

Speech Act of Promising among Jordanians

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Abstract

Studies on speech acts in various languages and contexts could help bridge the gap among the speakers of different languages i.e. help to inform and alert speakers of the potential pragmatic failures that may arise in social, pedagogical and translation domains. These studies also may help speakers of dissimilar languages and cultures cope with interethnic communication difficulties. This article presents a study on speech acts that aims to fill the above-mentioned gap. The focus of the study is on the pragmatic analysis of the speech act of 'promising' in Jordanian Arabic. This particular article, however, concentrates on the analysis of the most prominent strategies of promising gender i.e. male promise and female promise. A questionnaire consisting of 17 hypothetical situations that express imitations of real life situation in Jordan was distributed to 140 Jordanians. The analysis reveals that Jordanians opt for either one or more of the following strategies when issuing their promises: discourse conditionals, tautological-like expressions, body-part expressions, self-aggrandizing expressions, time expressions, courtesy-like expressions, swearing in Jordanian Arabic that are utilized by Jordanians to forge promises with reference to expressions, adjacency pairs and false promises. Moreover, the analysis of this article have shown that there is a gender difference in the use of linguistic forms in the speech act of promising among Jordanian, i.e., use of body-expressions among women once they issue their promises. In account of that, women typically speak and hear a language of connection and intimacy stressing confirmations and support within their specific online communities. Their speech is inclusive, less direct, and avoids arguments and confrontation whenever possible. Men, on the other hand, speak and hear a language of status and independence, focusing on social order and the exhibition of knowledge and skill.

Keywords: Speech act theory; promising; strategies; Jordanian Arabic

1. Introduction

The speech act theory is usually studied under the broad rubric of pragmatics which, in turn, can be defined as “the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with the contexts in which they would be appropriate” (Levinson, 1983:24), or as defined by Farghal (1995:253) as “the study of language in use or operation”. According to Lyons (1977:730) a speech act is “an act performed in saying something”. Consequently, the speech acts theory acquires its importance in the area of linguistics for the following reasons. Speech acts reveals a great deal of information about language users and their societies. In this regard, Byon (2006:137) claims that “speech acts reflect the fundamental values and social norms of target language and demonstrate the rules of language use in a speech community”. Speech acts cover a wide spectrum of functions that are most aptly and efficiently carried out linguistically. Wierzbicka (1987:3) clarifies this point when she says “it would not be an exaggeration to say that public life can be conceived as a gigantic network of speech acts. History itself seems to consist largely in acts of speech (e.g. threats, condemnations, offers, demands, negotiations, and agreements)”.

“Speech act of Promising”, the focus of this study is an act of undertaking to do a certain future act. The World Book Encyclopedia Dictionary (1964:1554) defines “promising” as “word said or written, binding a person to do or not to do something”. The Random House Dictionary of English Language (1966:1151) holds that promising is “a declaration that something will or will not be done, given, etc., by one”. The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1978:878) specifies that promising is “a statement, which someone else has a right to believe and depend on, that one will or will not do something, give something, etc”.

The Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1990:682) mentions that promising is "a declaration that one will do or refrain from doing something specified". Promising may take the form of an oath, conditional promise, or one-word promise. Furthermore, it fulfills a wide range of functions in the social setting such as: convincing, mollifying the infuriation of the addressee, gratifying others, expressing acceptance, expressing refusal, motivating others to achieve a desired result. In short, the promising behavior in one society cannot be confined to the notion of being a true or false one. Instead, promising must be scrutinized in the light of many interrelated social as well as psychological factors including the dispositions of the interlocutors, the context of the utterance, and the intention of interactants.

As shows earlier 'Promising' is universally understood as a commitment to do something. Therefore, when the interlocutor issues any kind of promises, he or she should fulfill it. According to Searle (1969), each speech act has four felicity conditions, which makes it a successful act, Searle (1969) states the following conditions (A=act; S=speaker; H=hearer; T=utterance).

Table 1

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (1) Propositional content: | A must be a future act of S. |
| (2) Preparatory conditions: | Promise must be something H wants done or at least would prefer to have done rather than not done. S will not do the act in the normal course of events |
| (3) Sincerity condition: | S intends to do A. |
| (4) Essential condition: | S intends that the utterance (T) will place him under an obligation to do A. |

Source: Searle (1969)

In Western culture, saying things like "I'll visit you tomorrow" is meant and understood as a promise. And promising something is committing oneself to doing it, and before promising something, the Westerner wants to be sure s/he will be able to fulfill it. S/he may well desire to do something that s/he knows the hearer would prefer her/him to do, but unless s/he has reasonable evidence for the fact that s/he is also able to do it, s/he will not make a promise to do it. S/he would rather say something like "Sorry, I'd like to do X, but I'm afraid I can't," or "I'll try, but I can't promise." With such a scenario in mind, consider the following example:

- "I will visit you tomorrow ?inŠaallah"

The same utterance has been given but the difference is just in inserting the willing of Allah at the end of the sentence which has totally changed the function of this speech act, this promise is not meant and understood as a pure promise. It is a conditional promise as understood by Jordanian Arabs(a set of dialects of the Levantine Arabic language that are originated in the Jordanian Kingdome and are spoken by Jordanian) which means "if Allah is willing to do X action", these points serve as a point of departure for this research to better Understanding the speech act of promising in Jordanian Arabic which could help avoid cultural misunderstandings since Studies on different speech acts would help in bridging the gap between the speakers of different languages regarding the potential pragmatic failures that may arise in pedagogical and translation domains.

With such a scenario in mind, this research was carried out to answer the following questions:

- What are the most prominent strategies of promising that are utilized by Jordanians to forge their promises?
- What is the gender difference in the use of linguistic forms in the speech act of promising?

2. Purpose of the Study

The objective of this paper is to highlight the findings of the study based on the research questions above, in doing so, Jordanian Arabic language and contexts would be analyzed which could help bridging the gap between the speakers of different languages i.e. help to inform and alert speakers of the potential pragmatic failures that may arise in social, pedagogical and translation domains, help speakers of dissimilar languages and cultures cope with interethnic communication difficulties.

Thus the researcher felt the importance to carry on such a study from two angles, theoretical and practical, by doing this research, the researcher expects that the findings and the results of this study would provide researchers with additional references since in Arabic literature, few studies have been dedicated to speech act theory and ancient Arab researchers were not interested in performing contrastive linguistics studies. The fact that serves as a point of departure to do more research on the speech act of promising and to indulge more into detailed research in order to investigate the way particular cultures think and what is hidden beyond the scene of their language.

