals an implication that hosts should be hospitable even to their enemies. A good Palestinian host/inviter is not one who necessarily respects the other’s wishes. He is more concerned with forcing his hospitality upon the guest.

⁴⁸ This expression is mentioned by the invitee if the inviter is a young person who is not married.

⁴⁹ This expression is mentioned by the invitee whenever the inviter is a newly married person.

⁵⁰ This expression reveals how Palestinians tend to minimize the value of the extended invitation as a way of convincing the invitee to accept it.

In sum, the collective nature of Arab peoples and their emphasis on hospitality and honor function to ensure cohesion and group survival. According to Feghali (1997:355) “maintenance of basic values depends on the conformity of group members to preferred modes of behavior”.

8.3. Non-verbal Communicative⁵¹ Aspects of Invitations:

Nonverbal communication, paralanguage, is a field that encompasses a wide variety of disciplines within both the social and natural sciences (Knapp, 1978:30; Kavanagh, 2010:78). It constitutes almost seventy percent of human interaction (Schneller, 1992: 217 and Knapp, 1978:30). Whereas verbal communication may be transcribed in writing, nonverbal communication, such as posture, gesture, stance and movement, facial expression, and eye movement, present a greater challenge. Nonverbal communication represents a language with its own vocabulary and grammar and underlies “the production of unconscious collective categories that provide the blueprint for individual social behavior” (Qleibo, 2011:20). It is important to mention that nonverbal communication features are somehow the same in different social interactions. However, during social situations involving invitations, some specific features might appear while inviting or receiving guests.

Every culture has its own set of rules or guidelines regarding unspoken or nonverbal behavior (cf. Argyle, 1972, 1988). Different cultures have different attitudes towards space and touch in communication. In von Raffler-Engle’s (1980:136) words: “Beyond a very early state, there is no motion in the body which is not influenced by culture.” The importance of the non-verbal communication in Palestine and America is determined by the historical and cultural traditions which regulate the behavior and communication of people. Certain hand or body gestures that are rude or insulting by one’s country standards may have either no meaning or a different meaning in another country. The following⁵² are examples of nonverbal gestures and their American cultural interpretations:

1. *Personal space.* Americans tend to maintain a larger personal space than people in other countries. If someone gets too close to them or touches them, they can feel threatened and very uncomfortable. Touching people often makes them uncomfortable.

⁵¹ See section 5.8. on non-verbal communication and politeness.

⁵² <http://www.immihelp.com/newcomer/dinnerinvitation.html>

Men are especially nervous when touched by another man. Women who are good friends may walk arm-in-arm, but only rarely. People do not have to touch each other to make them nervous. In fact, people expect others to be at least an arm's length away from them. If someone gets closer than this, people will move away from him/her; they do not dislike him/her; he/she is "in their space". Also, people say, "*Excuse me*," although they have not actually touched anyone. No matter where they are, people give plenty of space to each other.

2. *Eye contact with women or elders.* The willingness to look people "in the eye" regardless of sex or age is regarded as very positive. The reverse, avoiding eye contact, is regarded as a sign that one is trying to hide the truth. During a conversation, the speaker looks briefly into the listener's eyes, briefly away, and then back at the listener's eyes. The listener should look at the speaker's eyes constantly. Therefore, a person has to look into the eyes of his/her conversation partner as an indication that they are listening to each other. It is considered very rude and in some cases may be interpreted as threatening to look continuously at someone or stare at someone unless you are engaged in conversation with that person.

3. *Shaking hands when introduced.* Men in particular customarily shake hands upon meeting. Children also often extend a hand to an adult when introduced. In U.S., handshaking is correct and expected behavior for men. Handshaking is optional for women. Therefore, men generally wait for a woman to extend her hand first. Men usually shake right hands when they first meet, but they do not usually shake hands with a woman unless she offers her hand first. A person has to shake hands the first time he/she meets someone else, but not the second. Generally, when people who are not well acquainted with each other meet or part company, it is considered polite to shake hands. This goes for both men and women, although elderly woman may not be accustomed to doing this. Refusing to shake an offered hand is likely to be interpreted as rude or odd. When shaking hands, a firm but not tight grip is preferred. Simply placing your hand in the hand of the other person is considered to be an ill mannered, overly feminine or insincere handshake.

4. *Kissing as a greeting.* Men and women who know each other quite well may kiss one another's cheek when greeting each other. Acquaintances and those being introduced, however, simply shake hands.

5. *The use of the left hand while eating, passing food or making toasts, etc.* Americans give no significance or negative meaning to this. People in the United States serve and eat food with either hand, but never take food from a communal serving dish with their hands; a serving utensil is used.

6. *Pointing the sole of the shoe towards the head of another.* American men and women often cross their legs by putting the ankle of one foot on the other knee, thus sometimes pointing a foot in a way that is quite unacceptable in Arab cultures. In the U.S., however, this gesture carries no negative meaning.

Qleibo (2011:19), presenting an account of nonverbal communication in Palestinian culture, narrates a story regarding his attempt to take a photo of a couple who were invited for dinner in his house:

Abu Basem and Um Basem moved closer to each other on the sofa as they prepared their body posture for a photograph. Their children and grandchildren stood watching beyond the camera range to allow the middle-aged couple a moment of filmic privacy. Abu Basem adjusted his sitting position, moved closer towards his wife, and shyly extended his arm over her shoulder. Involuntarily, out of modesty, Um Basem recoiled. Physical proximity between wife and husband and public display of tenderness is a silently observed taboo in Palestinian society. The couple faced each other. Momentarily, for the camera, they looked affectionately at each other. The children giggled then turned silent. It was a solemn moment. I took the picture. Abu Basem drew his arm away instantly and both moved away from each other. The couple laughed with relief. Their faces relaxed into a smile. The socially awkward moment was over.

Palestinians learn to put on a public face⁵³ from early childhood. “For shame!” *Ayb!* (يا عيب) is a common phrase to admonish children into correct behaviour to be followed instantly by the rhetorical question, “*What will people say?*” To the public gaze one learns to put on a mask that projects one’s prestige, dignity, honor, respect, i.e., one’s individual sense of identity and status. In fact, rules of modesty in dress and conduct often overlap with the public/private dichotomy. It is clear that the *social face* has a crucial role in PA by projecting the degree of respectability that individuals command by virtue of their relative position in their social network.

Faces, eye movements, gaze, or averted look, the body posture, the hand movements, the crossed leg, the distance or proximity to others, and the entire personal

⁵³ See chapter 4 on a cross-cultural investigation of the notion of *face*.

space is governed by strict protocol and ritual through myriad signs. “The *face* represents one’s own sense of identity in Palestinian society” (Qleibo, 2011:20).

There are many non-verbal habits that show respect in Palestinian society while extending invitations. Young people generally talk less in the presence of their elders and are less assertive. The decision to accept or refuse an invitation is usually taken by male elders and young ones should respect and adopt the ideas as suggested by the elders. Moreover, sometimes it is not polite to invite a man orally through his wife.

The host may be hesitant to ask a visitor into their home if the visitor is of an opposite gender and the host is home alone. Other family members may be asked to remain in separate rooms in the presence of a non-family member. Boys and girls do not talk outside of the family unless they are with someone else in the family and physical contact between unmarried persons is prohibited. Except with close family, other physical contact with members of the opposite sex is usually avoided. Therefore, a Palestinian should check to see if his/her spouse is included in the invitation as it is custom for conservative Palestinians to only entertain single-sex groups. In a non-Muslim context, most Muslims will generally tell their dinner hosts that they cannot drink alcohol and eat pork, and they prefer to eat meat of other animals slaughtered in their own religious ritual, *halal*, but others will forego those restrictions when they are invited (Poyatos, 1992:367).

It is custom to dress conservatively if invited to someone’s house for dinner. All Palestinian women are required to dress in a modest manner in social gatherings including invitations. Private body parts (*awrah* العورة) need to be covered in public. For males after puberty, their *awrah* is the parts of the body between the navel and the knees. For the females, it is the whole body except the hands, feet and face. The *awrah* should not be seen by anyone of the opposite sex except one’s husband or wife and immediate family members. Most women then wear a *hijab* (الحجاب) head scarf) and a *jilbab* (الجلباب) full-length dress) in public. However, some women do not stick so much to such religious teachings and violations do sometimes occur.

Eye-contact is very important. The inviter and the invitee should keep looking at each other when extending an invitation, refusing or accepting it as an indication that both of them care about the other. In the Palestinian context, direct eye contact between same-sex communicators for extended periods, for example, “allows interactants to ascertain the truthfulness of the other’s words, as well as to reciprocate interest”

(Feghali, 1997:364). Lowering gaze, on the other hand, signals “submission, expected of religious persons with strangers of the opposite sex or politeness in children being chastised” (Safadi & Valentine, 1990, p. 279). Due to religious purposes, Palestinians are taught to “lower the gaze” to avoid adulterous contact, so it is not a sign of disrespect.

Facial expressions in such situations could also be very revealing. A well-known expression by Palestinians is *albašāšeh xeir min ?lqirā?* البشاشة خير من القراء . This expression indicates that smiling while extending or accepting the invitation is an essential feature of invitation making. In fact, smiling gives the impression that it is a great pleasure for the inviter and the invitee to have a meal and/or a drink with each other. Another famous Palestinian saying is *lāqīni wala tiyadīni* لاقيني ولا تغديني (Offering someone a kind reception is better than offering him/her food). The guest is usually offered a seat of honor. To avoid any impression of disrespect, hosts do not usually allow guests to sit closer to the door. The necessity of good manners in social interactions must be thoroughly followed.

Presenting coffee to guests at home has some implications. Hosts do not usually offer coffee immediately at home. If coffee is offered as soon as the invitee arrives, then it signifies that the invitee is not most welcome. The coffee which is presented immediately as soon as the guest arrives to the invitation is called *qahwet ?ahlan wa sahlan* قهوة أهلا وسهلا (Farwell coffee). Such way of presenting coffee gives the implication that the meeting will not be a long one; sometimes it indicates a lack of respect. In fact, coffee is usually served at the end of any party and it implies that the party is coming to an end. In most cases, hosts do not offer coffee till guests reveal their intention to leave. On the other hand, leaving someone’s house without drinking a cup of coffee, for instance, is a face-threatening act and is considered as an insult to inviter. In fact, leaving the host’s house without drinking coffee implies that the guest is in need of something from the host and it also implies that the guest is not glad with the hospitality being offered at the host’s house. A guest has to turn a coffee cup upside down to decline a second serving of a coffee.

Based on Hall’s (Hall, 1966 as cited in Feghali, 1997:364) proxemic theory, Palestinian society can be commonly accepted as “contact” cultures, in which people tend to stand close together and touch frequently. La Barre (1976 as cited in Feghali, 1997:364) suggests that touching in Arab societies “replaces” the bowing and

handshaking rituals of other societies. (Such a statement, of course, is relative to cultures in which handshaking or bowing are the norm.) It is more accurate, however, to stress tendencies toward same-sex touching. Dyads of men or dyads of women frequently walk hand in hand or arm in arm down streets in Palestinian cities. Touching between members of the opposite sex occurs less often in public and can be considered extremely offensive, especially in rural areas in Palestine. As Nydell (1987) warns, display of intimacy between men and women “is strictly forbidden by the Arab social code, including holding hands or linking arms or any gesture of affection such as kissing or prolonged touching” (p. 53).

Personal space is important in situations involving invitations in PA. When an inviter tries to extend an oral invitation, he/she should get closer to the invitee. Being far away from the invitee while extending the invitation gives the implication that the inviter is not sincere in his/her invitation. When greeting someone from the same sex according to Islamic custom, women and men may give kisses on the cheeks of family and friends. Many Palestinians shake hands every time they have contact with you.

In extending invitations in PA, hands have a very important role in social interaction. Muslims are instructed to use their right hands to eat, touch and present gifts. Some Palestinians use hands as devices of insistence. When an invitee turns down an invitation as it is the case among close friends and relatives, Palestinian inviters sometimes use their hands to “pull” or force the invitee so as to accept the invitation. Moreover, when the guest tries to leave the house of the guest, the host sometimes grasps the hand of the guest as a way of trying to convince him/her to stay a little bit more. This behavior through nonverbal practices is perceived by Palestinians as polite behavior without any idea about imposition or non-imposition; it is just a way of being hospitable to invitees.

In a study that included both male and female subjects, Sankers et al. (1985) examined personal space among Egyptians and Americans, taking into consideration varied degree of acquaintance. The authors found that both cultural groups kept strangers farther away than friends and that both sexes kept male strangers farther away than female strangers. Egyptian females, similar to Palestinian ones, kept male friends almost as far away as male strangers. The authors suggest that the personal space zones may reflect cultural rules that govern and restrict interaction. In recognizing the possibility of variation within Arab societies, they propose that “An even more extended

pattern of personal space might be expected in those Arab countries which are more conservative and traditional than Egypt” (pp. 15-16). Relative to personal space, Arabs as compared with Westerners “demonstrate tolerance for crowding, pushing, and close proximity in public places” (cf. Samovar and Porter, 1995:106).

While this description might encourage in Westerners images of bruteness and disrespect, Nydell (1987) acknowledges that members of Arab societies divide people into friends and strangers. As a result, “‘public manners’ are applied and do not call for the same kind of considerateness” (p. 30). Arabs do not distinguish between public and private self, which is common in Western societies and representative of separation between mind and body (Hall, 1966 as cited in Feghali, 1997). Rather, “privacy is gained through psychological rather than physical separation from immediate surroundings” (Feghali, 1997:367). Even though we should be skeptical of stereotypical descriptions, the results of the previous studies strongly suggest that touch and personal space are regulated by a wide variety of contextual variables.

Palestinians can be characterized as polychromic in their approach to time. Social interaction emphasizes relational development and maintenance rather than adherence to schedules, clocks or calendars (Feghali, 1997:366). According to Feghali (ibid:367), time for Arabs “provides merely a reference point, and simultaneous involvements are common”. For example, if one is meeting with the manager of an office during a prearranged appointment, the manager may accept frequent phone calls, interruptions and extended visits from others at the same time (cf. Feghali, 1997:368).

Paralinguistics-or vocalizations which impact how something is said (Samovar & Porter, 1995) have distinct functions, yet few empirical studies have examined paralinguistic phenomena in Arab societies. Rather, introductory texts and other publications rely on descriptive anecdotes to discuss volume and rate of speech, intonation, use of silence, and the role of smell.

Similar to other members of Arab societies, Palestinians tend to speak fast and loudly. To Arabs loudness connotes strength and sincerity, a soft one implies weakness or even deviousness” (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984:161 as cited in Feghali, 1997:368). Arabs often transfer preferred patterns of intonation when speaking foreign languages. Such patterns may carry unwanted negative meanings in English. The Arabic stress pattern of accenting each word influences intonation. When Palestinian speakers, for example, ask information-seeking questions in English, their intonation might sound

accusing. When making declarative statements, native English speakers might perceive the flat intonation as disinterest. Finally, Palestinian Arabic speakers tend to use a higher pitch range which native English speakers might evaluate as more emotional, aggressive, or threatening. Intonation allows one to distinguish between accident indicators, signals of agreement and disagreement, and warnings (cf. Safadi & Valentine, 1990).

Silence in Palestinian society may serve “the function of psychological retreat in order to accommodate need for privacy in societies which promote nearly constant contact with others” (Feghali, 1997:369). Silence might signal the wish to be left alone. In addition, silence coupled with lack of eye contact in Palestinian society serves to “regulate male-female relations on the street and protects women from unwanted comments from male strangers” (Kussman, 1994 as cited in Feghali, 1997:369). Moreover, some scholars believe that smell plays an important role in Arab societies. Hall (1966:160 as cited in Feghali, 1997:369) for example, writes that Arabs often breathe on one another during conversation in order show their involvement with each other, and smell may be conceived of as an extension of the other person. “To smell one’s friend is not only nice but desirable, for to deny him your breath is to act ashamed” (p. 160).

Palestinians are rather formal when it comes to customs of eating and dining. Invitees should try to arrive at the invited time as punctuality in Palestine is appreciated. When welcoming guests into his/her house, the host/hostess usually stands next to the door shaking hands, kissing in some cases and saying *?hlan wa sahlan أهلا وسهلا* (You are most welcome). Although some meals in the home are served on the floor and without eating utensils, it does not indicate a lack of decorum. In some Bedouin areas in Palestine, it customary to offer *Mansaf*⁵⁴ to guests. Guests are sometimes supposed to eat without utensils, but they can use their right hands. In fact, while eating, and as an indication of generosity and hospitality, it is normal to see a host/hostess holding large pieces of meat into his/her hand and making them into smaller ones in the guest’s dish. It is a way of telling the guest not to be shy. Sometimes, refusing additional servings of food might indicate that the food prepared by the inviter is not fine or delicious, so a guest has to eat beyond his/her capacity.

⁵⁴ *Mansaf* is a Palestinian popular meal with rice, meat, yogurt, and a certain kind of bread.

To sum up, Safadi and Valentine (1990) emphasize the existence of variations in gestural usage across Arab societies due to “subtle physical differences that amount to great semantic variations” (p. 278), Again, generalizations serve to make a point, with recommendations that the reader recognizes potential diversity across Arab societies.

8.4. Communication Style in PA and AE

This present section intends to get at Palestinian and US-American interlocutors’ “natural act of thinking” (Toyosaki, 2004:161), and focuses on their culturally distinctive sense-making of culture and communication upon extending invitations. Despite idiosyncrasies, ways people with similar cultural backgrounds process, assign meanings to, and react to their lived experiences are culturally conditioned, catalyzing their cultural predispositions.

In exploring the way invitations are exchanged in USA, Toyosaki (2004:163) found that most informants in his cross-cultural study perceived US-Americans to be “superficial”. He states that US-Americans “do not usually sacrifice themselves to help each other,” implying the perceived superficiality in and the lack of US-Americans’ relational commitments to friendships (ibid:163). Therefore, an American communication style is superficial, and Americans do not seem to look for deep relationships. Toyosaki (ibid:164) confirms this point and states that "Americans say things too often without thinking very hard, so what is said will become just an option in mind." Toyosaki (2004:164) reports the response of one of his informants, about the superficiality of US-Americans, who said:

When Americans say, "I'll call you later," it means they MIGHT or MIGHT NOT...
Because HE [(her friend)] said to ME, "I'll call you this weekend," I kept waiting for his phone call, not making other plans and not going anywhere during the weekend.

Toyosaki (2004:164) attributed the perceived lack of or “a relatively low level of behavioral commitment following verbalization to his perceived superficiality” in US-American communication. Hall (1983 as cited in Toyosaki, 2004:164) observes this tendency in US-American communication, and warns, "When an American in Japan does make up his [or her] mind or decisions on a certain course of action, he [or she] should stick to it. This will not be easy for some Americans, who are in the habit of changing everything at the last minute" (p. 104-105). In Palestinian communication, present utterances, especially future referential ones, are viewed more as verbal contracts for future acts.

Samovar and Porter (1995) report that US-American culture is characterized as future-oriented. Future oriented cultures look to the future with the hope that the future is continuously constructed for the better. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:22) agree with the US American cultural orientation towards the view of the future. “‘The future will be better’ is a statement of the concept of progress”. Barnlund (1989) further deciphers that the access to such betterment of the future is US-Americans' perceived individual rights. “Relationships that require constant subordination of one's own interests are viewed as demeaning and destructive” (p. 163). Thus, present communication that constrains the future construction seems to be viewed negatively.

However, this US-American cultural value on personal rights for the future betterment might not be well-received by Palestinian speakers, as was explored in the preceding sections. Based on Samovar's and Porter's (1995) report on time-orientation, Palestine can be characterized as past-oriented. Future acts in Palestinian society are directly related to communicants' previous interactions and utterances. The future is constructed upon the past and the present (viewed as the past from the future point of reference). Thus, as the future is constructed interdependently, relational obligation or communal commitment to what has been verbalized overrides individual rights for the future betterment. In Palestinian culture, “[o]bligations have a higher priority than rights. A person lacking in concern for the consequences of her [or his] own acts upon others is often despised and shunned” (Barnlund, 1989:168). A speaker's utterance affects hearers' future choices. Using Toyosaki's (2004) example, “*I'll call you this weekend*” signifies *both* the speaker's and hearer's behavioral commitments- both calling and receiving the phone call. Present utterance produces its consequential course of both a speaker's and hearer's future actions. Thus, Toyosaki understood the utterance, “*I'll call you this weekend,*” as his behavioral commitment-waiting for and receiving the phone call.

In Palestinian communication, a hearer's implied future action within present utterance becomes his or her relational obligation, foregrounding the interdependency constructed through future activities. Unlike Americans, Palestinian people seem to see the present utterance (invitation) as a site for establishing mutual and relational obligation and commitment for future activities. On the other hand, American culture, similar to other individualist cultures, presumes that one cares mainly about his/her own

interest. American English speakers appear to place importance on “the rights and on the autonomy of every individual” (Wierzbicka, 1991:30).

To sum up, my argument is that people in Western culture pay more attention to their independent need and thus emphasize that individual right could not be constrained and coercive by others and the community. American speakers tend to deem face as an image that focuses on the self and primarily concerns the individual’s desires. They focus on taking redressive ways to express the hearer’s face wants. To save and enhance one’s face is to act in accordance with anticipations of personal desires. American face shows respect to one’s autonomy and freedom of making choices. In the light of this cultural belief, speech act behaviours are determined by negative face desires. It may be regarded as impolite and unacceptable to ignore one’s negative face conflicts with the speakers’ cultural norms (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987). American face is regarded as an individualistic self-oriented image (Yu, 1999) and puts emphasis on the negative face whose core is action freedom.

8.5. Conclusion:

This chapter explores invitational activities in AE by comparing them with those in PA in an attempt to highlight certain similarities and differences concerning the speech act of inviting in both cultures. As Americans and Palestinians adopt different culture value systems, their behavior would differ. The two cultural value systems are different in the aspect of politeness as face.

Similar to Suzuki’s (2009:92) study of the speech act of inviting in the American society, this chapter indicates that the Americans frequently invite others to (1) a party, (2) a meal, (3) an event (e.g. concert), (4) their houses, (5) a movie, (those appearing 10 times or more) and so on. Broadly a lot of occasions that call for invitations in PA were not the same as those in AE. Such occasions include the settlement of controversies (e.g. after an accident or a fight), emphasizing the social status, coping with customs and traditions, reinforcing deference and appreciation. These situations do not appear to be almost same as the occasions where American people invite their acquaintances. Therefore, there do exist cultural differences concerning the situations for this speech act.

Body language or non-verbal communication is a large component of communication and facial expressions, interpersonal space, gestures, posture, touch or

eye movements can broadcast messages before, after or while people are inviting others or accepting and refusing invitation. A lack of awareness of one's body language can convey a negative message.

Taking care of interpersonal relations is important in Palestinian culture. Managing interpersonal relations is often viewed in pragmatics as how human beings successfully use language, verbal and nonverbal, to avoid face threats, and maintain and build good relationships between speakers and hearers. In this study, Palestinians showed a preference to build common ground through social talk based on communal concerns rather than personal concerns as it is the case with US speakers.

I argue, therefore, that Palestinian culture, like Japanese, and Chinese (Mao, 1992: 467), places great significance on social relationships and communal interdependence (Beeman 1986; Eslami 2005). Specifically, the public, communal aspect and others' perceptions of whether a given relationship has been acknowledged are highly stressed. To a cultural outsider, invitations in Palestinian Arabic may appear imposing and hypocritical, that is, they involve fake invitations and fake refusals. This, however, is far from how participants (and cultural insiders) perceive the transaction.

For Americans, invitation is regarded as an act that may threaten the invitee's negative face as the extent of imposition increases (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987). In other words, in American culture, when the inviter extends an invitation, the invitee is forced to choose in between accepting the invitation or rejecting it. However, invitations in the Palestinian society are not necessarily threatening to the invitee's negative face (see Yu, 2003; Mao, 1992; Gu 1990).

To sum up, Palestinian culture and American culture differ a lot in the hierarchies of values they cherish and the norms they adhere to. Palestinian culture is collectivistic. It values respect, interdependence, reciprocal obligations, emotionality, intimacy, modesty and positive-face needs (Lubecka 2000; Wierzbicka 1991). American culture is individualistic. It values individuality, autonomy, choices, respect rooted in the conviction of equality of people, moderate emotionality, promotion of success and of solidarity, and negative-face needs (Ting-Toomey 1988; Lubecka 2000). These differences in the values in these two cultures "translate" into different interactional norms and rituals. The majority of differences of this kind have been noticed in the expression of requests, emotions and feelings, in talking about achievements, in responses to compliments, in the expression of congratulations, in how-are-you-type

questions, in food offers and responses to them, and in the generally understood treatment of guests by the host.

CHAPTER NINE: INVITATIONS AND DIRECTNESS IN AE AND PA.

9.0. Introduction:

This chapter presents the results of the study regarding the preference for and the use of politeness strategies (direct or indirect) by speakers of both AE (American English) and PA (Palestinian Arabic) on issuing invitations and the influence of interlocutors' status, age and gender on strategies used across cultures. The findings are analyzed and discussed to find out answers to the research questions raised in chapter one.

Brown and Levinson (1978 and 1987), Leech (1983), and Searle (1975) proposed that the more indirect the speech act is, the more polite it is. However, the notion of *politeness* is culturally relative. That is to say, what is considered polite behavior in a culture may not be accepted so in other cultures (cf. Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012:86). For example, imperatives in some occasions are more likely to be interpreted as impolite invitations in English but polite in other languages as in Polish (e.g., Wierzbicka 2003).

In order to answer the research questions, I examined the overall use and preference for politeness strategies between two groups of subjects including status, age and gender. I used the scale of directness-indirectness⁵⁵ as the model for cross-linguistic analysis of inviting strategies. Each head act of invitations made by subjects in given situations was coded and analyzed to compare the average frequencies of direct and indirect strategies across cultures. Then, to account for the effect of interlocutors' status, age and gender on strategies used, the preference for these strategies in each situation was analyzed. The study reveals that inviters and invitees do not mindlessly participate in invitations as if they were blank states. They come with vast amounts of socioculturally shared knowledge, with personal experiences, with plans, goals, opinions and emotions, all which may influence what they say and how they say it. Therefore, the analysis is in conformity with van Dijk (2009:7) as he states that "If we find that traditional social 'variables' such as class, gender, ethnicity or age influence use this takes place by means of their-more or less conscious, and more or less subjective-representation of social identities in context models".

⁵⁵ See the next section on the scale of directness-indirectness.

9.1. Linguistic aspects of invitations:

The speech act of invitation is divided into direct invitation and indirect invitation. Based on Blum-Kula, House and Kasper's (1989) categorization of request, invitation can be classified into four categories of strategies, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table (9.1): *English invitation strategies* (derived from Blum-Kula et al., 1989)

	Strategy	Example
I	Direct Invitation	
	1. Elliptical phrase	Party?
	2. Imperatives	Come to my party
	3. Unhedged performatives	I invite you to come to my party
	4. Hedged performatives	I would like to invite you to come to my party
	5. Obligation	You must/ have to come to my party.
II	Conventionally Indirect (Speaker-based conditions)	
	6. Desire/Needs	I want/need you to come to my party.
	7. Wishes	I would like you to come to my party.
III	Conventionally Indirect (Hearer-based conditions)	
	8. Suggestory formulae	How about coming to my party?
	9. Permission	May I invite you to come to my party?
	10. Willingness	Would you come to my party?
	11. Ability	Could you come to my party?
IV	Non-conventional Indirect Invitation	
	12. Hint (strong)	I am having a party
	13. Hint (mild)	Do you know I am having a party?

Note. The examples refer to the situation where the speaker invites the hearer to a party.

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), five skills are included in the category of Direct Invitation. However, it obviously conflicts with the very old concept of direct speech act in the field of linguistics, according to which, the illocution of direct speech act is performed by its performative verb. On the other hand, the rest of linguistic forms without performative verbs are categorized into indirect speech acts with various strength of indirectness. In this study, it is impossible to examine all of the thirteen skills for some reasons. First, because the study focuses on investigating the four skills rather than those minute skills of the strategies, all of four strategies are tested to build up a hierarchical ordering. Therefore, Conventionally Indirect Invitation (Speaker based conditions), and Conventionally Indirect Invitation (Hearer based conditions) are merged as Conventionally Indirect Invitation.

9.2. The preference of strategy use between groups: overall results

To better account for the structure of invitations, this current chapter uses Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) coding scheme in classifying request strategies into three main types: direct, conventionally indirect, non-conventionally indirect. As mentioned in

chapter six, 40 questionnaire responses by 40 AES (American English Speakers) and 40 PAS (Palestinian Arabic Speakers) were collected. 35 discourse completion questions of 5 given situations answered by 40 subjects per group totaled 1400 strategies.

However, since I mainly focus on invitation making in this chapter, responses to invitations in situations 4 and 5 will not be considered for analysis in this chapter. In fact, situations 4 and 5 will be considered for the analysis of responses to invitations in chapter eleven. Therefore, only the first three situations on invitation making will be explored. This chapter investigates only 23 discourse completion questions of 3 given situations answered by 40 subjects per group totaled 920 strategies.

As Table 9.2 shows, direct inviting strategies constitute 21.304% in American English and 84.130% in Palestinian Arabic. The proportion of conventional indirectness in American English is 61.847% in comparison to only 12.282% in Palestinian Arabic. Besides, AES gave more hints (16.159%) than PAS did (only 3.428%) in given situations of issuing invitations. Furthermore, the number of participants who chose not to issue FTA in American English also outnumbered in Palestinian Arabic. Generally, these results indicate that the Palestinian respondents are more direct in making invitations than their US counterparts.

Strategies	PAS		AES	
	No.	%	No.	%
Direct	774	84.130	196	21.304
Conventional Indirect	113	12.282	569	61.847
Non-conventional Indirect	32	3.428	149	16.195
No invitation	1	0.108	6	0.652
Total	920	100	920	100

Table 9.2: *The frequency of politeness strategies used by two groups of subjects.*

Typical examples of the three levels of directness- indirectness in American English invitations are:

• **Direct:**

- *Come to a party of mine on Saturday*
- *Have some more*
- *I would like to invite you to my party*
- *I'm having a party. You have to be there*

• **Conventional indirect:**

- *Would you like some more?*
- *Can I offer you some more?*
- *Let's go out for dinner.*
- *Would you like to come over...?*
- *You should come over for my housewarming party.*

• **Non-conventional indirect:**

- *Party at mine! Won't be fun without you*
- *Everybody would come to my party*
- *That boy would join my party.*

The following examples are typical for the three levels of directness-indirectness in Palestinian Arabic:

• **Direct**

- *ana çazmak çala haflet zawăji. .* انا عازمك على حفلة زواجي. [I invite you to my wedding party]
- *inzil išrab finjăn qahwah maçi. .* انزل اشرب فنجان قهوة معي. [Come down to drink a cup of coffee with me.]
- *istazidi. .* استزدي. [Eat some more.]

• **Conventional indirect**

- *şu räyyak fi şwayit ruz. .* شو رايك في شوية رز. [What do you think of some more rice?]
- *xali yişir beina çeiş wa malih. .* خلي يصير بينا عيش وملح. [Let's have bread and salt together.]

• **Non-conventional indirect:**

- *çindi hafleh. inti bitşrifni ilyüm. .* عندي حفلة. انت بتشرفني اليوم. [Party at mine. It gives me the honor of your presence.]
- *çindi hafleh ma bin?axrak. .* عندي حفلة. ما بناأرك. [Party at mine. We won't keep you long.]
- *almansaf laðđ. şah. .* المنسف لذيذ. صح. [Almansaf (a meal) is delicious. Right!]

9.3. Preference for and use of politeness strategies in relation to social status, age and gender

Social status, gender and age of both the inviter and the invitee may affect significantly to the choice of politeness strategies employed by AES and PAS when issuing invitations. They not only influence strategy used but also affect each other in speech. To be polite in speech, participants always take account for these factors before making any utterances. Therefore, in this part, the three social variables were analyzed in pairs (social status and age; social status and gender; gender and age) to find out the impact of each pair on the selection of strategies employed by both groups of subjects. In fact, discussing such pairs of variables reveals significant findings about the influence of social distance and solidarity in both cultures (US and Palestinian).

