Influence of religion on language use: A sociopragmatic study on the influence of religion on speech acts performance

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Abstract

Language and religion have both been considered as distinguishing and influential components of culture that interact with and influence each other. In an attempt to understand the relationship between religion and language, this study aims to examine the influence of religion on language as a communicative means, focusing on the effect of Islam and Islamic values and beliefs on the everyday language of Saudi speakers of Arabic. To explore the extent of religion's influence on language use, the study focuses on the use of religious expressions in the performance of speech acts. It attempts to answer the following questions, which will in turn demonstrate the extent of religion's influence on language use: What is the actual presence of religious expressions in the interlocutors' speech acts? What are the pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions of the religious expressions that are used in the interlocutors' speech acts? Are there any religious motivations behind the use of religious expressions in the interlocutors' speech acts? How do different variables (age, gender and religiosity) influence the interlocutors' use of religious expressions? To answer these questions, this empirical study investigates certain religious expressions and in the daily speech of Saudi speakers of Arabic through analysing specific speech acts (i.e. greeting, responding to greeting, thanking, complimenting and responding to complimenting). This study mainly uses qualitative analysis based on speech act theory (SAT) (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) facework approach. The researcher also employs theological and ideological considerations as an additional framework. Quantitative approaches are also used to measure the actual presence and frequency of religious expressions in order to generate statistical representations of the linguistic phenomenon and to consider different variables. The research employs three approaches to collect the data: role plays to elicit linguistic discourse for analysis; ethnographic interviews to probe the perceptions and motivations behind their language use; and the experimental measurement of participants' linguistic awareness to examine their recognition of the presence and function of certain religious expressions. It has been found that religious expressions play a significant role in the performance of certain speech acts and have great influence in performing the three levels of certain speech acts: locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. In addition, religious expressions have been found to contribute to the degree of the positive facework of specific speech acts. Moreover, the participants' responses reveal awareness of the religious and ideological (theological) motivations behind the use of religious expressions.

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List of Abbreviations

Code	Description
REs	Religious expressions
SAT	Speech Act Theory
CP	Cooperative Principle
CI	Conversational implicature
P	Participant
C	Conductor
-	Morpheme boundary
G1A	Male participants aged 20–30
G1B	Imams (males aged 22–37 years)
G1C	Male participants aged over 50 years
G1D	Female participants aged 20–30
G1E	Female participants aged over 50 years
G2A	Male participants aged 20–30
G2B	Imams (males aged 22–37 years)
G2C	Male participants aged over 50 years
G2D	Female participants aged 20–30
G2E	Female participants aged over 50 years
CE	Compliment event
S	Situation

Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Name	Use
[]	Brackets	Overlapped talk
=	Equal sign	Latched talk
(0.0)	Timed pause	Length of pause by seconds
(.)	Micropause	A brief untimed pause
↑	Up arrow	Indicates rising pitch
↓	Down arrow	Indicates falling pitch
→	Right-pointing arrow	Contains the discussed point in the analysis
:::	Colon(s)	Indicates prolongation of an utterance
()	Parentheses	Contains transcriber's description
?	Question mark	Indicates a rising inflection, not necessarily a question
!	Exclamation mark	Indicates an animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation

Arabic Transliteration System

Arabic consonant	Symbol	Description	Arabic consonant	Symbol	Description
ء	ʼ e.g. e', a', o'	Voiced glottal stop	ض	dh	Voiced alveolar emphatic stop
ث	th	Voiceless inter-dental fricative	ط	t	Voiceless dento alveolar stop
ح	h	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative	ظ	dh	Voiced alveolar emphatic fricative
خ	kh	Voiceless uvular fricative	ع	ʻ e.g. ʻe, ʻa, ʻo	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
ذ	th	Voiced alveolar fricative	غ	gh	Voiced uvular fricative
ش	sh	Voiceless alveo-palata fricative	ق	q	Voiced uvular stop

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Opening remarks

The author's MA dissertation research into 'The acquisition of intercultural communication competence' (Alsohaibani, 2012) reviewed numerous studies that confirmed the influence of cultural and social factors on the use of language. Surprisingly, however, these studies did not examine the social and cultural component of religion or the influence of religious values and beliefs on everyday language use. Although this neglect is understandable in some secular societies, it is less so in societies in which religion is present in almost every aspect of life, such as in Saudi Arabia. It is also extraordinary that, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the existing literature does not include any published handbooks or readers dedicated to the interplay/interaction between religion and language, indicating research into this topic is needed in the fields of sociolinguistics and pragmatics.

As a Saudi Arabic speaker and as an insider of Saudi culture, the author is aware that Saudi Arabic has a large number of varied religious expressions that involve the word *Allah* (God), and that Saudi daily interactions are replete with religious expressions. As a researcher in linguistics, particularly in pragmatics, the author knows these omnipresent religious expressions must serve communicative functions. In addition, the influence of religion in Saudi daily life makes it probable that this omnipresence could have a religious foundation.

This study therefore aims to clearly and systematically discuss how religion influences language use as a communicative behaviour in cultural speech communities, by focusing on the effect of Islam on the everyday language of Saudi speakers of Arabic.

1.2. The context of the study

Scholars and researchers have discussed the influence of religion on language according to various notions; e.g. religion and language ideology, religion and language policy and spread, and religion and language maintenance (see Chapter 2).

When studying the effect of religion on language in general, the influence of religion on people's beliefs, values and attitudes towards their own language, otherwise expressed as their language 'ideology', cannot be disregarded. In religious societies, the perceived sacredness of religious language informs people's language ideologies, manifesting as the desire to use and protect language from corruption (purism) (Schiffman, 1996).

One of the most common topics for research into religious influence on language concerns how religion influences language policy and dissemination (see Ferguson (1982)). Additionally, studies concerning the relationship between religion and language, have examined the influence of religion on language maintenance (Ferguson, 1982; Holmes et al. 1993) (for more details see Section 2.6.2). Nevertheless, existing research (for example Ferguson, 1982; Moelleken, 1983; Sridhar, 1988; Holmes et al. 1993; Schiffman, 1996; Cunningham, 2001; Sawyer, 2001; Kamwangamalu, 2002; Spolskey, 2003; Weeks, 2002; Abdalla, 2006; Fishman, 2006) does not clearly demonstrate how religion directly effects language as a communicative behaviour in diverse cultures and communities.

In order to expose this direct effect, this research take the form of a sociopragmatic study. Sociopragmatics can be defined as "the sociological interface of pragmatics[1]"; it examines interlocutors' beliefs based on relevant social and cultural values (Leech, 1983: 10-11); i.e. those aspects of language use related to cultural and social norms and practices[2]. Thus, this study focuses particularly on communication.

Different cultures hold different cultural values and beliefs, which are reflected in the use of language and how people communicate. No two cultures are analogous; as Wolfson (1989: 2) observes: "each culture has its own unique set of conventions, rules and patterns for the conduct of communication and these must be understood in the context of the general system that reflects the values". The performance of communicative acts largely incorporates culture-specific constraints that govern how people say what to whom and in what circumstances (Gumperz and Hymes, 1986).

To date, considerable attention has been paid to cultural pragmatics research examining how the cultural norms and rules of particular societies influence the use of language (see, for example, Spencer-Oatey, 2000; Scollon and Scollon, 2001; Wierzbicka, 2003; Chen and Starosta, 2005; Goddard, 2006; Taha, 2006; Kotthoff and Spencer-Oatey, 2007; Cutting, 2008; Peeters, 2009; Rieschild, 2011). These cultural and cross-cultural studies[3] have enhanced the understanding and perception of interlocutors' use of language in the context of certain cultures, as they focus on the performance of speech

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[1] See Section 3.2.1 for definition of pragmatics.

[2] Whilst a sociopragmatic study is necessarily pragmatic, not every pragmatic study is sociopragmatic. This is because some pragmatic studies, for example, can be applied at the more "linguistic end of pragmatics" (namely pragmalinguistics) (Leech, 1983: 11).

[3] Wolf (2017) generally criticises some cross-cultural studies for being based on an essentialist view that he considers misguided.

acts and strategies used to express intended speech acts; for example, how facework is realised and interpreted differently in various cultures.

However, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, no study has yet considered the interplay of religion (as a cultural component) and religious factors as a major influence on both the production and interpretation of speech acts. Although religion has been observed to play a significant role in communication (Al-Fattah, 2010) and its influence is indisputable in terms of language choices (Farghal and Borini, 1997), interlocutors' views and perceptions of the influence of religion on speech have received limited attention. To understand the perceptions of interlocutors, this study offers an empirical examination of the actual presence of religious expressions and their pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions in everyday communicative language, speakers' preferences for using certain expressions, and the religious ideologies and motivations behind them.

Any investigation of the influence of culture, particularly religion, on language in the performance of speech acts in specific cultures needs to consider the following three areas: (1) how data is collected, (2) described, and (3) explained. Each of these tasks is addressed in this study by adopting appropriate methodological and theoretical approaches (see Chapters 3 and 4), generating interesting insights into the influence of religion on speech act performance.

It has always been a challenge for empirical researchers in the field of pragmatics to choose a suitable data collection method, as different methods have different advantages and drawbacks (Tran, 2004). Kasper (2000: 340) points out that "research into adequate data gathering methodology remains a lasting concern in pragmatics research". However, it is not necessary to collect data that is absolutely accurate, as this is not realistic in social sciences; instead, it is important to obtain sufficiently accurate data to

reliably answer the research questions. Thus, several research instruments were employed in this study, namely role play, interviews and the awareness-measuring approach (see Chapter 4). These were considered to be the most suitable methods to enrich the quality of the research and to answer the research questions with regard to the influence of religion on speech acts (namely greeting and responding to greeting, thanking and complimenting and responding to complimenting).

The data is described and analysed based on the use of the religious expressions in the speech acts investigated. These acts are categorised according to the patterns and tendencies influencing the use of these religious expressions in each speech act. The patterns and tendencies that emerge are interesting, because they explain why interlocutors use religious expressions in their speech acts and extend such use. The analysis has also demonstrated how the performance of speech acts is related to religion, and how the inclusion of the interlocutors' perceptions is very useful for understanding the production and interpretation of religious expressions.

With regard to explaining the data, the study relies on theoretical accounts, mainly Speech Act Theory (SAT) (Austin, 1962; Searle 1969) and the facework approach (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]), as well as a theological account (see Chapter 4). The concept of the 'performativity' of language and the fact that words cause things to happen and change the state of affairs in SAT is advantageous when explaining religious expressions, such as invocative utterances, which are perceived to 'do' something for interlocutors. There is a notion that speech acts are face-threatening and that interlocutors need to redress this through using certain strategies; moreover, religious expressions can be used in speech acts to save the interlocutor's face and to ensure positive interpersonal and social interactions. In addition, because cultural beliefs and values regarding communication can be heavily institutionalised, and religion can

be one of these institutions, it is beneficial to explore to what extent certain religious expressions might be grounded in theological resources.

1.3. The significance of the study

The significance of this sociopragmatic study resides in its originality in terms of comprehensively investigating the essential role of religious expressions in the performance of expressive speech acts (see Section 3.3 for a definition of expressive acts); this is very important for establishing and maintaining positive social interactions. In this respect, and given the societal function of religious expressions in expressive speech acts, interlocutors need to acknowledge the pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions of religious expressions, and the cultural (particularly religious) values, beliefs, and attitudes relating to their use. This should help achieve a better understanding of the culture-specific use of language when performing expressive speech acts.

Despite the significance and high frequency of religious expressions in daily communication amongst the Saudi speech community, they have not formerly attracted any attention in pragmatic, or sociopragmatic, research. The merit of this study is that it is the first to comprehensively examine how the performance of speech acts in the cultural context of Saudi Arabia is influenced by religion, by focusing on the role of religious expressions. It is anticipated that it will provide new insights into the role of religion in communication, focusing on theoretical concepts and notions to explain observable patterns and tendencies in the use of religious expressions in speech acts. It will also contribute to existing knowledge by adding to the growing body of pragmatic and sociopragmatic research, especially that relating to Speech Act Theory and facework. Furthermore, it aims to provide valuable insights into the theoretical aspects

of the nature of communication, the relationship between speech acts and the general principles of human communication, as well as the nature of the universal features of communication and culture-specific use of language. This involves examining the connections between language users' perceptions and language use, to deliver insight into the beliefs and the intentions of the interlocutors (the participants). This simultaneous examination of production and perception has enabled the researcher to achieve a greater understanding of the functions of religious expressions in the performance of speech acts.

The significance of this study is that it focuses on analysing religious expressions in their cultural context. This should permit an understanding of pragmatic and sociopragmatic meaning, while avoiding misunderstandings in terms of intercultural and cross-cultural communication. The semantic meaning of these religious expressions is expected to potentially cause pragmatic failure (Farghal and Borini, 1997). Misunderstandings might then result from the absence of pragmatic understanding, as exemplified in the following examples. Gregory and Wehba (1981) reported a speech event between a consular official who was a native English speaker and an Arabic native speaker employee. The consular official lent the employee some documents and asked him to return them the same day. The employee replied, "I will return this document in half an hour, *in sha Allah"* (if God wills). The consular official said, "No, I need this document today." In this case, the consular official understood the use of "*in sha Allah*" according to its semantic meaning, as if it were a conditional phrase, and that the return of the document was not confirmed. He did not understand it as a sincere promise on the part of the speaker, because he did not recognise the pragmatic meaning of the religious expression "*in sha Allah*". In the Islamic cultural context, the use of this phrase reflects the interlocutors' fatalistic belief that everything that will happen in the

future is in God's hands. It does not usually mean that the speaker has made an insincere promise. In addition, Muslims are theologically commanded to use this phrase whenever they promise something[4]. Another example that reflects the importance of knowing the pragmatic meaning of religious expressions lies in the following narrative. Kilani (2009) describes the crash of an Egypt Air flight[5] flying from New York to Cairo. The investigators (Americans and Egyptians) disputed the cause of the crash. The American investigators accused the pilots of intending to commit suicide, because the co-pilot was recorded using a religious expression: "*tawakkaltu 'ala Allah*" (I rely on God). Because God was invoked, the American investigators doubted the co-pilot's intent. In contrast, the Egyptian investigators completely discounted the suicide theory based on the use of that expression, as they were familiar with the utterance "*tawakkaltu 'ala Allah*" (I rely on God). In the Islamic context, this can be used in everyday life to mean "entrusting one's soul to God before a journey, an exam, or an ordeal… [And] it can also be used before an ordinary action with no particular risk" (ibid.: 362).

These two narratives are real-life examples that demonstrate the importance of studying religious expressions pragmatically, as there is a potential for them to be misunderstood, since they are deeply cultural-specific and their religious context is manifest.

1.4. Research questions

To explore the extent of religion influence on language use, particularly on the performance of speech acts (namely greeting and responding to greeting, thanking and

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[4] "And never say of anything "I will do that tomorrow", except "if Allah wills" (Quran, 18: verses 23-24).
[5] Egypt Air Flight 990, a Boeing 707 en route from New York to Cairo, crashed into the Atlantic Ocean on 31 October 1999.

complimenting and responding to complimenting), the study addresses the following questions:

• What is the actual presence of religious expressions in the interlocutors' speech acts?

• How do different variables (age, gender and religiosity) influence interlocutors' use of religious expressions?

• What are the pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions of the religious expressions that are used in interlocutors' speech acts?

• Are there any religious motivations behind the use of religious expressions in interlocutors' speech acts?

1.5. Organisation of the study

After introducing the aim of this study, briefly discussing the context of this research, indicating the importance of this study for the relevant research field and describing its methodological and theoretical significance, the second chapter provides an overview of previous research into the influence of religion on language in general and language use specifically. It begins by demonstrating the significance of religion and language as cultural components, before moving on to discuss approaches to religion and language, and specifying the concepts adopted in the study, as these contribute to understanding of the interactional relationship between religion and language.

Chapter 3 introduces the underlying theories used in this study, namely SAT and Brown and Levinson's PT, explaining why these are beneficial references for the present study; Grice's and Leech's propositions are also briefly discussed. The chapter also reviews the meaning of context and identifies its significance when studying speech acts. It then addresses some ideological considerations in terms of the theoretical framework, with

reference to theological examples. However, before approaching these theories and propositions, it first defines pragmatics, the general context of which encompasses all these theories.

The methodology of the study is discussed in Chapter 4, which commences with a discussion of the predominant data collection approaches concerning speech acts and pragmatics in general, to highlight their advantages and disadvantages and justify the approach employed in the current study. The chapter introduces the approaches adopted for data collection and discusses the setting and procedures, as well as the treatment and presentation of the data.

The analysis begins in Chapter 5. In this chapter, information gathered concerning the speech acts of greeting and responding to greeting is reported and explained, focusing on certain religious expressions involved in their performance. Chapter 6 then deals with the analysis of the collected data concerning the religious expressions employed in the speech act of thanking. The final analysis chapter is Chapter 7, which is devoted to analysing the speech acts of complimenting and responding to compliments.

