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The Sociopragmatics of Invitation and Offering Practices in Jordanian Arabic

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**This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics and English Language
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Abstract

In this study offering and invitation conventionalized practices taking place in naturally-occurring encounters in Jordanian culture are investigated. The sociolinguistic and pragmatic phenomena involved in these routine occurrences are studied utilizing mainly the discursive approach and processed via ritual-oriented binoculars. More accurately, the study in hand adopts a blended view of politeness, which emphasizes the role of cross-contextual variables, participants' view as well as the most agreed-upon concepts of speech act, face and politeness theories over the last three decades. The three major aspects of both genuine and ostensible inviting/offering have been examined: inviting/offering, accepting an invitation and offer and refusing them.

The study is meant to fill an important knowledge gap by providing a sociopragmatic conceptualization of spontaneous invitations and offers in Arab culture in general and Jordanian culture in particular. Besides, it attempts to shed light on the processes, aspects and structures manifested in making invitations and/or offers, and accepting or refusing them in Jordanian Arabic (JA). More generally, it aims at raising the pragmatic awareness and improving mutual understanding among Arabs and also between Arabs and non-Arabs by highlighting some pragmatic competence in everyday communication.

In order to achieve the study goals, the immediate observation of these natural encounters, where the researcher - in about half of the encounters - holds the participant and observer status, has been adopted in gathering data. The other half of the data was collected from my brother, friends and friends of friends at multiple social settings. All the data gathered come from people in my own social milieu and they included various face-to face, telephone or WhatsApp naturally-occurring conversations performed by people of various ages, genders, statuses and relationships.

The data encompassing these natural offering and invitation practices have been qualitatively and quantitatively analysed. About one third (17 out of 48) of the data has been qualitatively analysed based on a discursive ritual-oriented approach. Various intersecting practices of relational networks have been subject to a 'microscopic' examination in this collectivist high-context culture. More specifically, the multiple normative contextual factors, sequencing of interactional moves,

and conventionalized practices have been examined in an attempt to identify the general patterns of behaviour salient in Jordanian culture.

In addition, the most frequent linguistic tactics used by Jordanian interactants in performing, accepting, and declining offers manifested in these exchanges have been quantitatively investigated. All the collected naturally-occurring data (i.e. 48 encounters) were classified into 4 different categories (namely: 12 genuine invitations, 12 ostensible invitations, 12 genuine offers and 12 ostensible offers). The linguistic tactics employed in extending, accepting, or declining both genuine and ostensible invitations and offers by Jordanians were statistically computed utilizing SPSS software. The numbers and percentages obtained were later tabulated in an attempt to eventually come out with significant ratios about Jordanians' most frequent linguistic tactics when issuing or responding to invitations and/or offers. One theoretical contribution that this study offers is that it distinguishes between the terms 'invitation' and 'offer' although the two terms have been often used interchangeably by pragmatists. It also attempts to differentiate between genuine and ostensible invitations, offers and refusals. Furthermore, it identifies the typical trajectory patterns of the invitation sequences in Jordanian culture.

It has been found that the behaviour of invitations and offers in Jordanian culture has several peculiar features. First, these invitations and offers are both patterned and 'seesaw' balanced. It has been observed that both opposing procedures of insistence and resistance have to adhere to a paradigm of common acts, reactions, and structuring of word strings. Second, invitation sequences in Jordan often have a tripartite structure, where the inviter is expected to make three invitations to the invitee before one of them concedes to the other's desire. Third, these invitations are usually gradually staged and streamlined in terms of both form and structure. Fourth, a typical invitation in Jordan is driven by strict social rubrics that are generally anticipated and governed by ritualised norms. Finally, the tactics utilized frequently index religious themes or ritual-oriented entities. Some of these tactics are classified in this study as supplication, stock blessing, ritualised compliment, plea refutation, oath taking, stock justification, formulaic plead, minimisation, motivation, intimidation. It is hoped that the findings and methodology of this study can lead to a more systematic theory tackling patterns of invitations and offers in Arab countries in general.

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحمَنِ الرَّحِيم

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلائِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً قَالُوا أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَنْ يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ الدِّمَاءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ قَالَ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لا تَعْلَمُونَ * وَعَلَّمَ آدَمَ الْأَسْمَاءَ كُلَّهَا ثُمَّ عَرَضَهُمْ عَلَى الْمَلائِكَةِ فَقَالَ أَنْبِئُونِي بِأَسْمَاءِ هَؤُلاءِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ * قَالُوا سُبْحَانَكَ لا عِلْمَ لَنَا إِلَّا مَا عَلَّمْتَنَا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْعَلِيمُ الْحَكِيمُ * قَالَ يَا آدَمُ أَنْبِئْهُمْ بِأَسْمَائِهِمْ فَلَمَّا أَنْبَأَهُمْ بِأَسْمَائِهِمْ قَالَ أَلَمْ أَقُلْ لَكُمْ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ غَيْبَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَأَعْلَمُ مَا تُبْدُونَ وَمَا كُنْتُمْ تَكْتُمُونَ (البقرة: 30-33)

"And (remember) when your Lord said to the angels: "Verily, I am going to place (mankind) generations after generations on earth." They said: "Will You place therein those who will make mischief therein and shed blood, - while we glorify You with praises and thanks and sanctify You." He (Allâh) said: "I know that which you do not know. And He taught Adam all the names (of everything) [1], then He showed them to the angels and said, "Tell Me the names of these if you are truthful. They (angels) said: "Glory be to You, we have no knowledge except what you have taught us. Verily, it is You, the All-Knower, the All-Wise. He said: "O Adam! Inform them of their names," and when he had informed them of their names, He said: "Did I not tell you that I know the Ghaib (Unseen) in the heavens and the earth, and I know what you reveal and what you have been concealing?"

(The Holy Quran - Al-baqara: verses 30-33)

Dedication

To my American friend...

who once thought he had invited me, but

I still believe it was merely an offer...

Acknowledgements

All praise be to Allah, the God of all creation…

Now, as I put the finishing touches on this research work, it is time for fulfilment. First of all, I'd like to express my deepest gratitude to my wonderful supervisor Dr Jim O'Driscoll whose guidance, motivation and dedication have enabled my boat to anchor on the right seashore.

I'm immensely grateful for all of my family…

My parents…may Allah bless you and grant you the best of health.

My wife…a full-fledged, hearty thank you for your support and patience.

My kids…many heartfelt thanks for being so naughty.

I'm writing these words as the number of the people infected by COVID-19 has exceeded 70 million and the number of fatalities is about 1.500.000 people by now. It has been psychologically and mentally challenging to work under these circumstances…but I finally did it.

Anyways, I'm still hopeful that within a few weeks this nightmare will come to an end…and we can go back to the world that we know.

And last, but not least, I don't think there is a word coined yet that can express what I bear deep in my heart to my father, who keeps asking me every now and then, despite his illness, about the progression of my work that, eventually, encouraged me to boost my capabilities and efforts. My Dad…I'm indebted to you for just being my father.

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Reading Conventions

Consonants

Symbol	Phonetic Description
[ʔ]	Glottal stop
[b]	Voiced bilabial stop
[t]	Voiceless dento-alveolar stop
[θ]	Voiceless inter-dental fricative
[dʒ]	Voiced palato-alveolar fricative
[ħ]	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
[x]	Voiceless velar fricative
[d]	Voiced dental stop
[ð]	Voiced inter-dental fricative
[r]	Voiced alveolar trill
[z]	Voiced dental fricative
[s]	Voiceless dental fricative
[ʃ]	Voiceless palatal fricative
[S]	Voiceless alveolar fricative
[D]	Voiced emphatic fricative
[T]	Voiceless emphatic stop
[Ð]	Voiced emphatic fricative
[ʕ]	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
[ɣ]	Voiced velar fricative
[f]	Voiceless labio-dental fricative
[q]	Voiceless uvular stop
[k]	Voiceless velar stop
[l]	Voiced alveolar lateral
[m]	Voiced bilabial nasal stop
[n]	Voiced alveolar nasal stop
[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative
[w]	Voiced approximant velar
[j]	Voiced palatal semi-vowel

Vowels

Arabic Equivalent	Symbol	Example	Phonetic Description
فتحة	[a]	ʔak<u>a</u>l (أكل)	Short low back vowel
ا	[aa]	l<u>aa</u>ʕib (لاعب)	Long low back vowel
ضمة	[u]	r<u>u</u>ʔja (رؤيا)	Short mid-high back rounded vowel
و	[uu]	ʔax<u>uu</u>j (أخوي)	Long high back rounded vowel
كسرة	[i]	m<u>i</u>n (من)	Short mid-high front unrounded vowel
ي	[ii]	ħab<u>ii</u>bi (حبيبي)	Long high front unrounded vowel
(اي)	[e]	ʔaʕT<u>e</u>it (أعطيت)	Near-mid front unrounded vowel

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Statement of the problem

This study will examine the sociolinguistic and pragmatic phenomena involved in spontaneous naturally-occurring invitation and offering practices. The processes, patterns, and structures of making, accepting or refusing invitations and offers in Jordanian Arabic (JA) will be investigated utilising a pragmatic view derived basically from the discursive approach and based on a ritual-oriented perspective. It is an attempt to shed light on the relevant aspects and interactional processes involved, as well as the most frequent tactics employed by interlocutors, in Arab culture in general and Jordanian culture in particular during the performance of invitation and offer sequences. It also attempts to identify the aspects of the various invitational interactional moves used in this Middle Eastern culture and to explore the multiple sociopragmatic parameters that govern their use.

One major function of language is to build relationships and reduce interpersonal distance (Halliday, 1978; Wierzbicka, 1985; Blum-Kulka, 1987). When they interact, the interlocutors' expectations about other people, events, and locations play crucial roles in the interpretation of the messages they communicate. Choosing a given set of linguistic strings and/or a strategy to achieve a specific communicative function is subject to social norms and the speaker's weighing of the social situation based on their experience of interpersonal daily exchanges. Offers and accepting or declining them are social practices that are one of the basic functions of language in building and maintaining relationships among people, especially relatives, friends, and acquaintances (see Sifianou, 1992).

In this study, offering and invitation practices taking place in spontaneous everyday encounters are qualitatively and quantitatively analysed. Three major aspects of inviting & offering will be examined: inviting & offering, accepting an invitation and offer and refusing them. In this study 48 encounters have been examined. These encounters could be involved in various social occasions such as parties, meals, drinks or service-providing situations. They could be face- to-face encounters, telephone or even WhatsApp conversations. However, formal written invitations are beyond the scope of this study.

The present study is meant to fill an important knowledge gap by providing a sociopragmatic conceptualisation of spontaneous naturally-occurring invitations and offers in an Arab culture. It also aims at raising the pragmatic awareness and improving mutual understanding among Arabs and also between Arabs and non-Arabs by highlighting some pragmatic competence in everyday communication.

These aims can be attained by analysing the practices of relational networks. Existing works comparing offering practices and hospitality in Arab culture with their counterparts in Western[1] cultures are barely sufficient. So, this study is intended to establish a foothold for linguists - especially Arab linguists - to unravel this insightful field so that they can, ultimately, refine the concepts, principles, and issues concerning it.

Any study that identifies the intracultural impact on the use of various invitational realisations and the patterns produced in Jordanian Arabic (JA) can be useful to understand the culture of this speech community, especially by non-native speakers of Arabic. However, a very limited number of pragmatic studies have researched these various invitational realisations and their pertinent patterns (e.g. Al-Khatib, 2006; Al-Shboul&Huwari, 2016). Moreover, scant attention has been paid to the invitational and offering occurrences in Arab culture in general and Jordanian Arabic, in particular. Nelson et al. (2002:53) stated that one of the reasons for studying communication in Arabic is "understanding of Arabs by many outside the Arab world".

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[1] According to O'Driscoll (2010: 267), we understand "that the prototypical present-day western world comprises those countries bordering the North Atlantic and/or North Sea but that, as a result of the cultural hegemony of this part of the world, its influence fans out southwards and eastwards from this centre."

Understanding Jordanian culture and the way Jordanians make invitations and offers cannot only improve communication with speakers of Jordanian Arabic who have internalized the conventionalized competence conveying the meaning of various offers, but it can also help with other cultures, with all intercultural communication, and with the study of this area of human relating because it will hopefully present an innovative way of analysing the practice of inviting/offering.

It is believed that there is a lot of diversity in the hospitality routines and offering formulae among the cultures of the twenty-two Arab countries and sometimes they even vary within the same country. However, in this study, we are confined to only Jordanian Arabic. Jordanian Arabic is part of the Middle Eastern Arab culture, which is often governed by conventions and ritualised utterances, and the importance of one's social standing within his/her nuclear family, extended family, tribe and social group. Jordanian culture can be considered – like several other cultures in the Middle East - a collectivist discernment culture that emphasizes family and workgroup goals above individual needs or desires, so invitations to gatherings are very common. Therefore, we are going to explore the nature and sequencing of invitations and offers and how, when and why they are accepted or refused.

The seed from which I have grown my notions for this study was an incident that took place in 2012 with my American friend at King AbdulAziz University – Jeddah – Saudi Arabia. We are both English lecturers at the English Language Institute at the university. I used to host him and his family at my place and invite them out for lunch. Also, I once hosted them in Jordan, rented an apartment for them, and paid all their trip expenses that lasted for a week. I remember I once took them shopping in my car in Jeddah (he does not have a driver's licence), and he asked to stop at 'Baskin Robbin's' to buy some ice cream. My friend has been always "addicted" to ice cream. He bought one for himself and one for his wife (he does not have any kids) while I was waiting with my little kids just behind them. He then asked me hesitantly, "Would you like ice cream?" I replied quickly and spontaneously "No…no…thank you." I felt he was not earnest enough in his offer. He then paid the bill, and we went back to the car. They started then licking the ice cream in front of my kids. I didn't even dare to buy ice cream later for my kids at my own

expense as I had showed my friend my initial reluctance. To be honest with you, I felt upset that day. The only thing that made me calm down was that I was aware of the cultural differences between Arab culture and Western culture. I know my friend very well. He is such a compassionate and kind person that I have always admired, but it was only the cultural gap that caused all that hassle and mutual misunderstanding. This incident planted the abovementioned seed, and I decided to conduct a study to investigate, and dig deeper into the intracultural factors, facets, and benchmarks that may formulate and/or govern people's offering practices in Arab culture as opposed to those in the English-speaking cultures since I have had similar incidents with my British and Australian colleagues at university.

Before we go further in this study, it is worth giving a glimpse of Jordan and its socio-cultural background. The following is a brief sketch of Jordanian culture, much of which is shared with Arab culture in general and the invitation and offering routines and hospitality norms that are prevalent there.

1.2   Contextual background about Jordanian culture

Jordan is an Arab country located in the heart of the Middle East. It is a small country, yet of great geographical and political significance. It was declared an independent kingdom in 1946. Before then, it was an emirate called Transjordan and was under the Ottoman Empire. Since the Kingdom of Jordan came into existence, it has witnessed several waves of immigration from the surrounding and even remote countries due to political unrest; the most significant ones were from Palestine in 1948 and 1967. Hence, the social fabric in Jordan is a composite of the indigenous people, Palestinians, Syrians, and Iraqis. There is even a sprinkling of Chechens and Circassians - as a result of the immigration to Jordan at the beginning of the twentieth century - escaping the war back in their territories. These ethnic groups, who later became Jordanian citizens, enriched the Jordanian community, which was originally a small population of Bedouins and villagers.

The official language of Jordan is Arabic, and the language of communication among Jordanians is vernacular Arabic. The population is about ten million and a half (Irvine, Bickerton, & Jaber, 2017), of which about seven million and a half are citizens. The majority of Jordan's population is young. The Department of Public Statistics in Jordan (cited in Al-Rai Newspaper on July 11, 2018) estimated that about one third of the population were less than 15 years old, while about one fifth of them were between 15-24 years old. Herein, approximately 55% of the population are under 24 years old.

Jordanians are educated, where one-fifth of them, according to the Department of Public Statistics in Jordan, are at least Bachelor degree holders. So, it is not very common to find a family without a teacher, an engineer or a doctor, especially in the northern area (in Irbid, the second biggest city in Jordan where this study was mainly conducted). This is not only true in the major cities of the country, but also most of the rural areas. However, Jordanian society can still be seen as a tribal one, where tribal regulations still govern people's lives and can judge most of the disputes among Jordanians.

Being an Arab culture, Jordanian culture is considered a collectivist discernment culture. Perhaps the family in Arab countries in general especially so in Jordan lies at the centre of the individual's social interactive life. Most Jordanians have indeed come out from the extended family era with its socio-cultural constraints and age-old traditions, and the vast majority of Jordanians can still be recognized by their families or tribes. The tribe offers the social, financial and moral support to its members especially in times of social gatherings, disputes or emergencies. Herein, most Jordanians are still loyal to their families that often end their full names. One social way through which Jordanian people tend to express this kind of solidarity is through offering or inviting each other.

Jordanians might be seen by people from other cultures as hospitable people, and Arabs in general are renowned for their hospitality. Hospitality lies at the heart of their interests, values, and ethics. How well one treats his/her guests is the measure of their behaviour, character, and reputation in the community. Hospitality is considered among the most highly admired virtues. Families identify themselves and others according to the amount of generosity they bestow upon

their guests. The importance of hospitality to guests is something that visitors need to understand. The visitor who does not eat sufficiently – or even extra - food may be seen by the host as impolite or a sign that s/he is lacking in appreciation. This may cause the host to feel that s/he is not so hospitable, or their food is not delicious enough. The idea of 'measurement' of a person/family by the 'amount' of hospitality raises the possibility of competitive hospitality (see section 4.3.1.3 below). Moreover, this 'hospitality' value causes the guest to incur a responsibility so that there are often assessments not only of what constitutes a good host but also of what constitutes a good guest.

Al-Khatib (2006:273) reports that:

"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 food the host offers the higher he would be ranked on the scale of generosity. 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."

Al-Khatib (2006) maintains that even for an invited person, one has to keep offering the addressee to eat more as a mark of hospitality. He also assumes that insistence is one of the characteristics of offering. Succinctly stressed, due to social, Islamic, and historical motives, the sociolinguistic behaviour of offering represents a major part of Arab character in Arab World (Emery, 2000).

Jordanian culture has a specific way of offering that might seem odd or even impolite by people from other cultures. The one who makes the offer should insist on offering and the invitee should keep declining that offer several times, though s/he eventually intends to accept it. In some cultures, such practices might be considered social hypocrisy or intruding on others' privacy. Al-Khatib (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". However, this habit of insistence is not unique to Arab culture, it is also part of the Chinese invitational practices and several other Oriental cultures which Gu (1990) contrasts with what he calls 'European' cultures. Moreover, O'Driscoll (1996, 26) reports that:

> *"I suspect that Gu's 'European' should probably be restricted to north-western Europe (and perhaps not even all of that region) with respect to invitations and offers of food…[such] misunderstandings are part of cross-cultural folklore. For example, an almost identical comparison to Gu's is offered by Wierzbicka (1985); Thomas (1983:108) alludes to a British/Ukrainian contrast; I can attest to an identical British/Greek contrast. This misunderstanding-potential has led some ELT coursebooks to draw explicit attention to it (e.g. Morrow & Johnson 1979: 5)."*

Conversely, the guest who eats a lot before being repeatedly encouraged to do so might be viewed by his/her host as gluttonous or greedy. Therefore, the guest has to pretend that he feels stuffed before s/he actually is. One interesting saying in Jordanian culture is /kul ʔakl lidʒmaal wquum qabil lirdʒaal/, which translates as "eat like a camel, and finish before the other men". Henceforth, there is a blurred line between what is considered to be impolite if you finish pretty early and what is considered to be gluttonous if you finish a bit late. Both the host and guest have to be very sensitive to this benchmarked dichotomy. Otherwise, one of the participants, or sometimes both, would lose his/her face.

A renowned example concerning hosting, invitational and offering practices in Jordanian culture (and probably some other Arab countries) is that which is related to serving coffee. Coffee has specific norms and conventions that are mutually understood by Jordanians. There are two flavours of coffee – each with its distinct conventions: Arabian coffee and sweet (Turkish) coffee. What is interesting here is the conventionalisation of procedure concerning the serving of each flavour of coffee. There are conventional, and even ritual, procedures and sequences around these practices.

First, Arabian coffee is served in a small amount in a tiny cup for different purposes and following particular norms. Following are some of these purposes and norms:

1. Arabian coffee is served to welcome a guest on daily visits among neighbours, relatives, and acquaintances. It is often the first thing the guest is served with. It is a way of showing solidarity, hospitality, and generosity.

2. Arabian coffee is served to the Sheikh of what is called 'jaha' /dʒaahah/ (a group of people – usually relatives - who go to ask for a lady's hand from another tribe). What happens here is interesting and might seem awkward to non-Arabs. When the Sheikh or leader of the 'jaha' /dʒaahah/ is served with this cup of coffee, he usually does not drink right away. He would put it on a table in front of him, and stands up and starts his speech. In this speech, he asks for the fiancé's hand for one of his tribe or group. After the other Sheikh or leader of the other tribe accepts the proposal, the first Sheikh is then invited to drink his coffee (after being replaced by a fresh and hot one). Afterward, coffee is served to the other guests.

3. Arabian coffee is served to the Sheikh of 'jaha' /dʒaahah/ in '3atwah' /ʕaTwa/. '3atwah' refers to the organized attempt by a group of people to reconcile with another group of people, usually through mediators; 'kafeel alwafa' and 'kafeel aldafa'. Again Arabian coffee has significant connotations here where it is called 'finjaan al3atwah' (the cup of the reconcilement attempt). When the Sheikh or leader of the 'jaha' is served with this cup of coffee, he usually does not drink right away. He would put it on a table in front of him, and stands up and starts his speech. Here he usually requests from the other tribe to accept his appeal to stop any further clashes or escalations to the quarrel with the other tribe. After his request is approved, he would be invited to drink his coffee.

Second, sweet (Turkish) coffee is served on the following occasions:

1. In formal visits among neighbours, relatives, acquaintances, and colleagues, sweet coffee is usually served at the end of a visit. It is mutually understood among both hosts and guests that

whenever sweet coffee is served, it means that this is the end of the visit or the guests' stay is no longer desired. This particular type of coffee is called 'gahwit ma3 assalamih' (i.e. farewell coffee). The most common protocol of drink/food serving among Jordanians in formal visits often follows this order:

Juice ⟶ fruit/sweets ⟶ tea + (snacks/crackers) ⟶ sweet coffee + (chocolate/biscuits)

2. In casual visits and among intimate friends, especially young people, sweet coffee is usually served at the beginning of the visit to welcome the guest. This particular kind of coffee is called 'gahwit ahla wsahla' (i.e. welcome coffee).

In fact, and according to social, historical and religious motives, invitation and offering as a sociolinguistic behaviour in the Arab world represents an important part of the Arabian character. Jordanian society, like many other Arab countries, is characterized by being a tribal society that values offers, and a society of Islamic culture that considers an offer as a social act that can be seen as one of the main principles of Islam, as in offering help to others. The Glorious Qur'an and the Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) have encouraged helping others in all ways. Gift offering is another example of offers that is seen in the traditions of the Prophet Mohammad as an act that strengthens and maintains the relationship among people. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: "Exchange gifts, as that will lead to increasing your love of one another" (Al-Bukhaari). Offering a gift extensively occurs among Jordanian people on different occasions such as weddings, birthdays, graduation, and so forth. Al-Bukhaari narrated that Aysha (the prophet's wife) said: "The Messenger of Allaah (peace be upon him) used to accept gifts and reward people for giving them". The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) has also forbidden declining a gift as he said "don't decline the gift".

Emery (2000) stresses the importance of hospitality in Arab culture which is manifested in the deeds of famous people such as 'Hatem Atta'i', whose name has been an icon of generosity after he offered his father's camels, which he was herding, to a broken caravan on the road. In Arabic literature, offers are strongly related to the generosity of Arabs (Migdadi, 2003).

1.3   Background information on Arabic language

1.3.1 Varieties of Arabic

Arabic is a Semitic language. It is also one of the world's most widely used languages. According to statistics taken from the World Arabic Language Day page of UNESCO's website (2013), it is spoken by about 422 million people worldwide. It is spoken as a first language (L1) by nearly everyone in all the countries of the Arabian Peninsula and the Arab countries of Africa and is also spoken as a second language (L2) in some countries of Asia and Africa.

In the context of examining politeness expressions used in Spoken Arabic, it is important to distinguish between three varieties of Arabic, namely: Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic, and Arabic vernaculars. This must be done despite the fact that there is little agreement on the delineation of what each of these varieties are (Maamouri, Bies, Buckwalter, & Mekki, 2004; Ryding, 2005). More specifically, there is little agreement about how to define each one and which variety a particular string of words belongs to.

The term Classical Arabic is used to describe the variety of Arabic that was widely used in the pre-Islamic era literary genres. It is also the language of the Quran and Hadeeth (the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad). Classical Arabic still manifests itself as a living entity through the prayers Muslims offer five times every day regardless of their mother tongue. Moreover, Classical Arabic is a mandatory subject that children study at school.

Classical Arabic, and for many scholars, Standard Arabic both have a socio-historical force due to their association with religion, pan-Arab nationalism and cultural identity (Haeri, 2000). During the post-Ottoman Empire period early in the twentieth century, intellectuals called for pan-Arab nationalism and considered Standard Arabic as one of the most significant unifying factors of the Arab nation.

Many linguists make the distinction between Classical Arabic and Standard Arabic based on style, vocabulary, structure, syntax, genres as well as the era with which each variety is

associated. Although there are some differences between them at the level of these linguistic components, the great similarity between the two is considerable (Ryding, 2005). Both Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic are more extensively used in literary works, written and broadcast media, religious preaching, academic lectures and debates, education, and formal documents than in daily conversations. In many ways, this division of labour between the varieties for which Ferguson used the term 'diglossia' still pertains (Ferguson, 1959). Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic are still living varieties that function not only in the written form but also in everyday spoken Arabic. Besides using them liturgically, Arabs do employ many of Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic components in their vernaculars.

Arabic vernaculars are not taught in schools or documented in dictionaries as fully-fledged languages; rather, they are acquired as the first language. However, the number of shared features between the spoken vernaculars and Classical Arabic/Standard Arabic at the syntactic, phonological, semantic and lexical levels is not to be neglected. Ferguson (1959) claims that there was a koine that co-existed with Classical Arabic during the Islamic era (7th-16th century). This koine was formed through the process of borrowing and levelling among spoken dialects of the time. From this form, several dialects developed producing eventually the current Arabic vernaculars.

1.3.2 Jordanian Arabic

As far as Jordanian Arabic is concerned, it is interesting that despite the relatively small population in today's Jordan - approximately ten million and a half people (Irvine, Bickerton, & Jaber, 2017) - there is a dialectal variation that is noticeable at the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels. The variation is mainly regional and has been in part due to the diverse demographic structure caused by the immigration mentioned above. The migrating Palestinians, who have kept much of their dialects, merged with the indigenous people. Some still speak the original Palestinian dialects; others acquired a new type of urban vernacular that appeared as the

outcome of the contact between Jordanian and Palestinian dialects in the urban context of the capital city of Amman, where most of the migrant Palestinian population settled down.

Despite the variation discussed above, politeness formulaic expressions addressed here are the ones used by all Jordanian speakers, regardless of their dialect. In Jordanian dialects, figures of speech and impact of religion are salient aspects of these expressions. It should be also indicated that this lack of variation is indicative of the high salience of inviting and offering encounters in Jordanian culture.

Invitation is one of the language phenomena in which the differences between Standard Arabic and Jordanian Arabic are apparent. The term da3wa /daʕwa/is used generally in Classical Arabic and Standard Arabic formal pre-printed cards invitations; but in colloquial Jordanian Arabic, the terms 3azeema /ʕazeema/ and da3wa /daʕwa/ are both used. Interestingly, in the Arab dictionary, the root 3azm /ʕazm/ literally refers to determination and assurance. In fact, this literal root meaning is consistent with its use in invitations since inviters in Jordanian culture are expected to reassure the invitee of their firm desire to have their invitations accepted.

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1.4   Islam and invitations

Religion plays an important role in how speech act traditions are shaped, and invitations are extremely important in Muslim culture. In fact, the Hadiths by Prophet Mohammad (Peace be Upon Him) included many manners and behaviour related to invitations. Islam strongly stresses the importance of invitations. It encourages people to accept other's invitations and considers it as an obligation, as shown in the following Hadiths, or sayings of the prophet Mohammad. It was narrated in Muslim (1971) that the Prophet Mohammad (Peace be Upon Him) said: "The person who is invited amongst you by his brother should accept the invitation whether it is a wedding invitation or anything similar to it"; "If anyone of you is invited to partake of meals, he should at least accept the invitation. Thereafter he may partake of it if he desires or he may totally abstain from it;" "If anyone of you is invited for meals, he should accept the invitation. If he is fasting, he

should make Du3aa [request to God] (of goodness and blessing) for the inviter (some maintain that he should set out and perform Salaah [prayer] at the host's house), and if he is not fasting he should partake of the meal;" and "Accept the invitation of he who invites you. Avoid declining a gift and refrain from annoying the Muslims." It is clear from this group of sayings that Islam encourages people to accept the invitations and that no excuse will be entertained in declining an invitation. Yet, this does not necessarily go in contradiction with those cultural prescriptions salient in Jordan where the invitee is often inclined to accept the invitation and offer with the established practice of at first declining and only accepting after a certain amount of insistence.

Before we go deeper into this study, a quick background on how sociolinguistics has developed over the past century is discussed, and how that ultimately led to the emergence of pragmatics along with its relevant first, second and third-wave politeness theories and models that will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

1.5   Sociolinguistics

For decades, linguistics was confined to the formalist, De Saussure's structuralist or Chomsky's transformational theories before the notion of 'context' started to take its prominent position in language studies. Many linguists have realised that communication cannot be understood without attention to context that eventually resulted in the emergence of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistic theory can be considered as the natural output of the gradual transformation from structuralism to contextualism. As opposed to linguistic theory, sociolinguistic theory stresses the significance of context. Herein, scholars started focusing more on the social aspects of language rather than the mere structural analysis of grammatical systems.

Hymes (1972a: xix) claims that "the key to understanding language in context is to start not with language, but with context". Although this is a very important insight, it has not yet been fully taken on board (O'Driscoll, 2013). All these shortcomings of the notion of linguistic competence by Chomsky contributed to the development of the notion of communicative

competence developed mainly by Hymes. Language use can be best dealt with through social interaction. Hymes (1972: XII) emphasizes that what is essential is not so much what language is, as what language is for. To grasp a spoken discourse is to know the interrelationship between sentences and to link a single sentence with its previous and following ones. This is slightly different from what Halliday called cohesion and coherence. In fact, Halliday's systemic functional grammar is also interested in what language achieves rather than what it is. In general, many scholars in the last few decades concentrate on language use rather than on language form, stressing the communicative competence rather than linguistic competence.

Canale and Swain (1980:147) mention four major components of communicative competence: grammatical competence, which concerns the knowledge and skills needed to understand the literal meaning of an utterance; sociolinguistic competence, which involves the ability to produce appropriate utterances in appropriate contexts; discourse competence, which concerns the combination of meaning and texts in different genres; and strategic competence- verbal and nonverbal- that learners utilize to compensate for a breakdown in communication. These aforementioned categories fit with Halliday's (1985) three metafunctions of language: the grammatical relates to his/her ideational function, the sociolinguistic to his/her interpersonal function and the discourse one to his/her textual function (the strategic one to both interpersonal and textual). On the other hand, Hymes' emphasis was very much on what is called here 'sociolinguistic' although he would not have denied the importance of the other kinds.

1.6   Pragmatics

Pragmatics, as a field of study, showed up onto the linguistic map only about 50 years ago. Its real emergence was in the 1970s. Leech's (1974) book, Semantics, mostly has the lexeme 'pragmatic' in quote marks although Levinson (1983) asserts that Morris (1938) was the first to suggest pragmatics as one of three elements of semiotics. However, pragmatics has become nowadays one of the most significant fields in human sciences.

Generally, pragmatics is the interaction between our knowledge of semantics, the real meaning of words, and our knowledge of the world added to our experience in using them. Some other researchers also defined pragmatics as the study of how speakers use and understand speech acts (Richards & Schmidt, 2002; Rintell, 1997). In the narrow sense of the word, pragmatics may be conceptualized as "the study of the meaning of linguistic utterances for their users and interpreters" (Leech, and Thomas, 1985: 173). Leech (1983) divided pragmatics into two main components: pragma-linguistics, which refers to the appropriateness of form, and sociopragmatics, which is related to the appropriateness of meaning in a social context. The term sociopragmatics was first used by Leech (1983:10) to denote the "sociological interface of pragmatics."

In a further explanation of the relationship between grammar and pragmatics, Leech (1983) says that grammar has constitutive rules, while pragmatics has regulative principles and maxims which impose weaker constraints on language behaviour than the rules of grammar. Thus, the explanatory and predictive power in the principles of pragmatics may not be as strong as it is in the rules of syntax (Levinson 1983). Thomas (1983) proposes a frame of conversational analysis that may help towards a discourse-organization model with greater predictive and explanatory power.

However, Levinson (1983:8) points out that as linguistic structures "directly encode or interact. With context, it becomes impossible to draw a neat boundary between context-independent grammar (competence) and context-dependent interpretation (performance)." In all possible definitions, context is central to pragmatics to capture the meaning that is not captured in semantics. Therefore, a pragmatic theory, according to Levinson (1983:25), "should in principle predict for each and every well-formed sentence of a language, on a particular semantic reading, the set of contexts in which it would be appropriate."

Thomas (1995) suggests that pragmatics is the meaning of interaction. He also suggests that the intended meaning of any utterance may significantly differ, depending on the coherent of the speaker and hearer. Furthermore, differences in thinking patterns, value views, social

conventions, social habits, traditions, and customs can be all seen as potential drives of pragmatic failure.

Pragmatics has become a major concern of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis Interlocutors in different cultures are inclined to adopt their unique cultural conventions and tend to behave accordingly. Herein, misunderstanding often takes place, especially when they cannot, or at least fail to, adapt to others' various manners of speech. For instance - as we will see over this study - Jordanian people tend to believe that it is impolite and even arrogant to invite somebody without insistence. Otherwise, it would be better not to extend an invitation at all. However, British English speakers, for example, are said to believe that insistence could be a kind of imposition.

Fraser (1983) defined pragmatic competence as "the knowledge of how an addressee determines what a speaker is saying and recognizes intended illocutionary force conveyed through subtle attitudes in the speaker's utterance" (p. 29). Per Mey (2001), pragmatics "studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society" (p. 6). For Crystal (1997), pragmatics is, more specifically, "the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects of their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication" (p. 301). Grammatical competence gives the speaker the ability to use and interpret lexical, morphological, syntactical, and phonological features of a language effectively, while pragmatic competence is the key to allowing the speaker to know how to use and understand those grammatically correct sentences in context.

The translation of the term 'pragmatics' has been always problematic to Arab linguists. There have been plenty of attempts to find an equivalent to the term 'pragmatics', but alas none has been accurate. Some of these proposed Arabic equivalents are listed below:

"الفائداتية" /alfaaʔidaatiyyah/ involving interest

"الغائية" /alɣaaʔiyyah/ involving abolition

"الذرائعية" /aððaraaʔiʕijjah/ entailing pretext

"النفعية" /ʔannafʕijjah/ = beneficiality

"التداولية" /ʔattadaawulijjah/ = deliberativeness

"الوظائفيّة" /ʔalwaĐaaʔifijjah/ = functionality

"علم اللغة العملية" /ʕilm alluɤa alʕamalijjah/ = practicality

"المقاماتية" /ʔalmaqaamaatijjah/ = conditionality

"علم التخاطب" /ʕilm attaxaaTub/ = the science of conversation

"البراغماتية" /ʔalbraagmaatijjah/ which is an Arabicized term borrowed from English.

I see pragmatics conveying all the senses entailed by the terms mentioned above. However, I assume the term "الدلالية الوظائفية" which encompasses the sign, signifier, and signified, as well as functionality and practicality is the nearest meaning that captures most of the connotations of the term 'pragmatics'.

1.7   Aims of the study

This intracultural study will focus on the processes, expectations, and patterns manifested in making invitations and/or offers, and accepting or refusing them in Jordanian Arabic (JA). It attempts to shed light on the pertinent aspects and structures in relation to various intersecting context-bound variables such as setting, relationship, and social background. It aims at:

1. Exploring the structures, functions and the interactional sequencing of invitations and offering in JA.
2. Exploring the tactics involved in issuing invitations and offers and how, when and why they are accepted or refused.

3. Revealing the varied cultural, normative, and interactive factors and conventionalised practices that appear to have an influence on how invitations and offers are made, accepted and/or refused in JA.

4. Investigating the relational properties, patterns as well as cultural implications of normative and in-group ritual invitational and offering practices in JA.

1.8   Research questions

The questions that I will address in my proposed study are:

1. How are invitational and offering sequences performed in Jordanian Arabic?

2. What are the contextual factors which influence the conversational structure, linguistic content, and outcome of these sequences?

3. What are the most frequent linguistic tactics used by the interactants in performing, accepting, and declining invitations and offers in Jordanian culture?

1.9   Significance of the study

The significance of the present study can be summarized in the following considerations:

1. This study is meant to fill a knowledge gap in pragmatics in general and politeness in particular as, to my knowledge, there is no existing monograph which studies invitational and offering practices in an Arab culture based on a discursive ritual-based approach. Herein, it is hoped that this thesis unravels this important field through this novel 'sandwich' perspective so that theorists and pragmatists would be able to enhance the concepts, principles, and issues concerning it.

2.   It is hoped that this study may open the door for other researchers to address issues related to various aspects and patterns of invitations as well as offering tactics. This may ultimately construct an analytical framework of invitational and offering practices and rituals. The framework adopted here tries to incorporate both utterance-based analysis (e.g. speech act theory) with situation-based analysis (the whole sequence). Henceforth, this could make it possible to extend its results to the benefit of intercultural researchers.

3.   Like any study which describes culturally situated interactional practices, this study offers the opportunity for those who are interested in becoming familiar with and participating in the social life of members from another culture, especially Arab culture helping to pave their way to better understand the other and avoid possible arising misinterpretations. Such studies also provide innovative insights and will sometimes touch 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).

4.   Aspects of Arabic language use in general and its sociopragmatic aspects, in particular produced through analysing the various invitation and offering encounters, could be employed in teaching Arabic to non-Arabs and teaching other languages such as English to Arabs, as well. Students, with the assistance of their instructors, are likely to understand the various interactional moves and offering tactics involved in everyday situational patterns.

5.   This study is also important for translators - especially those translating culturally-rich texts. They would find it pretty easier to reach to the most appropriate equivalents in L2 that sometimes involve ambiguous cultural orientations or interpretations. It will probably help them to avoid communication failures which might occur due to differences in strategy usage and unshared knowledge by people from the diverse cultural background. It goes without saying that misuse or negative transfer of some speech acts may lead to misinterpretation or misunderstanding in communication among speakers.

1.10   Outline of the study

This study has six chapters. After this chapter, Chapter Two reviews some of the prominent approaches and theories that are connected to this study. Starting from the speech act theory first introduced by Austin and developed later by Searle followed by several selected critiques over it, passing through the face and politeness theories mainly by Brown & Levinson and how and why their theory was criticised, ending with discussing the second-wave and third-wave approaches that make up the cornerstone of the study in hand. The chapter also reviews some of the prominent studies on invitations and offers globally, in Arab culture as well as Jordanian culture. Above, this chapter explains how these approaches are to be adapted and appropriately utilised in this study that would ultimately offer a novel 'crossbred' theoretical framework.

Chapter Three is dedicated to providing an overview of the methodology and procedures that are utilised in gathering and analysing the relevant data required for the research. It also attempts to explicate in detail the ways in which the data were collected before deciding on the adopted categories of analysis, and later carrying out the necessary procedures to realise the research objectives.

Chapter Four presents the functions and occasions of invitations and offers in Jordanian culture. Mainly, it qualitatively analyses the structures, patterns and processes manifested in issuing, accepting or refusing both genuine and ostensible invitations and offers in Jordan. It attempts to dig deep into the multiple sophisticated aspects, and specifically the interactional moves involved in these sociopragmatic practices by discussing 16 out of the 48 recorded encounters.

Chapter Five attempts to quantitatively analyse the most frequent linguistic tactics utilised by Jordanian Arabic speakers when making, accepting or declining invitations and offers.

Chapter Six unravels the study findings by highlighting and further analysing the most significant features that both genuine and ostensible invitations and/or offers exhibit. It also discusses the most recurrent perspectives common to each type of invitation and/or offer.

The study concludes in Chapter Seven, which endeavours to summarise the main findings by discussing the most significant results of the study in relation to the cultural practices and rituals involved in extending these invitations and offers. It also pinpoints some of the attained theoretical and methodological contributions of this study. It ends up by suggesting some insights for theorists and pragmatists.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Overview

This chapter not only reviews previous research work that is relevant to this project, but it also discusses how this research work will be adapted and appropriately utilised in the analysis. It starts by highlighting the early 'classical' research in the politeness field and discusses its varied notions that set up the basis for this interesting field. It goes on to discuss how the field developed at the outset of this millennium when new theories came to the surface and criticized the aforementioned ones by providing a summary of the most up-to-date approaches in the politeness field, including the discursive approach and the ritual notion of politeness. I close the chapter by providing an overview of some previous studies that tackle the speech act of invitation and/or offering from a sociopragmatic perspective in a variety of languages and cultures including Arabic. Although invitation and offering are universal practices, several cross-cultural studies have proved that approaching them and the way they are perceived and conceived by people from different cultures (or sometimes within the same piloted culture) may drastically vary.

2.1   Speech acts

In 1962 the British Philosopher J.L Austin claimed that many utterances do not communicate information, but are used to perform acts or to do things. He called these utterances "performatives" to distinguish them from what he called "constatives". Sometime later he developed the Speech Act Theory and, in favour of a general theory of a speech act, he rejected the distinction between "performatives" and "constatives".

Speech acts are important unit of analysis. They are important concepts in those sub-disciplines of linguistics that study language-in-use: sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse, and communication. Speech act has been explored by a large number of researchers over the years.

Speech act theory began when Austin (1962:12) made the simple but crucial observation that when saying something, the speaker is doing something. In sum, a speech act can be classified according to its apparent purpose, or what Austin called 'illocutionary force'.

2.1.1 Austin and Searle

When analysing an utterance, Austin (1962) identified three main acts which are involved in it:

1. Locutionary act: It is related to the direct literal meaning that what we can understand from the utterance. For example, "Can you pass the salt?" the semantic meaning conveying the message of the sentence, asking if you are able to pass the salt.

2. Illocutionary act: It is related to the real indirect meaning which is the fact that I am making a request. For example, in saying: "Can you pass the salt?"

3. Perlocutionary act: It is the effect (physical or emotional) that the utterance may have on the listener. It is also related to the result or the action that occurs when you say something. In this sentence, it is related to your reaction, in which you pass the salt.

In 1969 Austin's pupil, the American philosopher John R. Searle modified and systematized this theory by claiming that all utterances have some kind of illocutionary force. He points out that speech act theory is based on the assumption that language is a form of behaviour, and it is governed by a strict set of rules (Searle, 1969). As Guidetti (2000:570) observes, "authors like Austin (1962) and Searle (1975), the originators of speech act theory, define the illocutionary component of an utterance as the social act (asserting, promising) performed by a speaker when the utterance is produced" (p. 570).

Searle realised that there is no need for such an act to contain a speech act verb (which is what Austin started from). And indeed, it is clear that no language has a verb which can be used to perform every single speech act. (For example, in English you can promise by saying 'I promise' but you can't threaten by saying 'I threaten'.) Some speech acts can be sometimes produced by several verbs, (e.g., wish as a congratulations strategy is found in most of the studies on congratulations). Therefore, there is an assumption that says we do not need speech act verbs to perform a speech act at all, and performativity is not bound up with speech act verbs. Indeed, Verschueren (1980) observes that there are many verbless expressions (e.g., many thanks/a big thanks) which clearly perform a speech act. This suggests that speakers can do many things with words, not necessarily with verbs or verb phrases.

Based on the function of speech acts, Searle (1969:12-20) suggests five types of actions/functions:

1. Representatives: These speech acts commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition such as claims, assertions, reports, hypotheses, and statements. For example: "The sun rises in the east". The purpose of representative utterances is to convey information. Statements and descriptions can be either true or false.

2. Directives: The speaker tries to direct the hearer to do something, as in ordering. For example: "Don't touch that pencil". Directives include requests, questions, orders, invitations, and advising; they can be negative or positive.

3. Commissives: these are kinds of speech acts that speakers commit himself or herself to do some future actions, as inviting, offering, promising, threatening, and refusing. For example: "I promise you that I will clean the window".

4. Expressives: Here the speaker expresses his/her feeling, attitude, and psychological state, as in thanking, welcoming, blaming, praising, and congratulations. For example: "I'm sorry".

5. Declarations: are speech acts that affect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs, and also change the world via words/utterances, as in firing, decrees, blessing, and pronouncements. For example, Jury Foreman: 'we find the defendant guilty". The speaker

in this example has to have a special institutional role, in a specific context, to perform a declaration appropriately (i.e. the 'performatives' that Austin started with).

According to Searle (1969:57-68), there are conditions for an act "to have been successfully and non-defectively performed" (1969: 54), or what Austin refers to as felicity conditions, that govern speech acts. There are four invariant types of condition: Propositional content condition, Preparatory conditions, Essential condition, and Sincerity condition. These types of condition are specified differently for each speech act, and these differences function as a means of defining each act.

For example, Searle's (1969: 66) conditions for the act of requesting are:

A. Propositional content condition: a future act of the hearer.
B. Preparatory conditions: the hearer is able to perform the act and believe that he is able to do that act. Besides, it is not obvious that he would do that act anyway.
C. Essential condition: the speaker attempts to persuade the hearer to do the act.
D. Sincerity condition: the speaker wants the hearer to do that act.

In 1975 Searle coined the term 'indirect speech act' and later developed it in 1979. Searle (1975) argues that indirect speech act has two illocutionary forces, the primary one is non-literal (indirect) and the secondary one is literal (direct). In both cases, the utterance is governed by felicity conditions. Besides, Searle links particular sorts of indirectness with particular forms of language through the claim of conventionality. Based on this view, particular indirect forms of language are used conventionally to carry out particular acts. According to Searle (1975), speech acts can be divided into two types: direct and indirect speech acts. A direct speech act is a direct relationship between the form and the function. Cutting's (2002) expectation about direct and indirect speech acts was that "much of the time, what we mean is actually not in the words themselves but in the meaning implied"; Moreover, "Searle said that a speaker using direct speech act wants to communicate the literal meaning that the words conventionally express; there is a direct relationship between the form and the function" (p.19).

Later, Brown and Levinson (1987) coined the term 'conventional indirectness" as they claimed that some utterances are so well-recognized that their literal meaning is never even considered. For example, according to Brown & Levinson's theory, the utterance "Can you pass the salt" is never interpreted literally, as an enquiry as to whether H has the ability to pass the salt.

2.1.2 Context, culture, and speech acts

Speech act theory has been criticized by many scholars because it has many problems in studying the aspects of meaning, functions, and acts (Wierzbicka, 1991; Cohen, 1996; Levinson, 1983; Mey, 2001). For instance, the theory predetermines conditions, rules, the meaning of verbs, and illocutionary devices that convey the force of the speech act in an abstract context without taking into consideration the matter of relationship, culture, and situation. Also, the complexity of real communication in daily life affirms the impossibility of being done within a framework that, in advance, constrains the meaning of words and the rules/conditions that make the situation appropriate for achieving a particular meaning of a speech act. In addition, the theory works on single utterances, a single speaker, and a single addressee in isolated situations without taking into account the complexity of speech situations. However, it is not "what a speaker says" that determines the meaning of a speech act, but the whole situation. In other words, speech act theory only constitutes an action in individual utterances and users rather than in interaction which is the most important role or factor in communication. The reason is that meaning and action are constituted through social interaction.

Emphasizing the need to study language in context, Austin (1962:148) indicates that "the total speech act in the total speech situation is the only actual phenomenon which we are engaged in elucidating". The term 'speech act' simply refers to the illocutionary force of what is said. It may include "the entire communicative situation which includes the context of the utterance and the paralinguistic features which contribute to the meaning in interaction" (Blake, 2006:17). Henceforth, to understand this force correctly, all these things must be taken into account.

O'Driscoll (2020, section 7.1) argues that:

"The most basic and obvious shortcoming of classical speech act theory is its near total abstraction from language in actual use. It assumes face-to-face communication via the spoken mode, involving solely S (= speaker) and H (= a single hearer), the latter always in the role of addressee. Moreover, it definitely assumes what Goffman (e.g.1981:129) calls an inaccessible encounter; that is, a situation in which nobody other than those who are ratified participants is privy to what is said. There are no bystanders."

Consequently, it has been suggested that speech acts should be studied in their real contexts and cultures because different languages and different cultures have different ways of performing and perceiving different speech acts (Holmes, 1995; Wierzbicka, 1985). For instance, Bataineh (2013) found differences between native speakers of American English and native speakers of Jordanian Arabic in performing congratulations and congratulations responses. These differences amount to diverging understandings about what an act of congratulations is. Bataineh found that Jordanians used expressions that are religion-based in most of the social contexts (e.g. assalaatu ʕannabi mabruuk maa jaaku "prayers be upon the prophet! May what you have got be blessed!" as a congratulation on the birth of a baby or allahysalmak "May God preserve you" as a congratulations response). The first example given here praises someone other than H (i.e. the prophet) while the second is indirect, in that literally it is just a well-wishing for the future. In contrast, Americans used simple forms such as "congratulations" or "thank you" as a response.