Besides, the importance of this study emanates from the assumption by the researcher that attaining competence in the realm of speech acts in general, and the speech act of promising in particular, will accelerate the process of attaining competence across languages.

3. Literature Review

Palmer (1976:166) claims that there is some overlap between the speech act of promising and warning. He says “we cannot even speech acts with sentences containing performative verbs. A sentence beginning I promise could be a warning”. Both promising and warning are about future acts to be accomplished by the speaker, the first is beneficial to the hearer while the second carries bad repercussions to the hearer.

Bulm-Kulka et al (1985:121) probe a host of request strategy types in Hebrew which form together a scale of directness. They include the following strategies: mild hint, e.g., “it is cold in here”, preparatory, e.g., “would you mind closing the door”, conventionally indirect, e.g., “could you close the door?” question directives e.g., “will you close the door?”, scope stating, e.g., “I want to close the door”, locution derivable, e.g., you should close the door”. Performatives, e.g., “I’m requesting you to close the door” and mood derivable, e.g., “close the door”.

According to Blum-Kulka et al(1985:133), Modern Hebrew features a tendency toward directness in forging request tokens. The notion of directness of speech, in Israeli society, in general, is a straightforward reflection of liberal orientation of society as a whole. This orientation is quite conspicuous when they say “the early settlers of Palestine were guided by an ideology of egalitarianism, which frowned on all manifestations of possible discrimination between people, including a show of deference in speech”.

Wierzbicka (1987:204-13) classifies the following verbs within the promise group: promise, pledge, vow, swear, vouch for and guarantee. She contends that the above-mentioned verbs share some features. For example, these verbs denote some future acts to be accomplished by the speaker for the benefits of the hearer. By contrast, subtle nuances of meaning exist between the promise group. For example, when someone promise, he is trying to strengthen the degree of assurance to the hearer, whereas in vowing, the speaker is trying to obligate himself to do a certain act. This difference between promising and vowing can be accounted for in the light of assumption that promising is hearer-oriented while vowing is speaker-oriented. Moreover, vowing includes the use of scared entity for the speaker, whereas promising does not necessitate such as entity. In the same spirit, vowing is private while pledging is public because in vowing the speaker asks God as a witness that he will do or not do something, while in pledging the speaker would like all people to know that he will do a certain act. To sum up, in all the previous cases the speaker is strengthening his resolve to fulfill his speech act promising.

Holmes (1990:167-75) addresses the language of apologizing in New Zealand English, namely, the linguistic formulae, functions, strategies, semantic and syntactic structures of apologies. She expounds the following strategies for the purpose of apologizing: an explicit expression of apology, e.g., “I apologize”, an explanation, e.g., “I was not expecting it to be you”, an acknowledgement of responsibility, e.g., “it was my fault”. And a promise of forbearance, e.g., “I promise it will not happen again”. The previous apologizing strategies are not mutually exclusive. i.e., New Zealand speakers use different combinations of different strategies to accomplish the speech act of apologizing.

Al-Nasser (1993:16-8) describes a bunch of greeting formulas as used by different religious communities in Iraq. Although the majority of Iraqis are Muslims who usually adhere to forms like : assalam 9alaykum “peace upon you” and its response: w9alaykumu ssalam “you too”; other neutral forms which do not depict any religious affiliation of the individual may appear on the linguistic scene in Iraq, especially among Christians or Jews. This latter category includes expressions like *marhaba* “hullo” or “Šalom” “peace”. Hence, the religious orientation of the layperson in present-day Iraq, as in many other neighboring countries, is a key factor in the process of choosing the appropriate greeting formula.

Al-Khatib (1994:165) addresses the speech act of persuasion in the light of three main strategies, namely trustworthiness, argument, and emotional appeal. Trustworthiness is, roughly the credibility of the persuader from the point of view of the persuader. He (1994:167) goes on to add that “Jordanians are more likely to identify with speakers who seem to be fair, free of any suspicion of self interest, and having knowledge about great variety of subjects”. Moreover, trustworthiness is manifested by opting for the use of proverbs, wisdoms and lines of verse. On the other hand, some people tend to use standard Arabic as an emblem of education. Al-Khatib (1994:167) also classifies that argument is another strategy employed by Jordanians for persuasion in the course of speech. Moreover, he adduces three patterns of argument: opinion is followed by justification, justification is followed by opinion, or unjustified opinion.

As far as emotional appeal is concerned, Al-Khatib argues that interlocutors utilize two main strategies: they either use-religious devices or they use proverbs and wisdom. In the first case, many interlocutors rely extensively on the Holy Quran and traditions of Prophet Mohammed (peace upon him). In the same spirit, Abdulati (1975) (cited in Al-Khatib, 1994:169) says:

“The outward function of the Quran embraces all walks of life and covers the principles of the entire field of human affairs from the most personal matters such as marriage, inheritance, love etc. to the complex international relations like peace, war, economy etc. similarly, the traditions of Mohammed which deals with matters including theology, ethics and exegesis (explanation of the Quran) are primarily aimed at defining the basic concept of Islam and establishing the standards which build up a meaningful faith”.

Al-Khatib (1994:172) concludes that “Jordanians are quite aware of the significance of trustworthiness in the process of persuasion and are also aware of who is worthy of being trusted”. Furthermore, Al-Khatib (1997:158-9) sheds some light on the speech acts of congratulating and thanking in their written forms in Jordanian newspapers. He argues that congratulation announcements are issued on occasions such as: passing an exam, getting a degree, getting a promotion, a birth, wedding, etc. similarly, thank you announcement are often addressed to doctors after doing some difficult operations or to tribal chiefs after laborious efforts for reconciliation between two conflicting tribes.

The upshot of Al-Khatib’s previous article is that congratulation and thank you announcements serve a number of communicative functions, i.e., they convey information about the announcers and the addressees. It is argued that such announcements are motivating incentives to the addressee in order to climb to the social strata further. Also, it has been stressed that those announcements are heavily utilized by some institutions and individuals as a means of propaganda that is oriented to the public (ibid: 166).

Emery (2000:197-9) explores the speech acts of greeting, congratulating and commiserating in Omani Arabic. Different formulas and functions of those speech acts are addressed. He also overemphasizes the distinction between the old and young generations in terms of their choice of the appropriate formulas in the appropriate context. For example, he argues that the influence of well-known varieties such as Egyptian and Levantine is much more manifested in the speech of the younger generation in the society. Likewise, the factor of sex is dubbed to be of great influence especially in the speech of old women.