Chapter 8 summarises the main findings of the study and addresses its overall contribution. The conclusion to this chapter also posits some implications of the study and its limitations, making some suggestions for future work.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review:

Language and religion as cultural components

2.1. Introduction

Cultures, as "historically transmitted pattern[s] of meanings embodied in symbols" (Geertz, 1993: 89) consist of multiple aspects and components, which are critical for enabling individuals and groups to interact socially. A number of scholars have recognised language and religion as distinguishing and influential components of culture (e.g. Tillich, 1968; Geertz, 1993; Schiffman, 1996 (see section 2.2 for Tillich's analysis and 2.6.2 for Schiffman's)). Indeed, Schiffman (1996) devoted an entire chapter to discussing the importance of religion and language to some cultures, which he terms "linguistic cultures". Introducing the chapter, he states:

> One of the most basic issues where language and religion intersect is the existence, in many cultures, of *sacred texts* [...]. For cultures where certain texts are so revered, there is often almost an identity of language and religion, such that the *language* of the texts also becomes sacred...(ibid.: 55)

The significance of religion and language is very evident in some cultures, especially those where both language and religion are perceived as sacred and hieratic[6]. However,

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[6] This may suggest that language is constitutive of religious belief; however, this can be dependent on the ontological and epistemological position of people involved. The way in

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the level of significance placed on each is connected to ideological factors, such as the level of secularisation with the society, and the perceived intersection between religion and language in any given culture.

The loci of religion and language in a culture have sometimes been discussed from an anthropological stance, in which they are perceived of as meanings (in the case of religion) and symbolic forms of communication (in the case of language). For instance, Geertz (1993: 89) observes that the concept of culture is "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge and attitudes toward life". Geertz (ibid) further refers to the importance of language in a culture when establishing that cultural "meanings" and "concepts" are expressed in the forms "by means of which men communicate". Also indicating the cultural importance of religion, defining the concept of culture as "a pattern of meanings", and discussing the importance of "meaning" to the study of religion, he states (1957: 436): "the view of man as a symbolising, conceptualising, meaning-seeking animal... opens a whole new approach... to the analysis of religion".

However, the positions of religion and language are not often discussed, sufficiently, in tandem; even in the work of Tillich (1968) and Geertz (1993), the discussion was not in depth. This is because the decision to include them in cultural research sometimes depends on ideological, methodological, or theoretical issues (as illustrated later in this chapter). Thus, the following sections discuss notions of religion and language and of

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which people view reality determines the relationship between language and religious belief. In his seminal book, *The Language Animal: The Full Shape of the Human Linguistic Capacity*, Taylor (2016) argued that language is constitutive of reality, and that in order to understand the language of a culture, it is important to comprehend how this culture perceives reality.

cultural significance, independently and then in tandem, providing an overview of the previous literature's investigation of the influence of religion on language in general and language use specifically.

After demonstrating the significance of religion and language as cultural components, the chapter then discusses approaches to religion and language, identifying the concepts adopted herein. These concepts contribute to our understanding of the interactional relationship between religion and language; in particular, how religion influences the use of language.

2.2. Religion and culture

Scholars' perspectives on the relationship between religion and culture vary in accordance with their research disciplines and interpretations of culture. This section discusses the role of religion, explaining how different fields characterise the significant position held by religion in culture.

Starting with the very general human discipline of anthropology, cultural understanding is anchored by a recognition of the meanings that impose themselves within it (Geertz, 1957; 1993). Such meanings can be stored in different symbols, with religious symbols in particular playing a major role in people's conception of a culture, influencing their practical participation within it (Geertz, 1957). The role of religion within a culture is to represent an "attempt... to conserve the fund of general meanings", whereby individuals interpret their experiences and organise their conduct (ibid.: 422). Religion, as Geertz (ibid) observes, contains moral aspects that inform people's ethos and how they characterise their quality of life and view themselves in the world.

Geertz (1993: 104) concludes that, in some societies, "religion on one side anchors the power of our symbolic recourses for formulating analytic ideas in an authoritative conception of the overall shape of reality, so on another side it anchors the power of our, also symbolic, resources for expressing emotions — moods, sentiments, passions [and] feelings". Expressing a relatively similar way of addressing the relationship between religion and culture through the concept of meaning (although from a different disciplinary viewpoint), Tillich (1968) portrays religion as an expression of meanings rooted in cultural formations and ingredients. For Tillich, it is impossible to separate issues pertaining to culture and religion. He contends, "religion is the substance of culture, culture is the form of religion" (ibid.: 42). Tillich's perspective on the relationship between culture and religion stems from the theological and philosophical methodology used to approach the concept of culture. This methodology led him to justify his study, *Theology of Culture*, in an "attempt to analyse the theology behind all cultural expressions" (Tillich, 1967, 1: 39). His study also represented an endeavour to analyse culture systematically, to explore its religious core, even though there is no intentionally religious aspect of cultural expression. This is apparent, for example, in Tillich's beliefs about the relationship between religion (theology) and art. For him, as Kegley[7] (1960) suggests, in a general sense (e.g. words, paintings, music, architecture, etc.), art expresses people's experiences of ultimate reality. Indeed, these reflections also manifest the significant relationship between religion and culture. Both Geertz (1993) and Tillich (1968) approach this relationship by considering anthropological and theological interpretations of culture.

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[7] Kegley (1960) has specified the article: Paul Tillich on the philosophy of Art to explain Tillich's attitude to art.

This perceived relationship, however, might also be influenced by the scholars' perceptions of the actual affective role of religion, one that certainly varies from society to society. For instance, research concerned with intercultural communication, which is an area of research that is supposed to discuss aspects of culture, such as identity, ideology and otherisation[8], in relation to language, rarely mentions marginalised religious cultural aspects, or their influence on intercultural communication studies (see, for example, Spencer-Oatey, 2000; Scollon and Scollon, 2001; Chen and Starosta, 2005; Kotthoff and Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Intercultural communication can be defined as communication ''between people from different national cultures, and many scholars limit it to face-to-face communication'' (Gudykunst, 2002: 179). However, this definition does not concur with Holliday's (1999) approach to intercultural communication that does not define culture as relating to prescribed ethnic, national, and international entities. Rather, Holliday (ibid: 240) refers to culture as being any cohesive social grouping, without subordinating it to prescribed 'large cultures'; he suggests that it should be referred to in non-essentialist terms, relating to ethnic, national, and international aspects as 'small culture'. This small culture approach to defining culture is more appropriate in the modern world that has become multicultural in a variety of ways.

The disregard for the role of religion in intercultural studies might be attributed to the generally secular orientation of contemporary research. The influence of religion in culture, however, hugely differs in a culture where religion is present as part of

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[8] Otherisation can be defined as "the process whereby the 'foreign' is reduced to a simplistic, easily digestible, exotic or degrading stereotype. The 'foreign' thus becomes a degraded or exotic 'them' or safely categorised 'other'" (Holliday, 1999: 245).

everyday life to another culture in which it has undergone marginalisation or privatisation (see Casanova, 2008). Discussions of cultural aspects without a significant reference to religion is unthinkable when studying some cultures, where aspects such as cultural identity, ideology and otherisation are highly motivated by religion (Holliday, 2011). Indeed, the cultural identities of many individuals and groups are influenced by their religious values and beliefs, and these play a significant role in intercultural communication and cultural conflict. Abu-nimer (2001: 686), for example, explains the force of religious values as cultural values when discussing the resolution of cultural conflicts, writing:

> Religious values and norms are central aspects of the cultural identity of many people involved in conflict dynamics. Scholars and practitioners have recognised the critical influence of non-religious cultural attributes in the escalation and de-escalation of conflicts; the cultural religious attributes play an equally important role in such processes of conflict resolution. Religious values, like other cultural values, can motivate people to fight or reconcile.

Thus, the inclination to ignore (wittingly or unwittingly) the significant impact of religion on culture might be understandable to some degree in societies where it has been "privatised" (Casanova, 2008). That is, where religion has been privatised, discussion treats it as an individual psychological phenomenon with marginal and limited social and cultural impact. For example, in such societies, individuals do not discuss their religion publically, and often consider their faith to be private[9]. In truth, the issue of the privatisation of religion, even in the most secular of societies, is a

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[9] An example of the sensitivity of discussing religion is that the author, when applying for ethical approval for the present study, was asked by the Ethics Committee to explain how he would address the issue of religion, as it is a sensitive matter.

controversial one (Luckmann, 1967; Capps, 1985; Wilson, 1985; Besecke, 2005; Casanova, 2008). Some scholars (e.g. Capps, 1985; Wilson, 1985) argue that religion in certain contemporary societies, i.e. Western societies, has been privatised; the result being that, while it might influence individuals it does not directly influence the character of a society or culture. For instance, Capps (1985: 242) observes that in these societies, religion has less impact on the social order although it preserves its impact at the personal level. As Wilson (1985) notes, where religion adopts a privatised role it can positively affect an individuals' psychology, but not the social and cultural system.

This perspective on the privatised role of religion in some cultures and societies has been challenged by researchers, including Besecke (2005) and Casanova (2008). Besecke (2005) argues that the influence of religion in a society where religion is considered privatised is more social and cultural than has typically been recognised by privatised-religion theorists. Besecke (ibid) concluded this after conducting research and observations on the role of religion in society and culture in the US. Significantly, Besecke's conclusion reveals how religion informs people's social lives as well as their private lives, asserting that this is more public than perceived elsewhere (2005: 184):

> [R]eligious meaning is not just an individual phenomenon; neither is it just an institutional phenomenon. Meaning is public even without the institutional house provided by church. Religion exists in the social world as culture exists in the social world –via shared meanings and practices. Reducing religion to its institutional expressions (church, sect, cult) is analogous to reducing culture to media, to movies, to the arts, to the educational system […] meaning exists apart from these institutions –as culture exists– in our actions, interactions, and communications. Transcendent meanings permeate society in the same way that other meanings permeate society; religion is socially present in the same way that culture is socially present.

In the same vein, Casanova (2008) asserts that, in the last decade, the world has been witnessing the 'de-privatisation' of religion. He argues that the proposition of the privatisation of religion is no longer empirically logical, even in Western European communities, considered the heartland of secularisation.[10]

Thus, to address the influence of religion in various cultures, it is important to understand issues such as the degree of the presence of religion, and the extent to which the cultural component of religion influences individuals and groups in their personal and societal interactions and communications. Following the preceding discussion about the significance of religion in culture, the next section discusses the importance of the other cultural component considered in this thesis: language.

2.3. Language and culture

The interactional relationship between culture (or certain aspects of culture) and language has drawn major attention from linguistics and communication researchers, at least since Whorf (1956) and Sapir (1970) hypothesised that language plays a significant role in determining or influencing how we see the world. While the validity of their hypothesis has been challenged (e.g. Au, 1983; Rosch, 1987), many other researchers have cited a genuine emphasis from language on culture, particularly with regard to the sociocultural context of language use (e.g. Bloom, 1981; Gumperz and Levinson, 1991; Hunt and Agnoli, 1991; Kashima and Kashima, 1998). According to these researchers, language "shapes our higher cognitive processes, such as social

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[10] Recently, as Casanova (ibid: 101) comments, many conferences in Europe have been organised on religion and other political and social issues, such as "religion and politics", "religion and immigration", "religion and violence" and "interreligious dialogue". However, in some Western societies, institutionalised religion has been playing, more or less, a certain role.

influences and value judgments, by virtue of its inherent involvement in the process of acquiring cultural practices" (Kashima and Kashima, 1998: 462).

However, the majority of these studies approach the language–culture relationship by discussing the influence of language on culture or on people's worldviews, as linguistic relativity theory suggests in the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis (Whorf, 1956; Sapir, 1970). The unidirectionality of the theory of linguistic relativity (i.e. it addresses the influence of language on thought but not vice versa) makes it unsuited for use in this study, which is concerned with the impact of culture (specifically of religion as a cultural component) on language use, and particularly the performance of speech acts. This is enhanced by the conceived interactional and bidirectional relationship between language as a single cultural component, and culture as a more generic one (Jiang, 2000).

Culture is generally conceived of as more generic and comprehensive than language; as Nida (1998: 29) explains:

> [L]anguage and culture are two symbolic systems. Everything we say in language has meanings, designative or sociative, denotative or connotative. Every language form we use has meaning, carries meanings that are not in the same sense because it is associated with culture and culture is more extensive than language.

People from different cultures might intend different meanings or concepts when using otherwise apparently direct linguistic substitutions. For instance, the noun 'dog' in English and the noun *kalb* in Arabic refer to the same animal. However, in modern times, British or American people are more likely to associate 'dog' with positive

concepts such as loyalty and friendship[11] (e.g. the saying the 'a dog is man's best friend'), as seen in idioms like 'lucky dog', to refer to a lucky person (Jiang, 2000). By contrast, in the Arabic speech community, the word *kalb* would be associated with negative concepts, such as noise and defilement, justifying their use of the word *kalb* as a swear word (Qanbar, 2011). This negative use of the noun 'dog' can also be influenced by religious (as a cultural component) traditions. For example, as can be found in the Bible: "do not give a dog what is sacred…" (Matthew 7:6), and in Islam the instruction: "if a dog licks a container, the container must be washed seven times" (Al-nawawi, 1996). This exemplifies how a word can have a positive meaning in one language and a negative meaning in another. A further example would be the word 'owl'. 'Owl' in English is associated with wisdom, while in Arabic *bumah* (owl) is linked to negative meanings such as bad omens or ugliness (Al-Jabbari et al., 2011). Another example is the word dinner, in British English culture dinner usually means the meal in the middle of the day, while in Saudi Arabic culture, dinner (*'asha'*) always refers to a night time meal.

Indeed, the influence of culture on language has been a major consideration linking linguistics and cultural research during recent decades (e.g. Och, 1988; Triandis, 1989; Schwartz, 1994; Schiffman, 1996; Kashima and Kashima, 1998; Hofstede, 2001; Everett, 2005). This influence is not restricted to the more limited facets of language use. It includes the generic language-related domains: language policies and maintenance, language acquisition and development, language identities, language ideologies, etc. (e.g. Woolard, 1992; Schiffman, 1996; Hazen, 2002). For instance,

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[11] The word 'dog' in English is not always used positively. For example, 'dog' can be used to refer to a woman who is not attractive (macmillandictionary.com). However, I compare it here with the word 'dog' in the Arabic culture where it is always negative (Qanbar, 2011).

language policies are not formulated randomly. They are "ultimately grounded in linguistic culture", reflecting cultural factors like stereotypes, prejudices, and religious and historical circumstances (Schiffman, 1996: 5) (see section 2.6.2).

The impact of culture on language and language use probably begins in the early stages of a child's acquisition of their native language. Socialisation and social systems, which fall under the umbrella of culture, have a pronounced impact on native language acquisition, and language practice (Ochs, 1988). The result is some sociocultural dimensions govern the expectations, performances and interpretations of language users' discourse. Language producers are often directed from an early age on what to say, when to say it and how to say it, and this instruction is grounded in the heritage of cultural preference (ibid).

When one uses a language, culture informs the expression of identity and conception of language use at various levels. Communicative behaviour, for instance, as is discussed in greater depth in a later section, is affected by various cultural elements: ideals, expectations, assumptions, etc. These elements are stored in people's minds, and can be retrieved as necessary to guide communicative behaviour (Jary, 1998). This is evidenced in people's general communicative behaviour and in the linguistic features present in daily discourse. Indeed, concepts such as facework, politeness, speech act performance, pragmatic competence, and intercultural communication are among the communication concepts that have been studied widely (Brown and Levinson, 1978; Martínes-Flor and Usó-Juan, 2010; Kasper, 1997; Gudykunst and Mody, 2002). It is rare to find studies discussing interlocutors' communicative behaviour, without reference to the influence of sociocultural aspects (e.g. Hymes, 1971; Brown and Levinson, 1978; Kasper, 1992; Geis, 1995; Bowe and Martin, 2007).

Moreover, scholars such as Triandis (1989), Schiffman (1997) and Everett (2005) go beyond this in their discussions of the language–culture relationship, to suggest that the impact of culture might be present even in minor linguistic structures and units. Everett (2005: 633) criticises research (e.g. studies that adopt Chomsky's proposal of universality), which disregards the influence of culture on linguistic structures. He argues:

> Studies that merely look for constructions to interact with a particular thesis by looking in an unsophisticated way at data from a variety of grammars are fundamentally untrustworthy because they are too far removed from the original situation. Grammars, especially those of little-studied languages, need an understanding of the cultural matrix from which they emerged to be properly evaluated or used in theoretical research.

Extending this further, Everett (ibid) also claims that some grammatical structures not only correlate with cultural norms, but can be determined by them. For example, cultural value postulates immediacy of experience in Pirahã (the Amazonian tribal language), as it is responsible for many 'grammatical' constraints, such as the absence of numbers and any concept of counting and quantification, the absence of colour terms, and the extremely simple inventory of pronouns, etc. (see Everett, 2005).