Furthermore, the illocutionary force of a set of words may vary depending on the situation. To elaborate, one utterance may be interpreted as two or more different speech acts, depending on the situation. This justifies the importance of context aspects of communication. An utterance like "It's hot in here" can be interpreted in different ways based on the various possible illocutionary forces of this utterance with reference to Searel's typology. It could be an assertive when it is a response to a question about how the weather is. The same utterance may be interpreted as a directive and polite (indirect) request to turn on the air-conditioner or to open the window if addressed to the house owner. Also, it might be interpreted as an order when a

mother is talking to her children who want to put on jackets on a hot summer day. It could also be interpreted as a commissive, indicating that the speaker is committing him/herself to leave soon if the situation would not change. Furthermore, the utterance can be an expressive, where the speaker communicates his/her feeling for being unhappy with the high temperature inside. This means that one's pragmatic knowledge of the situation/context plays an important role in interpreting utterances appropriately.

Several studies on varied politeness formulas have shown that social norms essentially differ from one given culture to another. Every sociopragmatic phenomenon is subject to different evaluations across cultures and societies, and even across the groups of a given society (cf. Mills 2003b). What can be acceptable in one social group in the UK might be unacceptable in another British social group. Herein, the speech act becomes a pragmatic act ("uptake") because any act is a matter of interaction in context, not a matter of individual utterances in isolation (Mey, 2001). Therefore, speech acts should be studied in actual situations (speech events) based on the context of the situation. This is the pragmatic view that emphasizes meaning change and function of speech act according to the context of the situation.

This is also true about multiple invitation and offering practices all over the globe. Above, certain hospitality rules and some associated rituals are considered quite central to social conformity, solidarity, and integrity. In some Oriental and Middle Eastern societies, these offering acts usually require ritualised politeness formulae. To be more specific, most of these interactional situations are bound to societal ritualised considerations and norms. However, these formulae, rituals and their encoding and interpretation by the involved interlocutors are considerably varied from one language/culture to another. 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 behaviours". Invitations and offers are prevalent practices in everyday life, particularly in the maintenance of strong social relationships and reciprocal positive communication. They are important for social interaction and the accomplishment of social commitments (Bella, 2009:243). They reflect the communicative patterns which are involved in any given linguistic community,

and is embedded in the various aspects of politeness that have been highlighted by many scholars (e.g. Eelen 2001; Watts 2003; Mills 2003).

2.1.3   Inviting

According to *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 (p. 819).

According to Austin, invitations are commissives that lead to social commitments. However, some other philosophers and linguists such as (Searle, 1979; Coulthard, 1995) believe that the speech act of inviting is a directive. Coulthard (1995: 24) states:

> *"Directives are all attempts by the speaker to get the 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'."*

Following Searle's (1979:14) classification of invitations and offers, Hancher (cited in García 2008: 270) classifies inviting as a "hybrid speech act that combines directive with commissive illocutionary force. According to this, he calls an invitation a "commissive directive" (ibid). Inviting, as a commissive act, is used "to commit the speaker to some future course of action" (Searle 1976: 11). "In issuing an invitation, the speaker makes a commitment to provide a course of action that is beneficial to the hearer. At the same time, invitations are directive in that they instruct the hearer to do something, that is, to take up or decline the invitation." (Searle 1976: l 3). Arguably, an invitation only becomes a commitment after H accepts it. This points up one of the limitations of Speech Act theory – the fact that it uses single utterances rather than spates of interaction.

Now what constitutes an act of inviting from a speech-act-theory viewpoint? The propositional condition for an invitation as per Suzuki (2009) occurs when a speaker requests the addressee's participation in or attendance at a certain occasion, mainly one hosted by the speaker.

Isaacs and Clark (1990:502-503) use Searle's (1969) framework to pinpoint the preparatory conditions for invitations. According to them, two conditions must be met: (a) the speaker must believe that the addressee would like to be and is able to be present at the event, and (b) the speaker must be able to provide what is offered (Isaacs and Clark 1990:502-503).

An additional condition is added by Link and Kreuz (2005:229). This condition goes as follows: (c) it is not obvious to either the speaker or hearer that the hearer will be present for the occasion in the normal course of events. This kind of preparatory condition - that it wouldn't happen anyway - occurs in most of Searle's (1969: 66-67) examples of conditions for various speech acts. The speech act of invitation must satisfy these conditions.

Basically, the sincerity condition for an invitation occurs when S wants H to accept. More specifically, S has an intention to invite H and S is being sincere in wanting H to accept his/her invitation. This by no means has to do with whether H does accept the invitation as this is related to perlocution. As for the essential condition, it is connected with what must be involved in the utterance (i.e. content, the context and the speaker's intention) in order to be felicitously performed. Violating one or more of these conditions affects the sincerity of the extended invitation which leads to many kinds of inferences that are normally tackled under the wider rubrics of implicatures.

Other scholars proposed their own definitions of invitation in response to these classifications. For example, according to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), an invitation is defined as a type of request, and as such, by uttering it "the speaker impinges on the hearer's claim to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (p. 201). This observation is in line with Brown and Levinson (1987), who view invitations as face-threatening acts (FTAs). They explain this by arguing that invitations threaten the invitee's want of negative face by imposing on him/her.

On the other hand, Bella (2011:1719) asserts that invitations, unlike other speech acts such as requests, "presuppose a rather high degree of integration: to receive and decline invitations, a non-native speaker has to be deeply involved in the social life of the community". Al-Khatib (2006) defines inviting 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)" (p. 273).

To sum up, it seems that invitations are viewed by many scholars as social-communicative acts or practices. However, cross-cultural differences in perceiving them are still considered inevitable. This study will attempt to unravel *what* communicative functions invitations serve and how these functions are performed in naturally-occurring interactions.

2.1.4 Offering

An offer is defined by the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008) as "ask[ing] someone if he would like to have something or if he would like you to do something". The Active Student Dictionary (2010:616) gives two definitions of the word offer: (a) proposing somebody something as in: "Can I offer you a drink?" (b) To say that you are willing to offer something as in: "Carol didn't even offer to help".

A great amount of offering occurs in different situations. Offers are made by people in daily situations at work, at university, with family members, students, instructors, etc. People may offer help such as a drink, a ride, money, etc., and in return, it can be accepted or declined by the other person. An offer is considered as a kind of a cooperative attitude. Austin (1962) states that offering is a kind of a commissive illocutionary speech act. In an offer, a speaker commits him/herself to do something for somebody. Searle (1969) also affirms that offers involve a commitment on the part of the speaker to perform an act for the sake of the addressee.

Bilbow (2002:287) defines offers as "speech acts through which the speaker places an obligation on his/herself to undertake commitment associated with the action specified in the proposition."

Different linguists classify offers differently. Austin (1962), Searle (1969), Bach and Harnish (1979) and Edmondson (1981) classify offers as commissive speech acts. By the same

token, Fraser cited in Abdallah, Al-Darraji, Ismail, Foo (2013:193) points out that "when making an offer, a speaker proposes to put himself under an obligation to bring about a certain situation expressed in the proposition". Hickey (1986) also claims that the speech act of offering expresses commitment, and this commitment is considered independent of the hearer. He argues that the response to it is unrelated because the hearer may accept or reject the particular offer.

Others like Wierzbicka (1987) consider that offers have two illocutionary purposes. First, the purpose of offering is that the speaker expresses his/her willingness to do or give the hearer something. The second is making the hearer accept or refuse, and then the speaker can act accordingly. In this respect, it can be viewed as having an element of the directive in it. Wierzbicka (1987:191) says that "the one who offers leaves the addressee the freedom to decide whether to accept or decline the proposed action to take place."

Wunderlich (1977) proposes a different class of conditional speech acts where offering, warning, advice, and threat belong. He claims that these speech acts "interfere with the addressee's planning of actions. The propositional content supplies the addressee with a certain cognitive premise that he can use in his practical inferences" (Wunderlich, 1977:32).

Finally, Hancher (1979: 6-9) states that offering has a two-faced nature. That is, it commits oneself to do or give something and to direct his/her behaviour. He considers offers as "Commissive Directives" that are a combination of a commissive plus a directive speech act in which a speaker not only commits to doing action but also tries to persuade the hearer to accept the offer. That is, its directive force "looks forward to some act by the hearer" (Hancher, 1979:21).

2.1.5   The distinction between an offer and an invitation

Unlike many studies on invitations and/or offers that regard them as two faces of the same coin or that an invitation is an umbrella term encompassing both offering and inviting or vice versa (as in Leech (2014:180), who regards invitations as a subclass of offers), this study will differentiate between the speech act of offering and inviting.

In addition to Leech, several Conversation Analysis (henceforth CA) scholars who studied mainly offers, and to a lesser extent, invitations do not see an essential difference between these two acts. Schegloff (1995: 27) argues that, "invitations, in this regard, often appear to be a particular sub-class of offers, and their similarity in various respects is then not surprising." Kendrick & Drew (2016) view offering being embedded in the concept of recruitment. According to them, this concept involves "the linguistic and embodied ways in which assistance may be sought-requested or solicited-or in which we come to perceive another's need and offer or volunteer assistance" (Kendrick & Drew, 2016: 2). Its seems that offering - according to CA theory - encompasses a wide variety of acts (or social actions) which is in S's power ranging from assistance/help passing through choices ending up with invitations (see Curl, 2006; Kärkkäinen & Keisanen, 2012).

I'd like to emphasize first that the distinction I make here is based on prototypical invitations and offers rather than on hard-and-fast divergences. The characteristic differences between them - emerging from may data - are outlined below:

A. Invitations are commissive directives while offers are, I assume, mainly commissives. To explain, when somebody offers someone to do something for him/her, there is not any kind of instructing or even directing here. S/he would be just asking if the offeree would accept that, for example, a given service will be done for, or on behalf of, him/her. To put it another way, H only has to accept or reject S's proposed action and not agree/disagree to be at a certain place at a certain time in the future as it is the case with invitations. This does not refute the fact that in some limited cases offers could be classified as directives. For instance, if S says, "Want a ride home?" Here, H's acceptance involves him/her getting into the car! So here, S's offer is an attempt to get H to do

something. By contrast, Searle (1979) and Hancher (1979) claim that invitations and offers both share this hybrid nature of being commissive and directive. However, Leech (2014:180-181) points out that:

> *"Admittedly, there is a distinction in the framing of the verbs offer and invite: the verb offer is typically associated with a future action by S, and the verb invite is typically associated with a future action by O…An offer, like a request, proposes a future action A, but unlike the A of a request, the A of an offer is to the advantage of O, and (normally) at a cost to S."*

Moreover, Margutti et al. (2018) posit that invitations and offers are different and they explain that as follows:

> *"As compared with offers, making an invitation entails additional layers of sociality and implications. These concern the commitment of both participants to participate in a future sociable occasion. When we invite someone, the implication is that recipients are willing to share their time with us. In displaying pleasure in spending time with the recipient, inviters might also show to hold (excessive) self-estimation."*

B. In invitations, the speaker consults the hearer if s/he can join him/her in performing a given EVENT. So, both of them will be JOINTLY taking part in this event. On the other hand, when someone offers another something, it is often the offerer BY HIMSELF/HERSELF who undertakes the ACT. However, this does not refute the fact that in some cases both S and H will do the act together.

C. Invitations are often PREARRANGED/PREMEDIATED whereas offers are often SPONTANEOUS/INSTANT. Also, with a lesser extent though, when someone extends an invitation to another, he – most of the times - wants him/her to do one act in the (near) FUTURE. However, when S offers H something, it is often meant to be carried out IMMEDIATELY.

D. Offers often take the form of A BRIEF YES/NO QUESTION where no introduction or closing is required whereas invitations (at least in Arabic) are usually prolonged utterances that often involve an introduction, the invitation statement itself (plus most often the re-invitation and insistence attempts) and a closing. Furthermore, invitations take several forms including – but not limited to - direct or indirect questions/requests, yes/no or information questions, declaratives, imperatives, exclamatory statements, etc. This somehow goes in line with Leech's (2014:181) assertion that "a typical offer is in the form of a question about O's volition."

Based on the argumentation above, I believe offers and invitations are two different words referring to (at least) two different meanings. Herein, it could be easily inferred that they are semantically not synonyms although they might be sometimes used interchangeably. Accordingly, what applies to semantics would apply to pragmatics – but not the other way round, of course. At all rates, both invitations and offers may be categorised under one umbrella term, which is presumably 'al-raja' in Arabic. Unfortunately, 'al-raja' has no accurate equivalent word in English. For example, Google translates 'alraja' as 'hopefulness', which is not accurate at all as it does not convey what this word denotes.

2.1.6 Responses to offers and invitations

Invitations and offers are either accepted or declined by the recipient. The speech act of acceptance is indicated by agreeing (directly or indirectly) with its propositional content, which always involves a future act of S and/or H. S/he may answer with a word like 'Alright', a phrase like 'inshAllah' meaning 'God willing', a sentence like 'Thanks a lot, mate'. It could also be a gesture, head shaking, wink or simply a smile. Yet, it could be even more sophisticated than that as we will see in Chapter Four.

Searle and Vandervken (1985:195) define the speech act of refusal as "the negative counterparts to acceptances and consenting." One can accept offers and invitations, and each of these can be refused or rejected. Geyang (2001:155) defines refusal as "a speech act where the

speaker denies to be engaged in an action proposed by an interlocutor." Umale (2011:18) considers it as a "face-threatening act that tends to disrupt harmony in relationships". Simply speaking, the speech act of refusal occurs when the hearer responds negatively whether directly or indirectly (by sometimes reporting some clashing circumstances) to a person. One can refuse any speech act with a directive element to it. Drew (1984:146) reports that:

> *"If a recipient wishes to decline an Invitation or reject a proposal of some sort, one option is simply to decline or reject it. But another (generally used) option, which has been discussed here, is to report some circumstances or activities, without concluding what the report's upshot is for the / proposal. From what is reported the inviters/proposers are enabled to see for themselves that their invitation is being declined."*

Some acts make it difficult to maintain the face of the participants in an interactional exchange. They are labeled as face-threatening (FTA). Some of these acts threaten H's face, others threaten S's face, and still, others threaten the face of both. To reduce the risk of misinterpretations resulted from these face-threatening acts, the interlocutors resort to what is referred to as a face-saving act to minimise the threat to others' faces. People hardly ever just respond with a bald 'no', which is, where Brown & Levinson started from (i.e. addressing why people often don't abide by the Gricean maxims). Declining an invitation goes in contradiction with the inviter's wants, so it is regarded as a face-threatening act (FTA). It threatens the social relationship of the speakers. In order to maintain the face of the inviter, the person who refuses the invitation is expected to use many face-saving tactics.

This is also demonstrated by the CA's notion of preference organization for the second pair-parts of adjacency pairs where issuing an invitation and offer represents the first pair-part here and the accept/refuse represents the second pair-part(s). Levinson (1983: 332-3) argues that:

> *"Alternative second parts to first parts of adjacency pairs are not generally of equal status; rather some second turns are PREFERRED and others DISPREFERRED […] Preferred (and thus unmarked) seconds to different and unrelated adjacency pair first pair parts have less material than dispreferreds (marked seconds), but beyond that have little in common. In contrast, dispreferred seconds of quite different and unrelated first pair parts (e.g.*

questions, offers, requests, summonses, etc.) have much in common, notably components of delay and parallel kinds of complexity."

Based on that, according to the CA theory, acceptance is the preferred way to respond to offers (Davidson 1984). García (2007) justifies this preference by indicating that it is simply because acceptance "satisfies the inviter's positive face, that is, his/her need to be liked and approved of by others" (García, 2007:551). While issuing the offer, "speakers monitor their unfolding offer for its potential acceptance or rejection" (Kärkkäinen & Keisanen 2012: 592). However, the generalisation in preference organization adopted by the CA theory and ascribing this to that refusals are longer than acceptances or because it satisfies the inviter's desire to be approved by others - as per face theory -may not always pertain. To be more specific, this overgeneralisation would not hold when particular cultural norms - such as those adhered to by Jordanians - which mandate initial refusals are involved. However, it should be pointed out here that in CA theory the notion of preference has nothing to do with face or any other kind of personal preference. In CA, it is just a matter of organisation – acceptances are simpler (Levinson, 1983).

Normally, declining an invitation involves a set of speech acts taken altogether. Moreover, invitation refusals usually include various tactics to avoid offending the hearer. However, the choice of these tactics is basically linked to the various norms and rituals a given culture incorporates. How to say "no" as a response is more important than the answer itself and needs special skills. Non-native speakers may offend their interlocutors if the way they say 'no' is inappropriately said (Al-Kahtani, 2005). It is important to point out that refusal may require a high level of pragmatic competence to achieve effective communication (Beebe, 1990). Takahashi and Beebe (1990:133) claim that "the inability to say 'no' clearly and politely […] has led many non-native speakers to offend their interlocutors." For instance, immediate refusals to invitations (issued by Arabic language learners) by their Arab fellow interlocutors can often be regarded as offensive by those non-native speakers of Arabic.

Refusal is one of the important speech acts which has been the focus of numerous studies. Morkus (2014) divided refusal studies into three different categories: cross-cultural studies that focus on refusals of more than one culture/language; intra-lingual studies which focus on refusals

of a single culture/language; and learner-centered studies that focus on discovering how language learners learn and/or use refusals in different cultures or Languages. However, some studies can also be a mix of the first and third types as illustrated in the empirical studies below.

Before Beebe et al.'s (1990) influential study, Rubin (1981) investigated the speech act of refusal by raising an important question regarding how to tell when someone is saying "no." Rubin believed that "no" in some cultures is "yes" in others, and a simple change in the way "yes" or "no" is said might indicate a critical semantic difference. To support her claim, she noted that Turkish speakers move their heads back while rolling their eyes upwards to signal "no," while this same signal in America is more likely to be perceived as "yes." In contrast, in India head shaking does not indicate affirmation or negation; rather, it means "keep going." It should be pointed out here that the 'no' illustrated above is not that 'no' that H uses to respond to directives, but it is the general 'no'.

Another example, which is actually based on a personal experience, happened to me about two years ago in Saudi Arabia. I was in class and I asked my students whether they did their homework or not. I started going around and asking them one by one. One of the students answered with a sort of a 'click' sound. So, I asked him "why didn't you do the homework?" He replied "I did it teacher." I said you just said "no", but the other students indicated to me that he didn't, and clarified to me then that he was simply agreeing. Only here I realised that after about 15 years living in Saudi Arabia I have just come to know that this 'click' sound, which means NO in Jordanian dialect is indeed a YES in Saudi dialect, at least in the Hejazi dialect despite the fact that we both belong to the same 'mother culture' (i.e. Arab culture) and mother language/tongue (i.e. Arabic). Henceforth, if the same utterance or sound might mean one thing or its antonym in the same culture, let it be in varied cultures!

As for refusals to offers, Rubin (1981) reports that in Arabic speaking countries the expression "inshAllah" (God willing) means "no" if not followed by time and details, while "I'll come but…" equals "no" in Taiwan. In fact, 'inshAllah' in Arabic countries has numerous meanings. It all depends on the context. The most famous meaning is the literal meaning which is 'God willing'. However, this is not the meaning in so many other contexts. Shockingly, in our

Jordanian culture (at least), it might mean the two extreme ends of the scale. It sometimes means 'Alright', yet in many other times it could mean 'Forget it'. It could also mean 'I promise' in some contexts, and it might mean sarcastically 'I don't promise'. Some other connotations of 'inshAllah' include –but not limited to – 'threatening', 'assuring', 'confirming', and 'degrading'. It even sometimes might function merely as a filler with no real meaning at all or it might be abused by some people, especially in slang.

These differences in meaning of the same lexeme in different contexts and cultures led Rubin (1981, 12f) to attempt to identify refusal strategies and to report nine 'non-mutually exclusive' ways in which "no" is said across cultures. They are listed below:

"Be silent, hesitate, and show a lack of enthusiasm;

Offer an alternative;

Postponement (delaying answers);

Blame a third party or something over which you have no control;

Avoidance;

A general acceptance of an offer but giving no details;

Divert and distract the addressee;

General acceptance with excuses;

Say that what is offered is inappropriate."

However, Rubin (1981) pointed out that the aforementioned refusal strategies might be situation-dependent due to some sociolinguistic rules that may exist in some cultures and are absent in others. Thus, according to Rubin, being aware of these refusal strategies is not enough to express or interpret "no" properly in the target language. Non-native speakers are required to acquire three levels of knowledge: 1) form-function relationship (i.e., an utterance that semantically indicates refusal), 2) knowing which social parameters enter into the speech act of refusal (i.e., how to modify "no" based on the interlocutor's social status), and 3) underlying values of the society (i.e., values that the members of the target speech community share).

2.1.7   Ostensible invitations and offers

Some researchers distinguished between different kinds of invitations, such as Wolfson's (1981) distinction between ambiguous and unambiguous invitations (that is, unambiguous invitations require a reference to time and/or mention of place or activity, and a request for a response, which could be achieved by an intonational contour in English). Other researchers, such as Isaacs and Clark (1990), distinguished between ostensible and genuine invitations; ostensible invitations in which an invitation is issued but not necessarily followed by the conclusion of the arrangement under discussion, which implies it is not to be taken seriously.

Isaacs and Clark (1990) were the first to suggest the ostensible concept, which is essentially different from Wolfson's (1981) conceptualisation of ambiguous speech acts in that they appear ambiguous, but are still unambiguous when viewed through a particular context. According to Isaacs and Clark (1990:493), "ostensible speech acts occur when a speaker appears to perform a particular speech act, but the speaker is being insincere and the addressee knows that the speaker is insincere." In other words, these acts are not meant by the speakers to be taken seriously. They are nonserious speech acts that are coated with a veneer of genuineness.

According to Isaacs and Clark (1990:493), traditional theories of speech acts (e.g., Austin 1962; Searle 1969; Bach and Harnish 1979) have no account of ostensible speech acts as they are defined through a 'joint pretence', where H accepts S's utterance as sincere even though s/he does not know for sure that it is. Clark (1996:378) argues that some of "these speech acts have built-in ambivalence". He illustrates these acts through a hypothetical example in which a female speaker, Irene, asks her boyfriend, Jake, about his opinion of her new dress.

The interaction goes as follows:

Irene: How is my new dress, Jake?

Jake: I like it [with enthusiasm and elaboration]

Irene: Oh, thanks   (ibid)

Clark argues that Jake's reply is an ostensible compliment since Irene asked him to comment on the dress. He maintains that if Jake didn't like the dress, he would utter the same comment as he expects her to appreciate that he is only ostensibly saying he likes it. He extends this example to cover many other speech acts. He claims that many joint projects (greetings, congratulations, apologies, offers, invitations, and many others) are ostensible if the speaker is unable to tell sincerely whether he really means (or being sincere about) what he says or not. The present study took into consideration all these definitions and types to investigate the speech act of inviting/offering in Jordanian culture.

Ostensible invitations may appear like genuine invitations, may violate some felicity rules just as insincere invitations and may also involve the absence of time and place specification that is common to ambiguous invitations. However, they still do not fall within the scope of any of these types of invitations. They are different from genuine invitations in that they are not meant to be taken seriously. They also differ from ambiguous invitations in that they are not meant to be ambiguous. Moreover, they are not meant to deceive as it is the case with insincere invitations. Ostensible invitations do borrow at least one characteristic of each of these types of invitations, but they still belong to a separate category (see Abdul-Hady 2015). Henceforth, ostensible invitations are "invitations issued but not intended to be taken seriously" (Isaacs & Clark 1990: 494).

Isaacs and Clark (1990) claim that ostensible invitations can be recognized by the following features:

(1) Pretence

(2) Ambivalence

(3) Mutual recognition

(4) Collusion

(5) Off-record purpose

Salmani (1995) summarises Clark and Isaacs' proposed predicted ostensible acts by the inviter as s/he invites someone to an event as the following:

> *"A makes B's presence at E implausible;*
> *A extends invitations only after they have been solicited;*
> *A doesn't motivate invitation beyond social courtesy;*
> *A is vague about arrangements for event E;*
> *A doesn't persist or insist on the invitation;*
> *A hedges the invitation; And*
> *A delivers the invitation with inappropriate cues."*

(Salmani 1995:6)

Isaacs and Clark (1990:498) argue that the basic idea in designing an ostensible invitation is to make "pretence at sincerity obvious that the addressee will recognize that the invitation was intended to be seen as obvious". That is to say, the inviter should design his/her invitation as genuine (without being explicit about his/her real intentions) and the invitee is expected to figure its sensibility out. To illustrate this, consider the following interaction taken from Isaacs and Clark's (1990) corpus, cited in Link (2001:111). According to them, this is an invitation although I believe it is an offer following the illustration discussed above about the difference between an invitation and an offer. Nevertheless, it serves as a good example of the issues involved in the notion of ostensibility with respect to both offers and invitations.

(This conversation is taking place at 12:30 a.m.)

Carol: Boy, I am so hungry I could eat a cow. (As she is looking into the refrigerator) Maybe I'll eat what is left (which is not much) of these Chinese dishes.

SB: That sounds good ... but I think I will go to bed now.

Carol: Do you want some of this?

SB: No thanks. Thank you anyway. Goodnight.

In this conversation Carol does not intend SB to accept her offer as a lot of ambivalence in her offer can be observed. Carol is very hungry and there is not much food, but the offer can be

viewed as partly sincere. Maybe she is a very generous person! Maybe she has a particular reason for wanting to please SB! In this case, there is ambivalence but the ambivalence is internal to Carol – part of her wants acceptance of the offer and another part of her wants rejection, and this by itself possibly problematizes the whole notion of sincerity.

O'Driscoll (2020: section 7.1.1) argues that sincerity cannot be a basic felicity condition like the other three conditions. He suggests that:

> *"For the successful performance of commissives (at least), a sincerity condition is not necessary. The intentionality and the recognition of that intentionality which are basic to Searle's framework are still present in the essential condition, whereby a commissive act counts as some sort of commitment because S intends that it is received that way by H."*

The intention in her offer also depends on whether she has heard SB's remark that s/he is going to bed, which is not certain because at the time of the remark she is either still rummaging around in the fridge or has just finished doing that, and, we have reason to believe, is obsessed with the prospect of getting food for herself. But if she has heard it, then she has reason to believe that SB will refuse. And if this is the case, SB goes along with the pretence by thanking her for the 'offer', even though they both may know it is not a genuine offer at all. However, this does not mean her utterance is necessarily 'insincere' even then. We could interpret it as a – sincere - act of asking for permission (to eat all the food) instead. At any rate, whether Carol's utterance is to be interpreted as an offer (ostensible or otherwise) depends on their relationship and the circumstances. If SB is Carol's guest, then it is more likely to be seen as an offer. But if they are housemates, this is less likely.

According to Isaacs and Clark (1990: 494), ostensible invitations are rare in American English. Yet, to support their argument, they collect 142 examples in three methods: the first set is grouped through asking undergraduate students to record an instance of one sincere and one insincere invitation they witnessed; the second and the third sets are gathered through asking informants to recall two sincere and two insincere invitations (involving a friend, an acquaintance

or a stranger) from their own life experience. Yet, the third set differs from the second in that informants were in pairs. Each of them is intended to recall his version of the same story.

To outline the major tactics used in engineering this kind of invitations, Isaacs and Clark (1990) resort to a quantitative analysis of these examples. The study shows that seven tactics are used more in ostensible invitations than in genuine ones. Thus, they concluded that these tactics are what enabled inviters to engineer their invitations ostensibly.

According to them, there are three ways through which the invitee can work out the real purpose behind the invitation: '(1) the expected effects of an invitation on the invitee, (2) the situation, and (3) the inviter's choice of an ostensible invitation in that situation' (Isaacs and Clark 1990: 502). However, Isaacs and Clark (1990: 498) point out that the list of the tactics proposed "might be incomplete "and that method used is inaccurate and unverifiable. Even though the study points out the tactics that are used in engineering ostensible invitations, it does not consider the weight of each tactic on the invitation (cf. Link and Kreuz 2005: 248). Thus, it is not clear how the invitees would consider an invitation genuine and not ostensible along with the presence of the implausibility strategy (as they point out, the implausibility strategy is used in 7% of genuine invitations), for example.

Moreover, Isaacs and Clark's (1990) quantitative analysis is not without lapses (see Chapter Four and Five for rather discursive analyses of the distinction between genuine and ostensible invitations and offers). They claim that hedging devices appear in 39 (42%) ostensible invitations. However, according to Isaacs and Clark's (1990: 509) list in the appendix, the distribution of the subdivisions of hedging devices (well, I guess and if you want) shows that two ostensible invitations are missed from their calculations; the distribution goes as follows: well (16), I guess (9) and if you want (16). The total of the subdivisions of hedging devices is 41. This means that 57% of Isaacs and Clarks (1990) ostensible invitations are hedged. In fact, there is no slight sense for Isaacs and Clark (1990) to claim that 42% of their ostensible invitations include hedges; based on 39 hedged ostensible invitations (out of 72 ostensible invitations), 54.1% of these invitations would appear to be hedged instead.

2.2 Face(work)

Goffman (1967) introduced the term face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman, 1967: 5). He also suggests that an interactant shows awareness about others' faces. Additionally, interactants are expected to save this public image and also to have knowledge of "face-work". "Face-work "can be both an "avoidance process and a "corrective process". The former involves preventing threats to face from occurring, such as keeping the conversation away from certain topics or changing the topic. Various strategies may be employed to avoid threats, such as discretion, circumlocution, deception, courtesies and joking.

Building on his understanding of the nature of face, Goffman (1967:5) defines face as:

"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."

Sometimes, however, these strategies may not succeed; that is, the participants fail to avoid the threat to face and so the corrective process occurs, by which they attempt to re-establish ritual equilibrium to save face. Goffman (1967) claims this process involves an interchange which can contain more than one move and more than one participant. In the corrective strategy, the participants face the challenge of taking responsibility for refusing the threatening act. Offenders are given a chance to correct the offensive act and re-establish participants' lines. They may also offer compensation for the injured face by punishing themselves to re-establish the line.

The concept of face is central to the "politeness theory" of Brown and Levinson (1987). They claim that politeness is concerned with saving face, which is concomitant with social necessity and which, moreover, can explain many of the differences between the literal meaning and implications of a linguistic expression.

Brown and Levinson define "face" as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two related aspects [negative face and positive face]" (1987, p. 1).

They describe a very comprehensive account of politeness. They argue that the behaviour they are examining is universal, and search for an explanation for this claimed universality (which, they argue, is face).

Goffman (1967) views social interaction as an account of an individual's behaviour in a given society. He reports that "this social behaviour is on loan to the individual from society and is governed by certain legalized and endorsed societal rules" …., 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"(1967:10). Herein, Goffman's conceptualization of face is collectively oriented. Individuals' behaviours are under their pertinent society's scrutiny. Their behaviours are accumulative products of their society's processing, control, and consequently assessment. According to Alfattah (2010:114), Goffman's face as being "located in the flow of events in the encounter" (p7) is only assigned to individuals' contingent upon their interactional behaviour (Goffman, 1967: 7)..

In contrast, Brown and Levinson's (1987) view of face is more individualistic, in which the interlocutors try to maintain or enhance the face of each other so as to achieve their personal or interpersonal goals. They characterize face as an image that intrinsically belongs to the individual. Therefore, the public contingency 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 (see Eshreteh 2014).

Most recent theorists on face have insisted on the importance of this contingent aspect. Watts (2003: 125), for example, conceptualizes face as "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". Whatever its precise conceptualisation, however, it should be obvious that face is centrally involved in invitation and offering sequences.

The Arabic equivalent of face is 'wajh'/wadʒh/, which is the front part of a person. However, as in several other languages, 'wajh' /wadʒh/ has several connotations that metaphorically stand for notions such as reputation, dignity, honour, respect, shame, status, worth,

identity and competence. The closest entry in Arabic that entails most of the sociolinguistic characteristics of 'face' as a first-order concept is the word 'sum3a' /sumʕa/. In contemporary translations, it is sometimes associated with honour 'sharaf' / ʃaraf/ or dignity 'karaamah'. However, I see the word 'sum3a' /sumʕa/ closer to the 'second-order' concept of 'face'.

Furthermore, there are two idiomatic expressions in both Modern Standard Arabic and Jordanian Arabic that have a direct connection to what Brown & Levinson (1987) refer to as positive face and negative face in their common sense (according to second-order conceptualization). In Arabic 'bayyadh Allaah wajhak', which literally means 'May Allah whiten your face' can be perceived as an aspect of positive face.

In Jordan, one of the most prominent situations in which 'face' becomes highly salient relates to what is extensively known in tribal law 'Alqadha' Al'asha'eri' as 'wijih'. 'Wijih' – as pronounced in Jordanian Arabic- here refers to the mediator, who is called in to intervene between two groups of people attempting to solve the disputes among them. In other words, if members of two different tribes are involved in any kind of dispute which leads to confrontation, a mediator is usually called in. Normally the one who commits a crime would appeal for protection by this 'wijih' or the mediator, who is often a highly respected man in his community or Sheikh of his own tribe. Whenever this 'wijih' is appointed to take the initial '3atwah' /ʕaTwa/ or the reconciliation event - where each of the two fighting parties pledges not to attack or clash with the other party, both parties have to respect him as he stakes his reputation on the resolution of this dispute, and endeavours to prevent any future clashes between the two parties. Otherwise, if one of these two parties doesn't fulfil their commitment to respect the wijih's decisions, they are said to 'cut the mediator's face', or in other words, affront the face of the wijih, which is a very serious matter in Jordanian culture that usually necessities extremely hard consequences.

For the purposes of this study, I conceptualize face in a first-order manner. My working formulation is as follows: *'Jordanian face* is *the moral and ethical characteristics reflected by, and as a result of, the interactional bahaviour-oriented space among interactants, which conditions human relationships based on multiple overlapping socio-cultural, pragma-linguistic, and*

reciprocal variables that shape the boundaries of a person's personality and imprints upon others his/her track-record and mirrored image.

In a nutshell, face is one's shadow that follows him/her everywhere they go. It is their fingerprints on everyday interaction that makes others expecting or 'smelling' what and how s/he would behave in a given interaction or as a response to others' acts.

2.3   (Im)politeness

What does being polite mean? How do people indicate politeness? For the last decades, many linguists have tried to find adequate answers to these questions. Research on politeness theory underwent two chronological schools of thought: traditional and postmodern. The traditional view of politeness theory, derived from Grice's (1967) work, focused on the idea of universal rules of conversation and speech acts. Later, the postmodern view shifted the focus of politeness theory toward participants' perceptions of politeness and on the discursive struggle over politeness (Terkourafi, 2005).

Three 'waves' of scholarly approach to politeness may be identified (Grainger, 2011). First-wave approaches include those traditional theories (e.g. Lakoff, 1973; Brown & Levinson, 1978 (1987); Leech 1983). Second-wave approaches include post-Millennium theories of politeness (e.g. Spencer-Oatey 2000, Eelen 2001, Watts 2003, Mills 2003, Culpeper 2011). Third-wave approaches include those heralded by Grainger (2011a) and (Haugh 2007b) who try to mediate first and second-wave approaches. In the upcoming sections each of these three waves of politeness will be discussed.

2.4   First-wave (im)politeness

Lakoff (1975: 45) describes politeness as a "verbal velvet glove to conceal the iron fist". Later Brown and Levinson (1987:19) argue that politeness is "face-risk minimization". More

recently, Verschueren (1999) has reservations about how the term 'politeness' is used according to Brown and Levinson's point of view. So Verschueren (1999: 45) argues that:

> *"Irrespective of its specific aspects, 'politeness' has become a cover term in pragmatics for whatever choices are made in relation to the need to preserve people's face in general i.e. their public self-image".*

In any language, being polite involves understanding the language as well as the social and cultural values of the community. Therefore, it goes without saying that being polite is not an easy business. Characterizing the aspects of politeness is the main interest of many linguists who try to account for the rules that govern how language is used in a context. But this is very difficult because of the different concepts of politeness and the idiosyncratic cultural variations. In Arabic the term politeness, as it is 'first-order' conceptualised, involves both ' التأدب والتلطف/ʔattaʔaddub/&/ʔattalaTTuf/ although I opt for 'التلطف' /ʔattalaTTuf/ as the term, I believe, is the closest in meaning to the 'first-order' concept of 'politeness' since it entails most of the connotations that are said to be conveyed by the English term.

(Im)politeness can be viewed as the cornerstone of interpersonal pragmatics (Haugh, 2013). Frazer states that "politeness is a state that one expects to exist in every conversation". (1990:15). Because of its importance in relation to the people and society and its role in achieving the objectives of almost any type of interaction, some researchers are still trying to analyse it in different ways to find out more about its dimensions and exploit them to propose universal principles for people's interaction. Grice (1967) presented a series of conversational maxims (quality, quantity, relation, and manner) and sub-maxims that define what constitutes a proper and logical conversational exchange in English. By following these maxims, speakers adhere to what Grice calls the Co-operative Principle, thereby ensuring that all participants' expectations are met. Grice mentions that there could be other "aesthetic, social, or moral" maxims, such as "Be polite," but does not provide specific details (p. 69). Lakoff (1973) later presented two sets of rules that comprise pragmatic competence, the first of which is "Be clear" (that is, follow Grice's Co-operative Principle), and the second of which is "Be polite." According to Lakoff, speakers can

achieve politeness and avoid conflict by not imposing, giving options, and satisfying the hearer's feelings.

Leech (1983, p. 82) describes that the aim of politeness is "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place". However, Brown and Levinson (1987), Kasper (1990) and Lakoff (1990) don't believe that the aim of politeness is to sustain communication and collaboration among interlocutors. They claim that politeness essentially resides in tackling confrontation in human interaction. They believe that the role of politeness is to redress this confrontation by utilizing systematized strategies Kasper (p. 194) observes that politeness is seen as "a fundamentally dangerous and antagonistic endeavour". Lakoff (p. 34), from her side, sees politeness as "a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange". However, despite the lack of consensus and the various conflicting definitions on politeness by the aforementioned theorists, there is a sort of agreement that politeness entails sociolinguistic strategies for handling antagonism in social interaction (Nwoye, 1992, 309).

On the other hand, some pragmatists view the role of social context as central in defining (im)politeness. They stress the importance of considering politeness through the participants' binoculars rather than the researchers' (Culpeper, 2011, p. 3). Watts et al. (2005 [1992]) distinguish between first-order (common-sense) politeness and second-order (technical) politeness. According to them, politeness should be concerned with how ordinary unspecialized people conceptualize politeness rather than how theorists do. To put it another way, they consider the role of participants - in judging and analysing whether one utterance or segment of language polite or impolite; his/her behaviour labelled positive or negative - more critical and accurate than the researcher's that will ultimately construct a rather more sophisticated conceptualization of politeness.

2.4.1   Brown and Levinson's model of politeness

Based on Goffman's (1967) face theory, Brown and Levinson (1987) introduced "politeness theory". The main aim for using polite language is to avoid threats to face and politeness can also reduce the possible tension between the speaker and the hearer. Brown and Levinson suggest a 'Model Person' or MP in short, which represents an agent who has all the characteristics of linguistic politeness, i.e. a person who is prototypical. The main properties of MPs are: (1)"rationality", which refers to "the application of a specific mode of reasoning" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 64), and (2) "face" which refers to "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 61). It can be argued that, in Brown and Levinson (1987), the individual self-image is the central point of the face.

Following Goffman (1967), Brown and Levinson (1987: 59-61) assume that every person has a face (one's self- image). Any linguistic or non-linguistic act performed by the speaker may cause the hearer (or even the speaker) to lose face. This is what they call "FTAs (face-threatening acts)". Therefore, the speaker will tend to use politeness strategy to maintain face or minimize the risk of losing it. They assert that the riskier the speaker perceives the FTA to be, the more circumspectly s/he will perform it - see (Figure 1) below (1987: 102,131).

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that 'face' can be divided into negative face and positive face. Negative face is "the want of every competent adult member, that his/her actions be unimpeded by others" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 62). In contrast, positive face is "the want of every member that his/her wants be desirable to at least some others" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 62). The authors claim that the two types of face are universally basic desires and "the mutual knowledge of members' public self-image or face, and the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction, are universal" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 62). In positive politeness, the speaker addresses the hearer's positive-face needs, for instance by exaggerating, seeking agreement, and avoiding disagreement, joking, offering and promising. In contrast, with negative politeness, the speaker redresses the action that is directed to the hearer's negative face, for instance, by questioning, hedging, being pessimistic, giving deference and apologizing.

Brown and Levinson (1987) investigate the linguistic minutiae of speakers' utterances, which may deviate from rational efficient communication. For instance, the minimal message for requesting someone to close the window is "close the window, please". However, other forms are possible in this situation, such as "it is very cold in this room" or ""the window is open!" or "do you mind if I close the window?" Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that the motivation of these deviations is that the speaker wants to be polite. It can be noticed that the first example has an explicit linguistically encoded politeness marker, "please". In English language culture 'please' is a 'first-order' index of politeness as understood in these cultures. However, the other examples are also polite form even if the sentences do not contain a code politeness word. Based on empirical data of linguistic behaviour, Brown and Levinson (1987) introduce the "politeness theory".

Figure 1: Possible strategies for performing face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 60)

It can be seen in figure 1 that the politeness levels are different in each of these strategies. Avoiding committing to an FTA bears the least risk and thus can be considered the most polite strategy. The off-record strategy is less polite than avoiding committing to an FTA. Furthermore, the forms that are used in this strategy are indirect and may have more than one meaning. Nevertheless, positive politeness and negative politeness strategies are even less polite. These strategies are used mainly to redress the FTA while the bald strategy is a direct form, which does not redress the FTA (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Additionally, Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that the potential for committing to an FTA is affected by three factors; (i) social distance, (ii)

power and (iii) rank (level of imposition). In Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness framework, the individual strategy for FTAs is fundamental to the proposed theory. Moreover, the authors suggest that the system of interaction is universal, but the application of these principles is different cross-culturally. B&L (1987) claim that the three factors (social distance, power, and rank) affect the choice of FTAs, while the implications of these factors are different from culture to culture.

2.4.2   Overview of works that follow Brown and Levinson's model of politeness

Since the generation of politeness theory, a lot of studies and researches in the same field have been done. They varied in supporting or criticizing Brown and Levinson's model of politeness. Richard Watts (2003) categorizes politeness researches that emerged after the republication of Brown and Levinson in book form in1987 into five categories:

i.   Work criticizing aspects of Brown and Levinson's model. According to Watts, some of this literature supports a revision of the work from Brown and Levinson, and some of it chooses Leech's approach. No one of them supports a return to the approaches of Lakoff, Arndt, and Janney, or Fraser and Nolen.

ii.   Empirical work on particular types of speech acts in a wide range of linguistic and cultural settings. The majority of these works follow the Brown and Levinson framework because they believe that it presents the most competent tools for an analysis of the speech acts. On the other hand, some researchers opt to use the Leech model. Watts claims that the speech acts usually discussed are apologies, requests, thanks, and compliments. Furthermore, He refers to the speech act of request as being at the top of the list.

iii. Cross-cultural work that assesses the ways in which two cultures differ in their realisation of politeness either generally or in terms of certain speech act. Watts claims that the model of Brown and Levinson also followed by these works.

iv.   The application of politeness models to other disciplines' data, particularly from Brown and Levinson, in business and management studies, language teaching, gender studies, developmental and cognitive psychology, psychotherapy, law, etc.

v. Sporadic attempts to suggest alternative lines of enquiry, such as Coupland et al. (1988), Culpeper (1996), most of the chapters in Watts et al. (1992), some articles in Kienpointer (1999) for instance: Arundale (1999). Furthermore, Watts assures that the most important suggestions are those made by Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003: 98-99).

2.4.3 Criticism of Brown and Levinson's model of politeness

Plenty of ink has been spilled on criticizing Brown & Levinson's theory. Various aspects of this theory have been subject to criticism. These criticized aspects can fall into six main classifications: FTA, contents of face, politeness 1 vs. Politeness 2, universality, granularity and finally comprehensibility.

2.4.3.1 The notion of face-threatening act (FTA)

Criticism is focused mainly on what speech acts B&L consider to be Face Threatening Act. Numerous scholars have stressed that in their culture, many speech acts like requests, offers and invitations are not regarded by their people a face-threatening at all (see O'Driscoll, 2017). Among those scholars are Al-Khatib (2006 – Arab culture), Eslami (2005 – Persian) Matsumoto (1988 - Japanese), Mao (1994 – Chinese), and Sifianou (1993: 78 – Greek).

A speaker sometimes damages the face of the addressee in some acts; that is to perform a face-threatening act (FTA), which is performed "on record" (baldly) or "off-record" (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In "on record," performing an act can be without redressive action (baldly) or with redressive action. However, deciding how to produce an FTA depends on the calculation of the weightiness of sociological variables, such as social distance between the speaker (S) and hearer (H), the relative power of H over S, and the ranking of imposition in a particular culture, as described by Brown and Levinson (1987). Brown and Levinson's idea of politeness theory was focused on acts that threaten face because "some acts are intrinsically threatening to face and thus

require 'softening'" (p. 24) to redress those threatening acts. This approach led to complaints about their model being a very gloomy, pessimistic view of human interaction (see Sifianou, 2001; Werkhofer, 1992; Nwoye, 1992). For instance, B&L's model neglected face-enhancing acts (Leech, 2007). The term face-enhancing act was first used by Sifianou (2001) and later by Leech (2014). Prior to that, these acts were labelled as face-boosting acts by Bayraktoğlu (1991) and face-flattering acts by Kerbrat-Orrechioni (1997, 2005). However, the term which is more common is face-enhancing acts as opposed to the notion of face-threatening acts.

For instance, offering and invitation practices are viewed by many laypeople and scholars as a positive politeness strategy because, by addressing the hearer's want to be liked where his/her involvement in one event is favoured, the addressee's positive face is enhanced. This would ultimately entail that the speaker claiming "common ground" with the hearer. The linguistic realisations of positive politeness strategies are used "as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy" and "as a kind of social accelerator, where S, in using them, indicates that s/he wants to 'come closer' to H" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 103).

However, O'Driscoll (2017:98) points out:

> *"No doubt these observations do indeed point to cross-cultural differences in the standard (context-free) values attached to certain acts. But as a criticism of Brown & Levinson, they are somewhat misguided. It's a matter of temporal perspective. Brown & Levinson picture acts before they have been performed. These are FTAs in the sense that they all have, in the abstract, the potential to cause face-damage if the circumstances are right. As they readily exemplify, however, in many cases, the circumstances mean that the threat is minimal."*

O'Driscoll (2017) argues that invitations and offers are typically regarded as face-enhancing for the reasons B&L give, but B&L still argue they have the potential to be face-threatening because, by definition, they try to get H to do something. And that is all an FTA is – potential. B&L would argue the reason they are not usually experienced as face-threatening is because they are performed using their minimisation strategies.

2.4.3.2 The contents of face

Criticism is mainly focused here on B&L's perception of "positive/negative face", which could be viewed as dubious (Meier 1995:384). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), positive politeness is "redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the actions/acquisitions/values resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable" (p.101). On the other hand, negative politeness is "redressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129).

However, several pragmatists such as Matsumoto (1988), Ide et al. (1992), Nwoye (1992), and Sifianou (1992) argue against this face dichotomy postulating that Brown and Levinson provide a model with a very restricted cultural perspective that cannot be generalised to many cultures around the globe. For example, the notion of individual rights in Arab culture is not as significant as it is in Western cultures. Moreover, face wants and its relation with the politeness strategies theorised by Brown & Levinson and what is viewed as positive face and negative face in Western cultures are perceived differently by Arabs.

On reflection, Watts (1992); De Kadt (1998), O'Driscoll (1996,2007); and Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) are among the scholars who try to save and improve the notion of face for politeness theory by returning to the Goffman's approach rather than maintaining Brown and Levinson's individualistic dual notion of face. Watts (2003: 103) reports:

> "It is always the validity of a concept of negative face which is questioned. What can we make of this fact and the implied redundancy of Brown and Levinson's dual conceptualization of face in general? Does Brown and Levinson's notion of face correspond to Goffman's? And if it does not, should it be rejected out of hand? If it is rejected, we have taken the first step towards denying the universality of politeness."

Among the criticisms made on Brown and Levinson, some argue that western cultures tend to present an individualistic organization of social culture whereas several Islamic, African, and Asian cultures are more collectivist. In fact, this later argument comes at the essence of the criticism of this model, and that's why there have been so many objections to the notion of negative face. De Kadt (1998) doesn't postulate a suitable alternative to Brown and Levinson. On the other hand, O'Driscoll (1996) tries to rescue the concepts of positive and negative face, arguing that they are especially useful in a cross-cultura context but only if:

> *"(1) these concepts are freed from the constraints of the B&L model as a whole, (2) they are defined in a manner which returns to the original inspiration for the positive- negative opposition [the togetherness/apartness axis only] and (3) it is understood that this opposition is just one among many aspects of face, so that it is not made to do too much, inappropriate, work." O'Driscoll (2007: 463)*

2.4.3.3   First-order versus second-order conceptualization of politeness

The lack of distinction between politeness 1 and politeness 2 is another criticism of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. This criticism was suggested by Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003). Politeness 1 refers to "the various ways in which polite behaviour talked about by members of sociocultural groups" (Watts et al., 1992 a: 3) and politeness 2 refers to "a more technical notion, which can only have value within an overall theory of social interaction" (Watts et al., 1992 a: 4). In other words, politeness 1 indicates the common-sense notion of politeness, and politeness 2 indicates the theoretical and scientific concepts. The authors suggest that it is essential to understand that politeness is not only focused on the utterance but also how the hearer receives the utterance and possibly considers the utterance impolite.