9.3.1. Social status and age:

The effect of social status and age on invitations issued was investigated with situation 3 in the questionnaire. The combination of age and social status would form 9 discourse completion questions. If there were two situations for this case, the number of questions would be 18, which would be too many for subjects to answer and hence may lead to inaccurate data. Each question in the situation was designed to serve a certain purpose. It was to investigate what kind of politeness strategies was employed if

1. The inviter were in lower status and older than the invitee.
2. The inviter were in lower status than and at the same age as the invitee.
3. The inviter were in lower status and younger than the invitee.
4. The inviter were in the same social status as and older than the invitee.
5. The inviter were in the same social status and at the same age as the invitee.
6. The inviter were in the same social status as and younger than the invitee.
7. The inviter were in higher social status and younger than the invitee.
8. The inviter were in higher social status than and at the same age as the invitee.
9. The inviter were in higher social status and older than the invitee.

The preference for politeness strategies used by AES and PAS was analyzed in three separate cases.

a. Participants making invitations to the invitee of lower status in relation to age

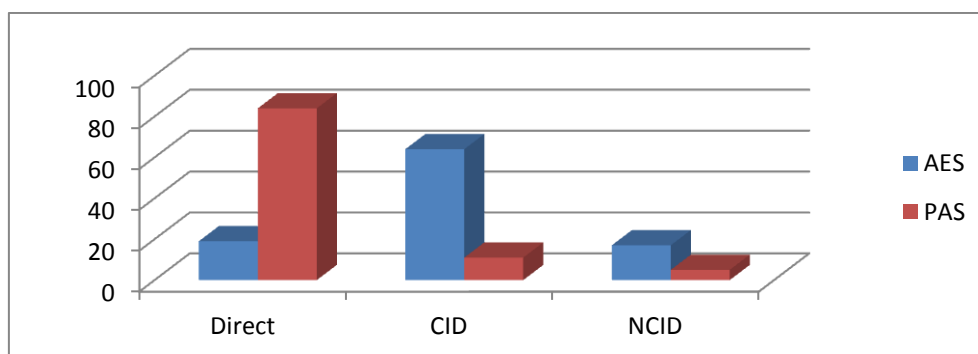


Chart 9.1: *The proportion of total politeness strategies employed to the invitee of lower social status in situation 3.*

As Chart 9.1 indicates, the majority of invitations used by AES were in conventional indirect forms when the invitee was in lower status. Besides, the numbers of direct and non-conventional politeness strategies were relatively equal. Meanwhile, direct strategies were mostly employed by PAS and the proportion of non-conventional ones was pretty few in the same case.

As the data in Table 9.3 showed, different from PAS who tended to totally give direct invitations to the invitee of younger age (87%), 69% of head acts by AES was in conventional indirect forms. AES also employed more hints (13.5%) in comparison to only 4.5% by PAS. It is rather clear from the figures that the younger age of the invitee influenced AES differently from PAS. Similarly, when the invitee was older than or as young as the inviter, the proportion of direct head acts used by PAS was always much higher (87% and 78.5%) than by AES (25% and 13.5%). The highest proportion of politeness strategies used by AES in the two cases was in conventional forms, mostly in the suggest formulae like “*Why don’t we...? / How about?*” Or “*Would you like to....?*” In addition, there is an undeniable tendency of AES to give more hints to the invitee of older age (25.5%) than of same age (13.5%). Meanwhile, though PAS did give more conventional indirect invitations to people of older age (17%) than to people of the same age (8.5%), the number of hints they used for both groups of invitees was few and completely equal (4.5%)

The Invitee	Politeness Strategies	PAS		AES	
		No.	%	No.	%
Younger Age	Direct	20	87	4	17
	Conventional Indirect	2	8.5	16	69.5
	Non-conventional Indirect	1	4.5	3	13.5
	Total	23	100	23	100
Same Age	Direct	20	87	6	25
	Conventional Indirect	2	8.5	14	61.5
	Non-conventional Indirect	1	4.5	3	13.5
	Total	23	100	23	100
Older Age	Direct	18	78.5	3	13.5
	Conventional Indirect	4	17	14	61.5
	Non-conventional Indirect	1	4.5	6	25
	Total	23	100	23	100

Table 9.3: Participants’ preference for and use of politeness strategies to the invitee of lower social status in situation 3

b. Participants making invitations to the invitee of equal status in relation to age

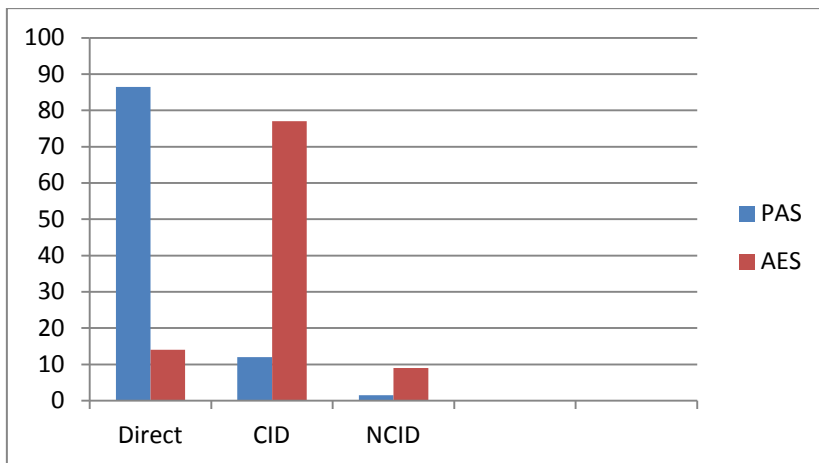


Chart 9.2: *The proportion of total politeness strategies used to the invitee of equal social status in situation 3*

The columns in Chart 9.2 provided an overall look at the strategies issued by both AES and PAS when they invited people of equal social status under the impact of age. In this case, the majority of politeness strategies used by AES was conventional indirect (77%). The number of direct and non-conventional indirect ones was rather equal (14% and 9%). On the contrary, PAS mostly employed direct invitations to this group of counterparts (86.70%) in comparison to only few conventional indirect strategies (approximately 12%) and only 1.5% hints issued.

As Table 9.4 showed, when the invitee was younger, AES rarely issued hints to invite orally (only 4.5%). They used this strategy more frequently (8.5%) when they were as young as the invitee and most regularly (13.5%) when they were younger. Besides, though they were at equal social status, the older age of the invitee still made them deliver spoken invitations less directly (8.5%) than when inviting people of the same age (17%) or of younger age (17%). Quite different from AES, PAS tended to employ almost all invitations directly to the invited of younger age (95.5%). 82.5% was to people of same age and 82% to those of older age. They only used hints when inviting people of older age but with a very small proportion (4.5%). Besides, the conventional indirect politeness strategies were also employed in this case though more rarely (4.5% to younger people; 17% to same age people and 13.5% to people of older age).

The Invitee	Politeness Strategies	PAS		AES	
		No.	%	No.	%
Younger Age	Direct	22	95.5	4	17
	Conventional Indirect	1	4.5	18	78.5
	Non-conventional Indirect	0	0	1	4.5
	Total	23	100	23	100
Same Age	Direct	19	82.5	4	17
	Conventional Indirect	4	17.5	17	74.5
	Non-conventional Indirect	0	0	2	8.5
	Total	23	100	23	100
Older Age	Direct	19	82	2	8.5
	Conventional Indirect	3	13.5	18	78
	Non-conventional Indirect	1	4.5	3	13.5
	Total	23	100	23	100

Table 9.4.: Participants' preference for and use of politeness strategies to the invitee of equal social status in situation 3

- c. Participants making invitations to the invitee of higher social status in relation to age

The overall results from Chart 9.3 showed that PAS and AES differed significantly in the choice of strategy for spoken invitations in the settings where the addressee was in higher social status under the influence of age. While most AES employed indirect politeness strategies, the majority of PAS chose to use direct ones. To AES, between the explicit and non-explicit indirect strategies, the use of explicit ones was more favoured in this case. As appeared in the chart, PAS did issue both kinds of indirect strategies but few. However, in comparison to the previous two cases when the invitee was of lower or equal social status, it seems that the higher status of the addressee did influence PAS to employ more indirect politeness strategies such as questions or hints.

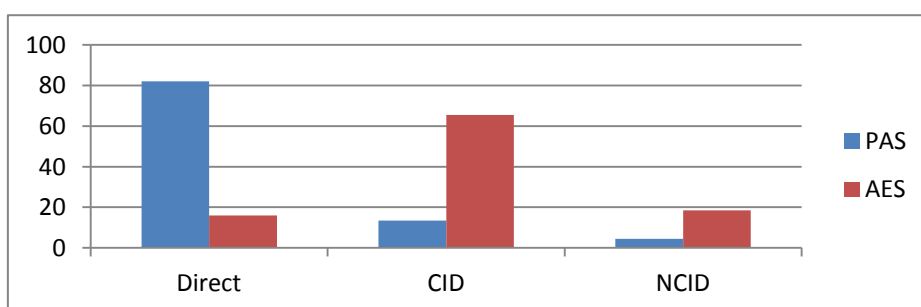


Chart 9.3: The proportion of total politeness strategies used to the invitee of higher social status in situation 5

In Table 9.5 below, the results indicated that there seemed to be no difference in the kind of politeness strategies PAS employed to orally invite the people who were

younger, older than or as young as they were. 82 % invitations were direct, 13.5% was conventional indirect and 4.5 % was non-conventional indirect. Age factor tended not to affect much to the choice of politeness strategy used by PAS to the invitee of higher status. However, this factor did influence significantly the terms of address they used. Because in Palestinian culture, the use of kinship terms is closely related to age and politeness, the appropriate and extended use of kinship terms according to age is taken as a way of expressing a good manner. As a result, instead of employing different politeness strategies, PAS used different terms of address to the invitee of different age ranges as away to express their politeness. One noticeable point is that AES did take the age of the invitee into account in this situation. AES offered more direct invitations (21.5%) to people of the same age, less (13%) to those of younger age and to those who are older. Concerning the amount of conventional indirect politeness strategies used by AES, the majority of them was for older and younger people (70%), second position is for people who are as young as they were (56.5%).The number of hints given in this case was the highest to the invitee of the same age (22%) and equal to the rest of addressees (17%).

The Invitee	Politeness Strategies	PAS		AES	
		No.	%	No.	%
Younger Age	Direct	19	82	3	13
	Conventional Indirect	3	13.5	16	70
	Non-conventional Indirect	1	4.5	4	17
	Total	23	100	23	100
Same Age	Direct	19	82	5	21.5
	Conventional Indirect	3	13.5	13	56.5
	Non-conventional Indirect	1	4.5	5	22
	Total	23	100	23	100
Older Age	Direct	18	78	3	13
	Conventional Indirect	3	13.5	16	70
	Non-conventional Indirect	2	8.5	4	17
	Total	23	100	23	100

Table 9.5: *Participants' preference for and use of politeness strategies to the invitee of higher social status in situation 3.*

In summary, age and social status affected differently to the choice of politeness strategies employed by AES and PAS: the majority of choices from AES was for conventional indirectness while that of PAS was for directness. However, in AES' data, when the invitee was in lower status, subjects tended to employ most direct invitations to the invitee of the same age, most hints to the one who was older and most conventional indirect to the younger person. Meanwhile, the answers from PAS show

that the top proportion of indirectness would be for the older invitee while the largest amount of directness would be for younger partners. Therefore, the major difference is that AES saw the necessity to invite younger people indirectly whereas PAS considered direct spoken invitations suitable. Differently, in the setting where the invitee was of equal position, AES issued more direct spoken invitations to younger people, more nonconventional indirect ones to older partners while the majority of conventional indirectness was for the same age people. PAS, though, used more conventional indirect politeness strategies to the same age people together with more hints to older ones while they kept issuing the largest amount of directness for the younger. In addition, though PAS were still loyal to the use of directness, the higher status and age of the addressee also made PAS invite more conventional indirectly to the invitee of older age. Meanwhile they affected AES to deliver more direct invitations and hints to the same age people. The preference for politeness strategies used by both AES and PAS when issuing invitations under the impact of social status and gender was analyzed in the following section.

9.3.2. *Social status and gender:*

The impact of social status and gender on the kind of invitations issued was investigated with situation 2 in the questionnaire. The combination of gender and social status created 6 discourse completion questions in this situation. Therefore, the 6 discourse completion questions would help to investigate the frequency distribution of politeness strategy used by both groups of subjects when issuing invitations under the influence of social status and gender.

Each question in the situation was designed to serve a certain purpose. It was to investigate what kind of politeness strategies the inviter would employ if

1. The invitee were a male and in equal social status.
2. The invitee were a female and in equal social status.
3. The invitee were a male and in lower social status.
4. The invitee were a female and in lower social status.
5. The invitee were a male and in higher social status.
6. The invitee were a female and in higher social status.

The preference for politeness strategies used by AES and PAS was analyzed in two separate cases:

a. Participants making invitations to the invitee of the same gender in relation to status

Both Chart 9.4 and Table 9.6 below illustrate invitations used by AES and PAS to their partners of the same gender in relation to status.

The results revealed that both male and female AES preferred conventional indirect politeness strategies to the other two strategies when they orally invited the same gender addressees. Besides, Chart 9.4 also indicates that females issued a few more direct spoken invitations (26%) to their female counterparts than males did to their male partners (25%). In addition, one crucial point to notice is that the number of males who refused to do this kind of face threatening act in the case tripled that of females (3 male subjects answered they would not invite the people who were of the same gender and in higher social status; meanwhile, there was only one female who gave the same response).

Compared with AES, PAS mostly employed direct strategies to the partners of the same gender. Moreover, as appeared in the chart, there were pretty few subjects in the group who chose to deliver hints in this setting. Remarkably, Palestinian males tended to invite their male partners more directly (92.5% in comparing to 88.5%) and less indirectly (4.5% in comparing to 8.67%) than the ways females did to the invited of the same gender. This point seems to be different from what the AES males and females did in the same case.

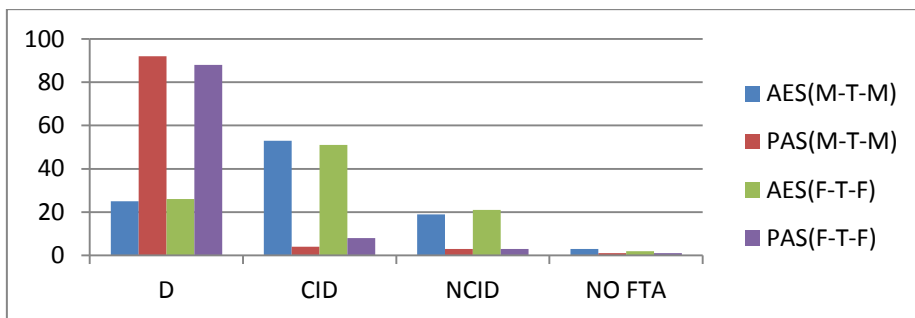


Chart 9.4: The proportion of total politeness strategies used by AES in comparing to those by PAS in situation 2

The results in Table 9.6 indicated the difference in the frequency distribution of strategies used by both groups of subjects in relation to status.

The invitee	Politeness Strategies	PAS				AES			
		Male to Male		Female to Female		Male to Male		Female to Female	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lower status	D	21	91	20	87	8	35	7	31
	CID	1	4.5	1	4.5	11	48	11	48
	NCID	1	4.5	2	8.5	4	17	5	21
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100
Equal status	D	22	95.5	21	91.5	6	25.5	6	25.5
	CID	1	4.5	2	8.5	11	49	12	53
	NCID	0	0	0	0	6	25.5	5	21.5
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100
Higher status	D	21	91	20	87	3	13.5	5	21.5
	CID	1	4.5	3	13	14	61.5	12	53
	NCID	1	4.5	0	0	3	13.5	5	21.5
	Total	23	100	23	100	20	88.5	22	96

Table 9.6: *Participants' preference for and use of politeness strategies to the invitee of the same gender in situation 2*

In AES' data, when the invited group was males and in lower social status than the inviters, the direct strategy presents 35%, the conventional strategy shows 48% and the nonconventional takes 17%. When they were females, the data shows 31% for direct, 48% for conventional indirect and 21% for hints. Similarly, in PAS data, the percentage of subjects who chose to invite directly is 91% (males) and 87% (females); to invite indirectly by using suggest formulae is 2.5 % (same for both males and females); to deliver hints is 4.5% for males and 8.5% for females. It is clear that AES and PAS shared one thing in common: males employed more direct politeness strategy and provided less hints than females did. Another noticeable point is that AES men invited using conventional indirectly as women in the case. Quite contrary to the previous situation, there were not as many AES males who employed the conventional indirect to the invitee of equal status as female did (49 % for males and 53% for females). In addition, in this case, men also issued more hints than women (25.5% and 21.5%). Meanwhile, in PAS' data, men continued to invite more directly and less indirectly than women. One crucial question is that neither men nor women delivered any hints.

As presented in Table 9.6, the results also revealed that there were significant differences in the strategy selection employed by AES and PAS when the invited were of higher social status. While men in AES group became less direct (13.5%) than women (21.5%), Palestinian male native speakers kept issuing more direct politeness strategy (91%) than women (87%). Besides, in contrast to women of AES group who

employed fewer conventional indirect invitations than men (53% and 61.5%), in PAS' data, the number of women who chose the same strategy is more than that of men (13% in comparing to 4.5%). Moreover, unlike the case of female AES who issued many hints (21.5%) to invite people of the same gender and higher status, none of female PAS chose this strategy. Also, although men of both groups did deliver hints, AES outnumbered PAS in this situation. In summary, the fact that the invitee and the inviter were of the same gender and under the impact of social status affected differently to AES and PAS. In higher status than their male partners, both AES and PAS males issued more direct strategies than females. However, when they were at equal and lower status, the choice of strategies by AES males shifted to indirectness while both PAS and AES females continued issuing a high degree of indirectness to their female partners. Meanwhile, PAS males kept unchanged in their selection.

b. Participants making invitations to the invitee of different gender and in relation to status.

The results presented in Chart 9.5 show that there were significant differences in the frequency distribution of politeness strategies between AES and PAS males and females when they were asked to orally invite people of different gender.

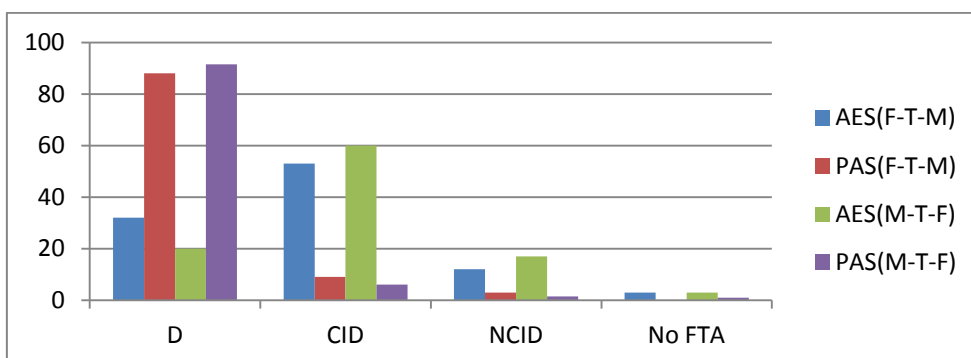


Chart 9.5: The proportion of total politeness strategies made by AES in comparing to those by PAS in situation 2

As appeared in the chart, in general, AES females tended to employ much more direct invitations (32%) than AES males (19.83%). However, they issued fewer both conventional and nonconventional indirect politeness strategies in the case. Besides, there was only one AES female who refused to do this face threatening act in comparing to three males who chose the same solution. Meanwhile, the data of PAS group showed no similarities between the two groups. The results showed that the number of PAS who invited directly nearly tripled that of AES. Unlike AES females, there were fewer PAS females who used direct politeness strategies to invite males than PAS males did to

invite females. Moreover, different from AES group, the number of conventional and nonconventional indirect strategies employed by PAS females was also more than by PAS males. The biggest difference between the two groups was that none of PAS refused to do FTA in this situation while there were four AES who did the act.

In Table 9.7 below, the results indicated that there were more differences than similarities in the frequency distribution of politeness strategies between AES and PAS when the invitee was in lower status than and different gender from the inviter, In this setting, though the proportion of conventional strategies employed by both AES and PAS females and males was totally equal ($56.5\%:56.5\% = 4.5\%:4.5\% = 1:1$), the percentage of those strategies used by AES males and females was much higher than that of PAS (56.5% and 4.5%). Under the impact of status, quite contrary to AES males who employed 25.5% direct strategies and hence fewer than AES females (31%), PAS males were more direct (95.5%) than PAS females (91%). Besides, while PAS males delivered no hints in the case, the percentage of AES males who employed hints was even more (18%) than that of females in the group (13.5%). In short, it seems that PAS females were more indirect and AES females were more direct than males in the same circumstances.

In contrast to the previous case, the results indicated that in the situation where the invitee was of equal status, both PAS and AES female inviters were somehow more direct than males in their groups. As appeared in the data, the politeness strategies used by PAS females constituted 91% for direct ones, 4.5% for conventional indirect and 4.5% for hints. Meanwhile, the frequency distribution of direct spoken invitations by PAS males was 87% ; of conventional indirect ones was 8.5% and of hints was 4.5% . Similarly, though the preference for strategies of AES group presented different percentages, the results in AES data also showed that AES men tended to give fewer direct spoken invitations than AES women. Only 25.5% AES males answered that they would directly invite equal-status females while there was 43.5% AES females who chose the same solution to orally invite male partners. The number of conventional indirect invitations given by AES men was 61.5% (48% in women choice) and for the use of hints was 13% (different from women).

The invitee	Politeness Strategies	PAS				AES			
		Female to Male		Male to Female		Female to Male		Male to Female	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lower status	D	21	91	22	95.5	7	31	6	25.5
	CID	1	4.5	1	4.5	13	56.5	13	56.5
	NCID	1	4.5	0	0	3	13.5	4	18
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100
Equal status	D	21	91	20	87	10	43.5	6	25.5
	CID	1	4.5	2	8.5	11	48	14	61.5
	NCID	1	4.5	1	4.5	2	8.5	3	13
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100
Higher status	D	20	87	22	95.5	5	21.5	2	8.5
	CID	3	13	1	4.5	12	53.5	14	61.5
	NCID	0	0	0	0	3	13.5	4	17
	Total	23	100	23	100	20	88.5	20	87

Table 9.7: Participants' preference for and use of politeness strategies to the invitee of different gender in situation 2

Another noticeable point is that the higher status of the invited affected differently the choice of politeness strategies employed by both AES and PAS of different gender when they were asked to orally invite the people of opposite gender in situation 2. To AES, though the use of conventional indirect politeness strategies was still preferred, AES women kept being more direct than men. The proportion of direct strategies used by females over males which was 2.6 (21.5%: 8.5%) was still higher than the sum of both proportions of conventional and nonconventional indirect strategies used by females over males which was 0.85 (53.5%: 61.5% + 17%:13.5%). The data also showed that there were more males than females in the group who refused to do this FTA (3 for men and 1 for women). Meanwhile, the data in PAS group showed an opposite result. To PAS, even though direct spoken invitations were mostly favored by the majority of participants, more PAS females tended to employ indirect politeness strategies when inviting males than PAS males in the same situation. The number of females issuing indirect politeness strategies nearly tripled (13%:4.5%) that of males while the proportion of direct invitations by men over by women was only 1.1 (95.5%:87%). To sum up, in the setting where the invitee was of opposite gender, PAS females seemed to be more indirect than males when the invited was in lower and higher status and more direct to the people of equal status. Meanwhile, AES females always use more direct invitations than AES males do in all three situations. The impact of gender and age would be investigated in the following section of this chapter.

9.3.3. *Age and gender:*

The impact of age and gender on politeness strategies employed was investigated with situation 1 in the questionnaire. Similar to the previous case, the combination of age and gender formed 8 discourse completion questions in each situation. Therefore, the 8 discourse completion questions would help to investigate the frequency distribution of politeness strategies used by both groups of subjects when issuing invitations under the influence of age and gender.

Each question in the situation was designed to serve a certain purpose. It was to investigate what kind of politeness strategies the inviter would employ if

1. The invitee were a female and at younger age.
2. The invitee were a male and at younger age.
3. The invitee were a female and at the same age.
4. The invitee were a male and at the same age.
5. The invitee were a female and at older age.
6. The invitee were a male and at older age.
- 7 & 8 aim at investigating the influence of social distance.

The preference for politeness strategies used by AES and PAS was analyzed in two separate situations:

a. Making invitations to the invitee of the same gender

The overall results presented in Chart 9.6 indicate that, like other cases, AES mostly favored the conventional indirect politeness strategies when they orally invited someone under the influence of age and gender. In addition, though females employed fewer numbers of conventional indirectness (60%) comparing to males (65.33%), they showed a high tendency of using more hints (23.67%) and fewer direct invitations (16%). It can be inferred that AES females were more indirect than males in this setting. PAS' data revealed a different result. Though the majority of subjects kept issuing direct spoken invitations, in comparing to the previous settings, they tended to deliver much more indirect politeness strategies. Besides, the data also indicated that, unlike AES females, PAS females were more direct than males because they employed more direct strategies (80% and 76.80%), fewer conventional ones (15.83% and 18.67%) and fewer nonconventional indirect strategies (4.33% and 4.5%) than men did in the same situation.

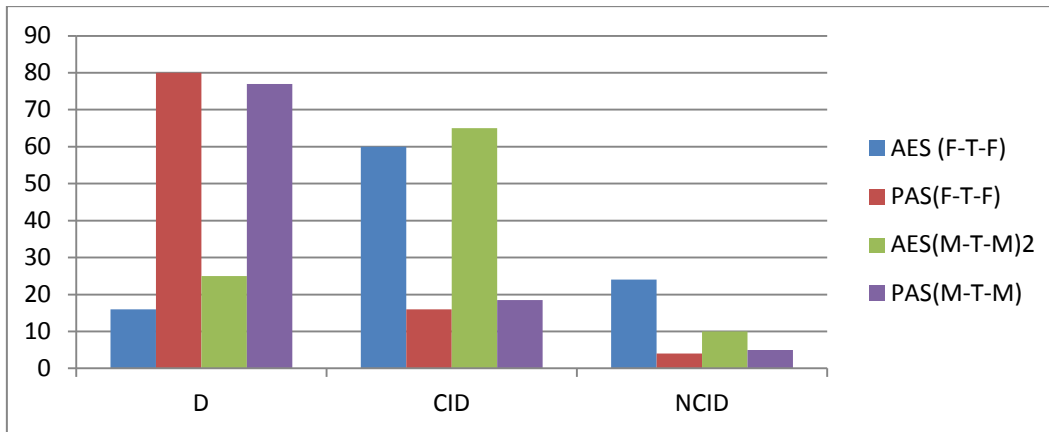


Chart 9.6: The proportion of total politeness strategies made by AES in comparing to those by PAS to the invitee of the same gender in situation 1

The detailed analysis of the data in Table 9.8 presented the responses from both subjects when taking the age of the invitee into account.

Firstly, in the situation where the subjects were asked to invite people of younger age, the number of AES subjects who chose suggestory formulae or query preparatory strategies still took 48% of the total strategies used. However, AES females issued much more hints (32.5%) and fewer direct strategies (17%) than AES males did (13% and 39%). They tended to be more indirect than men. Meanwhile, PAS women delivered more direct invitations (87%) than males (78%) and also issued fewer conventional indirect ones (8.5% and 17.5%). Moreover, PAS females and males shared one thing in common: they employed the equal number of hints (4.5%). Therefore, PAS females somehow employed more direct politeness strategies than males.

The invitee	Politeness Strategies	PAS				AES			
		Female to Female		Male to Male		Female to Female		Male to Male	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Younger age	D	20	87	18	78	4	17	9	39
	CID	2	8.5	4	17.5	11	48	11	48
	NCID	1	4.5	1	4.5	8	35	3	13
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100
Same age	D	17	74.5	17	74.5	6	26	7	30.5
	CID	4	17	5	21	13	57	14	61
	NCID	2	8.5	1	4.5	4	17	2	8.5
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100
Older age	D	18	78	18	78	1	4.5	1	4.5
	CID	5	22	4	17.5	17	74	20	87
	NCID	0	0	1	4.5	5	21.5	2	8.5
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100

Table 9.8: *Participants' preference for and use of politeness strategies to the invitee of the same gender in situation 1*

Secondly, to the invitee of the same age, the results showed that there were almost no differences between AES females and males in their preference for the politeness strategies employed. From 26% to 30.5% of both AES males and by each group of gender was somehow equal. The only noticeable point is that, unlike AES group, PAS males tended to be more indirect when inviting the people of different gender who were of their age. They issued a few more suggestory formulae or query preparatory strategies (21% and 17% by women), but less hints (4.5% and 8.5% by females).

Finally, the trend of using politeness strategies of AES and PAS to the people who were older proved to have somehow similar results. In AES' data, the number of females who employed hints is more than that of males (21.5% and 8.5%) while the percentage of direct invitations issued by males is the same as that of females (4.5% and 4.5%). However, AES men seemed to prefer conventional indirect strategies more than women. 87% of them responded that they would invite by saying "*Would you like to...*" or the like to the invitee of different gender who were older. Therefore, AES males were thought to be more indirect than females. Differently, PAS' data showed that PAS females favored indirect politeness strategies than males. PAS females and males issued the same percentage direct spoken invitations (78%) but males used more hints (4.5% and 0% for females).

In summary, the results showed that the age of the interlocutors would cause an impact on the preference for politeness strategies used by both AES and PAS males and make them invite a person of the same gender more directly than females. The age factor influenced both PAS and AES females.

The frequency distribution of politeness strategies employed by AES and PAS when the interlocutors are of different gender under the influence of age would be investigated in the following section.

b. Making invitations to the invitee of different gender

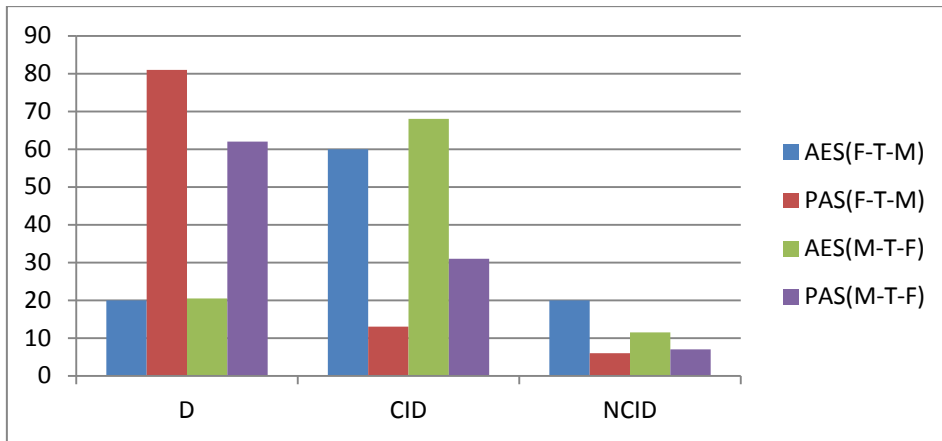


Chart 9.7: *The proportion of total politeness strategies made by AES in comparing to those by PAS to the invitee of different gender in situation 1*

The results in Chart 9.7 indicated that there were significant differences in the strategy selection done by AES and PAS. AES continued to be loyal to the use of conventional indirect strategies while the majority of PAS preferred the direct politeness strategies. Specifically, the results showed that though the percentage of direct invitations made by AES females and males were totally equal, females issued more hints and males used more conventional indirect ones. Meanwhile, the gap between the selection of strategies of PAS females and males seemed to be bigger. Many PAS females chose to use direct spoken invitations to male partners in comparing to a much fewer number of males who did the same act to female partners. Besides, PAS females also deliver much more conventional indirect strategies than males in the same setting. The only similar point between PAS females and males was that they issued relatively equal number of hints.