In a final example, which apparently reflects the influence of culture on language use and interlocutors' identity, is the effect of the cultural environment on individuals' alignment with the adoption of certain subjective language, such as 'selfness' through using linguistic elements associated with the 'self': 'I', 'me', 'my' and 'mine' (Triandis, 1989). There is mounting evidence of different 'selves' manifesting across cultures. This is linked to various cultural dimensions, such as the perceptions of culture members of their ingroup/outgroup relationship status, whether this relationship status is based on ethnicity, nationality, tribe, religion or other affiliations and pertinences

(Triandis, 1989; Hofstede, 2001; Gudykunst and Nishida, 1986). For example, people from collectivistic cultures, such as China or Japan, express themselves collectively (e.g. 'my friends/family say I am kind'), while those who are from individualistic cultures tend to enunciate themselves in individualistic terms (e.g. 'I am kind') (Triandis, 1989). Furthermore, in independent (individualistic) cultures, a person is more prone to express their internal attitudes, emotions and beliefs freely. However, self-expression is applied differently in interdependent (collectivistic) cultures, because relationships are thought to be more essential than self-definition, with the consequence that verbal affirmation is less important (De Andrea et al., 2010). This orientation of collectivism has the potential to be influenced by cultural factors and components, such as religion. For example, Islam greatly emphasises the notion of unity among community members, stressing the notion of being a part of a group (At-twajri and Al-muhaiza, 1996). Other collectivistic religious cultures (e.g. Judaism and Hinduism) value group affiliations known to be fundamentally motivated by religion (Cohen and Hill, 2007). In contrast, the influence of Protestantism on American culture might contribute to the individualistic orientation of the US, as the Protestant identity and motivations revolve around developing an individual relationship with God (ibid). Religious orientations can be expressed in different ways, as shown earlier. However, McSweeny, Brown and Iliopoulou (2016) criticise Hofstede's national cultural dimensions, including the collectivistic versus individualistic dimension, and the claim that they are useful for predicting and interpreting people's behaviour. They assert that Hofestede's approach cannot always have predictive or interpretive cultural value, due to the fact that his model is based on an essentialist view of cultures, which perceives cultures as being prescribed ethnic, national, and international entities (Holliday, 1999).

The above discussions have demonstrated how religion and language are characterised as distinguishing and influential components of culture. Religion in culture is not limited to rituals and religious activities, but more widely informs how people view their role in the world. The second section, discussed the influence of culture (and certain aspects of culture) on language and language use in particular, presenting several examples to illustrate this potential influence. Having explained the significance of religion and language in culture, the ensuing section introduces the approaches adopted by scholars to examine these phenomena to identify an appropriate methodology for the study.

2.4. Approaches to religion

The discussion of the concept of religion in this section is not intended to deliver a conclusive and complete definition, as this would be a futile aim (since religion overlaps with various other cultural, social, political and psychological concepts, it is difficult to identify where religion begins and the other concepts end). Indeed, those scholars (e.g. Geertz, 1993; Yinger, 1970; Durkheim, 1912, cited in Hanegraaff, 1999; Byrne, 1999; Introvigne, 1999; Byrne, 1999; Introvigne, 1999; Daraz, 2008) who attempt to define religion are often influenced by diverse ideas and concepts from their respective disciplines, which influence their conceptualisation of religion, and consequently, how they define it.

In addition, identifying what religion is and who can be deemed religious is complicated by the belief that the world's religions are largely divergent, as their impacts vary from culture to culture. That is, religion in some societies is practically and morally (as well as institutionally) intertwined with other cultural practices and institutions than it is in others (Crapo, 2003). For instance, we can ask: What leads us to describe a society or

community as religious? How do we know whether a person is religious or not? In other words, what might appear less religious to other people (from the same culture) could be perceived as very religious when viewed by others (from a different culture).

To provide an illustrative example of this, Moaddel and Karabenick (2008) contend that fundamentalism,[12] as a religious concept, is identified and conceptualised by observers and believers differently. While fundamentalism is thought of as an attitudinal and psychological matter of belief in the Euro-Western world, in the Islamic world it is an integrated historical, social and political belief and practice (ibid). A fundamentalist individual or society, such as a Saudi Muslim or Saudi society, as seen by Moaddel and Karabenick (ibid) could be considered by its members as demonstrating the minimum acceptable practice of Islamic teachings. A belief in *sharia* (Islamic law) and fatalism, regular mosque attendance for daily prayers and pride in one's religion, which is the case with Saudi youth (ibid) does not necessarily mean an individual has a fundamentalist orientation even if perceived as such when conceptualised in Western discourse.

Thus, discussions regarding the concept of religion and religious concepts should be contextualised, considering the historical, cultural, societal and personal. Definitions of religion differ not only because of the semantic way of constructing them, but also,

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[12] The term 'fundamentalism' was originally used to describe a conservative evangelical Protestant movement in the US in the nineteenth century, which saw the Bible, particularly the King James Version, as infallible and absolute (Barr, 2001). It is thought to have developed in response to a perceived attack by modernisation and secularisation (Emerson and Hartman, 2006). Recently, the term has been used to refer to other aspects in Christianity as well as in other religions. In the West, it is frequently given negative associations (ibid). This raises the question of the applicability of using this term in other cultural contexts. For example, Muslims believe in the infallibility of the Quran and its inerrancy and take its teachings as given; in view of this, all Muslims are fundamentalists, making application of the term meaningless (ibid).

because of the ontological and epistemological orientations of those attempting to define them.[13]

As noted above, one of the most prominent definitions of religion was that formulated by Geertz (1993: 90), who characterises it as "a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the mood and motivations seem uniquely realistic". Hereby, Geertz advances the notion of religion as predicated on very dense conceptual ideas proceeding from systematic analysis. Nevertheless, he adopts the ontological perspective that religion has been "formulated" and developed by human beings to create a place for themselves in the "cosmic order"; choosing to believe in that order when clothing it "with an aura of factuality" (Geertz, ibid.: 90). The influence of Geertz's ontological orientation is evident in his conceptualisation of religion, because he uses the phrase "seem uniquely realistic" and not the term "real". However, his anthropological systematic analysis expresses much of the influence of religion on people's behaviour. Similarly, Downes (2011: 5) describes religion as a practice that was originated by "a pre-modern lack of sophistication - primitive or unenlightened minds are steeped in ignorance - by psychological phenomena - it is a form of delusion - or generated by the social order itself as ideological mystifications for reasons of political manipulations".

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[13] Ontology is a philosophical approach concerning the nature of reality. In the case of religion, it is related to God's real existence or the reality of God as a product of the mind (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). The philosophical approach of epistemology is concerned with the nature of knowledge and how we acquire knowledge of the world around us (Hughes and Sharrock, 1997). In this sense, philosophical positions and assumptions of reality (as well as the approach of gaining knowledge) are cornerstones in descriptions of religion.

Another well-known definition was that introduced by Durkheim (1912, cited in Hanegraaff, 1999). He observes religion as "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them" (ibid.: 344). The neutrality of this definition is attractive, as it avoids any ontological orientation with regard to the reality of religion. However, Durkheim (ibid) indicates that religion is indivisible from the idea of "church"; stating that religion as a concept contains sociality more than individuality, as demonstrated in his comments regarding "one single moral community called a church" and "all those who adhere to them". The centrality of "church" might be acceptable at certain times but not at others; as Asad (1993) states, the role of the church in medieval Christianity differs from its role in modern times. Moreover, we might then question how this central role of the church can be applied to other religions. For example, in Islam, no institution plays such a fundamental role, and Islam has no hierarchical clergy system in the way Christianity does. In addition, although the significance of the social predilection of religion is evident, some religions (such as Islam) grant a degree of significance to individuality (Cohen and Hill, 2007); something not mentioned in Durkheim's definition. Religion should be defined more accurately as a phenomenon that is equally "essentially social" and "essentially private" (Adriaanse, 1999).

In a different paradigmatic approach, one directed toward defining religion as it is often perceived by religionists (believers), Introvigne (1999: 44) cites a popular definition of religion, established by the US Supreme Court in the nineteenth century: "[the] term 'religion' has reference to one's views of his relations to his Creator, and to the obligations they impose of reverence for his being and character, and of obedience to his will". In Islamic literature, however, few attempts to define religion exist. As Platvoet

(1999) states, it is not uncommon to find that scholars who specialise in Islamic studies do not concern themselves with the meaning of religion when discussing religious matters in their research lifetimes. Religion is recognised as a divine matter informing certain beliefs and specific behaviours and conduct (Daraz, 2008). In general, the definitions provided by religionists (believers) conceive of religion as something handed down by God/gods. It is also, as expressed by Byrne (1999: 381), "religion is a human thought and action directed towards the gods". Similarly, in a more neutral way, Salami (2006) suggests that religion should be recognised as a belief in spiritual beings and non-empirical entities, associating faith, the sacred, and awe with such belief, and suggesting that this belief has consequences that are translated by believers into social actions. [14]

Disregarding the paradigmatic orientations of the scholars cited above, their definitions of religion also differ according to whether they conceptualise religion as a human cultural product (e.g. Yinger, 1970; Durkheim, 1912, cited in Hanegraaff, 1999; Geertz, 1993) or as a construct with a genuinely divine nature (Byrne, 1999; Introvigne, 1999; Daraz, 2008). Both groups acknowledge religion as providing a belief system comprising values and practices that affect people's behaviour, and which can be reflected in actions in general and their use of language specifically.

However, definitions that perceive religion as possessing a real, divine nature (Byrne, 1999; Introvigne, 1999; Daraz, 2008) are best suited to the present study, as it addresses the influence of Islam, which is viewed by Muslims as a religion from God, on Muslim people's language use, and because Muslim Arabic speakers' veneration of God in their

[14] Such definitions, however, may exclude some religions, such as certain versions of Buddhism, but they are applicable to theist religions such as Islam (the subject of this study).

daily language stems from their belief in His existence and unity, which causes them to act in a particular way, using the appropriate language. This can be seen through the invocation of God when greeting, thanking, and complimenting others in everyday discourse[15]. It should be noted that this is not intended to exclude the possible non-religious use of religious expressions. In addition, the participants' views and explanations will depart from such understanding.

2.5. Approaches to language

In this study, language is viewed both as human property and as the site of cultural and ideological practice through communication. It is recognised as a cultural system, wherein human communicative behaviour (as governed by rules and functions) is a performative, instrumental and symbolic property of the human interactional system. Contrary to the perspectives of structural linguists, language is more than simply sentences consisting of units of phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax and semantics (see section 3.2). These units are combined to construct text, and any text is regarded as discourse, and that discourse functions interdependently with culture and social life (Schiffrin, 1994). Even if we accept the structuralist perspective that language is a code[16] constructed of units, and that these units convey nothing about the cultural and situational conditions (contexts) in which they are used (though even this opinion is

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[15] It is important to say here that the use of religious expressions in everyday discourse is frequent and widespread among Muslims, even though there may be cultural differences, such as in Arab and non-Arab societies.

[16] Language as a code means "the sets of phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic rules that together with lexicon" can be used to construct language (Schiffman, 1996: 56). Generally, language is a code, although this is not the only thing language is. This point is explicitly stated here.

controversial, cf. Everett, 2005), the output of the code (discourse) inevitably expresses the cultural and situational context of language use (Schiffman, 1996).

Asserting that language should be defined in reference to communication, Widdowson (1978) states that without conceptualising the norms of language use, knowledge of the structural rules is useless. Pragmatic elements, also referred to as contextual elements, are as important as structural elements for capturing the notion of language. To illustrate this, structural units (the code) are not acquired by a child as discrete entities; rather the child observes them embedded in a discourse embodied with meanings and beliefs (Schiffman, 1996). Philosophically and epestimelogically, a pragmatic study of language is orientated to a constructivist paradigm, which considers that the study of, and about, language or discourse is better achieved by constructive research. "Constructivism has been viewed as a philosophy, epistemology, and a theory of communication" (Kaufman, 2004: 304). Constructivist research in linguistics is pragmatic because it is anchored in the influence of social and cultural contexts on the knowledge of language. Meaning is socially constructed and understood through social interactions (ibid). Pragmatic research is constructivist as it emphasises the cognitive and sociocultural role in understanding language knowledge[17].

Thus, any applied study (such as this one) that researches the dimension of language use, should also recognise that the notion of language is characterised equally by its structural (codic) construction and its discursive interactional usage. This acknowledgement will enable the observer to understand the nature of language more

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[17] Constructivism emerged initially in sociology, and focuses on the fact that knowledge is socially constructed, acknowledging the influence of social and cultural norms on individuals (Gordon, 2009). In applied linguistics, it is often discussed in the domain of language teaching and learning, and is rarely discussed in the context of pragmatics.

fully. To this end and for the purposes of this study, language is contextualised socioculturally;[18] certainly, the use of religious expressions and words requires the observer/researcher to move beyond the phonology, syntax and semantics of expressions to examine the contexts in which they are used, connecting them also with speakers' intentions and ideologies.

2.6. The relationship between religion and language

2.6.1. The influence of language on religion[19]

Language, is a powerful communication tool, and as such is indispensable for the introduction of religion and religious concepts. Via linguistic discourse, communities' ideologies and beliefs can be transmitted from generation to generation and from place to place (Mukherjee, 2013).

Several studies have discussed the effect of language on religion (e.g. Chruszczewski, 2006; Mooney, 2006; Zuckerman, 2006). For example, Zuckerman (2006) investigated the mechanisms of etymythology (folk/synchronic etymology) and lexical engineering,[20] focusing on Christian, Muslim and Jewish groups. He argues that lexical engineering, whether it is rejective of phono-semantic matching[21] or receptive to phono-semantic matching, affirms that language can be employed to maintain or formulate religious identity. Zuckerman (ibid) also mentions several examples of phono-semantic

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[18] The notion of context is defined in chapter three, section 3.8.

[19] This section will include few examples as this study focuses on the influence of religion on language, not vice versa.

[20] Lexical engineering involves micro-analysis of a specific linguistic phenomenon (Zuckerman, 2006).

[21] Phono-semantic matching is a type of camouflaged word formation based on phonetic and semantic similarity (or dichotomy) between a foreign word and a native one (see Sapir and Zuckerman, 2008).

matching. In medieval Arabic, some Muslims in Jerusalem designed phono-semantic matching under the auspices of *kanisat alqiyama* (the Church of Resurrection), to express their rejection of Christianity. They used phonetic similarity and semantic dichotomy to replace *alqiyama* (resurrection) with *alqumama* (rubbish), and to create the phrase *kanisat alqumama* (the Church of Rubbish). Muslims are not the only group to have adopted this type of linguistic behaviour; Jews also utilised this technique to express their anti-Islamic inclinations. Some Jewish groups would replace the Arabic word *rasul* (the messenger of God: Mohammad) with the Hebrew negative word *pasul* (disqualified or faulty). Zuckerman (ibid) adds that tracing the roots of some words and obtaining an in depth understanding of their derivations could alter prevailing religious concepts.

In another study, Chruszczewski (2006) investigates religious texts, focusing on how they affect individuals' and communities' lives in general, and their religious lives in particular. Initially, he presents the structure of Jewish texts, to establish a "social heteronomy of language" (Chruszczewski, 2006: 278), before discussing the integrative role of the verbal language of prayer, as performed by several Jewish communities. Certain texts, he argues, can bring about certain religious behaviours; thus, in the long term, they construct aspects that contribute to the integration of the Jewish religious community.[22] For example, the texts of prayers, such as benedictions recited at certain times, whether performed communally or privately, form a Jewish religious discourse. This discourse can distinctively unify diversified Jewish communities, thereby creating an integrated Jewish religious community (ibid).

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[22] What Chruszczewski (2006) means here by integration, is the process of being a fully recognised member of a community, completely involved in its cultural activities and practices.

In a relatively similar but more discursive-oriented approach, Mooney (2006: 291) demonstrates how the language of what he terms "marginal religious movements" constitutes identity and community. Membership of these movements involves specific means of using language. Movements such as the 'Jehovah's Witnesses', the 'Church of Scientology', and 'The Family,' use language to attract adherents. This can be done by, for example, avoiding specialist words or ideological modes of thought to propagate movement (ibid). Botting (1984: 88) found the 'Jehovah's Witnesses' he observed were fond of rhetorical questions: "the rhetorical question is a major linguistic tool used by [them]". This use of language is also common to the discourse of the Church of Scientology, particularly relating to how the church employs the term 'science' in its texts to promote and reinforce religious faith and to refute contradictory ideas (Mooney, 2006). In a more complex way, 'The Family' movement utilises the word 'science', to differentiate between true and false scientific notions. This is obvious in Berg's (1977: 3) statement regarding evolution: "[this] doctrine of delusion has become the general theme of modern so-called science, and is therefore no longer true science, but pure, imaginary, evolutionary bunk!"

The literature contains additional research directed toward understanding the effect of language on religion or on particular religious acts (cf. Sawyer, 2001; Bainbridge, 2001; Woods, 2002; Carrasco and Riegelhaupt, 2006; Bassiouney, 2013). However, this study focuses on studying the influence of religion on language, particularly on language use. The following sections offer an overview of previous studies investigating the effect of religion on language. This topic is diverse, because it includes multiple domains, such as religion and language ideology, religion and language policy and dispersal, and religion and language maintenance. It also includes linguistic themes that are more specific, such as religious practice and language, and religious languages and scripts.