Abd el-Jawad (2000:217) sheds some light on the phenomenon of swearing in Jordanian Arabic. From the very beginning, he stresses that his study is concerned with ‘oath taking’ and not the ‘act if using the tabooed, profane, bad, etc’, language forms for cursing and insulting others or in the expression of anger. Abd el Jawad (2000:218) defines swearing as “the speech act by which a person binds himself to do or not to do a certain specific physical or judicial act, by invoking the name of God or one of the divine attributes”. He (2000:223-7) also contends that at the structural level, people swear by Allah, holy books, prophet and messengers, important people, family members, holy places and times, all Allah’s creatures and creations and moral values. This being the case, it can be safely claimed that interlocutors utilize all things that are reverend in their eyes to swear by.

Abd el-Jawad (2000:227) claims that swearing serves a plethora of communicative functions such as: emphasizing a proposition, inviting, suggesting, intensifying promises and pledges, requesting and entreating, apologizing and complaining, praising and blaming. He also observes that the structure and functions of swearing formulas used by Jordanians depict the intricacies of the social fabric in general, for instance, the values of honor, chastity, dignity, honesty are highly esteemed by almost all interactants in the society as ultimate ideals.

That is, the reverence of the above values is ingrained in the souls and minds of Jordanians. These being the case such values will to a great extent shade their swearing behavior. Farghal and Al-Khatib (2001:1488) in their investigation of compliments responses, among college students, focus upon the correlation between the interactant's gender and his/her compliment behavior. They distinguish in their data between simple vs. complex responses. That is to say, simple responses contain one illocutionary force, for instance, offering (e.g., mgaddam / lit. the complimented item is presented to you), while complex responses contain two illocutionary forces, for instance, thanking plus offering (e.g., Šukran, mgaddam/ lit. thank you I proffer it to you).

Moreover, complex responses containing two congruent illocutionary forces such as thanking and invocation are referred to as intrinsically-complex responses (e.g., thanking plus invocation Šukran / allah yis9idak "thank you! May God grant you happiness!") By contrast, complex responses with two incongruent illocutionary forces are referred to as extrinsically-complex responses (e.g., tagging plus denying 'anjad/la hilu walaŠii 'really! it is not nice at all!)

Farghal and Al-Khatib (2001:1490) conclude that many aspects of compliments and compliment responses may be attributed, in one way or another, to "the deeply rooted phenomenon of gender segregation in Jordanian society". In other words, it is completely unacceptable in our conservative society to exchange cross-gender compliments irrespective of the interactants' social status. Mursy and Wilson (2001:134-9) explore the complimenting behavior as used by Egyptians in the light of a model of a 'social contract of values' that exists among the individuals and their society. They argue that Brown and Levinson's model of politeness (1987) and the notion of 'face' do not lend themselves easily and fully when applied to eastern cultures in general, and to the Egyptian culture in particular. They explained the concept of 'wiŠŠ' (face) as "the reputable, respectable image that individuals can claim for themselves from the community in which they interact. That is, the concept of "wiŠŠ" is utilized in the Egyptian society to incorporate nation like humiliation, shame, embarrassment, personality, bad/good luck.

Mursy and Wilson (2001:141) stress the importance of two crucial concepts, namely, the concept of '9eeb' (shameful behavior) and 'wagib' (obligation). Besides, they argue that the social contact values impinge on notions like *il-uSuul*, *il-wagib*, *il-ma9ruuf*, *il-mugamala* and *il-9eed* meaning the agreed-upon social norms, the social obligation, the favor, and the shameful behavior respectively. Consequently, any violations of these values will ultimately lead to the so-called "gillit iz-zoog" i.e., (lack of tacit or flippancy) the upshot of this article is that Leech's (1983:105) maxims as well as other 'culture specific' prevailing values and norms are intertwined in terms of what is dubbed to be polite or impolite behavior of Egyptians.

Nelson (2002:167) investigates numerous direct and indirect strategies for performing the speech act of refusing as used by Cairene Arabic speakers and American English speakers. The authors of this study adopt a modified version of discourse completion test as a tool to collect the required data. i.e., the participants were exposed to a host of hypothetical situations and they were asked orally about how they would respond in real life encounters. Nelson et al (2002:173-7) also claims that using this modified version of discourse completion test as a tool for collecting speech act data is much more reliable than asking participants to write down their responses. The study reveals that while direct refusals are achieved via using 'la' (in Arabic) or 'no' (in English), indirect refusals occupy a more ample room in the data under investigation. The disparity between the uses of direct or indirect ways when refusing is ascribed to the fact that refusals are inherently face-threatening acts that must be softened in one way or another. They argue that indirect refusals utilize five main strategies namely; reason, considerations of interlocutor's feelings, suggestion and willingness and statement of regret. Also, Egyptians and Americans are aware of the factor of status between interlocutors when making refusals, for instance, both groups employ much more indirect strategies when speaking to people of higher status like bosses than when speaking to equals like peers.

In a nut shell, Nelson et al's (2002:182) study contends that the similarities between the two languages under investigation are greater than the differences regarding making refusals. Consequently, the process of intercultural communication would be smooth and feasible between members of the two groups. In a recent study of promising, Egner (2006:450) contrasts the behavior of promising between West African and Western cultures. She maintains that in some African languages, what most Westerners conceive as 'false promise' is one of the strategies of being polite. She states that "nonbinding promises can be used in African languages to politely close a conversational exchange".

Egner (2006:459) disambiguates this ostensible discrepancy between the concept of promising in the two cultures, i.e., in African culture, saying than one is not able to do something for the addressor is interpreted as if the speaker does not care about his relationship with the addressee.

Finally Egner (2006:461) through investigation of the lexical expressions of promising concludes that binding promises do exist in African language in the western sense of the word promise. For example some promises can read as the following “I will come to the funeral; put it into your mouth”.

Al-Khatib (2006:269) explores miscellaneous strategies that are utilized by Jordanians for making an invitation, accepting or declining it. He contends, following the footsteps of Holmes (1990) that “inviting in Jordanian society is made up of different combinations of several speech acts”. Moreover, he (2006:275) claims that variables such as: social status, sex, age, and cross-cultural differences among participants have serious bearings on the process of communication generally.