Table 9.9 below presents the frequency distribution of politeness strategies used by both AES and PAS when taking age and gender of the invitee into consideration.

The invitee	Politeness Strategies	PAS				AES			
		Female to Male		Male to Female		Female to Male		Male to Female	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Younger age	D	18	78	14	61.5	6	25.5	8	35
	CID	3	13.5	7	31	11	49	12	52
	NCID	2	8.5	2	8.5	6	25.5	3	13
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100
Same age	D	18	78	15	65.5	7	30.5	5	21.5
	CID	3	13.5	7	30	13	56	15	65.5
	NCID	2	8.5	1	4.5	3	13.5	3	13
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100
Older age	D	20	87	14	61	1	4.5	1	4.5
	CID	3	13	7	30.5	17	74.5	20	87
	NCID	0	0	2	8.5	5	21	2	8.5
	Total	23	100	23	100	23	100	23	100

Table 9.9: Participants' preference for and use of politeness strategies to the invitee of different gender in situation 1.

As what we could see in the data, it was hard to reach a conclusion whether PAS females were more direct or indirect than males when inviting people of different gender who were younger. First, PAS females favored further direct strategies than males because the frequency distribution of direct invitations by them was 78% compared to 61.5% of males. In addition, the percentage of suggestory formulae or query preparatory strategies they employed was less than half of that by PAS men. In fact, both PAS males and females issued the same percentage of hints (8.5). Nevertheless, PAS females tended to be more direct than males. Compared with PAS females, AES women were less direct than men. Only 25.5% of their answers were in direct form while 35% men chose the direct strategies. Besides, they also issued much more hints than men did. The proportion of hints distributed was 25.5% for females and only 13% for males while the percentage of conventional strategies was nearly equal. Therefore, AES females tended to be more indirect than AES males when inviting younger people of different gender.

Secondly, the results presented in Table 9.9 showed that there were some similarities in the frequency distribution of inviting strategies used by AES and PAS in the setting where the invitee was as young as the inviter. Both AES' and PAS' data indicated that females issued more direct invitations than males. 78% of the responses from PAS and 30.5% AES females were in direct form in comparison to 65.5% PAS

and 21.5% AES males. Males of both groups were found to employ much fewer conventional indirect politeness strategies than females. There were 56% of females and 65.5% of males who used conventional strategies in AE.

Finally, when the invitee was older than the inviter, the results were different. In AES' data, both females and males employed fewer direct spoken invitations comparing to the cases when the invitee was younger than or as young as the inviter (only 4.5%). Unlike in the previous settings, the proportion of indirect politeness strategies used here was the majority (74.5% for females and 87% for males). Although AES females issued fewer suggestory formulae or query preparatory strategies than males, they issued more hints (21%). Meanwhile, PAS' data indicated that PAS females were more direct than men when inviting older people of different gender. Unlike AES females, PAS females issued most of their spoken invitations in direct form (87%) and the other 13% was for conventional indirect. In comparison to females, males in the group used fewer direct strategies and more indirect ones.

To sum up, age and gender of the invitee affected not only to different groups of subjects but also to subjects of different gender. In the setting where the addressee was younger or older than the inviter, PAS females were more direct than males. Meanwhile, AES females seemed to be more indirect in the first situation and employ fewer conventional indirect politeness strategies and more hints than males in the second. Besides, to males who were of the same age, AES and PAS females shared one thing in common, i.e., they issued fewer suggestory formulae or query preparatory strategies and used more direct spoken invitations than men did to females who were of the same age.

9.3.4. *The impact of social distance in relation to sex, age and social status on invitation making:*

Social distance (SD) is the degree to which interactants are familiar with one another (B&L, 1987; Leech, 1983; Mills, 2003). In B&L's model (1987), it can be measured in terms of "the frequency of interaction and the kinds of material and nonmaterial goods exchanged between S and H." (1987, p .77) Social distance is linked to notions of mutual bonding and unfamiliarity (B&L, 1987; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003).

Therefore, Brown and Levinson (1978) contend that any speech act has the potential of threatening either the face of the speaker or that of the hearer. They believe that conversation is much more concerned with observing politeness expectations

designed to ensure the “redress of face than with the exchange of information”. They have proposed a direct relationship between social distance and politeness in such a way as to indicate that an increase in social distance will bring about an increase in the degree of politeness and vice versa. In general, friends, family and other such personal contacts are presumably closer in social distance than business colleagues. Therefore, it is possible that invitations of a personal nature will be more likely to be informal than those of a business nature.

Throughout the analysis of invitations in PA in this chapter, the degree of social distance or solidarity between the interactants in relation to other social factors such as relative age, sex, social roles, whether people work together, or are of the same family were found to be of great effect on the type of strategy being used by the individual speaker upon inviting, accepting an invitation or declining it.

The analysis reveals that the lower the social distance is, the more direct the invitation will be in PA. However, general observation shows that Palestinians sometimes use more direct strategies than Americans even in some situations in which social distance is not low.

Although the Palestinian speakers do some face-threatening acts without redressing in some situations, their invitations sound polite, sincere and firm. These unredressed invitations are justified since the act is in both addressees’ interest and the imposition is very small. The pattern that most of PA speakers followed in situations in which social distance is low is the imperative. In addressing the cousin in Sit# 1 (items 7 & 8), the imperative *istazǧd/i, kul/i kamān* (eat some more) is used. The imperative *xallini* (let me) is used frequently since it conveys asking for permission rather than ordering someone. In fact, as will be illustrated in chapter 10, some situations have yielded frequent use of in-group language through address forms and ellipsis to establish in-group solidarity with the cousins. Besides the common strategies, each situation has also yielded its distinct ones.

9.4. Conclusion: The findings of the chapter

In this section, the findings were discussed to realize the objectives of the study. As mentioned above, the data analysis revealed some significant differences between the AES’ and PAS’ productions of invitations under the impact of directness. Even though this finding concerns the results from the context-specific situation, it still offers

evidence that there are distinct cross-cultural differences between PAS and AES in making invitations.

First, concerning the first two objectives of the study, the PAS were found to employ a higher degree of directness as far as the head acts of their invitations were concerned while AES showed a pretty high frequency of employing indirectness. The results also showed how direct invitations are the most favored strategies for PAS while conventional indirect ones are the most preferred strategies for AES. Besides, they showed how important it is in the English language to acknowledge the use of conventional indirectness (normally in interrogative form) even with the inviting act which brings benefits to the addressee. On the other hand, direct politeness strategies, normally with the use of imperatives and the performative verb *invite*, were extensively employed by PAS subjects and perceived as socially accepted by the majority of PAS participants.

However, this finding does not mean PAS are less polite than AES or AES are more polite than PAS in delivering invitations. It only reflects different language habits which originate from different cultures. Because inviting is a kind of negative face-threatening acts, in English speaking cultures, AES would consider the limitation of imposition, the use of giving options together with the indirectness as ways of performing face saving acts. Therefore, the preference for indirect invitations by AES could be explained by their cultural values where individual's freedom and independence is highly respected. Meanwhile, it could be argued that the tendency for higher directness on the part of the PAS is consistent with the characteristics of a solidarity-oriented society. Therefore, the direct invitations employed by PAS in the research served to emphasize the intimacy, closeness and solidarity. Moreover, the use of address terms in Palestinian culture somehow achieves to soften the imperative spoken invitations and make them more polite and widely acceptable as in the example below:

abu aḥmad, jarib ḥāḍa ?ilṣaḥin. جرب هذا الصحن. أبو احمد، جرب هذا الصحن. (Abu Ahmad, try this dish.)

As a result, considering the relationship between directness/indirectness in invitations and politeness, it is evident from the above findings that politeness is not always determined by indirectness. It is against Brown and Levinson's hierarchy which assumes that the more indirect an utterance, the more polite it comes (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 17-21). In Palestinian culture and particularly with inviting behavior, indirectness with the concept of non-imposition or giving options is not necessarily

politeness. It can be even misunderstood as insincerity and hence may lead to the breaking of a further social relationship.

The effect of social status, age and gender on the preference for and use of inviting politeness strategies by both AES and PAS was also examined. The findings revealed that these factors did have a different impact on the choice of both groups.

Regarding the influence of social status and age of participants to the choice of politeness strategies employed by both groups, the data in Table 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5 showed different results.

It is undeniable that both groups of subjects saw the need of being indirect to the people who were older no matter what levels of social status those people were in. However, almost PAS invited people of younger age directly though that person was a boss, an employee or a colleague. Meanwhile, AES considered younger people as distant and hence applied negative politeness strategies to reduce the imposition of the inviting, especially in the setting when those people were at lower position. In addition, while AES reacted differently to people of the same age accordingly to status (direct to lower status, conventional indirect to equal and most hints to higher status), PAS only realized the necessity of employing indirectness to people of the same age when they were in equal status.

That is to say, to AES, it is true that the power of the addressee is very important to the politeness strategies employed by the speaker. According to Brown and Levinson, the more powerful the hearer is, the more polite the speaker would be, from which they mean the more indirect people would be in the speech act of requesting. The majority of strategies employed by AES have proved to follow this belief. However, under the effect of age, the results show that it is not correct to the invitee of lower status because AES employed even more indirect invitations than to the one of higher or equal status. Moreover, what Brown and Levinson believe is also not totally suitable in the case of PAS. Unlike AES who considered age factor was not important but significant as social status, PAS took the age of the addressee in greater consideration than his/her social status in invitations. They used the same degree of directness to younger people regardless of their status, and to same-age partners except when they were of equal status. Therefore, social status of the participants did not affect as much to the selection of politeness strategies by PAS as their age did.

Concerning the effect of both social status and gender on the choice of politeness strategies by AES and PAS, gender relationships were examined together with social status.

Firstly, with male partners of higher status, both AES and PAS males issued more direct strategies than females. However, being of equal or lower status, the choice of strategies by AES males shifted to indirectness while PAS males kept unchanged in their selection. As Chodorou (1974) and Gilligan (1982) said, because men see the world as a hierarchy in which any individual may be one-up or one-down, their speech shows a tendency to seek independencies and focus on hierarchical relationship. This can explain the reason why more AES chose to use directness to people of lower position and negative politeness to the ones of higher or equal positions. Nevertheless, if the choice of strategies by PAS were explained in such a way, PAS males would be very impolite people who always think themselves as superior, which is not true. PAS males tended to prefer more direct patterns to their male partners as a sign of closeness and friendliness. It seems that, to PAS males, the necessity of realizing the status of the same gender addressees is not as important as the need to show solidarity between themselves, especially in the act of inviting.

Meanwhile, the strategy selection of both AES and PAS females when inviting the people of the same gender shows the suitability between the reality and the theory suggested by Holmes (1996), which states that being well aware of the fact that what they say may threaten face of other people, women tend to use the extremes of negative politeness more frequently than men do. Besides, in this case, there were more women than men who saw the need of inviting indirectly, no matter what social status they were in.

Surprisingly enough, in the setting where the invitee was of opposite gender, AES females always invited more directly than AES males did in all three levels of social status. On the contrary, PAS females seemed to be more indirect than males when the invitee was in lower and higher status, and more direct to the people of equal status. This result indicates that there are not only differences in the way women and men orally invite someone but there are also differences in the selection of strategies among women and men themselves. While the majority of AES women employed indirect politeness strategies to the invitee of the same gender to save face, they saw another need to show intimacy and solidarity to the people of different gender by inviting

directly. Here, it seems that AES females are less aware of the values of a more negative politeness society where the limitation of imposition, the giving options and the indirectness are more preferred. Meanwhile, the fact that PAS females were always more indirect to both people of same and different gender than men except for the case of equal social status proved the perception that PAS females prefer “beating about the bush” rather than being straightforward.

Finally, with the respect to the impact of both the invitee’s and the inviter’s age and gender on the selection of politeness strategies used for invitations, the results in Table 9.8 showed that, different from the effect of status, the age of the interlocutors would somehow make both AES and PAS males invite a person of the same gender more directly than females do. To AES males, the idea that they usually do not pay as much attention to the age of the addressee as other factors such as social status or gender again proved to be correct. It is obvious that they did not change their politeness strategy together with the change of their male partners’ age while they did employ different types of strategies when the status was different. To PAS males, the reason why the majority of them issued directness may be explained by the need to show closeness and solidarity among Palestinian peers of the same gender.

Gender and age of counterparts obviously had a different impact on females of both groups. Firstly, the number of those who chose to be indirect to their same gender partners outnumbered that of males. The results showed that there are more females than males (both AES and PAS) who tried to avoid threatening the face of the addressees and their own face also by giving options to the addressees of different ranges of age. Secondly, when the invitee was of different gender, his/her age influenced the choice of politeness strategies by AES and PAS in another way. The results in Table 9.9 indicated that in the setting where the addressee was younger or older than subjects, PAS females were more direct than males in their group. Meanwhile, AES females seemed to be more indirect in the first situation and employ fewer conventional indirect politeness strategies and more hints than males in the second. Besides, to the male invitee who was as young as they were, both AES and PAS women shared one thing in common: they issued fewer suggestory formulae or query preparatory strategies and employed more direct invitations than men in their groups. As a result, the age of the counterparts had a stronger impact on the selection of strategies employed by both AES and PAS females than by males. Females of both

groups seem to be more sensitive to age and gender of the addressees and always take those factors into consideration. They employed various different strategies for different groups of the invitees than males in their groups.

To sum up, this chapter has provided the results of data analysis and discussion of the findings. While AES preferred the selection of indirect politeness strategies in issuing invitations, PAS favored direct ones. The study revealed that an invitation is a complex speech act involving various utterances. Invitation is not only realized in the initial utterance in a certain discourse, but a set of utterances within discourse. In short, according to van Dijk (2009: 15) “nothing is being said, done and understood without previous and parallel mental control in terms of the current ‘state’ of the dynamic models of the ongoing communicative situation”. Therefore, this study is in support of van Dijk’s (2009) theory of context that explains how text and talk are adapted to their social environment. According to van Dijk (2009: i), “it is a widespread misconception, for instance in traditional sociolinguistics, that social situations and their properties (such as class, gender or age of language users) exercise *direct* and unmediated influence on language use”. Instead of the usual direct relationship being established between society and discourse, this influence is indirect and depends on how language users themselves define the communicative situation.

CHAPTER TEN: INVITATIONS AND POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN PA AND AE

10.0. Introduction:

The central question for politeness has been whether it reflects the nature of human being. Brown and Levinson's⁵⁶ (1978, 1987) insightful work suggests this is so: politeness is universal. A great amount of ink has been spilled over for critiques to their work showing empirical evidence that cross-cultural differences in politeness manifestation are found, hence proving that Brown and Levinson's hypothesis is incorrect or too strong. This chapter attempts to contribute to the debate. We conducted a cross-linguistic exploration of how American and Palestinian participants extend and interpret invitations in different situations using politeness strategies. The results showed that convergences were found between the two participant groups in many situations but gaps in others.

Brown and Levinson are interested in two issues: First, they want to generalize types of politeness strategies in our language use. They attempt to define under what situation a particular strategy is supposed to be exercised. Second, they propose that this generalization is *universally* applied. This is a very strong proposal. What this means is that we can predict that an individual would use a strategy under a given situation. The universality also implies that there might be no cultural differences in the applications of politeness strategies. For example, under the same context, the American speaker and the Palestinian speaker would use the same types of strategies. At the first glance, this strong claim seems to be easily falsifiable because in normal life even the same person would behave differently: he/she might be polite one day but rude in another for the same situation.

In this chapter, we aim to investigate whether this prediction (Politeness is a universal phenomenon) is born out with a cross-linguistic analysis. I will rely on answers provided by both US and Palestinian subjects (both oral and written data) to explore and analyze their responses in terms of politeness strategies. Our research hypothesis is simple and straightforward: If Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is correct, there must be no difference in the application of strategies. Let us see if the prediction is borne out in the next sections. In fact, the aim of this chapter is to present

⁵⁶ See Chapter 5 for a detailed illustration of theories of politeness.

an analysis and interpretation of the realisation patterns of invitations in PA and AE, establishing the similarities and differences between the conceptualisation of politeness by speakers of both languages. Before we start any analysis of the data, it is a good point to revise some essential strategies of politeness within Brown & Levinson's (1987) theory.

10.1. Strategies of Doing FTA's:

Estimation of risk of face loss is involved when politeness strategies are discussed while exploring situations involving invitations. The choice of strategy is an act performed on record baldly, without redress in most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible (ALFattah, 2010:112). At the same level of doing FTAs, redressive actions can also be done in that no such face threat is intended or desired by S toward H. S in general recognizes H's face wants and himself wants them to be achieved. Such redressive actions take one of the two forms, depending on which aspect of face (negative or positive) is being stressed (cf. (ALFattah, 2010:112).

Positive politeness (PP) is oriented towards H's positive face. In some respects it indicates H's wants by treating H as a friend. The potential FTA is minimized by the fact that S's wants are at least some of H's wants. The goal of using positive politeness strategies is to establish friendliness or solidarity between interlocutors. Positive politeness strategies include paying attention to hearer's interests, needs or goods, using in-group identity markers in speech, avoiding disagreement or seeking agreement in safe topics (cf. Farahat, 2009:26).

Negative politeness (NP) is essentially avoidance-based. Direct linguistic forms uttered with FTAs have corresponding indirect forms which are formal conventionalized indirect speech acts, hedges, apologies for intrusion, etc. According to Brown & Levinson (1987), the more efforts S exerts in indirect work, the more he/she will be seen as trying to be polite. Thus, some indirect forms are more polite than others (cf. Agis, 2012).

The table 1 shows 15 positive politeness strategies and 10 negative politeness ones.

Positive Politeness Strategies		Negative Politeness Strategies	
P#1	Notice, attend to H's interests, wants, needs, goods, etc.	N#1	Be conventionally indirect
P#2	Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)	N#2	Question , Hedge
P#3	Intensify interest to hearer	N#3	Be pessimistic
P#4	In-group identity marker	N#4	Minimize the imposition
P#5	Seek agreement	N#5	Give deference
P#6	Avoid disagreement	N#6	Apologize
P#7	Presuppose/raise/assert common ground	N#7	Impersonalize the S and the H
P#8	Joke	N#8	State the FTA as an instance of a general rule
P#9	Assert or presuppose knowledge of and concern for H's wants	N#9	Nominalize
P#10	Offer & Promise	N#10	Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H
P#11	Be optimistic		
P#12	Include both S and H in the activity		
P#13	Give gifts to H		
P#14	Assume or assert reciprocity		
P#15	Give gifts to H(goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)		

Table 10.1. *Politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987)*

Off record is developed for doing FTAs by which the actor leaves himself out by providing himself with defensible interpretations of his act. It is essentially indirect uses of language, and includes among other linguistic strategies metaphors, irony, rhetorical questions, understatements, tautology and hints, so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable. It, therefore, violates the four Gricean maxims (cf. Al Shurafa, 2002).

The analysis of invitations throughout the following sections aims at answering two main questions. The first is how these polite linguistic acts function in situations involving invitations, and the second is why they are chosen. The answers always seem to involve politeness. Thus, the question of why such forms of politeness are used rather than others suggests that, whenever an indirect⁵⁷ form is available, a direct form is also available. However, direct and indirect forms are in complementary distribution, it makes it necessary to know the contexts and situations that determine one form and exclude the other in order to understand their use as a whole. The information conveyed by direct and indirect speech acts may be the same, that is to say, have the same

⁵⁷ See Chapter nine for more details on directness and invitations. In fact, directness and politeness are usually associated in previous literature.

illocutionary force (IF), but the most obvious difference between them is their linguistic structure, on the one hand, and their linguistic choice, on the other hand.

10.2. Invitations and Politeness in PA and AE (General Observations):

To investigate manifestation of politeness strategies, an exploration of invitations was conducted. Palestinian and American data were analyzed and we wanted to see if their manifestation of politeness strategies is identical or not. The prediction, as discussed in section (10.0.), is that the participants would show cross-linguistic differences in the application of the strategies.

To investigate the different uses of politeness strategies, we focused on situation 1 and 2 (inviting someone to have more food in sit#1 and inviting someone to a promotion party in sit#2, respectively) in the questionnaire⁵⁸. I explored items 3 and 4 in situation 1 (inviting a friend) and items 5 and 6 in situation 2 (inviting a boss). In fact, items 3 and 4 in situation 1 are scenarios that could trigger positive politeness strategies in the response and the others (5 and 6 in situation 2) could negative politeness strategies. Let us elaborate this in more detail.

The first two scenarios (items 3 & 4 in situation 1), in which we predict the participants to employ positive politeness strategies, are to ask his/her friend to have more food during dinner at house. Scenarios 5 and 6, in which the addressee is a boss (male or female), means the inviter is supposed to ask the boss to the promotion party. These are situations where the participants are expected to apply negative politeness strategies. Below are actual responses from one of the US respondents.

- Inviting a friend to have more food during dinner. (where positive politeness is probably needed):

(1) *Would you like more food?*

- To one's boss in the promotion party (where negative politeness is probably needed):

(2) *I'm having a party, um... would you like to come?*

Below are two responses by another PA respondent in the same situations:

(3) *bidi aħuT lak šwayet ruz kamān.* بدي احط لك شوية زر كمان.
[How about another serving of rice?]

(4) *fī ħinna ħafleh basiṭa, ya reit law tišarrifna.* في عندنا حفلة بسيطة، يا ريت لو تشرفنا.
[We have a small party. We wish you would give us the honor by your attendance].

⁵⁸ See appendices (A & B) on the two forms of the questionnaire.

All the responses were recorded and transcribed for the analysis. The responses of each participant were coded in terms of the politeness strategies that Brown and Levinson (1987) categorized. Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies have been illustrated in table (10.1.). Once the responses were coded, the experimenter tallied the number of the uses of strategies for each participant. To evaluate whether and how Palestinians are similar or different from Americans in the applications of politeness strategies, the responses of the Palestinian participants are calculated separately from those of the American participants. And the results of both nationals have been compared with respect to what kind of strategies and how many times were used in each situation. The results are shown in the next section. And what this means in the light of Brown and Levinson's model will be discussed later on.

10.2.1. Scenarios triggering negative politeness

The first two scenarios (items 5 & 6 in situation 2) asked the speaker to invite a boss to a promotion party. These are comparable situations with the scenarios 1 & 2 in situation 1 where the invitation is made to a close friend. According to Brown and Levinson's politeness model, negative politeness strategies are predicted to be used by the participants. As predicted, the subjects predominantly employed negative politeness strategies. Both the nationals made use of some types of negative strategies. Here, the US participants used more occurrences of negative politeness strategies (73 tokens) than the Palestinian participants (42 tokens), as shown in table 2 below.

Table 10.2. *Scenarios triggering negative politeness:*

Palestinian				
Inviting a boss	Types of strategies	No. of strategies used	Types of strategies	No. of strategies used
	P#2 (Exaggerate interest, approval, sympathy with H)	5	N#1 (Be conventionally indirect)	6
	P#3(Intensify interest to hearer)	6	N#2 (Question, hedge)	11
	P#4 (In-group identity marker)	11	N#3 (Be pessimistic)	8
	P#7(Presuppose/raise/assert common ground)	4	N#5 (Give deference)	7
	P#10 (Offer & Promise)	5	N#6 (Apologize)	4
			N#10 (Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H)	6
		Total 31		Total 42
American				
Inviting a boss	Types of strategies	No. of strategies used	Types of strategies	No. of strategies used
	P#2 (Exaggerate interest, approval, sympathy with H)	3	N#1 (Be conventionally indirect)	18
	P#3(Intensify interest to hearer)	3	N#2 (Question, hedge)	16
	P#4 (In-group identity marker)	4	N#3 (Be pessimistic)	10
	P#12 (Include both S and H in the activity)	3	N#4 (Minimize the imposition)	11
			N#5 (Give deference)	14
			N#10 (Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H)	4
		Total 13		Total 73

To see more detail of what they used, the Palestinian participants applied 5 types of positive politeness strategies: P#2, P#3, P#4, P#7 and P#10. Six kinds of negative strategies were exercised.

Similar types of strategies were found in the results of the American participants. All the participants applied N#2 to their response as the Palestinian participants did. Some occurrences of N#1, N#3, N#4, N#5, and N#10 were also found.

10.2.2. *Scenarios triggering Positive politeness*

The third and fourth scenarios in situation 1 were about the speaker's invitation of his close friend to have more food during dinner at house, and the participants were asked to respond to the invitation. In these situations, Palestinian participants have employed five types of positive strategies and four kinds of negative politeness strategies. On the other hand, American participants have employed three different positive strategies and six types of negative strategies. This is shown in table 3.

Table 10.3. *Scenarios triggering positive politeness:*

Palestinian				
Inviting a boss	Types of strategies	No. of strategies used	Types of strategies	No. of strategies used
	P#3(Intensify interest to hearer)	6	N#1 (Be conventionally indirect)	4
	P#4 (In-group identity marker)	26	N#2 (Question, hedge)	28
	P#7(Presuppose/raise/ assert common ground)	16	N#3 (Be pessimistic)	16
	P#11 (Be optimistic)	13	N#4 (Minimize the imposition)	4
	P#12 (Include both S and H in the activity)	14		
		Total 75		Total 52
American				
Inviting a boss	Types of strategies	No. of strategies used	Types of strategies	No. of strategies used
	P#3(Intensify interest to hearer)	6	N#1 (Be conventionally indirect)	15
	P#4 (In-group identity marker)	8	N#2 (Question, hedge)	15
	P#12 (Include both S and H in the activity)	7	N#3 (Be pessimistic)	10
			N#4 (Minimize the imposition)	11
			N#5 (Give deference)	14
			N#10 (Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H)	4
		Total 13		Total 69

The Palestinian participants used 26 times for P#4 and 16 times for P#7. P#11 and P#12 were used 13 and 14 times, respectively. Moreover, P#3 was used 6 times. They employed five types of negative strategies. Once again, N#2 was the most commonly used negative strategy; it was used 28 times. N#3 was used 16 times and N#1 and N#4 four times each.

On the other hand, the American participants applied fewer types of politeness strategies than the Palestinian participants. P#4 was employed eight times and P#3 six times. Moreover, P#12 was used seven times. Six types of negative strategies were employed. N#2 and N#1 were what they used most: 15 times. N#5 was employed 14 times. And N#3, N#4, and N#10 were used 10, 11, 4, respectively.

Interestingly, both Palestinian and American participants made use of P#4 more than any other strategies. This positive strategy is related to in-group identity markers, such as dialects, which are useful to build familiarity within the group. Given that the situation asked the participants to respond to colleagues, it is natural that there are

multiple occurrences of P#4. Multiple occurrences of N#2 were found in the results of both nationals. In fact, the N#2 strategy seemed to occur across the board. The next sections provide a detailed exploration of politeness strategies as used by Palestinians and Americans.

10.3. Discussion of Invitations and Politeness Strategies in PA:

Inviting in Palestinian society, like inviting elsewhere, is based on the relationship between the inviter and the invitee. As far as invitation making is concerned, Palestinian society has a special patterning of inviting. That is to say, in several cases it has been noticed that an inviter tends to exploit the *negative face* of the invitee (i.e. the want not to be imposed upon by others) for the purpose of addressing his/her *positive face* (i.e. the want to be thought of as desirable person).

Data analysis has shown that several strategies of inviting are utilized by the subjects of this study. To start with, it has been observed, as was illustrated in previous chapter, that the way of inviting in Palestinian society takes place either directly or indirectly. By the direct/explicit way we mean this type of expressions which indicates that the addresser has explicit intention of inviting, as in example 5 below:

(5) *?ana çazmak çala haflet çeed miladi*. انا عازمك على حفلة عيد ميلادي.
[I invite you to my birthday party.]

And by the indirect/implicit way we mean that type of inviting which indicates that the addresser has the intention of inviting, but without saying that directly. For example, while two friends are passing by a coffee-shop one of them may say

(6) *šura?iyak nfūt nišrablna finjān qahwa?* شو رايك نفوت نشرب لنا فنجان قهوة؟
[How about to take a cup of coffee?]

And the one who initiates such question has the intention of (inviting) paying for the drink. This study, as was illustrated in the previous chapter, demonstrates that the direct/explicit way of inviting is used by Palestinians much more often than the implicit way. This particular strategy appeared in the majority of interactions, in different realizations.

It should be noted here that, just like Janet Holme's (1990) work on apologies in New Zealand English and Al-Khatib's (2006) study on invitations in Jordan, the strategies of inviting are not mutually exclusive. That is to say, the PA subjects of this study appear to have employed more than one strategy during the complete act of inviting, repeating some of the strategies several times. For illustration, consider

example (7) below. Someone invites a friend of him to join a *Jaha* (Representatives of the groom visit the bride's home in order to negotiate the marriage agreement with the bride's family).

(7) *?ilyom jay adçik lihdür jahit ?bni X maçinu ?inta mabidak daçwa la?inu ?ihna wintu ?ahil, ?akād bitšarfūna, wiñšallah nrdulkum ?iyaha bil?afrah.*
 اليوم جاي أدعيك لحضور جاهة أبنی (...) مع انه انت ما بدك دعوة لانه احنا وانتو أهل، أكيد بتشرفونا، ان شاء الله نرد لكم اياها بالافراح. [Today, it is my son's *Jaha* (i.e. marriage delegation); I come to invite you to join us, though you need not be invited because you are one of us (i.e. you are as close friend as a family member). We would be honored if you would accept to join us. To be repaid on similar happy occasions, God willing.]

Cases like these can be seen as a set of speech acts each of which is a combination of individual speech acts that, when produced together, comprise a complete speech act (Murphy and Neu, 1996). To develop the illocutionary force desired a speaker often needs more than one discrete speech act. Thus, in the case of inviting one finds himself/herself in need for more than one speech act in order to be able to convey the intended message, namely addressing the positive face of the invitee, and informing him/her that his/her attendance is appreciated .

As pointed out earlier, an inviting speech act can be made on its own (e.g. *I invite you for a meal, or how about to dine together?*) or made up of different combinations of semantic formulas. Almost two quarters of the total number of strategies occurring in the corpus from PA involved some combination of strategies. It is highly likely that this latter type of data has occurred as a means for intensifying the effect of inviting speech act on the target person. The results of the analysis demonstrate that inviting in Palestinian society is made up of different combinations of several speech acts like, for example,

(8) *bukra btitfadalu çina çala ?ilyada çamlinu çalašan çawdit ?ibna X bisallameh, inshallah çugbal çindwladkum? [...]*
 بكرة بتشرفوا عنا على الغدى، عاملينه على شان عودة ابنا (...) Would you honor us tomorrow by lunching with us on the occasion of our son's safe return, same to your sons God willing?]

Speaking of the importance of this tactic, Holmes (1990) argued that “combining strategies results in a ‘weightier’ apology, appropriate for more serious offenses”. It is highly likely that Palestinian people tend to use this tactic so as to achieve two goals simultaneously: first, to enhance the positive face of the invitee by telling him/her, in an indirect way, that he/she is an important person. Second, to inform him/her that his/her

acceptance of the invitation is highly appreciated, therefore, he/she should respond to it positively.

Table (10.4): *Distribution of some intensifying inviting strategies in the speech behavior of Palestinian people.*

Intensifying strategies	No	%
Offering good wishes	376	23
Stressing common membership	211	13
Swearing by God or all that's holy or of great value	157	9
Promise of repay	138	8
Total	882	100

Table (4) shows that Palestinian people tend to utilize as intensifiers a number of positive politeness (PP)⁵⁹ strategies such as offering good wishes, claiming reciprocity or stressing common membership, swearing by God or other valuable belongings and promising to repay for strengthening the force of an invitation on the invitee. Consider the following examples:

- (9) *yareit titfadalu çina çala ?il çaða ?ileileh.* ياريت تتفضلوا عندنا على العشا الليلة.
[I much hope you would honor us by dining with us tonight.]
- (10) *ħabin niksabak çala ?il çada ?ilyom.* حابين نكسبكم على الغدا اليوم.
[we would like to have the advantage of having you on lunch with us today.]
- (11) *wujūdak bil ħafleh byisçidna.* وجودك بالحفلة بيسعدني.
[We would be very pleased by your participation.]