The latter sections provide an overview of the few works that discuss the influence of religion on language use. In this section, the fact that the area has been explored relatively little, requiring more attention be directed toward studies of the relationship between religion and language will be highlighted. This research attempts to contribute to this area by demonstrating how religion plays an important role in people's daily communicative discourse, specifically highlighting the presence of religious expressions and phrases in the performance of various speech acts.

2.6.2. The influence of religion on language

2.6.2.1. Effect of religion on language ideology,[23] policy, spread and maintenance

When studying the effect of religion on language, we cannot disregard the influence of religion on people's beliefs, values and attitudes towards their own language, otherwise expressed as their language 'ideology'. This influence in some cases is linked to the very creation of language itself; as some religions (e.g. Christianity, Judaism and Islam) have established beliefs regarding the origin of language: Genesis (the first book of the Judeo-Christian Bible) and the Quran assert that God taught Adam language[24] (Schiffman, 1996; Cunningham, 2001).

In religious societies, the perceived sacredness of religious language takes on a central role in forming language ideologies; for example, the desire to use and protect language

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[23] What I mean by 'language ideology' here is the beliefs and attitudes that speech community members have towards their language.

[24] In Genesis ii (19-20), it is indicated how language began: Adam gave names to all the animals and to the fowl of the air when they were brought before him. In the Quran (Al-Baqarah: 31), the verse says "and He taught Adam all the names…".

from corruption (purism), and the preservation of sacred texts against translation. Attitudes towards the languages used in sacred texts differ. For example, Islam, Judaism, and Hinduism consider Arabic, Hebrew, and Sanskrit inviolable (Schiffman, 1996). Indeed, in Islam, prayers can only be performed in Arabic. However, in other religions such as Christianity, although religious texts are not in their original languages, some of the languages into which they have been translated are imbued with a degree of sacredness; for example, Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Slavonic (Sawyer, 2001). Language ideology influences issues such as language policies and specific language use.

One of the most researched topics under the heading religious influence on language concerns how religion is influential in language policy and its dispersal. Schiffman (1996) provides many international examples reflecting this. For instance, when Korea was occupied by Japan, the Koreans were not permitted to use Korean in schools, except unless they were under the administration of US missionaries. This policy led to the most successful Christian mission in Asia.

In a further example, in Alsace, a French border region, originally a German-speaking area, the French language was infiltrated with the Huguenot Protestant Calvinist refugees. They were first forbidden by German-speaking Lutheran Protestants to remain in Strasburg, which led them to move to other towns in the same area where people were more religiously tolerant. These refugees then started to establish French inroads in what had formerly been a German-speaking community (ibid).

On the Indian peninsula, there were major differences in terms of language and religion. However, speech variation was minimal between the main languages until different writing systems were adopted based on religious affiliations. Urdu is written in an

Arabic script, because the majority of Urdu speakers were Muslims, so they adopted a writing system based on the original language of Islam. Hindi borrowed the Sanskrit system, which is the language of the religious text of Hinduism. Sikhism is written in Punjabi, which is the language of the religious texts of Sikhism. This linguistic division based on religion contributed to political partition (ibid).

Schiffman (ibid) also provides the example of the former Yugoslavia. Serbian uses a Cyrillic script associated with Eastern Orthodoxy, while Croatian uses the Roman alphabet, which is related to Catholicism. The case is less overt with the Bosnian language, which incorporates ample borrowings from the Islamic languages such as Arabic and Turkish.

Ferguson (1982) is one of the most prominent scholars to investigate the relationship between religious factors and language spread. He writes: "[the] distribution of major types of writing systems in the world correlates more closely with the distribution of the world's major religions than with genetic or typological classifications of language" (ibid.: 95). This correlation reflects the influence of the simultaneous introduction of writing systems, in conjunction with the spread of certain religions. The Arabic script was introduced as a writing system to previously unwritten languages. It replaced pre-existing writing systems (such as Malay and Persian) with the new 'Islamic' writing system based on Arabic. Similarly, Latin script was introduced to local unwritten languages in the West, in conjunction with Christianity (ibid).

Ferguson (ibid) similarly observes that religious factors played significant role in the spread of languages to the regions. For example, when Buddhist priests visited various countries that used different languages using Pali language scriptures in congregational worship, this language type was disseminated. As Buddhism diffused to many countries,

the scriptures accompanied them; although sometimes they were translated into various languages, the use of the original language for scripture has generally been maintained. The same is true of non-Arabic-speaking Muslims worldwide, who predominantly use Arabic in diverse religious settings.

Another way in which language was spread in association with religious impetus was colonisation (ibid). British colonialists introduced (although their main intention was not necessarily religious conversion) missionary activities and schools in many different regions, contributing to the spread of English.[25] Spolskey (2003) writes that the English language entered New Zealand with the Christian missionaries. The missionaries convinced the Māori people of the importance of learning English. In South Africa, despite the translation of the Bible into several local languages, a preference for using English (and in some areas Dutch) in religious contexts prevailed, as Christianity had initially been introduced using English (Kamwangamalu, 2006). This situation mirrors experiences in some European provinces. Weeks (2002) points to historical cases of Russification and Polonisation, in what are now known as Belarus and Lithuania. The Orthodox Church, as associated with Russia struggled to impose itself, as those provinces had already been dominated by Roman Catholicism, as disseminated through Polish.

Religion and its carrier (language) can influence sociocultural change over space and time. This change is ongoing. For example, the spread of Catholicism to remote and isolated native communities in Latin America is spreading Portuguese and Spanish with it, and a similar situation is occurring with French in francophone Africa and Quebec

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[25] The link between religion and language in colonised regions is not always typical. For example, French has diffused in Algeria, while Christianity has not.

(Fishman, 2006). The Christianisation of Europe introduced Latin, as Latin vernaculars were brought with Christianity to other world regions. Arabic, too, was functionally diffused by the Islamisation of many parts of Africa and Asia (Osman, 2013).

An additional topic that has drawn some attention, and which concerns the relationship between religion and language, relates to the influence of religion on language maintenance. Probably the most salient case is the effect of Judaism on Hebrew. For hundreds of years Hebrew was not never an official language and nor was it tied to any nationality. Notwithstanding this, Hebrew has survived to become a national language receiving internationally and official recognition (Ferguson, 1982). This was in part possible because the Jews, as a religious group, used the Hebrew alphabet (the language of their holy texts) to represent many of the mother tongues they encountered as their communities spread around the world (ibid).

Indeed, several examples demonstrate this religious–linguistic phenomenon. Hindu temples played an important role in maintaining the Kannada language of Indian immigrants in America. The temples operated Kannada language classes, encouraging attendees to use the language as a means of communication. Sridhar (1988) observes that children enrolled in these temples showed greater proficiency in Kannada than their peers, who relied on their families to teach it to them. Ferguson (1982) similarly mentions the example of German and Japanese people in Brazil, who were able to conserve their domestic languages because of Christian and Buddhist social and educational activities, respectively.

Undoubtedly, language revival and maintenance can be ascribed to multiple factors, the most influential of which arguably have a religious component. Holmes et al. (1993) concluded this after exploring the process of language maintenance and shift in three

New Zealand speech communities (Greek, Tongan and Chinese). Their research demonstrates that the religious domain, particularly church gatherings, creates opportunities for minorities to interact in their original language. Churches support communication, offering a language domain as well as a religious one, benefitting several generations of communities.

In a comparative investigation conducted among three sub-communities (Amish, Mennonites and secularists) in Pennsylvania, Moelleken (1983) scrutinised the cultural and socio-religious contact and language behaviour of Pennsylvania German speakers. The data elicited from the groups revealed differences between the two religious groups (Amish and Mennonites) and the secular group. The secular group showed fewer tendencies to use German at social gatherings and meetings, which negatively affected their German language proficiency. In fact, most expressed a lesser preference for conserving it. By contrast, the informants from the religious groups considered Pennsylvania German a part of their religion and wished to retain it by using it for religious and social activities, as a medium for praying and communication.

In an innovative ethnographic study, Abdalla (2006) establishes the role of Arabic among Malaysians who had acquired it when living in Saudi Arabia before returning to their homeland (Malaysia). Abdalla's research (ibid) reveals the majority of the participants were able to preserve their Arabic competence despite the communication in their daily lives being dominated by Malay and English. The preservation of Arabic among Malaysians was mostly attributed to their intensive religious practice. In addition, Arabic is welcomed and afforded prestigious status in Malaysian society as the language of Islam. This ideological perception encouraged the participants to pass their Arabic language skills on to their children.

This section of the study has discussed important topics relating to religion's huge impact on language, showing how religious missionaries, institutions and ideologies have played a significant role in several language issues. The following section moves towards discussing the influence of religion on language use more specifically.

2.6.2.2. Effect of religion on language use

The previous section illustrated the effect of religion on language, elaborating on areas such as religion and language ideology, religion and language policy and spread, and religion and language maintenance, establishing how religion plays an important role in general linguistic issues. This subject has since been viewed from different angles, although the extant research (Ferguson, 1982; Moelleken, 1983; Sridhar, 1988; Holmes et al, 1993; Schiffman, 1996; Cunningham, 2001; Sawyer, 2001; Kamwangamalu, 2002; Spolskey, 2003; Weeks, 2002; Abdalla, 2006; Fishman, 2006) does not clearly demonstrate how religion has a direct effect on the use of language as a communicative behaviour in cultures and communities.

It is surprising, for example, that the *Concise Encyclopaedia of Language and Religion* (2001) does not include any sections or articles reflecting the influence of religion on language use as a communicative behaviour of interlocutors; with the exception of very brief discussions about certain behavioural linguistic concepts, such as blessing, cursing, blasphemy, and taboo language (Apte et al., 2001). The following discussion seeks to review the literature concerning speech acts as an area in which religion has an influence on actual language use.

Blessings and curses

In general, blessings are expressions associated with the religious sphere, although they are also present, to different degrees, in daily conversational events (Szuchewyez, 2001). They might appear in varying frequencies and in different linguistic formulas. In many religions, like Islam, Christianity and Judaism, blessings involve the conferment of the divine, through utterance of specific expressions. As such, they exemplify how religious people believe in the power of certain expressions and words. The functional nature of a blessing behaviour is performative, as when the speaker utters an expression of blessing, they alter the state of affairs (ibid) (see the discussion of Speech Act Theory in chapter 3). In Christianity, for example, when a priest or a bishop pronounces a blessing, he intends to confer a blessing. This might also be the case with laypersons when they sit down to eat, and one of them says: 'Lord, bless this food of which we are about to partake'. This statement adds value to the food (Towns, 2003: 1). In Islam, blessings are not reserved for particular individuals, as Islam does not have a clerical system; consequently, Muslims use blessings frequently, integrating them into different speech acts, such as in the greeting '*assalamu alai-kum wa rahmatu allah wa Barakat-uh*' (peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings), and as invocative acts to bring about God's conferment or favour.

Blessings might not be seen to work appropriately or maintain their force unless they are culturally and socially realised. In English, the presence of the expression '(God) bless you' as a response to sneezing offers evidence of religion's influence on everyday language use. Although the expression might have lost its religious meaning, it retains its cultural and socially communicative function. Calling upon God's blessing in response to sneezing recollects the classical traditions. Aristotle believed that sneezing was a "divine sign" (Hotaling et al., 1994). Pope Gregory VII, in the seventeenth century, urged people to say 'God bless you' after sneezing because sneezing was

thought of as a symptom of disease, so the intention was to ward off disease by invoking God's blessing (Kavka, 1983). This phrase is also an explicit reference to God's supernatural power. The same reference is apparent in many languages: 'helf Gott' ('may God help you') in German, 'dia linn' ('God be with us') in Irish and 'Deus te salva' ('God save you') in Portuguese, to mention a few. Blessing acts can be used in many other situations; for example, Matisoff (1979) observes that Yiddish speakers tend to use religious blessings extensively to communicate emotional states.

In spoken Arabic, expressions of blessing are pervasive and so used frequently in diverse contexts. Migdadi and Badarneh (2013) investigated the use of blessings in Jordanian spoken Arabic, specifically the prophet-praise formula as a type of blessing in everyday language. They indicate that prophet-praise expressions, such as *'allahuma sall-i ala annabi'* (God bestow blessings upon our Prophet), are used widely with a variety of communicative objectives. The authors provide evidence of the multidimensional function of blessings. For example, a phrase may be used as a device for place-holding. In its literal sense, the phrase is uttered to invoke God's blessing upon the Prophet, but simultaneously it is uttered to show that the speaker is in the process of searching for words, conveying the fact that the speaker is calling for God's assistance in finding the words they are about to speak. *'Allahuma sall-i ala annabi'* can also be used to invoke protection from the evil eye; the speaker can use this phrase to protect the addressee, or any of their belongings, from any negative effects that might be caused by expressing admiration towards the addressee or their belongings.

Similarly, Morsi (2010) observes how Egyptian speakers of Arabic use blessings to express gratitude in return for assistance. She indicates that Egyptian Arabic speakers utilise many strategies to convey sincerity. The author found that expressions of blessing were present in different formulae, such as '(God) bless your hands' and

'(God) bless your heart'. These blessings might be repeated several times in the same speech act. The study also shows how these expressions were much appreciated by the recipients, as evidenced by the responses 'blessings are all I need' and 'these beautiful blessings and prayers are all I need'. The study was mainly conducted to investigate speech acts expressing thanks; nevertheless, the abundant usage of blessings was noteworthy.

The opposite of blessing is cursing; this involves invoking a supernatural power to target a person or a group of people. Many religions, if not most, include a concept of cursing, and curses are used in different daily contexts; there is divergence between religious traditions regarding the authority required to issue them (Collins, 2001). In Western communities, cursing has decreased losing its religious form and function as a result of secularisation; however, it retains a function as a means of swearing and expressing anger (Abd el-Jawad, 2000). In the Islamic (particularly Arabic) world, cursing retains both its original religious function and a communicative function (ibid). Arabic speakers curse, and it is a religious speech act to call God's curse upon someone. Additionally, cursing is used as a facework strategy; for instance, cursing Satan to transfer blame and responsibility for wrongdoing onto a third party (Satan) to apologise. When cursing Satan one says 'it was Satan that caused me to forget to bring it' or 'the curse of God is on Satan; it happened by mistake', the apologiser attempts to maintain harmony and not imperil their interpersonal relationship with their interlocutor (Al-adaileh, 2007: 200-201). Thus, the stimulus for cursing in Arabic is mainly religious, despite alternative recent usage in other cultures.

Blasphemy and taboo language

While it has been shown that blessing and cursing speech acts reflect the effect of religion on the use of language, blasphemy and taboo also reflect the effect of religion on the non-use of specific linguistic behaviours. Blasphemy primarily refers to linguistic behaviour that demonstrates irreverence towards God or sacred people and things (Pickering, 2001). Generally, blasphemy is recognised among religious communities as an offence to God and other sacred things. In some Western cultures, the act of blasphemy was once a widely rejected linguistic behaviour, considered a prohibited use of language that might negatively affect interpersonal relationships and threaten social order (Hassan, 2006). In these cultures today, religion does not prohibit blasphemy in society, although it may do so at the individual level (Asad, 2008).

In Islamic culture, the situation is different. Religion still has the authority to legislate against blasphemy in both the public and private domains. An example of this became apparent when Salman Rushdie incited anger in the Islamic world by writing *The Satanic Verses* (1989), which most Muslims considered an act of blasphemy.[26] A religious denouncement of blasphemy was also issued when a Danish newspaper published an article in 2005 containing cartoons mocking the Prophet Muhammad, bringing about furious demonstrations in many Muslim communities. For Muslims, blasphemy is entirely prohibited; however, for the two language users in the examples (Rushdie and the journalist), blasphemy was an enactment of their right to freedom of speech (Asad, 2008).

From the aforementioned definition of blasphemy, irreverence towards God or sacred objects, it can be inferred that, in Islam, blasphemous speech acts are not only those acts

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[26] Rather than as an act of free speech, as it may be viewed in the West.

that use offensive language towards sacred entities, but also those that use the name of God improperly without respect. For instance, when swearing an oath under God, the speaker must not lie. This proceeds from the belief that God's name holds authority that should not be taken indifferently or lightly (Abd el-Jawd, 2000). For example, this might justify the inclusion in Muslims' speech of venerating phrases, such as '*subhan-ah wa ta'ala*' (glorious is He) when mentioning the name of God and '*salla allahu ala-ih wa sallam*' (God's blessings upon him) after mentioning the Prophet Muhammad or any other Islamic prophet (Qanbar, 2011).

Taboo as a concept also reflects the influence of religion on the non-use of language. Linguistic taboos are universal, and "attitudes towards language considered taboo in a speech community are extremely strong and violations may be sanctioned by imputations of immorality" (Saville-Troike, 1982: 199). By understanding this linguistic phenomenon, it is possible to attain insight into the influence of culture and cultural components (such as religion) on language use. Linguistic taboos are not arbitrary; they always relate to cultural values and beliefs.