It can be argued that some researchers who consider politeness 1 as a framework tend to assume that politeness is not the same in all cultures and the differences are because of the differences in cultures. In contrast, the politeness 2 frameworks are not interested in how this or

that culture conceives of politeness. The differences in the strategies are the result of the structural differences in language and the norms controlling the use of these strategies (Haugh, 2004).

Ignoring the normative perspective and the lack of distinction between politeness 1 and politeness 2 is the main criticisms of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. It can be argued that the two criticisms have created two relationships, namely that the strategic framework for Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is very close to the politeness 2, while the normative explanation for the works against Brown and Levinson's theory, such as Matsumoto and Mao, is close to politeness 1. However, Brown and Levinson do not ignore politeness 1 completely but consider it as background (Eelen, 200l).

In a nutshell, this model has been criticized by a handful of scholars like Eelen (2001); Watts (2003, 2005); Locher (2006) for relying on the theorist's analysis of speaker intention not the interpretation of the interactants involved.

2.4.3.4 Universality

Wierzbicka (1985) has demonstrated that Brown and Levinson's claimed universal principles of politeness theory are actually language and culture-specific. For example, she discusses several differences between English and Polish in the speech act of offering, advice, request, opinion, and tag question, and links them with different cultural norms and cultural assumptions. She believes that those differences are basically attributed to factors such as spontaneity, directness, intimacy, and affection in Polish culture vs. indirectness, distance, tolerance, and anti-dogmatism in American culture. Ogiermann (2009) comes to a similar conclusion. By analysing requests in English, German, Polish and Russian, her study shows that "the relationship between indirectness and politeness is interpreted differently across cultures." (See Grainger & Mills 2016 for a development and examples of this divergence). Several of the culture-specific strategies and notions of directness/indirectness found in such previous research are coded and analysed concerning invitation in this study.

Furthermore, the individualised and strategic idea has been criticized by many other Far Eastern authors, such as Matsumoto (1988) and Mao (1994). Matsumoto (1988) studies the politeness phenomenon in the Japanese language and culture and argues that Brown and Levinson's framework for politeness and specifically their conceptualization of the notion of "face" is different from the Japanese "face". Matsumoto based her arguments on the formulaic expressions of honorific and giving and receiving verbs in Japanese. Matsumoto (1988) argued that all these perspectives gave evidence that politeness in Japanese culture is not strategic and individual. Matsumoto (1988) suggests that for members of the Japanese culture, acknowledgment of dependency is a basic characteristic and is discrepant with the idea that a proper territory of each individual is basic in social interaction. She claims that numbers of a Japanese social study, such as Nakane (1967, 1970) and Sugiyama Lebra (1976), show that the two concepts of face (positive and negative) are alien to the Japanese.

Mao (1994) claims that there is a strong relationship between face and politeness in Chinese culture. The author proposes the idea of "relative face" which refers to "an underlying direction of face that emulates, though never completely attaining, one of two interactional ideals that may be salient in a given speech community; (i) the ideal social identity, or (ii) the ideal individual autonomy". In this suggestion, Mao (1994) tries to contain the differences between western culture and eastern cultures such as the Chinese. It can be argued that western culture proritises "the ideal individual autonomy". Mao (1994) investigates two discourse activities; (i) invitation and (ii) offering in Chinese culture. The data of these two activities show that the Chinese culture is more related to "ideal social identity'". The 'ideal social identity' and the 'ideal individual autonomy' may help to understand the strategies which people apply in different cultures although some similarity could be detected here in these two notions (see O'Driscoll, 2017: 106).

2.4.3.5   The degree of granularity

Although Brown and Levinson are considered pioneers in the field of politeness theory, there has been a recent shift in linguistic research that views politeness as more complicated and

discursive than Brown and Levinson originally theorized. For instance, Locher and Watts (2005) believe that Brown and Levinson's research focuses too heavily on face-threatening acts for the individual, rather than viewing politeness as "a discursive struggle" between assessors/observers. They focus instead on "relational work, the 'work' individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others, which includes impolite as well as polite or merely appropriate behaviour." Similarly, Spencer-Oatey (2000) takes a broader view of politeness theory by including the building of rapport in speech acts. She argues that the motivation for politeness is not the desire to maintain face alone, but also the desire to maintain sociality rights., Therefore, plenty of criticism has been focused on the idea that B&L's model is built on decontextualized, ideal, 'spiritless' and constructed examples of speech acts (Grainger, 2011:169).

Brown and Levinson confine (what they call) politeness to face maintenance and the performance of FTAs, which means they are focusing on single utterances only whereas relational work and rapport management study larger chunks of data and are not confined to face alone.

2.4.3.6 Comprehensiveness

Brown & Levinson theories focus on only one facet of the politeness scale, which is 'polite'. It neglects – possibly unintentionally – the other end of the scale (i.e. impolite). Henceforth, it is arguable that their model is incomprehensive (cf. Gilks, 2010:96). However, since Brown & Levinson allow in their model the option of an FTA without redress, it could be argued that this facet is – more or less – what has become later recognized as impoliteness.

2.4.3.7   Conclusion

All in all, despite the fact that Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory has been recursively subject to criticism, their work has been widely used by so many researchers and it is believed that Brown and Levinson's politeness framework and their account of face(work) are one of the most influential in politeness theoretical research as it practically opened the gates to investigating the politeness phenomenon from different perspectives and within and across numerous cultures around the world.

This study is an attempt to utilize the most-agreed upon features of Brown & Levinson's model and evade what is criticized or controversial in their model. O'Driscoll (2007) argues that the positive/negative distinction is a useful one although it is not obviously a most-agreed upon feature. O'Driscoll (2007: 463) points out that:

> *"Its main contention is that the concepts of positive face(work) and negative face(work) are particularly useful in this context, applying to a wider range of interactive moves than the model in which B&L cage them allows...This potential, however, only becomes clear when (1) these concepts are freed from the constraints of the B&L model as a whole, (2) they are defined in a manner which returns to the original inspiration for the positive-negative opposition [the togetherness/apartness axis only] and (3) it is understood that this opposition is just one among many aspects of face, so that it is not made to do too much, inappropriate, work."*

This project fundamentally adopts a discursive ritual-oriented approach in analysing the collected naturally-occurring data. However, in Chapter five some statistics, especially those concerning the most frequent tactics utilized when inviting/offering, will appear in an attempt to match the ratings of perceived politeness represented in the experimental data with the intended politeness represented in the 'real' direct data illustrated in Chapter four. Holmes (1995: 21) claims, (im)politeness is "always context-dependent". Hence, this project investigates certain offering and invitational interchanges probing both the perceived speaker meaning and utterance context-bound interpretation.

2.5   Second-wave (im)politeness

The post-modem approach (Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003) proposes a new framework of politeness integrating social theoretical concepts particularly the notion of habitus Bourdieu (1991). Habitus is a social concept that "caters for regulated behaviour without the need for positing some external regulating force" (Eelen, 2001, p. 222). It incorporates "the set of dispositions to behave in a manner which is appropriate to the social structures objectified by an individual through her/his experience of social interaction" (Watts, 2003, p. 274). This term plays an important role in assessing politeness. Politeness within the postmodern approach is integrated within a theory of social practice, where "practice is observable in instances of ongoing social interaction amongst individuals, which most often involves language" (Watts, 2003, p. 148). The dynamicity and listeners' interpretations of politeness are asserted contrary to the traditional approach which concentrated on speakers' intentions for politeness strategic selections.

Following this idea, focusing on the process of constructing social reality, Eelen (2001) asserts the evaluative aspects of politeness as "representations of reality" (2001, p. 247). He denies predictability, saying that "the emphasis on variability and individual creativity even implies that prediction will no longer be possible" (2001, p. 247). People obtain habitus through their experience of social interactions. Eelen confirms the dynamic and evolvable aspects of habitus.

Eelen's (2001) framework is built on a distinct categorization of politeness which was originally proposed by Watts (1992). He differentiates between first-order politeness (politeness1) which refers to "common sense notions of politeness" and second-order politeness (politeness2) which refers to "the scientific conceptualization of politeness" (2001, p. 30). This distinction may be said to correspond to that between emic and etic. Politeness1 (emic) refers both to "the informants' conscious statements about his or her notion of politeness" and to "his other spontaneous evaluations of politeness, (of his or her own or someone else's behaviour) made in the course of actual interaction" (2001, p. 77). Politeness 2 (etic), in contrast, refers to "outsiders' accounts of insiders' behaviour, involving distinctions not relevant to those insiders"(2001, p. 78).

Politeness1 thus implies a more everyday impression of politeness. Politeness2, on the other hand, implies the universal conception of politeness (Eelen, 2001).

The discursive approach to politeness has received some criticism. Kádár (2011: 249) claims that "discursive is a vague definition and its basic virtue is that it presupposes diversity: this approach includes various insightful conceptualisation of linguistic politeness that often have not much in common. Nevertheless…the discursive approach is a 'field', because discursive research shares some related basic concepts".

Culpeper (2011b: 414) lists the various characteristics of the discursive approaches of politeness:

- *"the claim that there is no one meaning of the term "politeness" but it is a site of discursive struggle;*
- *the centrality of the perspective of the participants;*
- *an emphasis of situated and emergent meanings rather than pre-defined meanings;*
- *the claim that politeness is evaluative in character (that is used in judgements of people's behaviours);*
- *an emphasis on context;*
- *the claim that politeness is intimately connected with social norms which offer a grasp on the notion of appropriateness (note here the connection with the socio-cultural view of politeness […];*
- *the reduction of the role of intention in communication (it is rejected, or at least weakened or reconceptualised);*
- *a focus on the micro, not the macro; and*
- *a preference for qualitative methods of analysis as opposed to quantitative".*

Despite the fact that discursive scholars tend to immerse themselves in the contextual analysis rather than generalizing based on stereotypical thinking, Mills (2009) and Kádár and Mills (2011) admit that it is conceivable that generalizations can be made about tendencies within language groups, which ultimately has a significant influence on interlocutors' judgment of whether an utterance is polite or impolite (Mills, 2011). Moreover, they stress the importance of cultural variety and the crucial role it plays in those judgments in any given interlocution.

Consequently, the deduced meaning of politeness would be only established in situated exchanges. It cannot be simply based on future predictions of behaviour or generalization (Terkourafi, 2005).

The approach is "'non-systematic' and 'destructive' in comparison with traditional "normative and prescriptive" (Watts 2003: 53) theories" (Kádár & Mills 2011:8); it is explained by Mills in response to a question about the missing theoretical model in their theoretical formulation, that:

> *"Discursive theorists are not necessarily attempting to construct a model of politeness to replace Brown and Levinson's since they recognize that constructing such a model would lead to generalizations that are prone to stereotyping. These stereotypes of general politeness norms are generally based on the speech styles and ideologies of the dominant group (Mills, 2003). Instead, discursive theorists aim to develop a more contingent type of theorizing which will account for contextualized expressions of politeness and impoliteness, but these positions will not necessarily come up with a simple predictive model."* (Mills 2011: 34–5, cited in Kádár & Mills 2011:8)

2.5.1 Politic VS. polite behaviour

Watts' (2003) theory discriminates between politic and polite behaviour. Politic behaviour is "behaviour, linguistic and non-linguistic, which the participants construct as being appropriate to the ongoing social interaction" (2003, p. 21). In contrast, polite behaviour is "behaviour beyond what is perceived to be appropriate to the ongoing social interaction" (2003, p. 21). For that reason, it could be indicated that politeness theory should ponder on politeness1 chiefly linguistic (im) politeness, which is witnessed to be beyond what is expected, i.e., exceptional (salient) behaviour. It should "locate possible realisations of polite or impolite behaviour and offer a way of assessing how the members themselves may have evaluated that behaviour" (2003:19). Politic behaviour is, as defined and distinguished from politeness by Watts (2003), based on expectation and acceptability. The major argument he makes is that politeness analytical framework should examine more what is both expected and appropriate to the social constraints of interactions but it is still non-salient (namely: politic behaviour). His notion of politic/polite behaviour is

interconnected with Bourdieu's concept of habitus which denotes that what is inferred as (im) polite by people is decided by their linguistic habitus and the accessible linguistic resources. However, Leech (2007) does not distinguish between them because he considers politeness as a scaler phenomenon of human communicative behaviour which "can be relatively salient or relatively formulaic and routine" (p. 203).

In this project, more emphasis is put on politic behaviour than what might be categorized as polite or impolite. It highlights all aspects of the politeness spectrum not merely the extreme ends (i.e. polite or impolite). In fact, most of the spontaneous everyday interaction discourse can be classified as politic – neither polite nor impolite. This is also true - at least in Arabic - when making, accepting or even declining invitations and offers.

2.5.2   Rituality

The term 'ritual' is widely used in anthropology, human behaviour, and sociology. It has heavily entered the field of sociolinguistics and pragmatics recently. However, scholars have been using this phenomenon either in the narrow sense or sometimes mistakenly. Kadar (2013: 10) reports that:

> *"Most scholars describe rituals from their outsider (etic) perspective, and they provide technical (second-order) models for rituals, i.e. first-order expectancies (the etic perspective is a first-order one) are often implicitly present in these models. This is why ritual is often defined in a narrow sense, without making an argument for, or even explicitly describing, this analytic perspective."*

Taking into account these methodological considerations and the aforementioned relational properties of rituals, Kadar (2017: 55) defines the phenomenon of relational ritual as follows:

> *"Relational ritual is a formalized/schematic, conventionalized and recur-rent act, which is relationship forcing, i.e. by operating it reinforces/transforms in-group relationships.*

Ritual is realised as an embedded (mini-)performance (mimesis), and this performance is bound to relational history (and related ethos), or historicity in general (and related social ethos). Ritual is an emotively invested affective action, as anthropological research has shown."

Ritual does not only refer to "a ceremony or any kind of scripted language that people use on special occasions." (Kadar, 2017: XV), it also comprehends our everyday exchanges. *Oraby (2017: 2) reports that:*

"By using examples from a variety of real-life interactions Kádár illustrates that this phenomenon is not limited to demarcated ceremonial practices, but rather it is present in daily interactions, and it also fulfills a regulatory function: by performing rituals (as understood in Kádár's technical sense), communities maintain their interactional norms. Ritual is a (co-)constructed phenomenon (p. xv), which reflects and reinforces the moral order of things."

This model will be of great help when analysing our gathered data in Chapter four since it can cope with the complicated and multifaceted relations and interactions that we might encounter. Emanated via the discursive prism, a ritual approach will constitute the focal point of the analytical framework which this project lies on.

2.5.3   Criticism on discursive approach to politeness

The discursive approaches to politeness have been criticized mainly for the two considerations below:

1. Confining the role of sociopragmatic analysts to presenting how the participants involved interpret their own interchanges and why they would interpret them that way when holding post-hoc interviews and evaluations (Grainger, 2011, 171; Haugh, 2007b, 303). This approach of studying politeness would completely neglect the theorists' touches in scientific research

and makes them like spectators. On the other hand, laymen analysts may be seen as holding the position of an omniscient.

2. Their concentration on psychological concepts (e.g. evaluation, intention, and perception) and even presuming an encoding-decoding model of communication which many scholars view as unrealistic and lacking robust technicality (Arundale, 2006, Haugh, 2007b).

2.6   Third-wave (im)politeness

2.6.1   Frame-based approach

To mediate the two conflicting waves of theories, Terkourafi (2005) suggested the frame-based politeness theory, which combines elements of the two conflicting views. Terkourafi (2001) created the frame-based approach to identify and classify the speech act of offers and requests in order to understand politeness in Cypriot Greek data by recording a large corpus of spontaneous conversational exchanges between native speakers of Greek. This approach departs from the common assumptions between the traditional view of politeness and the post- modern view as a complementary approach to understand the politeness phenomena, "seeking to account theoretically for observed regularities in the data, and that acknowledges generalized implicatures of politeness alongside particularized ones" (Terkourafi, 2005, 254).

Below are the main features that characterized Terkourafi's (2005) frame-based theory:

1. Politeness cannot be studied purely at a generalized or universal level, as in the traditionalist view, or at a micro-level, as in the postmodernist view, but can be best analysed through frames of context. These frames, which are generated bottom-up from the empirical data, include different social variables such as sex, age, and social class in relation to speaker and addressee, are inherently assumed by speakers due to their regularity and enacted out of politeness. By looking at these frames, Terkourafi suggests a three-level schema of analysis in which the three

approaches coincide; the traditionalist view is the most "coarse," the postmodern view the most "refined," and the frame-based view occupying the middle.

2. The goal of her theory is to establish regularities of co-occurrence between linguistic realisations of speech acts and their particular types of contexts of use in real-life contexts. In other words, expressions are not polite by themselves, but it is in the regularity of the co-occurrence of the expressions that creates the perception of politeness about them. That perception is created and constituted by the regular co-occurrence of specific linguistic expressions in particular types of context, which also reflect the previous experience of language users about what expressions to use in particular contexts, based on a knowledge of community norms. Culpeper (2011) commented on the impact of culture on norms and says that culture affects not only the norms of group behaviour but also the attitudes towards the norms. The expressions that are used unchallenged by interlocutors are polite because politeness passes unnoticed, which is not like impoliteness that is commented on (Kasper, 1990). In this approach, data are analysed quantitatively and qualitatively to establish the regularities of co-occurrence (i.e., expressions and types of context) because "the formulaic speech carries the burden of polite discourse" (Terkourafi, 2003, p. 197).

3. This approach is data-driven, not theory-driven, and the context in terms of speakers, addresses, relationships, and the setting is certain to explore the regularities of co-occurrence. Therefore, norms are discovered from the bottom-up analysis for the empirical data. Some regularities are considered as polite bahaviour in this approach because they are regular (Terkourafi, 2005a). As seen in the previous sections, Leech (1983) stated that some speech acts are intrinsically polite, whereas, Brown and Levinson (1987) mentioned that some acts are face-threatening acts.

4. Politeness is not merely an aspect of indirectness, but rather conventionalization. To account for this, she distinguishes between "generalized implicatures" of politeness, where they are conceptualized as contextual frames, and "particularized implicatures" triggered by "active inferencing" about the "speaker's intentions". She defines conventionalization as:

"A relationship holding between utterances and contexts, which is a correlate of the (statistical) frequency with which an expression is used in one's experience in a particular context. It is thus a matter of degree, and may well vary for different speakers, as well as for the same speaker over time. This does not preclude the possibility that a particular expression may be conventionalized in a particular context for virtually all speakers of a particular language, thereby appearing to be a 'convention' of the language."

(Terkourafi 2001: 130)

5. Terkourafi's argument of politeness, which is based on the generalized implicature, explains how an addressee relies on previous experience, not the addresser's intuitions, in interpreting expressions as polite because of the regularity of co-occurrence.

2.6.2 Sociological/interactional approach

Grainger (2011) suggests a 'middle-ground' that would function as a compromise between first and second-wave approach to politeness. She calls her innovative notion the sociological/interactional approach. This approach adopts certain features from each of the two waves that have obtained prior consensus by most pragmatists. This notion follows Austin's (1962) notion that speech is necessarily a social interaction that accounts for the ways that involved participants would interpret the (cor)relation between linguistic forms and their functional meaning in daily interactions (Grainger, 2011, 171).

Scholars (e.g. Arundale, O'Driscoll, and Haugh) who argued for a similar interactional approach at roughly the same time call for reviving Goffman's sociological aspects, where he stresses the need for considering the philosophical aspect of interaction and the moral norms that influence individuals' behaviour. Therefore, there is no longer a need to refer only to participants' evaluations of a given interchange as the pragmatist is now authorized to come up with his/her own technical and theory-based analysis (Grainger, 2011, 172). Thus, the output analysis would be a balanced 'mid-way' combination of the two waves of politeness that takes into consideration both the speakers' and recipients' first-order interpretations as well as the analysts' second-order theoretical insights.

This project adopts this final view of politeness, which emphasizes the role of cross-contextual variables, participants' view as well as the most agreed-upon concepts of speech act, face and politeness theories over the last three decades in approaching and processing the interactional moves and the tactics in a given social interaction. Generally, my thesis might be classified to fall under the third-wave of politeness adhered by Grainger, O'Driscoll, and Haugh as it adopts mainly the discursive and ritual approaches, but benefits from some of the notions adhered by some first-wave scholars. However, it follows quite a different stream. Since the culture under study here is a collectivist discernment culture (i.e. Jordan as part of Arab culture - located mainly in MENA region), this project takes a ritual perspective as long as ritual here is a crucial component in such cultures. To be more accurate, in this study rituality is embraced - or cocooned - by the discursive approach in a novel sandwich approach.

My argument is that this ongoing conflict between the traditional theories of politeness including Grice, Lakoff, Leech and reaching to Brown & Levinson's model and the post-modern approach to politeness resembles the distinction between competence and performance. The former representing the rigidly 'perceived' competence and the latter representing the vividly 'empirical' performance. This could be also illustrated by the 'Model Person' concept versus the 'Habitus' concept.

More generally, this transformation in approaches to politeness looks like that smooth and natural one that linguistics underwent starting from De Saussure's structuralism passing through Chomsky's transformational analysis theory and later sociolinguistics ending with the emergence of pragmatics and its legitimate baby 'politeness'. This transformation is so natural that it can be even observed in several other anthropological and human sciences. I do not think we are exaggerating if we claim that it is even the trajectory of almost all sciences. It is the 'innate evolution' from theory into practice; from the abstract into concrete; from the ideal into factual. In summary, the evolution in language study has been from the purely formal into the lavishly contextual.

Henceforth, the 'password' in each of these developments that all these various perspectives of language study have witnessed is 'practicality' - in the strict sense of it - where all cross-direction argumentation is anchored. Accordingly, these polishing and enhancing processes over linguistics are anticipated to continue for good as long as theorists ponder and dig deeper into the 'abouts' of practice.

In the current project, I attempt my best to 'hold the stick from the middle'. In other words, most of the prominent agreed-upon notions, features, and concepts of each of the three waves of approaching politeness have been deliberately employed in this study, especially those in the most recent waves. This project can be viewed as another serious attempt to bridge the gap between most of the conflicting perspectives of studying politeness. It adopts what at least the majority of pragmatists have endorsed, and neglects what has been recursively criticized. For instance, although this project mainly adheres to the discursive approach, there was no attempt by me to conduct interviews to come up with the participants' post-hoc evaluations. On the other hand, I have made unashamed use of the fact I myself was a participant in about half the encounters analysed. Although this fact might raise observer's paradox issues, I believe it would be perverse to reject the insights that are made possible as a result of it. Overall, this work can be classified as falling under third-wave approach to politeness.

2.7 Balancing politeness & reciprocity

Social actions and cultural practices could be viewed as repayments for prior initiatives. Thanking, for example, is regarded as a reactive credit to an action performed by another interlocutor. Thus, thanking is conceptualised as a reaction which seeks achieving or maintaining the balance in interactive relations (Pérez, 2005: 91). It is a pragmatic and strategic device which ultimately aims at balancing personal relations among interlocutors (Coulmas, 1981:81).

Haverkate (1988:391) indicates that thanking is a reactive action which serves "the particular purpose of restoring equilibrium in the cost-benefit relation between speaker and

hearer". Coulmas (1981) also reports that thanking in this aspect resembles the speech act of apology: "Thanks implying the indebtedness of the recipient of the benefit closely resemble apologies where the speaker actually recognizes his indebtedness to his interlocutor" (Coulmas 1981: 79). Accordingly, a repayment manifested in offers or invitations, are often favoured. Al-Khawaldeh (2014) indicates that "these three elements of favour, gratitude verbal expression, and counter gift constitute the principle of reciprocity".

Reciprocity, in accord with Gouldner, has been always underpinned by "a generalized moral norm [...] which defines certain actions and obligations as repayments for benefits received" (1960: 170). On reflection, (Tantucci et al., 2018) "do not restrict reciprocity to social 'credits', but include social 'debits'". They conceptualise reciprocity as the act of "maintaining a balance of social payments". (See also O'Driscoll 1996, who conceptualises degrees of facework as amounts of face payment.)

The notion of balancing politeness and reciprocity do not only apply to thanking and apology. With deep insight, balance in human interaction could be interpreted in multiple daily exchanges. Many social actions and/or speech acts – when nuancedly analysed – are authentic demonstrations of balancing politeness. For instance, insistence and resistance acts common to Arab invitation sequences might be seen as manifestation of this notion of social balance (see 4.3.1.1 & 6.1.1). Above, ostensible invitational and offering acts probably target granting the inviter/offerer an opportunity to achieve equilibrium with the act performed by the other interlocutor. This would ultimately enhance S's face in his/her community.

Another aspect of (im)balancing politeness is represented by power mismatch. When one of the interlocutors, for example, is higher in status/power than the other, s/he will probably (consciously or subconsciously) compel the other to collude with him/her by pretense (cf. Walton 1998: 38). This results from the lack of balance between S and H. Hence, collusion is employed in such context to maintain balance, and consequently, politeness. In this study, we will investigate how a pendulum balance must be mutually coordinated among interlocutors, or else S and H' face needs would be prone to damage.

2.8   Studies on invitations and offers

Invitation and offering practices have been studied from various perspectives. For the purpose of this study, this section is divided into two parts; the first part deals with those studies that place a great emphasis on the politeness strategies (tactics: as adopted in the current study) that are used when making and responding to invitations and offers. The second part reviews the studies that present invitations and offers as a discourse (i.e. within a context).

2.8.1   Studies on offering and invitational strategies

Many works have dealt with the study of (im)politeness and various strategies of speech acts employed in given interactions in different cultures. Beede, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990) studied refusal strategies used by Native American English speakers and Japanese English foreign language learners when refusing invitations, requests, offers, and suggestions. A Discourse Completion Test, which is composed of twelve role-play situations, was used to collect data. They found that both groups differ in three areas: the order, frequency, and the content of the semantic formula of refusal. The semantic formula is "the means by which a particular speech act is accomplished in terms of the primary content of an utterance, such as a reason, an explanation, or an alternative "(Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1991: 48). A sequence of strategies was used as in expressing regret followed by excusing and then offering of alternatives. While the American speakers gave full details when they cave explanations or excuses, the Japanese cave less specific explanations that might be somehow vague to the American speakers. It was also found that both groups use direct and indirect refusal strategies but they differ in usage. The American English speakers used indirect forms in refusing most of the time, while the Japanese used more direct refusing strategies when speaking to a person of a lower status and indirect strategies were used when addressing a person of higher status.

To analyse the politeness strategies that Venezuelan speakers use when extending or responding to invitations, García (1999) video-tapes twenty subjects (10 males and 10 females)

interacting with a 40-year-old female in two role-play situations: one in which they invited a friend to attend a birthday party and a second scenario in which they refused a friend's invitation to a party. Strategies used are analysed in two stages: the analysis first follows the head act-supporting move categorizations of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and then strategies are further categorized using B&L's (1987) theoretic framework as deference and solidarity politeness strategies.

The invitations involved three stages: (1) invitation-response, (2) insistence-response, and (3) wrap-up. The author concluded that the Venezuelan participants are more associated with a positive politeness culture and that they favour friendship over imposition.

Fe'lix-Brasdefer's (2003) study provides a cross-cultural analysis of the politeness strategies to decline invitations used by native Spanish-speakers and advanced non-native speakers of Spanish whose native language is American English. The data of the study are collected form thirty students of different social status (high and low); the students were divided into a number of groups: ENG-ENG, ENG-SPN, and SPN-SPN according to the languages they speak. The collected data consist of five simulated open-role play situations: one apology, one complaint and three refused to an invitation. The data were analysed in terms of the politeness strategies used in declaring an invitation: hedging, promise of future, acceptance, solidity, and positive opinion.

Similar politeness strategies were used by each group. However, the difference only lied in the frequency and preference of their use. Findings show that the English-English group has a tendency to be more direct than the Spanish-Spanish group while the English-Spanish group falls right in the middle.

Zhu, Li, and Qian (1998) investigated the functions, concepts, and social behaviour of gift offering and accepting a gift in China, and whether social factors affect the value of gifts and the way they are presented and accepted. One hundred and sixty-eight subjects participated in the study. The findings show that offering and responding to Offers in China depend on interpersonal relationships. That is, an offer acceptance patterns were favoured by interlocutors of equal power, whereas the form of reoffer decline was used by unequal power relationships. Moreover, it was found that what is offered (in this case the gift) is an important issue in which it would affect the

way the offer is accepted. The more expensive the gift, the more disinclined the other party would act to accept the gift.

Yongbing (1998) examined some pairs of conversation formulas of speech acts of greeting/greeting, offer/response, compliment/response, thank/response, and advice /response in two cultures, English and Chinese in everyday conversation routines from across cultural perspective. She compared and contrasted the two cultures by focusing on the differences between the two cultures in terms of five pairs of speech acts which were frequently used in daily communication. Moreover, problems of Chinese and English cross-cultural communication were investigated in terms of pragmatic transfer. The finds showed that there are differences between the two languages in the ways of offering and responding to offers. For instance, the Chinese's response to gift offering was different from that of English, and deviations would happen if the cultural rules are transferred into cross Chinese and English communication. The English speakers' response to a gift offer is mostly done by showing appreciation and admiration as in saying (eg Thanks, what a lovely gift). Meanwhile, as a response, Chinese may produce a speech act of mild blaming like (e.g. you do not have to bother, we are like sisters). It was also found that what is considered polite by one culture may be rude to the other. That is, the English commonly used the expression 'Thank you' as a polite response to an offer between family members; however, Chinese do not use it often in family circles among children and parents as it is taken for granted that they should do the favour without thanking. Yongbing (1998) concluded her study by stating that some speech acts are culture-specific and language is closely related to culture and thoughts.

In their study, Feng, Chang, and Holt (2011) examined the behaviour of Chinese gift offering from a politeness theory perspective. The study examined how the variables: social distance, and power, referred to in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory influence positive and negative politeness strategies produced in Chinese gift-giving. The participants consist of 45 males and 107 females from different geographical areas mainly provinces and cities of China responded to a questionnaire.

However, Allami (2012: 117) modified Barron's proposed offering strategies by adding new four strategies, (1) Imperative as in: 'Eat'; (2) Formulaic gift offer as in: 'It is not worthy of you'; (3) Vulgar expressions as in: 'Take it, as if a dog took it '; and (4) Requests as in: 'Please, come to our home tonight'. He examined the different strategies used when performing the speech act of offering among Persian speakers in different situations. The participants consist of 195 male and female native Persian speakers who were between 18 and 50 years old and from different educational backgrounds and social classes. Each participant is answered a 36-item Discourse Completion Task on the speech act of offering. The finds showed that there are 12 strategies used when offering: Mood Derivable, Hedged Performers, Locution Derivable, Want Statements, Suggestory Formula, Query Preparatory, State Preparatory, Strong Hint, Imperatives, Formulaic Gift Offer, Vulgar Expressions and Requests. The last four strategies were new and were not found in Barron's (2003) classification of English offers. The most used strategies were query preparatory, hedged Imperatives, and Prevention derivable.

Factors such as the participant's age, gender, social distance, and relative power were investigated, but they were not significantly effective in the choice of the offering strategies. Moreover, Persian speakers tend to be more indirect. Locution Derivable, Query Preparatory, and Hedged Imperative were the most common strategies used by them.

In his cross-cultural study, Guo (2012) investigates the refusal strategies used by Chinese and American speakers. Sixty American teachers and students as well as sixty Chinese university students and teachers were interviewed for the purpose of the study. A modified version of the DCT developed by Beebe (1990) was used. The finds revealed similarities as well as differences between the two groups. For instance, both used indirect strategies the most. The most strategies used were 'Regret', 'Statement of Alternative' and 'Reason'.

Moaveni (2014) compared the refusal strategies used by American and international college students. He also examines the gender difference in the performance of refusal. The sample of this study assembled sixteen undergraduate American students and thirty-two international students. Similar to most studies, a Discourse Completion Task (DCT) was used for collecting the data. Next, the data were analysed in terms of frequency, order, and content of semantic formulas.

Results revealed that the American students used more direct strategies accompanied by gratitude semantic formulas when using email. For example, American males used giving reasons and alternatives whereas American females preferred to use expressions of gratitude and stating positive opinions. Moreover, international students tended to use regret and explanation. Besides, international sample tended to provide reasons that were more specific compared with the Americans.

2.8.2   Studies on invitations and offers as discourse

One study that deals with invitation discourse is the one conducted by Tseng (1999). Tseng builds his argument that the Chinese invitational discipline does not always consist of a tripartite structure as other studies suggest (Mao 1992 for example). From data obtained from two sources, he manages to prove that the tripartite structure does not occur in all Chinese invitational discipline. Besides the tripartite structure, the Chinese invitational discipline has two other interactive structures: single structure and bipartite structure. After examining the role of the non-linguistic factors and the context, he concludes with final remarks about the refusal strategies that call upon the use of bipartite and tripartite structures in this culture.

Another study was carried out by Mao (1992) who indicates that the speech act of inviting in Chinese features a tripartite (three-turn) structure, which covers the twofold politeness strategies, previously positive and negative politeness strategies. Thus, his study criticizes the treatment of inviting as either single or a co-operative speech act. After providing a number of examples where the invitation is extended from a single structure to a tripartite structure, he suggests that it is possible for the participants to attend to each other's negative face and positive face in a single speech event through its tripartite structure. To prove his claim that the ritual play (the tripartite structure) embedded in Chinese invitational discipline makes an important contribution to shaping identities, he based his analysis on several recorded conversations and his own observations.

Invitational discourse is studied in other cultures as well. Szatrowski (1987) examines the invitational discipline of Japanese. Based on twenty-five hours of Japanese telephone conversations analysed within the framework of conversational analysis, Szatrowski argues that the Japanese standard form of invitation/request is used only in a few conversations. Thus, he conducts a study to figure out the factors that influence the choice of the form of the invitation. The study shows that, through the process of invitation, the speaker's negotiation is regulated by three factors: the lexical contextualization cues given by the inviter, the shared experience of the speakers and the responses from the invitee (p. 270). According to him, the Japanese would deviate from using the standard form of invitation for politeness reasons. He asserts that the perception of face proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) determines the choice of the invitation form; the Japanese use the standard form when the invitation threats the addressee's negative face. Thus, the study concludes that the Japanese would refrain from using the explicit way of extending invitations in most cases.

In politeness literature, the number of studies that study invitations and/or offers through discourse and naturally-occurring contexts compared to those that approach them as deliberate strategies is very limited. In other words, very scant studies have approached invitations from a discursive perspective. Most studies adopt a pure or slightly adapted version of Brown & Levinson's (1987) model where DCT is the major tool for collecting data. The study in hand is an ambitious attempt to follow the most modern trends in approaching politeness in general and invitational/offering practices in particular by implementing those notions brought by discursive, ritual, and interactional approach to politeness; the notions that mainly represent the second and third waves of politeness - not neglecting what the first-wave (e.g. Leech,1983; Brown & Levinson, 1987) laid down of significant concepts, features, and methods in examining invitations and politeness applications over the last century.

2.8.3   Studies on invitation and offering in Arabic

Numerous studies have been conducted to examine various speech act norms and responses to them in Arabic speaking cultures, such as gratitude (Morsi, 2010; Al-Khawaldeh, 2014), compliment (Migdadi, 2003), swearing (Abdel-Jawad, 2000), apology (Bataineh, 2004), and insistence (Traverso, 2007, Eshreteh, 2015). However, there is very little research specifically regarding invitation in Arabic. In fact, to my knowledge, only a few studies on offering or invitation practices have been conducted on Arabic language/culture: Al-Khatib's (2006) study of Jordanian Arabic, Naim's (2011) study of Moroccan Arabic, Al-Darraji et al.'s (2013) study of Iraqi Arabic, Mansor's (2017) study of Libyan Arabic and Eshreteh's (2014) study of Palestinian Arabic. Al-Khatib's (2006) and Naim's (2011) works were intralinguistic, focusing exclusively on Arabic, whereas Al-Darraji's and Eshreteh's works were cross-linguistic studies that compared Arabic and English. In this section, I try to highlight some of these studies on Arabic that explore this interesting everyday occurrence.

Al-Khatib (2006) - who was my university instructor about 20 years ago - is the first to examine invitation in Jordanian Arabic. He explored invitation and its responses in Jordanian culture, identifying the various strategies used with a particular focus on the sociopragmatic factors that influence them. Al-khatib examined all three aspects of invitation: inviting, accepting, and declining. To gather the invitation data, Al-Khatib's team utilized two methods of data collection – oral and written – from 120 participants. The oral portion consisted of natural observations from many sources and locations, such as coffee shops, workplaces, and family gatherings, while the written portion was conducted through a questionnaire. Al-Khatib analysed the data following the most influential studies on speech acts and politeness, including Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1976) concepts of speech act theory, Brown and Levinson's work on politeness and face, and Beebe et al.'s (1990) refusal classifications.

Al-Khatib (2006: 277-278) classified the categories of invitation making, accepting and declination invitations as follows:

1. Making an invitation: Al-Khatib found that stressing common membership, swearing (oath taking), promise of repay, and offering good wishes were the most frequent used strategies to make an invitation.

2. Accepting an invitation: Al-Khatib found that to thank and express appreciation, to stress relationship, to express how glad you are, to praise/compliments and pay tribute, and to offer good wishes were the most frequent used strategies to accept invitations.

2. Declining an invitation: Al-Khatib found that to express regret / apologize, to provide explanation / justification, asking pardon / forgiveness, to promise for compensation, to express good wishes, and to reject were the used strategies to declination invitations.

When accepting invitations, Jordanians are also notified to employ several techniques. These are 'thanking and appreciating, offering good wishes and stressing common membership (p.282). Yet, the declining strategies involved 'asking for forgiveness or thanking, promise of compensation, offering good wishes and justification (p.382).

Al-Khatib (2001, cited in Al-Khatib 2006: 288) has stated 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 reliance meaning that the recipient is gluttonous, and may be described as an ill-behaved person."

The study showed that Jordanians utilized a greater number of direct strategies when issuing an invitation, but solely utilized indirect strategies for invitation responses, such as thanking for acceptance and apology for refusal. In addition to these common strategies of invitation-issuing and its responses, Jordanian invitations were distinguished by their culture-specific use of religious expressions such as swearing (oath taking) and good wishes (blessing). Al-Khatib found significant gender differences in the use of the strategies, such as females' tendency to use good wishes, as opposed to males, who preferred explanations. The age of the participants also affected the invitations; younger participants were more likely to refuse

invitations than were middle-aged or older participants. Moreover, regarding the social context of the occasion, Jordanians were three times more likely to decline casual invitations outside the home than those issued in a domestic setting. As in most culture-specific studies, Al-Khatib argues that Jordanian Arabic has its own special set of patterns that is best understood by others who share the same culture.

Al-Shboul and Huwari (2016) explored the similarities and differences between Jordanian and American male groups in the performance of refusal. To elicit data, they used an adapted version of the Discourse Completion Task (DCT). The study showed the importance of cultural norms and values. The results of the study found that both groups of participants preferred indirect strategies   as apologies, providing an explanation, and using adjuncts to refusals. It was also highlighted that Jordanian groups tended to use more indirect strategies than the American groups who used direct strategies in their refusals.

Nelson et al. (2002) investigated refusal strategies employed by American and Egyptian speakers and the influence of factors such as gender and social status on the strategies used. Thirty American English speakers living in the United States and twenty-five Arabic Egyptian speakers living in Egypt surveyed the sample of the study. Giving reasons and negative willingness was the most used strategy used by both the Egyptians and Americans. Both used direct and indirect strategies when refusing. The Egyptian males employed direct strategies when refusing an offer from people of higher or lower status more than the American males. Like Beebe et al. (1990), Nelson found that Americans typically employ indirect strategies when refusing an offer made by higher and lower status.

Mazid (2006) examined politeness in Emirati Arabic and the translation of some expressions into English. Forms of politeness were collected through the use of a questionnaire distributed to female UAE university students taking a Politeness Course relating issues of how to apologize, greet, request, and thank. Euphemism, address forms, body language, and politeness formulas were found as aspects of politeness in UAE. It was found that Emirati Arabic speakers use rich religious expressions. Moreover, the study showed that before closing the conversation,

the speakers use formulas of offers of help in their responses, which function as gambits and politeness formulas such as "توصي بشي" or "You command anything," "Any help before I go".

Also, some studies examined invitation and offering practices in Saudi Arabic, such as (Al-Shalawi, 1997), (Al-Qahtani, 2009), and (Alfalig, 2016). Al-Shalawi (1997) conducted a cross-cultural study on Saudi and American male undergraduate students to investigate the semantic formulas in the speech act of refusal. He used a Discourse Completion Test to collect the data from 100 participants (50 in each group). Al-Shalawi found that Saudis and Americans used similar semantic formulas in refusing; however, the difference was in the number of semantic formulas used in each situation (e.g., requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions) and the way they offered an explanation. Besides, the results showed that Saudis used religious expressions in their refusal, which indicated the influence of religion on Saudi culture in language use. Moreover, Saudis were ambiguous and less direct than Americans who ensured that their explanations were clear. Therefore, there was a significant difference in the use of the direct "no." Saudis used more semantic formulas, avoidance strategies (e.g., postponement, hedge, repeat), and positive and negative politeness strategies than Americans. Al-Shalawi interpreted the performance of Saudi refusal by mentioning that people are encouraged to comply with a request because of the concern with social approval in the Saudi culture. Finally, he mentioned that these differences reflected the collectivist culture for Saudis and the individualistic culture for Americans. According to Leech (2007), however, the two concepts are positions on a scale, although there is more power of group values in the East, which is different from the power of the individual values in the West. Therefore, "there is no absolute divide between East and West in politeness" (Leech, 2007, p. 170).

The other speech act that was studied by Al-Qahtani (2009) is offering. By using a Discourse Completion Test and interviews, she conducted a contrastive study between Spoken Saudi Arabic and Spoken British English to investigate female use of politeness strategies in the speech act of offering. The participants were 103 females: 53 Saudi females and 50 British English females. Al-Qahtani (2009) found that the applicability of Brown and Levinson's model was high in the Saudi context. The results showed that the strategies such as Bald on record (BOR) and positive politeness (PSP) were used more frequently by Saudis, while the strategy of negative

politeness (NGP) was more frequent among the British speakers. Although the addressee's power-status did not affect the type of politeness strategies in both cultures, the social distance and the degree of involvement in the event of offering showed a significant effect on the use of politeness strategies in both groups. Also, the rank of the imposition and the gender of the addressee had a significant effect, but only on the Saudi groups. Regarding the influence of social distance, it was found that Saudis used PSP with known people rather than with unfamiliar ones, whereas British speakers used PSP, NGP, and mixed strategies. In the degree of involvement in the event, it was found that the strategy of BOR was used more frequently by both groups. With regard to the rank of the imposition, Saudis used the strategy of NGP more. In the influence of gender, Al-Qahtani found that the addressee significantly affected Saudis more than British speakers; therefore, Saudis used the strategy of off-record (OFR) and Don't-do-the FTA with men more. The findings showed that British females showed their respect for other's privacy by using indirect strategies; however, Saudi females tended more towards using the strategies of solidarity. Finally, the results indicated significant cultural differences between the two groups in terms of using the strategies of offering speech act.

Finally, in her dissertation, Alfalig (2016) examined the speech acts of invitations and responses to them in Saudi Arabic. She collected 170 invitation exchanges by observing and recording (via note-taking) invitation situations and screenshots of WhatsApp text conversations that included invitations. Alfalig found that invitations and responses were affected both by social relationships and the type of event/formality, but not by gender. She found that, in close relationships, the nature of this relationship allowed for imposition, insistence, and the use of imperatives. In contrast, distant relationships called for using expressions such as acknowledgment and the use of lengthier responses and allowed for the use of formal lexical choices and honorific markers. In addition, the common expressions used in formal events were blessings and want statements where acceptance was the typical response in this situation. In the informal events, on the other hand, the commonly used expressions were suggestory formulas, query preparatory, mood derivables, and so forth, and the response tended to refusal. Alfalig found that responses were lengthier in formal situations and used more strategies, for instance, blessings, thanking,

excuse, and so forth to soften the refusal, while in informal situations fewer strategies were employed, such as refusal and an excuse due to the casualness.

According to Alfalig (2016), in the Saudi culture, formal invitations are perceived as face-enhancing acts, whereas informal invitations are perceived as face-threatening acts because of their imposition. Also, the dominant religious expressions in Saudi invitations and their responses reflect the influence of religion, just as those expressions are also rooted in the other speech acts, as was mentioned in previous studies. Finally, it was found in Alfalig's results that Saudis employed various direct and indirect strategies by using various linguistic tactics to convey politeness, for example, the use of religious expressions, metaphorical and poetic language, insistence, and so forth.

2.8.4 Studies on ostensible invitations

According to Isaacs and Clark (1990:497), one of the basic properties of ostensible invitations is 'pretence'. This property suggests that ostensible invitations like many other ostensible speech acts have to be extended at the "sincerity level" (Isaacs and Clark 1990:498). That is, the inviter must extend his ostensible invitation as a genuine one, or else the extended invitation is counted as a "lie". In ostensible invitations, the invitee mutually recognizes the pretence, but s/he colludes with the inviter on his pretence; thus, s/he responds to ostensible invitations by refusing them as s/he responds to genuine invitations. They report that ostensible invitations are "invitations issued but not intended to be taken seriously" (Isaacs & Clark 1990: 494).

Ostensible invitations utilize all the features of genuine, ambiguous, and insincere invitations (see section 2.1.7) yet belong to none of the categories, as they are mutually recognized not to be taken seriously. Whereas Al-Khatib (2006) studied genuine invitations in Jordanian Arabic, Abdulhady (2015) investigated ostensible invitations in Jordanian Arabic. His study aimed to explore the functions of ostensible invitation in Jordanian culture and how this could enrich the literature of pragmatic studies on ostensible communicative acts. The data of this study, totalling

60 ostensible and 60 genuine invitations, were elicited from four different sources adapted from previous literature (Isaacs and Clark, 1990; Eslami, 2005): recorded face-to-face interviews, direct observation, recorded telephone conversations with the researcher, and messages sent through social media such as Facebook. The study was conducted using participants from Irbid city in Jordan, of both genders and with ages ranging from 15 to 50. To analyse the data, the researcher first categorized the invitations into genuine and ostensible categories based on Clark's defining properties and his own intuition as well as his informants'. He then analysed the sociolinguistic functions of the ostensible invitations using the politeness frameworks of Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987), as well as the language theory of Clark (1997). It was found that ostensible invitations in Jordanian Arabic were used as mitigating devices in face-threatening situations in which the inviter extends the invitation and the invitee rejects it to fulfil certain functions: "softening partings, giving thanks and expressing gratitude, responding to compliments and requests showing envy, apologizing anticipatorily, and reducing the effect of an imposition" (p. 16). Moreover, they can also be used as persuasive or provocative devices. Overall, Abdul-Hady found that Jordanians in his study followed these strategies in order to save face and maintain politeness.

Several important studies have examined ostensible invitations and refusals in Persian. For instance, Salmani-Nodoushan's study is considered one of the prominent and highly cited studies in this particular aspect of politeness (namely: ostensible invitations). With a total of 1350 invitations (675 genuine and 675 ostensible invitations), Salmani-Nodoushan's study reveals that Persian ostensible invitations can also be distinguished from Persian genuine invitations by the features and properties identified by Isaacs and Clark (1990). In comparison with ostensible invitations in English, Salmani-Nodoushan (2005) argues that Farsi ostensible invitations go by the universal norms that influence language use; that is to say, they are "similar to those in English yet with different percentages "(2005: 66).

After analysing and quantifying the data, Salmani-Nodoushan (2005: 60) argues that the type of invitation is dependent on the variables: sex, age, and social class. Thus, it is found that males are more likely to issue ostensible invitations than females, the young produce ostensible

invitations twice as much as old people and the high class also are found to extend ostensible invitations many times as many as low-class people.

However, Salmani-Nodoushan's (2005) study is questionable. Informants were asked to provide examples of ostensible invitations that they witnessed during their interactions. Thus, even if informants have reported certain examples, this should not in any way mean that they use the tactics witnessed. I argue that the methodology used for obtaining data of ostensible invitations should not be generalized for testing the data against these factors, or at least, the researcher should describe how his data are distributed among these factors. What supports this claim is the fact that Salmani-Nodoushan (2005) does not provide a discussion of the results obtained from these variables since doing so is risky and will not be based on solid ground. Another piece of evidence that supports our claim from the article that Salmani-Nodoushan publishes under the same title. In his article, Salmani-Nodoushan (2006) excludes these variables altogether. Yet, he sticks to the title for publication purposes.

Another study that tackles ostensible invitations was conducted by Eslami (2005). The study describes the defining features of Persian genuine and ostensible invitations based on a collection of spontaneous Persian invitations. Isaacs and Clarks (1990) framework (for data collection and data analysis) is used during the study. The results show that the structure of ostensible invitations in Persian is much more complex than that of English. Eslami's (2005) data also show that the features given for ostensible invitations in English are present in Persian, but they are not enough to set ostensible invitations and genuine invitations apart. As that, Eslami (2005: 500) concludes that invitations that meet the criteria for being genuine invitations in English might be classified as ostensible by Persian speakers and vice versa.

Eslami (2005) noticed that the main use of these invitations in everyday language is out of politeness. That is to say, Persian speakers use them to obey societal norms and to strengthen their face. Her study concludes that enhancing face for both interlocutors is the main underlying factor in using ostensible invitations in Persian. Eslami (2005: 472) claims that "in order to analyse conversations for nonverbal signals, the conversations had to be videotaped." Thus, she refrains

from discussing the effect of the non-verbal cues on ostensible invitations as her data were either transcribed or tape-recorded. However, as noted by many scholars (Isaacs and Clark 1990; Salmani-Nodoushan 2005; 2006 and many others), video-taping is not necessary to account for these cues. Capturing these cues is indeed out of reach due to the impracticality of video-taping in such speech acts for ostensible invitations that are dependent heavily on psychological notions. Yet, Eslami can rely on the descriptions of the interactants for spotting these cues. In fact, any scholar can use "those cues spontaneously mentioned by his informants "(Isaacs and Clark 1990: 502).