These examples indicate that such intensifiers (can also be considered as phatic expressions) as *you would honor us, we have the advantage of having you, We would be very pleased by your participation* may be addressed to the positive face of the invitee in order to strengthen the illocutionary force of the utterance and, consequently, heighten the perlocutionary effect of the act of inviting on him/her.

Also it can be seen from Table (4) above that, upon inviting, Palestinian people tend to offer a variety of good-wishes, as an important strategy, for inviting. This happens by using such expressions as

- (12) *?ana jay ?açzimkum çuqbāl çind wladkum insallah* انا جاي اعزمكم عقبال عند اولادكم
[I come to invite you for...., your children to be next God willing-(in terms of success, wedding, or any other happy occasions)]
- (13) *?inšallah nrudilkum ?iyaha bel?afrah* ان شاء الله نرد لكم ايها بالافراح
[God willing, to be repaid on similar happy occasions.]

⁵⁹ The next section provides a complete investigation of PP strategies used by Palestinians upon extending invitations.

It is highly likely that people in Palestinian society tend to offer a lot of such good-wishes upon inviting, because of their positive effect on the addressee. So, an appropriate use of them can be seen as a polite strategy through which the addresser attempts to arouse a positive feeling in the hearer, and as such make him accept to share this happy occasion with the inviter. Also, it should be noted here that religion was also found to play a role in the process. A considerable number of religious expressions given in the form of good-wishes were found to be used heavily by the subjects. For example, more than 278 good-wishes were found to include the name of ?aLLah or the Prophet Mohammed as in examples 14 and 15 below:

(14) ?aLLah yihanik الله يهنك [God bless you.]

(15) ?aLLa yahmik الله يحملك [God bless you.]

The use of such expressions is taken from the Arab and Islamic tradition, where the speaker tends to say nothing could happen without the help of God wherever he/she wishes something good to happen.

The data, as seen in table (10.4.), has also revealed that Palestinian people tend to use swearing- by God or all that's holy or of great value- as a means for intensifying the effect of inviting.

(16) billahi çaleik بالله عليك [By God.]

(17) bihyāt ?ilxuweh بحياة الاخوة [By our brotherhood.]

(18) jirit ?allah çaleik جيرة الله عليك [for God sake.]

(19) ?anaşdak bellah انشدك بالله [for God sake.]

The above utterances are usually used between intimates so as to strengthen the positive perlocutionary force on the recipient. This happens by making him/her feel that his/her attendance is highly appreciated and as such he/she has no choice but to accept the invitation. It should be mentioned here that using such theo-pragmatic expressions in the context of inviting may reflect the impact of Islamic culture on Palestinian people when they perform the act of inviting.

Stressing common membership is another effective strategy through which Palestinians attempt to heighten the perlocutionary effect of the act of inviting on the invitee. People in Palestinian society opt for employing a variety of such expressions. Using in-group identity markers such as in examples (20) and (21):

(20) ?nta waħad mina mabidak çazuumeħ انت واحد منا، ما بدك عزومة

[You are one of us, so you need not be invited (rather invites).]

(21) ?ihna ?ahil "احنا أهل" [we are as close friends as family members.]

is seen as an effective way of inviting, since it creates an impression that the message flows from heart to heart. Additionally, the subjects' pragmatic competence is evidenced

in the ease with which inviting utterances are usually accompanied by such in-group identity markers that might have a positive perlocutionary effect on the target person.

For more clarification, consider also the following example which illustrates how an invitation is offered in Palestinian society. Example (22) below is a conversation between two colleagues (A and B), working in the post office. A is extending an invitation to B, and B attempts by all means to escape the invitation but he, at last, finds himself, under A's insistence, obliged to accept the invitation. (Personal observation)

- (22) A. *yazalameh kam marah surt çazmak ta tzurna whua ?ihna muš gad ?ilmagam* (smiling)؟ يا زلمة كم مرة صرت عازمك تتزورنا؟ هو احنا مش قد المقام ؟
 [Hey man, how many times have I invited you to visit us? Are not we of the same (socio-economic) status?]
 B. *?inshallah bil?afrah*. ان شاء الله بالافراح. [On happy occasions, God willing.]
 A. *?ihna çarfün bil?afrah bas bidna ?iyaha ?ilyom*. احنا عارفين بالافراح، بس بدنا اياها اليوم.
 [We know “on happy occasions”, but we want it today.]
 B. *rah ?ahawil kul juhdi ?inshallah*. راح اعمل كل جهدي، ان شاء الله.
 [I'll do my best, God willing.]
 A. (smiling) *?ana çarif ?inshallah bas waçid šaraf?* انا عارف ان شاء الله، بش وعد شرف.
 [I know it happens by God willing, but you promise on your honor to do it?]
 B. *waçid šaraf*. وعد شرف. [Yes, I promise on my honor.]
 B. *?agulak, mazal waçid šaraf, xalas ?illeileh ?ana jay ?ana w?um X, bas bišart ?inak Latyalibhalak*.
 أقولك، مازال وعد شرف، خلاص الليلة انا جاي أنا وأم...، بس بشرط انك ما تغلب حالك.
 [Hey, since it is a promise on my honor, my wife (mother of X) and I will visit you tonight provided that you would not bother yourself about us (i.e. in terms of hosting the visit)]

This dialogue is a good example of an informal invitation which usually takes place between friends and colleagues. Insistence here, as we will see in the next chapter, is a remarkable aspect of inviting. The inviter insists on the invitee to accept the invitation through using several tactics. Once again, it should be noted here that the politeness in this type of invitation basically resides in the insistence of the addresser on the addressee to accept the invitation. Upon hearing this, the addressee may communicatively receive the message by implicating that he is so important to the addresser, otherwise he would not be invited repeatedly with a great deal of insistence. This implicature is brought about on the part of the addressee by making use of the generosity maxim (Leech, 1983) from a Palestinian point of view, where such a visit may result in "maximizing the expression of benefit to self and minimizing the expression of cost to self". The addressee, in turn, in an attempt to decline the invitation responds by resorting to various tactics typical of Arab culture. This happens by using

such expression as "Inshalla" ان شاء الله (God willing) and so on. But he, at last, accepts the invitation.

It should be noted here that this modes of inviting and accepting usually takes place in a face-to-face encounters, where, the inviter expects to be seen as cooperative. The hearer also, who tends bashfully to reject the invitation, expects to be seen cooperative. The invitee expects the inviter to assume cooperation and to interpret the violation on that basis.

Lastly, a careful examination of the structure of the various invitations made by the respondents indicates that the most common form of sequences used for inviting took the form of "inviting/ offering good-wishes /stressing common membership, followed by promise of repay, or alternatively, using swearing (by all that's holy and valuable) instead of the other strategies as supporting device. The next section provides a more detailed analysis of politeness strategies⁶⁰ used by Palestinians upon extending invitations.

10.3.1. Positive Politeness (PP) in PA:

Similar to Al Shurafa's (2002) study, the strongest and most persistent finding is the strategy of PP which predominates in the data from Palestinian Arabic. It is clear that Palestinians use direct forms as a cultural phenomenon for expressing IF (illocutionary force) especially in invitations.

1. The face-threatening act (FTA) is maintained on record and S takes notice of H's wants. The following is a complex clause which involves an exaggeration, and within the same utterance direct and indirect speech acts occur where the host, being hospitable to his guests around the table, says the following:

(23) A: *halla? hišmitkum beinkum, ma fī Deif. ?ana wallahi mā baçraf*

هلاء حشمتكم بينكم، ما في ضيف. أنا والله ما بعرف أضايف. *aDāyif.*

[Now if you are shy, your shyness reflects on you. No one here is treated as a guest, i.e., you are all treated as being members of the house, and by Allah I don't know how to be hospitable.]

Two IFs are contained in the above complex utterance. The IF conveys the intended meaning involved in the indirect speech form (making Hs believe that they are most welcome and should not feel shy). The other IF is secondary and is the unintended direct meaning used in the utterance form. This usage conveys a hint of exaggeration. As a result, (B) a greeting

⁶⁰ The analysis of data in following sections relies on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theories. See table (10.1.) of the different politeness strategies as suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987).

immediately follows (A), and was uttered by H (one of the guests) that presupposes S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants:

(24) B) *allāh yḥayyik*. الله يحييك. [May Allah greet you].

This usage indicates that S knows H's wants and is taking them into account.

2. Exaggeration in its positive sense as a PP strategy is much used by Arabs in general and by Palestinians in particular (Al Shurafa, 2002:9). Many occurrences show emphasis as well as acceptable redundancy of linguistic elements. Here S wants H's wants, and the FTA is done on record without redress to H's wants. The following are two responses provided by two guests after being invited to have much more food while having dinner.

(25) *yislamu ?ideiki, kull šī btiḥmalī ḥilu*. كلشي بتعمله حلو. يسلموا ايديكي، كلشي بتعمله حلو.
[May Allah save your hands. Everything you make (cook) is delicious.]

The above example involves a prayer by one of the guests conveyed to the hostess as a greeting which is directly taken from the socio-religious culture. The following example uttered by the host as an approval of the guests, fulfills similar PP functions as the above and contains other linguistic elements and hedges, besides rituals, as follows:

(26) *Tayyib, aywa, aywa*. طيب، أيوه، أيوه. [Good, yes, yes.]

Two functions appear in the above two examples. One is the socio-religious bound feature reflected in through the usage of prayers, as in example (25), and accepted by all hearers as mere rituals. The second predominant function is the repetition of the linguistic elements intensifying agreement by repeating *aywa* [yes] twice in example (26). Use of synonyms (*tayyib* and *atwa*) is another lexical device to express agreement in the same example.

3. Use of in-group identity markers is a PP strategy used in numerous ways by Palestinians. "S can implicitly claim common ground with H by using certain address forms, terms of dialect, jargon, slang or ellipsis" (Al Shurafa, 2002:10). This occurs frequently due to the fact that the social distance among people involved is very slight since they enjoy a close friendship, as indicated in the example below:

(27) *iḥna ihil.tafaDDal*. احنا أهل. تفضل.
[We are as close as members of one family. Welcome.]

In-group markers can be illustrated as shown in the following utterance by the host, who is the uncle of one of the guests:

(28) *ḥāt ḥuTTillak min ḥāda ya xāli*. هات أحط لك من هذا يا خالي.
[Give me (your plate) to put some food for you, nephew.]

The term *xāli* خالي [nephew] is used as an address form. It is also used as an in-group marker that reflects an intimate relationship, as well as a term which appears here to make the imperative “*hāt ?huTTillak*” هات احط لك (Give me your plate) milder. The term can be considered in this use as S approaching H by rendering the expression from PP into a request which may be an FTA redress. It involves ellipsis (your plate). Because of the reliance on a shared mutual knowledge to make ellipsis comprehensible, there is an evitable association between the use of ellipsis and the existence of the in-group shared knowledge. Ellipsis is always a PP when it occurs in such contexts. The following utterances also illustrate similar ellipsis in their first where (29) is used by the hostess addressing one of the guests, and (30) is the guest addressing the hostess:

(29) *(biddak) laħmeh, walla (biddak) jāj ?* (بدك) لحمة ولا (بدك) جاج.

[(Do you want) meat, or (do you want) chicken?]

(30) *(beddi) šwayyit xuDra, law samaħti, bass šwayya.*

(بدي) شوية خضرة، لو سمحت، بس شوية.

[(I want) Some vegetables if you don't mind. Only a little.]

The ellipsis is comprehensible here because the shared mutual knowledge of the context between S and H is established. The use in example (30) is an imperative form for a request. The elliptical clauses may be *beddi* بدي (I want), *huTTilli* حط لي (put for me), or *?çTini* أعطيني (give me) which may occur at the beginning of the utterance. However, because example (29) is an invitation in the form of a statement it requires a clause addressing H to fill the first slot of the invitation.

Sometimes, inviters use the metaphor *ilbeit beitak* البيت بيتك (make yourself at home/my house is yours), together with *tfaDDali/i* تفضل/ي. Such metaphor indicates that the speaker presupposes familiarity in S-H relationship, which, therefore, lessens the pressure on the guest as a stranger. Example (31) below illustrates the use of PP in PA.

(31) *tfaDDali; tara iða ma akalti ma ākul fi beitik.*

اتفضلي، ترا إذا ما أكلتي ما اكل في بيتك.

(Please take; if you don't eat, I won't eat at your home.)

The speaker indirectly assumes reciprocity to show that she and the guest are cooperators. However, the reciprocal act, here, is given a negative form in which the speaker states that if the guest does accept the invitation, the speaker is going to do the same if she pays the guest a visit. Hinting at this reciprocal act functions as a minimizer of the social distance and establishes intimacy.

4. Seeking agreement and avoidance of disagreement are strategies of PP which overlap here (Al Shurafa, 2002:11). Both are discussed together because most of

the exchanges found in the data are blends. These two strategies are related in that they claim a common ground with H. But to seek agreement is for H to see if it is possible to agree with S. And to avoid disagreement is S's desire to agree with H. The following exchange is a good example where in (32) the host utters his statement, then completes it in example (33) as the speaker, and H is one of the guests:

- (32) A: *mā baçraf aDäyyif*. ما بعرف أضافيف.
 [I don't know how to be formal (with guests).]
 (33) B: *la?anni ma bahubbiš atDayyaf*. لاني ما بحبش أضافيف.
 [Because I don't want to to be treated formally.]
 A: *ma ħada biddu taDyif*. ما حدا بده تضيفيف. No one is in need to be treated formally.]

The use in (32) and the exchange in (33) above show indirect PP. S in exchange (33) is justifying his previous usage in utterance (32) to avoid disagreement. H is cooperating in (33) and seeking agreement with S by stressing that no one is in need to be treated formally. Formality avoidance is the indirect implied concept of expressing the ultimate feeling of friendliness and close relationship.

5. The strategy of presupposing, raising or asserting common ground has many occurrences in short utterances as well as long stories or bits of gossip.

Questions or requests presuming the answer *yes* are widely used as a means to indicate that S knows H's wants, and the FTA is partially redressed. The speaker here is the daughter addressing (inviting) her mother to have a seat as follows:

- (34) *māmā, tuçudi ħūn?* ماما، تقعدني هون. [Mom, would you sit here?]

The politeness form of the affirmation, besides questions and requests, is used as an invitation too, as in the following utterance by the hostess to one of the guests:

- (35) *ħada ħuðar. biħubb takul maçāħ?* هدا خُضار. بتحب تاكل معاه. ?
 [These are vegetables. Would you like to have some?]

Another technique of politeness found in the data for inviting is that of calling people by the hostess, as in:

- (36) *laban ? fī laban ya X. . . .* لبين؟ في لبين يا . . . [Yogurt? There is yogurt, X.]

This linguistic usage of politeness involves presupposed knowledge of H's wants and attitudes by the hostess. The question of offering various choices as in example (36) involves linguistic forms socially considered as friendly and hospitable.

6. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of, and concern for, H's wants is considered as a major class of PP according to Brown and Levinson's divisions.

This PP class derives from the want to convey that S and H are cooperating in the relevant activity. They both share goals which serve to redress H's positive face wants. H's wants are presupposed by S's knowledge in the following exchange:

- (37) A: *bism illah*. بسم الله. [Start eating and mention the name of Allah.]
 B: *ana biddi ?bda? bhaða*. انا بدي أبدأ بهذا. [I want to start with this.]
 A: *?ibda? billi inta çäyzu*. أنت عايزه. [start with whatever you like.]

Potential pressure on H to cooperate with S implies H's wants and willingness to fit in with his wants. H in utterance B accepts this potential pressure and cooperates with S. Utterance A is another example of the same strategy concerning H's wants where freedom of choice for H is confirmed.

7. Offer and promise are implemented only few times in the data, as in the following utterance by the hostess mother addressing her daughter:

- (38) *law tqaçdi X çala hãða ilkursi!* لو تقعدني ... على هذا الكرسي!
 [How about seating X on this chair!]

The linguistic device of a request functions as an invitation. It is an indirect invitation to redress the potential threat of the FTA by S to stress cooperation with H by offering what H wants.

8) Include both S and H in the activity is another PP strategy which stresses the cooperativeness of S's action as in:

- (39) *bithubbu nişrab şäy alhîn ?* بتحبوا نشرب شاي الحين?
 [Would you like us to have tea now?]

The question here functions as an indirect invitation to have tea by using the inclusive (you) and (us) as shown in the plural suffix for the second person: **(-u): you** and the prefix **(ni-): We**, in *bithubbu* and *nişrab* respectively. Here, S calls upon cooperative assumptions and thereby addresses FTAs.

9. Give reason is another PP strategy implemented by including H in the activity in that S gives reasons why he wants what he wants.

The following example takes the form of insertion by the hostess of one of the guests followed by reported speech in the same utterance to provide the reason:

- (40) *hãða şürabat xuDär. qalatli Z biyhubbu bãbã.*
 هذا شوربة خضار. (...) قالت لي بيحبوا بابا.
 [This is vegetable sauce. Z told me that Dad likes it.]

The hostess goes off record by the act of pressurizing H and testing him to see if he is being cooperative.

10. Give gifts is the final PP strategy found in our data. There is an attempt to fulfill H's wants by directly redressing his or her positive face. It indicates that S wants for H's wants for H in some particular respect.

Giving gifts to H includes satisfying H's positive face wants, not only the classical giving of tangible gifts, such as in (41) below, where the speaker is one of the guests addressing the host and the hostess, and in (42) where the hostess replies to one of the guests:

(41) *yalla. Yārab; sallim ideiki ya Y. wa ?inšalla dāyman çāmir.*

يا الله. يا رب، سلم ايديكي يا (...)، و ان شاء الله عامر.

[Come on. May Allah praise your hands, Y. May Allah bless you.]

(42) *şahtein wa çāfyā. ?ahlan wa sahlān. أهلا و سهلا. صحتين و عافية.*

[May Allah grant you health and well being. You are welcome.]

The above usages of politeness occur in various linguistic forms to fulfill positively the same purpose of S giving H intimacy in the assertion of rituals as well as understanding and cooperation.

10.3.2. Negative Politeness (NP) in PA:

The second major politeness strategy examined involves NP, which forms the heart of respectful behavior. Where PP is free-ranging, NP is specific, focused and minimizes the unavoidable effects of FTAs. It is more common in some Western cultures than PP (cf. Al Shurafa, 2002:14). So, NP strategy is of a conventionalized set of linguistic strategies for FTA redress, such as etiquette, conventional indirectness, hedges on IF, polite pessimism and the like. NP is addressed to H's negative face using more complex linguistic forms than those used in PP, in order to satisfy H's face wants. It is oriented mainly towards satisfying H's negative face and self determination. Realization of NP strategies consists in assurances that S recognizes and respects H's negative face wants or freedom of action.

1. Be conventionally indirect is one strategy of negative politeness manifested in the data. The invitation, here, is made by the hostess to one guest:

(43) *eiş ra?yak fi al maqlūba ? ana biddiř tjāmil. laħsan tikūn ma btakulha.*

ايش رايك في المقلوبة؟ انا بديش تجامل. لحسن تكون ما بتوكلها.

[What do you think about (having) some of this up-side-down (meal)? I don't want you to flatter. May be you don't like it.]

An indirect invitation is implemented in a question form. It is followed by a negative statement and then by giving freedom of choice to H though his acceptance is desired. However, the FTA has a negative-face redress by avoiding coercing H's response and giving H an explicit option of not doing the act. Another occurrence of the same strategy reflecting a similar class of redressing H's negative-face want using a different linguistic technique is the following utterance by one of the guests to the hostess:

(44) *bass bass allah yirDa çaleiki ya X. (...)* بس، بس الله يرضى عليك يا X.
[Enough, enough, may Allah be pleased with you, X.]

In PA, the particle *bass* “enough”, and the rituals *allah yirDa çaleik* “may Allah be pleased with you” are common usages in which a true feeling may be developed in the interpersonal context. The above example reveals that H suspends coerciveness on S.

2. Be pessimistic is another linguistic NP strategy that can be seen in the following use by the hostess to one of the guests:

(45) *fī laban. binjīb laban.* في لبن. بنجيب لبن.
[There is some yogurt. We (can) bring some yogurt.]

The utterance gives redress to H's negative face by using the expletive particle *fī* “there is” once, and the clause *binjīb* “we (can) bring” thereafter. The two lexical devices indicates a similar conversational implicature which implies politeness by confirming to H the existence of “yogurt” once, which is immediately followed by expressing willingness to bring it by using the clause *binjīb* “we (can) bring”.

3. Minimizing the imposition involves NP, as in the following invitation by the hostess to one of the guests:

(46) *maqlūba hāt yalla ?ahuTillak mayrafah. bass hāt.*
مقلوبة هات احط لك مغرفة. بس هات. [Up-side-down (meal), bring (your plate). (Do) pass your plate let me put for you a serving spoon.]

Deference here is expressed through the hedges on illocutionary force (IF) implied in *yalla* “(Do) come on”, *bass* “really just”, besides using *mayrafah* “a serving spoon”; all uses function as narrowly delimiting the extent of the FTA. The verb *yalla* in the imperative mood implies *Do* and *Please*, and helps to minimize the imposition. It seems that, in PA, performing hedges are encoded in devices like *yalla* and *bass* which may hedge on IF propositional content, as in (32) above. The sincerity condition is implied in the coerciveness which may hedge the IF with no one clear literal meaning for it. As is the case here, the S is committed towards what he is saying, and in so doing modifying the IF.

4. Give deference is an NP strategy which can be realized if H is treated as being of a higher social status than S. Here deference defuses a potential FTA by indicating and recognizing H's rights. The following examples involve deference by indicating that H's wants are more important than S's, and hence become S's wants, where (47) is uttered by the guest addressing the host, and (48) is by the host:

(47) *wein ma biddak tuqçud.* وين ما بدك تقعد. [Wherever you want to sit.]

(48) *lă ?illi birayyhak ?inta. wein ma biddak ?ana btifriqiş maçi.*

لا الي بريحك انت. وين ما بدك، انا بتفرقش معي. [No, whatever comforts you. Wherever you want. It does not make any difference to me.]

Utternace (47) is a short response indicating deference and in a way refusing to coerce H. In example (48), deference is more explicitly expressed by using long expressions reflecting that H's wants are more important to S than S's wants, as in *?ana btifriqiş maçi* انا بتفرقش معي "It does not make any difference to me". Moreover, the pronoun *?inta* انت "you" addresses the FTA reflecting S's humble attitude. S pays H positive face of a particular kind which satisfies H's want to be treated with such deference by S. Thus, deference serves to defuse potential FTAs by indicating that H's rights are recognized by S.

5. Doing an FTA can be redressed by apologizing which is another linguistic strategy of NP, as in the following appeal by one of the guests to the hostess:

(49) *lă wallăhi ma çăd fiyyi.* لا والله ما عاد في. [No, by Allah, I really can't.]

None of the above uses admits impingement. That is S, by apologizing for doing an FTA, indicates his reluctance to impinge on H's face. One way of showing reluctance in doing FTA is the usage of the ritual term *wallăhi* والله "by Allah", and the negating particle *lă* "no", which are linguistic devices reflecting the implied apology of H to fulfill S's requirements. These linguistic means are commonly used in PA showing FTA sensitivity. Moreover, overwhelming reasons for doing the FTA may be given, implying that H's negative face will not be threatened in normal cases. The reasons are given here through swearing, as in (36) *wallăhi* "by Allah", to make such reasons more convincing.

6. Negative face is threatened directly in the data by the strategy of pluralization of the pronouns *you* and *I* as used in the third clause of example (50) below. The conversation analyzed tends at this point to be more formal, close and friendly, as seen in the following utterance made by the host to the guest:

(50) *lǎ ya ʕammi. wa ?ihna bnǎkul xubuz. kul ?innǎs btǎkul xubuz.*

لا يا عمي. واحنا بناكل خبز. كل الناس بتوكل خبز.

No, my friend (literally: uncle). We also eat bread. All people eat bread.

Linguistic techniques such as the address form *ya ʕammi* يا عمي “my friend (*uncle*)”, as well as the negating particle *lǎ* لا “no” help, at the interpersonal level, the requirements for S to be understood, approved and admired. The usage contains three simple clauses. The first starts with the negating particle *lǎ* and the address form *ya ʕammi*, in which sincerity and friendly feeling is implied. The negative article used here presumes *yes*, and indicates that S knows H’s wants, tastes, habits, etc., and thus enhances the mutual feelings shared by S and H. It is S’s wish to convey such assumptions through this choice of polite indirect speech act. The second clause uses the inclusive *we* instead of *I* which reflects the friendly atmosphere. The plural pronoun provides a conversational *out* for H: as if S were giving H the option to interpret as applying to him. Whereas S uses the general reference including himself in the second clause, he excludes himself and H by using another generalized reference to all people in third clause. The grammatical device may be considered a sophisticated negatively polite way to solve a problem presuming interactional termination which causes intrinsic FTA redress. In other words, the plural references can be understood as motivated by S’s wants to account for conversational indirectness.

10.3.3. Bald-on-record (BOR) in PA:

The third major politeness type found in our data from PA is bald-on-record, which goes in conformity with Grice’s maxims as intuitive characterization and guidelines of conversational principles. Doing an act baldly, without redress, involves doing it in the most clear, unambiguous and concise way possible (for example, for request, say ‘Do X!’). Grice’s maxims constitute guidelines for achieving maximally efficient communication. These maxims define assumptions which underline every talk exchange. However, not all utterances must meet those maxims when there is a desire to give some attention to face, and politeness is a major source of deviation. Generally, bald-on-record usage is chosen by S whenever S wants to do FTA to satisfy H’s face wants as invitations, requests, suggestions that are clearly in H’s interest and do not require great sacrifices of S.

The FTA-oriented bald-on record strategy occurs many times. Here these uses can also fall in this strategy where doing an FTA is primarily in H's interest. The speaker in (38) is addressing the owners of the house; and in (39) the host addresses the guest:

(51) *taçǎlu ya jamǎça nuçud hoon.* تعالوا يا جماعة تقعد هون.

[Come and let us sit here, guys.]

(52) *?içal illi birayyhak, wein ma biddak.* اعمل الذي بيريكك، وين ما بدك.

[Do whatever comforts you. Wherever you want.]

The above sentences involve politeness in that they contain conversational implicature. The FTA redress is not necessary because mutual orientation between S and H is ultimately achieved. These uses may fall under the potential functional category of welcoming. Mutual cooperation is automatically placed interpersonally because such uses are common and habitual. Both S and H accept them (or similar ones) to occur and be achieved according to H's wants as in this context, which refer to as 'group specific' and hence 'idiosyncratic'.

A representation of the potential FTA in the invitation category can be found in the following utterance by the daughter to her mother.

(53) *mǎmǎ uqçudi hoon.* ماما أقعدي هون. (with falling intonation)

[Mom, sit down here.]

This pre-emptive invitation is firm enough, and its politeness is guaranteed through the falling intonation. Face redress is also felt to be unnecessary where focus of interaction is task-oriented at the interpersonal level. The main IF behind the imperative form is a request to sit down which is achieved by the interpersonal function of mutual orientation. In other words, the risk that H may not wish to receive such invitation as in example (53) above is small. Thus, delivering such an invitation baldly on-record helps making the conversation in this context firm. So, provided that no other face wants are infringed, the firmer the invitation, the more polite it is.

The formulaic BOR offer *tfaDDal/i* تفضل/ي is extensively used to extend invitations in PA. The preference for *tfaDDal/i* results from the dual function of the expression, which makes it easier for the speaker to go baldly on record to show sincerity and generosity, while at the same time, show respect to and high sensitivity of social distance between the inviter and invitee as in the examples below:

(54) *tfaDDali halli.* تفضلي حلي. (Please, have some sweets.)

(55) *halli* حلي (have some sweets.)

Some speakers are inclined to go baldly on record by using the simple imperatives without any formal or polite formulaic expressions as in example (55). However, the expression *tfaDDal/i*, which indicates respect and formality, is more frequently used as an utterance by itself when the invitation was made to a superior though occasionally it appears in situations with welcoming someone to food.

10.3.4. *Off-record (OR) in PA:*

Off-record occurs least in our data. It occurs when S wants to do an FTA but wants to avoid the responsibility for doing it (cf. Agis, 2012). General and different utterances from what S means occur in the data to reflect their indirect uses.

1. Invite conversational implicature is the first type of the off-record politeness strategy, which occurs in the data in the form of a simple clause. S gives a hint that is not explicitly relevant in order to invite H to search for an interpretation of its possible relevance. The guest who asks for some bread justifies his request by saying:

(56) *?ana fallāh*. انا فلاح. [I am a countryman.]

The indirect off-record clause is accomplished by the hint of a simple concept of *being a country man*. The use states motives or reasons for doing the desired act. The relevance maxim is generally achieved by S saying something that is explicitly relevant to the context. But here, the maxim of relevance is violated by S's conversational implicature where mutual S-H knowledge guarantees H's understanding and qualifying relevance. The indirect request by S to get some bread here has been achieved by referring to the shared cultural knowledge in PA.

2. Overstate is another off-record usage where the sense of exaggeration in its negative implication involves conversational implicature. This is achieved via hints by violating Grice's maxim of Quantity, as in the following utterance used by the hostess addressing the guests:

(57) *maç il?akil bninsa ħālna. Lā binjīb Coca Cola wala ħājeħ.*

مع الأكل بننسى حالنا. لا بنجيب كوكا كولا ولا حاجة.

[We tend to forget many things when we start to eat. We haven't brought Coca Cola or anything else (to drink).]

There are two IFs in this usage. The main IF is in the intended indirect meaning to convey sense of apology implied in the exaggerated expressions in (forget many things) and (we haven't brought ...anything else) in which S says more than is necessary; and

the secondary IF is implied in the direct meaning to bring Coca Cola. The utterance conveys an excuse for not bringing the soft drink Coca Cola.

To sum up, invitations in PA carry no sense of imposition. Therefore, invitations and reactions to them in Palestinian should be regarded as basically face-enhancing. So, the discussion in this chapter disputes Brown & Levinson's (1987) claim that some kinds of speech acts are intrinsically face threatening, and thus any performance of such an act must be an FTA. I argue that FTAs can only be identified in the context of the ongoing interaction.

10.4. Discussion of Invitations and Politeness Strategies in AE:

Leech (1983) considers invitations as inherently polite speech acts, directed towards the positive face of the hearer. In this sense, invitations are non face-threatening acts. B&L (1987), however, state that invitations can be FTAs due to the presence of imposition. In fact, throughout this study I reject these classifications which discard the role of context in determining the politeness strategy and which ignore certain contextual determinants. The discussion throughout this section supports Wierzbicka's (1991) claim that Brown & Levinson's model is built on observations from the Western life. Cross-cultural differences do exist, and the on-going context determines what strategies to be adopted throughout the course of interaction.

Brown & Levinson (1987) argue that any utterance which could be interpreted as making a demand or imposing on another person's autonomy can be regarded as a potential face-threatening act (FTA). Invitations, offers, suggestions, advice, and requests can be regarded as face-threatening acts, since they potentially impede the other person's freedom of action. An act that primarily threatens the addressee's negative face is a negative FTA (such as requests) because they indicate impeding the hearer's freedom of action.

According Brown & Levinson's (1987) model, invitations in USA might be potential FTAs. That is, there is a risk that H may not wish to receive such an invitation. Invitations can be face threatening to both speaker's and hearer's face. Those invitations which are made reluctantly are seen by Brown & Levinson to impinge upon the negative face of the inviter, who is constrained by something in the contextual situation to actually produce these invitations, perhaps counter to his/her innermost wishes. Invitations can be a threat to the H's negative face, somewhat violating his/her privacy.

This occurs both when H receives an invitation, and in those cases where H feels constrained to accept it. By making the invitation, S is imposing an obligation upon H, not only pressing H to accept, but announce a decision. This is somewhat intrusive, involving a threat to the receiver's negative face or desire to remain unimposed upon (cf. Brown and Levinson, 1987).