Interlocutors' backgrounds and the sociocultural contexts of speech in social interactions often determine how and when taboo words are used. For example, degree of religiosity might contribute significantly to the decision to forgo the use of certain words or phrases. Apte (2001) provides two observational examples regarding this, arguing that rural communities are generally more religious than urban communities; hence, the individuals of rural communities are likely to be more cautious in their avoidance of taboo language. In a more specific domain, individuals brought up in religious and orthodox families would consider many more expressions and words to be taboo than those brought up in non-religious households. McEnery (2006) points out that an individual's religiosity plays a significant role in lowering the frequency with

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which they swear. This often leads to an aversion to words that they deem profane or blasphemous (Jay, 2009). Mormons, for example, utilise euphemisms as an alternative to swearing (Jay, 2005).

Al-khatib (1995) conducted a sociolinguistic review of linguistic taboos among Jordanian Arabic speakers, citing many of the sociocultural factors suspected to influence behaviour around taboo language. He asserts the importance of religious traditions in Jordanian society, explaining how traditions enforce strong sanctions against use of taboo words. The impact on people's linguistic behaviour is found to be very direct, although people sometimes produce speech acts such as euphemisms to avoid taboo language. Speakers also resort to religious invocations to mitigate the connotative meanings of certain linguistic taboos connected with unpleasant matters. For instance, the word '*mout*' (death) is often followed by '*la samah allah*' or '*la gaddar allah*' (may God forbid) to attenuate its negative connotations.

In similar research, Qanbar (2011) investigated linguistic taboos in Yemeni Arabic, considering the relationship between taboos and sociocultural context. She contended that Yemeni society, as an Islamic society, is largely restricted by Islamic values and teachings concerning the use of obscene language. Religious influence means the words 'pig' and 'dog' are now taboo in everyday speech, due to the religious designation of these animals as impure and dirty. Consequently, certain expressions are typically added to follow these words, such as '*akram-akum allah*' or '*a'aza-kum allah*' (may God dignify you). Qanbar (ibid) classified these expressions as "minimisers", noting that they are used by speakers in an interactional context as facework strategies to save the

hearer's negative face.[27] They can also be employed when referring to body-waste elimination processes. Moreover, phrases such as '*ba'ad asha'r* (may bad things stay away) and '*allah yahme-n'a* (may God protect us) or '*allah yutawel omr-ak*' (may God lengthen your life) are often uttered after mentions of serious diseases or death, respectively. These religious phrases (minimisers) are not only used in relatively negative situational contexts, but might also be employed in relation to positive speech events, such as the expression of admiration. According to Qanbar (ibid), it is taboo in Yemeni society to express admiration or compliment someone without saying '*ma sha allah*' (It is God's will).

Given that such linguistic concepts reveal the impact of religion on the use or non-use of certain language in societies and cultures, with varying influence, it is surprising this area has not yet been thoroughly investigated in the extant research. In most of the studies discussed above, the existence of religious expressions was not the primary focus (e.g. Al-katib, 1995; Abd el-Jawad, 2000; Morsi, 2010; Qanbar; 2011). With the exception of Migdadi and Badarneh's (2013) article, which concentrates on a single religious phrase (the prophet-praise formula), the studies refer to specific speech acts and the cultural differences affecting their performance, without explicit intention to reference the influence of religion or investigate the ideological motivation for using religious expressions, as they all depend on ethnographic observational data elicitation. This reveals the significance of the present research as a systematic, empirical study, focused on the impact of religion (specifically Islam) on the daily use of language by examining the presence of religious expressions in various speech acts, particularly

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[27] See chapter three for the explanation of the concepts of politeness and positive and negative face.

greeting, thanking and complimenting, using a comprehensive sociopragmatic analysis of the various speech acts and religious stimuli behind certain religious expressions.

When examining the impact of religion on language use, the question of how speech community members' use of language is recognised and identified according to their religious affiliations emerges. The following section explores this.

2.6.3. Language use and religious affiliation

Given the impact of religion on the daily use of language, a speech community's use of language would be expected to differ depending on its religious affiliations. Indeed, a number of scholars (e.g. Blanc, 1964; Abboud, 1988; Baker and Bowie, 2010) have investigated this. Blanc (1964), studied the distinct dialects of Arabic of three communities in Baghdad, Iraq: Muslims, Christians and Jews. His findings attribute many of the speech differentiations reflected in the phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical characteristics of those speech communities to their religious affiliations. For example, the three communities differed in terms of the presence or absence of certain consonants, the distribution of certain vowels, the use of personal pronouns and the formulations of simple verb patterns. An indication of this distinction is the word *gelet* or *geltu* (I said). The former way is how Muslims typically pronounce it, and the latter is how non-Muslims usually pronounce it. In line with this, Baker and Bowie (2010) recently conducted a study to establish whether the religious affiliations of two speech communities, the Mormons and the non-Mormons in Utah in the US, determined their linguistic behaviour. Their findings suggest that religious affiliations and activities significantly affect the community members' pronunciation of certain vowels. For example, the Mormons and the non-Mormons differed in their production of the pre-nasal /ɪ/; the non-Mormons tended to lower the /ɪ/ into an [ɛ] more than the

Mormons. Consequently, their pronunciation of words like 'tin' and 'pin' was closer to 'ten' and 'pen'. The same occurred with the pre-lateral /u/, which the Mormons lowered to [o] in mergers like 'pole-pull-pool'.

Although these two studies confirm the correlation between religious affiliation and differences in linguistic behaviour, they do not identify how far this variation proceeds from sheer religious affiliation as a social network, or a potential group ideology. It is possible that communities/groups develop their own social networks, which can then also be linked to mere social variables like gender, class, ethnicity, region and so on. It might also be that any linguistic differentiation resulted from other social factors, such as neighbourhood or family relationships; in this case, the linguistic variation cannot be attributed solely to religion. Further investigation should evaluate the motivation and ideology behind any linguistic behaviour that is apparently correlated with religious affiliation, as well as concentrating on words and phrases with religious connotative meanings. This study attempts to investigate the motivation and ideology that inform the speech patterns and content of Saudi Muslim speakers of Arabic.

Abboud (1988) attempted to address motivation and ideology when making general observations of the differences between the speech of Muslims and Coptic Christians in Egypt. Unlike the aforementioned authors, he found no evidence of any speech differences in terms of sound patterns or syntax; however, he observed differences in two key areas: giving honorific titles,[28] and using certain expressions containing religious words and phrases used in daily conversations in non-religious contexts. In reference to the former, the titles *hag* or *haga* (titles given to those who perform

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[28] Such titles are given to ordinary, mostly old, people to show respect (ibid).

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pilgrimage rites) are specifically given to Muslims only. Conversely, *syyidana* ('our master') is only used by Christians to refer to other members of the Christian community. In terms of expressions, phrases such as *salli a-nnabi* ('bless the Prophet') and *allahumma salli a-nnabi* ('may God bless the Prophet'), their functions in the conversation notwithstanding, are correlated with the interlocutors' religious beliefs, and so unlikely to be used among non-Muslims. Moreover, certain phrases do not contradict the beliefs of the Coptic Christians in Egypt, although they are only adopted by Muslims, as Islamic teachings urge Muslims to use them in various situations. This includes phrases like *bism illah arrahman arrahim* ('in the name of God, the most merciful, the most compassionate') and *la hawla wala quwwata illa billah* ('ability and power are to be found in God only'). Thus, the prevalence of these expressions (or "language seasoners", as Abboud (ibid.: 25) calls them) in everyday Egyptian Arabic speech can identify addressers', and sometimes addressees', religious affiliations.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has identified the demonstrable influence of religion on language, both at the general level of language ideologies, policies, dispersal and maintenance and in daily language use by certain communities. Nevertheless, this issue requires further analysis, including an empirical examination of the actual presence of religious expressions and their pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions in everyday communicative language, particularly when performing certain speech acts (i.e. greeting, thanking, and complimenting), speakers' preferences for using these expressions, and the religious ideologies and motivations behind them. This study will attempt to fill this gap by adopting a systematic, empirical methodology to elicit the participants' daily communicative discourse, and inform their perceptions by employing

theoretical frameworks (see chapter three) for analysis and discussion. Unlike previous studies, that have only inadvertently and briefly commentated on the usage of religious expressions, the primary focus of this research is religious expressions, their sociopragmatic functions and the motivations for their presence.

CHAPTER THREE

Underpinning theoretical approaches

3.1. Introduction

Although the effect of religion on language in general has, to some extent, been adequately researched, as clarified in the previous chapter the influence of religion on everyday language use has been habitually disregarded (cf. Goffman, 1971; Ferguson, 1976; Spolsky, 2003). This is true of even the more modern sources researched for this study. This is partially due to the absence of an accepted theoretical model with which to evaluate the relationship between religion and language (Spolsky, 2003). Thus, in this study, the researcher utilises speech act theory (SAT) in order to investigate the influence of religion on language use, particularly on speech act performance, and the role of religious expressions (REs) in communicating expressive[29] speech acts, such as greeting, responding to greeting, thanking and complimenting, and responding to compliments (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), revealing insights into the influence of religion on language use, specifically in daily communication. Brown and Levinson's (1987) facework approach is also utilised in order to examine the influence of religion on language use. Typically, Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach, and politeness in general, are considered to be a social approach to pragmatics. Politeness and facework approaches emphasise the association between language use and social context.

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[29] See section 3.3 for the definition of expressive acts.

Facework is an illocutionary and perlocutionary phenomenon, frequently linked with SAT. In addition to these main approaches, the researcher investigates the influence of religion on the participants' use of religious utterances, taking their ideological dimensions into consideration. In order to achieve this, the study makes reference to other proposals, such as Grice's (1975) cooperative principle (CP) and conversational implicatures, and Leech's (1983) politeness principle (PP), in the discussion chapters 5, 6, and 7, as these approaches are often of relevance to speech acts, and to the concept of politeness and facework. For example, in his characterisation of speech acts, Searle (1969) observed, "he was mainly concerned to adapt [Grice's] account of meaning" (Grice, 1969: 160). In line with an account proposed by Grice (1975), Searle (1979: 32) suggested that meaning in terms of intentional meaning, can be derived from an indirect speech act through a cooperative process by which multiple illocutions can be recognised. Both authors asserted that politeness can play a significant role in interpreting indirect speech acts, or conversational implicature[30], in Grice's terms. Furthermore, in a way similar to Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978]) work, which can be seen to concern facework more than politeness, Leech (1980) argued that politeness can be viewed as a threat- and conflict-avoidance strategy, and that politeness maxims can be beneficial for understanding interlocutors' performance of speech acts, such as the compliment responding speech act, and the agreement maxim (see Section 3.6.2). In general, all three proposals rely on Grice's assumption of cooperative behaviour, and a cornerstone of all these approaches is their social goals.

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[30] Grice (1975: 43-44) introduced the term implicate and its related noun implicature to denote the meaning implied by the speaker which is distinct from the meaning of the words (what is being said).

The objective of the present researcher was not to assess these theories, but rather to employ them to serve the aims of this study. However, not all the conceptual notions mentioned in these theories are applicable to the cultural context of the present study, and the discussion may demonstrate that some of the notions could be reviewed in order to be more suited to the specific cultural context of this investigation. The following sections introduce SAT and Brown and Levinson's framework, explaining why it is a useful reference for the present study. This chapter also briefly discusses Grice's and Leech's proposals, and reviews the meaning of context, identifying its significance when studying speech acts. The final section addresses certain ideological considerations in terms of the theoretical framework, with reference to theological examples.

Before approaching these theories and proposals, it is necessary to introduce them through a definition of pragmatics, as they all exist within its general context.

3.2. Speech acts and pragmatics

3.2.1 General definitions

The most important concern arising of note in relation to pragmatics approaches, as Wolf (2006: 22) observes, is conceptually "bridging a perceived gap between, on the one hand, language as linguistic structure or code and, on the other, context-dependent principles of language use". This gap was initially identified by Ferdinand de Saussure (2011[1917]), in reference to two facets of language: 'langue' (language; i.e. the abstract system of rules and conventions of language) and 'parole' (speech; i.e. the individuals' utterances and how they use language). Levinson (1983) argues that pragmatics was first proposed as a concept by Morris (1938: 6), when distinguishing

between pragmatics, semantics and syntax in his studies of sign systems (semiotics). He defined syntax as "the study of syntactical relations of signs[31] to one another in abstraction from the relations of signs to objects or to interpreters; […] semantics deals with the relation of signs to designate and so to objects which they may or do denote, […] pragmatics is designated the science of the relation of signs to their interpreters". Since that time, the field of pragmatics has broadened as a scope of study (see Levinson, 1983); highlighting the importance of the components other than the meaning of a word or sentence that contribute to understanding of the function of language. Thus, it encompasses the speaker's meaning, the role of context, and the influence of culture on language use. Additional attention has been directed toward this specific discipline in response to Chomsky's (1964) account of language as an abstract construct founded on 'competence theory' in which grammar determines language use (Levinson, 1983).

The dichotomy of semantics and pragmatics provides the starting point for the pragmatics endeavour in general, and speech acts' studies specifically (Wolf, 2006). Referring to semantics, Goddard (2011: 17) explains it as "the study of meanings encoded in the words and structure of the language, while pragmatics considers meaning to be based on many factors like context, social situation, cultural conventions and speakers' background knowledge".

Pragmatics provides an opportunity to evaluate communication from the language user's angle. It can be applied as "the study of the meaning of linguistic utterances for their users and interpreters" (Leech and Thomas, 1985: 173), distinguishing between the

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[31] Davis (1991: 3) suggests using the phrase 'linguistic unit' instead of the term 'sign', as its use is confusing, indeed, some syntactical units (such as '-ed' in past verbs in English) cannot be considered 'signs', while 'linguistic units' can include morphemes, words, phrases and sentences.

informative intent of the utterance and the communicative intent of the speaker. The pragmatic account not only concerns reference, but also the suitability and functionality of certain utterances, as they are used in communicative situations. Furthermore, it can be applied across a wide range of subject matters. For example, Leech (1983: 10-11) refers to the scope of "the more linguistic end of pragmatics where we consider the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions" as 'pragmalinguistics'. He also mentions "the sociological interface of pragmatics", in the form of 'sociopragmatics'. In other words, pragmalinguistics concerns the extent of forms of appropriateness, while sociopragmatics concerns the extent of meanings' appropriateness for use in given social and cultural contexts.

Levinson (1983: 6-27) attempted to define pragmatics by reviewing various definitions, mentioning a number of delimitations. He eventually concluded that any definition must express that pragmatics is "meaning minus semantics" (ibid.: 32). However, delineating between semantic meaning and pragmatic meaning is not an easy task. To assist in this endeavour, Leech (1983: 6) posits that the difference can best be understood with the different uses of the verb 'mean' in these examples: (1) what does x mean? (2) what did you mean by x? In the first example, semantics addresses meaning as a dyadic relation, while pragmatics considers its triadic relation. Therefore, meaning, in pragmatics, as Leech (ibid.: 6) observes it, "is defined relative to a speaker or user of the language, whereas meaning in semantics is defined purely as a property of expressions in a given language, in abstraction from particular situations, speakers, or hearers".

Thus, pragmatics can be drawn upon to comprehend aspects of language that syntax and semantics cannot. Study of REs and their religious backgrounds and communicative functions relates strongly to pragmatics. However, focus on the pragmatics of language use does not mean neglecting syntactic and semantic aspects, as both are important

when studying the discursive function of language. When studying speech acts (see section 3 below), syntactic and semantic features are essential for determining multiple classes of REs as illocutionary acts with multiple illocutionary forces[32]. That is, the code and words of the grammar "contribute to the meaning of the sentences in which they occur by determining the illocutionary forces of the literal utterances of these sentences" (Vanderveken, 1990: 8).

The importance of pragmatics is further confirmed when analysing speech acts with illocutionary forces that cannot be identified based on their semantic content. Searle et al. (1992) assert that, in the case of indirect speech acts, pragmatics can identify essential information to decode the speaker's intended meaning, especially when the meaning of the utterance is entirely different from the sentence meaning. Thus, from the perspective of SAT, pragmatics relates to both illocutionary force, and the perlocutionary effects[33] of the utterances.

Thus far, what has been learned about the distinction between semantics and pragmatics has been conceptualised from a traditional viewpoint (Jaszczolt, 2012). However, some scholars have advanced a more cognitive conceptualisation of the distinction (e.g. Szabó, 2006; Jaszczolt, 2012), creating additional interfaces. This boundary discussion between semantics and pragmatics proceeds from Grice's distinction between what is said and what is implicated. An attempt has been made to move toward finding a version "in which the truth-conditional content of the utterance is enriched in a way that reflects the speaker's intentions and the addressee's intuitions about what is said"

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[32] The term 'illocutionary force' is used to describe the function or purpose of a speech act. (cf. Searle 1976: 5).

[33] The perlocutionary effect is "what we bring about or achieve by saying something", such as convincing, persuading, amusing, etc. (Austin, 1962: 109).