Izadi et al. (2012) study the way people respond to ostensible invitations and offers in Persian culture. The study, based on the assumption of the writers, shows that people always respond to ostensible invitations and offers by rejecting them. Thus, the study is dedicated to deal with a specific kind of refusals to ostensible offers and invitations in the Persian language. 25 sequences of invitation-refusals and 30 sequences of offer-refusals were gathered from family-settings, workplaces, and taxis and analysed qualitatively for this purpose. The analysis shows that Iranian people refuse ostensible invitations and offers by expressing thanking and gratitude, returning the act and showing consideration for the speaker's comfort (p.77).

Ostensible invitations and/or offers are very prevalent in Arab culture in general and Jordanian culture in particular. They are utilized to save the inviter's face in front of his/her community, especially his/her mini (in-group) community (e.g. tribe, neighbours, colleagues). In this study, some invitations that are believed to be ostensible will be examined and sociopragmatically analysed. Moreover, some ostensible refusals will be observed in response to genuine invitations, or sometimes, ostensible invitations. However, the approach followed in studying these ostensible invitations and refusals is different from those approaches discussed above. It emphasizes the role played by various discursive factors (e.g. context, social distance, cultural values and norms) when extending, or refusing invitations. More explanation will be embedded in the course of analysis pertaining to each of the surveyed interchanges.

2.9 Summary

This chapter synthesized the literature of the most relevant work concerning offering and invitation practices including speech act theory, politeness theory and the most prominent, still contradictory approaches and models of politeness over the last 50 years. To be more specific, it explained the spectrum of the development of conceptualizing politeness, from a rigid, universal idea of politeness focusing on face and set rules to a flexible, sociocultural-specific one and how that ultimately was reflected in studying invitation and offering practices. The chapter moved then to highlight the non-Arabic and Arabic studies on invitation and offering that tackled them as a speech act strategy or a context-based interactional practice. Finally, the chapter defined what ostensible invitations mean and illustrated how they are different from ambiguous, genuine, and unambiguous refusals and presented some studies that examined them. All in all, it has been found after reviewing the literature about invitation and offering practices in general and in Jordanian Arabic particularly that almost no study has dealt with this interactional speech practice from an empirical discursive perspective. This study is deemed the first to examine invitation and offering practices in Jordanian Arabic based on a discursive ritual-oriented approach. Consequently, this project can be considered as a new contribution to understanding these everyday recursive discursive practices from a different, broader, still concentrated angle. Before we start analysing our gathered data, it is essential that we describe the methods and procedures exploited in analysing the data for the sake of realizing the study goals.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

This chapter aims at providing an overview of the methodology and procedures that are utilised in gathering and analysing the relevant data required for the research. It attempts to explain in detail the ways in which I collected the data before deciding on the categories of analysis, and later carrying out the necessary procedures to realise the research objectives.

3.1 Data collection

Researchers have adopted various methods for data collection when investigating social behaviour. The sort of method employed depends mainly on the approach they are adopting and the goals of the study. The methodology used to collect data can greatly affect the validity and reliability of the results and, therefore, it is important to discuss in brief each one of them as each method has its pros and cons. Role plays, Discourse Completion Task (DCT) and personal observation are considered the most familiar methodologies in studying offering, hospitality and social behaviour in general. In fact, there have been only limited cases where elicitation of authentic speech has been used for this kind of study – it is probably used only for research into language form, as in Labov (1966) and the department store workers. Elicitation of authentic speech is an interesting case because it is kind of halfway between experimental methods (such as role-plays and DCTs) and recording of spontaneous authentic speech.

Using controlled procedures, such as DCTs and role-play methods have some drawbacks. Many scholars criticise DCTs as they lack authenticity and reliability. In addition, the produced encounters are decontextualised in the sense that the informant has to imagine themselves in a

situation which s/he is not in. Besides, the composers of DCTs often fail to give much or any contextual information. On the other hand, although the pragmatic interactions produced via the role-play method are more realistic than those produced via DCTs, it may be difficult for the one who constructs the roles - and even those composing DCTs - to imagine all social situations in which the intended speech act is expected to appear. After all, despite the fact that role-play produced interactions are usually contextualized, and that they provide a wider range of speech act production strategies than discourse completion tests do, both procedures do not provide reliable natural data (see Pan, 2011; Stadler, 2011).

The observation of naturally-occurring interactions is considered by many pragmatists as one of the most authentic, substantial and robust ways of collecting data. Although one may argue that cases of real-life interaction are sometimes so particular to the aspects of situation that reliability cannot be hoped for, and generalisations about manners of behaviour are difficult to make, they are still seen by many researchers as more credible than DCTs and role-play methods.

For the purpose of achieving the aims of this study and to guarantee its authenticity, the immediate observation of various naturally-occurring encounters, where the researcher - in some encounters - holds the participant and observer status, is adopted in collecting invitations and offers. The collected authentic data in total include 12 genuine invitations, 12 ostensible invitations, 12 genuine offers and 12 ostensible offers (see sections 2.1.7, 4.3.2). The original number of collected encounters was 54 encounters, but 6 encounters were later eliminated as they didn't include intelligible invitations and offers. Data gathering methods involved my own observation and audio-recording of encounters in which I was involved in about half of them (27 encounters). This method proved to be effective for it provides illustrations of authentic speech acts and their accompanying paralinguistic features which might be difficult to observe when using DCTs, for instance (See Grainger 2011). In fact, the recorded exchanges allowed me to focus on actual utterances embedded in stretches of conversation. Specifically, the process involved listening carefully to spontaneous naturally-occurring exchanges and noting down the dialogues soon after they took place, or alternatively they were directly reproduced from memory before they were later analysed (see Grainger et al., 2015; Gumperz, 1999).

As half of the data was collected by myself being a participant in various conversations with my family members, friends, colleagues and acquaintances, some objections may arise here about the objectivity of my data analysis. In fact, I wonder if qualitative analyses need to be completely objective to start with. I decided to take this dynamic, albeit controversial, role because I believe that the best one who can specifically and profoundly describe and analyse a set of pragmatic behaviours produced by a given ethnic/social group, and can also provide additional and micro-level background information (such as knowledge of the relationships between participants) about the participants, is one who belongs to that same group and participates in their everyday events and interactions. The point here is that I assume that I have insider information - knowledge of aspects of context that can help to explain the behaviour described. Therefore, my role means I can provide information about the background context of the interaction (e.g. relevant personal histories, interpersonal history, and culture-specific norms). In any case this is not the first study, where a researcher conducts a study on his/her family members. Several scholars have conducted studies on their family members, such as Watts (1991) and Kadar (2013). Kadar (2013: 17) accounts for this as he says "while in such analyses the researcher is inevitably 'biased', no discursive analysis can be entirely objective." Furthermore, including self-analysis in research accords with ethnographic methodologies, which allow "[s]elf-analysis through auto/ethnography and practitioner ethnography." (Kress 2011: 230) The other half of the data was collected from my brother, friends and friends of friends at multiple social settings after obtaining the particicpants' consent. They audio-recorded the conversations using their mobile phones, and I later copied these recordings on my device and transliterated them. They also provided me with the ethnographic information of the participants, and answered my questions on the various aspects of the relevant context.

All the data were collected from face-to face, telephone or WhatsApp naturally occurring conversations where participants of various ages, genders, statuses and relationships voluntarily and conveniently participated in this study after signing the consent forms. The participants were informed by me - or the other data collectors - from the onset that we "are going to be recording all our encounters these days." With the foreknowledge of the participants, all face-to-face encounters were audio-recorded using various gadgets including my Huawei Nova 2 Plus mobile.

Notes about aspects of situation were also taken right afterwards. In telephone exchanges, both sides of the conversation were recorded as the caller's telephone's audio speakers were on, and I would be recording the full conversation. As for the WhatsApp exchanges, they were downloaded, and then turned into scripts. There were also a limited number of encounters that were recalled from memory shortly after the exchange, and then transcribed by me. They were re-created maintaining all linguistic and non-linguistic parameters.

3.2 Reliability of the research instrument

All the data gathered come from people in my own social milieu. All of the participants are Jordanian citizens and are familiar with the nature of Jordanian culture and traditions. The random sampling technique is used to obtain the sample of the study. The sample covered all degree of acquaintedness: strangers, acquaintances, friends and intimates.

The data were collected from multiple social settings. These settings include family gatherings, meals or parties usually at the invitee's or host's home. It also encompasses friends' gatherings, meals, visits or parties either at one of the participant's home or at the cafeteria, halls, or lobbies of Amman National University in Amman, Yarmouk University in Irbid and Zarqa University in Zarqa. These are the three biggest cities in Jordan where students come from either these same cities or from other smaller cities in Jordan. Since they are the biggest cities in Jordan, the practices of this study group represent the mainstream in Jordan, and they perhaps comprehend the dominant values. Moreover, all data are spontaneous naturally-occurring conversations that were recorded by one of the participants (including myself) or recalled from memory shortly after the exchange.

Furthermore, in order to verify the extent of credibility of this research instrument, all the encounters were tested by asking fifteen students at Jordan University of Science and Technology in Irbid city to study the recordings, transcripts and also their pertinent contextual information written by me. They were requested to decide on the degree of their authenticity. They all assured

the familiarity, and high extent of spontaneity, and re-occurrence of such practices in their own daily life interactions.

3.3 Data analysis (qualitative)

The approach that is used in this research is both qualitative and quantitative. One third (16 out of 48) of the collected spontaneous naturally-occurring invitation encounters are qualitatively analysed (see Chapter four) based on a discursive ritual-oriented approach after they were also transcribed and translated, trying to explore the nature and sequencing of invitations, accepting or refusing them in JA, and discuss the extent to which they are conventionalized and, more specifically ritualised in the relevant language and community.

The discursive approach may be said to have commenced with by Eelen (2001), which heralded a more empirical framework. This approach was subsequently adopted by several other pragmatists. Unlike traditional approaches to the analysis of politeness, the discursive approach focuses on the context-specific nature of utterances and considers it important to analyse relatively lengthy sequences of naturally-occurring discourse rather than single, decontextualized utterances. It is an attempt to approach politeness as interactionally constructed rather than assuming that certain linguistic forms are necessarily inherently polite (Culpeper 2011; Grainger 2011; Kadar and Mills 2011, 2013).

Being a post-modem approach, the discursive approach to the analysis of (im)politeness (Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003) proposes a framework of politeness integrating social theoretical concepts where "practice is observable in instances of ongoing social interaction amongst individuals, which most often involves language" (Watts, 2003, p. 148). The dynamicity and listeners' interpretations of politeness are asserted contrary to the traditional approach which concentrated on speakers' intentions for politeness strategic selections.

In very similar vein, according to (Gupta, 2012: 57), the discursive approach focuses on:

> *"the contextual interpretation of utterances;*
> *the hearer's evaluation of the utterances;*
> *addresses issues of impoliteness;*
> *takes the folk or lay interpretations of politeness into consideration."*

Despite the fact that discursive scholars tend to immerse themselves in the contextual analysis rather than making generalisation based on stereotypical thinking, Mills (2009) and Kádár and Mills (2011) admit that it is conceivable that generalisations can be made about tendencies within language groups. Consequently, the deduced meaning of politeness would be only established in situated exchanges. It cannot be simply based on future predictions of behaviour or generalisation (Terkourafi, 2005).

Along with the discursive approach, I utilise the ritual notion aiming at a deeper and conventionally richer analysis. The term 'ritual' (see 2.5.2) is widely used in anthropology, human behaviour and sociology. It has entered the field of sociolinguistics and pragmatics recently. Ritual does not only refer to ceremonial practices, but it also copes with our everyday social exchanges (see Oraby, 2017).

I opt for the discursive approach with an embedded ritual-notion dimension to analyse invitations and offers since I argue neither of these two approaches can achieve the goals of this study by itself. More specifically, it would have been manageable to realise my study aims utilising the discursive approach by itself if there were solely the first two aims (i.e.1 & 2) below:

- (Study Aim 1) Exploring the structures, functions and the interactional sequencing of invitations and offering in JA.
- (Study Aim 2) Exploring the tactics involved in issuing invitations and offers and how, when and why they are accepted or refused.

However, I needed the ritual dimension to complement the full picture and in order to realise study aims 3 & 4 below:

- (Study Aim 3) Revealing the varied cultural, normative, and interactive factors and conventionalised practices that appear to have an influence on how invitations and offers are made, accepted and/or refused in JA.
- (Study Aim 4) Investigating the relational properties, patterns as well as cultural implications of normative and in-group ritual invitational practices in JA.

Accordingly, I believe these two approaches complement each other. The ritual approach can be viewed as the missing piece in the discursive "jigsaw". Above, in the so-called discernment collectivist cultures (see section 1.2), it is very difficult to pragmatically analyse social encounters without referring to ritual. Accordingly, this sandwich framework will be of great help when analysing our gathered data in (Chapter Four) since it can cope with the complex relations and multifaceted interactions that we might encounter. Within the discursive frame, the ritual approach will constitute the focal point of the analytical framework which this project employs.

The aim of this analysis is primarily to unravel the nature and quality of these encounters, rather than to make any general claims about Arabic. I first managed to distinguish between genuine and ostensible invitations and offers and set them apart depending on my intuitions as a native Jordanian. Later, I verified my categorisation based on Clark's defining properties (1996:379-380), namely: joint pretence, communicative act, correspondence, contrast, ambivalence and collusion.

As far as data processing is concerned, I was looking for the way that the relevant interaction was delivered, managed, and ritually 'roleplayed' in terms of the sequencing of interactional moves. Thus, the categories of analysis included:

(1) Delivery: this entails the phonetic and textual variables embedded in each interaction.

(2) Management: this entails both the use of Conversational Analysis (CA) concepts of the organization of talk and managing interpersonal relations (see 2.1.6).

(3) Ritual aspects: this means how participants index and/ or rely on established practices and/or conventionalised strings of words, collocations, formulaic utterances, and stock expressions.

3.4 Data analysis (quantitative)

All the collected naturally-occurring data (48 encounters) were classified into 4 different categories (namely: 12 genuine invitations, 12 ostensible invitations, 12 genuine offers and 12 ostensible offers). The tactics utilised in extending, accepting, or declining both genuine and ostensible invitations and offers by Jordanians were then quantitatively and statistically computed and analysed by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software, and their percentages were taken. The word tactic has been deliberately (and tactically) chosen here to be contrasted with strategies since the latter may convey some unwanted connotations linked to Brown & Levinson theory. More strictly, these tactics do not attempt to anticipate a given inviter's behaviour. Rather, they simply describe previously performed naturally-occurring invitation and offering behavioural acts.

The collected data were statistically analysed and numbers and percentages were tabulated in an attempt to eventually come out with significant ratios about Jordanians' most frequent tactics and - more generally – their manners of behaviour concerning invitational and offering practices in this high-context culture. The percentages of each tactic that was used by the participants were based on the total of occurrences used by the sample of the population of the study. The percentage of each tactic was then compared to the other used tactics to present the frequency of its employment in comparison with the other tactics.

The analysed tactics include: minimisation, motivation, intimidation, oath taking, plea refutation. However, they do not include contextual features because they are qualitatively analysed, implied and/or can only be inferred after understanding the whole exchange. Therefore, in spite of their vital roles, the following features are not part of the quantitative analysis: hedging,

mitigation, implausibility, indefiniteness, lack of commitment, ambiguity, insistence/persistence, soliciting, circumlocution, non-linguistic features (e.g. gestures, body language, wink, face expressions…etc.), paralinguistic signals (e.g. intonation, voice modulation, pitch, tone, pause, silence, inappropriate contextual cues…etc.).

The categories of tactic adopted for this quantitative aspect of this study generally draw upon Barron's (2003) and Allami's (2012) taxonomy of invitation and offering strategies as well as Al-Khatib's (2006) taxonomy of accepting and declining an invitation. I endeavoured to refine some of these tactics before employing them in the study as I felt some were inappropriate. I also added some other tactics, especially those ritual-oriented ones. Moreover, when I felt that there was some sort of overlap between some of them, I resorted to merging some of them (these are explained during the analysis). Finally, the percentages of the employed invitational/offering tactics were calculated by dividing the sum of the use of each tactic by the sum of the use of all relevant tactics.

It goes without saying that factors such as age, sex, and status play roles in better understanding and analysing the produced tactics. However, the quantitative analysis, does not attempt to detect any correlations in the participants' ethnographic parameters and their potential impact on extending or responding to an invitation or offer. These parameters are beyond the scope of this quantitative analysis (although they do play a role in some of the qualitative analyses).

CHAPTER FOUR

STRUCTURES OF INVITATIONS AND OFFERS

4.1 Functions of inviting and offering practices

Invitations serve a number of general functions that not only apply to Jordanian culture but also to many other cultures around the planet. According to (Dang, 1992), invitations and offers serve to socialize, show hospitality, share happiness, show respect, mark anniversaries, repay favours and show gratitude. Dang (1992) reports that people tend to invite to enjoy the company of one's friends, to introduce strangers to each other, to go out for fun. They also issue invitations attempting to show kindness at great events: public holidays, long weekends, New Year, etc.

Eid (1991:172), from his side, believes that invitations serve a number of functions in Arab culture. These include – but not limited to - establish and enhance solidarity, solve social conflicts (like the tribal 3atwa /ʕaTwa/), strengthen family relationships, prevent cheating and aggression, and emphasize one's social status in his/her community. In fact, invitations and offers, especially ostensible ones, are utilized for other purposes in Jordanian culture. These include gratitude, mitigation, and even persuasive purposes. Generally, unlike functions of invitations in the English-speaking and Far Eastern cultures, a considerable number of these functions are ascribed to religious backgrounds (i.e. tendency to be generous) whereas others stem from ritualised traditional norms, such as solving controversies among quarrelling people via 'tribal 3atwa' /ʕaTwa/. It goes without saying here that the spiritual side represented by mainly Islam and the ritual side represented by traditions, conventions, and customs are major constituents of Arab cultural hierarchy that form people's various aspects of communication and behaviour.

4.2 Common occasions of invitation in Jordanian culture

Following are non-exhaustive lists of occasions where genuine and ostensible invitations are common nowadays in Jordan:

4.2.1 Occasions where genuine invitations are common:

A. Wedding lunch invitation
B. Engagement invitation
C. Birthday party invitation
D. Graduation party invitation
E. Ramadan 'arham' (blood relatives) invitation at 'iftaar' (breakfast)
F. Obituary lunch invitation

4.2.2 Occasions where ostensible invitations are common:

A. Invitation on lunch/dinner when some friend or relative has just come back from a relatively short travel journey.

B. Invitation by the new neighbour when one has just moved to his new house.

C. Invitation on dinner/coffee when someone (a relative, colleague, or friend) gives another a lift.

D. Invitation on coffee when one meets his/her neighbour by coincidence just outside their house.

E. Invitation to lunch/dinner when one meets his/her casual friend or colleague by chance in, for example, the city centre.

4.2.3   Occasions where invitations can be genuine or ostensible

The following occasions can be either genuine or ostensible based on the context:

A. Ramadan invitations at 'iftaar' (breakfast) by a friend or relative.

B. Invitation to lunch/dinner when one meets his/her old friend by chance in, for example, the city centre.

C. Invitation to lunch/dinner when some friend or relative has just come back from a relatively long travel journey.

With a deeper look at the lists above, it can be observed that genuine invitations involve premeditation, or time significantly in the future (several days at least), whereas the ostensible ones seem to involve 'spur-of-the-moment' invites. To put it another way, it can be claimed here that genuine invitations tend to be prearranged while ostensible invitations mostly feature discourse over 'on spot' spontaneous settings.

4.3 Structures of invitation practices in Jordanian culture

Leech (2005:9) ironically indicates that politeness makes us behave in ways which our visitor from Mars would think irrational: e.g. a sequence of polite utterances (or interactional moves henceforth) like the following may occur in certain cultures, such as the Arab and Chinese cultures:

Figure 2: Sequence of polite utterances (adapted from Leech 2005:9)

The sequence represented in (Figure 2) is such a widely-practiced one cross-culturally including Jordanian culture. Leech (2005:10) metaphorically calls such sequences "battles for politeness". According to him, such battles can be resolved by negotiating with the other person's politeness. Therefore, after a third invitation, for instance, an invitee will concede and reluctantly accept the invitation at the end of the interlocution. Or perhaps, when offered, one person will agree to go first through the doorway before the other while pretending his reluctance.

Another example that shows how the refusal 'game' is differently role-played in different cultures is given by Gu (1990). He illustrates how a Chinese would repeatedly refuse another's invitation to dinner. He clarifies that:

> *"In this situation, a European will feel that S's act of inviting is intrinsically impeding, and that S's way of performing it is even more so. A Chinese, on the other hand, will think that S's act is intrinsically polite and that the way S performs it shows that S is genuinely polite, for S's insistence on H's accepting the invitation serves as good evidence of S's sincerity. The Chinese negative face is not threatened in this case."* (Gu 1990:242)

One more example from Igbo culture is discussed by Nwoye (1992) when he reports that as one visitor arrives unexpectedly at, say lunch, s/he would be directly invited in to eat, and still he would not worry about imposing. He points out that "Igbo hospitality and regard for the collective good…make such acts as requests, offers, thanking and criticisms…routine occurrences bereft of any imposition." (Nwoye 1992:316)

O'Driscoll (1996:20) elaborates on these two examples saying:

"In both cultures, acts listed as intrinsically threatening by B&L are clearly not seen as such. This lack of any sense of imposition leads Gu and Nwoye to believe that such behaviour cannot be accounted for within the B&L model…Gu's example simply shows that in the particular situation cited, positive politeness is the mainland Chinese norm…Nwoye's unexpected guest is not imposing because 'in the Igbo culture … people are still to a large extent their 'brother's keepers' (Nwoye 1992: 316). In other words, people see themselves as all in the same boat, as belonging together. As a result, the social norm in this and other situations assume that ego and alter are so close that ego's wants are alter's wants. Such an assumption of reciprocity leads naturally to behaviour that attends to positive face."

At this point, it is worth asking why it is such a common practice for the invitee to refuse at least once even when they wish to accept. One possible reason is that s/he may need to make sure the offer is genuine, but there must be many cases when s/he is already confident of its sincerity, and anyway such refusal risks being interpreted as an insulting suspicion of the inviter's sincerity (see section 4.3.3.2).

To account for this inquiry, I will resort to a concise face(work) analysis here. Although I'm not adopting Brown & Levinson's model in my thesis, I sometimes make use of the concepts of positive and negative as revised by O'Driscoll (1996,2007, 2017), whereby they refer exclusively to the hotizontal dimension of relationship, to connection versus separation. From a face perspetcive, the practice above can be explained as follows:

As well as upholding S's own face as someone who is not greedy or opportunistic and who is considerate of H's negative face (not wanting to impose), the refusal also instantiates negative self-facework in that it shows a reluctance to be indebted to H. In turn, it gives H an opportunity to insist, thus to show enthusiasm for the proposed contact and thus also to instantiate positive facework which nicely balances the negative facework which has just occurred (see 2.7 above)

4.3.1 Face-to-face genuine invitations

In the following subsections, some selected encounters will be qualitatively analysed in an attempt to eventually come up with significant manners of behaviour that Jordanians are inclined to incorporate when extending, accepting or declining invitations. We will start by face-to-face invitations, then some mediated encounters will be also discussed. The goal is generally to unravel in depth the various aspects of invitational and offering rituals, which Jordanians are involved in when practicing these speech acts in their day-to-day interactions.

4.3.1.1 Insistence and resistance in formal invitation

One of the most prevalent and prominent rituals of extending invitations in Jordan is probably insistence. In almost every invitation the inviter tends to insist on his/her invitation whether it is formal or casual; genuine or ostensible. Pragmatically speaking, insistence is viewed by many Arab pragmatists (see Al-Khatib, 2006; Al-Ali, 2006; Al-Qahtani, 2009) as lying just at the core of politeness in Arab culture in general and Jordanian culture in particular. The rationale behind this (sometimes unjustifiable) insistence has various sociological, cultural, and pragmatic backgrounds that will be explained in the following encounter as well as some other upcoming encounters. The most important of which is that insistence – as believed by Arabs - demonstrates how generous the inviter is that would eventually grant him/her more respect by their in-group community including their relatives, colleagues and their acquaintances as well as securing him/her a higher position in their community.

The other side of the coin involves resistance. It is basically connected here to the invitee's attempt(s) to persistently evade accepting the invitation or offer. Again this resistance lies right at the heart of politeness in Arab culture, which is correlated to sociopragmatic justifications. One of the most prominent reasons why an invitee feels s/he is involuntarily expected to decline the invitation and offer (most often more than once) is that would – in his/her belief – make them gluttonous or greedy in their inviters' (and even other people's) eyes. Moreover, if someone is reputed (notorious might be the best word here) to have been accepting most invitations, s/he is likely not to be often invited by his/her people, and would ultimately end up being avoided by his/her people. In other words, s/he may lose his/her face among their in-group.

In a nutshell, insistence and resistance are two complementary characteristics of politeness 'jigsaw' in Arab culture, especially when it comes to invitational and offering practices. If one of them is absent, this means that the whole interchange might be misinterpreted by the interlocutors. To put it another way, one inherited ritualised way of maintaining face among Jordanians is attained when the inviter insists and the invitee resists. This specific aspect of invitation and offering speech act in Jordan is – to a high extent – what gives it the ritual flavour as opposed to maybe the way they are apprehended in other cultures. In a word, as far as invitation and offering rituals are concerned, politeness in Arab culture resides in this dualism (namely: insistence and resistance).

(Encounter 1)

In the following dialogue, Khaled has just come back from his long journey abroad. K lives in Saudi Arabia and usually goes back to his homeland once a year in the summer holiday. His neighbour F comes to his house to welcome him back. They are sitting at K's house, and have just finished talking about various topics including K's narration of his journey and some of the funny things and hardships he encountered in this journey. After talking for about one hour and a half, followed by about five seconds of silence, F exploits this and extends his invitation on lunch to K at his place. Both of them are from Irbid (a city in Northern Jordan) and they are almost the

same age. They have been neighbours for about 2 years. F visited K a couple of times earlier on different occasions including a visit on Eid (feast) and another one with no particular occasion. K also visited F only once on Eid 'the feast'. F issues his invitation to K and insists on it to prove his earnestness. However, Khaled tries using only delicate language to evade accepting the invitation as he has already planned at the first place to accept it.

{Memorised dialogue}

Silence for 5 seconds…

1) F: bukra   bidna   tʃarrifna   ʕalðada   ʔin ʃaallah

   tomorrow   want we   you-SG honour us   on lunch   if God will

It'll be our honour if we have lunch together tomorrow, God willing.

2) K: tislam   ʔaxuuj   wallah   maa   fii   daaʕi
lalɣalabih   ʔallah   jbaarik   fiik

  Blessed you-SG   brother   by God   no   there   need
bother yourself   God bless   in you-SG

Blessed, brother. By God, you need not bother yourself. May God bless you.

3) F: la   ɣalabih wala   ʃii   haad   ʔqal   ʃii   niʕmalu jaa
ʔabu   baraaʔ

      no bother and no thing this   least   thing   we do   O
Abu   Bara

It doesn't bother me at all. This is the least thing we could do for you, Abu Bara.

4) K: ʃkaθθir xeirak   ħabiibi   walla   dʒajjitkum   hun
ʔaħsan   min   iddinja

   increase good your-SG dear I by God   coming you-PL here
better   than   the world

May God bless you. By God, your visit means a lot to us.

5) F: tislam   jaa siidi haad   min luTfak>   laakin waadʒibkum
ʔakbar   min heik

   Blessed you-SG O   sir   this   by kindness you-SG > but
obligation you-SG bigger than this

Blessed, my dear. This is kind of you, but I'm sure I should do more to honour you.

6) K: Saddiqni   maa fi: daaʕi wallah

   Believe you-SG me no   need   and God

Believe me, you need not do that…by God.

7) F: billaahi ʕaleik laa   tfaʃʃilni

    by God   on you no   turn down you-SG me

By God, don't turn me down, please.

8) K: manta widʒih faʃal   jaa   ʔabu X xalaS jaa siidi   ʔibʃir
wala jhimmak bnitʃʃarraf wallah

   not you-SG face turning down O   Abu X OK   O sir   think
good   never mind   honour we and God

By God, you're not the man to be turned down Abu X. Ok, dear don't worry, it's our honour, by God.

9) F: ʔallah jzeidak   ʃaraf ʔaħna   ʔilli   bnitʃarraf wallah
xalas jaa siidi ʕala barakati illah

   God   increase you   honour we   who   get honour and God
OK   O sir   on   blessing   God

May God bless you. It's our honour, indeed, dear.

Figure 3: Sequence of interactional moves – Insistence & Resistance

In this dialogue, F's invitation is refused three times by Khaled. For the first time, Khaled (turn2) uses the formulaic expression "By God, you need not bother yourself.", and then shows his appreciation by saying: "May God bless you." The second time he (turn 4) indicates the value of F's visit and that it is enough honour for him when he says another formulaic expression: "By God, your visit means a lot to us." The third time he (turn 6) repeats what he says at the beginning but in a different mitigated way when he says: "Believe me you need not do that…by God." Here F infers possible acceptance by K because of K's repetition of the first expression, the refusal this time is no longer purely formulaic and the utterance itself is short, suggesting that K has run out of reasons to refuse. These communicative signals are implicitly understood by the inviter F as an initial acceptance of the invitation that ultimately paves the way to him to risk by appealing to K at the end not to turn him down. In other words, when F guarantees that K is going to accept his invitation, and is likely going to save his face, he dares to make his invitation more intense. He might not have done that if K had given him a convincing excuse or if he had, for example, sworn by God.

F, in turn, uses a variety of tactics in making, and insisting on, his invitation. The initial offer (turn 1) is a formulaic expression that is used more often when the inviter is sincere: "It'll be our honour if we have lunch together tomorrow, God willing." When it is refused, he (turn 3) tries to persuade him, by minimizing the act of inviting compared to what Khaled really deserves: "This is the least thing we could do for you, Abu Bara." After the second refusal, he (turn 5) tries this time to flatter the invitee and implicate his presumed high social position "I'm sure I should do more to honour you." When he finally could preview Khaled's acceptance based on his relatively short responses and unconvincing justifications as he (turn 6) says "Believe me you need not do that, by God…", which is taken as if K gives in, he (turn 7) dares to beg him not to turn him down that resulted in Khaled's inevitable approval because of F's previous utterance just before the end of the dialogue. This was simply the clincher. F raises the face stakes here – it is now personal. To continue to refuse would be a slap in F's face!

Although insistence is considered a face threatening act by Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) and Leech (1983), several other scholars believe it is not impolite at all. Blum-Kulka (1987),

Sifianou (1992) and García (2007) all argue that insistence is viewed in various cultures as appropriate behaviour. In Arabic speaking countries, insistence is often considered a prerequisite for issuing invitations and offers since this should enhance various values of solidarity, generosity and involvement among interlocutors (Al-Khatib, 2006; Al Batal et al, 2002; Eshreteh, 2014).

In Jordan, being an Arab country, insistence is a remarkable ritual aspect of offering and inviting. The addresser keeps insisting that the addressee accept his/her invitation by using several mostly subconscious tactics. In Arab culture (im)politeness, as a whole, resides in the insistence of the inviter on the invitee to accept the invitation. Only by this, the invitee may understand how important he is to the inviter. Insistence here is a hidden message within the dialogue, which is usually implied by the addresser and conveyed through various strategies, most of which are formulaic utterances that are mutually understood by the interlocutors. The invitee would catch this message automatically as much as the inviter insists on his/her invitation. Insistence, the careful selection and grasp of the formulaic expressions used, and the tone of the invitation expressions shape altogether the secret code that the invitee needs to decode before s/he judges whether the invitation is genuine or not. To put it another way, the invitee needs to smell the inviter's seriousness before he starts conceding towards accepting the invitation. At any rate, there are surely several other occasions when the invitee is immediately confident that the invitation is genuine – and yet s/he still initially refuses it.

4.3.1.2 Command-like formal invitation

As far as invitational practices in Jordan are concerned, insistence lies on the core of politeness. It shows how earnest and generous the inviter is that would eventually grant him/her more respect by their relatives, colleagues and their acquaintances as well as securing him/her a higher position in his/her communal pyramid. This is especially true if the relationship between the host and the guest is formal. In the following encounter, insistence is so powerful that the inviter is not even given the choice to decline the invitation. He is only requested to choose from

two alternative timings for the party – either on lunch or dinner. In other words, it is presumed that the invitation will be accepted anyway (indeed it is partly presented as a command here) and the response asked is not yes or no, but when.

(Encounter 2)

Khaled and his colleagues at university invite their colleague M and his father-in-law who has arrived from Jordan to Jeddah recently. M has just lost his only daughter in Jordan and his colleagues come to his place to extend their condolences, and also make a formal invitation, which is conventional in Jordanian culture in such situations. All the participants are Jordanian and almost the same age except S (M's father-in-law) who is about 70 years old. After about half an hour, and after M narrated to his guests the hardships he experienced when he was trying to save his daughter's life, and how eventually all his endeavours in different hospitals in Jordan went in vain, the following conversation takes place after about ten seconds of silence. It is initiated by Khaled as he is very close to M, and then Khaled's colleague A also participates in this invitation.

{Recorded dialogue}

Silence for about 10 seconds...

1) Khaled: jaa   dӡamaaʕa   ʔxuuna   wʕammuh
   ʔizzalameh   Ðief ʕaliina bidna   niksabhum   bukra
   biʔiðn   ʔallah
        O   company   brother we   and father-in-law his   the
   man   guest   on us   want we   gain them   tomorrow   with
   permission God

Listen guys…our brother and his father-in-law are our guests…we'd like to have them at our place tomorrow, God willing.

2) A: ʔaah   wallah   bidna   niksabkum   bas ʔiħkuulna ɣada wallah
   ʕaʃa
      Yeah   and God   want we   gain you-PL   just tell us lunch   or
   dinner?

Yeah…by God…we'd like to have your company…just tell us…you want the invitation at lunch or dinner?

3) M: laa wallah   maa fii daaʕi allah jbaarik fiikum ʔintu dʒamaaʕa
   ʔazzaabijih   halʔajjaam
      No   and God   no there need   God   bless you-PL you-PL company
   single   these days

No… you need not do that, by God…May God bless you…you're all with no wives these days.

4) Khaled: ħatta law ʕazzaabijjih   ʔilmaTaaʕim   mawdʒuudih maa fii
   muʃkilih
         Even if   singles   the restaurants exist   no
   there problem.

Even though we are alone…the restaurants are available….there is no problem here.

5) A: bas ʔintu   ʕiħkuulna ɣada walla ʕaʃa wallah daʕwitna maa btinrad
      Just you-PL tell us   lunch or dinner? And God   invitation we
   not be turned down.

Just tell us on lunch or dinner? By God our invitation ought not to be turned down.

6) M: laa ʔilaah ʔilla allaah jaa zalamih laa tiħlif wallah maa fii
   daaʕi

    No God   but Allah!   O   Man   no swear! And God no
there need

Oh my God! Don't swear by God, buddy! You need not do that.

7) S: dʒirt   allah   jaa   dʒamaaʕa   laa tɤalbu ħaalkum

  Neighbourhood   Allah   O   company   not   bother   yourself-
PL

By God, don't bother yourselves, guys.

8) A: dʒiirta   allah ʔilla titfaÐÐalu   ʕaliina wallah wallah
   wallah   maa bitrudduuna xalaS bukra bas ʔiħkuulna   ʔieʃ
   binaasibkum ɤada walla ʕaʃa

    neighbourhood God shall you-PL honour we…and God,   and God,
and God not turn down you-PL us OK, tomorrow just tell you-PL us
what suit you, lunch or dinner?

By God, you shall honour us at our place…By God, by God, by God, you shall not turn us down, Ok! Your invitation is tomorrow…just tell us what is convenient for you, at lunch or dinner?

9) M: jaa siidi ʔallah jdʒziikum ilxier wdʒajjitkum   ʔaħsan
   min   kul ʃi xalaS ilmunasib   ʃuu   bidkum
   ʕaʃa

    O sir God grant you-PL goodness and visit your-PL better
than everything well the convenient what   want you-PL
dinner?

May God bless you…and giving us this visit means a lot to us. Ok, what's convenient for you…what do think…dinner?

10) A: xalaS ʕaʃa   ʕala barakit illaah
       Ok   dinner on   blessing Allah

Ok…so dinner…with God blessings.

11) S: ʕala barakit   illaah
       On   blessing Allah

With God blessings.

| FIRST INVITATION (explicit invite + specified time + request for response 1) | → | FIRST REFUSAL (supplication for inviter 1 + stock plea 1 + non-ritual justification) |

| SECOND REFUSAL (regret of inviter's oath taking + stock plea 2 + invoking God) | ← | SECOND INVITATION (refuting justification + request for response 2 + swear by God 1) |

| THIRD INVITATION (swear by God 2 + request for response 3) | → | ACCEPT (supplication for inviter 2 + appreciation + response to request) |

Figure 4: Sequence of interactional moves – Command-like invitation

In this group dialogue, Khaled took the initiative for inviting M and his father-in-law by reminding his company that they are their guests since S had just arrived from Jordan. So they felt obliged to invite them, and the invitation had to be a genuine one here. A had caught the message, and helped K out in pressing on them to accept the invitation. In fact, A did not even give them any chance to reply to the invitation. He did not bother to consult them whether they would accept the invitation or not. He was only stressing on them to select a convenient time. However, whether they would agree to accept the invitation or to decline it was not in question for him at all. Such an invitation act might be considered inappropriate and or viewed as violating the guests' rights in the west, as their social norms highly stress volition and the guests' personal rights, and it also "implies intrusion on the hearer's territory and limits his freedom of action" (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 70). However, in Arab culture, it is seen as a strong act of generosity. It is considered as a sincere attempt by the inviter both to prove that s/he is earnest and generous enough and that the invitee is so important to him/her (see Sifianou, 1992; Al Batal et al, 2002). To put it another way, it is seen as a genuine right for the inviter to demonstrate his/her generosity and to maintain his/her own face-needs, and the invitee has no choice but to implicitly collude with him/her and ultimately respect it regardless how intense it was. However, the possible threat here to the invitee's face (at being dominated this way) is mitigated by offering them a choice – lunch or dinner – which is a common offering strategy in Jordanian culture.

K and his colleagues' invitation is refused twice by M and his father-in-law before they finally accept it after A (turn 8) has invoked God when he swears by God three times, "By God, by God, by God, you shall not turn us down". In the first time their excuse is that all the inviters – including me- were singles in that time (so, who would cook for us, then?). Khaled (turn 4) replies by saying that "the restaurants are available…. there is no problem here". The second time the refusal is ritualised in its kind when M (turn 6) says "you need not do that", and S (turn 7) also says "By God, don't bother yourself, guys". Their low-volume ritualised response has paved the way to A, after it helps maintain his face, to swear by God three times that they ought to accept the invitation. Only here the invitees have no choice but to accept the invitation after this powerful invoke of God by A. They would not likely decline the invitation after this oath. Otherwise, that would have threatened A's face and all the inviters' as well.

4.3.1.3 Hospitality competition in formal invitation

Sometimes if guests feel that they were defeated easily in one previous invitational 'battle', they tend to show that they are also generous or even more generous than their hosts. Leech (2005) points to such "battles for politeness", and then indicates that "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" (Leech, 2005:10). This tendency appears more clearly if the relationship between the two parties is formal as it is the case in the encounter above where a group of colleagues invites their colleague, his wife, his father-in-law, and his mother-in-law whom they meet for the first time.

In the following encounter, this aspect of competition about which party is the more generous/hospitable is illustrated. K & Sh realise the invitation is genuine (because it is not socially mandated) and yet they are genuinely (not just ritually) reluctant to accept because it can be seen as an attack on their role as hosts to these visitors from abroad - who have also lost their baby in a tragic scenario - and might then cause them face damage among their in-group or micro-community.

(Encounter 3)

S and his son-in-law M have accepted the invitation made by Khaled and his colleagues (see Encounter 2). After everybody finished having their dinner, which was, of course, the Jordanian most popular dish (Mansaf), and while they were having tea, S invites his son-in-law's colleagues on lunch at their place to repay the invitation.

{Recorded dialogue}

Silence for about 5 seconds…

1) S: ʔiħna jaa dʒamaʕtil xeir ʔibnitʃarraf juumil dʒumʕah fiiku bidna
titfaÐÐalu ʕaliina wnitɤadda   maʕ baʕaD dʒiirt   allah
daʕwiti   maa   btinrad

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We    O company    good be honoured the day  Friday by you want we
you-PL honour   on us   and have we lunch together neighbourhood
Allah invitation I  not be turned down.
```

We shall be honoured by you on Friday, guys...so we'd like to have lunch together. By God our invitation ought not to be turned down.

2) M: ʔaah wallah jaa dʒamaaʕa zaj ʕammii maa ħaka   billahi daʕwitna   maa   btinrad
```
        Yeah, and God O  company   like father-in-law I said       By
        God   invitation we not     be turned down.
```

Yeah, guys...just as my father-in-law said...By God, our invitation ought not to be turned down.

3) Sh: wallahi maa bitnrad   laakin xaluuha   lamarra θaanijeh labaʕid maa tiidʒu min ilʔurdun   ʕala faDawih
```
        An Allah not be turned down, but let it you-PL it to time other
        after come you-PL from Jordan   on emptiness
```

By God it won't to be turned down, but let's put it off for now...maybe after you come back from Jordan...when you're free.

4) Khaled: ʔilʔaan ʔilwaqt miʃ munaasib winta   msaafir baʕid ʕaʃar ʔajjam xalaS lamma tiidʒi xeir ʔin ʃaallah
```
        Now    the time not convenient, and you-SG travel after ten
        days  so when come you-SG good, if Allah will.
```

Now the time is not convenient, and you're traveling back to Jordan in only ten days...so we'll see when you come back, God willing.

5) M: la la la   xalliina min il ʔurdun ilʔaan ʔaħna bidna lʔaan ʔaqulku ħaadʒih ʔuqsim   billah lʕaÐiim   daʕwitna   maa btinrad   xalaS

```
No, No, No! let you-PL us now. Want we now.                tell
I you something swear I in Allah the Greatest invitation we not
be turned down    OK?
```

No, No, No! Forget about Jordan. I'm talking about now. I tell you what…I swear by God our invitation ought not to be turned down…OK!

6) A: la ħawla wala quwwata ʔilla billah   jaa   zalameh lieʃ tiħlif
   xalaS wallah laniidʒi nishar   ʕindaak xalaS wallah
   laniidʒi

```
No might nor strength except in Allah O man why          swear
you-SG! Ok and Allah come we one night place you-SG OK and Allah
will come we
```

Oh my God! Why are you swearing by God! Ok, we shall come and sit with you at your place one night…trust me we will come.

7) M: xalaS twakkalu ʕala ʔallah jaa dʒamaaʕa juum ldʒumʕa maa fiih
   ʔiltizaamaat bitSallu ldʒumʕa wbitÐallu dʒajiin