10.4.1. Positive Politeness (PP) in AE:

In spite of their preference for negative politeness, US interactants sometimes use different PP strategies while extending invitations. For example, in the conversation (58), we can recognize that two interlocutors are using various politeness strategies to avoid FTAs, even though they are in a friendly relationship.

(58) A1: Do you know who is having a concert next Saturday?

B1: Who is it?

A2: Eddie Higgins! I know you love him.

So I bought tickets for you and me! You are going to come, right?

B2: Wow, I'm the happiest person in the world to have a friend like you.

A3: Let's jazz for hours! That's what we've always loved.

B3: Sure, we girls will. Saturday's dinner is on me then.

A4: No Burger King this time!

B4: Well, probably not Burger King. (Kwong and Ha, 2009:85)

In A1, the speaker A was trying to intensify interest to the hearer by having the speaker B guess the very musician A likes (Intensify interest to the hearer, Positive politeness strategy #3 (P#3)). In A2, A once again showed intimacy with B by presupposing the hearer likes the musician, too (Assert or presuppose knowledge of and concern for hearer's wants, P#9); A answered to the question identifying the name of the musician. When A said he bought tickets, he was certain, presupposing that B would definitely come (Be optimistic, P#11). In B2, B thanked to A's favor with some exaggeration (Exaggerate interest, approval, sympathy with hearer, P#2), complimenting on B's deed. Then in A3, A told B of their common ground (Presuppose, raise or assert common ground, P#7) that they always loved such concerts, to emphasize their shared activities (Include both speaker and hearer in the activity, P#12). In B3, B stressed an affinity between them by using 'in-group identity markers' (Use in-group identity markers in speech, P#4) such as 'we girls', and promises (Offer, promise, P#10) to give a treat as a return for A's favor. In A4, A makes a joke about the fact that they have often been to Burger King and implicitly alludes that she did not like it (Joke to put the hearer at ease, P#8) and B. Lastly, in B4, B avoids disagreement with

A by saying ‘probably’ and then the pleasant conversation with great intimacy ends (cf. Kwong and Ha, 2009:85).

In the short dialogue, we have observed the two interlocutors keep using a variety of positive politeness strategies to save each other’s face and avoid FTAs.

Example (59) below also illustrates a number of positive politeness strategies employed by AE interactants:

- (59) S1: Hey, what are you working on? It’s Friday night.
You don’t have any dates? (Showing interests- a lead)
H1: Oh, hey, I’m working on the Syntax assignment.
It takes forever so I cannot even thinking of going out. (refusal)
S2: Poor Bonnie. I heard the assignment is very challenging.
(Showing sympathy for the hearer & avoiding disagreement with the hearer’s opinion)
H2: It certainly is. I cannot think of any solution.
S3: Cheer up! I bet you will come up with some idea soon.
I know you are very good at Syntax. (Complimenting on the hearer)

Let us see how the speaker and hearer show their intimacy in more detail. In the first turn-taking between S1 and H1 in the dialogue above, the speaker shows an interest in the hearer’s current issues by asking what the hearer is studying. Showing interest is one of the common ways to show intimacy between the interlocutors. In the second turn-taking, the speaker (S2) expresses closeness not only by expressing sympathy for the hearer but also by avoiding disagreement with the hearer. Lastly, the speaker (S3) once again shows intimacy with the hearer by complimenting on the hearer. By means of these friendly acts, the speaker is likely to succeed in making an amiable or positive image of him/herself toward the hearer. This kind of efforts that speakers make for intimacy is what Brown and Levinson dubbed *positive face*.

Include both S and H in the activity is a PP strategy that was found to be used by US speakers upon making invitations as in examples (60) and (61) below:

- (60) *Let’s have break! Let’s have a kitkat!*

The implication here is that the invitation is for the benefit of both S and H.

- (61) e.g., *Let’s get a drink and we can have a chat.*

The speaker realizes PP in (61) by including the addressee and herself in the activity of drinking, making the invitation appear as an act of cooperation.

Sometimes US speakers use questions in negative form, which presuppose a "yes" answer. Such questions are broadly used as a way to imply that the speaker knows the hearer's desires, tastes, habits, etc. as in the examples below:

(62) *Won't you have a drink, too?*

(63) *Wouldn't you like a drink?*

(64) *Don't you want some lunch now?*

(65) *Don't you think it's brilliant?* (Iwamoto, 2004:138)

Contracted questions as elliptical forms are also used by some US inviters. The auxiliaries or modals are omitted. According to B&L (1987), the contraction of the question, *Do you need some rice?* to *Need some rice?* is used with close relationships.

To sum up, the above discussion shows that PP is also used in AE. However, PP in AE is not used intensively in social interaction as it is the case in PA. In fact, there is a preference for negative politeness (NP) in AE due to the fact that interactants usually try to avoid any imposition leading to FTAs as is illustrated in the next section.

10.4.2. Negative Politeness (NP) in AE:

One of the cultural differences between USA and Palestine is the US preference for negative politeness (showing respect), compared to the Palestinian style positive politeness (showing solidarity, claiming common ground, "we are in the same team" attitude). The main focus for adopting negative politeness is to assume that speakers may be imposing some restriction on others to avoid intruding on their social space.

US interactants sometimes wish to keep their distance from others by expressing formality or respect and would behave as if they did not want to be close to them. In such cases, the speaker would probably behave reservedly, and this indicates aloofness toward the hearer.

According to Arundale (2005:13), politeness in mainstream American English emerges from showing reciprocal approval, and respect for a person's autonomy of action in order to satisfy their individual wants or desires. The underlying dimensions of politeness in mainstream American English thus appear to encompass showing respect for others by allowing them to think and do things without impeding them in any way. It was argued that politeness in mainstream American English arises from respecting a person's freedom to satisfy his/her own individual needs and wants.

In allowing guests the autonomy to continue satisfying their own individual needs and wants by offering them choices as to whether they have a drink and the type of the drink they would like, the host may be neglecting to show approval of them. If this relationship is to continue smoothly, then, at some point later in the interaction (whether

it be that day or another time), this kind of invitation would have to be complemented by attempts to show approval, or the guests may eventually feel the host does not approve of them, potentially giving rise to impoliteness. That is to say, the host must consider both dimensions through the course of the interaction for politeness to arise due to the underlying interplay and tension between them.

A host may offer drinks to a guest in a very casual manner to show friendliness, but also leave the guest room to choose the drink he/she wishes, thereby respecting the guest's autonomy to act freely without imposition of the host's opinions about which drink is best.

As Yule (1996: 64) mentioned, in most English Speaking contexts a negative politeness strategy is used to perform a speech act. In negative politeness the speaker avoids a refusal, and the desire is to respect and not to interfere in the addressee's territory. According to Brown & Levinson (1987:129), negative politeness is about minimizing a particular imposition of a face threatening act. Therefore, the speaker applies some strategies to achieve this:

Data analysis shows that the first choice for the speaker is to be direct and choose to be conventionally indirect

(66) *Can you drink a cup of tea?*

The second choice for the speaker is to avoid presumptions about the hearer and keeping ritual distance from the hearer. The speaker can opt for a hedge, defined by Brown & Levinson (ibid:145) as a “particle, word or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set ” as in example (67) below:

(67) *Have more rice, if you can.*

A third possibility is to try not to coerce the hearer by being pessimistic by indicating that the weight of the act is not so big, leaving only distance and power as probable swaying factors as in example (68) below:

(68) *I just want to ask you if you could attend my party.*

Therefore, US speakers try not to coerce the hearer by minimizing the imposition by adding *just, little, only* as in the examples below:

(69) *I just dropped by for a minute to ask if you are interested in...*

(70) *Don't hesitate, just go on in.*

(71) *Nothing, just a little. Nothing. It's nothing.* (Iwamoto, 2004:139)

Give deference is the fourth strategy. In fact, there are two different possibilities to realize the deference:

- 1.) S humbles and abases himself/herself
- 2.) S raises H (satisfies H's want to be treated superior), as in example (72) below:

(72) *We look forward very much to see you again.*

State the FTA as a general rule is the fifth strategy. S tries to dissociate S and H from the particular imposition in the FTA (S does not want to impinge H, but is merely forced to by circumstances); it can be generalized as a social rule/regulation/obligation as in the example (73) below:

(73) *We usually have coffee at 10.*

The other choice for the speaker is to communicate his/her own want of not impinging on the hearer. This can be accomplished by the use of two different strategies: Apologizing and impersonalizing the act, as in examples (74) and (75), respectively,

(74) *I know you're very busy, but could you please attend my party?*

(75) *It appears to me that a cup of coffee is fine.*

Moreover, the most common strategy found in most situations is N#2 (questions and hedges). Almost all the participants applied it in the situations where negative politeness strategies are expected to be used, and many of the participants exercised it in the positive situations as well. In this section, we will discuss why the strategy was popular across the situations.

First of all, what are hedges? Hedge is a kind of discourse device employed to mitigate the impact of the utterance, so that it allows speakers to convey their message more accurately. The forms are usually adjectives, adverbs, and clauses, as shown in example (76) below:

(76) *My daughter is ill today.* (refusal to an invitation)

Likewise, questions may achieve the same goal in discourse. Questions generate alternatives. Compare (77a) with (77b).

(77) a. *Come to my party.*

b. *Can you come to my party?*

While the imperative form asserts one proposition in (77a), the question form in (77b) opens up another alternative, which is “*Can’t you come to my party?*” Thus, using the question form also mitigates the impact of the utterance.

Now we can explain why using questions and hedges is perceived as a more polite speech. With a question form, the speaker is giving the addressee a choice between a positive and a negative proposition. The speaker signals to the addressee that both propositions are available, and conveys an implicit message that it would be okay even if the hearer chose the alternative option. Therefore, it is differentiated from the imperative form which provides the addressee with only one option. The same reasoning holds for hedges.

Example (78) can be used for more illustration of invitations. One of the Americans invited the addressee to the birthday party.

(78) *I know you’re busy, but I have a birthday party this weekend. Could you come?*

What we concentrate on here is the hedge “*I know you’re busy*”. Suppose that the proposition that the speaker wants to make is “*I know you’re busy but you can come to my birthday party this weekend.*” The hedge also provides another option to the addressee “*I know you’re busy so you can’t come to my birthday party this weekend.*” The speaker opens up this latter option that the hearer can choose.

We can explain why the strategy N#2 was very popular across the board. This is because the nature of politeness in AE is being indirect. By being indirect, we mean it provides alternative propositions together with the overt assertion. What the speaker conveys with this negative strategy (N#2) is give a choice to the addressee among the propositions. And the speaker is also conveying a message that he would not be offended even if the addressee does not choose the proposition that the speaker wished for. Thus, the speaker would not make the hearer feel burdened on the choice.

To sum up, if we carefully observe the speech of the US participants, we could find they habitually use negative politeness strategies as if they were conventionalized in life. An important word needs to be clarified about the role of negative politeness. All the strategies uttered by speakers are influenced by three factors: Power, Distance and Ranking of Imposition.

10.4.3. Bald-on-record (BOR) in AE:

The bald-on-record strategies show “no effort to minimize threats to” the hearer’s face; the strategies include “emergency” calls, “task oriented” and imperative “requests,” and “alerting” (Agis, 2012:93).

BOR strategies are rare in most situations. Such strategies are sometimes completely avoided. The use of BOR invitations in AE, and its absence in interaction, may be attributed to the difference in the degree of the social distance between the inviter and the invitee. Some of the utterances used are the following:

(79) *Here, have a drink .*

(80) *Let me get you a drink.*

The use of the imperative *let me/us* is the most frequently used BOR invitation in AE. Watts (2003) classifies *let me* as one of the quasi-modal structures expressing the deontic modalities “will,” “permission,” and “desire.” The utterance with *let me*, according to Koyama (2001), is somewhat face-threatening to the hearer because of its imperative effect; yet, it still indicates some mitigation of FTA in that it seeks allowance from the hearer to perform the act.

The rare BOR invitations, in Sit# 1 of the questionnaire, take the form of the imperative as in example (81) below:

(81) *have some more.*

No softener is used in this utterance. However, inviters sometimes use the formulaic expression *please* to give, according to Watts (2003), a supplementary force to the effect of politeness. Its politeness stems from the feeling that the speaker is entreating or begging the invitee to accept the invitation.

Therefore, in most contexts, the use of the lexical item of politeness, *please*, is used to soften the imperatives. As Sato (2008) contends, *please* is primarily considered as a lexical downgrader, whose function is to soften the inherently face-threatening content carried by the formal aspects of imperative sentences. Watts (2003) finds *please* a sort of politic behavior, which is claimed to be distinct from polite behavior. That is, *please* is highly ritualized and does not carry politeness in itself but is necessary to make the utterance open to interpretation of being polite. Wichmann (Cited by Sato, 2008) asserts that *please* serves as “a courtesy formula which acknowledges debt with greater or lesser sense of obligation.” (p. 1254) To Fraser (as cited in Sato, 2008), it is significant that the politeness phenomena of the linguistic item, *please*, can be described

by terms such as face-saving, conversational-contract, and social-norm—the notions proposed to describe different approaches to politeness. In this respect, the speaker plays a passive role of observing social rules and acts only within the realms of expectable behavior enforced by socio-pragmatic roles set for the speaker and the addressee. Generally speaking, bald-on record strategies are very rare in the data from USA invitations.

10.4.4. Off-record (OR) in AE:

Employing a bald-off-record strategy, the speaker does not demand anything “directly,” but indirectly, thus, the speaker makes gestures in order to communicate what s/he wants (Agis, 2012:93). Some US participants went off record. Giving hints or associative clues are the OR strategy used, as in example (82) below:

(82) *Oh daddy, you're not supposed to take the medicine now.*

In this example, the speaker expresses sympathy to see her father trying to take the medicine without eating something. In this case, she relies on the mutual knowledge of the interactional experience, that is, on the precedent knowledge about her father's inability to take the medicine without eating since some medicine affects badly on the stomach. Thus, she invites implicatures, leaving it to the father to interpret her intention as an invitation to bring him something to eat. By saying her utterance, the speaker hints that her father should eat something so as not to affect badly on his stomach.

The speaker leaves it to the addressee to infer the implicature. This strategy, as Brown & Levinson (1987) assert, is highly favored with superiors. The speaker realizes that it is very face threatening to make an invitation to a person of higher power, especially when the rank of imposition is very high, too.

10.5. Conclusion:

Throughout the analysis of the data, I noticed that sometimes it is difficult to recognize the type of strategy used by interlocutors since there is no clear cut between strategies. It could be suggested that although positive and negative politeness interact in intricate ways, Palestinians tend to use more positive devices, especially to their in-group members, as opposed to the Americans who seem to prefer some negative politeness devices. As Brown and Levinson (1987) contend, “in our culture, negative politeness is the most elaborate and the most conventionalized set of linguistic strategies for face threatening acts redress; it is the stuff that fills the etiquette books”. They seem

to imply that, in the Western world, politeness is usually associated with negative or deference strategies. In fact, negative politeness (NP) in US data is exclusively expressed in conventional indirectness to reduce the face-threats to the addressee because the speaker does not assume the likelihood of an addressee's desire to accept the invitation, while also expressing concern for the hearer's. The struggle to keep balance in USA between solidarity and deference during interaction is obvious. In fact, the Palestinian society gives preference to the generosity maxim while the American does so to the agreement maxim (cf. Leech, 1983).

My argument throughout this chapter is that Palestinian polite language system places emphasis on showing human relationships rather than minimizing imposition. Therefore, positive politeness predominates in PA data and is the strongest and most persistent finding in PA conversational usage. The direct form is the most commonly occurring type of strategy, which may cause affront if used with people from those Western societies in which negative politeness may be the most predominant strategy. The above discussion does not mean that Palestinians do not use NP strategies in their social interactions. NP is the other most common type of politeness used by speakers of PA and the direct form predominates.

The bald-on-record type has the lowest number of examples in the data under scrutiny. It occurs almost solely in direct forms, which seem to be highly culture-specific. As a result, mutual cooperation between interlocutors is automatically placed interpersonally and textually. The indirect forms dominate in some utterances which share with PP the direct forms as in giving gifts to H by satisfying his positive face wants, overstate and rhetorical questions as frequent devices in PA. When FTA minimization reaches a considerable level, certain strategies are sought in PA to minimize threat to face. These mitigators are like usages of certain terms as *ya çammi* يا عمي “my uncle” (sir), repetition of phrases or words, swearing by Allah, and expressions of positive intentions. These usages may be explained as contradictions of H's unexpected opinion, beliefs or expectations, and a potential threat to face (cf. Al Shurafa, 2002).

From the above discussion, it is clear that the major challenges to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory arise from the idea of negative face. Many researchers have claimed that Brown and Levinson (1987) have strong “anglocentric assumptions” (Wierzbicka, 2008:3). Wierzbicka (2008) has also argued that the concept of negative

face and positive face as presented by Brown and Levinson show clearly the authors' anglocentric bias (cf. Farahat, 2009:35).

I am not implying here either that all societies or that societies as a whole can be clearly categorized as being either positively or negatively polite. It may be true that Brown & Levinson's (1987) theory is in need of modification in order to become a model of universal applicability, and it is also clear that no society is likely to completely uniform in its politeness.

To summarize so far, in this chapter, we have followed Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory. The fundamental proposal by the authors is that politeness is universal. To justify their proposal, they have created ideal speakers who have rationality and face: model person. The model person can employ politeness strategies in situations where either interlocutor's face is being threatened. Since Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is based on model person's pragmatic competence, it is natural to further assume that there should be no difference in the competence of model person in Palestine, in Spain, or in the U.S. because there is no reason that we have to define multiple types of model person. This is actually what the authors have proposed. And that is what they mean by "politeness is universal". Therefore, the prediction is straightforward, particularly with respect to when model person has to use politeness strategies. If their account is correct, model person, regardless that he is Palestinian or American, are predicted to employ the same strategies in the given FTA situations. For example, if you are one of the model persons in Palestine and used the N5 strategy in a certain situation, any model person in other cultures is predicted to employ the N5 strategy.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: RESPONSES TO INVITATIONS IN AE AND PA

11.0. Introduction:

Responses to invitations have received little attention (Garcia 1992, 1999, 2007; Felix-Brasdefer 2003, 2006). This chapter contributes to the body of research on invitations by analyzing how Palestinians and USA speakers respond to invitations. When issuing an invitation, the inviter may receive different types of responses: acceptance, demurral or refusal.

An acceptance, needless to say, is the preferred response because “it satisfies the inviter’s positive face, that is, his/her need to be liked and approved of by others” (Garcia, 2007:551). A demurral, on the other hand, avoids a straightforward acceptance or refusal which would threaten the invitee’s negative face and/or the inviter’s positive face; finally, a refusal is a dispreferred response, and as such the invitee may choose to mitigate it using a number of strategies that would help save the inviter’s positive face while protecting his/her own negative face; that is his/her desire that his actions be unimpeded by others (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

Building on the work of earlier researchers on similar politeness formulae like, for example, apologizing (Holmes 1990, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984, Olshtain and Cohen 1983); gift offering (Hua *et al*, 2000); requests (Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012); compliment and compliment responses (Wolfson, 1983; Knapp *et al*, 1984; Farghal and Al-Khatib, 2001) this chapter will analyze responses to invitations in Palestinian and US societies according to a categorization of strategies. Strategies of accepting invitations and declining them will be explored, in addition to other notions such as *insistence* and *ritual refusals*.

The data for this chapter will be taken from the different subsets of the data: oral and written (situations 4 and 5 in the questionnaire). Thus, a satisfactory categorizing system for the naturally occurring strategies in the corpus from both societies comprises the following basic two categories, with a number of sub-categories:

1- Accepting an invitation

- A-Thanking and appreciating
- B- Stressing common membership
- C- Expressing gladness
- D- Complimenting
- E- Offering good-wishes

2- Refusing (Declining) an invitation

- A- Apologizing
- B- Justification
- C- Asking for forgiveness
- D- Promise of compensation
- E- Offering good wishes and rejecting

11.1. Accepting an invitation:

Accepting a genuine (not an ostensible) invitation is the preferred response since it satisfies the inviter's positive face. Invitees take into account different points before they take a decision whether to accept an invitation or not. The sincerity of the inviter is an essential issue that is usually assessed by the invitee. Sometimes, people issue invitations they do not intend to fulfill. People sometimes, in fact, extend ostensible invitations in everyday life. Such invitations are regarded as greetings in most cases. On the other hand, some people in some cultures, as is it is the case in most individualistic societies including the USA, do not prefer invitations that curtail their freedom of choice and represent FTAs.

11.1.1. Accepting invitations in PA:

Islamic culture, which is mainly dominated by the Holy Qur'an and the traditions of Mohammad, calls for accepting an invitation or a gift. This fact is clearly manifested in the prophet's words (i.e. two of his traditions) when he says: *?iða duçiytum falabu* اذا تهادوا تحابوا "Had you been invited you have to accept", and *tahadu taħabu* تهادوا تحابوا "Exchange gifts exchange love". Needless to say that these sources form two of the major articles of faith and are seen by Palestinian Muslims as the fundamental authority which controls and judges the actions and behavior of people in their daily interactions.

Socially speaking, in response to invitations, acceptance or agreement in Palestinian society is usually preferred and rejecting or refusing is not. The act of refusal can be seen as a face-threatening act for the listener, and often realized through indirect strategies with a great deal of mitigation and/or delay within the turn or across turns. Acceptance or agreement, however, tends to be used in direct language without much delay, mitigation, or explanation. The speech act of acceptance occurs when a speaker reacts with pleasure, whereas the speech act of refusal takes place when a speaker reacts with displeasure or disapproval. In fact, Palestinians accept invitation in different ways as illustrated in the examples below:

- (1) A: *inša? allāh bitšarrifni ilyūm ilmaša çalbeit. fi çindi haflah.*

ان شاء الله بتشرفني اليوم المسا عالبيت. في عندي حفلة.
 [By God's willing you will give us the honor of your presence tonight because we have a party.]
 B: *inša allah, idā saħħilli bāji.* ان شاء الله، اذا صح لي باجي. [By God's willing if I could.]

In this example, the hearer accepts the invitation unless he has something to do at the time of the invitation. Example 2, between two co-workers in their twenties, can be used for more illustration.

(2) A: *šu rāyak lisbūç iljāy nrūh šammit hawa ?*
 شو رايك لسبوع الجاي نروح شمة هوا؟ [What do you say we go in a picnic next week?]
 B: *bass ikūn iljaw munāsib.* بس يكون الجو مناسب. [If the weather is suitable.]

In situation 3 below, a girl is inviting her fiancé to lunch in her family's house.

(3) A: *xallīna nityadda sawa.* خلينا نتغدا سوا. [Let's have lunch together.]
 B: *maši, leiš la?* ماشي، ليش لاء. [O.K. Why not?]

In this example, the addressee simply accepts the invitation.

Looking at table (11.1) below, many observations about how Palestinian people react to an invitation can be made. First, the overall degree of Palestinians' awareness of the use of thanking and appreciation expressions upon accepting an invitation is quite high at 50% of the time. This clearly indicates that these expressions are an active component of Palestinian sociolinguistic output. Furthermore, it implies that Palestinians are, in general, politeness-sensitive when they engage in a process of responding of an invitation.

Table (11.1): *Distribution of accepting strategies in the speech of Palestinian people.*

Accepting strategy	Frequency	
	No.	%
Thanking and appreciating	815	50
Offering good wishes	337	21
Stressing common membership	216	13
complimenting	160	10
Expressing gladness	103	6
Total	1631	100

The table also demonstrates that a considerable number of informants appear to rely on offering good wishes upon accepting an invitation. This strategy seems to be utilized by the informants in 21%. The other strategies: Stressing common membership, complimenting, and expressing gladness were also used by the informants to a lesser extent, namely 13%, 10%, and 6% respectively. Moreover, an examination of the data reveals that invitation acceptance in Palestinian society tends to be realized through direct strategies as will be seen in example (4) below. Also it has been noticed that the

formulaic sequence of acceptance comprises: (a) an expression of thanking and/or appreciating, followed by (b) an expression of good-wishes, and ending by (c) either expressing common membership or complimenting or both. However, it has been noticed that accepting an invitation according to this formulaic sequence is not obligatory in the absolute sense, since it has been found that a few number of the responses began by expressing common membership and ending with thanking and appreciating.

To provide a clearer picture of how Palestinians react to an invitation consider the following excerpt which are taken from the oral subset of data. In fact, situation (4) below is an exchange between two friends. Speaker B was invited by his friend (speaker A) for a lunch. (Personal observation)

- (4) A. *šu ra?yek ?ana çazmik ?ilyom çalyada*؟ شو رايك أنا عازمك اليوم عالغدا؟
 [I invite you to take your lunch with me today, what do you think?]
 B. *balla šukran jazeelan, inshallah bil?afrah, leiš myalib halak ?ana mabidi çazumeh..* بلا شكرا جزيلا، ان شاء الله بالافراح، ليش مغلب حالك انا مايدي عزومة..
 [Is it? Thank you very much, on happy occasion God willing, don't bother yourself about me. I need no invitation.]
 A. *walaw šudaçwa, salamit wajbak.* ولو شو الدعوة، سلامة واجبك؟
 [I've done nothing, you deserve more than that.]
 B. *?allah ysalmak haða lutuf minak.* الله يسلمك. هذا لطف منك.
 [God bless you, it's very kind of you.]

Excerpt (4) represents a typical way of accepting an invitation in Palestinian society. The inviter begins his talk by offering his invitation in a direct way, followed by a question. Such a question “*what do you think?*” binds the inviter to an accounting mode. In framing the invitation by asking a closed-ended question the inviter does provide a clue towards what he would be seen as satisfactory response. By so doing, the inviter pretends here that he is trying to save the inviter's face through asking this question, and, at the same time, preparing the way for the invitee to accept the invitation, since he knows beforehand what his friend's response would be. In responding to the invitation, speaker B here resorts to a tactic typical of Arab culture, i.e., using a polite move to express gladness. The use of the interjection ‘**balla!**’ بلا (Is it?) in this particular context can be seen as an indicator that the invitee has the intention of accepting the invitation. Moreover, to enhance the positive face of the inviter he (the invitee) tended to employ a combination of politeness strategies, such as thanking and appreciating (*thank you very much*), good-wishes, (*on happy occasions, God willing*), stressing common membership (*I need no invitation*), and finally complimenting (*It is very kind of you*). Pragmatically

speaking, it is evident that the inviter here is so efficient in using indirectness as strategy of politeness, though he uses a closed-ended question that cannot be answered by the invitee and at the same time he does not use any redressive element like, for example, *šura?yak tsharifna?* شو رايك تشرافنا؟ (how about to or would you honor us)- to compensate for the hearer's feeling of being imposed upon. By so doing, he attempts to mitigate the effect of a request by offering optionality, or "give options" as Lakoff (1973) puts it.

Minimization is sometimes used by inviters as a strategy to urge invitees to accept an invitation. The speakers/inviters in some situations use different expressions to minimize the face-threat to the invitee, who might be reluctant to accept such an invitation from the inviter as in the two examples below:

- (5) A: *al?akil muš min qīmtak.* الأكل مش من مقامك.
 [You deserve more than this food.]
 B: *La wallah šukran.ma qasarit.* لا والله، شكرا. ما قصرت.
 [By God, thanks. You did your best.]
- (6) A: *al?akil min almawjūd.* الأكل من الموجود. [We made no special food for you]
 B: *yislamū ideiki.* يسلّموا ايديكي. [God protects your hands.]

The above two expressions by A may convey belittling the offered invitation, which could be insulting. In fact, minimization is expressed in a way that shows that the inviter did not make much effort in being hospitable to the guest. However, what is said by the inviter might not represent the actual value of the invitation. The inviter just pretends that he/she is not giving much care for his/her invitee. Therefore, what is said by the inviter might not represent his/her actual intention. Therefore, sometimes, the inviter belittles the value of the invitation to make it easier for the addressee to accept it. In other words, minimizing an invitation has the function of alleviating the face threat of accepting it. This discussion refutes Leech's (1983) argument and again supports Watts' (2003) and rejection of dichotomizing utterances as either polite or impolite. No utterance is inherently polite or impolite in itself. Interpretations of politeness take the ongoing context into consideration.

11.1.2. *Accepting invitations in AE:*

Socially speaking, in response to requests, invitations, and offers, acceptance or agreement in US society is usually preferred and rejecting or refusing is not. As mentioned earlier, invitations are realized in American English through the process of negotiation. Interlocutors usually negotiate the invitation to agree on a certain time

or/and place. However, after agreeing on a certain time or/and place, invitees use some strategies to respond positively to the extended invitation.

Most US invitees tend to express appreciation for the invitation and pleasure at being able to accept as in the examples⁶¹ below:

- (7) *I'm delighted to be able to accept your invitation for dinner on May 4 at the Anatole at 8:00 p.m.* (expressing gladness)
- (8) *Thank you for the invitation for cocktails on May 4; I'll be happy to meet you at 6:00 p.m. at the club.* (Thanking + expressing gladness)
- (9) *Yes, I'm free on May 4 for Harry's retirement party; I've already marked it on my calendar.* (direct acceptance)
- (10) *We're pleased to tell you we most certainly will be able to attend the May 4 dinner at the Averton House. We're so eager to have an opportunity to talk with all of you again.*(expressing gladness)

One way of accepting an invitation is to compliment the idea as in situation 11 below between two young friends. A is inviting B to his house in the country.

- (11) A: *What do you say about going to my house in the country?*
B: *a great idea.*

Situation 12 illustrates an invitation extended by A, a man in his thirties, and B, a policewoman on duty at the man's house.

- (12) A: *Well, what time would you like to come round?*
B: *What time would suit you?*
A: *any time.*
B: *What about dinner time?*
A: *Fine. Oh. Why don't you come round for dinner?*
B: *What a great idea!*

Another way of accepting an invitation is simply to say *O.K.*, *Yes* or *Thank you*. Situation 13 below between two young women (neighbors), and situation 14 between A, a young man, and B, a young female tourist can be used for more illustration.

- (13) A: *Oh. Kathy?*
B: *You know me?*
A: *Well, I know who you are. I was just making tea. Would you like some?*
B: *O.K.*
- (14) A: *How about some wine?*
B: *Yeah, that'll be nice.*

Therefore, if the invitation is accepted (the satisfy), the addressee will be likely to use a number of different expressions such as:

- *That's very kind of you. Thank you./ Thank you.*
- *I'd love to/ That would be great/ Yes, thank you. What time?/ O.K. / ...*
- *I'd be delighted to/ Sounds great/like fun.*

⁶¹ See http://www.jobbankusa.com/free_sample_letters-public_relations-invitations-accepting_invitation_to_event-guidelines.html

- *All right/ That would be wonderful.* (Dang, 1992: 40)

Looking at table (11.2) below, many observations about how US speakers react to an invitation can be made. First, the overall degree of Americans' awareness of the use of thanking expressions upon accepting an invitation is quite high at 42% of the time. This clearly indicates that these expressions are an active component of American sociolinguistic output. Furthermore, it implies that US speakers are, in general, politeness-sensitive when they engage in a process of responding to an invitation.

Table (11.2): *Distribution of accepting strategies in the speech of US people.*

Accepting strategy	Frequency	%
Thanking and appreciating	42	
Offering good wishes	5	
Stressing common membership	1	
complimenting	12	
Expressing gladness	40	
Total	100	

Therefore, Americans usually do not accept an invitation with a direct agreement, but instead they preface their acceptance in some ways. They have a tendency towards giving an immediate agreement with a declarative sentence, giving a kind remark with exclamatory sentence, accepting with a question, and expressing a sure attitude as follows:

1. Declarative sentence: this type expresses the eagerness of the invitee. By responding, the invitee gives his/her immediate agreement. Some examples are *I'd love to*, *I'd like to*, *I won't say no*, and *I like nothing better*.