(Jaszczolt, 2012: 2333). Jaszczolt (ibid) observes that what she called truth-conditional semantics demands a highly developed approach to decoding sentence meaning; but she argues that some aspects of (semantic) meaning would require something other than sentence meaning to deliver complete understanding. For example, the English sentential connective 'and' can have a truth-conditional analysis, and relative to its properties as a conjunction can convey more than a single meaning relative to the context of the utterance. This is apparent from the different meanings of 'and' in sentences (A) and (B):

(A) The janitor left the door open and the prisoner escaped.

(B) The prisoner escaped and the janitor left the door open.

It is clear that in the first example, 'and' conveys more than simply the conjunction of two phrases. That is, there is more meaning conveyed by the 'and' than the truth-conditional semantic one. 'And' in (A) can be understood to convey 'as a result'. This 'more' meaning arises when conducting a truth-conditional semantic analysis of sentences or words from sources other than encoded content, such as the context, background information about the interlocutors' and their world experience. These sources contribute to pragmatics. Similarly, Szabó (2006) argues that Sperber and Wilson (1986: 12-13) consider a semantics coding mechanism, which requires the pairing of linguistic expression with meaning, and a pragmatics inferential mechanism, which involves integrating linguistic meaning with information from context, as fundamentally different. However, Szabó (2006) disagrees with Sperber and Wilson (1986), alleging that in natural language processing the distinction is not as clear as implied, since the cognitive mechanism utilises recursive function, to determine whether the meaning of linguistic expression is inferential and context-dependent. This can be

illustrated with the following examples from McNally (2013: 3): 'the dress was red'. Although the truth-condition for semantic analysis can show the word 'red' in the sentence has semantic representation context-independently attributing redness to the dress, this is termed content, while values such as degree of redness and distribution of colour are context-dependent, and so pragmatics. In the same vein, the redness indicated in the example, 'the child's nose is red' requires inferential processing to attribute a value (the degree) of redness, which is then a context-dependent pragmatic aspect.

In language, some words and structures are sometimes ambiguous, requiring disambiguation; this process is a pragmatic one. Other linguistic expressions, such as demonstrative and personal pronouns, which are intended to be assigned in a truth-conditional semantic analysis are context-dependent expressions with no independent referent, as they need to be referred to in the context of a pragmatic process (Jaszczolt, 2012). Conversely, although implicatures are considered pragmatic linguistic expressions, some implicatures might be considered closed to semantic content, in that their meaning is context-dependent, referred to by Grice as conversational implicatures (Jaszczolt, 2012). For example, as Jaszczolt (ibid.: 2342) illustrates, the addressee can infer the meaning 'not all' from the word 'some' in this example: 'some of the guests like oysters' without the need for context. This lending of semantic flavour to pragmatic analysis and the pragmatic overlay in semantic analysis questions the boundary between semantics and pragmatics, with the result that Levinson's (1983: 32) definition of pragmatics: "pragmatics is meaning minus semantics" loses its appeal.

However, some scholars, such as Recanati (2010) and Bach (2006) still opine that the domains of semantics and pragmatics should not be blurred, as the existence of implicit content in 'what is said' does not necessarily denote implicature. Sentence content and intended content should always be analysed discretely, and if context contributes

information (inferentially), then a middle level between the domains semantics and pragmatics emerges. However, Jaszczolt (2012) contends this approach is pragmatics entirely, although the utterance might not be fully implicature.

However, in the present study, the researcher agrees with Recanati's (2010) and Bach's (2006) perspectives, that semantic analysis reveals the literal meaning of the sentence and pragmatics accounts for the speaker's intention. As Cappelen and Lepore (2005) suggest, a semantic analysis can be performed on a sentence even if the meaning cannot be fully verified. Moreover, interpreting religious expressions in speech acts, such as religious phrases, allows us to distinguish between semantics and pragmatics, as both (semantics and pragmatics) are delimited by conventional implicatures. For this reason, studying them in the pragmatics domain in social and religious contexts is essential; this is because, while generally speaking semantics is sometimes bypassed, as one may comprehend an utterance without any knowledge of its semantic meaning, it is a challenge to interpret an utterance independently from its context (Szabó, 2006). Thus, pragmatics describes the perceptions language users draw on when understanding and explaining language use. This emphasises the importance of studying users' perceptions (as in the present study) about communication and the constraints and motivations they perceive when engaging in social interactions.

There are a number of approaches to studying the pragmatics of utterances. It is evident that Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) proposals of SAT, Grice's (1975) CP and conversational implicature, Brown and Levinson's (1987[1978]) model of facework, and Leech's politeness principle offer classical and highly influential contributions within the realm of pragmatics. A discussion of these theories will facilitate greater understanding of the use of REs when performing certain speech acts.

3.3 Speech Act Theory

The concept of a speech act is an important characterisation underpinning a pragmatic account of language. It represents the connections between utterances, the speaker's intention and the context. The notion of a speech acts begins with the assumption that "the minimal unit of human communication is not a sentence or other expression, but rather the performance of certain kinds of acts, such as making statements, asking questions, giving orders, describing, explaining, apologising, thanking, congratulating, etc." (Searle et al. 1980: vii).

The concept of a speech act was introduced by Austin (1962) to describe an essential aspect of pragmatics concerning ordinary language, and how certain utterances function within it. For Austin, the focus, just as with a typical pragmatic notion, is the utterance's meaning (intention), not the sentence's meaning (literal). It was initially proposed to challenge the orientation of the language philosophy of logical positivism. Austin objected to the opinion that language can only be defined by the truth or falsity of utterances. For example (Austin, 1962), the utterance: "I name this ship *Queen Elizabeth*" is not true or false but something other. He argues that language represents a means of performing actions. For example, promising, thanking, apologising and invocation are all actions that can be accomplished using language. He initially distinguishes between two types of utterances: 'constatives', which are deemed subject to truth and falsity conditions, and 'performatives', which are neither true nor false, but either 'felicitous/happy' or 'infelicitous/unhappy'. For a performative utterance to be accomplished, it should satisfy four necessary conditions, as elaborated upon by Austin (1962: 14-15): (1) there must exist an accepted conventional procedure with a certain conventional effect, including the utterance of certain words by certain persons in

certain circumstances; (2) the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must accord with the invocation of the particular procedure invoked; (3) the procedure must be correctly executed by all participants; and (4) the procedure must be executed by all participants in completely. If these conditions are met, then the act is achieved and it cannot be considered void, although it might still be unhappy if the act was performed insincerely. Therefore, for performative utterances/acts to be completely felicitous, Austin (ibid.: 15) proposes two additional conditions: (5) the procedure should be used by people with certain thoughts and feelings, then whomsoever is participating in and invoking the procedure must share those thoughts and feelings and must have the intention to conduct themselves in a particular way; and (6) they must also conduct themselves accordingly.

Regarding the use of language, or, more specifically, performing acts, Austin recognises three fundamental and distinctive simultaneous acts: the locutionary act, the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act. The locutionary act incorporates the performance of an act by saying something; this "includes the utterance of certain noises, the utterance of certain words in a certain construction, and the utterance of them with a certain 'meaning' in the favourite philosophical sense of that word, i.e. with a certain sense and with a certain reference" (ibid.: 94). The illocutionary act incorporates the performance of an act by saying something; this then includes the force of an act. In this act, the speaker communicates his/her intent to accomplish something. The perlocutionary act incorporates the performance of an act by saying something. This includes "what we bring about or achieve by saying something", such as convincing, persuading, amusing, etc. (Austin, 1962: 109).

The illocutionary act has received greatest attention in relation to research concerning speech acts, and is the essential unit of human communication carrying illocutionary

force (IF), which has a performative nature and is the most important element for analysing communicative language, such as speech acts. An illocutionary act, as Searle (1969) observes, comprises two parts: the propositional content and the illocutionary force. Searle and Vanderveken (1985: 20) define the notion of illocutionary force as follows: "an illocutionary force is uniquely determined once its illocutionary point, its preparatory conditions, the mode of achievement of its illocutionary point, the degree of strength of its illocutionary point, its propositional content conditions, its sincerity conditions, and the degree of strength of sincerity conditions are specified".

When Austin (1962) attempts to identify performative utterances, he names three linguistic characteristics that distinguish the performative utterance from the constative utterance: the subject is in the first person, the verb is in the present tense, and the adverb 'hereby' can be used to modify the verb. Based on these linguistic characteristics, Austin (ibid.: 151-163) distinguishes five general classes:

(1)   Verdictives: characterised by the giving of a verdict; e.g. an estimate, reckoning, appraisal, and assessment.

(2)   Exercitives: the exercising of powers, rights or influence; e.g. appoint, direct, command, and orders.

(3)   Commissives: illocutionary acts that commit the speaker to doing something; e.g. making a promise, guarantee, and vow.

(4)   Behabitives: relating to attitudes and social behaviour; e.g. apologising, complimenting, congratulating, condoling, thanking, and greeting.

(5)   Expositives: used to elucidate positions in arguments or conversations; e.g. assuming, affirming, believing, and testifying.

However, Austin's classification system was criticised by Searle (1976) for a number of reasons. Firstly, Searle (ibid) considers that Austin's criteria overlap, as there are elements (verbs) in the categories that cannot be defined according to the category definition. For example, Austin listed 'deny', 'affirm', 'state', 'conclude', etc. as expositives, but Searle suggests they could also be listed as verdictives. Moreover, Austin fails to give a consistent principle to apply to his classification. The most important criticism is that Austin's classification is actually a classification of English illocutionary verbs, not of illocutionary acts, and the presence and non-presence of the former should not, as Searle (ibid) suggests, represent a criterion for defining speech acts. Leech (1983: 176) expresses a similar criticism of Austin's classification in relation to the assumption "that verbs in the English language correspond one-to-one with categories of speech act". He considers this classification as an example of what he calls the "illocutionary-verb fallacy".

This perceived deficiency motivated Searle (1976) to develop a taxonomy that could be used to arrange illocutionary acts into particular categories, disregarding corresponding classes of illocutionary verbs. He does not assume any perpetual correspondence between verbs and illocutionary acts; although verbs can be a good indicator, they are not a guarantee guide to differences affecting illocutionary acts. Searle (1976) classifies the acts that an interlocutor can perform when speaking into five types:

(1)   Representatives (assertives): when the speaker commits themselves to the truth of the expressed propositions.

(2)   Directives: when the speaker endeavours to get the addressee to do something.

(3)   Commissives: when the speaker commits and obligates themselves to perform a future act.

(4)   Expressives: an utterance endeavouring to express a psychological attitude towards the addressee.

(5)   Declarations: an utterance altering the state of affairs of something.

In order to develop criteria that would be applicable to differentiate and classify speech acts, Searle (ibid) proposes three principles. Firstly, that the illocutionary point of the act must be considered (e.g. the point of thanking is expressing the psychological state of the speaker). Secondly, that the relationship between the world and words (e.g. a request is a speech act in which the world should fit the words). Thirdly, the psychological state expressed by the speaker (e.g. compliments express attitudes and feelings). For example, in the present study, the use of invocations can express psychological states of gratitude toward the addressee as an expressive act, and this can also be a directive that the world should fit the words, and invocations and religious phrases then express admiration and ward off envy (see chapter 6 and 7).

The following table illustrates Searle's (1979: 1-29) classification, the principles used to differentiate between classes, and some examples of the classification, in addition to propositional content covering descriptions for acts in each class:

Features	Assertives	Directives	Commissives	Expressives	Declarations	Assertive Declarations
Illocutionary point	Commits speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition	Speaker attempts to get hearer to act	Commits speaker to some future course of action	Expresses the psychological state specified in the condition about a state of affairs indicated in the propositional	Successful performance guarantees that the propositional content corresponds to the world	Issuing an assertive with the force of a declaration

				content		
Direction of fit	Word to world	World to word	World to word	Null	Word to world and world to word	Assertive: word to world Declaration: both directions
Psychologic al state (sincerity conditions)	Belief in the proposition	Want, wish or desire	Intention	Different possible states can be expressed	Null	Belief in the proposition
Propositiona l content	Any proposition	Hearer performs some future action	Speaker performs some future action	Proposition ascribes some properties to speaker or hearer	Any proposition	Any proposition
Example sentences	I predict he will come	I order you to leave	I promise to pay you the money	I apologise for stepping on your toe	I nominate you	You are out. You are guilty
Example verbs	Assert, state boast, complain, conclude, deduce	Ask, order, beg, pray, command, request, plead, invite, permit, advise, dare, defy, challenge	Promise, pledge, vow	Thank, deplore, apologise, condole, congratulate, welcome	Pronounce, appoint, declare, resign, fire, excommunicate, christen	Overlap between assertives and declarations

Table 3.1. Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts (adapted from Williams-Tinajero, 2010: 40-41)

The performative verbs included in the above table can sometimes, although not always, assist in determining the function of the illocutionary act and its illocutionary force. In utterances and sentences, such verbs are termed "illocutionary-force-indicating devices". However, the most important element to understand when identifying and

interpreting an utterance/act is the speaker and the hearer's intention (Searle, 1979). Intentionality refers to the intent behind the production of the utterance. However, it can be difficult to identify intentionality and how it is perceived, as it is a cognitive process (see Asher and Lascarides, 2001: 188).

Furthermore, similar to Austin, Searle (1969: 66-67) proposes conditions for achieving a pertinent illocutionary act. Taking the speech act of thanking as an example: the first condition is that the propositional content must relate to a past act done by the hearer. The second condition is the preparatory condition, whereby the act benefits the speaker, and the speaker believes the act benefits him/her. The third condition is termed the sincerity condition, meaning the speaker's gratitude or appreciation of the act. The fourth, and essential condition, is that the act itself counts as an expression of gratitude or appreciation.

It is noteworthy that descriptions of conditions differ according to illocutionary acts. Searle and Vanderveken (1985: 18) also differentiate between 'sincere' and 'insincere' illocutionary acts; defining an insincere act as "one in which the speaker performs a speech act and thereby expresses a psychological state even though he does not have that state". Thus, an insincere compliment would be when a speaker does not truly have the admiration he/she is expressing, and insincere thanking occurs when a speaker does not honestly feel the gratitude he/she expresses. Such acts are defective, but this does not necessarily render them unsuccessful, as Searle and Vanderveken (ibid) posit. With regard to religious expressions, these can also be performed insincerely, but where sincerity (i.e. religious belief) is absent they are unsuccessful as directive acts but still perform their expressive act.

3.3.1. Several major critiques of SAT

However, in common with other theories associated with pragmatics, SAT has also attracted much criticism in the literature. Searle (1979) contends that in order to interpret interactions, it is important SAT be complemented by an account that considers intentions and applies context. Moreover, scholars who criticise SAT, such as Leech (1983), Wierzbicka (1985), Mey (1993), and Thomas (1995), also acknowledge that it is a prerequisite of pragmatics research in spite of its inadequacies. Thus, Austin's and Searle's proposals should be reinforced by contextual and social considerations. Wierzbicka (1985) and Mey (1993), for example, assert that studying speech acts with SAT is a task that needs to be complemented with a study of contextual and cultural aspects, as these are crucial for understanding the intentions behind certain speech acts. Similarly, Kasper (2006) highlights the necessity of applying discursive approaches to consider cultural contexts in pragmatics research that are associated with speech acts and interactions. Thus, the present study employs interviews to collect details about the participants' perceptions and ideological considerations to extend the present study and provide complementary accounts regarding the study of REs in speech acts. For example, the responses of participants (in interviews) and their motivation to use the long form of *assalam* or to reply with longer forms, (see chapter 5) as well as the participants' recognition of the religious force of REs in the performance of thanking (chapter 6) and complimenting (chapter 7) are crucial when interpreting the interlocutors' performance of speech acts.

Leech (1983) criticises the orientation of SAT, whether explicitly (as described by Austin), or implicitly (as described by Searle), to classify speech acts depending on verbs or vocabulary, mentioning that SAT apparently ignores the inconstant nature of reality. He (ibid.: 177) argues "it is to commit a fundamental and obvious error to assume that the distinctions made by our vocabulary necessarily exist in reality". SAT

classifications of speech acts have also been criticised by Wunderlich (1980: 297-298), who endeavoured to establish different classification criteria. Firstly, he suggests acts should be classified according to their primary grammatical mood (interrogative mood, imperative mood, etc.). Secondly, he suggests that speech acts be classified according to type of propositional content. Thirdly, that speech acts should be classified according to their function in initiating or reacting to moves. Fourthly, that they can be classified according to their nature as either natural or institutional speech acts. However, the first criterion would not apply to REs, particularly invocations, as their grammatical mood would be considered optative, but, in fact, their performative invocative nature indicates that they are more than optative. In addition, consideration of grammatical moods and propositional content relates more to literal meaning (which is also language specific), moving SAT toward the domain of semantics and away from pragmatics.