```
Ok, rely you-PL on Allah   O company.     Day Friday no there
commitments pray you-PL Friday and immediately come you-PL.
```

Come on guys, I believe you have no commitments on Friday …so after you finish Al Jum'a Prayer go straight away to our place.

8) Sh: Walla   waadʒibkum   ʕaliina jaa dʒamaaʕa wallah maa
   fii daaʕi
   And Allah obligation you-PL on us   O company and Allah no there
   need.

We are the ones who should honour you, by God…you need not do that.

9) S: twakkalu ʕala   ʔallah bitʃarfu   wallah

Rely on you-PL   Allah Will honour you-PL and Allah.

*Well, this **is** honour to us, by God.*

Figure 5: Sequence of interactional moves – Hospitality competition

In this dialogue S and his son-in-law M, after they finished their dinner with K and his colleagues at M's place, wanted to repay us the invitation, although this is not socially mandated, and might be even considered a shame by some people. In fact, after S and M had left, SH expressed his regret that we accepted their invitation. He said "we shouldn't have accepted their invitation, folks. They are the guests, not us!!" However, what made us accept the invitation is that we were put under high pressure because of S and M's immediate and strong oaths. It seems that they saw themselves in the position that they should make their invitation as robust and sincere as ours to repay our hospitality to them (see Feghali, 1997).. Let's recall that when K and his colleagues invited them A swore by God three times that they ought not to decline their invitation.

Mansor (2017: 93) reports that:

"Arabs tend to consider hospitality as an important requirement for signifying politeness and improving social relationships. In addition, this form of activity is respected and valued within society at an ideological level, where various historical, social, and religious forces lie behind the importance of offering hospitality as conventional and polite behaviour in Arabic cultures. Thus, at the ideological level, Arabs tend to expect offers of hospitality in social situations, and such expectations entail notions of personal and social entitlement."

After the invitation itself is issued (turn 1), S immediately raises the possibility of it being rejected and asserts that to do so would be morally wrong ('ought not'.) This seems to function as a sort of pre-emptive strike (reinforced by its repetition in turn 2), cutting off Sh's and K's opportunity to resort to the frequently used kind of refusal which assures the inviter that the invitation is not necessary. So Sh (turn 3) is forced to address this matter directly and deny they will be so morally reprehensible as to refuse the invitation, and the only refusal strategy available to the inviters is prevarication. They argue about the proposed day and time. Sh suggests postponement ('let's put it off for now'), implying that the proposed date is too soon for it to be convenient for the inviters ('when you're free'), and K (turn 4) backs up this line by hinting at details of why it would be inconvenient (they're going back to Jordan in only 10 days, so they must have lots of things to get ready). M's insistence (turn 5) does not address the implicature that they must be very busy – instead it addresses the implicature that 10 days is a short period of time by dismissing their return to Jorden then as irrelevant ('forget about Jordan'). He then repeats the moral imperative for them to accept. In the face of this strident insistence, A (turn 6) resorts to a metapragmatic comment on it ('why ….'_) and then pretends to acquiesce ('OK') by 'accepting' a watered-down alternative. It seems that this is received as a very weak response because M (turn 7) does not even indirectly address this alternative. Instead he repeats the invitation yet again, this time with specific details of arrangement.

Although (turn 8) might sound for non-native Arabic speakers as another refusal, it is actually acceptance. The deflection in the pragmatic meaning here is basically due to the formulaic

utterance "We are the ones who should honour you, by God…you need not do that". Sh here is actually indirectly accepting the invitation with this stock plea which is interpreted in Jordanian culture as concession in much the same way that in English-language culture, the expression 'You shouldn't have' is understood to involve acceptance, not rejection, of a gift. Thus, turn 8 is recognised here as acceptance, but through an expression of reluctance by stating the belief that the obligation to honour the other party in this case lies mainly with the invitees, not the inviters.

Turn 9 functions as reassurance; it says don't worry you are honouring us – by accepting our invitation! Turn 8 has said yes but we feel bad about it because we are not fulfilling our obligations; turn 9 says there is no need to feel bad about it because you are fulfilling your obligations. And so the invitees' faces are maintained. S (turn 9) also represents another pragmatic deflection as it may sound as one more attempt to persuade, but S concludes the invitation sequence here with another formulaic compliment by assuring the invitees that it is an honour to host them.

In this invitation, there was no way but to accept their invitation as M and S were so decisive from the beginning. Herein, because of their firmness supported by the multiple oaths made by them, the argumentation in this dialogue is shorter than expected, and we had to 'raise the white flag' after only two 'miserable' attempts to refuse the invitation.

4.3.1.4 Prevarication in casual invitations

Prevarication is one of the most common (im)politeness strategies, which is especially used to get away (or around) when one is invited in Jordan. This strategy is not only used in Jordan or among Arabs, but is widespread throughout the world. However, what is peculiar about using it in Jordan - and presumably in some other Arab countries - is that it is not only used in formal invitations, but also in casual invitations and even among intimate friends as illustrated in Encounter 4 below. In this encounter the 'game' of repeated offers and refusals takes place just as it would happen in any other formal encounter. Probably the only difference here is that both the inviter and the invitee are fully aware that this is simply a 'scenario' that they just need to follow its script verbatim as written by the 'scriptwriter' and directed by the 'director' director' (see

Goffman's concept of dramaturgy, 1959). Any 'out of script' utterance, act or move by the interlocutors may disrupt the whole scene. It is to this extent that one unexpected phrase or even gesture by the invitee might lead to embarrassments upon both parties, especially the inviter.

(Encounter 4)

W invites Khaled on lunch at his place about three days after his arrival to Jordan. Khaled lives in Saudi Arabia, and he has been abroad for about a year. W is his best friend, and they have been friends for over 25 years. They have just finished hanging around the city in the car, and it is now after midnight. The following encounter takes place on their way back home.

{Memorised dialogue}

1) W: ʃuu   fii waraak   bukra
      What there behind you tomorrow?

Do you have any work left behind tomorrow?

2) Khaled: laa waraj wala quddaami lieʃ btisʔal
            Not behind nor front I Why ask you-SG?

No, I have nothing behind nor ahead. Why are you asking?

3) W: xalaS maʕnaatuh   bniɣadda   maʕ baʕaD
       OK   mean this will have lunch we together.

So we are having lunch together.

4) Khaled: laa jaa zalameh ʔinsa   billah ʕaliik
   wallah maani faaDi bukra   ʕindi maljuun ʃaɣlih
        No   O   man   forget you-SG by Allah on you.
   And Allah not vacant I tomorrow. have I a million duties.

No, please forget it, by God. I'm a bit busy tomorrow. I have to run a million errands.

5) W: wallah   ɣier   tiidʒi fikna minnak
    And Allah will you-SG come. Untie you-SG us.

I swear by God you shall come. Come on man.

6) Khaled: jaa rajul wallah maa baSaddiq ʕaʔallah jidʒi ldʒumʕa
   ʕaʃaan ʕaxalliS ilqiSaS   lmitrakmih   ʕalij maa biddi ʔartabiT
         O man and Allah not believe I on Allah come   day
   Friday so finish I the stories accumulated on I. not want I be
   tied.

Believe me pal I look forward to Friday so that I can finish doing all the pending tasks. So, I don't want any commitments.

7) W: jaa ħabiibi   laa tirtabiT wala ʕala baalak Salli ldʒumʕa
   wÐallak bwidʒhak ʕalaj xalliS   halluqmih wÐallak bwidʒhak
      O beloved you-SG No commitments, never mind pray al Juma'a
   and directly head my way. Finish your bite and get lost.

There shall be no commitments dear, believe me. Just pray al Juma'a and directly head my way. Finish your lunch and get lost.

8) Khaled: hiek raʔjk   xalaS ʔiða hiek maaʃi jislamu ħabiib
         That opinion your-SG OK if that fine blessed beloved

So that's what you think…if so, no problem. Many thanks dear.

9) W: ʕala raasi ʃuu   amliin
      On head I what   doing we

You are on my head…Don't mention it.

Figure 6: Sequence of interactional moves: Prevarication

In this dialogue, Khaled's friend W invited him to lunch at his place. Khaled was driving, and when they arrived at W's house and before he left the car, the conversation above took place. Since W is one of Khaled's best friends, and they have been friends for over 25 years, their relationship is informal. Herein, this conversation is a sample casual and friendly conversation where some slang language is used. Although Khaled indicated his availability first, he then receded to pretend that he was busy with a clear evasion tactic.

W (turn 1) starts by checking K's availability the day after (pre-invitation phase) by saying, "do you have any work left behind tomorrow", which corresponds to: "Are you free tomorrow" in English. Khaled (turn 2) answers using the formulaic expression, "I have nothing behind nor

ahead", which is interpreted as "yes, I'm free". Here, W (turn 3) makes his invitation assertively "so we are having lunch together". Khaled (turn 4) directly refuses his invitation by saying "no, please forget it, by God. I'm a bit busy tomorrow. I have to run a million errands". It is clear that Khaled is contradicting himself here. However, W does not bother to inquire about the reasoning of his recession as this act is common in their culture, especially among friends. Above, being friends we are not expected to mind much of what the other utters. In fact, it wouldn't be nice to stop and remind your friend of what he said earlier even if there were any contradictions. Moreover, brevity is a prominent characteristic of (at least my) intimate friends' dialogues, and briefness means not to involve yourself in long argumentations. Hence, and for the sake of briefness, W (turn 5) here invokes God when he says "I swear by God you shall come. Come on man".

In fact, I find myself here in a position that I need to explain to him in a bit of detail why I will be busy the other day. So, I (turn 6) tell him "believe me pal, I look forward to Friday so that I can finish doing all the pending tasks. So, I don't want any commitments". I have just told him that I am free tomorrow. Yet, my illogical refusal here is again understood by my friend as he fully knows that I am just trying to further enhance my image in front of him, and at the same time exclude any possible negative image that he might hold about me as gluttonous or opportunist. It is true that we are intimate friends, but this does not mean that we won't go back to our original customs and traditions in such a case of food invitations. In fact, I would do the same with my brothers and even father if they invited me at lunch. They would also expect me to do the same since this is part of our culture, which is mostly ritual and traditional in nature. Otherwise, I would lose my face in front of my family members, and hence against my whole micro-community.

W (turn 7) afterward wants to reassert our strong informal relationship by using the slang expression "get lost" when he says "no commitments dear, believe me. Just pray al Juma'a and directly head my way. Finish your lunch and get lost". Here Khaled (turn 8) raises the white flag and accepts his invitation directly when he is certain that he is sincere enough in his invitation, and after Khaled has shown him enough evasion skills by using a couple of ostensible refusals and non-ritual justifications that ultimately saved his face. I subconsciously realise then that if my close

friend issues an invitation that has not been in any way solicited, I can assume right away that it is genuine. Otherwise, he wouldn't have bothered to issue it to start with. Moreover, I couldn't further refuse the invitation after he implied to me at the end that he might get angry at me if I went further in my 'rituality', and after he implicitly reminded me of our long-term and intimate relationship. So, I say "so that's what you think…if so, no problem. Many thanks, dear". And he (turn 9) replies using the stock friendly expression "you are on my head (honoured)", and finishes the dialogue with a clear mitigation tactic. He says, minimizing the act of inviting, "don't mention it."

The degree of intimacy is signaled in Jordanian culture in a particular manner, which differs from that, for example, in British culture. In British culture, it may be observed (Jim O'Driscoll – personal communication), it is to a large extent indexed by *not* abiding by society's prescriptions for behaviour. The idea is something like 'we are so close we don't need to bother with all that stuff'. This attitude can be found in stock hospitable utterances when entertaining a guest such as "Make yourself at home" and "Help yourself", by which the guest is encouraged not to behave as a guest but rather as one of the household.

It can be clearly noticed here that this British attitude does not hold in Jordanian culture, where these prescriptions are adhered to even by those who are very close. For this reason, intimacy among friends and relatives in Jordanian culture might be viewed as fake, or at least artificial, by outsiders. However, it is not necessarily so. Pragmatically speaking, relationships are formed basically around – and based on – personal interests and gains in any culture. This is also true in Jordan, but with some superficial differences, and consequently ramifications. In Jordan, people tend to keep a certain distance from their friends, relatives, and acquaintances. People are inclined to follow the saying "People are like a candle...never get too close (to them) or you will get burnt out neither get too distant…otherwise, you will get departed." It is believed that this inclination is also followed in many other cultures, but it is 'adhered' in Jordan much more deeply. This is reflected in Al tawhidi's (cited in Al-Shaar, 2014) notions of typical friendships. He points out that one has to be politic in dealing with people even his/her intimate friends if they seek maintaining the relationship with them. This distance between friends could be also necessary because people sometimes would like to keep the 'exit' clear and available in case something emerges, such as a quarrel or a conflict that might be direct or indirect. In indirect

conflicts, one might sometimes find him/herself obliged to end a relationship with someone because s/he has had a clash with some other more intimate friend or relative in an attempt to show solidarity with them. Herein, even in intimate relationships people adopt evasion, prevarication or hedging techniques in their daily communication. Generally speaking, this policy might be ascribed to the miserable financial conditions that most families in Jordan have suffered from. This is actually because about half of them descend from refugees who immigrated from Palestine to Jordan in the middle of the previous century; the reason that might also account for most of the peculiar offering and invitational practices, which might be viewed by many strangers as manifestations of unjustified pretence, exposed attitudinizing or even sometimes unbearable exaggeration.

4.3.1.5 Stock plea and thoughtful procrastination in informal invitation

In the following exchange, Khaled uses various playful techniques to evade accepting his cousin's invitation. In addition to giving some stock 'artificial' pleas, Khaled also resorts to delaying the invitation until a further time. However, all his attempts to avoid this invitation failed.

(Encounter 5)

Khaled's cousin S invites him at 'iftaar' (Ramadan breakfast). In Ramadan people, especially relatives, are accustomed to inviting each other at 'iftaar'. However, they expect an invitation back in return by the other party later. That's why most people are tempted to issue invitations early in the month so that they give enough time to the invitee to invite them back over the remaining days of the month. Another reason is that they often prefer to invite their 'arham' or female blood relatives at the end of the month trying to double their reward by God. In the following conversation, Khaled endeavours, by using different prevarication and evasion

strategies, to avoid accepting the invitation as he does not feel he is practically and psychologically ready to invite his cousin back within a month. However, his cousin's invitation was 'well-woven' and 'professionally-played' that left him no choice but to concede to his cousin's desire at the end.

{Recorded dialogue}

1) S: ?axuuj   ?abul baraa? bidna   niftaar   maʕ baʕaD
   ʃuuflak   juum munaasib xilal hal ?isbuuʕ
      Brother Abul Bara   want we have breakfast with each other
      consider you-SG a day convenient through this week.

   We'd like to have breakfast together brother Abu Bara'…try to find a good day this week.

2) K: jislamu ?abu X xeirak   sabiq wallah   maa fii daaʕi
   tkalfu ħaalkum

     Blessed Abu X. Good deeds you-SG prior and Allah. No there need
     bother yourselves.

   Blessed, Abu X. Your good deeds are already experienced, by God. You need not bother yourselves with extra expenses.

3) S: laa kulfih wala ʃi   fTuurna   huwwa huwwa maa ħajziid wala
   jinqaS   bas ħaabin niksab ?il?adʒir   wallah walla miʃ ħaabbiin
   taʕTuuna   ħasanaat

     No bother nor thing. Breakfast we it   no will increase nor
     decrease just like we gain divine reward and Allah or no like you-
     PL give you-PL give you-PL us reward for good deeds!

It wouldn't bother us at all. Our breakfast is going to be the same, neither more nor less…but we are after God's rewards…or you don't want to us to get the divine rewards!!

4) **K:** `laa wallah ʔaħab maa ʕaliina   bas          xalliha`
`lʔaaxir iʃʃahar lissa ʔiʃʃahar bʔawwaluh        winnaas`
`maaʔaxðat       ʕaliʕjaam   wbidna nrajjeh     haniswaan`

`No  and Allah the most beloved it but let keep it until the end of`
`month    still the month in beginning and the people still not`
`taking on fasting and want we comfort these women …{laughing}.`

No…indeed we'd love to…but let's keep it until the end of Ramadan…we're still at the beginning…and we aren't accustomed to fasting yet. Besides, we'd like to exempt the women from the cooking duty…{laughing}.

5) **S:** `jaa zalameh ʔaaxir iʃʃahar lwaaħad binʕadʒiq maljuun ʃaɣileh`
`wʕilmak    widʒih ʕiid  twakkal ʕala ʔallah juum lʕarbiʕaaʔ`
`munaasib`

`  O man    the end of month one    hectic one million errands and`
`know you-SG face Eid rely on Allah      day Wednesday convenient?`

Hey man it's going to be hectic at the end of Ramadan…one million things…and you know we will be heading towards AlFitr Feast…come on man…Wednesday is OK for you?

6) **K:** `jaa zalameh wallah maa fii daaʕi`

`  O man     and God no there need`

You need not do that man, by God.

7) **S:** `bas      qulli        ʔarbiʕa  walla xamiis  laa tfaʃilni ʕaad`
`Just tell you-SG me Wednesday or Thursday? No turn down you-SG`
`me...`

S: Just tell me Wednesday or Thursday? Don't turn me down, please…

8) **K:** xalaS jaa siidi wallah maani mfaʃlak ʔilxamiis ʔatwaqqaʕ
   mniiħ

    Ok   O   sir and Allah not turn down I you Thursday expect I
   good.

K: Ok dear I wouldn't turn you down. Thursday is Ok, I guess.

9) **S:** ʔilxamiis siidi ʕala barakat illaah
      Thursday sir   on blessing Allah.

So Thursday dear…with God blessings.

10) **K:** ʕala barakat illaah wallah jdʒeik lxeir win ʃaallah fii
   miizaan   ħasanatak

    On blessing Allah and Allah rewards you and if Allah will in
   your scales good deeds you-SG.

With God blessings…may He reward you well in the hereafter, God willing.

Figure 7: Sequence of interactional moves – Procrastination

In this dialogue Khaled's cousin, S invites him at 'iftaar' (Ramadan breakfast). It is so common in Ramadan that relatives and friends reciprocally invite each other. In fact, most people in Ramadan find themselves either inviters or invitees especially at the beginning of this holy month. Paying back invitations is, to a high extent, obligatory in this month. In other words, if you are invited to 'iftaar' at your friend's house, you find yourself in the position to invite him back to your home later. Otherwise, you would lose your face in front of him and your community. This is also related to the hospitality competition aspect discussed above.

In this dialogue, Khaled refuses his cousin's invitation three times before he eventually accepts it. At the first time, he (turn 2) tries to "inflate" S as a common way of prevarication in

Jordanian culture by saying "your good deeds are already experienced, by God". Then K says the stock expression "you need not bother yourself." In fact, the frequent use of such formulaic expressions in refusing the invitation - especially for the first time - is desired in Jordanian culture since it saves both the inviter's face and the invitee's. It gives the inviter the impression that the invitee is not gluttonous, and at the same time, it gives him a chance to insist on his invitation in order to show off his generosity, which is after all, an important aspect of (im)politeness in Jordan and Arab culture in general. To put it another way, the invitation 'game' serves valuable face purposes, which are considered more important than merely propositional clarity or consistency of line.

In this encounter if K dares to refuse the invitation using an unheard or unfamiliar expression, especially at the beginning that might sound rude and might be - in some cases - taken as an insult by the inviter. The intensity of refusing is often gradually ascending before it reaches the peak and goes down again, usually by using one more formulaic expression. It is not even favoured to give reasoning or justification for your refusal in your first refusal. You have to keep the way open for the inviter to carry on in his mission until the finish line. That cannot be attained without a thoughtful and careful use of both wording/expression selection and voice volume regulation (see Chapter 6 for more illustration).

The second time K refuses the invitation is when he (turn 4) asks him to put it off until the end of the month and his plea here is twofold; first they are still not used to fasting yet, and second, they want to exempt their wives from cooking (as they would usually be more tired of fasting at the beginning of Ramadan).

The last time K (turn 6) opts for the same formulaic expression that he used at first, "you need not do that man, by God" in a clear indication that he is in his way to accept the invitation. This formulaic expression which is used here just before accepting the invitation can be considered the green light to the inviter to carry on in his insistence and maybe also regarded as a cunning sign to him to intensify his 'attack'. Most invitees in Arab culture, I believe, feel more honoured if the inviter keeps insisting on them, and the more intense he is, the more respected they feel. As we

indicated above, in Jordanian culture insistence is a major aspect of (im)politeness, which usually saves the invitee's face, and that should exist in, at least, formal invitations.

S, in his turn, jumps the first stage of checking K's availability, and the second stage, in which he makes the initial insincere invitation, and runs on to the third stage of specifying the date of invitation in a clear sign that he is sincere in his invitation. He (turn 1) says "we'd like to have breakfast together brother Abu Bara'…try to find a good day this week". After K refuses his invitation, he asks him to just to select a suitable day in an intensive attempt to confirm his seriousness. In his second attempt, S tries to play at K's emotional and spiritual inclinations as he (turn 3) invokes God by saying "…but we are after God's rewards…or you don't want to give us the divine rewards!" then as K again tries to postpone the invitation, S refutes his plea in a convincing way when he (turn 5) says "…it's going to be hectic at the end of Ramadan…one million things…and you know we will be heading towards the AlFitr Feast".

When S (turn 5) asks "Wednesday is Ok for you?", I find myself here that I need to 'hold my horses', cool down and reduce my voice volume as a natural reaction to this tactful interactional move by S. In the next move, I surrender and accept the invitation when he begs me not to turn him down. Finally, we agree on Thursday as the day of invitation.

4.3.2 Ostensible invitations and offers

Ostensible invitations as discussed in Chapter Two are those that are issued but not necessarily followed by the conclusion of the arrangement under discussion, which implies it is not to be taken seriously. According to Isaacs and Clark (1990:493), "ostensible speech acts occur when a speaker appears to perform a particular speech act, but the speaker is being insincere and the addressee knows that the speaker is insincere." In other words, these acts are non-serious speech acts and are not meant by the speakers to be taken seriously. Following this view, an ostensible invitation and/or offer seems to be very tender and fragile, but coated with a thick layer of genuineness. This layer makes it stronger, good-looking and 'tastier' to the recipient.

Drawing on Isaacs and Clark (1990), ostensible invitations may appear like genuine invitations, may violate some felicity rules just as insincere invitations and may also involve the absence of time and place specification that is common to ambiguous invitations. However, they still do not fall within the scope of any of these types of invitations. They are different from genuine invitations in that the propositional content is not meant to be taken seriously. They also differ from ambiguous invitations in that they are not meant to be ambiguous. Moreover, they are not meant to deceive as it is the case with insincere invitations. Isaacs and Clark (1990:498) argue that the basic idea in designing an ostensible invitation is to make "pretence at sincerity obvious that the addressee will recognize that the invitation was intended to be seen as obvious". That is to say, the inviter should design his invitation as genuine (without being explicit about his real intentions) and the invitee is expected to figure its sensibility out (see Abdul-Hady, 2015).

The distinction between ostensible invitations and offers on one hand and sincere or insincere invitations and offers on the other hand could be grasped more easily than that with ambiguous ones. Therefore, the following example is provided in an attempt to further capture the difference between ostensible and ambiguous invitations:

- *We must have lunch together sometime.*

According to Wolfson (1989), such invitation could be designated as ambiguous since the time is indefinite, the response is not required (and it's not often issued in such context) and a modal auxiliary is utilised. However, in the case of ostensible invitations, there is no strict set of linguistic features that co-occur every time an ostensible invitation is issued as we will see over the various encounters analysed in this chapter. Rather, multiple linguistic, paralinguistic, nonlinguistic, and socio-pragmatic features play influential overlapping roles to enable participants and observers to figure out the ostensibility of an invitation and offer. Moreover, ostensible invitations are not as common as their ambiguous counterparts in Western cultures (Isaacs and Clark, 1990:494). To this end, it seems that ostensible invitations and/or offers are the Eastern version of ambiguous Western ones.

Isaacs and Clark's intention-based distinction between ostensible and genuine speech acts is not without lapses. Thus, this study doesn't embrace their approach and findings, but rather builds on them and takes only what is relevant to the study approach and framework. Since this study mainly adopts the discursive approach, we will be more concerned with behaviour rather than intention. To put it another way, more focus is paid on what is actually said not merely the participant's cognitive state.

The distinction between genuine and ostensible invitations and/or offers will be basically anchored around how invitations and/or offers are practically and interactionally communicated among interactants in naturally-occurring contexts. The distinction will be investigated by focusing on which of them are responded to as genuine and which are not. No effort will be exerted to figure out the participants' intentions or their 'hypothetical' attempts to design or engineer an invitation and offer. In this study, three major features (namely: propositional content, formulaic lexical choice, and prosody) are investigated (see Chapter Six) in an attempt to shed light on the distinction between genuine and ostensible invitations, offers, and even refusals.

In a nutshell, it seems that the real purpose of ostensible invitation and/or offers is not to issue invitations or offers, but to target other interactional sociopragmatic functions. These functions are profoundly centered around the goal of enhancing solidarity among members of a community. The next sections will investigate and illustrate these functions in further detail.

4.3.2.1 Sociolinguistic functions of ostensible invitations

Ostensible invitations in Jordanian culture are mainly issued by inviters to serve a number of pragmatic functions. First, they are often utilized as a proactive act in order to avoid any imputation of blame or even defamation on the part of the invitee and/or the other in-group community. In Jordanian dialect, they say 'بدي ارفع العتب ', which literally translates as 'I'd like to avert any possible blame beforehand'. These types of invitations are very common in Jordanian culture since people care a lot about their image and reputation in their micro and even macro

community. They believe that their reputation is highly connected to noble values such as generosity and hospitality. These values are highly appreciated by Jordanians that they constitute the cornerstone of one's 'face' among his/her own people. If their 'faces' are damaged for any bad talk or gossip about them by their peers, relatives or friends, many things might be negatively impacted including their own kids' reputation among their fellows and even their own businesses. Jordan, being a tribal community, is a country where people live in solidarity among their nuclear families, tribes, and even neighbours. Togetherness clearly features – and probably dominates - various aspects of Jordanian culture. Any bad news about one person will be almost immediately spread among all his/her acquaintances like wildfire. That is why a Jordanian, especially in smaller cities and villages, is very cautious about his/her reputation that s/he even considers it their capital. In fact, many Jordanians, especially in rural areas, still carry the burden of their parents' or even grandparents' bad deeds. They inherited their bad reputations just as they inherited their wealth.

People in Jordan prefer to extend invitations that the inviter, invitee and even the attendees realise are bashfully insincere rather than not inviting at all. This can all be attributed to the worry of consequences and the potential negative reflection on their 'faces'. Taken all that into account, and bearing in mind that most Jordanian families suffer from miserable financial conditions, ostensible invitations and offers are viewed as a tunnel where they can escape and hide if there is any chance that their 'faces' are vulnerable to damage.

Second, ostensible invitations are also issued as a mitigating device. This type of invitations is common especially at the end of an encounter with an intimate friend or relative, whom you may think would be difficult to meet up with again in– at least – the near future. The sociolinguistic rationale behind such an invitation is that it basically aims at softening the bitter feeling of separation among the departing interlocutors.

Third, there are those ostensible invitations, which are very common in Jordanian culture, indeed, that are usually performed to commemorate a special event, such as those issued to welcome back a returning person, after a relative gets married…etc. This does not mean that all invitations extended at special events are insincere as we have seen many occasion- linked

invitations that are genuine in the previous sections. Those invitations are often imposed by social obligations - especially when the interlocutors are blood relatives - which many people find inevitable.

Finally, some ostensible invitations are usually issued just before leave-taking such as the type discussed above with some minor changes, though. In this invitation the inviter finds himself owing the invitee something, say, a lift. Herein, s/he would extend an invitation - or sometimes an offer - just to show his/her gratitude to the invitee. Both interlocutors would be aware then that such an invitation is nothing but a 'thank you' note.

Consider the following shape:

Figure 8: Functions of ostensible invitations

Following are some encounters where ostensible invitations are issued. The textual and contextual signals, as well as the rationale behind extending each of them, is discussed underneath.

4.3.2.2 Ostensible invitation as a proactive act

(Encounter 6)

N (Khaled's colleague) invites his colleague M and his father F and other family members - including M's family and F's family - at M's place after M has lost his daughter in a sudden regretful accident, and his parents have come from Jordan to Jeddah to be at his side in these difficult times. This is the first time they meet since the accident, and it is the first time K and N meet M's family. K and N have already called M and prearranged a visit to extend their condolences, and also to make an invitation. K meets N almost once or twice a week at university as they are both lecturers there, while N and M rarely meet at university as N works in another department. In fact, K is closer to each of them and acts here as the binding circle between them, so N and M's relationship is superficial and they can be considered only Jordanian fellows working at the same workplace. Khaled attends this invitation but prefers not to participate in making the invitation as the invitation is intended to be at N's place this time. They have just finished talking about the last days of M's daughter's life and how they felt after they lost her. Then they have discussed some issues related to work. At the end of the visit, and just before K and N take leave, the following encounter takes place.

{Recorded dialogue}

Silence for about 5 seconds…

1) N: ʔustaað M ʔallah   jmassiik   bilxeir

     Mr   M Allah   grant you evening good

Good evening, Mr. M…

2) M: ?allah jmassiik bilxeir

   Allah grant you good evening

   Good evening.

3) N: biddak   tismaħlina   bilDjuuf   ilwalid
   wilwaaldih winta fi maʕjjithum fatfaÐÐlu   ʕinna

       Want you-SG allow you-SG us in   guests the   father   and
   mother and you in with them   so come honour on us

   Could you please allow us to invite your guests to our place …your father and mother as well as you,
   so please honour us at our place.

4) M: ?allah jsalmak   wibarik fiik dactur wallah
   iʃʃabaab   maqaSSaru   ?awwal ħaajeh

       Allah grant you safety and bless you, doctor…and Allah the
   young   not shortened first thing.

   May God grant you good health and bless you, doctor. To start with, your fellows have done what's
   required and more.

5) N: jaa siidi iʃabaab maqaSSaru waħna   maa   bidna   nqaSSir
   bidna   niksab ?bu X beik wildʒamiiʕ

       O sir the young not shortened and we not want shorten
   want we   gain   Abu X Master and all

   Yes, our fellows have done what's required and we'd like also to do the same as well…we'd like to
   have the company of Mr. Abu X and all the others.

6) M: laa   maa   bitqaSSir   wallah   ?allah   jbaarik   fiik
wiʕtabirha   waaSlih   wallah

    No not   shorten and Allah   Allah   bless   in you
and consider you-SG it reached and Allah.

I know you never abstain doing the good deeds, by God…May God bless you…and consider this good deed done.

7) N: ?ħna   wallah   bnitʃarraf   fiiku   wmiʃ   dʒajjiin
nit3aððar   wallah

    We and Allah will be   honoured in you   and   not   coming
to give excuses   and Allah

We are honoured by you, by God…we are not here just to show off.

8) F:?allah jbaarik fiikum   ?aham   ʃi   muʃaraktna
fi muSabna   waħna mit?aakdiin   min   mʃaaʕirkum
aSSaadqa   wbikfi   mʕrifatkum   wallah

  Allah bless you in you   the most important   thing
participating in the sad occasion we and we sure   from
feelings you-PL honest and enough getting introduced we to you and
Allah

May God bless you…the most important thing is that you have come to condole us…and we're sure of your sincere feelings…and getting to know you is more than enough…

9) N: mʕriftak   maksab   wallah

Getting introduced to you gain and Allah

Getting to know you is a real gain, by God.

10) M: ʔallah jbaarik fiik jaa ʔaxi   waħna ʔin ʃaallah bnidʒiikum fil
     ʔafraaħ

       Allah   bless in you O brother and we if Allah will   shall come
    in   happy occasions

May God bless you, my brother…and we shall pay you a visit in your happy occasions, God willing.

11) N: waħna ʔin ʃaallah bnidʒiikum fil munaasabaat issaʕiidih daajman

    And we   if Allah will shall come in occasions happy   always

And we shall always visit you in your happy occasions as well, God willing.

12) M: ʔallah jbaarik fiik jaa siidi

       Allah bless   you   O   sir

May God bless you, dear.

Figure 9: Sequence of interactional moves – Proactive act

This dialogue is a clear example of an ostensible invitation essentially because of the lack of detail at the onset. N (turn 3) invites M and his parents, but he does not mention whether it was on food (lunch or dinner). He just says "so please honour us at our place". Such a formulaic utterance is more common in ostensible invitations, and it can be said that the strategy of not mentioning the food in the initial invitation may indicate that the inviter is not sincere. The inviter also does not specify the time here, which is another sign of being insincere. As the inviter was

not sincere enough, the invitee indirectly refuses his invitation to maintain his face and probably in an attempt to save the inviter's face as well (N's face might have been threatened in case M accepts or implies he would be going to accept his invitation). M's refusal is considered indirect here since he (turn 4) starts with a benediction ('May God ……') which in context can be interpreted as an expression of gratitude for the invitation. He then uses some prevarication strategies, and finally, the conversation ended in a smooth 'tactical withdrawal' by N when he finds the suitable chance to switch into another, still relevant, topic.

According to (Isaacs & Clark 1990) cited in Salmani (1995:6), whenever (A) ostensibly invites (B) to (E), (A) is likely to 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 does not motivate invitation beyond social courtesy;

4) A is vague about arrangements for event E;

5) A does not persist or insist on the invitation;

6) A hedges the invitation; and

7) A delivers the invitation with inappropriate cues."

It can be argued here that at least 4 of these above-mentioned situational rubrics have been fulfilled in this encounter (i.e. numbers 3,4,6,7). Henceforth, the ostensibly of this invitation can be clearly figured out by the invitee, his relatives, all attendees as well as the analyst.

M refuses the invitation twice. In the first time, he (turn 5) tries to show N that he is excused as N's colleagues have already done the obligation of inviting them when he says "the other guys have done what's required and more". He refers here to the invitation previously issued by Khaled and his colleagues (Encounter 2) and later attended by them. This may be seen awkward by outsiders as it entails a fascinating cross-cultural matter here: if an English man, for instance, imagines himself in the place of N, he would likely take this response as a bit of an insult – it would suggest to him that M is implying that his invitation is not sincere, that he is offering because

he merely feels "I have to" rather than "I want to". And yet N here does not then insist that he is sincere, instead, he picks up on the obligation theme. He indicates that he also would like to do what's socially required by him, and what his friends have already done wouldn't compensate for his own obligation. In other words, he implies that his colleagues do not necessarily represent him when he says "the guys have done what's required and we'd like also to do our obligation (like them)". This statement could also prove that N's invitation is an ostensible one since he indicates clearly here that his goal of this invitation is merely social courtesy or obligation– neither more nor less (see condition 3 above). After all, N hasn't mentioned any food invitation yet. He (turn 5) only says "we'd like to have the company of Mr. Abu X and all the others". Such ritualised utterance is more prevalent in ostensible invitations. After that, M (turn 6) makes a stock compliment to N and wants to reassure N that he is excused when he says "I know you never abstain doing the good deeds, by God…may God bless you…and consider this good deed done (as if you've already done the obligation of inviting us)". However, in order to further assert his sincerity and save his own face, N indicates that he is not trying to just give excuses in an attempt to show that he is serious in his invitation that is not true, indeed. Both N and M and even all other participants would be fully aware in such a situation that N is lying, but such lies are socially accepted in Arab culture in general and Jordan in particular as they serve to save (or at least maintain) the inviter's face, and to upgrade the invitee's position in his societal hierarchy or circle at the same time. At this point S's father, and based on his extensive experience in such occasions, intervenes in order to 'throw the lifejacket' to N that eventually helps him to switch the topic from inviting M and his parents into merely getting to know them more. He (turn 8) says "getting to know you is more than enough", and N directly exploits this and turns the whole topic into this tiny idea. He (turn 9) responds by saying "getting to know you is a real gain, by God." This has opened the path wide for all the participants to put an end to the conversation when M (turn 10) says the stock expression, which is often used to end such a conversation, "we shall always visit you in your happy occasions God willing". N replies positively by saying another anticipated formulaic expression, "and we shall always visit you in your happy occasions as well, God willing."

Ostensible invitations in the context above can be described as functioning as a formulaic means of doing positive facework (in the sense that an invitation – any invitation – entails the idea of N wishing to spend time in M's company and therefore of them becoming closer)? This might be seen when M refers to 'getting to know you' and N picks up on this. This is also in addition to their sociopragmatic function as a means of 'whitening' one's face and image in Middle Eastern culture.

Furthermore, ostensible invitations are not just positive face(work) in the O'Driscoll's (2007, 2017) sense (i.e. to do only with relative social distance), but also perform a kind of deference (i.e. the fact that I say I desire your company is an indication that I see you as an important, high-ranking person). It points to a crucial difference in values concerning interpersonal behaviour. Here, respect/deference for M is shown by expressing a desire by N to be with M. On the contrary, in English-speaking cultures, for example, deference is more often enacted by not bothering M. (See O'Driscoll 1996: section 4.2).

4.3.2.3 Ostensible invitation as a mitigating device

Ostensible invitations may sometimes be utilised for mitigation. Such invitation is more common just before saying goodbye especially among intimates. In these occasions, friends or relatives would be just trying to lessen the bitter feeling of separation. Several scholars have pointed out that ostensible invitations are mainly utilised for mitigation purposes (Isaacs and Clark 1990; Eslami 2005; Salmani-Nodoushan 2006; Izadi et al 2012) although, over the following sections, I will attempt to demonstrate other purposes and aspects of ostensible invitations and offers that have not been tackled by those scholars.

(Encounter 7)

In this dialogue, Khaled meets by coincidence with his old friend R while he is shopping in Irbid market. He hasn't talked to him since the time they left university (for about 16 years). After exchanging greetings, expressions of happy surprise and mobile numbers, they have a nice talk about those old days at university. At the end of the chat, and just as they are shaking hands to say goodbye, the encounter below takes place, where R invites Khaled on lunch at R's place.

{Memorised dialogue}

1) R: ʔħsib ħsaabak   bukra   ɣadaak ʕinna huh

Count account you-SG tomorrow lunch you-SG in ours hah…

Don't forget, your lunch tomorrow will be at our place.

2) Khaled: ʔallah jbaarik fiik   bnitʃarraf   wallah
laakin ʔin ʃaallah marra θaanijeh

   Allah   bless you in you   will get honoured and Allah
but if Allah will time second.

God bless you. It's honour, by God…but maybe some other time, God willing.

3) R: jaa siidi la marra θaanjeh wala θalθeh maa binlaaqi ʔaħsan min
halfurSa   miʃ kul juum   haʃuufak fis suuq   ʔana

   O sir   no time second nor third   not find we better than
this chance. Not every day will see you in the market we!

We shall not keep it until further, my dear. We won't find a better chance. I don't meet you every day in the market, right!

4) **K:** bitʃuufni   wbintlaaqa ʔin ʃaallah daajman haj   raqami maʕak   Saar xalaS bniidʒiik sahra ʕalbeit   Saddiqni

    See you-SG me and meet we if Allah will always this number with you become OK will come one night onto   house believe you-SG me.

You'll always meet me, God willing…and you now have my mobile number. Believe me, I'll drop by your place one night.

5) **R:** la la ʔissahra   ɣiir ʔaħna bidna   niksabak   wallah nitʕaʃʃa   ʕam   baʕaD

 No No the night visit different we want gain we you   and Allah have dinner we with each other.

No…no! That is another story. We'd like to have your company at dinner…by God.

6) **K:** xalaS wallah laʔaadʒiik sahra maa tʃuufni   ʔilla daaq   baab   daarkum

    Ok and Allah shall come I night visit not seeing you-SG me but knocking the door house you-PL.

By God I'll drop by one night…you'll all of a sudden see me knocking your door.

7) **R:** jaa siidi maa biddi ʔDɣaT ʕaliik braaħtak laakin   xalliina ʕala tawaSul wbitʃarrif   daar   ʔaxuuk   bʔaj waqt

```
    O sir    not pressurize I you with comfort you-SG…but let we on
contact    and will honour house brother you-SG in any time and
Allah.
```

Ok, my dear. I don't want to push you more…you can make it at your convenience…but let's keep in touch…and believe me you honour your brother's house any time.

Figure 10: Sequence of interactional moves - Ostensible invitation as a mitigating device

R invites K to have dinner at his place. His initial invitation is interesting in its apparent statement of a fact that makes it sound like a strong/forceful strategy, "You should take into account your lunch tomorrow will be at our place.", as if an invitation has previously been issued and accepted - which is actually not. Nevertheless, it is the situation, the sequence of turns and the formulaic expression 'ʔħsib ħsaabak' that imply to K that this invitation is an ostensible one. R is pretending to give K a command just to show his seriousness. It is true that it is more difficult to refuse a directive which is expressed as a command than it is to refuse one expressed as an invitation, but it is, in actuality, the context that has impacted the situation here. Bella (2011) points out that:

> "In the pragmatics literature 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 through supportive moves (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."

R's invitational strategy used in his first invitational attempt - if decontextualized - would be classified as bald-on-record according to Brown & Levinson's theory. However, it is the situation (meeting an old friend by coincidence in a busy place having the greatest impact here) added to the sequence of turns and using some formulaic expressions as discussed above that make K interpret it as insincere. Therefore, it can be said here that any invitation would be interpreted as insincere in such a situation, so that this forcefulness just comes across as whimsical. Moreover, given this expected interpretation, and therefore expected refusal, R feels he needs to be as forceful/blunt as possible as a way of enacting his generosity and demonstrating his pleasure at the re-acquaintance with K.

Such encounters often end with such stereotyped closings where one of the speakers - just before the farewell - opts for inviting the other party as a kind of courtesy and to show his

generosity. Herein, such a routine of inviting and refusal is often mutually expected by both the inviter and the invitee. I would have risked my face if I had accepted his invitation taking into consideration that I hadn't seen him for ages. One aspect of K's potential face damage in case he unexpectedly accepts this invitation is that it may make him appear greedy or opportunistic or it could be also interpreted as if K sees the inviter compelled to issue the invitation. Accordingly, there seem to be contextual reasons for interpreting an invitation as genuine or ostensible; that is, reasons which have nothing to do with the form or strategy used to issue the invitation (as adhered by Brown & Levinson's (1987) face theory). In this encounter, it is clear that in order to make a 'correct' interpretation, the invitee has to refer to cultural norms. Those cultural norms and their relative strengths are believed to carry the most weight on interpreting interpersonal exchanges like the one in hand.

In this encounter, R makes the invitation for dinner, and to save his face he makes the time of the dinner the day after. If he invited me to have dinner with him on the same day, it would be clearer for me that he is completely insincere. So, he is clever enough to avoid inviting me on the same day since such ad hoc insincere invitations have recently become avoided as they might show that the inviter is not generous enough. If the invitation was, for example, on the same day this means that either the inviter is going to buy food from a restaurant, which is not desirable in Jordanian culture, or he is not going to prepare a big meal that would be respectful enough because of time constraints. Saying that, the invitee needs to understand the invitation is insincere in order to (correctly) refuse. However, the invitation should not look too obviously insincere (that is, not 'clearer for K', but clearer for both faces). Otherwise, it would be an affront to K's face.

In order to demonstrate his generosity, R insists twice on his invitation; once by indicating that he wouldn't see K every day in the market, and the other by asserting that he wants to attain his company at his place in order to have food together, not merely for a transient chat.

Khaled uses various tactics to refuse the invitation without hurting R feelings who simply wants to demonstrate his generosity to him. So, K gives him enough playground space where he could play his ritual games, so that he could prove to be a generous man to K.

I have no other choice, and why should I be negative in my responses, anyway? After all, he is trying to assure his respect to me at the time he is trying to demonstrate his generosity. In fact, it is the Jordanian norms that prescribe that I reply in this manner. And it is not only the rejection but also how it is managed. Herein, I should respect his face needs in my turn, and not try to let him down. That's how I understand it, and I believe that's how any other Jordanian would do. After all, it would have been marked (and perhaps assessed as 'rude') if neither party had proffered some kind of invitation of some kind in such a situation.

The first tactic to refuse the invitation is that K (turn 2) used the formulaic expression "maybe some other time". K uses this formulaic expression as a test tube in order to find out how earnest in his invitation he is, and in order to save K's face by not showing that K is being a gluttonous man. It should be stressed here that K's reply offers no excuse for the inability to accept the invitation. If uttered by itself 'some other time' could easily be interpreted as a personal rejection. But it also offers expressions of appreciation ('bless … honour'). Taken together, these two features indicate that the invitation is not taken 'seriously' (i.e. K shows awareness that it is not a sincere one) but is nevertheless received gratefully.

At this juncture, one may assume that K would have refused an invitation which he interpreted as genuine for the same reason (maintain his face by not showing that he is gluttonous). The answer is: it is all entailed in the form of K's reply (the lack of any excuse discussed above) which communicates awareness that this invitation is not a real one or makes it insincere.

After K's first indirect refusal, he promises to give him a visit at some other "undefined" night for a transient chat. The third tactic is swearing by God that K (turn 6) will fulfil his promise to give him an unplanned visit that would put less pressure on the host. Such visits seldom occur in our community, especially among people who have not seen each other for a long time (as

illustrated in this encounter), but this reference to it in K's plea is not more than a polite fiction, which is part of the interpersonal lubrication of the refusal.

My reaction to R's invitation and eventually refusing it is a mirror of the low voice volume, ritualised, and anticipated strategies (added together to the influential situation factor discussed above) that he uses, which ultimately sound insincere based on my accumulative experience in such situations.

At the end of the dialogue, R concedes to my desire and accepts my excuses. He pretends that he does not want to further push me. He (turn 7) brings the dialogue to an end when he uses the formulaic utterance "believe me you honour your brother's house any time." Henceforth, R's invitation can be easily interpreted as a move towards leave-taking here. In Jordanian culture, genuine invitations are not likely to be issued during chance meetings. It is implicitly understood in Jordanian culture that whenever you meet somebody by chance, especially an old friend, each one of them often at the end of the conversation would exchange issuing invitations just to show respect to the other, mitigate partings and simply because it is a norm inherited from ancestors. The last turn in such contexts (farewell) doesn't "terminate the conversation per se but brings to completion a process of leave-taking in which the two parties reaffirm their acquaintance before breaking contact." (Clark and French,1981:1).

In this analysis two types of interpretation clues have been discussed; textual and contextual. They both work together – hand in hand – to ultimately formulate the whole picture. They actually complement each other in each of the scenes.

4.3.2.4 Ostensible invitation as a social obligation

Such a type of an invitation is often extended to celebrate a special event. It is especially common when an intimate friend, neighbour, or relative just comes back home after a long journey, gets married, moves next door or loses one of his/her family although we have seen above some genuine invitations (see encounters 1 & 2) which are extended at special occasions.

Generally, such invitations are imposed by social norms and obligations.

(Encounter 8)

A invites his brothers-in-law Khaled and M on dinner. When K and his brother come back to their homeland, Jordan, annually, or sometimes biannually, their brother-in-law A comes to their father's house to welcome them back. And usually just before he takes leave, he invites them to his place. K and his brother know that his invitations are completely insincere, but he has no other choice. He has to make this invitation although he has never been in a good financial position. Otherwise, he will lose his face, especially in front of K's father, who is considered by many people a very conservative man.

A is used to – sometimes irritatingly - issuing such ostensible invitations for over 12 years. Herein, I can say that the invitation below is a pure ritualised ostensible one that I heard (almost verbatim) many times before, to the extent that I can even anticipate what A would be going to say next and rehearse the whole dialogue by heart. The encounter - as usual - starts by K and M narrating some of the special incidents that happened to them over the year before, some anecdotes and hardships we encountered; and A, in return complaining of the hard economic situation in the local market, which is reflected negatively on his income. At the end of the conversation, and just before farewell, the following conversation takes place.

{Recorded dialogue}

Silence for about 10 seconds…

```
1) A: ʕammi iddinja masa   ?allah jmassiik      bilxiir

       Uncle it is evening Allah grant you-SG evening good
```

My uncle it's evening now, so good evening.

2) Father: ?allah jmassiik   bi?anwaar ?innabi

    Allah grant you-SG with lights prophet

Good evening and may you be blessed with the Prophet's glow.

3) A: bidak   tismahlna   bilDjuuf   ʕammi   bmaʕjtak
titʕaʃu   ʕinna

   Want you-SG allow you-SG us with guests Uncle along with you have
dinner you-PL at ours

Please excuse us to host the guests...along with you, uncle....to dine at our place.

4) Father: wallah   hajhum ʃuufhum ?iða biwaafqu ?ana maa   bamaaniʕ

    And Allah here   they see they if accept they   I   no refuse.

You check with them first...if they agree...I don't mind, by God.

5) A: haa jaa dʒamaaʕa bidna niksabkum   bukra   ʕalʕaʃa

    Hah O company want we gain you-PL tomorrow at dinner.

Hey guys we'd like to have your company tomorrow at dinner.

6) My brother M: ?allah   jidʒziikil xeir ?buu X wikabbir
waadʒbak   wallah maa fii daaʕi

          Allah reward you-SG the good Abu X and enlarge He
obligation you-SG and Allah no there need

May God reward you well, Abu X...and your obligation to invite us is always appreciated, but you need not do that, by God.

7) K: `maa bitqaSSir    Ɂbuu X       wxeirak          saabiq`

   `No would shorten Abu X and good deeds you-SG preceding`

You never abstain doing the good deeds, Abu X, and you are well known for that.

8) A: `bas twakkalu     Ɛalla       TaawƐuuni`

   `Just rely you-PL on Allah obey you-PL me`

Come on guys and just listen to me.

9) M: `tislam wallah   xalliiha marra θaanjeh wallah duubna     wSilna`
`minis safar wilɁidʒaazeh    kulha kam juum`

   `Blessed and Allah let keep time second and Allah just we arrived`
   `from travel and the holiday all some days.`

Bless you...maybe some other time...we've just arrived from our journeys...and the holiday is only a couple of days.

10) K: `xalliha laquddaam  binzuurak      zijaarah Ɛaadijjeh`

   `Let keep for later shall visit we you-SG visit normal.`

Let's keep it for some other time...we shall give you a pop-up visit.

11) A: `maaʃi bitzuurna          wbnitƐaʃʃa  maƐ baƐaD`

   `Ok shall visit you-PL us and dine with each other.`

Ok Ok…I know you shall visit u, but we shall dine together, too.

12) M: ʔin ʃaallah jaa siidi xalaS wallah laniidʒik   bas
xalliiha ʃwaij hassa   bniidʒiik sahra   biʔiðn
illaah   qariib

     If will Allah O sir OK and Allah shall come we you-SG just let
keep a little now shall come we one night   with permission
Allah sooner

God willing, dear…we shall come by God…just let's keep it for another time…we'll come and visit you one night soon, by God.

13) A: maaʃi   jaa   siidi   bitʃarfu   bʔaj   waqt   wallah
wʕammi wʕamti   maʕkum   Tabʕan

    OK   O   sir shall honour you-PL in any time and Allah and
uncle and aunt with you-PL of course.

Ok, dear you honour us anytime you come…and my uncle and aunt out to be with you, as well.

14) K: ʔallah   jbaarik   fiik   ʔabu   X   wzaj   maa   ħaka   mħammad
wallah lanidʒiik   bas   laqudaam   ʃwaj

    Allah bless   you-SG Abu X and like said   M
and Allah shall visit we just for later a little.

May God bless you Abu X…and like M said…we'll visit you by God…but maybe later.

15) Father: tislam ʔabu X ʔin ʃaallah   xeir

    Blessed Abu X if   will Allah good.

God bless you Abu X…take it easy.

16) A: ʔin   ʃaallah   xeir   jallah   tismaħuulna   bidna
nruuħ   tʔaxxarna   wallah

     If will Allah good O Allah   allow you-PL us   want   we
go home got late we and Allah.

Alright…excuse us, we've got to go now. It's getting late by God.

Figure 11: Sequence of interactional moves - Ostensible invitation as a social obligation

A (turn 1) starts his invitation by using his formulaic utterance "my uncle it's evening now, so good evening". Whenever we hear this utterance we directly realise that an invitation – most probably an ostensible one - is on its way to us. In Jordanian culture, such an utterance is very common to initiate invitations especially when there are a lot of other guests witnessing the dialogue. Being a marked way of greeting, it serves as a good way to allure everybody's attention. Instead of a simple greeting 'good evening', he draws attention to the fact that he is performing

the greeting - and that performing this greeting is the 'correct' thing to do - by prefacing it with a 'reason' for it. Because he thereby foregrounds the fact that he is behaving properly, his fellow participants become primed to the notion that he will continue to behave in this way (in this case, by issuing the required invitation).

After that, A takes permission from K's father to invite K and his brother along with their parents to show his respect to them as well. K's father indicates that he does not mind in case K and M agree. I am not disclosing a secret here when I say that my father trusts his sons, and knows, for sure, that they won't agree simply because it is a lesson that they have studied and memorized well several times before. So, A (turn 5) says "hey guys we'd like to have your company tomorrow at dinner". When issuing an invitation, it is essential that the inviter "phrase[s] the offer in such a way that guest feels easy and comfortable in accepting it" (Hua et al, 2000: 100).

My brother and I (turns 6&7) respond by complimenting him first with expressions of the type: "Your obligation to invite us is always appreciated", and "you never abstain doing the good deeds, Abu X, and you are well known for that". Such expressions of gratitude and complimenting are often used as signals of refusal, and they also imply the invitee's 'relatively disclosed' awareness of the insincerity of the invitation. Then my brother and I carry on by saying the stock expression "you need not do that, by God". After he (turn 8) insists "come on guys and just listen to me", here (turn 9) comes our anticipated explanation "we've just arrived from our journeys…and the holiday is only a couple of days" and the promise of an unplanned visit soon "let's keep it for some other time…we shall give you a pop-up visit". When he insists again, my brother M repeats what I have just said "just let's keep it for another time, for now…we'll come and visit you one night soon, by God" that announces the real end of the invitation before A takes leave. Repetition of a previously mentioned expression using a closing implicative usually puts an end to the invitation attempts. In Jordanian culture – and probably in most other Middle Eastern cultures – one easy way an invitee can make known that the refusal is genuine can be attained by repeating - in as brief words as possible - one given stock refusal – or at least evasion – utterance like the one above.

In this dialogue, A has maintained his face by making the invitation and by also his insistence on this invitation for three times. We refused his invitation in a purely ritualised way so that we do not harm his feelings since some out of stock responses (such as "forget it" or "Oh, please not again!" …etc.) might sound socially impolite, or at least undesired, in such interactions. Accordingly, we assisted him to achieve his goal of maintaining his face in a proper way. On the other hand, he saved our faces in our in-group community by inviting us, which is by itself considered an honour to us.

4.3.2.5 Ostensible invitation as gratitude

One more function of ostensible invitations in Jordanian Arabic is to show gratitude to others. One may find him/herself in a position to invite somebody on a bite or a cup of coffee instead of just saying 'thank you' in some situations. One common situation is when one gives another a service, such as a lift or household delivery, to someone else who is often not intimate and feels that a thank you note is insufficient.

(Encounter 9)

Khaled's colleague A gives him a lift to his home. The following dialogue takes place outside Khaled's home just before he gets out of the car.

{Recorded dialogue}

1) **K:**tfaÐÐal   maʕna   hassa

Come honour you-SG us with we now

Now come in, please.

2) A: ʔalla jbaarik fiik   wallah biddi ʔaruuħ

   Allah bless in you-SG and Allah want I go

May God bless you. I've got to go by God.

3) K: tfaÐÐal   jaa zalameh bnitɣadda maʕ baʕaD billah ʕaliik

   Come honour you-SG us O man have lunch we with each other in God on you-SG

Come on in man…let's have lunch together, by God.

4) A: tislam jaa siidi marra θaanjeh ʔin ʃaallah ʕindi kam   ʃaɣlih wallah   wbiddi   ʔaxalliSha

   Blessed O   sir   time second if will Allah have I   some errands and Allah and want I finish them

May God bless you…maybe some other time, God willing. I've got to run some errands.

5) K: tajjeb findʒaan qahwih ʕal ʔaqal

   OK   a cup of coffee at least

Ok…at least a cup of coffee.

6) A: ʔaħna bidna ndʒarbak jaa zalameh tislam jaa xuuj

```
We want   try you-SG O man        blessed O brother
```

We are not here to try you, man! God bless you..

7) **K:**ʕala raaħtak   siidi wjislamu   ʕattawSiilih

```
On comfort you-SG sir and blessed for the lift
```

At your convenience…and many thanks for the lift.