Farghal and Haggan (2006:114) pinpoint to the correlation between the speech act of complimenting and potentially pragmatic failures that may arise particularly, in pedagogical settings, for instance, in an Arabic context like Kuwait, the focus of their study, proffering the complimented item is the normative answer to a compliment, which is understood by both interactants as a mere remark of courtesy. By contrast, the notion of proffering the complimented item does exist in English speaking countries, where the risk of forfeiting the complimented item is much higher. Therefore, as Farghal and Haggan (2006:116) say “it is not enough for students to know how to say something in the target language, but it is also important for them and their teachers to be aware of the pragmatic pitfalls of simply applying native language norms of expression within the target context”.

4. Research Design

The general framework of speech act theory as developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969; 1979) has been utilized in this research in the first level of analysis in order to elaborate the syntactic level of the speech act of promising, and then the research underwent an analytical shift toward identifying the study cases(Jordanians). The independent variables (age, sex, and level of education) have been taken into account in this research, and then the second level of the analysis which is the functional level took place. In this level, the researcher, in trying to answer the research questions, discovered the nine strategies of promising namely discourse conditionals, tautological-like expressions, body-part expressions, self-aggrandizing expressions, time expressions, courtesy-like expressions, swearing expressions, adjacency pairs and false promises. It should be noted that a few strategies have been previously cited by sociolinguistics pioneer, Farghal (1993:49). then the researcher moved to another level to explore whether there are any gender differences in the use of linguistic forms in the speech act of promising by taking 10 criteria proposed by Lakoff (1975) as cited in Holmes (1993, p. 314), as follows:

| |
|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Lexical hedges or fillers |
| 2. Tag questions |
| 3. Rising intonation on declaratives |
| 4. Empty adjectives |
| 5. Precise color terms |
| 6. Intensifiers |
| 7. Hypercorrect grammar |
| 8. Super polite forms |
| 9. Avoidance of strong swears word |
| 10. Emphatic stress |

The percentage was calculated to give a feasible access in comparing male and female promises.

Consequently a total of 2210 promising rejoinders were obtained via a 17- item questionnaire that was designed by the researcher

5. Participant and Selection Criteria

Since the knowledge produced by qualitative research might not generalize to other people or other settings, and it might have lower credibility in such research as well as the results are more easily influenced by the researcher’s personal biases and idiosyncrasies, the researcher chose a quantitative design in this research.

In this quantitative research no attempts were made to change the social behavior of the participants (Jordanian students), the researcher just measured their behavior as they are thus; it is descriptive or observational study. A stratified selection procedure was used in choosing the Jordanian students as a representative sample to make sure that this study has a proportional representation of population subgroups (e.g. sex, race, religion). 140 samples were chosen to give acceptable confidence interval and to ensure statistical significance; the participants in the present enquiry were 90 males and 50 females whose native languages are Jordanian Arabic that represents the whole country and its norms. Moreover, it should be noted that some lexical distinctive sub dialectal differences may appear on the scene since Jordanian language is a mixture of many dialects, and the reason beyond such a mixture, is the huge number of refugees immigrating from Palestine and Iraq to the country and thus, bringing their own dialects.

The profile of the respondents is as follow:

| Level of education | Gender | | Age |
|--------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| | Male | Female | |
| Master | 30 | 18 | 22-33 |
| PhD | 45 | 10 | 29-50 |
| Others | 7 | 20 | 29-50 |
| Total | 82 | 48 | |

6. Data Collection and Instrumentation

The data for this study was collected by using a version of Beebe et al's (1990) discourse completion test which was administered to 140 subjects. A questionnaire which consists of 17 hypothetical situations which express imitations of real situations is the type of instrument used to obtain information for this research (Refer to appendix II). It is worth mentioning here that Jordanian culture is based on Arab and Islamic element with a significant tribal influence. Notable aspects of the culture include, social prestige and chivalry, thus many aspects related to these issues were designed in the questionnaire to be in accordance with Jordanians' perspective.

Discourse completion test (DCT) that has been used in this research is considered to be one of the fastest ways to gain data, although the fact that some pioneers such as Manes and Wolfson (1981) claimed that the most authentic data in sociolinguistic research is spontaneous speech gathered by ethnographic observation. Difficulties in relying on this method are well-documented (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989, Aston 1995) and have led to the wide use of discourse completion test (DCT). Justified criticisms have been leveled at the DCT, some labeling it as an instrument that limits the capturing of authentic communication, and others making it look almost obsolete. However, there are no other sociolinguistic data collection instruments that have as many administrative advantages as the DCT, making it, practically speaking, a resource of pragmatic testing and teaching that will continue to be relied on.

7. Findings and Discussions

The data collected for the purpose of this study has shown that Jordanians opt to use one or more of the following strategies: discourse conditionals, tautological-like expressions, body-part expressions, self-aggrandizing expressions, time expressions, courtesy like expressions, swearing expressions, adjacency pairs and false promises. Besides, it should be noted that many of the above strategies are not mutually exclusive. In other words, a combination of the promising strategies may be the norm in daily interaction, and it is worth mentioning here that Jordanian women tend to use different promising strategies than the men.

7.1 What are The Most Prominent Strategies of Promising that are utilized by Jordanians to Forge Their Promises?

The strategies used by the respondents were grouped into nine categories. The percentage was calculated for each strategy as follow:

| Strategy | Percentage | Number |
|-------------------------------|------------|--------|
| Discourse conditionals | 21.54% | 476 |
| tautological-like expressions | 5.24% | 115 |
| body-part expressions | 15.42% | 340 |
| self-aggrandizing expressions | 13.37% | 295 |
| time expressions | 12.03% | 265 |
| courtesy-like expressions | 17.24% | 381 |
| swearing expressions | 6.35% | 140 |
| adjacency pairs | 6.52% | 144 |
| false promises | 2.25% | 49 |

7.1.1 Discourse Conditionals

Discourse conditionals account for 21.54 % of utterances collected for this study. Farghal (1993:49) defines them as “those conditional clauses that are frequently pegged to segments of Arabic discourse in order to mortgage the realization of the relevant speech act, e.g. a promise, to the will of Allah”. Such expressions abound among Jordanians as a direct result of the conspicuous impact of Islam on the speech of Muslims in general, and on the speech of Jordanians in particular. Consider the following answers: (see appendix I for phonetic symbols used in this study)

(Situation 1)

انشاءالله

?inŠaallah

“God willing”

(Situation 2)

توكل على الله

Twakkal 9ala Allah

“In God you trust”

(Situation 8)

بعون الله

Bi9awni Allah

“With God on our side”

(Situation 4)

بإذن الله

B?ðni Allah

With the permission of Allah

It is axiomatic then that Jordanians embody the name of Allah in their promises to give them a sense of credibility. This tendency correlates with the instilled belief of Muslims that every single movement in this universe is undoubtedly under the complete control and will of Allah. The expression ?inŠaallah “God willing” has occurred in the data initially as well as finally. For example, ?inŠaallah I will do ‘x’ or ‘ iwill do x ?inŠaallah’.