A further criticism of SAT is that it does not provide an account of the hearer's comprehension process. This is because he/she is believed to play a passive role in the process of communicating speech acts. The result is that many interactional acts are ignored, as speech acts are interactional utterances, collectively comprising conversational discourses (Barron, 2003). For this reason, Yoshitake (2004) argues that SAT should be developed to endorse the significant role of the speaker and the listener when decoding an utterance's meaning. Yoshitake (ibid.: 36) indicates that, in its current form, the theory prioritises the speaker when determining the meaning, despite the fact that "communication is dialogical in nature rather than monological". In a conversation, the speaker is responsible for communicating optimally, relevantly and in a socially appropriate manner; and the hearer is responsible for understanding the speaker's intention based on his/her knowledge. The methodology applied in the present research attempts to address this criticism by adapting a role play approach to include a

sequence of utterances that push analysis beyond isolated utterances. It also uses interviews to consider interlocutors' intentions, and their perceptions of both speaker and a hearer.

Moreover, Jucker and Taavitsainen (2008) describe Searle's (1969) use of the term 'speech act' as a 'fuzzy concept', suggesting more accurate terms to consider silence and non-verbal language. For instance, they introduce the term 'communicative acts', and Mey (1993: 261) also proposes the term 'pragmatic acts', because "this would include both societal and linguistic aspects".

However, the notion of speech acts in general, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 1) observe, is "one of the most compelling notions in the study of language use […] as their mode of performance carries heavy social [including religious] implications". SAT also endures in its usefulness when describing institutionalised language use, as speech acts, and REs form components of institutionalised language use. Within certain cultures and societies, people's attitudes, values and beliefs are institutionalised to a great degree, which has a great influence on how interlocutors express themselves and communicate linguistically in situational contexts, in consideration of socio-contextual factors (Miller, 2011). In addition, institutional and spiritual speech acts, such as REs reveal a very performative nature, which is the core of SAT.

In the context of research in Arabic speech communities, SAT has been extensively applied in order to investigate the pragmatic use of language by the members of those communities. Various studies in different social and cultural contexts of Arabic analysed different speech acts in order to understand the linguistic behaviour of language users, to compare it with other speech communities, or as interlanguage research. For example, literature in pragmatics includes a considerable amount of

research analysing various speech acts, such as: greetings (Emery, 2000; Alharbi and Al-Ajmi, 2008), thanks (Morsi, 2010; Al-Khawaldeh's and Žegarac's, 2013), compliments (Morsy, 1992; Nelson et al., 1996; Farghal and Al-Khatib, 2001), apologies (Al-Adaileh, 2007; Nureddeen, 2008), and invitations (Hady, 2015; Alfalig, 2016). Generally, the suitability of applying SAT to Arabic lies in its main notion of performativity. The notion of performativity is very distinctive in Arabic, which has resulted in Arabic scholars discussing the notion of speech acts, and the constative/performative distinction, centuries before Austin (1962). Firanescu (2009) argues that Arabic grammarians and rhetoricians used various terms related to the study of speech acts; for example, these scholars distinguished sentences in the same way that Austin (1962) does, into *khabar* (reporting /constative sentences) and *insha* (initiating/performative sentences). Al-Hindawi et al. (2014) also argue that the concept of performativity was approached before Austin by three types of scholars: grammarians, rhetoricians, and jurisprudents.

Furthermore, when explaining the role and function of REs in communication, and as speech acts, there is space to elaborate on concepts such as performativity, illocutionary acts, perlocutionary acts, illocutionary force, and indirect acts. SAT is a promising approach for analysing religious utterances, particularly those used when performing speech acts. REs such as 'may Allah reward you', or 'may Allah bless you', lend themselves to speech act analysis as performatives with illocutionary force and a known consequence, which is to say a perlocutionary effect. For example, the act of blessing cannot describe an action, but rather performs that action; it directly invokes God's favour on someone's behalf.

As mentioned previously, the central notion of SAT is its 'performativity', and REs carry out performative functions in which "the utterance of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action" (Austin 1962: 5). This language use trait permits REs that do not simply describe a state of affairs, but also accomplish something through the interaction. For example, *'al-hamdu-llilah'* ('praise be to Allah') is used in many contexts, having many pragmatic functions. It can be used to perform acts of thankfulness to God, while still being recognised by the interlocutor (addressee) as a valid response to the question 'how are you?'

Moreover, SAT enables us to study REs to assess their role in an illocutionary act and its perlocutionary effect on the addressee. For example, the phrase *'ma sha allah'* ('it is God's will') can be used as a device to indicate illocutionary-force in expressive complimentary acts, as well as being the illocutionary act of complimenting itself (see Chapter Seven). Another example is the employment of invocative utterances to express gratitude and perform the speech act of thanking, to strengthen the illocutionary force of a speech act to garner a stronger perlocutionary effect.

In general, REs can be used to replace or supplement other utterances of similar illocutionary force when performing certain speech acts, for example when using *'jazak Allah khair'* ('may Allah reward you') as an alternative for *'shokran'* ('thank you'), or in conjunction with it. Indeed, such performative utterances would be vulnerable to analysis regarding their illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect, rather than as descriptive or symbolic expressions. Finnegan (1969)[34] observed that when a speaker

[34] Finnegan's study (1969) was conducted in the Limba speech community of Sierra Leone to explore the performative nature of some utterances (actions) and how they actively establish and maintain relationships.

uses performative utterances for prayer; the interlocutor actually pleads with, and expects the one(s) addressed (dead ancestors) to recognise and answer their pleas. He (ibid.: 550) concludes that other religious speech acts, such as blessings, curses and oath taking, are "susceptible" to being analysed in terms of their performativity "rather than as either a descriptive or expressive (symbolic) utterance".

Despite some of the drawbacks of SAT, it is likely that the conclusions and outcomes of the present REs study will contribute usefully to the theory, as it is being conducted in a different linguistic and cultural context, so will be able to contribute to the study of speech acts in general. However, any discussion regarding illocutionary acts and their classifications, conditions and interpretations is likely to be further complicated by the fact that, sometimes, the speaker produces an utterance that does not mean precisely and literally what he/she says. These are classified as indirect speech acts, and discussed in the following section.

3.4. Indirect speech acts

Although Austin (1962: 32) does not focus on precisely discussing indirect speech acts, he does indicate that some performative utterances are 'explicit' and others 'implicit'. For example, 'I promise that I shall be there' is considered an explicit act of promise, while in the utterance 'I shall be there' the promise is implicit. Therefore, for Austin, the difference between the two is that the former contains a device indicating intent, whereas the latter does not, rendering the utterance implicit. However, a question remains: can the speaker be held accountable for the promise made in the second utterance? The answer is, according to Gibbs (1999: 23), yes, as the speaker is considered accountable if he is aware of the implication of the speech act. Haugh (2013: 53, 43) goes beyond this, arguing that "what a speaker is held accountable for goes

beyond the veracity of information to include other moral concerns, such as social rights, obligations, responsibilities and the like" and speaker's meaning "is fundamentally deontological in nature". This confirms Grice's (1975) general principle, which states that a speaker commits him/herself not only to meaning he/she utters, but more importantly to the meaning they imply.

However, indirect speech acts are more complex than the above distinction suggests. Searle et al. (1980: 8) observe "there is a customary distinction between direct speech acts, where the speaker says what he means, and indirect speech acts, where he means something more than what he says." For example, the classical example given by Searle (1979: 30) is: "can you reach the salt?" This may mean not only that the speaker is merely questioning the hearer, but also that they are asking him/her to pass the salt. When performing an indirect speech act, the speaker is then communicating more than he/she says, based on the linguistic and non-linguistic "mutually shared background information" conveyed between the speaker and the hearer, as well as the hearer's rational and inferential ability (Searle, 1979: 32). In this type of act, the sentence form differs from its function; the utterance comprises meaning but the intended force of the act also comprises a primary meaning. In an attempt to explain the difference between a primary illocutionary act, which is non-literal, and a secondary illocutionary act, which is literal, Searle (1979: 33) offers the following example:

1.   Student X: Let's go to the movies tonight.

2.   Student Y: I have to study for an exam.

Searle comments that utterance 2 constitutes a rejection, although the meaning of the sentence suggests it is merely a statement. To understand and explain this type of indirect speech act, Searle (1979: 32) suggests it is necessary to "include a theory of

speech acts, certain general principles of cooperative conversation (some of which have been discussed by Grice (1975)), and mutually shared factual background information of the speaker and the hearer, together with an ability on the part of the hearer to make inferences".

Interestingly, in some instances, the primary illocutionary force is not part of the sentence's meaning and could in reality be very different from it. The question raised concerns how the hearer recognises indirect speech acts, when the utterance he/she hears and comprehends indicates something different; and moreover, how the speaker is able to intend something the sentence does not bear and make the hearer recognise it. Searle (1979) suggests that this arises when a speaker intends to violate one or more of the felicity conditions and the hearer perceives that violation. He also adds that convention plays a very distinctive role here, providing the examples of irony, hints and metaphors, in which the primary meaning differs from the secondary meaning. D'Andrade and Wish (1985) observe that factors such as conversational appropriateness, intonation, and context, can contribute to performing and understanding the force of indirect speech acts.

In authentic interactions, interlocutors engage in indirect speech acts extensively for multiple reasons. Searle (1996: 177) and Searle and Vanderveken (1985) observe that "the chief motivation – though not the only motivation – for using these indirect forms is politeness". This might explain why Searle is heavily reliant on 'directives' in his elaboration of the concept of indirect speech acts, as most conversations entail the existence of politeness, rather than the presence of imperative sentences. In this study, for example, the use of religious phrases such as "*ma sha Allah*" (it is God's will), as an indirect speech act, is perceived more as a positive facework act when complimenting, than as another directly performed speech act (see Chapter 7).

As mentioned previously, acquiring an understanding and explanation of indirect speech acts might require, in addition to SAT, some understanding of the general principles of cooperative conversation. In this area, Grice's work on the notion of implicature is valuable when applied to indirect speech acts. The following section will briefly introduce Grice's conversational implicatures.

3.5. Speech acts and Grice's conversational implicatures

Austin's proposal of speech acts, Searle's revised theory of speech acts, and Grice's (1975) pragmatic model of conversational implicatures, are the classical contributions to pragmatics as a study of communicative acts. Following an account made by Grice (1975), Searle (1979: 32) suggested that meaning (intentional meaning) can be derived from an indirect speech act through a cooperative process by which multiple illocutions can be recognised. It is possible that Searle's reference to Grice with regard to indirectness initially began when he revised Grice's (1957) notion of 'non-natural meaning': "To say that a speaker S meant something by X is to say that S intended the utterance of X to produce some effect in a hearer H by means of the recognition of this intention" (Searle, 1969: 43). Searle (ibid.: 43) also observes that Grice's account of meaning is beneficial, because it constitutes a connection between meaning and intention and achieves an essential characteristic of communication. Grice's model describes how interlocutors execute appropriate conversational behaviour. Primarily, they have to obey the Cooperative Principle (CP), which is divided into quantity, quality, relation, and manner. The maxim of quantity requires the speaker to provide an adequate amount of information, i.e. no more or less than necessary. The maxim of quality means the speaker should not say something that he/she believes to be false or unfounded. The maxim of relation means the speaker should make the contribution

related and appropriate to the situation. The maxim of manner requires the speaker to be brief, orderly, and clear.

However, according to Grice (ibid), a speaker can communicate more than he/she says by choosing to exploit or flout these maxims. When exploiting the maxims, the speaker observes the CP and the maxims in his/her utterance, while when flouting the maxims, the speaker intentionally ignores the maxims but still observes the CP. In the latter case, Grice's notion of conversational implicature is essential if communication is to be efficient. Conversely, the speaker might communicate inefficiently and be uncooperative, as happens when he/she unintentionally violates conversational maxims. Grice's CP and the related maxims offer important guidelines for communicating informatively, truthfully, relevantly and clearly. As human interactions are not ideal, interlocutors must fall back on Grice's conversational implicatures to explain the flouting of maxims. Implicatures assist interlocutors, particularly hearers, to comprehend and discover the meaning/intention inherent in the act. These can be realised based on prior knowledge shared by the interlocutors, and if the particulars of the situation are taken into account (Grice, 1975). Conversational implicatures might shift in their meaning, and this cannot always be predicted; thus, context is crucial for understanding what is implied. For example, Holmes (1995) argues that in some cultural contexts, certain compliments can have detrimental implicatures, as they may constitute Face Threatening Acts (FTAs), imply envy, or lead the addressee to offer the complimented object to the complimentor (see Alsohaibani, 2012). In the present research context, the implication of envy may be present, especially if a speech act is performed bereft of REs.

One property of implicatures is their defeasibility. That is, when contrasting them with the semantic meaning entailed, they are cancellable if the inference proves inconsistent

with the information follow up in the conversation (or any other discourse). An example where cancelling of the inference takes place is in the following sentence: "X is meeting a woman this evening" (italics in original) (Grice, 1975: 56). The inference here is that the woman to be met is someone other than X's wife, mother, or sister; however, if a second sentence followed identifying that "he is meeting his sister", it would cancel the inference. Another property that characterises implicatures, particularly conversational implicatures, is their non-detachability. As Levinson (1983: 116) observes, "implicatures cannot be detached from an utterance simply by changing the words of the utterance for synonyms" since they "are attached to the semantic content of what is said, not to the linguistic form". However, this cannot be applied to all conversational implicatures, as Levinson (2000) argues. For example, the following two utterances: (A) and (B) (repeated from above) share the same semantic content but obviously convey different implicatures: (A) The janitor left the door open and the prisoner escaped (B) The prisoner escaped and the janitor left the door open.

However, Grice's maxims have been challenged by scholars, such as Wilson and Sperber (1993) and Ochs (1976). Wilson and Sperber (1988) suggest the maxims of CP can overlap and be contradictory, causing different implicatures. They propose that Grice's maxims can be reduced to a single maxim: relevance. However, for the present research, Grice's notions of CP and conversational implicatures are useful when applied to analyse REs as indirect speech acts, under the politeness CP. As mentioned earlier, in pragmatics in general and speech acts in particular, politeness and facework can play a significant role in interpreting conversational implicatures and indirect speech acts. This is evident in Grice's and Searle's (1996: 177) notions of politeness in their theoretical works. For example, Grice (1967: 28) observes there are "other maxims (aesthetic, social, or moral in character), such as 'Be polite', that are also normally observed by

participants in talk exchanges, and these may also generate nonconventional implicatures". Referring to indirect speech acts, Searle (1996: 177) also indicates that politeness can be "the chief motivation – though not the only motivation". The following section moves on to a discussion of the role of politeness and facework in communication.

3.6. Speech acts, politeness, and facework research

Politeness and facework are fundamental concepts in pragmatics in general, and in the study of speech acts in particular. Typically, they are considered a social approach to pragmatics, in the same way that relevance theory is a cognitive approach, and their assessments emphasise the association between language use and social context. They are an illocutionary and perlocutionary phenomenon, frequently linked with SAT (Leech, 1983; Holmes, 1984; Brown and Levinson, 1987). Although no agreement exists regarding how to define politeness, as it "will always be a slippery (Sarangi, 1994; Hartog, 2006) and ultimately indefinable quality of interaction which is subject to change through time and across cultural space" (Watts, Ide and Ehlich, 2005: xiii), Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1980) observe that politeness, in a definition that reflects facework, and can be viewed as a threat- and conflict-avoidance strategy. Leech (1980: 109), for example, describes it as a form of "strategic conflict avoidance", which "can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation".

Politeness is conceptualised according to two perspectives. The first is a traditional one based on Grice's concept of CP (as represented in Brown and Levinson's (1987[1978]) work) and Leech's (1983) concept of the politeness principle (which will occasionally be referred to in the discussion), and grounded in SAT, which will be referred to in this

research. In this perspective, politeness is considered as a shared norm. The second is an alternative perspective takes a post-modern/discursive form, opposing traditional approaches. These earlier models are referred to by Culpeper (2011: 394) as "first-wave" approaches. These approaches "aimed to model politeness on a somewhat abstract, theoretical level" (Kádár and Haugh, 2013:13). Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978]) seminal work: *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* is "the most influential first-wave theory of politeness…[which] aims to model politeness as implicated through forms of linguistic behaviour", and their framework, unprecedentedly, continues to be discussed in pragmatics and other areas of linguistics research (Kádár and Haugh, 2013: 15-16). In terms of linguistic politeness, their approach is "regarded as the *definitive* work" (italics in the original) (ibid: 15-16). The present study focuses on Brown and Levinson's (1987) and, to a lesser degree, Leech's (1983) proposals, which view the use of polite and/or face-saving acts as "a softener to minimise or avoid conflict, a positive enhancer of social rapport as well as a culture-specific set of social values that are maintained to satisfy mutual expectations" (Al-Khawaldeh, 2014: 79). REs, as culture-specific expressions with religious value, can also be a type of softener, as well as positive enhancers. As politeness and facework are a social phenomenon embodied in the interlocutors' conceptions of what are considered suitable communicative utterances in a given social context, it can be claimed that religion, as a social construct, may also influence the interlocutors' conceptions of politeness and facework, together with their values and beliefs concerning appropriate behaviour.