```mermaid
FIRST INVITATION (explicit no-meal invite) →
FIRST REFUSAL (stock supplication for inviter 1 + stock plea 1) →
SECOND INVITATION (explicit meal offer + inviter's plead to invitee) →
SECOND REFUSAL (stock supplication for inviter 2 + stock promise of future no-meal visit + ritualistic justification 1) →
THIRD INVITATION (explicit drink invite + minimisation) →
THIRD REFUSAL (ritual implicit compliment + stock supplication for inviter 3) →
inviter's CONCESSION to invitee's desire (expressing gratitude)
```

Figure 12: Sequence of interactional moves - Ostensible invitation as gratitude

This dialogue is an example of a ritual ostensible invitation made by K. It is so common to invite the person who gives you a lift, especially if s/he is not an intimate friend. In fact, inviting an intimate friend in such a situation might be taken sarcastically by the invitee as it might contradict the in-group rituals. In this situation, K's colleague A is the invitee, and he refuses K's invitation since he is aware that his invitation is not genuine. How come that he knows that? Simply because it is a social routine to invite somebody when s/he gives you a lift just before you jump out of the car in Jordan. Above, the invitee is aware in such a case that the inviter could be unready to host anybody abruptly taking into consideration that he is married and his wife might not be ready for any guests in terms of the type of the clothing she is wearing and the cleanliness of her house, too. These two factors are very sensitive in Jordanian culture as the former is related to our Islamic teachings (and of course, spread notions of respectability) and the latter is related to women's tidiness reputation in their micro community.

In this case, if Khaled invited A before they arrived home, everything would have been different, and he might have taken that more seriously. In other words, putting off the invitation until the last minute is one indication that the invitation is not genuine. In fact, the invitation here functions as a "thank you" message, and everyone in Jordan (and probably some other countries) behaves in accordance to this social code. This is said to be as its perlocutionary effect that ought to be mutually understood by both the inviter and the invitee. Otherwise, the invitee would lose his/her face and may, at the same time, threaten the inviter's own. Beeman (1986:186-187) reports that an invitation which is extended when one gives someone else a lift to his/her house is often regarded as "sincere remarks of thanking and gratitude and rarely meant to be sincere invitation".

The utterance in (turn 1) "Now come in, please" is a stock utterance which is frequently used in such a situation. It is especially utilized when the inviter is not sincere in his/her invitation. It not only acts as an appreciation utterance, but has another hidden perlocutionary force as it implies that the inviter is not really ready to host the invitee at this given time. If the inviter was sincere enough, he would use other stronger utterances such as, "Let's have dinner together. Dinner must be ready by now", or "Please switch off the car, and come over now. We'll have dinner

together", or the like. However, it would be even stronger to invite somebody beforehand – before you arrive at the destination regardless of the utterance used.

In this conversation, K's invitation is refused three times by A. In the first time, he (turn 2) pretends that he has to go without giving any further explanation or justification. In the second time and after K insists, he (turn 4) resorts to further clarifying where he is going "I've got to run some errands". When K further insists, his wording gets more intense and his prosody is escalated that gives him a clear-cut sign that A is not going to accept his invitation by all means and he might get a bit angry if K carries on insisting on him. This is manifested when he (turn 6) says "We are not here to try you, man (how generous you are)! God bless you."

K (turn 1) invites A, in his turn, using the ritualised way of inviting in this context "Now come in, please", and K insists twice in order to save his face. In the beginning, K does not mention any food at his invitation. The second time he (turn 3) indicates the food when he says "Come on in man…let's have dinner together…by God." In the last time, and after he gives up, he (turn 5) offers him a cup of coffee as a kind of minimization tactic, but he expectedly refuses again. Finally, when K is sure that he has already maintained his face, he surrenders to his desire as K also notices that if he continues that might threaten his face. Accordingly, K (turn 7) wraps up and say the formulaic expression "at your convenience" that often closes such ostensible invitations, and which would serve as shields to K's face and possibly A's as well. Formulaic language is associated with ostensible invitations, and also genuine ones but with varied degrees (see chapter 5 & 6) for quantitative analyses.

4.3.2.6 Equivocal invitation

Both genuine and ostensible invitations have been illustrated and discussed so far. Their various textual and contextual clues have been also exemplified and explained. However, there are sometimes invitations that one cannot tell whether they fall within the 'genuineness' scope or the 'ostensibility' scope. They are tricky enough that even if the analyst was also a participant in the

pertinent encounter, and the inviter was his brother - like the conversation below – s/he can still not take a position, and especially because the invitee in this conversation wishes to refuse anyway. Such invitations are best labelled as equivocal invitations since they include both clues of 'genuineness' and 'ostensibility'.

(Encounter 10)

It is Ramadan, and Khaled has just arrived back in Jordan from Saudi Arabia (where he works). He meets his elder brother AH at their father's house where most of their other brothers and sisters are also present. AH is a teacher in Jordan with a big family and he is actually in straitened financial circumstances. Greetings are exchanged followed by narrating some anecdotal stories by each of them. Then AH makes his invitation at 'iftaar' (Ramadan breakfast).

{Recorded dialogue}

1) AH: xaalid bidna   nʃuufilna juum nifTar   maʕ baʕaD
   dʒiib   ʕijaaliak   wtʕaalu

   Khaled want we   see one day   have breakfast with each other
   bring family you-SG and come you-PL

   Khaled we'd like to see one day to have 'iftaar' {Ramadan breakfast} together…come over with your family.

2) K: ʔin ʃaallah   ʔabu X wala jihimmak

   If will Allah Abu X and no worry you-SG

   God willing Abu X… but let's not worry about that now.

3) **AH:** dʒad wallah taʕalu   bukra walla baʕid bukra miʃ ʕaamliin iʃi jaʕni   bnifTar   maʕ   baʕaD

Really and Allah come you-PL tomorrow or the day after not making something mean I have breakfast we with each other.

Seriously come over tomorrow or the day after, by God…we're not going to bother ourselves much…we'll have breakfast together.

4) **K:** ʔin ʃaallah ʔin ʃaallah xalaS laquddaam bnidʒiik   ibʃir you-SG

   If will Allah if will Allah OK for later   drop by we got it you-SG

God willing, God willing… we'll definitely come over later on and consider it done.

5) **AH:** la taʕalu haljuumiin ʔinta   dʒaaj min   safar   jaʕni maa bidna   naʔxxirha

   No come you-PL these two days you-SG coming from abroad mean I not want   delay it

No come over these two coming days…you've just arrived from your trip…I mean…we don't want any delays.

6) **K:** la la miʃ mʔxriinha wala ʃii   bas xalliiha   laquddaam ʕaarif duubna wSilna   minis   safar   wmaʕdʒuuqiin wallah

 No no not delaying it and nothing just let keep for later know you-SG just arrived we from abroad and being hectic and Allah…

No no there will be no delays at all…just keep it for later…you know we've just arrived and it's really hectic, by God.

7) AH: ʔaah Tajib Tajib xalaS maaʃi bas miʃ   tinsaana

    Ahh OK Ok   alright   but not forget you-SG us!

Ahh…Ok Ok…alright but don't forget that!

8) K: la   jaa   ʃeix   bʔiðn   illaah   ʔilla   niidʒ   bas   balaʃ
Tabaajix   ballah   binzuurkum   ʔin   ʃaallah   heik
sahra   bnuqʕud   maʕ   baʕaD   wilʔawlaad
bijlʕabu wheik

    No O sheikh by permission Allah shall come we just without
cooking by Allah shall visit we you-PL if will Allah like a night
chat sitting   with   each other   and the kids
playing and the like…

No dear we'll come God willing…just forget about cooking food by God…we'll give you a visit God willing…at any night…we'll sit together…and the kids will be playing…and the like.

9) AH: xalS ʔinta maa ʕaliik taʕal twakkal ʕala ʔallah jaa zalameh ʃuu
bidna niʕmal jaʕni Tabxitna wbinzawwidha   ʃwaj

    Ok you-SG never mind and come rely on Allah O man   what
want we make so! Meal we and shall increase it a bit…

Ok just come over and don't worry. Come on man…what shall we make then! We're merely going to make our meal a bit bigger…that's all.

10) K: xalaS ʕabid ballah bidnaaʃ rasmijjaat ʔiħna ʔixwaaan jaa zalameh
zaj maa ħakiitlak maaʃi

    Ok Abed by Allah don't want we formalities we brothers O man
like   what said I   Ok?

Please AH no need for any formalities…we're brothers man! So like I said…OK?

11) **AH:** maaʃi   maaʃi xalaS maa biddi aÐɣaT ʕaliik zaj   maa
    biddak   ʔilmuhim   kiif kaanat riħlitak

   Alright alright Ok don't want I pressurize you-SG like what
   want you-SG the important how was trip you-SG?

Ok Ok…I don't want to further push you…as you wish…so how was your trip?

12) **K:** ʔilħamdulillaah wallah mijassarah kaanat

    Thank Allah and Allah easy-going was it…

Thank God…everything went smoothly…

Figure 13: Sequence of interactional moves - Equivocal invitation

This is another example of an ostensible invitation, which is made by K's brother this time. He invites K to his place along with his family. Since he is K's older brother (so having a higher status and consequently respect by K's part), he uses a simple, casual and direct expression to invite K that can be considered impolite if it was in another context when he (turn 1) says "come over with your family". It is 'simple' as it is obviously brief, lexically 'casual' as indicated in English by 'come over' rather than, for example, 'come to my house' and 'direct' as it is encoded

in the imperative form (not, for example, 'Would you like to …?'). K (turn 2) replies positively first by saying "God willing Abu X… but let's not worry about that now" as K cannot directly turn him down as he is his elder brother. To put it another way, K cannot turn him down directly (but is nevertheless turning him down). Otherwise, it would sound a bit rude and I might threaten his face. As he infers that K is not serious enough in accepting his invitation and that he is just trying to get along with him as a kind of respect only, he (turn 3) says "seriously come over tomorrow or the day after by God" followed by a minimizing (and somehow) mitigating expression "we're not going to bother ourselves much". K (turn 4) responds in a positive and respectful, still vague way by saying "we'll definitely come over later on and consider it done", but this time I use the expression "later on" which is a very common evasion way in Jordanian culture. Then when he (turn 5) further insists by saying "No come over these two coming days…you've just arrived from your trip…I mean…we don't want any delays", I find myself forced to give my plea here. So, K (turn 6) says "…you know we've just arrived and it's really hectic by God" in an initial attempt to justify my refusal. After that, K (turn 8) tries to convey the message of not accepting the food invitation in a very delicate way to him when I say "…just forget about cooking food by God…we'll just give you a visit God willing…at any night…we'll sit together…and the kids will be playing…and the like".

To further explain this, when AH, apparently refusing to accept this polite refusal ('No'), insists and provides an argument in favour of his proposal ('just arrived'), I find myself forced to be somewhat more direct in my refusal ('keep it for later') and attempts to justify it by appealing to circumstances ('just arrived … hectic'). I simply understand his financial circumstances, but I cannot tell him explicitly or even implicitly that this is the reason why I cannot accept his invitation. In fact, my father told me the other day, "DON'T accept A's invitation as he's running some financial difficulties".

His insistence continued in order to further save his face at least in front of my father, brothers and his wife. So, he (turn 9) says "Ok just you come over and don't worry. Come on, man", then he tries to minimize his food invitation by saying "what shall we make then! We're merely going to make our meal a bit bigger…that's all." Such a minimization tactic is very

common in Jordanian culture, especially among close friends and relatives that usually aims at further convincing the invitee to accept the invitation, and implying that it would not be an imposition. However, sometimes it is used to remind the invitee of the inviter's miserable financial situation. To be honest, I cannot judge in this dialogue which was his real aim of this utterance since he minimizes the food aspect, but at the same time, by introducing discussion of detail about the event, insists on the invitation. He specifies the approximate time (in two days) and the meal (breakfast). This specification of propositional content implied to me that he could have been earnest enough in his invitation. However, to be on the safe side, I opted for rejecting the invitation. It can be said that, even when the invitation is ambiguous and the invitee cannot judge the inviter's sincerity, rejection can still be the preferred option in Jordanian culture.

After I have felt that my brother has achieved his ultimate goal of maintaining his face, I use a rather decisive and intensive expression, which is primarily meant to put an end to this conversation in the way I want (i.e. refusing the invitation), and in a way that I do not even keep any doors open. So, I (turn 10) say "please AH no need for any formalities…we're brothers, man! So like I said…OK?" Here my brother raises the white flag after he notices how determined I am when he (turn 11) says "Ok Ok…I don't want to further push you…as you wish", and he directly changes the topic by asking "so how was your trip?" that signifies the end of the invitation.

4.3.2.7 Ostensible invitations and speech act theory

It can be observed in the last encounters, especially those involving ostensible invitations, that what appears to have the illocutionary force of an invitation actually has other functions (e.g. thanks, more general goodwill) with other intended perlocutionary effects. This raises the question for speech act theory of what constitutes a 'real' invitation. Can it be defined in speech-act-theory terms at all?

Inviting according to (Searle: 1976) is considered a commissive act, and is used "to commit the speaker to some future course of action" (Searle 1976: 11). In issuing an invitation, the speaker

makes a commitment to provide a course of action that is beneficial to the hearer. At the same time, Searle reports that invitations are directive in that they instruct the hearer to do something, that is, to take up or decline the invitation (p. l 3). However, as observed in the encounter above, invitations have other perlocutionary effects, like it could be a way of showing gratitude, goodwill, or even just bragging and/or showing off (as discussed in the previous encounters).

Furthermore, according to Searle (1969:57-68), there are conditions for an act "to have been successfully and non-defectively performed" (1969: 54), or what Austin refers to as felicity conditions, that govern speech acts. There are four invariant types of condition which were discussed in Chapter two and repeated below:

According to Searle (1969:57-68), there are conditions for an act "to have been successfully and non-defectively performed" (1969: 54), or what Austin refers to as felicity conditions that govern speech acts:

-"Propositional content condition

- Preparatory conditions

- Essential condition

- Sincerity condition."

These types of condition are specified differently for each speech act, and these differences function as a means of defining each act.

Referring to the encounters above, ostensible invitations seem to problematize Searle's sincerity condition and perhaps his essential and preparatory conditions as well. In ostensible invitations, the inviter obviously does not want the invitee to accept his/her invitation. S/he does not also believe that s/he is able to do the action of (arranging a party to fulfil his invitation). Moreover, the inviter in such an equivocal invitation does not really attempt to persuade the invitee to accept the invitation. On the contrary, s/he often uses a lot of hedging tactics as well as brief

and vague utterances to thoughtfully evade the invitee's acceptance. Consequently, it seems that invitation practices cannot be precisely defined in speech-act-theory terms.

4.3.3 Mediated genuine invitations

In the previous encounters face-to-face, genuine and ostensible invitations have been illustrated and discussed, in which I was present as a participant in the conversation or just a listener. In the following encounters some mediated conversations will be discussed. One of them occurs over the telephone and I was present listening to the whole conversation on the speakerphone and recording it (encounter 11). On the other, I was on the other end of the telephone (Encounter 12).

4.3.3.1 Peremptory invitation

As discussed earlier in some of the face-to-face encounters, invitations sometimes are so strong that the invitee finds no exit to escape through. Such invitations are most often extended by either people with higher status/position/age, when one is paying back another's invitation, or when the inviter feels s/he has a serious obligation that s/he needs to accomplish. The following invitation is issued on the phone by a person of a higher status. Being on the phone and issued by an elder brother, this invitation is extremely peremptory that leaves no choice for the invitee to directly refuse it. Otherwise, s/he would have threatened the inviter's face.

(Encounter 11)

K's father calls his younger sister (K's aunt) to invite her at 'iftaar' in Ramadan. He has also invited all K's other aunts, uncles, sisters along with their husbands. Such 'iftaar' party is annually held in Ramadan by K's family – and most families in Jordan, especially in the last ten days of Ramadan, when people appeal for more mercy and reward by God. Henceforth, it is highly expected by K's relatives. It is usually called "azeemat alarham' or blood relatives' invitation. K's aunt lives in Amman, which is about 100 km from K's father's house. This makes it more difficult for K's aunt to come just to have a meal with her brothers and sisters. After exchanging greetings, the following phone conversation takes place:

{Recorded dialogue}

1) Father: ʔlu ʔssalaamu ʔlaikum ʔum X

        Alo peace upon you-SG Um X?

Hello…peace be upon you. Is this Umm X?

2) Auntie: ʔajwa ja xuuj ʔhlein keif ħaalak

        Yeah O brother Hi   how you-SG?

Yeah my brother…Hi…how are you?

3) F: ʔallah   jsalmik   ʔsmaʕi   bukra btitfaÐÐali
  ʕaliina ʕaamliin   ʔfTaar liwadʒh   illaah

    Allah grant you safety listen you-SG tomorrow shall honour you-SG at we making we breakfast for face Allah.

May God bless you…listen…you shall come over our place tomorrow…we're making 'iftaar' {Ramadan breakfast} for God's sake…

4) A: ʔallah jbaarik fiik jaa xuuj win ʃaallah   rabna jitqabbal ʔin   ʃaallah   ʔiða   Saħħilna   bniidʒi

    Allah bless you-SG   O brother and if will Allah God we accept   if will Allah if got we the chance shall come we.

May God bless you, my brother and accept your good deeds…we will come if we could afford it, God willing

5) F: biddik   ħada   jdʒiibik   walla   btiidʒi laħalik

    Want you-SG someone drive you-SG   or   shall   come you-SG by self?

Do you need a lift or you'll manage to come yourself?

6) A: laa jaa xuuj bdʒiibni X ʔin ʔallah raad   bas   lissa laʃufu

    No O brother drive me X   if Allah wanted just still until see I him.

No brother…no need…X will drive me to your place, God willing…just let me check with him first…

7) F: tajjib ʕala barakit illah bintiÐaarik

    OK   on   blessing Allah waiting you-SG.

F: Ok…with God's blessings…we will be waiting for you.

8) A: ʔin ʃaallah fii miizaan   ħasanatak   ja xuuj

```
If will Allah in the scales good deeds you-SG O brother
```

God willing brother…may God reward you well in the hereafter.

Figure 14: Sequence of interactional moves – Peremptory invitation

This is a phone conversation between K' father and his aunt, in which he invites her at 'iftaar' (Ramadan breakfast). This dialogue illustrates how it is not desired to refuse an invitation directly on the phone, especially when the inviter is older, and possibly has a higher status than

you – as K's father is K's aunt's elder brother. In this dialogue, K's aunt does not refuse K's father's invitation as that may sound humiliating to him in this context although she ultimately does not show up at 'iftaar'. She also makes sure that she does not threaten K's father's face. In general, it is not common to refuse an invitation on the phone in Jordan (and probably everywhere else) as the inviter here is, by all means, sincere in his/her invitation and as long as he is the one who phones up more-or-less immediately. Hence, if the invitee does not want to accept the invitation, s/he usually avoids directly refusing the invitation and starts prevaricating unless s/he has a clear-cut justifiable reason for that (e.g. another prearranged occasion, party, or invitation on the same day). This might be ascribed to the invitee's belief that the inviter does not bother to ring him/her unless s/he is totally sincere (see 6.2.1). Consequently, refusing the invitation on the phone could be taken as a real insult by the inviter, especially if the latter is your elder brother. The invitee usually has two options to refuse the invitation without causing the inviter to lose his/her face in this situation. First, s/he might call the inviter back later to apologize for not being able to come. Second, s/he may resort to not showing up on the day of invitation, especially if there are a lot of other invitees – the option that K's aunt ultimately opts for in this case.

F invites A straight forward - without any preliminaries. He says "listen…you shall come over our place tomorrow…we're making iftaar". Some may think that his way of inviting lacks courtesy. However, we need to take into account the following variables: he is 75 years old, and he is the eldest among his sisters, and K's aunt is 20 years younger than him. This may explain the seemingly peremptory way he uses to invite that he even does not resort to any preliminaries to lubricate the wheel at the beginning of the phone call. This does not mean that he is not enthusiastic enough in his invitation. On the contrary, he is so decisive here taking into consideration also that such an invitation, as explained above, is highly anticipated by the invitee (K's aunt) – being an annual ritual. Spencer-Oatey (2008: 17) points out that "we may feel pleased or even honoured if we are ordered to do something feeling that it shows acceptance as a close friend".

In her turn, K's aunt replies in a cunning way "we will come if we could afford it, God willing." Her reply here cannot be taken as acceptance nor as a refusal. Rather, it keeps the doors open to refuse the invitation later, which eventually happened indeed. In other words, A wants to imply to F that she might not come so that he is not shocked when she does not show up.

I remember after my father finished the phone call with my aunt, he told us "I don't think she will come." He probably felt that in between the lines. Another way that my aunt used to imply she is not coming is when she says "X will drive me to your place, God willing…just let me check with him first." The implicit message that she wants to convey here is that her decision to come is bound to her son's availability and/or approval. Accordingly, because of the aforementioned two utterances, my father 'smells' that she is avoiding the invitation in a very decent way. She does not want to hurt her elder brother's feelings, and ultimately, she is after maintaining his face. At last, as mentioned before, my aunt didn't show up at the 'iftaar', and my father took that with good grace.

This encounter is considered a deviant case for the following reasons:

1. Although it can be classified under accepted invitations, it turned out ultimately to be an ostensible refusal.

2. This encounter encompasses both an invitation and an offer.

3. It does not follow the tripartite structure (invite-refuse-invite-refuse-invite-accept)

4. The invitee holds a neutral, still ambiguous position in responding to both the invitation and the offer.

5. It's the only case where a female is involved in an encounter in the 16 qualitatively-analysed encounters.

4.3.3.2 Command-like mediated invitation

The following invitation is similar to the last one in that it is also strong, however with relatively less intensity. The inviter again has a higher status than the invitee and older as well.

Although they are colleagues at the same workplace, the inviter's academic rank (Ph.D. holder) is higher than K's (MA holder). This adds to the fact that he is about 15 years older.

(Encounter 12)

S phones Khaled to invite him on lunch after he (Khaled) has come back from Jordan to Jeddah – Saudi Arabia. They start by briefly exchanging greetings and right after that, the following conversation takes place. It is not common that S invites K every time he comes back to Saudi Arabia, but this time S (as I realised later) wants to pay his and K's colleague M back his invitation. So he probably plans to 'kill two birds in one stone'. He wants to pay M's invitation back and 'register' a new one on K. I am saying 'register' here, and I am not exaggerating since people in Jordan deal with invitations as debts. There is a saying which is often invoked in relevant invitation rituals which says "كل شيء قرضة ودين حتى المشي على الرجلين", which translates as 'everything you do is a loan and debt even walking on your own feet'. Walking on the feet here is a metaphor for going to others' houses in visits or invitations. Davies, et al. (2007) accounts for this interactional strategy of incurring a debt when making still another speech act (i.e. apology). They indicate that students in the UK sometimes apologize to their instructors when "the apology was often not the main business". Rather, they have found that apologies are utilised to "pay debts/gain credit within this institutional relationship". Thus, notions of balance and equilibrium are manifested in some specific types of apologies in the UK just as it is the case with Jordanian invitations.

{Recorded dialogue}

```
1) S: ?lu ?issalaamu Salaikum

    Alo peace be  upon you
```

Hello

2) K: ħajjaak allaah duktur

    Hail you Allah doctor

God bless you, doctor.

3) S: jaa siidi bukra btitʁadda ʕinna ʔidaktuur X kamaan dʒaaj
   wbidna nuqʕud maʕ baʕaD   jaʕni miʃ ʃaʁlit ʔakil bas

      O sir tomorrow shall dine at we doctor X also coming and
want sit we with each other mean I not eating only

Tomorrow you shall have lunch with us, dear…doctor X will also come, so we'd like to sit together…not merely to have food…

4) K: ʔallah   jdʒzeik   lxeir   jaa ʔbu X wallah maa fii daaʕi

…and Allah reward you-SG the good   O Abu X no   there   need

May God reward you well Abu X…you need not do that, by God.

5) S:laa ʔaħna bniʕzim ʕaleik miʃ ʕaʃaan tquul maa fii daaʕi twakkal
   ʕala ʔallah

No we invite on you-SG not to say you-SG no there need…rely on
Allah…

No, we invite you not in order to say 'you need not do that'…come on man.

6) K:ʔallah jdʒzeik   lxeir jaa siidi maa bitqassir   wallah
   ʕala barakat illah

    Allah grant you the good O   sir not shorten you-SG and Allah
on blessing Allah

May Allah bless you ...I know you never abstain doing the good deeds, by God...Ok...With God's blessings.

```
7) S:xalaS                           bantaÐrak        ?in ʃaallah
   biħduud issaaʕa θintein laθalaaθ

    Alright, shall be waiting we you-SG     if will Allah
nearly  clock    two     to three.
```

Ok...we'll be waiting for you God willing...at about 2-3 o'clock.

```
8) K:bnitʃarraf        wallah         jaabu X   ?allah   jxalliik
   wijsalmak

    Shall be honoured we and Allah O Abu X Allah keep you-SG and
grant you-SG safety.
```

It's honour Abu X, by God...may God give you a prolonged life and good health.

```
9) K:?allah jbaarik   fiik

    Allah   bless in you-SG…
```

God bless you…

Figure 15: Sequence of interactional moves – Command-like phone invitation

In this phone conversation, S calls Khaled in order to invite him on lunch after K had come back from Jordan. Right from the outset, S was decisive and straightforward. This is obvious as he (turn 3) says "we'd like to sit together…not merely to have food". This sentence shows that he is sincere enough in his invitation. S here is basically seeking K's company rather than just attempting to show, for example, respect to him when he would be issuing an ostensible invitation instead. Also, this utterance is considered an "out of script" utterance. In other words, it is not formulaic or a ritualised one. Therefore, whenever the invitee hears such 'awkward' utterances s/he

realises automatically that the inviter is sincere enough in his/her invitation and it would not be wise at all to continue with the refusal 'circumlocution game'.

Such commanding way of inviting is of course an FTA according to Brown and Levinson (1987) since the the inviter here threatens the invitee's negative face by overtly imposing on him. However, that is not what Spencer-Oatey (2000: 19) believe as they argue that not all "orders and requests threaten our sense of equity rights. If we perceive a directive as being within the scope of our obligations, we are less likely to regard it as an infringement of our rights".

On the other hand, it is not common in Arab culture (and probably in many other cultures) to phone call somebody for a ritual ostensible invitation. To a high extent, all phone invitations are genuine invitations. However, the invitee still has the social right - and is often expected - to give ritualized (or sometimes silly hard-to-believe) excuses and stereotyped responses in order not to be seen as gluttonous or greedy.

As S has invited K, K (turn 4) opts for an overcautious ritualised refusal when he says "you need not do that, by God" in order to save his face. Yet, such ritualised responses are sometimes not desired by people as it is evident in the conversation in hand. When K says "you need not do that, by God", S (turn 5) makes a metapragmatic comment on K's last utterance and responds in a relatively harsh way. He says "No, we invite you not in order to say 'you need not do that'…come on man".

In fact, I felt a bit embarrassed when I heard that then. However, the strong relationship that I hold with S may explain my cool reaction to his response when I (turn 6) say "May Allah bless you… I know you never abstain doing the good deeds, by God", which is a way of gratitude although it may not sound so by an outsider. In English-speaking cultures, this utterance could be interpreted as if the invitee implying that s/he is only being invited because the inviter feels a sense of moral obligation (rather than because /she wants to invite the invitee). There is, of course, a kind of display of modesty here – the invitee also implying that nobody would want his/her company for its own sake. This demonstrates how cross-cultural differences might sometimes create a lot of misunderstanding that the relevant interlocutors might end up with unwanted

clashes. Here comes the objective of this study (as discussed in the Introduction) to minimize this potential understanding by foreigners about Jordanian culture, and bridge the cultural gap between their own cultural perceptions about invitation and Jordanians' traditions and rituals connected to invitational and offering practices.

In such a genuine invitation, the invitee (like my case here) may find it a bit illogical or even rude to refuse sincere phone invitations more than once as it could be considered by the inviter a clear face-threatening act (FTA). S ends the conversation by specifying the time of the lunch. K (turn 8) then compliments the inviter and invokes God when he prays for Him and wish S a prolonged life ("It's honour Abu X, by God…may God give you a prolonged life and good health").

4.4   Structures of offering practices in Jordanian culture

After discussing how invitations are performed in various Jordanian contexts, we will illustrate in the following sections how offers are performed in a variety of naturally-occuring settings. Some accompanying rituals which are commonly exchanged over food gatherings will be analysed. In addition, two service-providing encounters will be studied at the end of this chapter.

4.4.1 Urging to eat more at a formal meal

(Encounter 13)

This dialogue takes place at Khaled's cousin's table during Ramadan. His cousin S has already invited K and K accepted the invitation after a series of ritualised refusals.

{Recorded dialogue}

1) S: haj   ʔaðan   jaa   dʒamaaʕah jallah tfaʕalu
   ʕalmaqsuum   sammu   bism   illaah

    Here calling for prayer O company by Allah honour you-PL on
the destined say you-PL in the name of Allah.

It's being called for the prayer folks…come on at the table and say by God's name.

2) K:ʔallah jziid faÐlak jaa ʔallaah bism illaahir raħmaanir raħiim

Allah increase honour you-SG O Allah in the name of God the most
Gracious the most Merciful…

May God reward you well. By the name of God the most Beneficent the most Merciful.

3) S: Tabʕan maa biddak   ʕazuumih   ʔxuuj ʔabu baraaʔ ʔiddinja
   Sijaam wilwaaħad

  Of course not want you-SG inviting brother I Abu Bara the time
fasting and one(…)

Of course you don't need to be further invited brother Abu Bara'…we're fasting and…

4) K: twakkal ʕala ʔallah ʔkeid kulha Saaijmeh wbidha   tifTar
   bidna nruuħ ndawwir ʕala fTuur θaani jaʕni

  Rely on Allah   sure   all fasting   and want they   break
fasting want we go search for breakfast second mean I

Come on man…we're all fasting and we are starving, indeed. We're not going to look for some other breakfast, of course.

```
5) S: hahaha ʃaajef ʔallah jitqabbal ʔin ʃaallah

   Hahaha see you! Allah accept if will Allah…
```

Hahaha…I hear you, bro! May God accept your good deeds God willing…

(After a while…)

```
6) S:  ʃuu  ittafaqnaa  jaa  ʔbu  baraaʔ  wallah  manta  ʕaadʒibni
   ʔiÐaahir biddak        ħada    jdeir baaluh ʕaleik

   What agreed upon we O Abu Bara and Allah not being liked by I
seeming want you-SG someone take care of you-SG.
```

S: What have we agreed upon Abu Bara'! You're not eating enough, by God. I think you need somebody to take care of you…

```
7) K:hajna bnuukil    wallah  wxeir  ʔallah kθeir bas      deir
   baalak  ʕaħaalak  ʔinta  wʕalizɣaar

   Here we eating and Allah and bounty Allah plenty just take care
you-SG of self you-SG and the children…
```

We're eating, actually…and God's bounty is extensive…just take care of yourself and the kids as well…

```
8) S:jaa       zalameh      wallah       ʔinnak       btitÐajjef
   ʃiklak ʃuu jaa zalameh

     O man      and Allah    pretending a real guest you-SG
seemingly what O man!
```

You must be pretending to be a real guest. What's up man!

9) K: wallah laa   batÐajjef   wala ʃii twakkal ʕala ?allah
     ?inta bas

   And Allah not pretending a real guest nor nothing rely on Allah
you-SG just

No! I'm definitely not, by God…just put your trust in God {come on} man…

10)   S: winniʕim   billaah

   And the trustworthy Allah

And He's the trustworthy, actually…

 (After a while…)

11)   K: jaa ?allaah ?alħamdu lillaah rabbil ʕaalamiin

  O Allah   thank Allah   the Lord of the Worlds…

Praise be to God

12)   S: ʃuu jaa   zalameh maa   ?akalit ?iʃi   ʃuu
     ʃaklak   miʃ Saajem

      What O man have not eaten you-SG   something   what
seem you-SG not fasting!

What's up man…you've eaten nothing…you must be not fasting today!

13) K: Hahaha   ?allah   jdʒzeikl   xeir   ?akalit
     wallah   wbzjaadih

Hahaha Allah grant you-SG the   good   have eaten I   and
Allah and with extra.

Hahaha…May God reward you well…I've eaten extra, indeed.

14) S: ʃuu ʔakalit   jaa zalameh kammil   jaa radʒul

What have eaten you-SG O man! Complete you-SG O man

What have you eaten man! Come on…finish your meal man…

15) K: wallah   maani   qaadir   sufra   daajmeh   wdʒazaak   allaah
    kul   xeir

And Allah not capable I meal recurring and grant Allah you-SG
every good

By God, I'm not capable to eat more…your food invitation is highly appreciated…may God reward you well…

16) S: ʔallah jbaarik fiik ʔala raaħtak jaa siidi

Allah bless in you-SG on comfort you-SG O sir

May God bless you…as you wish, dear…

Figure 16: Sequence of interactional moves – Urging to eat more at a formal meal

In this dialogue, Khaled is invited to his cousin's house in the holy month of Ramadan. In Ramadan, Muslims fast during the day and break their fasting at sunset. K's cousin S (turn 1) makes his offer to join them at breakfast as soon as the Al-Maghrib prayer is called, which announces the sunset time. He (turn 3) says "of course, you don't need to be further invited, brother Abu Bara'…we're fasting and…" stressing the common ground among us, and reminding me that it is not the time for formalities or rituality as long as they are very hungry. In other words, he

possibly implies that he might be too tired (because of fasting) to do his obligation to host me well. So, K needs to take care of himself while eating 'Mansaf' (the most popular dish in Jordan) and to eat enough meat to satisfy his desire - the desire that wouldn't be satisfied without eating a lot of meat. K (turn 4) replies as expected saying "Come on man…we're all fasting and we are starving, indeed. We're not going to look for some other breakfast, of course." K here is trying to calm S down that he is going to eat as expected by S since he is starving and it is not the right time for any ostensible refusals or tricks.

In Jordan, it is obligatory to eat a lot of meat, especially on Mansaf to save your host's face. Not eating a lot of meat might be interpreted as a clear FTA. It might mean that I do not like the way of hosting, the food, the atmosphere, the place, or the host himself. It may also mean – in some fewer cases - that I am trying to convey a hidden message to the host or I am paying him back for a similar previous behaviour by his part when I once had invited him earlier. The degree of intensity in the (mis)interpretation of the act given depends on several variables including – but not limited to – the setting, how urbanized the people are (whether they come from urban, rural, or even Bedouin backgrounds), the degree of relationship, and sometimes power, status and/or age.

In the middle of breakfast, and after the host has given me enough time to 'show off my guts" in eating, and after I, unfortunately, fail to do so, he stops me and indicates that he is not satisfied with my way of eating. He (turn 6) says "what have we agreed upon Abu Bara'! You're not eating enough, by God. I think you need somebody to take care of you." I'm sure that I'm eating normally, but this time-out [2] move is an essential part that has to be roleplayed well on the proper time in order to show how generous the host is and eventually save his face. I (turn 7) reply using the formulaic expression "we're eating, actually…and God's bounty is extensive." However, he (turn 8) insists by saying another formulaic expression "you must be pretending to be a real guest (you're behaving in a very formal way) what's up man!" This expression is usually used among relatives or close friends, but it is not common in formal invitations. Otherwise, it can be

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[2] i.e. not Jefferson's CA technical sense but just in the everyday sense

misinterpreted and may threaten the guest's face. Anyways, I (turn 9) deny his 'accusation' to me that I am pretending to be a real guest by saying "No I'm definitely not by God."

In the end and after K feels stuffed, he (turn 11) says "praise be to God" which obviously means – in Jordanian culture – that I've finished eating. S (turn 12) immediately says in a rather high volume "what's up man…you've eaten nothing…you must be not fasting today!" This whole sentence is a stock sentence in Jordan, which is frequently used in Ramadan in such a context, and which is essentially a ritualised offer to eat more. K (turn 13) first refuses his offer to continue eating by saying "may God reward you well…I've eaten extra, indeed." However, that was not enough to satisfy his wants as a host. So, S (turn 14) makes another ritualised offer utilising exclamatory and and imperative tactics (compared to the exclamatory and somehow sarcastic tactic used in the previous offer) by saying "what have you eaten man! Come on…finish your meal man." Then K (turn 15) refuses S's offer again by saying "By God, I'm not capable to eat more…your food invitation is highly appreciated…may God reward you well." Here, and after K indicates that he cannot eat more, S (turn 16) feels content and puts an end to his attempts to urge K to eat more.

In Jordan – and I believe in most Arab countries – the host is considered impolite if s/he finishes before the guest. This is because this act might be interpreted as if the host is trying to promptly get rid of the guest or s/he is trying to save some food and hide it for himself for a later meal, which would be regarded very mean then. Moreover, the host has to keep 'nagging' on the guest to continue eating 'until the last breath'. Otherwise, he might be considered a bad host. In Jordanian culture, politeness basically resides on insistence - the insistence on the guest to continue eating (see Al Khatib, 2006). It is worth mentioning here that offering practices not only involve the speech act of offering, but also other acts, such as insisting. In Jordanian culture, (im)politeness basically resides on insistence – the insistence on the guest to continue eating. If the guest finishes and the host does not bother himself to ask him to eat more and insist on that, it might be considered an impolite 'non-act'. (Culpeper's: 1996) model of impoliteness has this as (strategy No. 5), which tackles withholding politeness when it is expected. Again, the intensity of this insistence and how

it is interpreted are relative. It is all basically dependent and correlated to the aforementioned variables (i.e. the degree of urbanization, relationship, power, status, and age).

4.4.2 Urging to eat more at a casual meal

(Encounter 14)

This dialogue takes place at K's best friend W's table. He has invited K along with their other intimate friend R on dinner, and they accepted his invitation.

{Recorded dialogue}

1) W: jallah quulu jaa rab

   O Allah say you-PL O God

Come on guys…let's start eating…

2) K: ja ʔallaah

   O Allah

O God

3) R: jaa rab   bismil laah

   O God in the name of Allah

By the name of God…

4) W: Kul waaħad jdeir baaluh ʕaħaaluh ħabaaijbi miʃ   titĐajjafu
   ʕindi

       Everyone   takes care of self   my beloved ones not pretend
you-PL real guest here…

Everyone shall take care of himself, dears…don't act like real guests here!

5) K: kuul kuul jaa   zalameh   xuðlak   ʃuu biquul Saaħbak
   min kul ʕaqlak btiħki   ʔinta   hahaha

      Eat eat   O man   take this you-SG what say he friend you-
SG from all mind you-SG saying you-SG hahaha

Come on man…just start eating…listen to what your friend is saying, R…are you serious man! {laughing}

(After a while…)

6) W: ballah jaa dʒamaaʕah fikkuuna   minku   ʃuu   halʔakil
   haad jaʕni lamiin bidku txalluuh   wallah   lajinkab

   By Allah O company untie you-PL us from you-PL   what this
eating this! Mean I for who want you-PL leave it?   And Allah
shall be thrown away.

*Hey guys what's wrong with you…are you really eating! Whom are you keeping the leftovers to?
They're going to be thrown away..believe me…*

7) K: hajna bnuukil jaa zalameh ʃuu   maalak

     Here eating we O man   what wrong you-SG?

Can't you see…we're eating man…what's wrong with you?

8) R: wallah maaħna mqaSriin ʃaɣaaliin bilʔarbaʕah

    And Allah not shortened we working by four

We're doing well, I guess…we're working with the four {hands and feet}…

(After a while…)

9) K: ʔilħamdulillaah jislamu ħabiib

    Thank for Allah blesses beloved

Praise be to God…bless you, dear…

10) W: Saħtein

     Two 'healthes'

Bon appetite

11) R: ʔallah jixlif

    Allah may succeed

May God reward you more.

12) W: ʃuu miʃ ʔaklak   ʔakil   ʕaʃarah hahaha

     What not eating you-SG eating of ten hahaha

That's not the way you eat…it's the way of ten people's, indeed…{laughing}

13) R: hahaha ʃaajef   qultillak maa qaSSarna   rajaħnaaku
   mini   dʒalij

Hahaha see you-SG told I you   not   shortened we relieved we you-PL from dishwashing…

{Laughing}…you see…I told you we've been doing well…we've exempted you from the dishwashing duty…

14) K&W: hahaha

{Laughing}

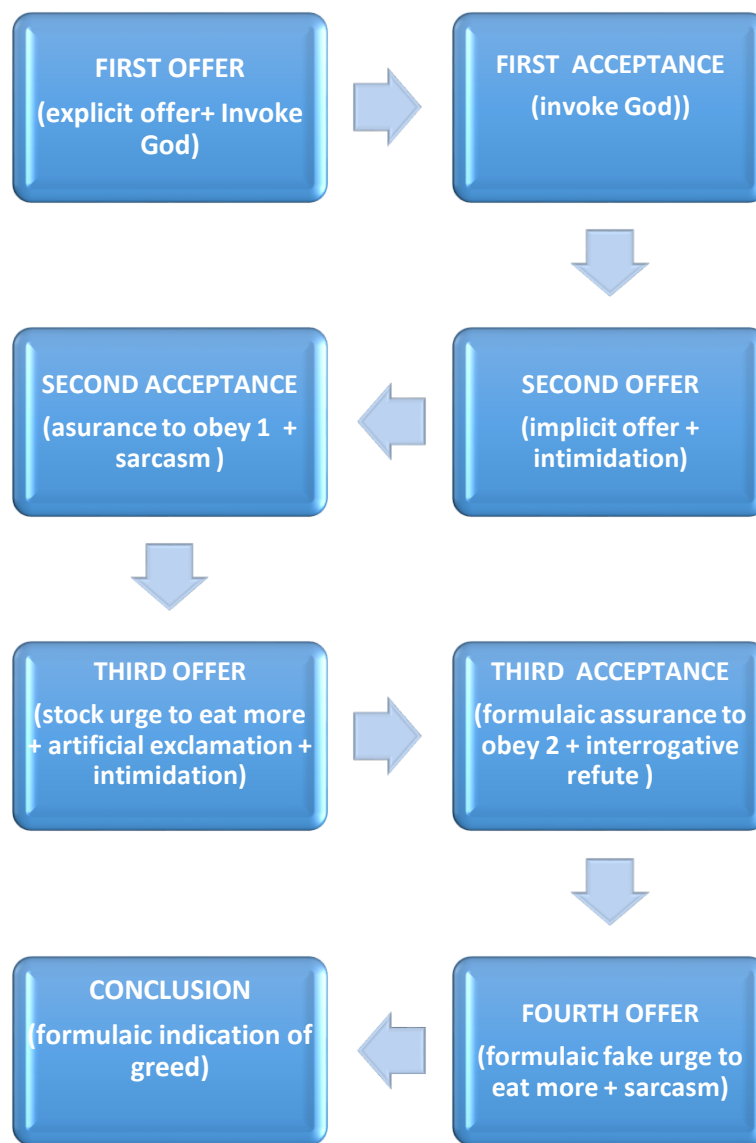**Figure 17: Sequence of interactional moves – Urging to eat more at a casual meal**

This is an example of a casual in-group invitation for dinner. Both W and R are very intimate to me. We have been friends for over 20 years. We loathe formalities and sometimes we make fun of the person who pretends to act this way. We form a triangle, and nobody can be easily accepted to join us in our gatherings even our brothers.

W (turn 1) makes the offer to start eating by simply saying "come on say O God." He says that only once without any further insistence later in the dialogue. So, K and R start eating right away 'without any hesitation'. Then he (turn 4) says "everyone shall take care of himself dears…don't act like real guests here!" And K (turn 5) replies ironically "Come on man…just start eating…listen to what your friend is saying, R...are you serious man! Hahahah". K's response here is mocking W's seemingly formal way of addressing them, which is not expected in such in-group dialogues. Even though we're intimate friends, when it comes to food invitations, some ritual touches will still appear in our culture anyway.

One sacred ritual in Jordanian culture is urging guests to eat more after they are stuffed with food. Al Khatib (2006:273) indicates 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.*" When K and R are about to finish their dinner, W (turn 6) says "hey guys what's wrong with you…are you really eating! Whom are you keeping the leftovers to? They're going to be thrown away believe me." This is a casual way to urge K and R to eat more, which is accepted by the group without any mocking. However, if he had said, for example "by God, it seems that you need somebody to take care of you", and started distributing pieces of meat to each one of us, K and R would have replied an acted sarcastically.

At any rate, that would never happen as we know each other very well, and we totally know what's acceptable inside our micro group and what's not. It goes without saying here that there is no list of words or expressions that we are banned to utilize among each other. It is all codified in our sociolinguistic competence.

As the offer made by W has been informal, R's response turns to be even 'worse'. He (turn 8) says "we're doing well, I guess…we're working with the four (hands and feet)." What R means to say here is that we are actually eating voraciously. This utterance is common among intimate friends in Jordan, but it is not socially desired in formal or even most informal invitations as it implies the speaker is very gluttonous.

I wouldn't dare to say that to my casual friends, colleagues, relatives or even family members. Otherwise, I would threaten my face and the host's own as well. I can say that such an utterance is only acceptable in our micro group or any other similar group having the same specific sociopragmatic characteristics. And that's exactly what gives it the in-group patented label.

After K finishes eating, he says the formulaic religious expression "praise be to God", and W replies with the stock expression "Bon appetite." However, when R finishes, W uses another in-group expression. He (turn 12) says "that's not the way you eat…it's the way of ten people's, indeed…hahahaha." He implies that he has eaten a lot, which could be as much as ten people. In other informal contexts, the formulaic expression which is usually used when somebody finishes eating, and the host wants to offer him to eat more is "that's not the way you eat", which means that you've eaten a little. In our micro group - and probably other similar groups - we add the expression "it's the way of ten people's" after a short pause. This little addition turns the meaning of the whole expression upside down and makes everybody laughs since W is seemingly pretending here playing the role of guest. R's response was still funnier. He (turn 13) says "you see…I told you we've been doing well…we've exempted you from the dishwashing duty." It implies that they have left nothing in the dishes to be washed up, which means that they have eaten all the food.

4.4.3 Ostensible offering as a persuasive technique

Unlike the previous encounters, the following two encounters take place in a service-providing situation (specifically in a clothes shop and a cafe), whereas all the others (including those under 'inviting') can be grouped under the heading of (non-corporate) hospitality.

In the following encounter, K enters the shop and starts looking around for a T-shirt. After only a minute the salesperson - trying to offer assistance - asks K about what he is looking for. It is the first time K has dropped by this shop. However, as indicated in the conversation, he pretends he is a loyal customer in a ritualised attempt to get a discount. K's deception here is viewed by

many Jordanians as a 'white lie'. In other words, both parties are often aware that one is being insincere, but for the sake of a given usually 'positive' interest, both of them collude with each other and let it pass. However, in some other cases 'white lies' are extended simply as a sort of phatic communion or lip service - neither more nor less.

(Encounter 15)

{Memorised dialogue}

1) Salesperson: tfaÐÐal   ?axuuj   bitdawwir   Sala   ∫ii muSajjian

                Honour you-SG brother looking for you-SG something specific?

Are you looking for something in particular?

2) K: ?aah tii ∫eirt ?abjaÐ mrattabeh ballah Sala zuuqak

      Aha a T-shirt white   neat by Allah on mood you-SG

Yeah a white T-shirt…a nice one from your choice, please.

3) SP: wala jhimmak kam maqaasak

      No worry   how size you-SG?

Never mind…what's your size?

4) K: dabil ?aks ?aw tribl ?aks bikuun ?aħsan

      Double X or triple X will be better

Double X or Triple X is better, I guess.

5) SP: kullil maqaasaat likbiirih mawjuudih laa tʃil ham xuð
    qeis   haj ballah ɣurfit liqjaas hajha bilʔaaxir

        All   sizes   big available don't carry sadness take
you-SG try on this by Allah The room trying on there at the end

All big sizes are available…don't worry…try this one, please. The changing rooms are over there.

{After A while}

6) SP: wallah   btiʕraf   bitdʒannin   ʕaliik
    ilqiTʕah   maqaasak   biÐabT

       And Allah know you-SG making crazy   on you-SG   the
piece Size you-SG exactly!

You know what! It's just awesome! It fits you very well.

7) K: kam siʕirha ballah min ilʔaaxir   lazbuun   maħal

        How cost by Allah from the end for a customer store?

How much is it, please…the net price for a loyal customer?

8) SP: wallah haajil qiTʕah maa Tilʕat ʔaqal min xamiSTaʕʃar
    diinaar lakin kawnak   zbuun maħal ʔiʕtabirha bTnaʕiʃ

      And Allah this piece not leaving less than 15 Dinars
but   being you-SG a customer store consider you-SG it for 12.

I swear by God this garment has never been sold for less than 15 JD, but as you are our
 customer consider it only 12 JD.

9) K: ʔaah wʔaqal   min   heik

      Ahh and less than that?

Could it be less than that, please?

10) SP: wallah had issiʕir bas ʔilak

        And Allah this price just for you-SG

  By God this price is only for you.

11) K: ballah kam   minil ʔaaxir

        By Allah how much from the end?

Come on…what's the final price, please?

12) SP: jaa siidi bala maSaari

          O sir   with no money

Ok…for no money, buddy.

13) K: laa heik   ɣaali   kθeir   haha xalaS jaa siidi tfaÐÐal
   btistaahal   ʔilqiTʕah bSaraahah

        No that expensive very a lot haha Ok   O   sir honour
you-SG worth it the piece honestly

  No! That's very expensive… {Laughing}…Ok here you go…I'm sure it's worth the price.

14) SP: jislamu mʕawwaÐaat ʔin ʃaallah bas billaahi laa tiħki
    laħada ʕan ʔissiʕir illi ʔaʕTeitak ijjaah Saddiqni   maa
    TallaʕTuh   laɣiirak

        Blessed Compensated if will Allah just by Allah not tell
anyone about the price that have given I to you-SG Believe you-SG
me not gave I it but other you-SG.

Blessed…May God compensate that for you, but please…never tell anyone about the price I've given you, please. Believe me, this price has never been granted to anyone other than you.

15) K: xalaS wala jhimmak   jallah salaam

        Ok   not   worry you-SG so Allah peace.

Ok…you got it…Bye.

Figure 18: Sequence of interactional moves – Ostensible offering as a persuasive technique

In this interchange, K and the salesperson are negotiating over the price of a garment. K is anticipating that S will skyrocket the price of the T-shirt when he (turn 7) says "…the net price for a loyal customer." The utterance implies that he is willing to enter into a long negotiation over the price if the seller does not give him an acceptable price. Nevertheless, to obtain the maximum profit, S (turn8) gets the implicature (that K is prepared to negotiate) and for that reason pronounces the high price and issues a very high price (12 JDs), instead. He has probably realised that this customer is going to bargain a lot, so he gives this relatively high starting price. K requests a lower price for the T-shirt, but the salesperson (turn 10) assures him that this price is only for him after claiming it has never been sold for less than 15 JD.

K still asks for a further discount and here (turn 11) comes the clincher when S (turn 12) uses the stock utterance, "Ok…for no money, buddy", meaning you can take it for free. It is clear that his offer is insincere for the simple reason that S would soon go out of business if he gave his stuff away for free. The rationale behind this utterance is that after trying to convince the customer that the first price is the net one, he wittingly resorts to embarrass the customer aiming at a short-cut way to get to his target. Yet, he does not say that explicitly; instead he resorts to issuing an ostensible offer.

The salesperson's offer here could be interpreted in two ways, both of which would serve only his own wants. First, it could be that he is not interested in negotiating over the price anymore (i.e. S is trying to control the floor by putting limits to the bargaining attempts by K's side). The second possible, still more probable, one is that he is trying to imply that K is a penny-pinching customer. Both implicatures are used to threaten K's negative face yet in a diplomatic way. The perlocutionary effect of these implicatures on K appears in (turn 13) as he surrenders by saying "…Ok here you go…I'm sure it's worth the price." Obviously, K is aiming here at saving his face with no hesitations or delays after becoming vulnerable to S's attack. He is also trying to repair the deformed image that S might have drawn for him by showing off that he has the money, and he does not care to pay the requested price even if it is higher than the average price in the market. This is illustrated in his ironic formulaic utterance, ": No! That's very expensive."

In this discourse K finds himself obliged to collude with S's pretence even though he is aware that S is insincere in his offer. In fact, K's final move settles the disagreement and saves his negative face for keeping on negotiating the salesperson over the price will damage and threaten his negative face wants.

After all, S manages to sell the T-shirt for the price he desires for less effort. It would have taken him much longer negotiating the price with K if he had not resorted to this simple, still persuasive strategy. Henceforth, it is clear here that ostensible offers in Jordanian culture serve not only mitigating or bragging purposes, but they are also employed for persuasive functions that might be regarded by many people as Machiavellian games.

Although offers do not usually involve lengthy sequences as it is the case with invitations, in this conversation there are one offer, two refusals, two reoffers and one acceptance. However, it should be pointed out here that these (re)offers are different from those discussed above at, for example, meal settings. In this encounter, the offer is the first stage in a bargaining sequence, rather than an invitation sequence. It also involves different speech acts from those analysed above. The sequence involves: offer-request-reoffer-request-reoffer-accept. It is different from the classical invitation sequence (i.e. offer-refuse-offer-refuse-offer-accept). It should be noted that the interactional move is called 'refusal' despite the fact that the actual speech act involved in this move is a request. This raises an interesting speech-act-theory problem. Conventionally, what is being detected here indicates an indirect speech act (i.e. one act performed through another). In the case in hand, it is a refusal performed through a request. Yet, the utterance is not just a refusal but also a request. In this respect it exemplifies Al-Owaidi's (2018: 73-74) notion of a double-edged utterance, wherein two speech acts are performed at the same time. In terms of her typology, this is the sub-type where the explicit act (request) is more important for the ongoing encounter than the implicit one (refusal).

Moreover, the 'non-acceptance' here has a different function from that in invitations. It aims here at bargaining rather than, for example, evading, hedging or apologizing for not being able to accept the offer as it is the case with non-corporate offerings. Furthermore, it is true that the offeree does not accept the offer, but his refusal can never be ostensible here as it is the case with invitations. Clearly, all refusals in such service-providing encounters are necessarily genuine.

After all, while this is a deviant case, and lack of acceptance has a very different function to the other data, it nevertheless conforms to the tripartite pattern, whereby something which at root requires only a single adjacency pair (offer/invite – positive or negative response) is greatly extended.

4.4.4 Ostensible offering as a mitigating technique

(Encounter 16)

The following dialogue takes place at a traditional coffee shop in Jordan - Irbid between K and the café's cashier. K has already ordered his coffee, and he wants to pay the bill now. K is a loyal customer to this place. He goes there at least once a week. This conversation takes place as Khaled is leaving.

{Recorded dialogue}

```
1) Khaled: Kam  ħsaabna    siidi

          How much account we sir?
```

How much do I owe you, dear?