Besides, it should be noted that the expression ?inŠaallah has undergone a big pragmatic shift , namely, many fraudulent people use such very frequent expressions as means of equivocation and evasiveness. Put it differently, nowadays ?inŠaallah has acquired the implicit negative interpretation that the addressor is not serious about the fulfillment of state of affairs at hand. In this spirit, Farghal (1995:255) argues that “?inŠaallah maybe used pejoratively to signal the absence of relevant intentions to carry out the action in question” .

At the functional level, using discourse conditionals to issue promises, may trigger a multitude of interpretations. For example, some people use this strategy as a means of persuasion to their audience; other uses it as a means of equivocation to postpone the accomplishment of some future acts.

At the syntactic level, using discourse conditionals alone to issue promises may cast doubt on the seriousness of the speaker in most cases. By contrast, using discourse conditionals to preface a promised act would increase the degree of commitment on the part of the speaker to do a certain act.

7.1.2 Tautological –Like Expressions

These expressions represent 5.24 % out of the total amount of utterances collected for this study. A tautology is an utterance containing almost two identical parts whether verbal or nominal. Moreover, the repetition found in such linguistic phenomenon is not a matter of compiling words in the literal sense, i.e., repetition in this conversational phenomenon flouts the maxim of quantity in order to achieve legitimate communicative functions such as: admiring, condemning, showing indifference and showing a fatalistic point of view.

In addition to the previous functions of tautological expressions that are used by Arabs in general and Jordanians in particular, the researcher of this study claims that tautological-like expressions serve two more communicative functions: showing confirmation and showing annoyance. Consider the following examples:

(Situation 17)

انشاء الله ان شاء الله راح ازورك اليوم المساء

?inŠaallah ?inŠaallah rah ?azuurak ?ilyuum il masaa

“God willing, God willing. I will visit you tonight”.

(Situation 10)

ابشر ابشر ثواني بكون واقف عندك

?abŠir ?abŠir θawaani bakuun waagif 9indak

“You bet you bet. Seconds and I will be with you”

It can be seen from the previous examples that in addition to their illocutionary forces as promises, they constitute a confirmation or a commitment made by the speaker about his seriousness of taking up the responsibility to accomplish the state of affairs at hand. By the same way, the previous examples turn out patently as placatory or soothing remarks to offset potential doubts on the part of the hearer.

The second communicative function of tautological –like expressions is their use as strategy of showing annoyance or irritation on the part of the addressor upon and unduly behavior made by his interactant . Consider the following examples:

(Situation 4)

طيب طيب مالك عزرت علينا

Tayib tayib malak 9azzart 9aleena

“Okay okay you have made a scene”

(Situation 14)

خلص خالص فهمنا

Xalas xalas fhimnaa

“Okay okay we got it”

In each of the previous cases the addressor overtly announced that he is fed up with the reckless and imposition of the addressee.

Consequently, when tautological-like expressions are used in the sense of showing annoyance, they are often followed by a phrase criticizing or even rebuking the addressee.

Syntactically, a tautological-like expression may be verbalized via the employment of a verb, a noun, or a whole phrase. In addition, most tautological-like expressions are either used alone or inserted at the beginning of different promises. As can be seen, in example 3; placing the tautology at the beginning of the previous example is more natural and acceptable than reversing the case.

7.1.3 Body-Part Expressions

Promises containing parts of the human body constitute 15.42% of the collected data. The most frequently employed parts are: the eye, the head, the beard, and the moustache of either the speaker or the hearer. As it can be seen, these specific parts symbolize dignity and manhood, at least in the Arab societies.

For example, the word ?anafah meaning ‘dignity’ in Arabic is derived from the word ?anf meaning ‘nose’. Consider the following promises that are hearer-oriented:

(Situation 12)

تكرم عيونك

Tikram 9yuunak

“Your eyes will be dignified”, i.e., (you will be happy).

(Situation 11)

ولا يهم شواربك

Wala yhim Šawaarbak

“Your moustache will not be disturbed”, i.e., (do not worry)

(Situation6)

تكرم لحيتك

tikram liHiytak

“your beard will be dignified”, i.e., (I will give you what you want)

The previous utterances are promises that are meant as placatory to the hearer. That is to say, employing usually dignified parts of the body that refer back to the hearer in such example is a sign of reverence and deep appreciation between both interlocutors.

In the same spirit, body-part promises are speaker-oriented, i.e. the speaker, being the referent in such utterance, show his interlocutor that he is completely pleased and willing to fulfill the state of affairs at hand. Consider the following examples:

(Situation 1)

على راسي

9ala raasi

“On my head”

(Situation 3)

مو على عيني

Muu 9ala 9eeni

“On my eye”

(Situation 17)

على خشمي

9ala xaŠŠmi

“On my nose”

In the previous utterances many speakers, in genuine interactions, support their promises with a body gesture by pointing to the body part that is being talked about especially Jordanian women. This gesture indicates a great commitment on the part of the speaker. And in many cases the addressee asks the addressor to point to such part, when undertaking the responsibility to perform a promise, to ensure the addressor’s seriousness. Consequently, the utterance ?imsik 9aŠawaarbak meaning “hold your moustache” is a frequent expression between strangers and acquaintances.

Finally, the utterance “9ala raasi” found in previous examples, maybe used in Jordanian Arabic as a terminating phrase in leave-taking, especially over the telephone between intimates. In other cases, it may function as a mild compliment between acquaintances.

7.1.4 Self-Aggrandizing Expression

Promises contain such tokens constitute 13.37 % of the total amount of data collected for this study. Many speakers tend to depict their talents and abilities in what they say. In other words most people can’t avoid praising themselves in an ostentatious manner at the expense of the others. This tendency appears in speech regardless of its topic whether it is political, religious or social. As far as the speech act of promising is concerned, aggrandizing the self is a major strategy in the collected data. Consider the following examples:

(Situation 16)

وصلت

WSilt

“got it “

(Situation 9)

عندي ولا يهيك

9indi wala yhimak

“I will take care of it”

(Situation 9)

اتركها على عمك

?utrukha 9ala 9ammak

“Leave it for uncle”

In each of the previous examples, the speaker is concentrating upon his abilities in settling down sticking points between people. In the utterance ‘WSilt’ “got it” the speaker is saying ‘you have come to the right person’. Also, it should be mentioned that using this particular strategy is intended to calm down the anxiety or the worry of the addressee to put it differently, the speaker is reassuring his interlocutor that things will be settled via exaggerating his own image. Finally, one must be careful not to praise himself too much unless there is a need to do so.