2. Exclamatory sentence: it shows a kind remark from the invitee. Some examples are

- *What a great idea, thanks.*
- *Sounds great.*
- *That would be very nice.*
- *That would be wonderful.*

3. Questions: to accept an invitation, invitees sometimes respond with a question, as in the examples below:

- *Would you like to come for dinner tomorrow?*
- *Why not? What can I bring?*

It is worth mentioning that such questions do not need any answer. Invitees might just ask such questions to show their eagerness, gratefulness or interest.

4. Expressions showing certainty: normally invitees might use some expressions so as to set the inviter's mind at rest, as:

- *You bet.*

-You certainly can.
-Sure. Actually.

Table (11.2) also demonstrates that a considerable number of informants appear to rely on expressing gladness upon accepting an invitation. This strategy seems to be utilized by the informants in 40%. The other strategies: Offering good wishes, stressing common membership, and complimenting were also used by the informants to a lesser extent, namely 5%, 1%, and 12% respectively. Moreover, an examination of the data reveals that invitation acceptance in American society tends sometimes to be realized through direct strategies as can be seen in example (9) above. Also it has been noticed that the formulaic sequences of acceptance, as in example (8) which comprises an expression of thanking and/or expressing gladness, do sometimes occur in AE as it is the case in example (15) below. However, such sequences are not as common in AE as they are in PA. In example (15)⁶² below a parent is making an invitation to her son's teacher.

- (15) **Jan:** *Mr. Brown, my husband and I were just wondering if you would like to come over for dinner this evening.*
Brown: *Oh, thank you! I'd be delighted to.*
Jan: *Great! Could you come over at around 6?*
Brown: *Sure. Do I need to bring anything?*
Jan: *No, but thanks for asking.*
Brown: *OK. See you this evening then.*

Sometimes, US speakers avoid giving immediate responses to make sure they are not busy due to certain personal considerations as it is the case in the phrases below which are ordered from formal to informal.

- (16) - *Thank you, but I'll have to check my calendar. Do you mind if I tell you on Monday?*
(17) - *I'm not sure what my plans are. Could I get back to you tomorrow?*
(18) - *I might be busy. I'll let you know later.*

However, such responses might not be accepted in PA since they might be considered face-threatening acts in some low distance situations between close friends or family members. In PA, in some situations, even if the invitee is busy, he/she cannot turn down an invitation. Palestinians tend sometimes to sacrifice or ignore their own business so as attend a certain event or respond positively to a certain invitation. Unlike US speakers who care about their individual achievements first, Palestinians feels that it is necessary, or even obligatory, to accept an invitation as an expression of solidarity and in-group

⁶²See http://2ndnature-online-eikaiwa.com/Expressions/Module-3/Unit_3.1.htm

tendencies. In fact, in a collective society like Palestine, an invitation is a good chance to develop relationships and maintain solidarity with others.

11.2. Invitation-refusal:

Refusals represent one type of dispreferred response and often occur as second pair parts (turns) in conversation. As a reactive speech act, refusals function as a response to an initiating act and are considered to be a speech act by which a speaker “[fails] to engage in an action proposed by the interlocutor” (Chen et al. 1995: 121 as cited in Felix-Brasdefer, 2008). Searle and Vandervken (1985:195) define the speech act of refusal as follows: “the negative counterparts to acceptances and consentings are rejections and refusals. Just as one can accept offers, applications, and invitations, so each of these can be refused or rejected”.

A refusal response is sensitive to social factors such as gender, age, level of education, and the social distance and social power between the interlocutors. Furthermore, the negotiation of a refusal may entail frequent attempts at directness or indirectness and various degrees of politeness or impoliteness that are appropriate to the situation. With regard to sociopragmatic variation, what is considered appropriate refusal behavior may vary across cultures and even across varieties of one language. Thus, the strategic selection of a direct or indirect refusal and the appropriate degree of politeness expressed will depend on the relationship between the participants (close or distant, power), age, gender, and the situation.

The data for this section were elicited through situation four in the questionnaire in addition to some data that were collected ethnographically. Following the data collection, the utterances were codified based on a classification of refusal strategy adopted from Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz (1990)⁶³. This coding scheme is used intensively in most refusal studies (cf. Farnia and Wu, 2012).

Therefore, some examples of the elicited responses and coded based on Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz (1990) are as follows:

Examples of refusals by PA responses:

- (19) *?asif. fi ?amir ham bimnaçni*. اسف في أمر هام بيمنعني. [Sorry. an important issue holds me back.] [**statement of regret+ reasons**]

⁶³ See appendix (C).

- (20) *Wallāahi mabakdar. furṣa ʿānyeh. inšāʿallāh.* والله ما بقدر. فرصة ثانية ان شاء الله. [I can't by God. Another time, by God willing.] [**Negative willingness + swearing+ future promise**]
- (21) *La. šukran.* لا شكرًا. [No. Thanks.] [**Direct refusal+ gratitude**]
- (22) *?asf jiddan wallahe mabagdar.* اسف جدا والله ما بقدر. [I am very sorry by God I cannot.] [**Statement of regret+ swearing +negative willingness**]
- (23) *mabrūk.mabakdar. fi ?amir ham bimnaṣni.* ما بقدر. في أمر هام بيمنعني. [Congratulations. I really can't. An important issue holds me back.] [**Greeting +negative willingness+ reasons**]

Examples of refusals by AE responses:

- (24) *I'm busy, sorry.* [**reasons + statement of regret**]
- (25) *I cannot come. I've got other plans.* [**negative willingness+ reasons**]
- (26) *I'm really sorry. I cannot come. I already made plans.* [**statement of regret + negative willingness + reasons**]
- (27) *Thanks. Congratulations. I'm not much for weddings but happy to see you afterwards.* [**gratitude + Greetings +negative willingness+ future promise**]

The skills of refusing others' invitations without hurting their feelings are very important to have since the inability to say *no* clearly has led many speakers to offend their interlocutors in cross-cultural communication. In the next two sections, I will explore refusals to invitations as they were demonstrated by speakers from both American and Palestinian societies. In spite of Beebe et al.'s conclusion that refusals to invitations display more cross-cultural similarities than refusals to offers and suggestions, at least between Japanese and Americans, I have decided to conduct this study in an attempt to reveal certain cross-cultural differences between PA and AE.

11.2.1. Invitation refusal in PA:

Refusal is a face-threatening act to the inviter, because it contradicts his/her expectations, and is often realized through indirect strategies. Therefore, unlike acceptance, it requires a high level of pragmatic competence. As said previously, accepting an invitation among Palestinians is the norm. But in case of refusing, a great deal of mitigation has to be utilized by the invitee so as to be able to turn down the invitation. Therefore, one key to getting along well with one another, friends and acquaintances should know how to deal with the face-wants that may arise as a result of declining an invitation⁶⁴. However, direct refusals do occur but rarely as illustrated in the example (28) below where B is a young man in his sister's house:

⁶⁴ It is worth mentioning that a considerable number of the informants (8) have refused to respond to this section of the questionnaire on the pretext that an invitation has not to be rejected.

- (28) A: *ajīblak kāsīt šāy* ? أجب لك كاسة شاي. [Shall I bring you a cup of tea?]
 B: *la. šukran.* لا شكرا. [No. Thanks]

The addressee here simply rejects the invitation and thanks the inviter. However, in most cases the addressee has to give a justification for his refusal as in situation (29) where a mother-in-law is inviting her son in law who is a university student.

- (29) A: *istanna, xallīk tišrab šāy.* استنا، خليك تشرب شاي.
 [wait until you have some tea.]
 B: *la, mistačjil biddi arūh adrus.* لا، مستعجل بدي اروح ادرس.
 [No, thank you. I have to read my lessons.]

In example (30), an employee in his thirties is inviting his friend who drove him back to his home.

- (30) A: *inzil nišrab finjān qahwa mač baçD wa baçdein bitrawweh.*
 انزل نشرب فنجان قهوة مع بعض و بعدين بتروح.
 [Come down to have a cup of coffee, and then you can go
 B: *furša Œānyeh inšā? allah.* فرصة ثانية ان شاء الله.
 [Another time, by God's willing.]

In the above example, implicit refusal can be noticed, but the addressee promises to accept the invitation some other time in the future. These two strategies reflect the value of being true and honest. No one is willing to promise something that he/she cannot abide by or to do something that he/she does not want to.

Sometimes people may use what is called in Arabic a root-echo response to respond to invitations. Here, the addressee responds by using the same word(s) that the speaker used to issue the invitation.

- (31) A: *šarrifna illeileh çalħafleh.* شرفنا الليلة عالحفلة.
 [Give us the honor of your presence in the party tonight.]
 B: *?llah yizīdak šaraf. Wallahi ma baçdar.* الله يزيدك شرف. والله ما بقدر.
 [May God give you more honor. By Allah, I cannot.]

Still, another type of responses belongs to what is called the triadic formula where the speaker reacts to the addressee's response building on his own words as in example 29 below:

- (32) A: *itfaDDal.* اتفضل. [You are most welcome. Help yourself].
 B: *šahtein u çāfyeh. ?ana šabčan.* صحتين وعافية. انا شبعان.
 [May it give you health and well-being. I'm full].

It is clear from table (11.3) that Palestinians tend to use a variety of apologetic strategies so as to soften the perlocutionary effect of the face-threatening act on the addressee had an invitation been rejected. Most Palestinians believe that the use of such apologetic expressions is a significant act of politeness and, hence, a redressing strategy.

Basically, they are lexical and syntactic markers of politeness which speakers usually use to show their awareness that something wrong has happened and it has to be amended. So, such speech forms are seen by Palestinian people as markers of solidarity.

Table (11.3): *Distribution of declining strategies in the speech of PA subjects*

Declining strategy	Frequency	
	No.	%
Expression of regret	422	42
Justification	306	31
Asking for forgiveness or thanking	129	13
Promise of compensation	89	9
Offering good wishes	45	5
Total	991	100

Table (11.3) demonstrates that the respondents tend to exploit the conventional way of apologizing strategy (i.e. using expression of regret) in almost 42%. The justification strategy, on the other hand, is more frequently employed by the subjects (31%) than the other strategies. A number of informants appear also to rely on promising to compensate as a mitigating strategy. They tend to employ it in 13%. Offering good wishes was also found to be used 9% of the time. This result indicates that offering good wishes still represents important part of the linguistic behavior of Palestinians for this particular purpose. A few number of the subjects reported that they may ask for forgiveness in case of refusing. It has been used only 5% of the time by those who responded to the prompts included in this section. All in all, these findings indicate that the formulaic sequence used by Palestinian people seems to be similar to the formulaic sequence produced by American English speakers and Japanese EFL learners (Beebe *et al*, 1990). In their study on “speech act set of refusal and complaint” Beebe *et al* noticed that the formulaic sequence employed by the speakers comprised of (1) an expression of regret, followed by (2) an excuse, and ending with (an offer or alternative). In our study, the formulaic sequence, however, was found to follow a similar pattern, though it comprises more strategies than those noticed by Beebe *et al*. These sequences can best be described in the form of regret/justification or explanation/promise of compensation/ offering good wishes/ followed by asking for forgiveness or thanking. But it should be noted here that the use of these strategies is not obligatory in the absolute sense. It has been noticed that regret/justification/ asking for forgiveness or thanking are prevalent in the great majority of the refusals. However, the other strategies (promise of compensation/ offering good wishes) are left to personal choice. That is, they have been realized in the data to a much lesser extent.

The following are among the many terms which have been used by PA subjects for achieving this purpose: *?asif* اسف 'sorry' which often appears with the Arabic intensifier *jiddan* جدا 'very' as a compliment to signal the users' serious and sincere attempt in apologizing for declining an invitation. Clearly, the explicit apology strategy as it seems to be heavily invested by Palestinians is represented by the conventional term followed by an intensifier as illustrated in example (33) below:

(33) *?asf jiddan wallahe mabaqdar* اسف جدا والله ما بقدر [I am very sorry by God I cannot.]

It has also been noticed that justification as an apologizing strategy is resorted to by the addressees when they feel that the addresser appears to be not convinced by their apology, hence, the situation requires a higher level of mitigation to soften the force inherent in refusing the invitation. To produce face-threatening acts without proper justifications implies disrespect. So, prefacing face-threatening acts with apologetic formulae and justification or explanation marks a higher degree of politeness.

(34) *?ana mašyuuul kθiir* انا مشغول كثير [I am very busy' or 'too much busy.]

(35) *fi ?amir ham bimnaçni* في أمر هام بيمنعني [an important issue holds me back.]

(36) *?ana mithami* أنا متحمي [I am on a diet- in case of inviting someone for a dinner.]

The examples above represent the most common expressions which are employed by Palestinians for justifying why they do not accept an invitation. Promising for compensation could also best be represented by the utterances below:

(37) *xeirha byeirha* خيرها بغيرها [More similar occasions are coming.]

(38) *?iljayaat ?akθar milrayhat* الجايات أكثر من الراحات
[the coming are more than the passing.]

Offering the inviter a number of good wishes upon refusing an invitation appears also to have been utilized to a considerable extent. Obviously, this strategy as it seems to be satisfactorily invested by Palestinian people is represented by employing such expressions as

(39) *?inšallah bil?afrah* ان شاء الله بالافراح [God willing, on other happy occasions.]

(40) *yislamu ?ideik* يسلموا ايديك [God bless your hands] (i.e. a greeting said when somebody does somebody else a favor)

(41) *reitu çamir ?inšallah* ريتة عامر بالافراح [Your house is full of happiness, God willing]

(42) *?allah yibarik fikum* الله يبارك فيكم [God bless you.]

Data analysis reveals that the term *inšallah* ("If God wills it" or "God willing") is frequently used by PA speakers and, according to Condon and Yousef (1975) reflects a present-orientedness in society. While claims have been forwarded that such a worldview is fatalistic and has negative consequences for business and national

development, others state more mundane roots of these problems (Palmer, Leila, & Yassin, 1988). Nydell (1987) specifies that the “belief that God has direct and ultimate control of all that happens” (p. 34) has been overemphasized by Westerners and is far more prevalent among traditional, uneducated people in the region.

Data analysis shows that the term *inšallah* is used in a variety of ways to regulate social interaction by alluding to the possibilities that an action may or may not take place. More specifically, *inšallah* may mean *yes* at some unspecified future time; *no*, in terms of “a refusal to make a serious commitment, to take personal responsibility, or even attempt to deflect the blame for failure for promised action to take place” (Stevens, 1991:105); or simply *never*. Stereotypes do exist within the region about people of certain nationalities who use the term when they do not intend to fulfill their promises. Attending to the placement of *inšallah* in a sentence, the presence of the medial glottal stop, and the intonation with which it is spoken may reveal which response is being communicated (Stevens, 1991). This delineation of alternative meanings reflects active attempts to coordinate and control interaction.

Therefore, a number of other expressions are also used by PA speakers as illustrated below:

- (43) *?inšallah ?iða manšayalit* ان شاء الله اذا ما انشغلت
[God willing, if I don't have something else to do.]
(44) *rabi yisahil* ربي يسهّل [May God helps me to join you.]
(45) *baqdariš ?awçdik bas raah ?açmal juhdi* بقدرش او عدك بس راح أعمل جهدي
[I cannot promise, but I'll do my best.]

The above expressions might be used by some persons under certain circumstances as a mere mark of courtesy. That is, their use indicates that the concerned person, in reality, neither has the intention to accept the invitation nor he/she is serious about accepting it.

For more illustration, let us have a look at the following excerpt in example (46) below, which is an exchange that took place between two colleagues (A and B) in the workplace (a hospital).

- (46) A: *ratabna larihlel šu ra?yak trafigna* رتبنا لرحلة شو رايك ترافقتني؟
[We arranged for a picnic, how about to join us?]
B: *?asif wallahi mašyul çindi miit šaylah w šaylah yareit bagdar*
اسف والله مشغول، عندي مية شغلة وشغلة. يا ريت بقدر.
[Sorry, by God, I'm busy. I have a hundred of things to do. I wish I could!]
A: *yazallami ?ana çazmak* يا زلمة! أنا عازمك.
[Hey man, I invite you (i.e. you are not going to pay for that)]
B: *walla yareit, ?inšalla maratanyeh, wbtmanallkum rihleh saçiddeh.*
والله يا ريت، ان شاء الله مرة ثانية، وبأتمنى لكم رحلة سعيدة.

[By God I wish I could. Anyway, another time God willing. I wish you a happy picnic.]

Once again, the politeness in this scene basically resides in the insistence of the invitee on his friend (the addressee) to join them. But the invitee attempts by all means to decline the invitation. This happens, as seen above, by employing several politeness strategies. Among these are: apologizing in different ways, an explanation of why he rejects the invitation, promising to compensate, and offering good wishes, though the invitee performed the (FTA)- *I invite you*, (i.e. implicating that you are not going to pay for that)- on record without redressive act. It is worth noting that such utterance could represent in Palestinian society a face-threatening act to the addressee since it could be explained on the ground that the addressee is a miser (i.e. a person who does not like to share because he is afraid of spending some money). However, the inviter here reacted positively because such behavior appears to be facilitated with understanding of the amount of solidarity which links them to each other. Commenting on this issue Brown and Levinson (1987:229) assume that in contexts of friendship and intimacy, conventionalized insults may serve as a mechanism for stressing solidarity.

11.2.2. Invitation refusal in AE:

Like other speech acts, refusals are sensitive to social variables such as gender, age, level of education, power and social distance (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Mills, 2003). According to Felix-Brasdefer (2008:196), a refusal response in AE may be expressed directly (*No, I can't*) or indirectly. If a refusal is expressed indirectly, the degree of complexity increases as the speaker has to choose the appropriate form or forms to soften the negative effects of a direct refusal.

Therefore, in declining an invitation, US People may simply say *No, thank you* as in examples 47 and 48 below.

- (47) A: *listen. I think I should bring you some tea.*
B: *No, thank you.*
- (48) A: *a drink?*
B: *Oh, no thank you.*

It is clear that sometimes, thanking follows the direct refusal of invitations, but in most cases, the addressee gives a justification for rejecting the invitation. In situation 49, A is young man and B is a young lady.

- (49) A: *Can you come round tonight?*
B: *No, I've got an essay to finish. Thanks.*

In example 50, A is a young male couch and B is a young girl.

- (50) A: *Can I get you a drink?*
B: *No, thank you. I don't drink.*

Sometimes the addressee may not reject or accept but may terminate the negotiation before a commitment is achieved as in example 51 between two male college students.

- (51) A: *you know, X. We're gonna have to get together for lunch one of these days.*
B: *I know. I know.*
A: *O.K.* (Wolfson et al. 1983:172)

Therefore, data analysis reveals that refusals in AE may be mitigated by means of adverbs and/or mental state predicates (*Unfortunately, I don't think I'll be able to attend the party*), a justification of a refusal (*I have plans*), an indefinite reply (*I don't know if I'll have time*), an alternative (*Why don't we go out for dinner next week instead?*), a postponement (*I'd rather visit you next week*) or by setting a condition for future acceptance (*If I have to take the class later, I'll take it then*).

Refusals are also realized by means of a series of other speech acts such as requests for clarification (*Did you say Saturday?*) or additional information (*What time is the party?*), a promise to comply (*I'll do my best, but I can't promise you anything*), or an expression of regret or apology (*I'm really sorry; I apologise*). Moreover, a refusal response is often accompanied by a positive remark (*Congratulations on your promotion. I am very happy for you, but...*), an expression of willingness (*I'd love to, but...*), an expression of gratitude (*Thanks for the invitation*), or showing partial agreement with an interlocutor (*Yes, I agree, but...*). Overall, refusals are complex speech acts that require not only long sequences of negotiation and cooperative achievements, but also face-saving maneuvers to accommodate the noncompliant nature of the act (cf. Felix-Brasdefer, 2008:195-211).

In fact, like disagreements, refusals in AE may be realized by means of “delays, such as ‘no talk,’ requests for clarification, partial repeats, and other repair initiators, turn prefaces, and so on” (Pomerantz 1984: 70). According to Pomerantz, a crucial feature of American disagreements is that they are often delayed within turns and presented later in the turn, and may be prefaced by means of a series of minimal vocalizations or perturbations (*‘uh’s, mmm’*) or discourse markers (*‘well’, ‘darn’*).

The findings of this study are in line with findings of Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz’s (1990) study that revealed that Americans refused differently based on the social status of interlocutors (higher, equal, and lower). The Americans were more

influenced by the degree of familiarity or the social distance from the interlocutors. Americans gave brief refusals to both higher and lower status, and more detailed responses to friends and acquaintances. They also tended to give specific excuses. In fact, American refusals reflected individualistic culture (cf. Al-Kahtani, 2005).

Though Beebe et al. (1990) finding about American formulas of refusal is that they **almost always** (my emphasis) started with an expression of positive opinion such as “*I would like to.*” Then they expressed regret. Thirdly they gave an excuse. In other words, Americans tend to apply the strategy of general agreement with excuses. However, readers will find that our findings in this study are: Fewer than 40% of Americans apply the above formula. The findings showed that expressions of *excuses*, *reasons or explanation* and *statement of regret* were the first and second most frequently used strategy by USA speakers in refusal to an invitation as in example (52)⁶⁵ in which a mother is making an invitation to her son's teacher.

- (52) **Jan:** *Mr. Brown, my husband and I were just wondering if you would like to come over for dinner this evening.*
Brown: *Well, I'd love to, but I have another appointment tonight.*
Jan: *Oh, that's too bad. Well, maybe next time then.*
Brown: *Yeah! Thank you for asking. Enjoy your evening!*

Table (11.4): *Distribution of declining strategies in the speech of AE subjects.*

Declining strategy	Frequency %
Expression of regret	32
Justification, reasons	53
Asking for forgiveness or thanking	11
Promise of compensation	0
Offering good wishes	4
Total	100

According to Beebe et al. (1990), regarding the order of the semantic formulae, American English speakers tended to begin refusals to invitations with adjuncts such as *well, thank you*, and *I'd love to go*. Moreover, native speakers of American English tended to put an expression of regret into second position, right after a hesitation token, when in higher status position. Also, the American English speakers ordered refusal semantic formulae the same way in both lower and higher status positions. Among the American English speakers, negotiation is longer with status equal with familiar interlocutors (friends and acquaintances) than with intimates or strangers (cf. Beebe et

⁶⁵ See http://2ndnature-online-eikaiwa.com/Expressions/Module-3/Unit_3.1.htm

al. 1990). As for the frequency and content of formulae, this study is in line with Beebe et al. (1990) as they point out that American English speakers did not usually set conditions, alternatives, and promises at all while refusing an invitation. They favored the statement of regret and used more formulae with acquaintances.

11.2.3. Conclusion:

Contrastive studies of the speech act of refusing in interpersonal communications have been made enormously by the scholars all over the world. However, none of the studies considered PA for cross-cultural communication. The findings indicate that the Palestinian and the Americans use different formulaic expressions in refusing and apply different refusal strategies. The Americans are more economical in their choices of the number of the tokens of the refusal strategies. Refusals by Palestinians suggest a politeness refusal hypothesis of "marginally touching the point". This distinction seems to result from differences in social cultures between the Palestinians and the Americans: The Palestinians tend to emphasize restoring relationship between people, while the Americans emphasize solving the problems in question.

To Palestinians apologizing and stating the reasons until the friend was satisfied appear to be very important. The majority of responses by PA interactants reveals that they are very cautious about the arrangement of words, so as not to hurt their friend's feeling or to make him/her sad. An important point to be mentioned here is that American speakers often used reference to their personal decisions and preferences in their excuses and preferences whereas Palestinians resorted to circumstances beyond their control, de-personalizing their explanations. In addition, plain refusal such as *no* and *I cannot* were rarely used by Palestinian speakers because, they are highly face-threatening.

Based on findings of different cross-cultural studies exploring AE and ours concerning PA and AE, we can conclude that in the Arab countries, people use fewer strategies in refusing and apology in comparison with Western countries. It is clear that features such as "harmony" are prioritized by Palestinian interlocutors in contrast to Western cultures where sending a clear message may be more important. As our research includes American and Palestinian participants engaging in simulations of face threatening behavior, we must acknowledge that some researchers (Gu 1990; Mao

1994) have questioned the appropriateness of the Western construct of “face” to the non-Western contexts.

The findings displayed that Palestinians and Americans shared more similarities in terms of the use of speech act set in the situation of refusing an invitation to a friend; however, the frequency of use of *statement of regret* followed by *expressions of positive feelings* were higher among Palestinian respondents than their USA counterparts. With regard to the use of speech act set, the findings showed that Palestinians used longer and elaborated speech act set than their US counterparts. In fact, the findings were in line with the findings of the previous studies which displayed that *expressions of reasons and explanations* is the most frequently used strategy for expressing a refusal indirectly (Felix-Brasdefer, 2003, 2006, Garcia, 1999, Nelson et al., 2002, Al-Eryani, 2007, Al-Kahtani, 2005).

To sum up, from all these evidence, we maintain that the cross-linguistic differences are due to basic differences in cultural values, i.e., Americans value individualism and equality, while Palestinians value collectivism and social hierarchy. Collectivism influenced Palestinians, so people try to be harmonious and self-restrained in the social communication. Americans advocate individualism and freedom, so their association is more simple and direct. However, politeness is what people in both cultures are concerned about.

11.3. Insistence and its importance.

This section explores the practice of insisting among people in the Palestinian and American societies with respect to invitations. These are convivial actions (Leech, 1983), normally aimed at enhancing interpersonal relations (cf. Félix-Brasdefer, 2003). It is, in fact, important to mention that insistence is a phenomenon that goes beyond individual speech acts; that is it is actually a discursive phenomenon. Insistence is a social practice that appears in interactions between people. Even though insistence is perceived as a Face Threatening Act (FTA) in some societies, including USA (Brown and Levinson, 1987), this section shows that insistence in Palestinian society is desirable and expected behavior which usually aims at highlighting in-group solidarity. I interpret insistence in most contexts as a marker of affiliation and hospitality through which an interpersonal ideology of connectedness is recreated (cf. Fitch, 2007; Placencia 2008). The section also examines the value of invitations due to the presence

or absence of insistence in social interactions in PA and AE. Building mainly on studies in sociopragmatics and some ethnographic work in communication, this study will examine instances of insistence by means of which caring and hospitality are conveyed as markers of affiliation that recreate an interpersonal ideology of connectedness.

This section relies on some data that were collected by some assistants ethnographically. I will briefly consider how insistence has been dealt with from a number of perspectives; next, I will consider the extent to which insisting may be regarded as culturally appropriate behavior, with reference to some studies. I will then provide a brief description of the data employed followed by an examination of insistence in Palestinian and US societies with respect to invitations from social gatherings.

11.3.1. Definitions:

Insisting is a commonplace speech activity that has been examined from various different perspectives. From a speech act theory perspective, the type of insisting considered in the present study would belong to the class of directives in that it involves getting others to do something. Within this perspective, Vanderveken (1990) defines insisting as directing in a “persistent way”, that is, through a “mode of achievement” that “increases the degree of strength” of the action in question (p. 193).

Insisting has also been aptly described as a *reactive* action by definition (Hundsnurscher, 1981) in that it occurs after the initial action is rejected or not taken up verbally or nonverbally, and it is an indication that the producer of the initiative action “is not going to abandon his goal” (p. 349). The initial action can be a range of activities with a directive component including invitations and offers, as in the present study. It can happen not only over a continuous stretch of talk, but also as an action taken up again over the course of a day or over a longer period.

Within sociopragmatics, insistence appears in empirical works dealing with (responses to) invitations, invitations to stay on at leave-taking, and other convivial directives. Insistence phenomena as embedded in a sociocultural context also figure in ethnographic studies such as García’s (1981) and Fitch’s (1990/1991) with reference to leave-taking rituals among Mexican Americans and Colombians, respectively. In Fitch’s work, insistence phenomena are examined as an enactment of a particular ideology of interpersonal relations.

Finally, insistence phenomena in English also appear in studies of conversational analysis under the guise of reoffers / reinvitations or subsequent or modified versions of offers / invitations, etc. (Davidson, 1984, 1990). The focus within these studies is, however, on structural aspects in the formulation of reoffers / reinvitations.

11.3.2. Appropriateness of insisting:

In different cultures, people might develop different degrees of acceptance, not extreme attitudes, towards the notion of *insistence*; they have different assessments and views concerning insistence depending on whether it is absent, mild, or strong. Generally speaking, insistence might be acceptable, or even desirable, in some collective cultures. However, strong insistence could be unacceptable in other individualistic cultures.

1) Insisting in some cultures may be regarded as face-threatening in some sociocultural contexts in that it is a strengthened directive and can be taken as an attempt to curtail the freedom of action of one's interlocutor. Mitigating mechanisms such as indirectness may need to be employed to make insistence more acceptable in such contexts. In fact, the association of directives with face-threat derives, as we know, from Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) politeness model; it is also implicit in Searle's (1975) work on indirect speech acts where indirectness in the realization of directives is equated with politeness.

Félix-Brasdefer (2003) found that Americans felt uncomfortable about the strong insistence. In fact, he reports that "80 percent of the participants said that they felt uncomfortable, impatient, bad, forced, and even corralled by the insistence" (p. 246). Therefore, in some cultures insistence while extending invitations is not desirable since it "implies intrusion on the hearer's territory and limits his freedom of action" (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 70). What is preferable is that the inviter should try not to impose the invitee. Therefore, the inviter gives the invitee a chance to make decision of whether to come or not. In other words, insistence is an "intrinsically face-threatening" activity (Brown and Levinson, 1978:70) even though the act of insistence involves benefits to the hearer and costs the speaker in some ways. Insistence threatens the negative face of the addressee and therefore "comprise a category of inherently impolite acts in which negative politeness is essential" (Leech, 1983: 106).

2) However, as we also know, this view has been questioned by numerous scholars working on politeness and the management of interpersonal relations in different languages and cultures (cf. Wierzbicka, 1985; Blum-Kulka, 1987; Sifianou, 1992; Obeng, 1999, among others). Insistence is viewed as something acceptable and desirable in some cultures. It is considered polite and represents a socio-cultural expectation; not insisting is viewed as “rude” or insincere” (Garcia, 2007:560).

Fitch (1994, 1998) and Fitch and Sanders (1994), for example, show in their ethnographic study of directives in urban Colombia that insistence is not necessarily face-threatening, as one would predict from Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) model. Likewise, within sociopragmatics, García (1992, 1999, 2007) finds that strong insistence in the issuing of invitations in Peru (1992), Venezuela (1999) and Argentina (2007) is expected and necessary rather than face-threatening.

Insisting is certainly a commonplace activity in everyday social interactions, as suggested for example, by Hundsnurscher’s (1981) discourse model for insisting sequences in relation to a range of speech activities. However, what appears to be subject to cross-cultural variation, as is the case with other directives, is the mode in which the producer of the initial directive attempts to obtain compliance – through mild or strong insistence – and also the extent to which insistence is appropriate with respect to particular social activities.

The negative reaction of Americans to strong insistence in Félix-Brasdefer’s (2003) study would be a reflection of Americans’ preference for exercising autonomy in their actions. This would be in line with findings from other studies concerning American English such as Fitch (1994) and Fitch and Sanders’s (1994), referred to above, in relation to the use of directives in Boulder, Colorado, in contrast to Bogota, Colombia. These authors found that Colombians, as opposed to Americans, make wide use of direct forms⁶⁶. They interpret these differences, in conjunction with a range of other features, as an orientation among Americans to an ideology of *empowerment*, and among Colombians, to one of *connectedness*⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ See Márquez Reiter and Placencia (2005) for a review of a number of other studies on requests based on elicited data where both anglophones and hispanophones have been found to display an overall preference for indirectness, but where higher levels of directness have been found among the latter group.

⁶⁷ This contrast is related to Placencia (2008) within her self construal theory between independent (the self seen as differentiated from others) and interdependent (the self seen as connected with others) self-construal, as well as the individualism vs. collectivism value orientation distinction (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1988) that has been employed in characterizations of Western and non-Western societies.

At the core of the ideology of empowerment would be “an individualistic notion of personhood, in which the basic assumption is a preference for autonomy and self-direction and a subsequent distaste for overt exertion of power over the self by others” (Fitch, 1994:200 as cited in Placencia, 2008:92). Within this ideology, according to Fitch, “people prefer to make their own decisions, rather than be told what to do” (p. 200) so direct directives are dispreferred.