```
2) Cashier: ʃuu   ʕindak

            What at you-SG?
```

What was your order?

```
3) K: Waaħad qahwih uw waaħad kruusaan

      One coffee and  one croissant.
```

One coffee and one croissant.

```
4) C: Diinaar  wrubiʕ

    Dinar and a quarter
```

One JD and a quarter.

5) K: tfaÐÐal siidi

    Honoured sir.

 Here you go, dear…

6) C: Tajjeb   xalli   ʕaliina hasa

     Ok   let keep on we now

Please keep it at our expense…

7) K: jislamu

    Blessed you-SG

No thank you…bless you.

8) C: billaah ʕaleik

    By Allah on you

Come on please…

9) K: Tayyeb jaa siidima daamak muSir   wallah   maani
  mfaʃlak

    All right o sir as long as insisting you-SG and Allah not turn
down I you-SG

Ok dear…as you insist, I won't turn you down

10)   C: ʕaħsaabak   wallah

On account you-SG it and Allah

It's all yours…by God…

11) K: jaa siidi haad   min   luTfak   xalaS   maʕnaatuh ʔinta
    ʔaazimni luum   jallah jaʕTeik ilʕaafjeh

        O sir   this   from   kindness you-SG OK mean this you-SG
inviting me today so Allah grant you wellness

This is so kind of you, dear…Ok, so this is an offer! Many thanks…Bye Bye…

12) C: wein wein   bas   miʃ   tSaddiq   bnimzah   maʕak jaa
     zalameh

     Where where just not believe you-SG joking we with you-SG o
man…

(Cashier jumping from his chair) Where are you going? Don't believe it…I'm just kidding man!

13) K: hahaha ʃuu jaa zalameh baTTalit

        Hahaha what o man   backed away?

Hahaha…what's wrong man! Have you changed your mind?

14) C: ʕaħsaabak   ilmaħal   kulluh wallah jaa   qaraabah
    lakin ʔana miʃ Saaħib ilmaSlahah wallah badfaʕhum min   dʒeibi

        On account you-SG it the store whole and Allah o relative
but   I   not owner the business and Allah pay I them from pocket
I

The whole shop is yours, dear…but I'm not the stakeholder, indeed…I'll have to pay them from my own pocket then, by God… (Cashier's face flushes)

```
15)  K: la la kul ʃi wala    tidfaʕhum    min   dʒeibak    tfaÐÐal
     jaa siidi

          No no everything but pay you-SG from pocket you-SG
honoured o sir
```

No no…I would never accept that. Never mind…here you go dear.

Figure 19: Sequence of interactional moves – Ostensible offering as a mitigating technique

Drawing on many studies that deal with ostensible invitations and/or offers as mitigating devices (Clark 1996; Salmani-Nodoushan 2006; Dastpak & Mollaei 2011; Izadi et al 2012), the encounter below is an attempt to illustrate how this is demonstrated in Jordanian Arabic. This is an interesting dialogue that took place in K's favourite café in Jordan. He has been always their customer along with other friends. He has been going there for about three years. The cashier is accustomed to saying (to me and I guess to many other customers) the stock utterance "please keep

it at our expense". However, I think he is not an exception as such a ritualised ostensible offer is prevalent in most shops in Jordan and uttered by many cashiers, salespeople and business owners. And all the customers are aware that it is - by all means - insincere.

One day I decided to call his bluff and shock him by accepting his fake offer to see his reaction. He first pretends that he does not mind and that he is actually being sincere. However, after he is certain that I am not joking, he gives in and withdraws his offer, thereby losing face.

This is a clear example of an ostensible offer which is made thousands of times on a daily basis over various shops in Jordan. The presumed sociolinguistic function here is to give the customer the opportunity to show generosity – the pretence is that s/he volunteers the money (rather than being required to pay it). Another possible function is to reduce the effect of imposition upon the customers. Henceforth, it is seen as another mitigating strategy where interlocutors are often expected to collude - but the offeree wittingly refused to collude here. Salespeople never stop using it just as customers do enjoy hearing it. Such ostensible offers are not extended only to loyal customers. In fact, even if the customer is new to a given shop (especially small, individual-owned shops) s/he is still expecting salespeople and cashiers to utilize this formulaic expression. Any Jordanian could automatically realise that this offer is not genuine from the outset. The funny part about this offer in the discourse in hand is that it comes right after the cashier asks me about my order and tells me how much I owe them, which leaves no doubt that he is being 'flagrantly' insincere at all.

Cashier: What was your order?

Khaled: One coffee and one croissant.

Cashier: One JD and a quarter.

Khaled: Here you go dear…

Then the cashier (turn 6) makes his ritualised offer "Please keep it at our expense." Notice that he only makes this offer after telling me how much I owe him. I guess any cultural insider would easily tell that this cannot be a genuine offer. On the other hand, an outsider might

rationalize this discourse differently. S/he may think the cashier has decided it is such a paltry amount (i.e. he or the business can afford to display generosity), or that the cashier has very good terms with K. However, with deep insight, it can be figured out that both interpretations are inaccurate here. The first possibility is refuted because it violates the universal norm that businesses ask for money from their buyers. This would be even clearer when we get to know that the cashier is not the business owner demonstrated by (turn 14) in the utterance, "…but I'm not the stakeholder, indeed…I'll have to pay them from my own pocket then by God." The second possibility is also eliminated as the cashier does not know the customer's name evident in (turn 12) as he calls him "…man". Yet, this could be also viewed as another motivation for the offer – the employee can pretend to be an owner, thus enhancing his/her own face. After all, these suggestions are only possible explanations for the origin of the custom, not the motivations of interactants. The custom is established, so that all it does at the time is show customary goodwill (politic behaviour).

After C's insistence, he unexpectedly receives a genuine acceptance from K's part that immediately makes his face flush. What happens is that K confidently accepts his invitation and he directly takes leave. Here he (turn 12) jumps from his chair and is hurried to K saying "Where are you going? Don't believe it…I'm just kidding."

When K (turn 13) asks him "Have you changed your mind?" He (turn 14) answers bashfully using a stock predication saying "The whole shop is yours, dear…but I'm not the stakeholder, indeed…I'll have to pay them from my own pocket then, by God".

In this dialogue my goal was, by no means, to embarrass the cashier or to make fun of him in front of others. I simply aimed at proving, by clear-cut evidence that this type of offer is an ostensible offer. It shows how pretence is simply a very soft layer, which can be easily penetrated in case something goes unexpectedly out of script. In fact, I apologized to him before I left the coffee shop that day, and he started laughing hysterically after he realised that he was a victim of my 'candid camera'.

This encounter is a service encounter that involves hospitality. All previously analysed ones involve hospitality with no business being served, though. This can be demonstrated by having deeper insight on the utilised interactional moves in each sequence. Three main differences could be detected here:

1. In this service encounter it can be noticed that it starts with a refusal followed by acceptance. This is the other way round in all other offering sequences previously discussed. Non-corporate encounters often start with acceptance followed by a series of further acceptances and end with a refusal.

2. The offerer withdraws his offer at the end of the conversation, the thing that does not occur in other offering encounters. In non-corporate encounters the offerer keeps insisting on the offeree and nagging on him/her, for example to eat more, until the end of the conversation before the offeree's clear refusal.

Compared to previously analysed offering interactions, this conversation involves no clear clues that can be detected in the sequence itself, which would lead the audience to figure out the ostensibility of the offer. Rather, both the offerer and the offeree know this simply because this act has been recursively done by the offerer and by many others in his post as a cashier. So, it is actually the norm of extending such ostensible offers by cashier that guide us to recognize this offer as ostensible. Consequently, ostensibility here neither has to do with the intention of the interactants nor with the content of the interaction (see Terkourafi, 2001 & 2005).

4.5   Concluding remarks

After studying several situations where invitations and offers in their different types and modes are issued in Jordan, it can be deduced that typical invitations in Jordanian culture are a balancing act. Every aspect is evenly and cautiously performed to guarantee the other party's satisfaction and avoid his/her face loss. This necessarily entails the inviter's insistence and the invitee's resistance. This goes in line with the CA theory which views actions emerging from the

sequential interaction that involves the addressee's response to the other co-participant's turn (Kasper: 2009, 278).

Thus far, the thesis has argued that insistence and resistance are remarkable aspects of offering and inviting. The addresser keeps insisting that the invitee accept his/her invitation by using several mostly indirect, hedging, and/or prevarication tactics. In fact, in Arab culture politeness, as a whole, resides in the inviter's insistence and the opposing power practiced by the invitee (resistance). The overt insistence with invitations and offers is recognized and valued as a marker of polite behaviour in Jordan. In fact, this can be flagged up as cross-culturally noteworthy. O'Driscoll (1996: 21-23) argues it is an example of attending to positive face at the expense of negative face. It testifies to value which gives importance to togetherness and exemplifies the cross-cultural distinction often made between collectivism and individualism. There is still another way in which the ritual of invite – refuse –insist – refuse – insist- accept enacts this value: if an initial offer is immediately accepted or its refusal immediately accepted by the inviter, the encounter is finished, whereas this ritual back-and-forth prolongs the encounter so that the process itself is an enactment of togetherness.

Another significant aspect of invitations in Jordanian culture is that they are gradually and sequentially staged Each phase of the invitation process needs to be well-staged, well-structured and well-performed. Gradualism and patternedness here is a mandatory requirement to guarantee a smooth running of the invitation process. Moreover, invitation sequences in Jordan tend to be streamlined. Various linguistic features and paralinguistic parameters are deliberately manipulated just like playing scripted musical notes on a piano. Furthermore, a typical invitation in Jordan is driven by strict social rubrics and rituals. These rituals are ad hoc and spontaneous. Chapter Six will attempt to further explicate and illustrate these aspects of invitations and offers in Jordan, and highlight their most prominent characteristics detected in my data. Before that Chapter Five will quantitatively investigate the most frequent linguistic tactics employed by Jordanian interactants when performing invitations and offers.

CHAPTER FIVE

LINGUISTIC TACTICS

5.1 Overview

This chapter is mainly devoted to finding out the tactics utilised in extending, accepting, or declining both genuine and ostensible invitations and offers by Jordanians utilizing a quantitative method. The word tactics has been deliberately chosen to be contrasted with strategies since the latter may convey some unwanted connotations linked to Brown & Levinson theory. These tactics do not connote prediction of behaviour. Rather, they simply describe behaviour that has occurred. Also, in contrast to strategies that are often connected to broad, subjectively-based information, tactics can be referred to more focused, objectively-based proposition.

The data analysed include 12 genuine invitations, 12 ostensible invitations, 12 genuine offers and 12 ostensible offers gathered by myself or by my brother, friends or friends of friends at multiple social settings. These settings include family gatherings, meals or parties usually at the invitee's or host's home. They also encompass friends' gatherings, meals, visits or parties either at one of the participant's home or at the cafeteria, halls, or lobbies of Amman National University in Amman, Yarmouk University in Irbid, and Zarqa University in Zarqa. These are the three biggest cities in Jordan where students come from either these same cities or from other smaller cities in Jordan. All data are naturally-occurring conversations that were recorded by one of the participants (including myself) or recalled from memory shortly after the exchange.

The collected data were quantitatively analysed and numbers and percentages were tabulated in an attempt to eventually come out with significant ratios about Jordanians' most frequent tactics and - more generally – their manners of behaviour concerning invitational and offering practices in this high-context culture. It goes without saying that communal common ground (CCG) as well as personal common ground (PCG) both interchangeably have a strong

impact on Jordanians' intuitions, apprehension, and demonstrations of invitation and offering practices and rituals in this high-context culture.

The analysed tactics include oath taking, plea refutation, stock justification, formulaic plead, supplication, stock blessings, ritualised compliment, minimisation, motivation, intimidation. It is worth mentioning here that in a few cases some occurrences (speech acts) instantiate two or three different tactics at the same time. Moreover, the analysed tactics in this quantitative analysis will not include contextual features because either they have been already qualitatively discussed and analysed in the previous chapter(s), or they are implied or can only be inferred after understanding the whole exchange. Therefore, in spite of their vital roles, the following features will not be part of the quantitative analysis: hedging, mitigation, pretence, implausibility, indefiniteness, lack of commitment, ambiguity, insistence/persistence, soliciting, and circumlocution. They also do not try to account for non-linguistic features (e.g. gestures, body language, wink, face expressions…etc.) and paralinguistic signals (e.g. intonation, voice modulation, pitch, tone, pause, silence, inappropriate contextual cues…etc.).

Furthermore, the current quantitative analysis does not investigate any potential differences in the participants' ethnographic parameters, such as their gender, age, status and/or position, and their potential influence on extending or responding to an invitation or offer. These parameters are beyond the scope of this quantitative analysis although they (except gender) were qualitatively analysed in (Chapter 4). In fact, this can be considered as one of the limitations of this study. However, it is hoped that a future study conducted by myself or any other researcher will account for the impact of these parameters on the invitational and offering practices since they are regarded by many pragmatists as important factors.

5.2 Invitation issuing tactics

Some tactics have been detected to be frequent when Jordanians participating in this study extend invitations. Table 1 shows the numeral distribution along with the pertinent percentages of

these 11 tactics between genuine and ostensible invitations issued by the Jordanian participants. The data include 12 genuine invitations and the same number for ostensible ones. A contrastive analysis of the most frequently utilised tactics in each of the two types of invitations is tabulated below.

It is worth mentioning here that these tactics are non-mutually exclusive since the total percentages in some tables do not add up to a 100%. To put another way, there is an observable overlap here between some of the identified tactics. Some of them have been identified as belonging to two tactics at the same time. In effect, the percentages in Table 1 down here are to be treated as indicative rather than as precise claims.

Table 1: Invitation issuing tactics

No.	Tactic	No. of occurrences		Percentage (%)	
		Genuine	Ostensible	Genuine	Ostensible
1	Explicit offer	5	2	7.46	3.7
2	Implicit offer	1	11	1.49	20.37
3	Imperative/request	2	3	2.98	5.55
4	Minimisation	10	5	14.92	9.25
5	Motivation	9	1	13.43	1.85
6	Intimidation	6	2	8.95	3.7
7	Formulaic plead	7	6	10.44	11.11
8	Plea refutation	8	7	11.94	12.96
9	Stress common relationship	6	10	8.95	18.51
10	Oath taking	9	2	13.43	3.7
11	Stock justification	6	12	8.95	22.22

Table 1 shows that all participants in the naturally-occurring invitations made 121 occurrences (speech acts) of invitation that are divided between genuine (67) and ostensible (54) invitations. The most frequently used tactics in issuing genuine invitations were Minimisation (14.92%) as in saying: /miʃ ʕaamliin ʔiʃi yaʕni/ (we're not going to bother ourselves much) followed by oath taking (13.43%) as in /wallahi daʕwitna maa btinrad/ (By God our invitation ought not to be turned down) and Motivation (13.43%) like /ʔTTalʕa miʃ ħilwih min duunak/ (It

is not going to be a good trip without you). The three tactics constitute about (42%) of the total occurrences.

Conversely, the most utilised tactics in issuing ostensible invitations were Stock justification (22.22%) as in / ħaabiin niksabak/ (We'd like to have your company), followed by Implicit offer (20.37%) like / bidna nifTar maʕ baʕaÐ/ (We'd like to have breakfast together), and Stress common relationship (18.51%) as in saying: /ʔinta ʕaziiz wallah/ (You're dearest to us). The three tactics constitute about (61%) of the total occurrences.

5.3 Invitation accepting tactics

Jordanian participants utilised only a few tactics when accepting invitations. These are Stock blessings, Appreciation, Supplication, Stress common relationship, Ritualised compliment, Formulaic assurance to obey and Offering good wishes. Moreover, it has been observed that Jordanians are not usually inclined to accept invitations from the first time, especially when the relationship between the inviter and invitee is superficial, or when the invitation is not explicit and/or direct as it is wished to be. To put it another way, an invitee would refuse an invitation by default as opposed to accepting an offer by default (see 5.3.5). (Table 2) shows the most frequent tactics employed when Jordanians accept invitations either from the first time, or after a chain of refusals.

Table 2: Invitation accepting tactics

No..	Tactic	No. of occurrences	Percentage
1	Stock blessings	10	25.64
2	Appreciation/thanking	9	23
3	Supplication	8	20.51
4	Stress common relationship	4	10.25
5	Ritualised compliment	3	7.69
6	Formulaic assurance to obey	5	12.82
7	Offering good wishes	2	5.12

Table 2 presents 7 tactics that are often used when having accepted an invitation by Jordanians. Based on the collected invitation-acceptance occurrences (speech acts), it has been noticed that the formulaic sequence of acceptance tactics of Stock blessings (25.64%) like /jislamu/(Blessed), Appreciating/Thanking (23%) as in /ʔaʃkurak ʔaxuuj/ (Thank you, brother), and Supplication (20.51%) as in /baaraka allah fiik/ (May God bless you) are the most frequent tactics that constitute altogether over (64%) of the total number of invitation tactics.

5.4 Invitation declining tactics

It has been observed that Jordanian culture prefers responding to invitations with refusal (genuine or ostensible) more than with acceptance although a refusal can be realised in many other cultures as a face-threatening act (See Chapter 4). Moreover, the tactics employed in declining invitations are almost double of those used when accepting invitations. This might be ascribed to the fact that one needs to vary – in quantity and quality - his/her tactics in order to look more persuasive and avoiding to be offensive to the one, who is ultimately trying to maintain his/her face.

Based on the data of 171 utterances on declining invitations, some of the tactics used are not exclusive to refusals as they may also occur when accepting an invitation, such as stock blessings, supplication, appreciation and thanking. Yet, most of these tactics are exclusive to refusals like procrastination, apologizing, promise of compensation, suggestion of no-meal visit…etc (See Table 3 below).

Table 3: Invitation declining tactics

No.	Tactic	No. of occurrences		Percentage	
		Genuine	Ostensible	Genuine	Ostensible
1	Stock plea	5	12	6.41	13
2	Stock blessings	6	10	7.69	10.87
3	Supplication	8	8	10.25	8.7
4	Appreciation/thanking	8	8	10.25	8.7
5	Apologizing	6	4	7.69	4.34
6	Procrastination	3	9	3.84	9.78
7	Ritualised justification	4	7	5.12	7.6
8	Non-ritualised justification	10	3	11.53	3.26
9	Promise of compensation	5	8	6.41	8.7
10	Suggestion of no-meal visit	3	8	3.84	8.7
11	Ritualised compliment	7	8	8.97	8.7
12	Minimisation of social obligation	5	6	6.41	6.52
13	Asking pardon	9	4	12.82	4.34

Unlike the findings of Beebe et al. (1990), who observed that the formulae used by the speakers - when declining invitations - consist of the expression of regret, excuse, and offer or alternative, this study indicates that Jordanians seem to employ much more different tactics, with only a few similarities (i.e. apologizing, asking pardon) with what Beebe et al. (1990) pointed out.

As in Table 3, Non-ritualised justification (12.82%) /ʔintu dʒamaʕa ʕazzabijjeh hal ʔajjaam/ (You're all single these days), and Asking pardon (11.53%) /billahi tuʕðurni/ (Please pardon me) followed by Appreciating/Thanking (10.25%) as in /ʔaʃkurak ʔaxuuj/ (Thank you, brother) and Supplication (10.25%) as in /baaraka allah fiik/ (May God bless you) were the most frequent tactics used to decline a genuine invitation among the Jordanian participants, which all together form about (45%) of the total occurrences.

On the other hand, Stock plea (13%) like /wallah maa fii daʕi/ (You need not do that, by God) followed by Stock blessings (10.87%) as in /jislamu/ (Blessed) and then Procrastination (9.78%) as in /bas xalliiha laquddaam/ (just let keep for later) proved to be the most used tactics in declining ostensible invitations.

5.5 Offering tactics

The tactics used to offer in Jordanian Arabic proved to be different from those used in issuing invitations. It is true that there are some similarities among the tactics themselves, but the most utilised tactics and the distribution of these tactics have been detected to vary. Table 4 shows the overall distribution along with the pertinent percentages of 9 tactics between genuine and ostensible offerings made by the Jordanian participants. The data include 12 genuine offers and 12 ostensible ones. A contrastive analysis of the most frequently employed tactics in each of the two types of offers is illustrated below.

Table 4: Offering/re-offering tactics

No.	Tactic	No. of occurrences		Percentage	
		Genuine	Ostensible	Genuine	Ostensible
1	Imperative	9	2	18.36	4.25
2	Query	8	6	16.32	12.76
3	Motivation	8	2	16.32	4.25
4	Formulaic plead	4	9	8.16	19.14
5	Plea refutation	4	3	8.16	6.38
6	Oath taking	5	3	10.2	6.38
7	Stock urging	6	5	12.24	10.63
8	Fake condemn	3	7	6.12	14.9
9	Artificial exclamation	2	10	4	21.27

Table 4 shows that all participants made 96 occurrences of offering that were divided between genuine and ostensible offers/reoffers. The most frequently used genuine offering tactics were Imperative forming (18.36%) as in /ʕammu kul haaj ʔilqiTʕah/ (Take this piece of meat, uncle), followed by Query (16.32%) like /miin bidduh musaaʕadeh/ (Who needs help here?) and Motivation (16.32%) as in saying: /baʕdkum ʃabaab maʃallah/ (You're still young {Implying that they are capable of eating a lot}). The three tactics constitute about (51%) of the total occurrence.

As far as ostensible offerings are concerned, Artificial exclamation (21.27%) like / ʃuu halʔakil haad/ (Are you really eating!), followed by Formulaic plead (19.14%) as in /billaahi kul waħad jidiir baalu ʕala ħaalu/ (By God, everyone takes care of himself) and Fake condemn (14.9%) like in saying: / ʃuu yaa zalameh maa ʔakalet ʔiʃi/ (What's up man…you've eaten nothing) were the most employed tactics forming altogether around (55%) of the total occurrences.

5.6 Offer accepting tactics

Just like many other cultures, Jordanian culture prefers responding to requests and offers with acceptance or agreement rather than with rejection or refusal, since a refusal can be realised as a threatening act for the addressee's face, and that is why it is usually used with mitigating tactics. In the light of the Conversational Analysis (CA) notion of preference organization, acceptance is the 'preferred' option, which we can tell from the fact that they are usually much shorted than refusals. Henceforth, acceptance is generally used directly without mitigation or explanation when a speaker responds with contentment. The tactics of how Jordanian people express their acceptance of an offer are illustrated in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Offering/re-offering accepting tactics

No.	Tactic	No. of occurrences	Percentage
1	Stock blessings	6	20
2	Appreciation/thanking	6	20
3	Supplication	7	23.3
4	Ritualised compliment	3	10
5	Formulaic assurance to obey	2	6.66
6	Offering good wishes	4	13.33

Table 5 presents 6 tactics that are usually used when having accepted an offer by Jordanians. It has been observed that Supplication (23.3) like /baaraka allah fiik/ (May God bless you) followed by Stock blessings (20%) as in /jislamu/ (Blessed) and Appreciation/Thanking (20%) as in / maʃkuur ʔaxuuj/ (Thanks, Bro) are the most frequent tactics. These three tactics form nearly (63%) of the total occurrence.

5.7 Offer declining tactics

It is noteworthy that a declining strategy takes place when a speaker says "no" to an offer, either in a direct or indirect way (Chen 1996, cited in Tanck, 2002:2). Declining opposes what the addresser expects, and hence it is a face-threatening to him/her. In Jordan, to decline an offer, you should employ some kind of mitigation.

Based on the data of 86 utterances on declining offers, Jordanians tended to employ a variety of tactics to mitigate the face-threatening act which could affect the addressee when declining offers as shown in Table 6 below. The majority of Jordanians consider such expressions a significant act of politeness and, thus, are remedy tactics.

Table 6: Offer declining tactics

No.	Tactic	No. of occurrences		Percentage	
		Genuine	Ostensible	Genuine	Ostensible
1	Stock plea	5	9	12.2	20
2	Supplication	9	6	21.95	13.33
3	Formulaic imperative	5	8	12.2	17.77
4	Appreciation/thanking	7	5	17	11.11
6	Stock blessings	5	7	12.2	15.55
7	Ritualised justification	4	6	9.75	13.33
8	Ritualised compliment	4	5	9.75	11.11
9	Asking pardon	5	0	12.2	0

Table 6 shows that Supplication (21.95%) /jixlif ʕaliikum/ (May God grant you more blessings), Appreciation/Thanking (17%) /makθuur ʔlxier / (Thankfully), Stock blessings (12.2) /jislamu/ (Blessed), and Asking pardon (12.2) as in /billaahi tiʕfiini/ (Please exempt me)

were the most frequent tactics used to decline a genuine offer among the Jordanian participants, which altogether constitute approximately (63%) of the total occurrences.

On the other hand, Stock plea (20%) /wallahi ʔakalit wbziaadeh/ (By God, I've eaten even extra food), Formulaic imperative (17.77%) /laa tɣallib ħaalak/ (Don't bother yourself), and Stock blessings (15.55%) /jislamu/ (Blessed) proved to be the most used tactics in declining ostensible offers, which totally form about (43%).

In the next chapter, I will present the principal findings encompassing both the current quantitative investigation along with the outcome of the qualitative analysis discussed in the previous chapter. It is hoped that this upcoming chapter consolidates the overall results that we have obtained before concluding the project in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Overview

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims at unravelling the most significant features that both genuine and ostensible invitations and/or offers exhibit. It also endeavours to find out the most recurrent characteristics common to each type of invitation and offer in an attempt to deepen our understanding of the sociopragmatic behaviour of invitational and offering rituals in Jordan.

6.2 Perspectives on inviting rituals in Jordanian culture

Based on analysing the invitations and offers entailed in all the encounters in (Chapter 4) above, the following peculiar aspects about the general behaviour of invitations and (to a lesser extent) offers of all kinds in Jordanian culture can be pinpointed:

6.2.1 'Seesaw' balanced

Typical invitations in Jordanian culture feature balance by both the inviter and the invitee. Every aspect is thoughtfully, evenly and cautiously performed to guarantee the other party's satisfaction and avoid his/her face loss. Both opposing procedures of insistence and resistance have to adhere to a paradigm of common acts, reactions, and structuring of word strings. Unlike their

interpretations and the way they are apprehended in English-speaking countries, this dualism (as discussed above) represents the core of (im) politeness in Jordanian invitations. This swinging process very much resembles the 'seesaw' game. The two 'players' are each on one end of the seesaw. Equilibrium should be sensitively maintained; I say 'see', you say 'saw'. If you ever do any unexpected move (e.g. suddenly leaving your seat), the opposing 'player' will instantly fall, and consequently, you fall, too…and then, game's over.

In the following 'seesaw' shape, some expected aspects of issuing and responding to invitations are prototypically illustrated on each scale. One out of stock plea, for instance, would overweigh the other scale, and eventually 'screw up' everything.

Figure 20: 'Seesaw' balance in Jordanian invitations

For further illustration, consider the following encounter:

(Encounter 17)

{Recorded dialogue}

1)   **K**: tfaDDal ʕaliena bukra   aax   S.
       honour us   tomorrow brother   S
   Come and honour us tomorrow at our place, brother S.

2)   S: tislam.
        blessed
   Blessed.

3)   K: ʃuu   niʕtamid?
        what   confirmed
   So…confirmed?

4)   S: ʔuʕðurni jaa Sadiiqi…maʕaliʃ…
        pardon me O   friend please
   Pardon me, my friend…please…

5)   K: ʃuu fii… jaa saatir!
        what there O   God
   What's up…my God!

6)   S: Saraaħa mxaffif   zjaraat   ana   halʔajjaam.
        honestly cutting down visits   I   nowadays
   Honestly I've cut down visits these days.

7)   K: ʔahaa…fhimt   ʕaliik… ʕala   raaħtak   siidi.
        Aha understand you-SG on   comfort you-SG   sir
   Aha…I hear you…at your convenience, dear.

8)   S: samiħni   ballah.
      You-SG Forgive me   by Allah
   Please forgive me.

9)   K: laa ʕaadi axuj…   ma ħad biqdar   jidʒbirak.
         No normal brother no one   can   force you-SG
   No it's alright, brother…nobody can ever force you…

10)   S: miʃ qiSSit idʒbaar aziizi bas wallah nafsijti taʕbaaneh xier allah
         Not story forcing dear but by Allah my feelings tired good of Allah
   It's not all about forcing, dear, but by God I'm feeling really bad.

11)   K: salamaat   ħabiib! maa fii   muʃkileh.
         Wish you-SG recovery my love no there   problem
   Wishing you recovery, love! No problem.

In this invitation S's response in (turn 4) sounds shocking to K. This is illustrated by K's reaction in (turn 5) 'What's up…my God!' S, probably trying to give a convincing plea, says 'Honestly I've cut down visits these days.' which sounds quite awkward in such a situation.

Asking for forgiveness from the onset is not anticipated by Khaled. It implies that S could have been upset from K or he is probably paying back K a previous similar misact. If this request had occurred at the end of the interaction or even in the middle, it could have been digested by K as it might be taken as simply an ostensible refusal. Thus, such out of script odd plea could induce multiple misinterpretations by K. It seems that the sequence of turns and the notion of adjacency pairs (as theorized by CA theory) play a pivotal role in grasping the pragmatic meaning of an interactional move. To this end, there seems to be a lack of balance in this extract manifested by the produced interlocutor's odd response on one scale against the other prior co-participant's turn on the opposite scale (see Kasper: 2009).

6.2.2 Patterned

Following CA theory which testifies to the fact that all interactions follow specific patterns, the basic elements of Jordanian invitations are relatively fixed and inclined to complement each other like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. The various chunks of utterances, formulaic collocations, and stock expressions and their pertaining bigger bricks of language including structures of mitigation, insistence, resistance, hedging are systematically and tactfully utilised to come up with a 'digestible' matrix-like patterned invitation. The shape below represents a sample patterning of an invitation. This pattern is prototypical, so should not be taken for granted.

Figure 21: Matrix-like patterning in Jordanian invitations

Connected to that, invitations in Arab culture, and Jordanian culture in particular are

gradually and sequentially staged. Each phase of the invitation process needs to be well-staged and well-performed. Gradualism here is an inevitable requirement to guarantee a smooth running of the invitation process. This process is deemed to flow just like river water through a tunnel. This flow encompasses the various stages of the invitation starting from the outset (i.e. pre-invitation stage when the inviter checks the availability of the invitee) until the conclusion that – more or less - entails one's concession to the other party's desire, ending up with the transitional stage that would carry the interlocutors to switch the topic. Moreover, various linguistic features and paralinguistic parameters are thoughtfully manipulated. Mindful and smooth variation, modulation and transition are essential variables that – when perfectly and alternately performed - make a typical invitation in this culture run smoothly.

There is of course nothing unique in the fact that a pattern can be recognised, or in the fact that that this pattern shows allowances made not just for the transfer of messages but also for the reciprocal maintenance of faces. But the interdependence of these two features is notable, with the latter contributing to the former. In this respect, Jordanian invitation sequences provide support to Goffman's (1981: 18) claim that "The satisfaction of ritual constraints safeguards not only feelings but communication too".

6.2.3 Tripartite structure

In most face-to-face invitations, the inviter makes three invitations to the invitee before one of them concedes to the other's desire. It has been noticed that whether the invitation is sincere or ostensible, the inviter often has to reoffer twice before the invitee finally accepts or declines the invitation. Very few invitations diverge from this 'pattern' number for various reasons, the most important and frequent of which is invoking God (see 4.3.1.2). In the encounters examined in this thesis, 5 out of 7 genuine and 9 out of 12 ostensible face-to-face invitations conform to this structure.

Encounter 4 discussed in (Chapter 4) is an example illustrating the tripartite structure of the Jordanian invitation. Turns 3, 5 and 7 are the invites issued by W. In (turn 1) W is checking K's availability (pre-invitation):

(Encounter 4)

W invites Khaled on lunch at his place about three days after his arrival to Jordan. The following encounter takes place on their way back home.

1) W: ʃuu   fii   waraak   bukra
    What there behind you tomorrow?

Do you have any work left behind tomorrow?

2) Khaled: laa waraj wala quddaami lieʃ btisʔal
          Not behind nor front I Why ask you-SG?

No, I have nothing behind nor ahead. Why are you asking?

3) W: xalaS maʕnaatuh   bnitɤadda   maʕ baʕaD
       OK   mean this will have lunch we together.

So we are having lunch together.

4) Khaled: laa jaa zalameh ʔinsa   billah ʕaliik
   wallah maani faaDi bukra   ʕindi   maljuun ʃaɤlih
         No O   man   forget you-SG by Allah on you.
   And Allah not vacant I tomorrow. have I a million duties.

No, please forget it, by God. I'm a bit busy tomorrow. I have to run a million errands.

5) W: `wallah    ɣier     tiidʒi fikna minnak`
   `And Allah will you-SG come. Untie you-SG us.`

I swear by God you shall come. Come on man.

6) Khaled: `jaa rajul wallah maa baSaddiq ʕaʔallah jidʒi`
   `ldʒumʕa ʕaʃaan ʕaxalliS ilqiSaS   lmitrakmih   ʕalij   maa`
   `biddi ʔartabiT`
   　　　`O man and Allah not believe I on Allah come     day`

   `Friday so finish I the stories accumulated on I. not want`

   `I be tied.`

Believe me pal I look forward to Friday so that I can finish doing all the pending tasks. So, I don't want any commitments.

7) W: `jaa ħabiibi    laa tirtabiT wala ʕala baalak Salli`
   `ldʒumʕa     wÐallak bwidʒhak ʕalaj xalliS   halluqmih`
   `wÐallak bwidʒhak`
   　`O beloved you-SG No commitments, never mind pray    al`

   `Juma'a and directly head my way. Finish your bite and get`

   `lost.`

There shall be no commitments dear, believe me. Just pray al Juma'a and directly head my way. Finish your lunch and get lost.

8) Khaled: `hiek raʔjk    xalaS ʔiða hiek maaʃi jislamu ħabiib`
   　　`That opinion your-SG OK if that fine blessed beloved`

So that's what you think…if so, no problem. Many thanks dear.

9) W: ʕala raasi   ʃuu   amliin
       On   head I what   doing we

You are on my head…Don't mention it.

However, it has been observed that the invitation is extended only twice in exceptional cases (2 invitations) where, for example, God was invoked from the outset and in 3 other exchanges the invitation is extended 4 times. Consider the following 4-invitation example:

(Encounter 5)

Khaled's cousin S invites him at 'iftaar' (Ramadan breakfast).

1) S: ʔaxuuj   ʔabul baraaʔ bidna   niftaar   maʕ baʕaD
   ʃuuflak   juum munaasib   xilal hal ʔisbuuʕ
      Brother Abu Bara   want we have breakfast with each other
      Consider you-SG a day convenient through this week.

   We'd like to have breakfast together brother Abu Bara'…try to find a good day this week.

2) K: jislamu ʔabu Xxeirak   sabiq wallah   maa fii
   daaʕi   tkalfu ħaalkum

    Blessed Abu X. Good deeds you-SG prior and Allah. No there
   need   bother yourselves.

   Blessed, Abu X. Your good deeds are already experienced, by God. You need not bother

yourselves with extra expenses.

3) S: `laa kulfih wala ʃi    fTuurna      huwwa huwwa maa ħajziid`
   `wala jinqaS     bas ħaabin niksab  ʔilʔadʒir   wallah walla`
   `miʃ ħaabbiin          taʕTuuna          ħasanaat`

   No bother nor thing. Breakfast we it   no will increase
   nor decrease just like we gain divine reward and Allah or
   no like you- PL give you-PL give you-PL us reward for good
   deeds!

It wouldn't bother us at all. Our breakfast is going to be the same, neither more nor less…but we are after God's rewards…or you don't want to us to get the divine rewards!!

4) K: `laa wallah ʔaħab maa ʕaliina    bas          xalliha`
   `lʔaaxir iʃʃahar lissa ʔiʃʃahar bʔawwaluh      winnaas`
   `maaʔaxðat      ʕaliSjaam   wbidna nrajjeh   haniswaan`

   No and Allah the most beloved it but let keep it until the
   end of month still the month in beginning and the people
   still not taking on fasting and want we comfort those women
   …{laughing}.

No…indeed we'd love to…but let's keep it until the end of Ramadan…we're still at the beginning…and we aren't accustomed to fasting yet. Besides, we'd like to exempt the women from the cooking duty…{laughing}.

5) S: `jaa zalameh ʔaaxir iʃʃahar lwaaħad binʕadʒiq maljuun`
   `ʃaɣileh wʕilmak   widʒih   ʕiid twakkal ʕala ʔallah`
   `juum lʕarbiʕaaʔ munaasib`

```
    O man    the end of month one    hectic one million
errands and know you-SG face Eid rely on Allah        day
Wednesday convenient?
```

Hey man it's going to be hectic at the end of Ramadan…one million things…and you know we will be heading towards AlFitr Feast…come on man…Wednesday is OK for you?

6) **K:** ʃaa zalameh wallah maa fii daaʕi

```
        O man      and God no there need
```

You need not do that man, by God.

7) **S:** bas   qulli   ʔarbiʕa walla xamiis laa tfaʃilni ʕaad
```
    Just tell you-SG me Wednesday or Thursday? No turn down
    you-SG me...
```

S: Just tell me Wednesday or Thursday? Don't turn me down, please…

8) **K:** xalaS ʃaa siidi wallah maani mfaʃlak ʔilxamiis ʔatwaqqaʕ mniiħ