7.1.5 Time Expressions

Promising containing words that refer to parts of time represent 12.03 % of the data collected for this study. Nearly all aspects of the human life are intertwined with the notion of the time. In other words, time is really the catalyst in which all our actions and words are forged. Hence, it can be safely argued that the existing interconnection between words and time is very pronounced when it comes to speech acts in general and the speech act of promising in particular. Observe the following utterances:

(Situation 10)

ثواني انشاء الله يكون عندك

θawaani ?nŠaalah bakuun 9indak

“Few seconds and I will be with you”

(Situation 7)

بكرة راح اسلمكوا الاوراق

Bukrah rah asllimku ?il ?auraag

“Tomorrow I will hand you the papers”

(Situation 11)

دقيقو وحدة بس اجيب مفتاح السيارة

dagiigah waHadih bas ?ajiib muftaaH issayyaarah

“One minute and I will fetch the car key”.

In the first utterance the speaker uses expressions denoting short spans of time such as: ‘thawaani’ meaning ‘seconds’, to show his immediate readiness and generosity in helping his neighbor by lifting the latter’s son to the hospital. In the second utterance “Tomorrow I will hand you the papers” the speaker is not anxious to fulfill the promised act i.e., he enjoys some kind of authority over his interlocutors in this particular situation.

Moreover, it should be noted that it is generally preferable to many speakers, in genuine dealings, to avoid any mentioning of time expressions. As a result, speakers give themselves more ample space for postponing or even infringing their promises. In the same lines of reasoning, many salespersons and service men such as mechanics, blacksmiths or carpenter are stigmatized in our Jordanian society for the notorious habit of issuing promises to customers. Like ?inŠaallah meaning “God willing”.

7.1.6 Courtesy –Like Expressions

These expressions stand for 17.24 % out of all the utterances collected for this study. In this particular strategy of promising, the speaker relies on the use of some praise that is given lavishly to the hearer when issuing promise. Observe the following utterances:

(Situation 11)

على حسابك السيارة وصحابها

9ala Hsaabak issayyaarah wiSHAabha

“the car and its owner are at your disposal”

(Situation 3)

هو انا بقدر على زعلك يا حلو

Huu ?ana bagdar 9ala za9alak yaa Hilu

“I cannot tolerate to make you upset darling”

(Situation 3)

امرك يا حياتي

?amrak yaa Hayaati

“Yes. Your orders, honey”

As can be seen from the previous utterances, besides their function as promises, they are conveying a sense of solidarity between the interlocutors. This sense of course can be achieved by the use of the first part in each of the previous utterances like: **9ala Hsaabak**, respectively. However, using this strategy of praising the addressee may be construed negatively as some kind of social hypocrisy. For example saying to someone **?amrak siidi**, “I am under your command sir” is a formula that is often used in Jordanian culture as a direct impact of the discourse that is used between privates and generals in the army.

In principle, saying the utterance **?amrak siidi** in its original habitat, the army, is a sign of showing deference and successful psychological immersion process that is instilled in the minds of privates when dealing with high ranking commanders. On the other hand the same previous utterance is exploited by salespersons to the extreme in order to cajole humble customers. In other words, many laymen in our society are misled and duped to buy trivial things by lavish praise that is employed by salespersons. Consequently, it is safe to claim that promises with too much praise paid to the hearer must be scrutinized with much more circumspection especially in commercial interactions between people.

7.1.7 Swearing Expressions

These expressions account for 6.35 % out of the total amount of utterances collected for this study. However, according to the percepts of Islam, swearing, in its original and non defective import is defined as “ the speech act by which a person binds himself to do or not to do a certain specific physical or juridical act, by invoking the name of God or one of the divine attributes” (Abd el-Jawad, 2000,218)

In brief, despite the fact that Muslims are warned against the habit of swearing too much, it can be safely claimed that when swearing is put into actual use in Jordanian setting, as it is the case in almost all Arab societies, speakers tend to swear by all that is revered and highly valued in their eyes. Consider the following utterances:

(situation10)

وحياة ابوي و ابوك عالطيب هذني جاي لعندك

wiHyaat ?abuuy wabuuk 9aTayib haĐani Jaay la9indak

“By all due respect to father and yours I am on my way to you”

(situation17)

بالامانة يا رجل اني ناوي امر اليوم

Bil?amaanih yaa rajul ?any naawi ?amur ?il-yoom

“Honest to God, man. I will drop by later today”

(Situation 14)

وشرفي غير اصلح كلشي اليوم

wŠarafi Geer ?aSalliH KulŠi ?ilyoom.

“by my honour I will fix everything today”

Notably, the overindulgence of using the previous valued notions like wŠarafi “by my honour”, wiHyaat ?abuuy wabuuk 9aTayib “by the lives of our fathers” has stripped the alleged promising behavior from its binding character; in many situations, issuing one of the previous utterances would cast doubt implicitly on the mind of the addressee.

7.1.8 Adjacency –Pairs

These promises constitute 6.52 of the total amount of utterances collected for this study. In this strategy of promises, the person issuing a promise exploits the very same utterance that was just said to him. For example saying to a Jordanian “truuH” which means “would you like to go with me” and its concomitant rejoinder “baruuH” which means “I will accompany you” creates some kind of harmony between the words exchanged by the participants in a certain speech event. The offspring of this harmony alludes to the consent between the interlocutors. Witness the following pairs and their concomitant rejoinders:

(Example 1)

- تروح على السوق
truuH 9assuuq
“Would you like to accompany me to the market”.
- بروح ليش لا
baruuH leesh la?
“Sure, why not”.

(Example 2)

- تعطيني المصاري هسا ؟
Ti9Tiini ?il-maSaari hassa?
“Would you like to give me money right now”.
- بعطيك اكيد
Ba9Tiik ?akiid
“Sure, I would”.

(Example 3)

- شو رأيك تشرب فنجان قهوة
shuu raayak tishrab funjaan qahwah
What about having a cup of coffee
- يشرب او كي
baŠrab okay
I drink, okay

As can be seen, the previous utterances abound are cases such as accepting an invitation or performing some possessions. However, the alleged correlation between such pairs in a Jordanian setting is not an obligatory one in which a limited number of fossilized rejoinders are being used to achieve one communicative function. But rather, it is a matter of collocation that fortifies the impact of getting over one thing by using words with similar pronunciations and meanings to express consent between interlocutors.