On the other hand, Fitch’s “ideology of connectedness”, as it surfaces in her studies, is based on the idea that Colombians function not as autonomous individuals but as sets of bonds (*conjunto de vínculos*). Relationship creates obligations which “outweigh the rights and desires of individuals” (Fitch, 1994:203). While Americans and possibly other Anglophone groups may interpret strong insistence as face-threatening behavior in that they may feel ‘corralled’, insistence appears to have a positive value in the context of solidarity relations in most Arab cultures.

As it is the case in Placencia’s (2008) study, when a guest in Palestinian society announces his/her departure (e.g. *ana mirawih* أنا مروح ‘I’m leaving’), the expectation is that the host/hostess will attempt to keep him a little longer by saying *lisa bakir* لسه بكير “it is so early?”, opening up a negotiation space for the leave-taker to justify his/her departure. In USA, on the other hand, there appears not to be such expectation and a common reply to a guest announcing his/her departure should simply acknowledge the person’s freedom of action.

Like the leave-taking sequences in García (1981) and Fitch’s (1990/1991) works, insistence sequences in data from PA constitute, on the surface, attempts to exert control over the hearer’s actions; however, they seem to be employed to display interest, sincerity and affection and hence, the assurance that the person really cares, thus recreating an ideology of connectedness. That is, this kind of display would constitute one of the ways through which Palestinians enact connectedness, which would be in line with results from some previous studies that highlight speakers’ attention to the strengthening of interpersonal bonds among family and friends through the production and repetition of particular actions (cf. Placencia, 2008:92).

11.3.3. *Insistence in the present study:*

In exploring the notion of *insistence* in Palestinian Arabic, I adopt the second view of insistence; that is, it is socially acceptable and even desirable. Palestinian society has

a special pattern of inviting/offering. When two people engage in an encounter, the one who offers should insist on offering and the one who is being invited should bashfully reject the offer- but in reality intends to accept it later. Put it differently, the invitee is expected to reject an offer several times, before accepting it with a show of reluctance. Al-Khatib (2006: 274 and 2001:190) has reported that "to invite without insistence means that the concerned person is not serious about the invitation, and offers it as a mere remark of courtesy; and to accept the offer without reluctance means that the recipient is gluttonous, and may be described as an ill-behaved person".

With respect to Palestinian Arabic, insistence in the context of invitations (including invitations to stay on at leave-taking) is described overall as socially appropriate and even expected behaviour in the sociocultural contexts examined; furthermore, it is associated with particular politeness orientations (e.g. a preference for involvement, solidarity, respect and camaraderie) (cf. García, 2007: 562) as indicated in the example below which took place between a man and a young lady:

- (53) A: *šu biṭhibbi tišrabi ?* شو بتحبي تشربي؟
 [What would you like to drink?] → **Invitation**
 B: *šukran ma bidi iši. ana mištaḡjil*. شكرا ما بدي اشي. أنا مشغول.
 [Thanks. I don't want. I'm in a hurry] → **Refusal**
 A: *šu rāyek fi kāsīt šāy ?* شو رايك في كاسة شاي؟
 [How about a cup of tea?] → **Reinvitation**
 B: *la šukran. bidīš aklfak*. لا شكرا. بديش أكلفك.
 [No. Thanks. I don't want to bother.] → **refusal.**
 A: *bašīTa. xalīna naxuḏ qahwah. elqahwa jayida ilṣubḥ*.
 بسيطة. خلينا ناخذ قهوة. القهوة جيدة الصبح.
 [There is no bothering. Let's have coffee. Coffee is good at the morning.]
 → **Reinvitation**
 B: *maši ilhal*. ماشي الحال. [It's O.K.] → **Acceptance**

We notice that the speaker here did not even ask the girl whether or not she wanted to drink. It seems as if he was not even ready to let her refuse. The above example 1 leads us to differentiate between two types of refusals in Palestinian culture: genuine refusals and ritual refusals⁶⁸ (cf. Chen et al. (1995:152). This example shows incidentally how insistence can be produced collaboratively, by the host in this case, and how it can be tackled also collaboratively, by the guest in this example; that is, both hosts and visitors join efforts to achieve their goals. The reason given for refusal by the invitee (*I'm in a hurry*) is challenged forcefully by the host in issuing a second invitation.

⁶⁸ See the next section on ritual refusals.

Situation (54) below illustrates the value of insistence as practiced in the Palestinian society. In this situation, B1 and B2 are two men who came from Nablus, a city in the north of Palestine to visit a friend, A, after his recovery from his illness.

- (54) A: *bidna niçmal çada baçdein ilşây wa ilqahweh*. بدنا نعمل غدا بعدين الشاي والقهوة.
 [We'll prepare lunch first, and then we will drink tea and coffee.]
 B1: *La la.* لا، لا [No. No.]
 B2: *la akîd. ma rāh niTawil.* لا، أكيد ما راح نطول. [No, for sure. We won't stay longer.]
 A: *ma rāh yaxuð ?kθar min sāçah.* ما راح يوخذ أكثر من ساعة.
 [(Preparing the meal) won't take more than one hour.]
 B1: *ma bidna nijarbak wala nizçijak.* ما بدنا نجربك ولا نزعجك.
 [Your generosity is well known. We don't want to bother you.]
 A: *Um Ali bitjahiz fîh.* أم علي بتجهز فيه.
 [Um Ali (i.e. the speaker's wife) started preparing it (the lunch)]
 B2: *?ihna xaTaTna nirūh makan āxar.* احنا خططنا نروح مكان اخر.
 [We had planned to visit another place.]
 A: *nityada baçdein rūhu wein ma bidkum.* نتغدا بعدين روحوا وين ما بدكم.
 [We'll have lunch together, and then you can go wherever you like.]

The conversation might continue for a few other turns, and the outcome is that the host's generosity is 'forced' upon the visitors who end up staying for lunch.

As can be seen, at the beginning of this situation the host comes with the invitation for lunch which is forcefully rejected by one of the visitors and which leads to his own (counter-) invitation. The host insists and starts challenging all the arguments the visitors put forward. In other words, the reasons the visitors give for not staying on or accepting the lunch invitation are dismissed one by one by the host; that is, all the "psychological" (i.e. we don't want to bother you) and "practical" (i.e. we had planned to go elsewhere) difficulties (Hundsnerscher, 1981: 354) that stand in the way are dealt with. The visitors once more seem to have no choice but to stay since rejecting the lunch invitation at this stage would convey a negative message – that the hospitality being offered is not appreciated – and could put at risk the good relationship that both the host and the guests have.

This situation clearly illustrates how primacy can be given not to individuals' wishes but to the opportunity for sociability that has arisen, which is an opportunity to show how much the host cares for his visitors. On the other hand, there is as well the host's social face that is taken care of, an aspect that is characteristic of collectivistic societies. The host acts not only, or not necessarily, according to his own will, but he may be also conforming to established politeness rules and societal customs: in this specific situation, giving in return or in response to the kind gesture of his visitors.

While the visitors had not planned to stay and both felt a little frustrated as they had other plans, as well as rather embarrassed to end up 'imposing' themselves for lunch, they certainly did not feel offended by their host's insistence. However, while taking offense would be very improbable in such situations, a certain degree of frustration is not to be eliminated as possible emotional reaction experienced by the guests, although the respect of social etiquette makes them not manifest it or at least not express it verbally.

Therefore, invitations in PA have to be repeated and declined a number of times before they are accepted. Accepting from the first invitation is regarded as bad form, so S/H go through this ritualized behavior where each one has a defined role.

Since insisting is a way of showing affection to people one is close to, then it is unlikely to occur in the presence of strangers. My observations also confirm that there is somehow a tendency to avoid or reduce strong insistence around food offers among young Palestinians. Some young men confirm that at the present time there are fewer restrictions on personal freedom of action than some years ago.

In the Palestinian context, when one friend, for instance, invites another for a cup of tea in a coffee shop, the two friends should show a kind of competition regarding who is going to pay. Both of them should insist on paying. A situation like this may not be possible in the USA or the West. In fact, as mentioned earlier in chapter nine, invitations in America are realized through a process of negotiation in an attempt to avoid any threat to the face of both interlocutors as in the example below from chapter 9:

- (55) A: *It's really horrible that we never see each other.*
B: *I know. We have to try to arrange something.*
A: *How about dinner? Why don't we go out to dinner together?*
B: *That's a good idea.*
A: *What days are good for you and Joe?*
B: *Weekends are best.*
A: *Oh, weekends are bad for us. Don't you ever go out to dinner during the week?*
B: *Well, we do. But we usually don't make plans till the last minute. Joe gets home late a lot and I never know what his schedule is going to be.*
A: *O.K. Well, look. Why don't you call me when you want to go out? Any week night is good.*
B: *O.K. I will.*
A: *Really. Don't forget.*
B: *O.K. I won't. I'll call you.* (Wolfson et al. (1983:123))

It is clear that both interactants in this situation tried to reach a commitment, but at the end nothing was accomplished except a promise to go out together when both of

them find the time to do so. However, regardless of the fact that no insistence or commitment was arrived at through this negotiation, both interactants expressed a great desire to maintain intimacy.

Taking into account to Leech's (2005:9) comments on invitations and politeness in Chinese, similarly, politeness makes Palestinians "behave in ways which our visitor from Mars would think irrational": e.g. a sequence of polite utterances such as the following may occur in certain cultures (traditionally, in Chinese, for example):

invitation → refusal → invitation → refusal → invitation → accept

It is worth mentioning, as can be noticed in example (39) above, that a sequence of such utterances usually occurs in Palestinian Arabic as well, but not in American English. According to Leech (2005:10), such sequences represent "battles for politeness". These battles can be resolved by negotiating with the other person's a politeness agreement. Thus traditionally, after a third invitation, say, an invitee will 'reluctantly' accept the invitation. Or one person will 'reluctantly' agree to go first through the doorway before the other.

In this sense, it is obvious that both the behavior of immediately accepting the invitation and that of not giving "continuous invitation" deviate from the Palestinian norm of interaction and disconfirm with Brown and Levinson's politeness framework which was built on Western criteria. Moreover, one can notice that the inviter is considered "intrinsically polite" based on the concept of genuine desire for invitation, and the invitee's acceptance can be seen as a strong evidence of the inviter's sincerity (Gu, 1990:242). In invitations in the Palestinian society, damaging negative face turns to be a ritualized way to show politeness, not necessarily threatening each other's face.

Still, to look more and more determined, some people resort to swearing and making certain religious allusions. In example (56) below, a man in his forties is addressing a co-worker who drove him back home at night.

- (56) A: *wallah yeir tišrab finjān qahwa. ma bin axrak.* والله غير تشرب فنجان قهوة. ما بنأخرك.
[I swear that you should drink a cup of coffee. I won't keep you long.]
B: *barak allah fik. ilwaqit mit?xir. bidi arawiħ.* بارك الله فيك. الوقت متأخر. بدى أروح.
[God bless you. It's too late. I have to go home.]

It should be mentioned here that using such theo-pragmatic expressions in the context of inviting may reflect the impact of Islamic culture on Palestinian people when they perform the act of inviting. Such religious expressions create an impression that the message flows from heart to heart. In fact, swearing by God and making other religious

allusions can be considered as mechanisms used by Palestinians while insisting on accepting invitations.

Throughout my own direct observation, I found that insistence constitutes a face respecting act in PA rather than a face threatening act as it is the case in AE. That is because the hearer in PA commonly expresses appreciation for invitations no matter how personally they feel about the prospects of spending time with the speaker. Therefore, invitations pay respect to the hearer's positive face. However, the study identifies some generational variation in the use of this practice. It is suggested that this could be interpreted as a possible shift in interpersonal ideology –from connectedness towards empowerment– gradually taking place in the Palestinian society.

The instances of insistence we have considered so far are verbal forms; however, we have also identified nonverbal means of getting people to stay on, which, interestingly, represent *literal* restrictions of freedom of action. These include hiding guests' bags or coats and locking front doors. This kind of nonverbal insistence, is a literal *sal-si-puedes* (leave if you can) (see Fitch, 1990/1991 and Placencia, 2008) game through which connection appears to be enacted. Hosts wish for the party or gathering to continue and not to flag, and since enjoyment comes from the company of others, guests are urged or may be 'forced' to stay on. This sort of insistence is a way of both displaying and recreating relations of solidarity, and showing how much the company of a particular friend/relative is appreciated. People recognize the good intentions behind insistence at leave-taking and some even feel flattered when it happens (cf. Placencia, 2008).

Some Palestinians (the young ones in particular) indicated that nowadays they avoid organizing parties in friends' houses precisely for fear of not being able to leave when they choose to do so; for this reason social gatherings in youth clubs, gardens or parks instead appear to be preferred by some (see also Placencia, 2008). A number of the young people in fact seem to complain about their space and their wishes not being respected when insistence occurs.

It is clear that Brown & Levinson's (1987) model is not suitable or does not apply entirely in Palestinian society. In fact, the model was built on Western criteria and – more important – its authors set up principles, and observed their applicability to Western cultures. However, these principles are viable and certainly can be applied, with culturally motivated adjustments, to some other societies. The difference consists

in the degree of insistence, in defining the limit that each culture draws between 'acceptable insistence' and 'offensive insistence'. According to B & L, insistence would be perceived as an act which threatens a hearer's negative face for it puts some pressure on hearer to accept or reject as it is the case in AE. However, a Palestinian speaker may insist on inviting the hearer twice or even three times in spite of the hearer's showing explicit unwillingness to comply and by doing in this way the speaker shows the sincerity toward the hearer. Therefore, inviting and insisting in Palestinian Arabic, "under ordinary circumstances, will not be considered as threatening H's negative face" (ibid:242). Thus, the behaviors which are polite in one culture may be perceived as impolite in another culture by different weight of social rules.

11.3.4. Final remarks on Insistence:

No insistence or mild insistence only may be appropriate for some cultural groups that place a high value on autonomy or freedom of action, while strong insistence may be appreciated and even expected in other groups where a high value is placed on the strengthening of interpersonal bonds. Contrary to most English societies where the display of non-imposition and concerns for distancing in speech acts are believed to help avoid face threatening acts and hence to be more polite, a number of cultures, as it is the case in PA, prefer a show of solidarity and sincerity by directly delivering them. The Palestinian society gives preference to generosity and solidarity while insisting without any idea about imposition or non-imposition. In fact, insistence in Palestinian culture is related to rituals established in collectivistic societies where defending one's social face is vital to the individual for being accepted by the society, which means survival.

11.4. Ritual Refusals:

The concept of *ritual refusals* is defined by Chen et al. (1995:152), as "polite act(s) to indicate the speaker's consideration of the hearer". While present in cultures such as the Irish culture, and also in such speech communities as China (cf. Chen et al. 1995, 151), and the Arab World (cf. Barron 2000, 48), ritual or polite refusals do not represent part of polite behavior in the US society and some other Western countries. Instead, refusals in USA are genuine refusals, also termed substantive refusals (cf. Chen et al. 1995), - in other words - *Searle's* sincerity condition for refusals, "S wants H not to do x," is satisfied unlike the case with ritual refusals where it is not satisfied since the

speaker, S, merely pretends to refuse the invitation in question in the interest of the norms of politeness. In reality, however, S, in a ritual refusal, expects a second invitation, which s/he can then either accept or refuse, as s/he wishes. As a result, an inviter, in the Palestinian culture, largely expects the first refusal to be ritual, and so proceeds to reoffer another invitation.

No in ritual refusals does not simply mean *no*. Indeed, so commonplace are ritual refusals in the Palestinian speech community that the linguistic expressions “*šāwir ḥālak*” شاور حالك [just think of it well], “*xalīna niksabak*” خلىنا نكسبك [it is an honor for us], has acquired the status of a pragmatic routine used to realize the second turn of an invitation, i.e. in *Coulmas*' (1981:3 as cited in Barron, 2000) terms, it has become a “highly conventionalized prepatterned expression(s) whose occurrence is tied to more or less standardized communication situations”. Indeed, this routine has become so conventional that it has, to a large extent, lost its semantic meaning, as is often the case with pragmatic routines.

The large occurrence of ritual refusals in the Palestinian culture can be explained with reference to the different hierarchies of values characteristic of the two cultures, and in particular with reference to the direct/ indirect continuum noted earlier. In Palestine, it is more important to make your addressee feel wanted, and to be considerate of his/her wants and feelings than it is to be honest or direct, whereas the opposite is the case in USA where honesty is a sign of friendship. This basic underlying cultural difference is reflected in initial refusals. In Palestine these are presumed to be ritual – to be motivated by politeness and a concern for one's addressee. Consequently, a ritual reinvitation follows in order to attempt to ascertain the true wishes of the hearer (H), politeness aside. Whether the addressee finally refuses or accepts, it is clear that the mere existence of this ‘game’ reflects the Palestinian tendency towards solidarity and connectedness.

In USA, the second turn occurs relatively seldom, given the absence of ritual refusals. If a second invitation should occur, there is, therefore, no pragmatic routine available to realize it. Instead, ad hoc realizations are used. This feature of US invitations reinforces the view that a focus on autonomy rather than a concern for solidarity and connectedness is of primary importance in this culture. If an American invites a person for a drink and if that person refuses out of politeness, the inviter will

not invite a second time. In fact, in AE, direct - *no* means *no* and *yes* means *yes*. The US inviters do not understand an invitee when he/she says *no* and means *yes*.

Therefore, it is clear that when an American says *no*, he/she mean *no*, ... and if he/she say *yes*, he/she means *yes* ... whereas a Palestinian person might not mean it. Palestinians know that if they say *no*, they know the inviter is going to ask them two or three more times and they will get a chance to say, "*Oh, well, of course I will.*"

Exploring the invitations that were collected ethnographically in AE and PA, I found it was only the data from PA that indicated that Palestinians involved themselves in ritual refusals, using reinvitations, to an extensive degree as shown in the table below:

Ritual Invitations	No.	%
Palestinian Arabic Data	49	98
American English Data	4	2
Total	53	100

Table 11.5. *Invitations realized over more than one turn.*

The data revealed that the more formal the situation, the less ritual refusals are as indicated in the following example below where an employee is inviting his boss in a travel company.

- (57) A: *Ṣabaḥ ilxeir sīdi. ṣindi faraḥ la?ibni yūm iljumṣaḥ. Inšallah bitšarifni*
 صباح الخير سيدي. عندي فرح لابني يوم الجمعة. ان شاء الله بالأفراح.
 [Good morning, sir. We have a wedding party for my son on Friday. I hope, by God's willing, you give me the honor of your presence]
- B: *mubāarak, mubāarak. Bil?frah wa albanīn. wallah yūm iljumṣaḥ ana mašyūl*
 مبارك، مبارك. بالأفراح والبنين. والله يوم الجمعة أنا تشغول.
 [Congratulations. Congratulations. I hope you can see his children. I'm really busy on Friday.]
- A: *šukran. hay ilkart. هايا الكرت.* [Thanks. Here is the invitation card.]

This situation reveals the impact of social status on refusals in PA. It is important in the above example to notice the use of the address term *sir* in addressing the boss by the inviter who is an employee. The invitation and the refusal here are genuine ones. Even though the inviter presents the invitation as if it is a benefit to the inviter not the invitee, the invitee (the boss) refused (a genuine refusal) because he was busy. Therefore, most ritual refusals occurred among friends, relatives and others who have equal social status.

Therefore, there are two types of refusals in Palestinian culture. One is real refusal when the addressee says *no* directly or indirectly and means *no*. The other is ritual refusal when the addressee says *no* directly or indirectly, but in fact the addressee is willing to accept the initiating act. Ritual refusal functions as a polite act to show

refuser's considerations of the initiator. The two types of refusals both occur when dealing with real invitation. Different strategies are used in these two types of refusals. Sometimes, it is difficult to judge whether an invitation is real or ritual. In this case, ritual refusal can be used to infer the real intention of the inviter, except for showing concerns about the costs that the inviter will bear. If the inviter does not insist on inviting, the invitation can be interpreted as a ritual one. Then, declining is an appropriate way to respond to this invitation. On the other hand, if the response of the inviter indicates that the invitation is a serious and real one, ritual refusal will lead to a final acceptance. In fact, reinventions are rather motivated by a genuine concern that the refuser should change his/her mind and accept the invitation.

However, ritual refusals seldom occur in AE. The example below reveals a case which could be interpreted as a ritual refusal in AE. Even though the invitation is repeated twice in this situation, it is never understood as a ritual refusal.

(58) A: *No one there?*

B: *Can I offer you a cup of coffee?*

A: *No thanks. I was just in the area and wanted to call around for a second.*

A: *Are you sure? It's really no problem.*

B: *No thanks. Tell your parents that I came*

11.5. Conclusion:

If one takes into account Mao's (1992) analysis of the speech act of invitation in Chinese, Palestinian invitation should be taken as a speech act of multi-layers, ranging from multiple turns of refusal to an expected acceptance, which is quite different from Wolfson's (1983) one-layer speech behavior of invitation in English. The ritual refusal of invitation in the Palestinian society calls on the invitee to protect the inviter's negative face first, and then after refusal, the inviter offers the invitation again to attend the invitee's positive face, and, at the same time threat invitee's negative face. The turns may be possibly repeated one to three times to achieve the acceptance. Therefore, the invitee should not accept the invitation from the first time, but the inviter should repeat the invitation insistently.

To sum up, in the perspective of Leech's (1983) politeness principle, the speech act of inviting (as a directive and commissive) is directly associated to Tact Maxim. Accordingly, since American culture emphasizes more on individuals, the inviter offers an activity beneficial for the invitee to maximize the invitee's benefit. When the invitee rejects the invitation, the inviter would minimize the cost of the invitee by avoiding

impeding the individual freedom to invite. This conforms to the concept that negative politeness is more important than positive face (Leech, 1983). However, Palestinian culture seems to flout the rule. Although the inviter in the Palestinian society would follow Tact Maxim to maximize benefit to the invitee by offering an invitation, Palestinian people tend to invite again and again, even when they are rejected. The reason is that rejection is seen as a ritualized formulation of invitation in Palestinian Arabic, and the seeming rejection is interpreted as a way of expressing politeness, as “pragmatic paradox” (p.111) proposed by Leech. In this sense, as consistent with O’Driscoll’s (1996:10) contention, Americans seem to emphasize negative face over positive face to show desire for “disassociation/independence/individualism”. Palestinians tend to have desire for “association/belonging/merging” by prioritizing maintenance of positive face and sacrificing negative face as the two faces conflict (O’Driscoll, 1996).

CHAPTER TWELVE: FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

12.0. Findings:

The aim of this study has been to investigate the differences in the use of politeness strategies at a cross-cultural level between Palestinian Arabic and American English in realizing invitations, by focusing on the effect of some social and contextual variables on these strategies. In fact, I collected data from PA and AE using different methods, including direct, observation, a questionnaire, and other related sources. To this end, the DCT consisted of 5 situations testing the speakers' realization of the contextual determinants of power, social distance and the rank of imposition. The addresser's and addressee's gender, a prime social variable, was also tested to investigate the cultural differences. Another influential variable, the degree of the speaker's insistence upon extending invitations, has been discovered in the course of data collection and its effect was analyzed in the previous chapter. Responses to invitations and the scales of politeness and directness were also explored.

Invitations are one of the very frequent speech acts which can take place in daily activities, both in US and Palestinian cultures. The investigation of the choice of direct or indirect spoken invitations by AES and PAS under the influence of social status, age and gender has shown both similarities and differences between the two groups of subjects.

The biggest difference between these two groups is the preference for politeness strategies employed when they extend invitations. Coming from a society where the principles of non-imposition are widely accepted as being polite, the majority of AES used indirect politeness strategies to deliver the speech act of inviting. They possibly preferred structural indirectness to indicate their distance, give options and through this they soften the impositions. Meanwhile, PAS come from a society where greater importance is attached to solidarity relations and dependence rather than distance and independence, so most of them tended to employ structurally directness when issuing invitations. Moreover, because inviting is an act that brings benefits to the hearer, in Palestinian culture, it seems to be more convenient for the hearer of an invitation to accept if s(he) is clearly forced to do so. Therefore, in this case, the imposition is to save the face of the hearer than to threaten her/his face.

Therefore, the results revealed that Palestinians were more direct, using PP and BOR invitations, whereas the Americans were exclusively negatively polite to keep distance. BOR strategies and PP were prevalent among the Palestinians, whereas NP was dominant in the American group. In this case, the differences can be noticed by analyzing the expression *tfaDDal(i)* تفضل/اي as a BOR invitation. The dual function of such an expression enabled the Palestinian speakers to be direct and deferent at the same time. By the use of this expression, the Palestinian speakers in many cases did not have to resort to NP or other OR strategies. The absence of such an expression in American English obliged the speakers to express deference by relying heavily on negatively polite expressions. The absence of such expressions in English, therefore, made the speakers resort to NP to redress the invitation. Therefore, this supports Larina's (2005) view that the attempt to reduce the imposing nature of an act is typical in Western communication. AE speakers tend to prefer more structurally indirect constructions.

It is clear that the individual differences in the use of politeness strategies were higher among the Palestinian speakers because they used more varied direct and indirect strategies than the Americans, whose majority was always inclined to using conventional indirectness in their invitations. It is of the same importance, though, to study the causes that underpin inter- and intra-group differences. In fact, Larina (2005:38) also contends, "(...) differences in politeness systems reflect differences in social relationships and are determined by culture-specific values."

Some other differences and similarities between the two groups of subjects were found during the process of investigating the impact of social status, age and gender on the selection of politeness strategies employed.

Concerning the effect of social status and age, the results show that AES took the first factor into greater consideration than the second while PAS had quite opposite selection. Besides, the examination of social status and gender also indicates that men and women had different tendencies in the choice of politeness strategies to invite people of different status. In general, AES males employed more strategies to invite people of same gender together with the change of addressee's status than AES females. PAS females also employed similar strategies to the people of opposite gender in comparison to PAS males. Moreover, when both gender and age of the addressees were taken into consideration, the results indicate that they had a stronger effect on both AES and PAS females' selection of politeness strategies.

The social distance showed a significant impact on the use of the politeness strategies in both groups. There was a negatively significant correlation between the social distance and PP in the Palestinian group. That is, whenever the social distance increased, the use of PP decreased. The Palestinian speakers expressed intimacy and solidarity with closer people by using forms of endearment, in-group language, religious expressions, jokes, and so forth. They avoided such strategies when the social distance increased. Similarly, but at a lower level of significance, in American English, PP correlated negatively with social distance. American speakers were positively polite whenever the social distance decreased. NP, on the other hand, correlated positively with social distance among the American speakers; that is, whenever the social distance increased, the American speakers were likely to use NP as a manifestation of respecting the other's freedom. Mixed strategies were also more frequent when the social distance decreased. That is, the American speakers varied their strategies in the same utterance to combine solidarity with deference.

These results contradict Brown & Levinson's (1987) view about the simple relationship between power and politeness strategies. They also contradict Holmes' (1996) view regarding the effect of power on the use of politeness, but support her claim about the strong relationship between social distance and the use of polite speech acts.

These findings about the effect of power and social distance on the two groups also support Larina's (2005) assertion that Western societies have a horizontal scale of social distance rather than the vertical scale of power. In English interaction, those who are of higher social status treat the subordinates as their equal emphasizing the cultural value of equality. On the other hand, the scale of social distance is longer in American culture than in the Palestinian. The preference for conventional indirectness in American English is characteristic not only in formal occasions, but also in everyday encounters. This stresses, as Larina contends, that the Western speakers place a higher value on privacy. Thus, the cultural norms demand a more distant system of behavior. Social distance in American culture surrounds every person despite his/her age or status (Larina, 2005).

In contrast, it seems that in the Palestinian culture, the social distance is shorter and the personal preserve is smaller. PP and BOR invitations are broadly used in Palestinian interaction. In Palestinian Arabic discourse, polite usage permits many

direct imperatives than American English. Hence, treating the addressee in a direct way is conventionally acceptable in Palestinian Arabic.

The above analyses, either in this chapter or in the previous ones, have shown that contextual determinants are flexible and changeable across cultures. For example, pertaining to social distance, what Palestinians consider close, their American counterparts may consider distant.

In the realization of this relationship in the Questionnaire, the discrepancy persisted; the Palestinians were more direct and positively polite whereas the Americans were highly negatively polite. This assumption accords with what Larina (2005:37) contends that “the asymmetry of social relationships and differences in cultural values gives an indication of how to understand differences in the politeness systems as they are clearly reflected in the way people use the language in their interaction.”

Concerning responses to invitations the study revealed exciting results concerning age as a social factor in PA. The younger speakers (under 20 and 20-29) were more likely to reject an invitation than the middle (30-39 and 40-50) or older (50+) age groups. This could be explained on the ground that older people are quite aware of their role as guardian of their society’s values. Younger people, by contrast, tended to do that in defiance of the cultural norms of society.

Even though there is a tendency among Palestinians to accept rather than decline invitations, casual invitations (e.g. an invitation for a cup of tea) were over three times more likely to be declined in non-domestic as in domestic settings, while formal invitations (i.e. invitation for a wedding party) were about as likely to be accepted in the home as outside it.

Moreover, the above analyses indicate that the use of politeness strategies cannot be attributed to one determinant at a time. The contextual determinants were changing constantly and interacting with each other across the situations. Other factors have been found influential on the use of these strategies.

12.1. Observations from Brown & Levinson’s (1987) Model

The central claim of the model is that broadly comparable linguistic strategies are available in each language. Thus, this section aims to draw conclusions from the above analyses in (12.0) and other chapters pertaining to the applicability of Brown & Levinson’s (1987) model of politeness to PA and AE invitations.

The results of the present study showed the applicability of some, but not all, aspects of B&L's (1987) model to the Palestinian context. The Palestinian speakers realized all the super-strategies, using some of the substrategies. BOR invitations were realized mainly through imperatives; PP politeness was realized through different strategies such as attending to H' needs, exaggerating interest in H, in-group identity markers, intensifying interest in H, conveying that S and H are cooperators, and so forth. NP was also realized through different substrategies such as conventional indirectness, hedges, pessimism, minimization, deference, apologizing, impersonalization, point-of-view of distancing, and so forth. OR strategies were displacing H and using ellipsis. Thus, this study adds to the previous studies that applied the model to other spoken varieties of Arabic such as El-Shafey (1990) to Egyptian Arabic, Al-Khatib (2006) to Jordanian Arabic, and Elarbi (1997) to Tunisian Arabic.

A comparison of PA and AE data showed that both groups used the different politeness strategies upon extending invitations. However, the results might indicate that Palestinians belong to and reflect what Brown and Levinson (1987) call a positive politeness culture, as it is the case in Garcia's (2007) study on invitations issued by Argentinians, where a similar assertion is made. It is interesting to highlight that to Palestinians in this study, protection of one's own and/or the interlocutor's negative face is not of primary importance as it might be for other cultural groups, namely English-speaking communities. What is important instead is the underlying "interpersonal ideology of connectedness" (Fitch, 1994:203) where "relationships rather than individuals are the focus of social action" (Fitch, 1994:197), relationships that require both respect and camaraderie.

Therefore, Brown and Levinson's model can be criticized for being too geared to Western (especially American) notions of *independence* and, hence, for its limited applicability in Eastern (Arab) contexts. One of the most puzzling features of Palestinian politeness behaviour to Westerners has been the direct and blunt approach people take in casual service encounters.

Therefore, the results also do not support B&L's (1987) assertion on the universality of politeness practices. The realization of specific strategies is cultural specific. That is, what differs from one culture to another is the emphasis people put on the contextual determinants or the situational variables of power, social distance, and the rank of the imposition. Some culture-specific realizations that are not accounted by

Brown & Levinson's (1987) model appeared in Palestinian use of religious expressions (See 12.2.1.).