```
    Ok    O   sir and Allah  not turn down I you Thursday
expect Igood.
```

K: Ok dear I wouldn't turn you down. Thursday is Ok, I guess.

9) **S:** ʔilxamiis siidi ʕala barakat illaah
```
    Thursday sir    on blessing Allah.
```

So Thursday dear…with God blessings.

10) **K:** ʕala barakat illaah wallah jdʒzeik lxeir win ʃaallah
   fii   miizaan   ħasanatak

   On blessing Allah and Allah rewards you and if Allah
   will in your scales good deeds you-SG.

With God blessings…may He reward you well in the hereafter, God willing.

In tripartite invitations the first invitation is often broad, open, lax (not severe) and/or non-binding, especially in ostensible invitations although this may generally include defining the time and place. In the second invitation, the initiator tends to narrow his/her invitation by further identifying factors, such as time, place, other invitees, the reason for invitation…etc. In the third invitation, the inviter – based on his/her real intention and the invitee's reaction – often further narrows his/her invitation by providing further details including justifications, arguments, or sometimes hints paving the way to the exit before switching to another topic. All in all, the tripartite structure of the invitation can be considered the norm and if this the invitation is less or more than three inviter's turns of issuing the invitation and three invitee's turns of responding to, it could be oriented to as being against the norm.
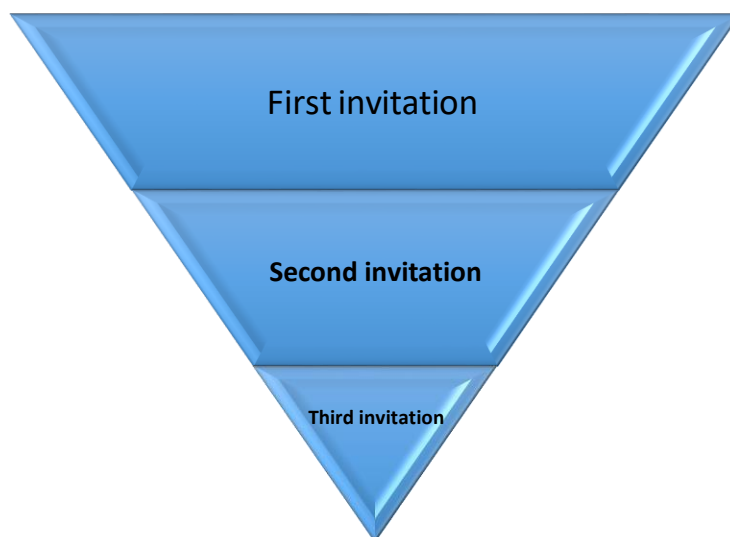
First invitation

Second invitation

Third invitation

Figure 22: The tripartite structure of invitations

6.2.4 Governed by ritualised norms

A typical invitation in Jordan is driven by strict social rubrics and rituals. These rituals are, by no means, demarcated, scripted or even memorised. They are ad hoc and - from the participant's viewpoint - spontaneous whereas some are simply inherited from parents and ancestors. It is the case as if there were pools of acts, expressions, and structures that interlocutors are expected to select only from. These pools are governed by encoded (and sometimes enclosed) sociolinguistic and pragmatic rules, which in turn, adhere to essential cultural components, such as traditions, customs, beliefs, values and norms. Those aggregated components are mixed up altogether in a blender and then filtered to improvise a ritualised cordially-endorsed invitation and/or offer.
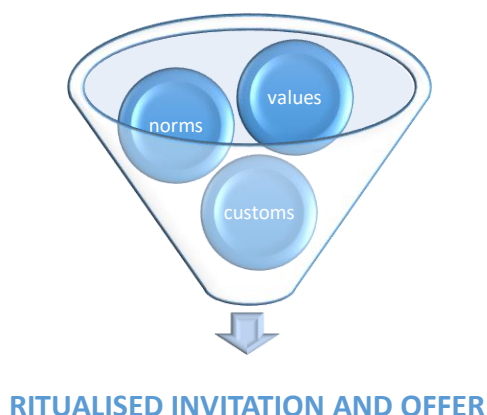
RITUALISED INVITATION AND OFFER

Figure 23: Ritualised invitations and offers

On reflection, major elements in a Jordanian invitation are anticipated. This includes the preface and conclusion as well as the key strings of words selected for issuing, hedging, prevaricating, evading, and responding to invitations and offers. To explain, both the inviter and the invitee – and most often other participants or attendants – virtually know from the onset the output of the relevant invitation. It is all a matter of a theatre show where the protagonists are being pleased to act in, and the attendants are enjoying watching (see Goffman, 1959).

Consequently, formulaic/ritualised utterances are mostly utilised in Jordanian invitations and offers, which often adhere to a habitual sociopragmatic script. Novel utterances are often unsought, and utterances beyond the accepted set are regarded as totally distasteful in such a discourse. Most utterances and clusters of language are by the book. Consider Table (7) below:

Table 7: Distribution of formulaic and novel utterances

Utterances	Invitation		Offer		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Formulaic	194	78.5%	103	81.7%	301	80.7%
Novel	53	21.5%	23	18.3%	72	19.3%
Total	247	100%	126	100%	373	100%

This table shows that 80.7 % of the utterances used in issuing the 48 invitations and offers are formulaic utterances while only 19.3% are novel ones. This could be ascribed to that Jordanians feel more comfortable when hearing these formulaic utterances. Conversely, they might get intimidated in case novel or inventive utterances are used when issuing or responding to an invitation or offer. This goes in line with Culpeper's (2011) notion of conventionalised formulae and Terkourafi's (2001, 2003) notion of frame-based approach that participants orient to particular utterances according to their perception of their frequency in particular contexts. As for how these utterances are distributed between genuine and ostensible invitations and offers refer to Table (8) below.

Moreover, both the inviter/offerer and the invitee/offeree often share 'prescribed' manners of behavior. Those manners are fabricated in a way that would make them stand strongly together. Hence, it would be hard to shred them apart or penetrate any of them. If any violation accidently occurs, this may result in face damage upon the interlocutors involved. Those fabricated manners of behaviour are co-influenced by multiple alternating psycholinguistic and psycho-sociological factors that would coat the structural, textual, and contextual factors in an enhancing layer.

Such routine behaviour might seem boring to outsiders. In fact, it is sometimes so. However, in every culture, there are rituals, habits or norms that might seem boring to people from a

varied culture. For example, some Arabs view some etiquette rules in the West and the Far East as very strict and boring although they are taken for granted by their own people. This may literally explain the meaning of the concept 'norm' as something which has been practiced for generations and has become one major element of their daily life.

6.3 General pragmatic recurrent features

Some identified general features and shapes in making invitation, accepting them and/or declining them in Jordan have been detected. Following are some:

6.3.1 The impact of medium

It has been observed that telephone invitations are often genuine invitations. Statistically, out of the 5 mediated invitations, no invitation has been designated as ostensible. All investigated telephone and WhatsApp invitations are genuine. This could be ascribed to the common-sense likelihood that no one would often bother himself to call another one just for showing off. One more possible reason is that ostensible invitations are often triggered by the existing face-to-face situation since these invitations are normally issued in the presence of many others. In other words, they are not usually closed encounters between inviter and invitee. So, the inviter, as s/he would like to enhance his/her face in their community, would like his/her invitation to be witnessed by his/her relatives and/or friends. The phone call is a single end-to-end application, which is rarely witnessed by others. Herein, the inviter does not achieve any enhanced social status. At least, the social gain is minimal here compared to attended face- to-face invitations. So, no one usually opts for mediated means (e.g. message, e-mail, phone or WhatsApp) when making ritual ostensible invitations.

Likewise, ostensible refusals are often avoided on the telephone. In our data only one ostensible refusal has been detected in all telephone invitations (see Encounter 12). In fact, it is not common at all in Jordanian culture to reject an invitation on the phone or even on WhatsApp unless the invitee really has some other fixed occasion (e.g. a wedding party, a birthday party, a scheduled flight or appointment with the doctor). Such ostensible refusals are more prevalent in face-to-face encounters. The rationale behind this is probably that the invitee has to respect the seriousness of the inviter. In other words, just as the inviter is being sincere in his phone invitation, the invitee has also to act similarly. Otherwise, the inviter's face might be threatened. Another possible reason that can be considered is financial. Since making phone calls is (or at least used to be) costly, the invitee avoids hedging or giving fake pleas as this act may cause the phone call to last longer, which would eventually be negatively reflected in the inviter's telephone bill. Moreover, resorting to phone invitations is more common in group invitations, rather than individual ones. Hence, the invitee finds it inappropriate to keep 'demurring' here as the inviter would still need to call many other people. So, it is mutually understood that everyone has to be 'straight to the point' here in order not to waste time, effort as well as money. Consequently, we can consider this avoidance of making ritual ostensible refusals manifested in telephone conversations - for the aforementioned reasons – one clear aspect of politeness in Jordanian culture.

This argument and the previous one as well point to the importance of aspects of situation (in this case medium, or in Hymes' terms 'channel') in determining participants' behaviour and allowing them to infer whether an invitation and a refusal are to be interpreted as genuine. It has become clear that this factor is significant in this regard as illustrated in the various encounters discussed in Chapter four.

6.3.2 The sequence matters

One more significant factor that influences participants' behaviour in how they infer whether an invitation and a refusal are to be interpreted as genuine or ostensible is highly connected with the sequence / co-text itself. For instance, it has been observed in Jordanian culture that when an invitation is issued near the start or the middle of the conversation it is usually believed to be genuine (see encounters 1-5 above). On the contrary, when an invitation is at the end of the chat or just before leave-taking, it is often automatically decoded by Jordanians here as an ostensible invitation (see encounters 6-9 above).

6.3.3 The steep gradient shape of genuine invitations

The sequence of utterances in genuine invitations, especially formal ones, usually act as a rising graph before it goes down again. They take a steep gradient shape. The utterances are usually unmarked with few details at the beginning of the invitation, then they become more novel and sophisticated and more details and specificity are provided. At the end of the invitation the utterances are back unmarked and generally short. The voice volume is usually low at the beginning of the invitation, then it goes a bit up to reach the peak before it goes down again.

Most inviters start by using fairly bland utterances. The utterances utilized are usually simple and formulaic with low-volume and mostly formulaic utterances that the invitee feels comfortable with. To put it another way, it is easy for the invitee to maintain his/her face because there is nothing which might knock him/her off balance. But there is another possible, instrumental reason – that the invitee can't easily refuse by citing a prior engagement. Such vagueness seems to function as an index of sincerity in this regard, too.

In genuine invitations, as the dialogue progresses the inviter starts using high-volume more complex sentences giving detailed justifications and explanations of his invitation that are usually

not anticipated by the invitee. At the end of the invitation, and just as the invitee starts to accept or decline the invitation, the inviter's number of words is reduced, his/her volume turns down again, and his/her utterances become simple and ritualised again. See diagram (24) below.
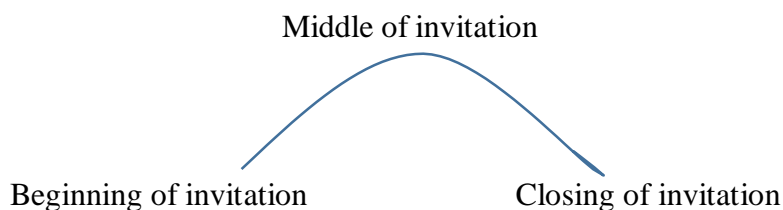

Figure 24: Genuine invitation shape

Based on that, it can be claimed here that markers such as propositional content (presence or absence of details) and lexical choice of utterances (novel or formulaic phrasing) play significant roles in determining whether the invitation in hand is genuine or ostensible. These are added to the aforementioned prosodic factor (i.e. volume).

Consider the following example for further illustration:

(Encounter 2)

Khaled and his colleagues at university invite their colleague M and his father-in-law who has arrived from Jordan to Jeddah recently. The invitation is initiated by Khaled as he is very close to M.

Key:

1. Propositional content: **detailed and specific**
2. Lexical choice: formulaic / **novel**
3. Prosody: ▲: high volume; ▶: unmarked volume; ▼: low volume

1) Khaled: jaa   dʒamaaʕa   **ʔxuuna   wʕammuh**

ʔizzalameh   ðief ʕaliina bidna   niksabhum   **bukra**

biʔiðn   ʔallah ▼

            O   company brother we   and father-in-law his

the man guest on us want we gain them tomorrow

with   permission God

Listen guys…our brother and his father-in-law are our guests…we'd like to have them at our place tomorrow, God willing.

2) A: ʔaah   wallah   bidna   niksabkum   **bas ʔiħkuulna ɣada**

wallah ʕaʃa ▼

    Yeah   and God   want we   gain you-PL   just tell us lunch

or   dinner?

Yeah…by God…we'd like to have your company…just tell us…you want the invitation at lunch or dinner?

3) M: laa   wallah   maa fii daaʕi allah jbaarik fiikum **ʔintu**

dʒamaaʕa ʔazzaabijih   halʕajjaam ▼

    No   and God   no there need   God   bless you-PL you-PL

company   single   these days

No… you need not do that, by God…May God bless you…you're all with no wives these days.

4) Khaled: **ħatta law ʕazzaabijjih ʔilmaTaaʕim mawdʒuudih** maa fii

muʃkilih ▶

            Even if   singles   the restaurants exist

no there problem.

Even though we are alone…the restaurants are available….there is no problem here.

5) A: **bas ʔintu   ʕiħkuulna ʀada walla ʕaʃa wallah daʕwitna maa btinrad ▲**

Just you-PL tell us lunch or dinner? And God invitation we not be turned down.

Just tell us on lunch or dinner? By God our invitation ought not to be turned down.

6) M: laa ʔilaah ʔilla allaah jaa zalamih laa tiħlif wallah maa fii daaʕi ▲

No God   but Allah!   O   Man   no swear! And God no there need

Oh my God! Don't swear by God, buddy! You need not do that.

7) S: dʒirt   allah   jaa   dʒamaaʕa   laa ʀalbu ħaalkum ▲

Neighbourhood   Allah   O   company   not   bother yourself-PL

By God, don't bother yourselves, guys.

8) A: **dʒiirta   allah ʔilla titfaÐÐalu   ʕaliina wallah wallah wallah   maa bitrudduuna   xalaS bukra bas   ʔiħkuulna ʔieʃ binaasibkum ʀada walla ʕaʃa ▲**

neighbourhood God shall you-PL honour we…and God,   and

```
God, and God not turn down you-PL us  OK, tomorrow just tell
you-PL us what suit you, lunch or  dinner?
```

By God, you shall honour us at our place...By God, by God, by God, you shall not turn us down,
Ok! Your invitation is tomorrow...just tell us what is convenient for you, at lunch or dinner?

9) M: jaa siidi ?allah jdʒziikum ilxier wdʒajjitkum ?aħsan
   min   kul ʃi   xalaS ilmunasib   ʃuu bidkum ʕaʃa
   ►

      O sir God grant you-PL goodness and visit your-PL
   better than everything_ well the convenient what want
   you-PL dinner?

   May God bless you...and giving us this visit means a lot to us. Ok, what's convenient for
you...what do think...dinner?

10) A: **xalaS** **ʕaʃa**   ʕala barakit   illaah ▼
    Ok   dinner   on   blessing   Allah

Ok...so dinner...with God blessings.

11) S: ʕala barakit illaah ▼
       On blessing Allah

With God blessings.

6.3.4 The semi-flatness of ostensible invitations

Ritual ostensible invitations usually take a semi-flat shape. The utterances are usually ritualised and/or unmarked with minor details and little specificity at the beginning, then they become a bit more detailed, with further utilization of formulaic and stock utterances, before they are back short and concise at the end. The voice volume is usually low throughout the interaction with some subtle rise in the middle of the interaction. This is done systematically, still subconsciously by the inviter as a deliberate sign to the invitee that (Hey…be careful!) the relevant invitation is not a genuine one and that would ultimately lead him not to accept the invitation. In those invitations, inviters avoid giving any further details (like precise time and place) over the different moves of the invitation since they are not seeking the invitee's acceptance. As discussed earlier, the ultimate goal of ostensible invitations is the hope not to be accepted.

When engaging in joint activities, people tend to show joint commitment to each other's feelings and emotions; the reciprocal management of face should be given priority during interactions. Speakers should not only care about their actions to be unimpeded by others but also they should care about their hearers' feelings. However, many acts are intrinsically threatening. One of the ways of mitigating their threatening effects is attained through ostensible invitations as "most ostensible speech acts are designed to deal with politeness." (Clarks 1996: 382)

As long as these peculiar types of invitations aim at saving both the inviter's and invitee's faces in the first place, they need to be acted on stage meticulously by the relevant performers. Henceforth, the little rise of the invitation graph in hand is sometimes needed in order to make things more realistic (which is part of the pretence act) that would end up to be more respectful to both the invitee and the attendees' social taste. In other words, it is simply social courtesy or part of Jordanians' unique etiquette rules. They are coated with a dense veneer of phaticity, and participants are expected to consider certain linguistic, paralinguistic and contextual clues in order to decode such sophisticated sociopragmatic acts.
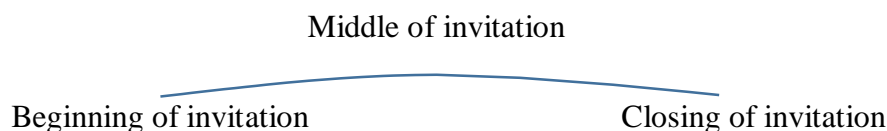
Middle of invitation

Beginning of invitation   Closing of invitation

Figure 25: Ostensible invitation shape

Consider the following encounter:

(Encounter 7)

In this dialogue, Khaled meets by coincidence with his old friend R while he is shopping in Irbid market. At the end of the chat, the encounter below takes place.

Key:

1. Propositional content: **<u>detailed and specific</u>**
2. Lexical choice: formulaic / **novel**
3. Prosody: ▲: high volume; ▶: unmarked volume; ▼: low volume

1) R: ʔħsib ħsaabak   **bukra   ɣadaak ʕinna** huh▼

     Count account you-SG tomorrow lunch you-SG in ours hah…
Don't forget, your lunch tomorrow will be at our place.

2) Khaled: ʔallah   jbaarik   fiik   bnitʃarraf
wallah laakin ʔin ʃaallah marra θaanijeh▼

    Allah   bless you   in you   will get honoured

and Allah but if Allah will time second.

God bless you. It's honour, by God…but maybe some other time, God willing.

3) R: jaa siidi la marra θaanjeh wala θalθeh maa binlaaqi ʔaħsan min halfurSa **miʃ kul juum haʃuufak fis suuq ʔana**▶

   O sir   no time second nor third   not find we better than this chance. Not every day will see you in the market we!

We shall not keep it until further, my dear. We won't find a better chance. I don't meet you every day in the market, right!

4) K: bitʃuufni   wbintlaaqa ʔin ʃaallah daajman **haj raqami maʕak Saar xalaS bniidʒiik sahra ʕalbeit Saddiqni**▶

   See you-SG me and meet we if Allah will always this number with you become OK will come one night onto   house believe you-SG me.

You'll always meet me, God willing…and you now have my mobile number. Believe me, I'll drop by your place one night.

5) R: la la ʔissahra ɣiir ʔaħna bidna niksabak wallah **nitʕaʃʃa** maʕ baʕaD▼

  No No the night visit different we want gain we you and Allah have dinner we with each other.

No…no! That is another story. We'd like to have your company at dinner…by God.

6) K: **xalaS   wallah   laʔaadʒiik   sahra   maa   tʃuufni   ʔilla**
daaq baab   daarkum▼

    Ok and Allah shall come I night visit not seeing you-SG
me but knocking the door house you-PL.

By God I'll drop by one night…you'll all of a sudden see me knocking your door.

7) R: jaa siidi maa biddi ʔDɣaT ʕaliik braaħtak   laakin
xalliina   ʕala tawaSul wbitʃarrif   daar   ʔaxuuk
bʔaj waqt▼

    O sir   not pressurize I you with comfort you-SG…but
let we on contact   and will honour house brother you-SG
in any time and Allah.

*Ok, my dear. I don't want to push you more…you can make it at your convenience…but
let's keep in touch…and believe me you honour your brother's house any time.*

6.3.5 The steep gradient shape of genuine refusals

Genuine refusals to invitations usually take a steep gradient shape. The utterances used for rejecting invitations are usually unmarked, short with only few details at the beginning of the invitation, then they become more extensive and detailed to reach the peak at the second refusal before everything becomes relaxed and concise in the final refusal when the invitee declines or accepts (in case s/he is pressurized to accept by the inviter) the invitation. At the end of the invitation the utterances used for rejecting the invitation are back unmarked and generally short. The voice volume is usually low at the beginning of the invitation, then it goes up to reach the peak before it goes down again.

Generally, it has been found in my data that genuine refusals are often extended as a response to ostensible invitations (see Encounters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11 above) and equivocal invitations (see Encounter 10). Such a refusal is also common in case acceptance might threaten the invitee's face (see Encounter 3) or when the invitee is not practically and/or psychologically ready to invite the inviter back soon, especially when this repaying invitation is a cultural norm – as it is the case in Ramadan month (see Encounter 5). The behaviour of these genuine refusals is similar to those of genuine invitations. In fact, both graphs of invitation making and refusal need to go in harmony in order to avoid any face-loss upon any of the interlocutors. Herein, the refusal graph is usually tuned to that of its relevant invitation in order to eventually produce well-pitched, well-paced, and even well-played interaction.
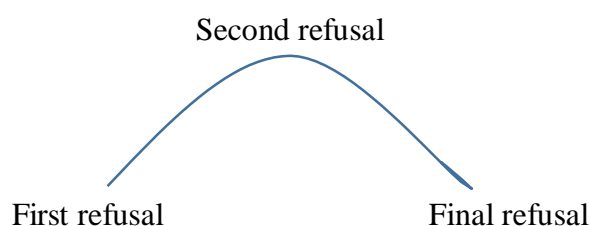
Second refusal

First refusal   Final refusal

Figure 26: Genuine refusal shape

6.3.6 The flatness of ostensible refusals

Ostensible refusals to invitations usually act in a flat way. The lexical and propositional choice is unmarked throughout the invitation sequence. Volume is frequently low from the outset until the closing point. Also, the invitee's defence tactics are often deliberately loose. S/he usually uses short fairly bland utterances that are often easy to follow. Moreover, uncommon, long and sophisticated terminology is to be avoided in ostensible refusals. Otherwise, that might threaten the inviter's face. Utterances are deemed to be ritualised and anticipated here. If anyone 'screwed up', the whole atmosphere would turn dramatically, the participants' faces might - in some extreme cases - flush and that would ultimately cause severe face damage upon all the participants. It's all like a play which is being role-played on theatre. Everybody has a script to be carefully recited from memory. Anybody who goes off-message might lose his face and other actors' faces might also become vulnerable.

In a nutshell, ostensible invitations in Jordanian culture are often subject to this logical coordination: the inviter is deemed to invite the recipient since not doing so might be taken as impolite. The recipient, from his/her side, is to reject the invitation for accepting it may threaten the inviter's wants. To put it another way, ostensible invitations can be portrayed as a double- sided weapon; it is face-threatening not to invite, and still face threatening to accept. Otherwise, both the inviters' and the invitee's face wants would be vulnerable to damage (Abdul-Hady, 2015). Encounters 1, 2, and 4 above are examples of an ostensible refusal.

First refusal   Second refusal   Final refusal

Figure 27: Ostensible refusal shape

6.4 Lexical choice between genuine and ostensible

It has been claimed that formulaic utterances are more employed in making and responding to ostensible invitations and offers. This has been qualitatively discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. Further quantitative analysis has been also conducted over my data to argue for this claim. Consider Table (8) below.

Table 8: Distribution of formulaic and novel utterances over genuine & ostensible

Utterances	Invitation				Offer				Refusal			
	Genuine		Ostensible		TOTAL	Genuine		Ostensible		TOTAL	Genuine		Ostensible		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
Formulaic	63	32.5%	131	67.5%	194	38	37%	65	63%	103	74	39.4%	114	60.6%	188
Novel	39	73.5%	14	26.5%	53	17	74%	6	26%	23	47	69%	21	31%	68
					247					126					256

Table (8) above shows the distribution of formulaic and novel utterances over both genuine and ostensible invitations, offers and refusals. It can be noticed that about two-thirds of the formulaic utterances are utilised in ostensible invitations while about three-quarters of the novel utterances are used in genuine invitations. This ratio is very close to that in offers as 63% of the formulaic utterances are used in ostensible offers while about three-quarters of the novel utterances are used in genuine offers.

As for refusals, the percentage is not that far from those in invitations and offers. Almost 60% of the formulaic utterances are utilised in ostensible refusals whereas about 70% of the novel utterances are used in genuine refusals.

All in all, this table shows clearly that formulaic utterances are more utilised by Jordanian speakers in ostensible invitations, offers and even refusals. On the other hand, novel utterances are rarely used in issuing or responding to ostensible invitations and offers among Jordanians. Instead, most of these novel utterances are employed in genuine invitations, offers and refusals.

CHAPTER SEVEN
SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

This project has attempted to study the pragmatic occurrences involved in spontaneous naturally-occurring invitation and offering exchanges. The interactional processes and structures involved in issuing, accepting or declining invitations and offers in Jordanian Arabic (JA) have been qualitatively investigated utilising a pragmatic view derived basically from the discursive approach and based on a ritual-oriented perspective. Moreover, based on a novel blend of taxonomies, the current research quantitatively figured out the most frequent tactics Jordanian interlocutors employ when performing invitations and offers. This chapter discusses the most significant results of the study in relation to the cultural practices and rituals involved in extending these invitations and offers. It also pinpoints some of the attained theoretical and methodological contributions of this study. It ends up by suggesting some insights for future research that could be conducted by pragmatists in general and Jordanian researchers in particular.

7.2 Summary of findings

In this thesis, offering and invitation practices taking place in spontaneous everyday encounters have been studied after being qualitatively and quantitatively investigated. Three major aspects of inviting/offering have been examined: inviting/offering, accepting an invitation and offer and refusing them. The study is meant to fill an important knowledge gap by providing a sociopragmatic conceptualisation of spontaneous naturally-occurring invitations and offers in

Arab culture in general and Jordanian culture in particular. It also aims at raising the pragmatic awareness and improving the mutual understanding among Arabs and non-Arabs by highlighting some pragmatic competence in everyday communication. Moreover, it focuses on the processes, expectations and patterns manifested in making invitations and/or offers, and accepting or refusing them in Jordanian Arabic (JA). Generally, it attempts to shed light on the pertinent aspects and structures in relation to various intersecting context-bound variables such as setting, relationship, and social background.

In order to achieve the study goals, various intersecting practices of relational networks, where intracultural invitational and offering practices in JA have been subject to a 'microscopic' examination. The project adopts a distinguished view of politeness, which emphasizes the role of cross-contextual variables, participants' view as well as the most agreed-upon concepts of speech act, face and politeness theories over the last three decades in approaching and processing the interactional moves and the 'executed' tactics in social interaction.

More specifically, the structures, functions and the interactional sequencing of invitations and offers have been explored. Besides, the varied cultural, normative, and interactive factors and conventionalised practices which appear to have an influence on how invitations and offers are made, accepted and/or refused in JA have been revealed. Furthermore, the most frequent tactics used by the interactants in performing, accepting, and declining offers in Jordanian culture have been investigated.

It has been found that the behaviour of invitation and offering sequences in Jordanian culture has several peculiar features. One of the most prominent features is that these invitations and offers are both patterned and 'seesaw' balanced. In other words, inviting/offering and responding are evenly performed to guarantee the other party's satisfaction and avoid his/her face loss. Both opposing procedures of insistence and resistance have to adhere to a paradigm of

common acts, reactions, and structuring of word strings to maintain equity among them. The basic elements of invitations and offers are relatively fixed and inclined to complement each other.

Another finding is that invitations often have a tripartite structure, where the inviter normally makes three invitations to the invitee before one of them concedes to the other's desire. These invitations are usually gradually staged and streamlined in terms of both form and structure.

In addition, a typical invitation in Jordan is driven by strict social rubrics and rituals. These rituals are not scripted or even memorized, but they may sound so for non-Jordanians since they are generally anticipated and governed by ritualised norms. They seem as if they adhere to a sociopragmatic script. That is because worn formulaic utterances are mostly utilised in Jordanian invitations, whereas novel ideas are generally unsought in ostensible invitations and offers whereas they are normally utilised in genuine ones.

There are two major types of invitations and offers and refusals in Jordan namely, genuine and ostensible. One more significant factor that influences participants' behaviour in how they infer whether an invitation and/or a refusal is to be interpreted as genuine or ostensible is closely connected with the sequence/co-text itself (see Chapter Four). There are several other linguistic, textual, contextual, and paralinguistic factors that also play significant roles and direct the participant's intuitions to determine whether the invitation or offer in hand is genuine or ostensible (see Chapter Six).

As for the differences in trajectory between sequences involving these two types of invitations and/or refusals, it has been found that genuine sequences, especially formal ones, usually describe a steep gradient, first up and then down again whereby length of utterance, amount of detail, lexical novelty and also voice volume increase and then decrease. They have a steep gradient shape. On the other hand, ostensible invitations and refusals often have a flat or very gentle gradient shape (see 6.2.3 & 6.2.4).

Furthermore, two major contextual tactics have been detected to be employed especially in ostensible invitations (i.e. prevarication and pretence). Jordanians can show their lack of commitment to their invitations through extending them equivocally for doing so allows them to be deliberately ambiguous as to their communicative intentions. Equivocal ostensible invitations often contain words or utterances with double or hedged meanings. Hence, whenever this tactic is utilized, the receiver must determine which of two possible meanings are intended to be taken as meant by the initiator (Bavelas et al. 1990; Hamilton & Mineo 1998; Bello and Edwards 2005). By stating two things that contradict each other, for example, the initiator would be implying that he cannot be telling the truth (Brown and Levinson 1987: 221). Making pretence at sincerity level in Jordanian culture is demanding for it requires that speakers wrap their ostensible invitations using various tactics that are normally used in genuine invitations. The reason behind their use of such tactics is related to the fact that some of them have lost their original pragmatic force. Thus, while oath-taking by itself must be a division line between ostensible and genuine invitations, Jordanians might make use of it to make their ostensible invitations a genuine-like. Thus, hearers cannot rely on how speakers stage their invitations per se for this would be misleading.

Besides interpreting the tactics used for extending the invitation, hearers should rely heavily on the notion of common ground for a large category of ostensible invitations are formulaic; they have fixed expressions which can only be decoded with reference to the communal common ground (CCG) of the interlocutors. Personal common ground (PCG) is also another source for decoding ostensibility accurately in this culture. PCG is believed to be the main engine that provides initiators with the green light to extend their invitations ostensibly.

While analysing the collected data, some tactics have been detected, which are frequently used when extending, accepting, or declining both genuine and ostensible invitations and offers by Jordanians. These tactics are mainly religion-based or ritual-oriented tactics. Some of these

detected tactics are supplication, stock blessings, ritualised compliment, plea refutation, oath-taking, stock justification, formulaic plead, minimisation, motivation, intimidation.

7.3 Contributions

The current thesis is believed to contribute to the pragmatic literature in general and the politeness field in particular both theoretically and methodologically. These contributions are summarised below:

7.3.1 Theoretical contribution

The present study is meant to fill an important knowledge gap by offering discursive ritual-based explanations of spontaneous naturally-occurring invitations and offers in Arab culture in general and Jordanian culture in particular. This has been attained by analysing the normative and in-group ritualised practices of relational networks. Many previous studies of interactive behaviour in Arab culture and/or of invitations and offers in particular (see Al-Khatib (2006), AlOqaily et al. (2012), Eshreteh (2014)) have operated from a different theoretical standpoint, which essentially and sometimes solely adopt Brown & Levinson's model in analysing constructed discourse via DCTs - rather than authentic interactive exchanges - and accounting for the occurrence of these invitation and offering practices. Therefore, this study is anticipated to contribute to and extend the current knowledge of different domains of politeness, theoretical and applied linguistics. It's hoped that the ideas presented here will open up new sociopragmatic vistas and provoke discussions and further research in the politeness field.

Another theoretical contribution this study offers is its attempt to distinguish between invitations and offers. Unlike many studies on invitations or offers that see invitations as a subclass of offers (see Schegloff:1995 & Leech:2014), or those studies that view offers as an umbrella term covering a variety of other social actions, such as assistance, help, choice as well as invitation (see Curl, 2006; Kärkkäinen & Keisanen, 2012), or even those that have found a superficial difference between them whereby invitations involve more layers of implications and sociality than offers (see Margutti et al., 2018), this study has tried to pinpoint a number of typical differences. Although, semantically, invitations and offers could be used interchangeably in some contexts, it has been claimed in this study that invitations are commissive directives whereas offers are only commissives. As for their structures, offers are usually formed in a yes/no question, but invitations are made up of lengthy utterances that take various forms including – but not limited to - yes/no questions, information questions, requests, declaratives, imperatives…etc. Invitations entail projected events in which both the inviter and the invitee jointly participate, while offers involve actions which the offerer undertakes by himself/herself. However, in the final analysis, the distinctions identified here are based on prototypical invitations and offers rather than on hard-and-fast divergences.

Another contribution to this study is that it has managed to identify the typical trajectory patterns of the invitation sequences, and develop Leech's (2005) pattern of sequence (i.e. invite/refuse/invite/refuse/invite/accept) to a more sophisticated one. Furthermore, this study has offered an analogy concerning the various conflicting perspectives of politeness by asserting that this ongoing conflict between the traditional theories of politeness including Grice, Lakoff, Leech and reaching to Brown & Levinson's model and the post- modern approach to politeness resembles the distinction between competence and performance. The former representing the rigidly 'perceived' competence and the latter representing the vividly 'empirical' performance.

7.3.2 Methodological contribution

To my knowledge, the study in hand is the first to adopt an innovative blended discursive ritual-based approach in approaching speech acts, and more specifically invitations and offers. After reviewing the literature about invitation and offering practices in general and in Jordanian Arabic particularly, it has been found that no studies yet have dealt with these interactional speech practices from an empirical discursive perspective. This study is deemed the first to examine invitation and offering practices in Jordanian Arabic based on a discursive ritual-oriented approach. Consequently, this project can be considered as a new contribution to understanding these everyday recursive practices from a different, broader, still concentrated angle.

In the current project, I attempt my best to 'hold the stick from the middle'. In other words, most of the prominent agreed-upon notions, features and concepts of each of the three waves of approaching politeness have been deliberately blended employed in this study, especially those in the most recent waves. Strictly speaking, this project can be viewed as another serious attempt to bridge the gap between most of the conflicting perspectives of studying politeness. It adopts what at least the majority of pragmatists have endorsed, and neglects what has been recursively criticised or laid on the back seats to eventually come out with a 'cocktail' recipe.

7.4 Limitations of the study

There are several limitations to the current study that are basically attributed to the limited scope of a typical PhD thesis. First, the current study tackles only one type of speech act (i.e. invitation and offer) in one given culture (i.e. Jordanian culture) over a limited span of time (i.e. 3 years). Second, almost half of the data was collected from the researcher's in-group micro community encompassing mainly his family, relatives and friends. Third, the study could not

qualitatively explore the impact of some paralinguistic (e.g. intonation, voice modulation, pitch, tone, pause, silence, inappropriate contextual cues…etc.) and non-linguistic features although the effect of prosody features (such as volume), silence, and some gestures or facial expressions have been sometimes highlighted. Fourth, in spite of their vital roles, contextual features like hedging, mitigation, pretence, implausibility, indefiniteness, lack of commitment, ambiguity, insistence/persistence, soliciting, circumlocution are not quantitatively analysed. Finally, the quantitative analysis appeared in this study made no effort to figure out any potential differences in the participants' ethnographic parameters, such as their gender, age, status and/or position, and their potential influence on extending or responding to an invitation or offer. These parameters are beyond the scope of this quantitative analysis although they (except gender) were qualitatively analysed in (Chapter 4).

7.5 Recommendations

In light of this study, the following is recommended for future research on politeness as well as pragmatics in general:

1. Since non-English-speaking countries (e.g. Arab countries - located mainly in MENA region) are said to have collectivist, discernment, and high-context cultures, I believe it is wise to study politeness through a ritual perspective because ritual here is a crucial component in such cultures.

2. Since this field of study is quite new in Arab culture and seems to allure just a few pens, further pragmatic studies on the different speech acts particularly in Arabic, with all its vernaculars, could be conducted to bridge the gap generated in the last few decades between Arab culture and the English-speaking cultures in this rich field.

3. The would-be studies may focus more on the phenomena of ostensibility in Middle Eastern culture(s). A more concentrated study might be conducted on ostensible invitations and even other ostensible speech acts: ostensible compliments, ostensible lies, ostensible apologies, ostensible congratulations, ostensible questions and assertions, etc. Above, more people from various backgrounds and origins can be involved in the samples representing the population of such studies.

4. One potential line of research may investigate the impact of the ethnographic parameters of the relevant participants on issuing and responding to invitations and offers in the Arab countries. Such research may postulate, for instance, that the older the participant is, the more ritualised and religion-oriented his/her tactics will be when issuing, accepting or refusing an invitation or offer.

5. One more line of research may compare Jordanian invitations and offers with their counterparts in other cultures, say, English-speaking countries. This would explore the cross-cultural similarities and differences in terms of the conventions, rituals, patterns and structures adopted when performing invitations and offers in each of these cultures.

When the theory in hand is further developed and/or polished, we anticipate that linguists, theorists, and pragmatists would be able to utilise it in better understanding various aspects of politeness.

7.6 Concluding remarks

This study is simply an attempt to widen our awareness of only one of the multiple facets of politeness. Since this field of study started to captivate linguists and allure more pens, plenty of ink has been spilled striving to go deeper into its obscurity. I have tried my best to avoid making over-generalizations although I felt sometimes I could do. However, I hope in my upcoming projects, I will be able to further develop my findings to eventually come out with a theory or a paradigm that may systematize the rather sophisticated structures of invitations and offers in Arab countries in general. Being a resident in Saudi Arabia for about 17 years and in Bahrain for about 9 years, I can confirm I do not see an essential difference in the way invitations and offers are performed in these countries and Jordan, not to mention neighbouring countries like Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. In all of these countries features such as overt insistence and resistance with invitations and offers are recognized and valued as a marker of polite behaviour as opposed to being impolite or even rude in many other cultures. All in all, with the artificial intelligence (AI) applications, I believe - sometime in the near future - it will be possible to better analyse, and probably, anticipate the rituals, patterns, and structures involved in performing invitations and offers in Arab culture in general and Jordanian culture in particular.

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Appendix: Encounters (1 – 17) in Arabic

(الحوار الأول)

(محذوف بغرض الايجاز)

صممت لمدة خمس ثواني

1) ف: بكره بدنا تشرفنا عالغدا ان شاء الله.

2) خالد: تسلم يا خوي. والله ما في داعي للغلبة. الله يبارك فيك.

3) ف: لا غلبة ولا شي. هاد اقل شي نعمله يا ابو براء.

4) خ: يكثر خيرك حبيبي والله جيتكم هون احسن من الدنيا.

5) ف: تسلم يا سيدي. هاد من لطفك لكن واجبكم اكبر من هيك.

6) خ: صدقني ما في داعي ... والله ...

7) ف: بالله عليك لا تفشلني...

8) خ: مانت وجه فشل يا ابو (س)... خلص يا سيدي ابشر ولا يهمك..بنتشرف والله...

9) ف: الله يزيدك شرف... احنا اللي بنتشرف والله. خلص ياسيدي على بركة الله.

(الحوار الثاني)

(محذوف بغرض الايجاز)

صممت لمدة 10 ثواني...

1) خالد: ياجماعة اخونا وعمه...الزلمة ضيف علينا...بدنا نكسبهم بكره باذن الله...

2) أ: اه والله بدنا نكسبكم ...بس احكولنا غدا ولا عشا؟

3) م: لا والله مافيه داعي ....الله يبارك فيكم انتو جماعه عزابية هالايام...

4) خ: حتى لو عزابية ...المطاعم موجودة....مافيه مشكله...

5) أ: بس انتو احكولنا غدا ولا عشا؟...والله دعوتنا مابتنرد

6) م: لا اله الا الله! يازلمة لا تحلف! والله مافي داعي...

7) ص: جيرة الله ياجماعة لاتغلبو حالكم...

8) أ: جيرة الله الا تتفضلو علينا...والله والله والله مابتردونا...خلص بكره...بس احكولنا ايش بناسكم غدا ولا عشا...

9) م: ياسيدي الله يجزيكم الخير...وجيتكم والله احسن من كل شي...خلص المناسب...شو بدكم عشا

10) أ: خلص عشا...على بركة الله...

11) ص: على بركة الله

(الحوار الثالث)

(محذوف بغرض الايجاز)

صممت لمدة 5 ثواني...

1) ص: احنا ياجماعة الخير بنتشرف يوم الجمعة فيكو...بدنا تتفضلو علينا ونتغدى مع بعض. جيرة الله دعوتي ماتنرد.

2) م: اه والله ياجماعه زي عمي ماحكى. بالله دعوتنا مابتنرد.

3) ش: والله مابتنرد لكن خلوها لمره ثانية. لبعد ماتيجو من الاردن...على فضاوة...

4) خالد: الان الوقت مش مناسب. وانت مسافر بعد عشر ايام . خلص لما تيجي خير ان شا الله.

5) م: لالالا . خلينا من الاردن الان. احنا بدنا الان. اقلكو حاجة...اقسم بالله العظيم دعوتنا مابتنرد...خلص؟

6) أ: لاحول ولا قوة الا بالله...يازلمة ليش تحلف! خلص والله لنيجي نسهر عندك...خلص والله لنيجي...

7) م: خلص توكلو على الله ياجماعه. يوم الجمعة مافيه التزامات...بتصلو الجمعه وبتضلو جايين.

8) ش: والله واجبكم علينا ياجماعه...والله مافي داعي...

9) ص: توكلو على الله...بتتشرفو والله...

(الحوار الرابع)

1) و: شو فيه وراك بكره؟

2) خالد: لا وراي ولا قدامي. ليش بتسأل؟

3) و: خلص معناته بنتغدا مع بعض.

4) خ: لا يازلمة انسى بالله عليك. والله ماني فاضي بكره. عندي مليون شغله.

5) و: والله غير تيجي. فكنا منك.

6) خ: يارجل والله مابصدق عالله يجي يوم الجمعه عشان اخلص القصص المتراكمة علي. مابدي ارتبط.

7) و: ياحبيبي لا ترتبط ولا على بالك. صلي الجمعه وظلك بوجهك علي. خلص هاللقمه , وظلك بوجهك.

8) خ: هيك رأيك؟...خلص اذا هيك ماشي. يسلمو حبيب.

9) و: على راسي. شو عاملين.

(الحوار الخامس)

1) س: اخوي ابو براء بدنا نفطر مع بعض. شوفلك يوم مناسب خلال هالاسبوع.

2) خالد: يسلمو ابو (س). خيرك سابق والله. مافي داعي تكلفو حالكم.

3) س: لا كلفه ولا شي. فطورنا هو ماحيزيد ولا ينقص...بس حابين نكسب الاجر والله...ولا مش حابين تعطونا حسنات!!

4) خالد: لا والله احب ماعلينا...بس خليها لاخر الشهر...لسه الشهر باوله...والناس لسه ماخذت عالصيام. وبدنا نريح هالنسوان...ههه

5) س: يازلمة اخر الشهر الواحد بنعجق...مليون شغله وعلمك وجه عيد...توكل على الله...يوم الاربعا مناسب؟

6) خالد: يازلمه والله مافيه داعي...

7) س: بس قلي اربعا ولا خميس؟ لا تفشلني عاد...

8) خالد: خلص ياسيدي والله ماني مفشلك...الخميس اتوقع منيح.

9) س: الخميس سيدي...على بركة الله.

10) خالد: على بركة الله...والله يجزيك الخير...وان شاء الله في ميزان حسناتك.

(الحوار السادس)

(محذوف بغرض الايجاز)

1) ن: استاذ م...الله يمسيك بالخير

2) م: الله يمسيك بالخير

3) ن: بدك تسمحلنا بالضيوف الوالد والوالدة وانت في معيتهم...فاتفضلو عنا...

4) م: الله يسلمك ويبارك فيك دكتور...والله الشباب ماقصرو اول حاجة.

5) ن: ياسيدي الشباب ماقصرو واحنا مابدنا نقصر...بدنا نكسب ابو (س) بيك والجميع...

6) م: لا مابتقصر والله...الله يبارك فيك واعتبرها واصلة والله...

7) ن: احنا والله بنتشرف فيكو...ومش جايين نتعذر والله

8) ف: الله يبارك فيكم...اهم شيء مشاركتنا في مصابنا...واحنا متأكدين من مشاعركم الصادقه...وبكفي معرفتكم والله

9) ن: معرفتك مكسب والله...

10) م: الله يبارك فيك يااخي...واحنا ان شاء الله بنجيكم في الافراح

11) ن: واحنا ان شاء الله بنيجيكم في المناسبات السعيدة دايما

12) م: الله يبارك فيك ياسيدي

(الحوار السابع)

(محذوف بغرض الايجاز)

1) ر: احسب حسابك بكره غداك عنا هه.

2) خالد: الله يبارك فيك. بنتشرف والله. لكن ان شاء الله مره ثانية.

3) ر: ياسيدي لامره ثانيه ولا ثالثة.. مابنلاقي احسن من هالفرصة. مش كل يوم حشوفك في السوق انا!

4) خ: بتشوفني وبنتلاقى ان شاء الله دايما هي رقمي معك صار... خلص بنجيك سهره عالبيت...صدقني.

5) ر: لالا السهره غير...احنا بدنا نكسبك والله...نتعشى مع بعض...

6) خ: خلص والله لاجيك سهرة...ماتشوفني الا داق باب داركم...

7) ر: ياسيدي مابدي اضغط عليك...براحتك...لكن خلينا على تواصل...وبتشرف دار اخوك بأي وقت والله...

(الحوار الثامن)

(محذوف بغرض الايجاز)

صمت لمدة 10 ثواني...

1) أ: عمي الدنيا مسا الله يمسيك بالخير.

2) والدي: الله يمسيك بانوار النبي.

3) أ: بدك تسمحلنا بالضيوف عمي...بمعيتك...تتعشو عنا...

4) والدي: والله هيهم شوفهم اذا بوافقو هم انا ما بمانع...

5) أ: ها ياجماعه بدنا نكسبكم بكره عالعشا...

6) أخي م: الله يجزيك الخير ابو (س) ...ويكبر واجبك...والله مافيه داعي...

7) خالد: مابتقصر ابو (س) وخيرك سابق...

8) أ: بس توكلو عالله...طاوعوني...

9) أخي م: تسلم والله...خليها مره ثانيه...والله دوبنا وصلنا من السفر والاجازة كلها كم يوم...

10) خالد: خليها لقدام بنزورك زيارة عادية...

11) أ: ماشي بتزورونا وبنتعشى مع بعض.

12) م: ان شاالله ياسيدي...خلص والله لنجيك...بس خليها شوي هسه...بنيجيك سهره باذن الله قريب

13) أ: ماشي ياسيدي بتشرفو باي وقت والله...وعمي وعمتي معكم طبعا...

14) خالد: الله يبارك فيك ابو (س)...وزي ماحكى (م) والله لنجيك بس لقدام شوي...

15) والدي: تسلم ابو (س)...ان شاء الله خير...

16) أ: ان شاء الله خير...ياالله تسمحولنا بدنا نروح ...تأخرنا والله...

(الحوار التاسع)

1) خالد: تفضل معنا هسه

2) ع : الله يبارك فيك...والله بدي اروح...

3) خ: تفضل يازلمة...بنتغدا مع بعض...بالله عليك...

4) ع: تسلم ياسيدي...مره ثانيه ان شاء الله...عندي كم شغلة والله وبدي اخلصها

5) خ: طيب فنجان قهوة عالاقل...

6) ع: احنا بدنا نجربك يازلمة...تسلم ياخوي...

7) خ: على راحتك سيدي...ويسلمو عالتوصيلة...

(الحوار العاشر)

1) ع ه: خالد بدنا نشوفلنا يوم نفطر مع بعض...جيب عيالك وتعالو.

2) خالد: ان شاء الله ابو (س)... ولا يهمك.

3) ع ه: جد والله تعالو بكره ولا بعد بكره...مش عاملين اشي يعني...بنفطر مع بعض.

4) خ: ان شاء الله ان شاء الله... خلص لقدام بنيجيك ابشر.

5) ع ه: لا تعالو هاليومين...انت جاي من سفر...يعني...مابدنا نأخرها...

6) خ: لالا مش مأخرينها ولا شي...بس خليها لقدام...عارف دوبنا وصلنا من السفر ومعجوقين والله...

7) ع ه: آه طيب طيب...خلص ماشي بس مش تنسانا!

8) خ: لا ياشيخ باذن الله الا نيجي....بس بلاش طبايخ بالله...بنزوركم ان شاء الله...هيك سهرة...بنقعد مع بعض...والاولاد بيلعبو...وهيك...

9) ع ه : خلص انت ماعليك تعال...توكل على الله يازلمة شو بدنا نعمل يعني! طبختنا وبنزودها شوي...

10) خ: خلص (ع) بالله بدناش رسميات...احنا اخوان يازلمة...زي ماحكيتلك...ماشي؟

11) ع ه: ماشي ماشي... خلص مابدي اضغط عليك...زي مابدك...المهم كيف كانت رحلتك؟

12) خ: الحمد لله...والله ميسره كانت...

(الحوار الحادي عشر)

1) والدي: الو...السلام عليكم...ام (س)؟

2) عمتي: ايوه يااخوي...اهلين...كيف حالك؟

3) و: الله يسلمك...اسمعي...بكره بتتفضلي علينا...عاملين افطار لوجه الله...

4) ع: الله يبارك فيك ياخوي...وان شاء الله ربنا يتقبل...ان شاء الله اذا صحلنا بنيجي

5) و: بدك حدا يجيبك ولا بتيجي لحالك؟

6) ع: لا ياخوي بجييني (س) ان الله اراد...بس لسه لاشوفه...

7) و: طيب...على بركة الله...بانتظارك

8) ع: ان شاء الله في ميزان حسناتك ياخوي...

(الحوار الثاني عشر)

1) س: الو السلام عليكم

2) خالد: حياك الله دكتور

3) س: ياسيدي بكره بتتغدا عنا...الدكتور (ص) كمان جاي وبدنا نقعد مع بعض يعني...مش شغلة اكل بس...

4) خ: الله يجزيك الخير ياابو (د)...والله مافي داعي...

5) س: لا احنا بنعزم عليك مش عشان تقول مافيه داعي...توكل على الله

6) خ: الله يجزيك الخير ياسيدي...مابتقصر والله...على بركة الله

7) س: خلص بننتظرك ان شاء الله...بحدود الساعه 2 لل3...

8) خ: بنتشرف والله يابو (د)...الله يخليك ويسلمك...

9) س: الله يبارك فيك...

(الحوار الثالث عشر)

1) س: هي اذن ياجماعة...يالله تفضلو عالمقسوم...سموا بسم الله...

2) خ: الله يزيد فضلك...يالله...بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم...

3) س: طبعا مابدك عزومة اخوي ابو براء...الدنيا صيام والواحد(...)

4) خ: توكل على الله...اكيد كلها صايمة وبدها تفطر...بدنا نروح ندور على فطور ثاني يعني...

5) س: هههه...شايف!...الله يتقبل ان شاء الله...

(بعد قليل)

6) س: شو اتفقنا يابو براء...والله مانت عاجبني...الظاهر بدك حدا يدير باله عليك...

7) خالد: هينا بنوكل والله...وخير الله كثير...بس دير بالك عحالك انت وعالصغار...

8) س: يازلمة والله انك بتتضيف شكلك...شو يازلمة!

9) خالد: والله لابتضيف ولاشي...توكل على الله انت بس...

10) س: ونعم بالله...

(بعد قليل)

11) خالد: يالله...الحمد لله رب العالمين...

12) س: شو يازلمة...مااكلت اشي...شو شكلك مش صايم!

13) خالد:هههه...الله يجزيك الخير...اكلت والله وبزيادة

14) س: شو اكلت يازلمة ! كمل يارجل...

15) خالد: والله ماني قادر...سفرة دايمة...وجزاك الله كل خير

16) س: الله يبارك فيك...على راحتك ياسيدي...

(الحوار الرابع عشر)

1) و: يالله قولو يارب...

2) خالد: يالله...

3) ر: يارب...بسم الله...

4) و: كل واحد يدير باله عحاله حبايبي...مش تتضيفو عندي!

5) خ: كول كول يازلمة... خدلك شو بقول صاحبك...من كل عقلك بتحكي انت!ههههه

(بعد قليل)

6) و: بالله ياجماعه فكونا منكو...شو هالاكل هاد! يعني لمين بدكو تخلوه؟ والله لينكب...

7) خ: هينا بنوكل يازلمة...شو مالك؟

8) ر: والله ماحنا مقصرين...شغالين بالاربعه...

(بعد قليل)

9) خ: الحمد لله...يسلمو حبيب

10)و: صحتين...

11)ر: الله يخلف...

12)و: شو مش اكلك...اكل عشره....ههه

13)ا: هههه...شايف قلتلك ما قصرنا...ريحناكو من الجلي...

14)خ & و: ههههه

(الحوار الخامس عشر)

1) البائع: تفضل اخوي بتدور على شيء معين...؟

2) خالد:اه تيشرت ابيض...مرتبه بالله على زوقك.

3) ب: ولا يهمك ...كم مقاسك؟

4) خ: دبل اكس او تربل اكس بكون احسن.

5) ب: كل المقاسات الكبيرة موجودة...لا تشيل هم... خد قيس هاي بالله. غرفة القياس هيها بالاخر.

(بعد قليل)

6) البائع: والله بتعرف بتجنن عليك القطعة. مقاسك بالضبط!

7) خالد: كم سعرها بالله... من الاخر لزبون محل؟

8) البائع: والله هاي القطعه ماطلعت اقل من 15 دينار لكن كونك زبون محل اعتبرها ب 12.

9) خالد: اه واقل من هيك؟

10)البائع: والله هذا السعر بس الك

11)خالد: بالله كم من الاخر؟

12)البائع: ياسيدي بلا مصاري.

13) خالد: لا هيك غالي كثير...ههه...خلص ياسيدي تفضل... بتستاهل القطعة صراحة.

14) البائع: يسلمو. معوضات ان شاء الله. بس بالله لا تحكي لحدا عن السعر اللي اعطيتك اياه. صدقني ماطلعته لغيرك.

15) خالد: خلص ولا يهمك. يالله سلام.

(الحوار السادس عشر)

1) خالد: كم حسابنا سيدي؟

2) الكاشير: شو عندك؟

3) خالد: واحد قهوة وواحد كروسان.

4) ك: دينار وربع...

5) خ: تفضل سيدي.

6) ك: طيب خلي علينا هسه...

7) خ: يسلمو

8) ك: بالله عليك

9) خ: طيب ياسيدي مادامك مصر والله ماني مفشلك

10) ك: عحسابك والله

11) خ: ياسيدي هاد من لطفك...خلص معناته انت عازمني اليوم...يالله يعطيك العافية

12) ك: وين وين...بس مش تصدق...بنمزح معاك يا زلمة...

13) خ: هههه...شو يازلمة بطلت؟

14) ك: عحسابك المحل كله والله ياقرابة...لكن انا مش صاحب المصلحة...والله بدفعهم من جيبي...

15) خ: لالا كل شي ولاتدفعهم من جيبك...تفضل ياسيدي...

(الحوار السابع عشر)

1) خالد: تفضل بكره علينا أخ س.

2) س: تسلم.

3) خالد: شو نعتمد

4) س: اعذرني ياصديقي معلش

5) خ: شو فيه يا ساتر.

6) س: صراحة مخفف زيارات أنا هالايام.

7) خ: آه فهمت عليك...على راحتك سيدي.

8) س:سامحني بالله.

9) خ: لا عادي أخوي ما حد بقدر يجبرك.

10) س: مش قصة إجبار عزيزي بس والله نفسيتي تعبانة خير الله.

11) خ: سلامات حبيب... مافي مشكلة.