Along the same lines of research, Ferguson(1967:39-41) in his investigation of Syrian Arabic politeness formulas sheds some light on the so-called root-echo response construction as used in areas like congratulations and greetings. To him, the root-echo response construction contains an initiator formulas a well as a response formula. Consider the following examples:

(Example 1)

- انشاء الله بالسلامة
nŠalla bissalame
“God willing (you, he ... will be) in health”
- الله يسلّمك
allah ysallmak
“God keeps you in health and safety”

(Example 2)

- مبروك
Mabruk
“Blessed”

- الله يبارك فيك
alla ybarik fik
“God bless you”

Interestingly, the root-echo response construction is also utilized by Jordanian in another strange way. That is to say, the speaker may opt for echoing the pronunciation of the root word but in different or even with opposite meaning. Witness the following example:

(Situation 16)

انخاك ولا انخي الذيب

?anxaak walaa nxa iððiib.

“Shall I ask you or just ask the wolf”, i.e., “can you help me”.

This utterance has almost invariably the responded:

يخسى الذيب

yxxasa iððiib

“Damn the wolf”, i.e., “I am the one who will help you”.

The previous exchange is often used by Jordanians to preface their promises in which the word ‘yxxasa’ meaning “Damn he” echoes and at the same time juxtaposes the word ‘?anxaak’ meaning “can you help me”. Also, the previous exchange depicts the over generosity of Arabs in general, because the speaker is binding himself even before hearing what is going to be demanded from him. It is worth mentioning here that such utterance may invoke a group of sarcastic rejoinders like:

- A. iÖÖiib ?sra9 “the wolf is faster”
B. iÖÖiib min Šuu biŠŠki “what is wrong with the wolf”.

And in certain cases, utterances like (A) and (B) may be used among intimates.

7.1.9 False Promises

These promises represent 2.25% out of the total utterances collected for this study. In a host of occurrences, the addressor may stipulate the consummation of some extraordinary event in advance as a condition before accomplishing the alleged promised acts. Some impossible events have to do with human beings like “seeing one’s lope” and others have to do with objects from environment such as “flowering of the salt” or seeing stars at midday”. Apparently, restricting behaviors in this rigidity raises the following implications: first putting such impossible hurdles reveals the full determination of the addressor in what he intends to do or not to do. Second, this stipulation may be used by some people to invoke the infuriation and frustration of others. Third, sometimes saying such promises may cast a sense of humor in causal exchange. To contextualize, observe the following imaginary exchange between a group of students and their teacher after one exam of the students:

1. Students “matta raH nistalim ?aurag ?il-imtiHaan yaa staad ?”
“When will we get back our exam papers?”

This question may trigger one of the following rejoinders:

2. A bas y nawwir ?il-miliH “when the salt flowers”
2. B lama tshuufu Halamit ?aðaanku “upon seeing your lope”

Interestingly, utterances like (2A) and (2B) are not going to occur in the normal course of events. However, inserting such segments in the discourse conveys the reluctance of the speaker to do the promised act. Also, even if the speaker is obliged to do the act at the end of the day, he is so irritated by his interlocutors to the extent that he is trying to trigger the stagnation of his students. In certain contexts of the situation, the same previous utterances may be used to convey a sense of humor and mutual respect between the interactants. To put it differently, one teacher may say the previous utterances and at the same time intends to surprise his students by correcting their papers swiftly.

7.2 What Is The Gender Difference In The Use Of Linguistic Forms In The Speech Act Of Promising?

Much sociolinguistic researches have been conducted on gender differences in speech act realization. Empirical findings seem to suggest that gender differences do exist in promising, so much so that women are considered to be more polite, less critical, and prone to using more softening devices than men (Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990; Holmes, 1995).

Holmes (1995:2) argues that women are generally more polite than men. She points out that most women enjoy talk and regard talking as an important means of keeping in touch, especially with friends and intimates. They use language to establish, nurture and develop personal relationships. Men tend to see language more as a tool for obtaining and conveying information.

Much like the claims made by Lakoff (1975) and Tannen (1990) concerning cooperative and competitive strategies, Holmes argues that women are more likely to use positive politeness than men, which she considers “evidence of concern for the feelings of the people they are talking to” (1995:6).

Lakoff (1975) proposed theories on the existence of women’s language. Her book ‘Language and Woman’s Place’ has served as a basis for much research on the subject. She mentions ten features for women’s language. As cited in Holmes (1993, p. 314), these ten features are as follows:

| |
|--|
| 1. Lexical hedges or fillers, e.g. you know, sort of, |
| 2. Tag questions, e.g. she is very nice, isn’t she? |
| 3. Rising intonation on declaratives, e.g. it’s really good. |
| 4. Empty adjectives, e.g. divine, charming, and cute. |
| 5. Precise color terms, e.g. magenta, aquamarine. |
| 6. Intensifiers such as just and so. |
| 7. Hypercorrect grammar, e.g. consistent use of standard verb forms. |
| 8. Super polite forms, e.g. indirect requests, euphemisms. |
| 9. Avoidance of strong swear words, e.g. fudge, my goodness. |
| 10. Emphatic stress, e.g. it was a BRILLIANT performance. |

The previous mentioned features have been taken by the researcher as a parameter to explore if there is any gender difference in the use of linguistic forms in the speech act of promising in the scene, and the following results have been found:

| FEATURE | FEMALE USAGE | MALE USAGE |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| Lexical hedges or fillers | 20% | 5% |
| Tag questions | 5% | 8% |
| Rising intonation on declaratives | 6% | 16% |
| Empty adjectives | 13% | 1% |
| Precise color terms | 0% | 0% |
| Intensifiers | 5% | 20% |
| Hypercorrect grammar | 3% | 1% |
| Super polite forms | 20% | 12% |
| strong swear words | 12% | 2% |
| Emphatic stress | 2% | 12% |

The results above have shown that Jordanian women seem to be advocators to the ten features proposed by Lakoff (1975), on the use of lexical hedges or fillers, women show a higher usage than men, observe the following example:

(situation1)

بتعرف انا راح اسلمكو الاوراق الان

Bt9rf ana raH aslimko el?wrak el?an

You know I am going to hand in the exam now.

Under study on the use of tag questions, men show a higher usage than women, observe the following example:

(Situation1)

هو انا بقدر على زعلك يا حلو ?