12.1.1. Religious Expressions

The applicability of the model to the Palestinian context, however, does not preclude evidence of other realizations of politeness strategies completely absent in the American data. The use of religious (theo-pragmatic) expressions⁶⁹ and formulae, as in-group language, expressing PP, characterizes the Palestinian data. It reveals how the realization of politeness strategies differs across cultures thereby reflecting the cultural values of a society. Living in an Islamic society, Muslim Palestinians rely on religious expressions in their verbal interaction. These included swearing by God's Name and some of the Islamic teachings. The Americans, on the other hand, found it inappropriate to use such expressions in verbal interaction. In the United States, it seems perfectly natural to refer to one's religion as "preference" instead of as "a fixed characteristic" (Cambell and Putman, 2010:4).

However, the use of these expressions was less frequent than expected among the Palestinians in this data. This may be due to the fact that the questionnaire comprised only one turn for the speaker to initiate the dialogue by realizing the invitation. Thus, it was not likely for the speakers to use these strategies of insistence because it is known that the invitation in the Arab culture is usually done in a series of turns (Migdadi, 2003). In this view, swearing to God and other religious expressions and formulae are strategies of insistence in invitations that usually occur after more than one turn. The results of data that were collected by direct observation also indicated that most of the speakers use God's Name when they sense the invitee's reluctance to accept the invitation. Moreover, invitations are uninitiated speech acts. That is, the invitation can be performed with no relevance to a previous utterance. Thus, it was not likely to hear someone using religious expressions or swear to God to initiate an invitation. Another reason for the low frequency of swearing to God in realizing invitations is that it is not religiously appropriate to use God's Name just to make people accept an invitation.

In Palestinian Arabic, there was a vivid tendency to use religious expressions with socially close people. Whenever the social distance increased, the Palestinian speakers avoided using swearing to God or any other religious expression for insistence. Such

⁶⁹ See chapters 8, 9, 10 and 11 for a number of religious expressions used in PA.

avoidance indicates the PP dimension of these expressions. It indicates that the speakers used these expressions to enhance solidarity and cooperation. In fact, the majority of the Palestinian speakers revealed that they use swearing to God only with the members of the family and close people.

The gender of the addressee had a significant impact on the use of religious expressions. The Palestinians avoided using swearing to God or any other religious expression with distant or strange addressees. This, again, supports the above analysis in that swearing to God in making invitations expresses intimacy and, thus, PP.

12.1.2. *The Dynamic Nature of P, SD & R*

Brown & Levinson (1987) have been criticized for their unrealistic view of the social variables (Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003). If Watts believes that politeness is dynamic, then it is logical to conclude that the social parameters that control the interpretation and existence of such a notion are also dynamic. The results of this study showed that social distance and power are not static; they move back and forth in an ongoing interaction. With strangers, the interaction may start with the highest level of social distance, then the familiarity that results from this interaction and negotiation of meaning shortens the distance, and thus, gears the linguistic behavior towards gradually increasing intimacy and solidarity, or vice versa.

Power is interactional (Mills, 2003). According to Mills, power is not a set of rules delineated for us (by our relations to institutions, positions, etc.) before an interaction. In verbal interaction, even speakers in powerless position might gain power in speech by a set or resources available to everyone regardless of their institutional power, their confidence, and linguistic directness. People shielded with power may lose it during interaction.

The data of this study provides abundant evidence on this dynamic nature of social interaction and its determinants as it appears in the use of mixed strategies, as in the example below:

ya hayāti, šarāha inti ahsan wahdeh btiTbux fi ilhārah; masha?allāh šalēki; kul yūm Tabxa jadīdeh muxtalifa; bas taxayyali; gabil shway Tabaxit maqlubeh; xuđi hađa ?ilšahin hata tijarbi Tabīxi? (My life, frankly, you are the best one who cooks in the neighborhood; God protect you! You cook a new different meal everyday; but imagine, a while ago I cooked maqlubeh “a name of a Palestine meal”; Have this dish to try my cooking?)

يا حياتي، صراحة انت احسن واحدة تطبخ في الحارة، ما شاء الله عليكى كل يوم طبخة جديدة مختلفة، بس تخيلي قبل شوي طبخت مقلوبة، خذي هذا الصحن حتى تجربي طيخي؟

When the speaker had to make an invitation of high imposition to a close female friend, she started the conversation with an address form of endearment (*my life*) conveying intimacy, switching immediately to a hedging expression to keep herself distant from stating the FTA (God protect you!). This was followed by a series of PP strategies to maintain closeness, and then she ended her invitation by hedging on the force of the invitation as an attempt to distance the friend and herself from the FTA. Thus, social distance appears to be changeable and subject to modification even within the same turn. In fact, more natural data on different speech acts is needed to support this view, using this argument as a point of departure for further research.

12.1.3. Comments on Brown & Levinson's (1987) Don't-do-the FTA

To calculate the weightiness of the FTA (W_x), Brown & Levinson (1987) suggest the following equation

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

They state that an FTA is a composite of the three variables: social distance, power, and rank of imposition. They claim that if the three contextual determinants are high, the outcome is the use of the Don't-do-the FTA. However, the analysis of the data proved reverse instances.

In fact, Brown & Levinson (1987) were criticized for not elaborating on this strategy. Their model fails to account for the two types of the Don't-do-the FTA strategy. The results of the present study support the classification proposed by El-Shafey (1990), Thomas (1995), and Nakane (2006) that the Don't-do-the FTA (silence) strategy is classified as a positive-politeness strategy when it functions as a sign of solidarity and rapport, that is, when the act is done nonverbally although the FTA is not uttered). It can also be classified as a negative-politeness strategy if it functions as a distancing tactic (i.e., opting out).

The analysis of the data has shown that the higher degree of social distance, power, and rank of imposition did not always yield higher frequency of the Don't-do-the FTA strategy as claimed by Brown & Levinson (1987).

Hence, Brown & Levinson's (1987) claim about the use of the Don't-do-the FTA strategy neglects other factors of context that can also affect the use of such a strategy such as the gender of the addressee.

12.1.4. *tfaDDal(i)* (تفضل/ي): *Is it an inherently polite or a formulaic expression?*

The dynamic nature of contextual determinants brings to attention the impossibility of the fossilization of particular expressions as inherently polite. No linguistic structure is inherently polite or impolite is a notion propagated as early as 1981 by Fraser and Nolan.

Watts (2003) argues that politeness cannot be equated with formulaic or semi-formulaic structures that are used as rituals in verbal interaction. He claims that many highly conventionalized and semi-formulaic expressions that are often interpreted as expressions of politeness do not in themselves denote politeness. Rather, they lend themselves to individual interpretation as polite in instances of the ongoing verbal interaction. As he states, we need to know something about the situation in which linguistic structures occur in order to evaluate whether they are beyond what can be expected and are thus potentially open to interpretation by participants as polite. To this end, Watts labels those expressions that go beyond our expectations of the context as polite behavior and those that are ritualized or socially expected as politic behavior.

There is abundance of examples in this data that supports Watts' (2003) claim that the formulaic functions of structures that are usually thought by people to be polite are politic. The data of American English was rich in such formulaic expressions such as *please*, and the semi-formulaic expressions as *Would you like X?* and *Can you X?*

In Palestinian Arabic invitations, *tfaDDal(i)* (تفضل/ي), can be a prime example of Watt's (2003) classification of formulaic politic expressions that might not be polite in themselves but are sometimes necessary to make the utterance open to interpretation of politeness. It is, therefore, important to shed light on whether *tfaDDal(i)* is an inherently polite expression.

tfaDDal(i) may be treated as a commissive directive (Rabinowitz, 1993) in which the speaker asks the addressee to do something for the benefit of the addressee. The expression usually indicates a polite way of inviting the addressee to do something (eating, sitting, taking, etc.) for the benefit of the addressee. Thus, it was highly frequently used in this data when extending invitations.

The results of the analysis revealed that such an expression served more than just a softened imperative. Palestinian speakers used this expression more frequently with unfamiliar people. This, however, does not deny the existence of a few instances of its use with close people.

The expression was used in different frequencies under different contextual determinants. The lowest frequency of *tfaDDal(i)* was scored when the social distance was low. To verify the frequencies and test whether the effect of the contextual factors on the use of expression *tfaDDal(i)* is significant, a Pearson correlation test was run (only on the situations that yielded the expression). Consider Table 12.1 below:

Table 12.1. *Pearson Correlation Test of the Relationship between the Use of tfaDDal(i) & the Contextual Determinants*

tfaDDal(i)		SD	P	R	G
	Pearson Correlation		.282	.282	-.517
Sig. (2-tailed)		.462	.460	.154	.809
N		9	9	9	9

N= number of situations SD= social distance P= power R= rank of imposition G= gender of the addressee

Unexpectedly, table 12.1 indicates no significant correlation between *tfaDDal(i)* and any of the social contextual determinants. The expression was used with familiar and unfamiliar people. The power and the gender of the addressee seem not to have an impact on the use of this negatively polite imperative.

The insignificant relationship between the expression *tfaDDal(i)* and the contextual determinants including the addressee's gender supports the view that it is an instance of politic behavior. In other words, the speakers used the expression with all people and in all situations regardless of the changing features of each context. This might indicate that the expression did not carry a specific function of politeness in itself but was a normal expression that the interlocutors expect in the ongoing interaction. It was used in this data as a social ritual rather than an expression of politeness. However, further research is recommended in this domain to verify these results and shed light on the polite dimensions of this expression.

12.1.5. Are Invitations Face Threatening or Inherently Polite?

In line with the rejection of the inherently polite structures, the results of the present study do not support Brown & Levinson's (1987) view of invitations as potentially face-threatening acts in PA, and cast doubt on Leech's (1983) claim that invitations are inherently polite because they are addressed to H's positive face. The

results also detract from the view that direct invitations are more polite and appropriate than indirect ones.

If Leech's (1983) assumption were accepted, BOR invitations would have been used more frequently than any of the other redressing strategies in the collected data. Speakers in both cultures would not have resorted to mitigating strategies. Nonetheless, the frequency of BOR invitations in the Palestinian context varied according to the contextual determinants; this strategy was highly frequent in some situations, but absent in others. BOR invitations were rare in the American data in almost all the situations. This rare occurrence of the BOR invitations refutes what Leech claims about the relationship between directness and politeness in invitations. Many speakers in many situations in both cultures used a great deal of indirectness to redress their invitations. This is evident in the many instances in which the speakers used strategies of mitigation that would have not been used if invitations were inherently positively polite (Leech, 1983) or face-enhancing (Koutlaki, 2002).

The US people might find many invitations in this data face threatening to them (the speakers) and hearer or to both, especially with high rank of imposition. The participants used a series of negatively polite strategies to redress the invitation.

Leech's assumption (1983) treats all the contexts alike; it ignores the ongoing and changing nature of the context and its determinants, and their different cultural realizations. Leech's assumption does not apply in most cases because it decontextualizes linguistic behavior from the other factors that compelled speakers to mitigate their invitations. The speakers in some situations might use a series of mitigating strategies to redress H's face or to save their own, either because the imposition was high on them and the addressee, or to respect H's privacy.

Had invitations been inherently polite, we would have expected BOR invitations in all situations. The speakers would not have used a series of redressing strategies even in the simplest invitations.

The results of this study cast doubt on Leech's (1983) view of politeness which depicts verbal interaction as a static, not as an ongoing process. The analysis of the utterances showed that what makes an invitation sound polite varies from one context to another and cannot be determined before the interaction takes place. It can be again concluded that directness and indirectness do not represent politeness in themselves but it is the context in which they are used that determines the degree of politeness

expressed by the two notions. Indirectness is not blindly tied to deference and respect. In some cases, the Palestinian female speakers were indirect with men to maintain distance, abiding by the religious and social rules of their culture rather than showing deference.

Related to the above dichotomies (i.e., inherently polite vs. face-threatening acts, and directness vs. indirectness) is the dichotomy that evaluates any linguistic behavior as either polite or impolite. Brown & Levinson (1987) and Holmes (1996) contend that context is crucial in judging the politeness of an utterance. What is meant and perceived as polite in a given context, however, as Mills (2003) asserts, will depend on judgments of appropriateness. These judgments are based on cultural knowledge of norms of appropriateness.

In this study, the context and the speaker's intention (analyzed on the basis of the speakers' comments on their invitations) were two prime factors in interpreting the politeness of the utterance. Occasionally, the speakers in both groups used strategies that could be open to interpretation of impoliteness. For example, to sound firm and sincere in making invitations, many Palestinian speakers used expressions that might sound impolite when offering invitations as it is the case with the notion of *insistence*.

Hence, Mills' (2003) norms of appropriateness may justify the use of minimization strategies. When someone offers an invitation to someone, the polite invitation is to praise and compliment the value of the food or drink. Belittling the invitation in PA or showing no care about it to justify the invitation to someone may be perceived as impolite invitations. However, the aim might be to lessen the pressure on the invitee to urge him/her to accept the invitation. This is mutually known to the two interlocutors that belittling the value of the food will save the hearer's face from feeling indebted to his/her inviter, and thus will make it easy for him/her to comply and accept the invitation.

In this respect, the discussion above supports van Dijk's (2009), Mills' (2003) and Watts' (2003) views that the utterance should be judged within the ongoing interaction, focusing on the individual's role within a community of practice. In both cultures in question, the speakers used strategies of invitations that could open the utterances to interpretations of impoliteness if judged out of their context. However, those strategies serve functions related to politeness. It can be concluded that to distinguish politeness

from impoliteness, we should consider the speaker's intention or motivation behind committing the FTA, and the values and norms of a specific culture.

12.1.6. Ideology of connectedness or separatedness

Therefore, an invitation as issued in Palestinian society might shock a native speaker of American English who would regard it as overfriendly; perhaps they might consider the speaker as treading on their private territory because s/he (the speaker) is not keeping the social distance usual in the American society.

The fundamental cultural difference lies in the fact that Palestinian people strictly stick to collectivism in their speech and acts, while people in the west and English-speaking countries are characterized by individualism. In Palestine, the concept "collectivity" is considered as the core of the Palestinian culture, which means that people should always care about other in-group members, regard themselves as members of a collectivity and give priority to the collectivity (connectedness) over individuals. Cooperation and harmony are valued in interpersonal relationships.

Conversely, individualism is the core of most Western cultures. In Western society, individual development, benefits and achievements are encouraged and protected and people should satisfy their own needs first. Individualism promotes self-efficiency, individual responsibilities and personal autonomy (separatedness).

Nevertheless, collectivism and individualism coexist in all cultures, and it is the matter of predominance that determines which culture a country belongs to. In many researches, Western cultures are empirically proved to be more individualistic than Arab Cultures. Therefore, the concepts of *Collectivism* and *Individualism* are not absolutes: they are positions on a scale (cf. Leech, 2005: 1-27).

To sum up, the previous sections have provided answers to the research questions in Chapter One. The chapter has provided some remarks on Brown & Levinson's (1987) and Leech's (1983) models based on the findings of the present study. The chapter has illustrated the significant inter-group differences that existed between the Palestinian and the American speakers in most of the situations used. BOR and PP were more frequent among the Palestinians whereas NP was more frequent among the American speakers in the targeted situations.

12.2. Implications:

The selection of strategies by Palestinians to realize the invitation speech act supports the argument that Arabic is positive politeness oriented and that in the Arabic societies, emphasis is more on connectedness of people in a community than on their separatedness and self-autonomy.

The findings indicate significant cultural differences in the use of politeness strategies between the two societies. The factors that have caused these differences include the social distance between the speaker and the addressee, the rank of the imposition, and the addressee's gender or age. Power has also been found influential on the type of politeness strategies employed. These findings are hoped to contribute to the domains of sociolinguistics, gender research, and pedagogy.

12.2.1. Sociolinguistic Implications

Inviting as sociolinguistic behavior is rarely investigated in the literature (Rabinowitz, 1993), which has resulted in scarce information about how different cultures realize this behavior. Hence, it is hoped that the findings of this study have shed light on the cultural differences that exist between Palestinian Arabic and the American English speakers in realizing polite invitation, which may contribute to bridging gaps in intercultural communication. The study has focused on areas where the two cultures differ and where pragmatic failure may occur. Palestinian strategies of insistence, ritual refusal, use of religious expressions, and BOR invitations, which might be interpreted by an American speaker as intrusion or interference in one's privacy, are now justified and interpreted as expressions of generosity, connectedness and sincerity in Palestinian Arabic.

12.2.2. Implications for Gender Research:

Although the present study did not include gender as the main focus, it yielded results that might refute some stereotypical views about women's language at a cross-cultural level. First, the significant differences that appeared between the Palestinian and the American female groups support the constructivist approach that woman's talk in general is not a matter of biologically inherited features but of assuming social roles. If women were gendered from birth, as claimed by the proponents of the traditional approaches, Palestinian and American female speakers would have used identical

strategies in all the situations. However, as stated above, the results showed significant discrepancies.

The Western values of respecting autonomy were reflected in the American female negative politeness. They were more negatively polite irrespective of social distance. The Palestinian female, on the other hand, sought solidarity and intimacy, especially with family and close relationships.

The social roles of women in the West differ from those in the East, especially in Palestine, where there is a segregated society, and where the roles of men and women are defined according to the rules of Islam. Thus, the most salient social practice that triggered discrepancies in the realization of invitations emanated from the enactment of Palestinian cultural and social roles of men and women. Palestinian women avoided unnecessary verbal interaction with strange men. Their linguistic behavior as discussed, in many parts of the body of the thesis, was formal and usually indirect. Opting out was significantly higher when they interacted with male addressees. However, this avoidance of interaction cannot be interpreted in terms of powerlessness or inferiority but a careful assessment of the contextual parameters while responding. This is manifested in the use of more direct strategies and less opting out when the Palestinian female found it compelling to perform an invitation to a male addressee.

Takano's (2005) rejection of stereotyping women as being powerless as a result of their negative politeness or more concerned with other's feelings as a result of their positive politeness is relevant to the conclusions of this study. Women in both cultures were aware of the demands of the communicative needs of the context. The results of the questionnaire showed that the impact of social practices that stem from the cultural background of every society condition language choices of both Palestinian and American female speakers. Palestinian BOR invitations are not impolite and American negatively polite invitations are not expressions of powerlessness.

12.2.3. Pedagogical Implications

Some pedagogical implications can be drawn from the present study for language teaching and language learning.

1. A pragmatic approach to foreign language teaching should take into consideration the politeness principle and the implementation of different politeness strategies to enable learners to perform better in the target language. Such an approach might also help to

minimize instances of pragmatic failure which a foreign-language learner experiences in intercultural communication.

2. Teachers should be aware of the differences that might cause negative transfer and thus choose the method that best, as House and Kasper (1981) contend, minimize native cultural interference and prevent impolite, ineffective or otherwise, inappropriate behavior on the part of the learner.

3. Syllabus and textbook designers might use the findings of this study to include activities that might help foreign language students get engaged in real-life situations and practice realizing invitations under different contextual determinants.

4. Palestinian learners of English and American learners of Arabic should be well aware of the cultural differences in the preference for the choice of politeness strategies between AES and PAS. They should be informed that generally AES often use conventional indirect structures to perform the speech act of inviting while PAS have the habit of performing it directly.

5. Besides, as the findings showed, it is necessary for the teacher to inform the learners about the different impacts of social status, age and gender on the invitation strategies used by AES and PAS. The increase of learners' awareness will not only help them improve their communicative performance in English or Arabic but also prevent them from unintentionally appearing impolite and rude.

6. Learners of English as a second language should be taught the indirect invitation forms as used by the native speakers. Their attention has to be drawn to the fact that if they happen to stay in a Western community or interact with US people, they should not transfer the coercive and impositive invitations as used in Palestinian Arabic into their English. Otherwise, their interlocutors might feel offended because their negative face wants are put at risk.

7. The lecture of cultural differences and the long lists of alternatives for drills and memorization as to what is appropriate and polite when inviting in English and Arabic may possibly bore the learners and thus defeat the original purpose. Therefore, some following ways are suggested to avoid such problems.

a. First, teachers of English and Arabic as foreign languages should consciously and conscientiously try to present an appropriate model for students to imitate. However, because there is not just one way of behaving appropriately, teachers should let their learners as creative as possible. If the learners employ a rather inappropriate

construction for the inviting in a specific context, teachers can invite the class to give alternative possibilities.

b. Second, the use of real life situations in role play activities is extremely important in practicing the use of inviting strategies. Besides, if those situations are carefully chosen to depict everyday life, they can lead to interesting class discussions about how to be more appropriate or more polite in both cultures and why. Therefore, the supporting role of teachers during the discussion can help to demonstrate the expected structures implicitly through which learners acquire them unconsciously in a more exciting way than listening to the lecture.

c. Third, suitable teaching materials play a significant role to develop learners' socio-cultural knowledge and hence may contribute importantly to the development of communicative competence. As a result, it is necessary for the teachers to exploit as many authentic materials as possible so that the practice of the speech act would be more natural and enjoyable. Moreover, accordingly to the level of the learners, they can make groups, create situations themselves and challenge each other to make suitable invitations in a close attention to politeness factors.

d. Finally, because classroom interaction is rather different from what happens in society, teacher should encourage learners to put theory into practice by making friends with foreigners who may be tourists or teachers at foreign language centers... and try inviting them out for a drink. Although this kind of practice may cost, the experience is invaluable and can make really fast progress in learning.

This chapter has given the conclusion of the study and made some recommendations about how to teach invitations effectively to Palestinian learners of English and US learners of Arabic. Hopefully, the study may contribute to avoid the communicative problems of Palestinian learners of English and Western learners of Arabic in social interaction.

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APPENDICES:

Appendix A:

A Questionnaire for AES subjects:

QUESTIONNAIRE

I would very much appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an X in the appropriate box in the following:

1. PERSONAL INFORMATION:

Nationality: First Language:

Age range: Under 20 20-29 30-39 40-50 Over 50

Gender: Female Male

Profession:

Education:

2. QUESTIONNAIRE:

Would you please read the following questions, put yourself in given situations and then write down what you actually say in each situation. If you like, you can provide more than one answer.

Situation 1:

During the dinner at your house, as the host, you want A to have some more food. What would you say if A were:

1. Linda, a female classmate of your younger brother or sister?

.....
.....

2. Thomas, a male classmate of your younger brother or sister?

.....
.....

3. Janet, your female friend who is at your age?

.....
.....

4. Harry, your male friend who is at your age?

.....
.....

5. Mrs. Lisa, a friend of your parents who is much older than you are?

.....
.....

6. Mr. Hampton, a friend of your parents who is much older than you are?

.....
.....

7. John, your cousin.

.....
.....

8. Elizabeth, your cousin.

.....
.....

Situation 2:

You have just finished moving into a new house and want to invite B over to celebrate. What would you say if B were:

1. Harrison, your male colleague?

.....
.....
2. Cathy, your female colleague?
.....
.....

3. Robert, your male employee?
.....
.....

4. Lessie, your female employee?
.....
.....

5. Mr. Peterson, your boss?
.....
.....

6. Mrs. Laura, your boss?
.....
.....

Situation 3:

You've just been promoted, so you throw a party to celebrate at X restaurant, 18p.m. on Saturday. You want to **invite C** (male or female) to join with you. What would you say if C were:

1. Your boss who is younger than you?
.....
.....

2. Your boss who is at your age?
.....
.....

3. Your boss who is older than you?
.....
.....

4. Your colleague of equal position to you and is younger than you?
.....
.....

5. Your colleague of equal position to you and is at your age?
.....
.....

6. Your colleague of equal position to you and is older than you?
.....
.....

7. Your employee who is younger than you?
.....
.....

8. Your employee who is at your age?
.....
.....

9. Your employee who is older than you?
.....
.....

Situation Four:

Your wedding party is this Saturday. You want to invite D to this party. D refuses the invitation. What would D say if D were:

1. Harrison, your male colleague?

.....
.....

2. Cathy, your female colleague?

.....
.....

3. Robert, your male employee?

.....
.....

4. Lessie, your female employee?

.....
.....

5. Mr. Peterson, your boss?

.....
.....

6. Mrs. Laura, your boss?

.....
.....

Situation Five:

Your wedding party is this Saturday. You want to invite E to this party. E accepts the invitation. What would E say if E were:

1. Harrison, your male colleague?

.....
.....

2. Cathy, your female colleague?

.....
.....

3. Robert, your male employee?

.....
.....

4. Lessie, your female employee?

.....
.....

5. Mr. Peterson, your boss?

.....
.....

6. Mrs. Laura, your boss?

.....
.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE!

Researcher: Mahmood Eshreteh-Doctorate student of English Linguistics (UCM)

Appendix B:

A Questionnaire for PAS subjects:

استبيانه:

أود أن أعبر عن تقديري لكم مقابل مساعدتكم في هذا البحث. أرجو ملء الفراغات أو وضع علامة X في الخانة المناسبة في ما يلي:

1. معلومات شخصية:

الجنسية: اللغة الأم:
العمر: أقل من 20 20-29 30-39 40-50 أكثر من 50
الجنس: ذكر أنثى
المهنة:
المؤهل العلمي:

2. الاستبانة:

الرجاء قراءة الأسئلة الآتية، وتخيّل/ي نفسك/ نفسك في المواقف المحددة ومن ثم اكتب/ي ما تقوله/تقولينه فعلا في كل موقف. بالإمكان كتابة إختيار آخر ان أردت/ت ذلك.

الموقف الأول:

خلال عشاء في بيتك/ك، أنت/ت المضيف/ة، وتريد/ين من الضيف/ة تناول مزيدا من الطعام من على المائدة. ماذا تقول/ين إذا كان الضيف/ة:
1. أمل، زميلة الأخ الأصغر أو زميلة الأخت الصغرى؟

.....
.....
2. سامي، زميل الأخ الأصغر أو زميل الأخت الصغرى؟

.....
.....
3. ليلي، الصديقة التي هي في العمر نفسه؟

.....
.....
4. فراس، الصديق الذي هو في العمر نفسه؟

.....
.....
5. السيدة أم إبراهيم، صديقة الوالدين التي هي أكبر منك/ك سنا؟

.....
.....
6. السيد علي، وهو صديق الوالدين وهو أكبر منك/ك عمرا؟

الموقف الثاني:

لقد انتهيت/ت من الانتقال الى منزل جديد وتريد/ين دعوة شخص ما للاحتفال بهذه المناسبة، ماذا تقول/ين اذا كان المدعو:
1. أسامه، أحد الزملاء؟

.....
.....
2. حنان، إحدى الزميلات؟

.....
.....
3. سالم، الموظف الخاص بك/ك؟

4. سناء، الموظفة الخاصة بك/ك؟

.....

5. السيد مازن، الرئيس في العمل؟

.....

6. السيدة خلود، الرئيسة (المسؤولة) في العمل؟

.....

الموقف الثالث:

لقد حصلت/ت على ترقية في العمل، وتريد/ين عمل حفلة في مطعم ما في تمام السادسة بعد العصر. وتريد/ين دعوة شخص ما لحضورها. ماذا تقول/ين اذا كان هذا الشخص:

1. الرئيس في العمل الذي هو أصغر منك/ك عمرا؟

.....

2. الرئيس في العمل الذي هو في مثل سنك/ك؟

.....

3. الرئيس في العمل الذي هو أكبر منك/ك سنا؟

.....

4. الزميل/ة الذي/التي له/لها نفس المستوى الاجتماعي لكن أصغر منك/ك سنا؟

.....

5. الزميل/ة الذي/التي له/لها نفس المستوى الاجتماعي وهو/هي في مثل السن؟

.....

6. الزميل/ة الذي/التي له/لها نفس المستوى الاجتماعي وأكبر منك/ك سنا؟

.....

7. الموظف/ة الخاص/ة بك/ك الذي/التي هو/هي أصغر سنا؟

.....

8. الموظف/ة الخاص/ة بك/ك الذي/التي هو/هي في مثل سنك/ك؟

.....

9. الموظف/ة الخاص/ة بك/ك الذي/التي هو/هي أكبر منك/ك سنا؟

.....

الموقف الرابع:

حفلة زواجك/ك يوم السبت القادم. انت/ت تريدين دعوة شخص ما إلى هذه الحفلة و لكن هذا الشخص يعتذر (يرفض) عن الدعوة، ماذا يقول(الرافض) المعتذر عن هذه الدعوة اذا كان هو:

1. أسامه، أحد الزملاء؟

.....

2. حنان، إحدى الزميلات؟

.....

3. سالم، الموظف الخاص بك/ك؟

.....
.....
4. سناء، الموظفة الخاصة بك/ك؟

.....
.....
5. السيد مازن، الرئيس في العمل؟

.....
.....
6. السيدة خلود، الرئيسة (المسؤولة) في العمل؟

.....
.....
الموقف الخامس:

حفلة زواجك/ك يوم السبت القادم. انت/ت تريد/ين دعوة شخص ما الى هذه الحفلة و هذا الشخص يلبي (يقبل) الدعوة، ماذا يقول هذا الشخص اذا كان هو:
1. أسامه، أحد الزملاء؟

.....
.....
2. حنان، إحدى الزميلات؟

.....
.....
3. سالم، الموظف الخاص بك/ك؟

.....
.....
4. سناء، الموظفة الخاصة بك/ك؟

.....
.....
5. السيد مازن، الرئيس في العمل؟

.....
.....
6. السيدة خلود، الرئيسة (المسؤولة) في العمل؟

شكرا جزيلاً لمساعدتكم
الباحث: محمود اشريتج

APPENDIX C:

CLASSIFICATION OF REFUSALS

- I. Direct
 - A. Performative (e.g., “I refuse”)
 - B. Nonperformative statement
 - 1. “No”
 - 2. Negative willingness (“I can’t”. “I won’t”. “I don’t think so”.)
- II. Indirect
 - A. Statement of regret (e.g., “I’m sorry...”; “I feel terrible...”)
 - B. Wish (e.g., “I wish I could help you...”)
 - C. Excuse, reason, explanation (e.g., “My children will be home that night.”; “I have a headache.”)
 - D. Statement of alternative
 - 1. I can’t do X instead of Y (e.g., “I’d rather...” “I’d prefer...”)
 - 2. Why don’t you do X instead of Y (e.g., “Why don’t you ask someone else?”)
 - E. Set condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., “If you had asked me earlier, I would have...”)
 - F. Promise of future acceptance (e.g., “I’ll do it next time”; “I promise I’ll...” or “Next time I’ll...”-using “will” of promise or “promise”)
 - G. Statement of principle (e.g., “I never do business with friends.”)
 - H. Statement of philosophy (e.g., “One can’t be too careful.”)
 - I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor
 - 1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the request (I won’t be any fun tonight” to refuse an invitation)
 - 2. Guilt trip (e.g., Waitress to customers who want to sit a while: I can’t make a living off people who just offer coffee.”)
 - 3. Criticize request/requester, etc. (statement of negative feeling or opinion);
 - 4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request.
 - 5. Let interlocutor off the hook (e.g., “Don’t worry about it.” “That’s okay.” “You don’t have to.”)
 - 6. Self defense (e.g., “I’m trying my best.” “I’m doing all I can do.” “I no do nutting wrong.”)
 - J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal
 - 1. Unspecific or indefinite reply
 - 2. Lack of enthusiasm
 - K. Avoidance
 - 1. Nonverbal
 - a. Silence
 - b. Hesitation
 - c. Do nothing
 - d. Physical departure
 - 2. Verbal
 - a. Topic switch
 - b. Joke
 - c. Repetition of part of request, etc. (e.g., “Monday?”)
 - d. Postponement (e.g., “I’ll think about it.”)
 - e. Hedging (e.g., “Gee, I don’t know.” “I’m not sure.”)

Adjuncts to Refusals

1. Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement (“That’s a good idea...”; “I’d love to...”)
2. Statement of empathy (e.g., “I realize you are in a difficult situation.”)
3. Pause fillers (e.g., “uhh”; “well”; “oh”; “uhm”)
4. Gratitude/ appreciation

From: Beebe, L. M., Takahashi, T., & Uliss-Weltz, R.(1990). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. In R. C. Scarcella, E. Andersen, & S. D. Krashen (Eds.), *Developing communicative competence in a second language* (pp. 55-73). New York: Newbury House.