Huu ?ana bagdar 9ala za9alak yaa Hilu

“Do you think I can tolerate to make you upset darling. Can I?”

Under the study on the use of rising intonation, men show higher usage than women, observe the following example:

(Situation 1)

عندي ولا بهمك

9indi wala yhimak

“I will take care of it”

It should be noted here that no vocal data has been recorded but since the researcher is aware with this language, the researcher explored such an intonation within this utterance and others.

Under the study on the use of empty adjective, women show higher usage than men, observe the following example:

(Situation 1)

امرك يا حياتي

?amrak yaa Hayaati

“Yes. Your orders honey”

Under the study of the use of intensifiers, men show higher usage than women, observe the following example:

(Situation 1)

اقل من ثواني انشاء الله بكون عندك

?kal min 0awaani ?nSaalah bakuun 9indak

“Less than few seconds and I will be with you”

Under the study on the use of hypercorrect grammar, women show higher usage than men, observe the following examples from the same situation:

(Male promise)

بكرة راح اسلمكوا الاوراق

Bukrah rah asllimku ?il ?auraag

“Tomorrow I will hand you the papers”

(Female promise)

غدا سوف اسلم لكم الاوراق

Gadan sawf ?osalim lakom ?auraag

“Tomorrow I will hand you the papers”

Notice the difference in both of the sentences, marked by vertical arrow, the first sentence the speaker used Jordanian slang to indicate the time (tomorrow) while the second speaker used formal Arabic to indicate the time (tomorrow), however it should be noted here that few people nowadays used the formal Arabic as spoken language, therefore it is not recommended to take this particular result as a reliable result.

Under the study of the use of super polite forms, women show higher usage than men, observe the following examples:

(Situation 1)

على راسي

9ala raasi

“On my head”

(Situation 3)

مو على عيني

Muu 9ala 9eeni

“On my eye”

Such expressions in Jordanian culture are considered highly polite expressions and recommended to be used, since these expressions are familiar expressions among intimate people, and as mentioned previously, those expressions belong to the body-part strategy, which women tend to use once they tend to forge their promises and it is related somehow to the touchable sensation from the angle that using body parts is a feminine way to express politeness and obedience.

On the use of strong swears words, men show higher usage than women, observe the following examples:

(situation10)

وحياة ابوي و ابوك عالطيب هذني جاي لعندك

wiHyaat ?abuuy wabuuk 9aTayib haDani Jaay la9indak

“By all due respect to father and yours I am on my way to you”

(situation17)

بالامانة يا رجل اني ناوي امر اليوم

Bil?amaanih yaa rajul ?any naawi ?amur ?il-yoom

“Honest to God, man. I will drop by later today”

(Situation 14)

وشرفي غير اصلح كلشي اليوم

wŠarafi Geer ?aSalliH KulŠi ?ilyoom.

“By my honour I will fix everything today”

Finally, on the use of emphatic stress, men show higher usage than women, observe the following example:

(Situation 11)

على حسابك السيارة وصحابها

9ala Hsaabak issayyaarah wiSHAabha

“The car and its owner are at your disposal”

In the previous example, the speaker forged his promise with emphatic stress once he has been asked to deliver someone to the hospital, his promise was “the car and its owner are at your disposal” (exaggeration coinage), which means “sure sure I am coming right now”.

8. Conclusion

In the light of the previous analysis, the following points emerge. First, the speech act of promising, the focus of this study, is a rich source of information about the speakers as well as the community under investigation. In other words, the ongoing research interest on the topic of speech acts probably turns to be a cultural mirror of the community under scrutiny.

Second, most promising linguistic formulas are amenable to systematization. To be more specific, promising tokens that were collected for this study belong to crystal-clear linguistic phenomena that are found under investigation.

third, in the vein of gender difference among men and women and the way they issue promising, it has been noticed that women tend to use body-expressions once they issue their promises, on account of that, women typically speak and hear a language of connection and intimacy stressing confirmations and support within their specific online communities. Their speech is inclusive, less direct, and avoids arguments and confrontation whenever possible. Men, on the other hand, speak and hear a language of status and independence, focusing on social order and the exhibition of knowledge and skill (Martin 1998). So the observer notices that they deliberately insert the related body-expression to their promises as a way to show their compliance and decent behavior since Muslim women are known to be decent in their behaviors.

Finally, studies on different speech acts will ultimately help in bridging the gap between speakers of different languages regarding the potential pragmatic failures that may arise in pedagogical and translation domains.

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Appendix I: List of Phonetic Symbols that Have Been Used in this Study

| Arabic Consonant | Symbol | Description |
|------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|
| ء | ʔ | Voiceless glottal stop |
| ب | B | Voiced bilabial stop |
| ت | T | Voiceless dental stop |
| ث | θ | Voiceless interdental fricative |
| ج | J | Voiced plato-alveolar affricate |
| ح | H | Voiced pharyngeal fricative |
| خ | X | Voiceless uvular fricative |
| د | D | Voiced dental stop |
| ذ | ð | Voiced inter dental fricative |
| ر | R | Voiced alveolar liquid |
| ز | Z | Voiced alveolar fricative |
| س | S | Voiceless alveolar fricative |
| ش | ʃ | Voiceless palato-alveolar |
| ص | S | Voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative |
| ض | Ḍ | Voiced emphatic dental stop |
| ط | T | Voiceless emphatic dental stop |
| ظ | Ḍ | Voiced emphatic inter dental |
| ع | ʕ | Voiced pharyngeal fricative |
| غ | G | Voiced uvular fricative |
| ف | F | Voiceless labiodentals fricative |
| ق | Q | Voiceless uvular stop |
| ك | K | Voiceless velar stop |
| ل | L | Voiced alveolar lateral |
| م | M | Voiced bilabial nasal |
| ن | N | Voiced alveolar nasal |
| ه | H | Voiceless glottal fricative |
| و | W | Voiced labioveloar glide |
| ي | Y | Voiced palatal glide |

Colloquial consonants

| Consonant | Description |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| G | Voiced velar stop |
| Ĉ | Voiceless palate-alveolar affricate |

Vowels**Short vowels**

| Vowel | Description |
|-------|-----------------------------|
| I | High short unrounded |
| E | Mid front short unrounded |
| A | Low central short unrounded |
| U | High back short rounded |
| O | Mid back short rounded |

Long vowels

Long vowels are indicated by double short ones: i.e., ii ee aa uu oo and so on

Rising intonation