Traditional approaches to politeness, particularly that of Brown and Levinson (1987), which is fundamentally a facework, were based on the treatment that face and politeness are inseparable, a stance that has been challenged by some scholars (Kádár and Haugh,

2013). When conceptualising politeness, these authors departed from Goffman's (1955: 213) notion of face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact", proposing a comprehensive and rich account of what they called politeness. For Goffman (1967: 5) face is "an image of self-delineation 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 good showing for himself". Goffman (ibid) explains his notion of face in terms of rituals, which refers to the fact that participants in a social interaction are constrained by certain moral rules that control the flow of the interaction. These rules are important as they provide the interactants with the ability to evaluate themselves, and others, in social interchanges in order to achieve a fine level of "ritual equilibrium" (ibid). However, according to Goffman (ibid.: 8), cases exist in which the person possesses a "wrong face", where he/she behaves differently from his/her normal behaviour, or "out of face", where he/she behaves differently from other people's adopted behaviour. Face, as Goffman (1955: 215) observes, is the person's "most personal possession and the centre of his security and pleasure, it is on loan from society; it will be withdrawn unless he conducts himself in a way that is worthy of it". Goffman (1967: 12-14) also argues that participants in interaction will have two strategies for facework: a "defensive one" to save his own face, and a "protective one" to save the other participants' face, and "each person, subculture, and society seems to have its own characteristic repertoire of face-saving practices. It is to this repertoire that people partially refer when they ask what a person or culture is really like".

Goffman's prominent work on politeness and facework differs from the traditional linguistic approaches to politeness, as it approaches the concepts from a sociological perspective. However, all of these concepts emphasise the importance of observing

social norms. They establish the tendency of speakers to use pragmatic strategies in accordance with certain principles. In the traditional view, "politeness is a phenomenon belonging to the level of society, which endorses its normative constraints on each individual" (Gu, 1990: 242), and it is perceived as comprising one aspect of the moral principles applied in society and culture. As mentioned previously, in its traditional approaches, politeness research has been much influenced by the concept of speech acts, as it "has proven to be a powerful explanatory notion in politeness research" (Kádár and Haugh, 2013: 23). The impact of SAT is such because some speech acts are associated with, or considered to be, acts of politeness related to facework. In addition, the notion of indirectness in the performance of some speech acts can be adequately explained in relation to the traditional concept of politeness/facework as conflict avoidance, although it is not always agreed that this operationalises when "examining politeness across different languages (ibid: 23).

The alternative perspective takes a post-modern/discursive form, opposing traditional approaches, and asserting the significance of prioritising participants' perceptions in politeness explanations, in order to understand how it is determined by interlocutors (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Terkourafi, 2005). As a critic of the traditional view of politeness, Eelen (2001) contends that such a traditional view is a static and rule-based conceptualisation of politeness that calls for a different paradigm orientation based on the participants' (interlocutors) conceptualisation and evaluation of what is polite and what is impolite, not on theoretically-motivated conceptualisations. He criticises the dependency of traditional approaches towards SAT, arguing that politeness and/or facework as strategies can be recognised and interpreted without reliance on SAT, and that its focus should be on the speakers' production role, as well as the hearers' evaluation role, unlike the orientation of the traditional views. He also criticises the

traditional view for its emphasis on politeness while overlooking impoliteness, which has engendered the lack of impoliteness research. Eelen (ibid.: 30) suggests a framework to distinguish between two concepts of politeness: first-order politeness/politeness1 and second-order politeness/politeness2. The former (emic) concerns "on the one hand, the informants' conscious statements about his or her spontaneous evaluations of (im)politeness (of his or her own or someone else's behaviour), made in the course of actual interaction.", whereas the latter, the etic in anthropological terms, refers "to outsiders' accounts of insiders' behaviour, involving distinctions not relevant to those insiders." (ibid.: 77-78). It can be regarded that the first concept concerns the understanding of politeness from the interlocutors' views, and the second concerns the understanding of politeness from the stance of the theorists' conceptualisations and generalisations. Eelen argues that any theorising about politeness should be to investigate the first-order politeness and "the relationship between both notions should be carefully monitored *throughout the entire analytical process* - not only the input stage" (ibid.: 31) (italics in the original). However, the two notions "must not simply be different and separate systems of thought without any real interface, but rather must interlock to form a coherent picture" (ibid.: 253). Eelen attempts to transpose the methodological conceptualisation of politeness as an expressive behaviour to a more evaluative and discursive mood with regard to real-life interactions that will improve our understanding of social reality.

Similarly, Mills (2003) asserts that politeness is capricious by nature, having a "chameleon-like" nature in Watts' (2003: 24) terms, as norms within a single culture are often heterogeneous. Mills (2011: 35) argues that the discursive approaches' aim is to:

> develop a more contingent type of theorising which will account for contextualised expressions of politeness and impoliteness, but these

positions will not necessarily generate a simple predictive model […] theorists are also concerned not to delve too deeply into interactants' intentions and what we as analysts can infer about their intentions and feelings, but rather they are concerned with what interactants display in their speech to others, and what this can tell the other interactants about where they see themselves in the group, how they view the group and what values they assume the group members hold.

Haugh (2007: 295) observes that the post-modern approach "abandons the pursuit of not only an a priori predictive theory of politeness or a post-facto descriptive theory of politeness" (Watts, 2003: 142, 2005: xix), but also any attempt "to develop a universal cross-culturally valid theory of politeness altogether" (Locher and Watts, 2005: 16).

The difficulty arising in the work of the post-modern scholars, such as Eelen (2001), Mills (2009), Kádár and Mills (2011) and Kádár and Haugh (2013), is that they continue to consider generalisations regarding interlocutors' inclinations toward politeness to be conceivable. This is due to the fact that, as Mills (2011) notes, interlocutors' evaluations are likely to be significantly influenced by stereotypes of how they behave, whether politely or impolitely, within their cultural context, which, in turn, guides the development of general inclinations towards politeness norms. However, the traditional conceptions of politeness and facework remain decisive when studying acts of politeness and facework, although empirical research that has attempted to contribute to the realm of politeness in different cultures does not consistently approve of traditional claims. Also, Brown and Levinson's framework "offers the most complete assessment of interpersonal communicative acts" when analysing "so-called 'politeness'" (Ridealgh, 2016: 246). The following two sections address Brown and Levinson's and Leech's approaches in more depth, in order to provide a detailed background for the current study. It should be noted that, although Brown and Levinson treat politeness and

face inseparably, a stance that been disagreed by Watts (2003) and Kádár and Haugh (2013), the present researcher will consider Brown and Levinson's framework as a facework as it is "certainly… that of facework" (Ridealgh, 2016: 246); although this does not negate that fact that politeness and facework can be entangled in certain speech acts.

3.6.1. Brown and Levinson's facework approach

Approaching the concepts of facework and "so-called 'politeness'" (Ridealgh, 2016: 246) from a linguistic point of view (as Goffman's approach is sociological), Brown and Levinson's theoretical work has long been considered the most influential approach to exploring facework and speech acts performance (Ji, 2000, Kádár and Haugh, 2013). The authors define face as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" and as "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61).[35] This public self-image claimed by interlocutors is considered by Brown and Levinson to possess two constituents: 'positive face', which indicates the interlocutor's wish to be approved of, appreciated and desired; and 'negative face', which indicates the interlocutor's desire not to be imposed upon, or impeded. The face-saving perception means it is a strategy used by interlocutors to accomplish their goals. In social interactions, the concept of face is crucial to the achievement of the social goal of maintaining and enhancing 'face', while in a speech act performance, the concept of face relates more to the performance of illocutionary acts than to the perlocutionary

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[35] Their notion was derived from Goffman's (1967) notion of face, and from the English folk term that links 'face' with humiliation and embarrassment (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 61).

effect on the hearer. Thus, facework is a "redressive action taken to counterbalance the disruptive effect of face-threatening acts" (Kasper, 1990: 194). Brown and Levinson (1987) assume that face is always in jeopardy when communicating, placing harmony and solidarity at risk. Therefore, these FTAs must be mitigated through adherence to facework strategies.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), interlocutors follow the four strategies below in order to remediate FTAs:

1) Making FTAs baldly on record.

   Performing an FTA in this way means that the speaker expresses his/her interaction clearly and directly, without any redressive actions. The central point here is the efficiency of the propositional content;

2) Making FTAs with redressive action – oriented to positive politeness.

   This occurs when the speaker indicates clearly that he/she wants what the hearer wants. The speaker expresses solidarity with the hearer with the intention of enhancing the hearer's positive face;

3) Making FTAs with redressive action – oriented to negative politeness.

   This refers to acts where the speaker considers the hearer's desire not to be imposed upon, and not to have his/her freedom of action violated. Negative politeness can be classified in this case as an avoidance-based strategy. The speaker can also use softening devices that imply restraint;

4) Making FTAs with off-record politeness.

This refers to situation in which the speaker is being indirect in his/her speech acts, which is to say giving hints, using metaphors, being vague, or performing FTAs incompletely, which allows the speaker to "invite conversational implicature, by violating, in some way, the Gricean maxims of efficient communication" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 213). The principal aim of negative politeness is that the speaker recognises the hearer's negative face.

Brown and Levinson (1987) add that the speaker can also choose to avoid performing FTAs. This strategy is self-explanatory, which is perhaps why they do not discuss it in detail. This decision to say nothing, is called "opting out" by Tanaka (1996), and means that the speaker does not perform a speech act because of its cost in terms of face loss. Unlike Brown and Levinson, who claim that communication fails in such a strategy, Tanaka (ibid) argues that the speaker is not dropping the matter, rather they are allowing the hearer himself/herself to attain the perlocutionary effect.

Concurrent with discussions regarding the above strategies, it is noted that three socio-cultural variables influence the assessment of the seriousness of FTAs: the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, the relative power difference between the speaker and the hearer, and the absolute ranking of imposition within the culture (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 74). The value of these factors is dependent on the situation, and the mutual knowledge[36] shared by the participants.

3.6.2. Critique of Brown and Levinson's approach

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[36] 'Mutual knowledge' will be defined later in the section concerning context.

Appraisals of Brown and Levinson's (ibid) theory have sometimes included criticisms. One key criticism is by Eelen (2001) who argues that Brown and Levinson confuse the distinction between the politeness1 and politeness2 concepts. Their definition of the politeness concept is very broad and particular, and differs from everyday conceptualisation of the concept. It does not concern the interlocutors' evaluation and judgments about their behaviour, rather it has been "carved out by the linguist" attempting to understand the relationship between language and the social context in which it occurs (ibid.: 50). It is therefore a linguistic tool constructed about a Model Person's behaviour, rather than a concept of evaluation concerning a real person. Brown and Levinson's claim of the universality of their approach captured by the Model Person concept is criticised by Eelen (ibid.: 5) who notes that it "can be seen as the embodiment of universally valid human social characteristics and principles of social reasoning… [which] does not necessarily imply an assumption of cultural universalism".

Eelen (2001) and Mills (2011) also criticise the dependence of Brown and Levinson on CP and SAT. Mills (ibid) indicates that Brown and Levinson's model is based on the assumption that communication is perfect, and that interactants are always cooperative, therefore misunderstanding should not arise. Furthermore, departing from SAT, Brown and Levinson claim that interlocutors are indirect in terms of politeness, and that directness is associated impoliteness. This is disapproved by Grainer and Mills (2016: 5-7), who argue that many indirect expressions in English are "highly conventionalised", and that it is difficult to know the intention of the speaker in terms of being polite or impolite. They also observe that, in certain contexts, indirectness can be seen negatively as impoliteness when it is interpreted as socially distancing between interlocutors. Moreover, what is perceived as being indirect in some languages may not

be seen as such in other languages (ibid). This is why Eelen (2001) and Mills (2011) emphasise the important role of the perceptions and evaluations of the participants when approaching politeness, instead of imposing specific theories of politeness. Eelen (2001: 245) contends that explaining "the notion of politeness as a form of (expressive) behaviour, driven by a system of culturally shared social norms" should be changed methodologically, in order to view and theorise politeness as being based on interlocutors' understanding, rather than on rule-based perceptions.

Coupland et al. (1988) criticise the choice of the terms 'positive politeness' and 'negative politeness', suggesting that adherence to the literal meanings of terms such as 'threatening', 'negative', and 'positive', could cause confusion in terms of their denotative and conceptual meanings. Scollon and Scollon (1995: 37-38), for example, propose using 'solidarity politeness' instead of 'positive politeness' and 'deference politeness' instead of 'negative politeness'. They observe that the conceptual contrast between 'positive' and 'negative' should be discarded, as it might be thought incorrectly that 'positive politeness' means something good, and 'negative politeness' something bad. Similarly, Tannen (1984) suggest 'community politeness' and 'independence politeness' as alternative dichotomies for politeness. Nevertheless, well-established concepts, such as Brown and Levinson's, should be understood and explained as theorists have proposed and developed them, and attempts should not be made to replace them with new terms that might trigger additional confusion (Sifianou, 1999).

A further key criticism centres on Brown and Levinson's (1987) assertion that most speech acts are face threatening. For instance, Holmes (1995) observes the speech act of complimenting as a face-supporting act in which both interlocutors, the complimentor and the complimented respondent, are being positively polite and 'face' is not threatened. However, the context of the present research appears to support Brown and

Levinson's suggestion that compliments can be face-threatening, as, for example, when they connote envy (see Chapter Seven). Wierzbicka (1991) considers that the assertion that speech acts are FTAs is culturally biased; this is because what might be seen as threatening in one culture may not be considered such in another.

A further perceived issue, as Tracy (1990) argues, is that the three social variables of social distance, power, and ranking, that play an important role in politeness behaviour are sometimes deficient, as interlocutors' identities, orientations, motivations, and beliefs are very complex, and vary across different cultural contexts. Brown and Levinson (1987: 12) themselves recognise that they "underplay the influence of other factors" such as the effect of a third party's presence, and the influence of particular cultural factors, especially when using their approach as an ethnographic tool. This is the aspect the present study attempts to address in terms of the concept of facework, and the circumstances influencing it, by considering the cultural context of religion as an effective variable.

Moreover, the designation of five main strategies of politeness are criticised by Tracy (ibid), as some utterances/acts may involve more than one strategy. For example, "can you open the door, mate?" includes the negative politeness of the request, and the positive politeness in the use of the in-group term of address. Nevertheless, the use of two strategies within the same act does not mean the strategies are misclassified.

Additionally, and of relevance to this research, is the fact that one of the primary criticisms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) work arises from concern regarding its cross-cultural applicability, although they have discussed their framework with reference to several languages: English, Tamil, and Tzeltal. Gu (1990) and Chen (1993), for instance, argue that Brown and Levinson's approach is only applicable in a Western

cultural context, because it is derived from an individualistic perspective, especially with regard to the notion of face. This was also acknowledged by Matsumoto (1988, 1989) and Goldstein (1999) when considering Japanese and Thai cultures, respectively. For example, Matsumoto (1989: 219) observes that "[I]t is not simply that the Japanese focus on only one of the constituents of 'face' (positive or negative) but that the nature of 'face' and the underlying motivation for the use of 'polite expressions' cannot be subsumed under the supposed universal assumptions of Brown and Levinson". Haugh (2007) also argues that, in Japanese culture, to express polite behaviour is to put the person in their correct position in relation to others, not to attempt to minimise threatening the face. With regard to the Chinese context, Gu (1990: 241) indicated that Brown and Levinson's face model, particularly the negative face concept, differs from the Chinese concept of face, as some expressions such as 'thank you', and 'excuse me' are "intrinsically polite acts" and do not threaten the addressee's negative face, as claimed by Brown and Levinson. However, these researchers themselves can be criticised for applying an essentialist approach to observing interlocutors' communicative behaviour (Holliday, 2000). The problem with these researchers, as Wolf (2017: 45) observes, is that they "tend to focus on static, universalist and essentialist comparisons between homogenous national cultures". Wolf (ibid) considers such orientations to be misguided, offering the following two contradictory examples of studies of Chinese behaviour in response to compliments: Pomerantz (1978) argues that Chinese interlocutors tend to refute compliments; yet by contrast, Ye (1995) finds that Chinese speakers are typically inclined to accept compliments.

However, the reliance of Brown and Levinson's framework on SAT justifies its use as the theoretical framework of the current research. Additionally, because the focus of this current research is the influence of culture, particularly religion, on speech acts

performance, the traditional conceptualisation of facework and politeness behaviour, as influenced by shared socio-cultural norms, is more appropriate. Moreover, methodologically, the focus of the present study is the influence of religion on language use, and the role of REs in speech act performance, rather than politeness itself, as considered during the data collection phase (see Chapter 4).

In addition, in line with the traditional view, particularly Brown and Levinson's facework, the concept of 'face' is also employed metaphorically in the cultural contexts in which Arabic is used, signifying honour, dignity, and respect (Eshreteh, 2014). In the Saudi Arabian context, Goffman's (1967) and Brown and Levinson's concepts of 'face-saving' and 'face-threatening' devices are overtly present in many expressions included when performing various speech acts. For example, 'may God whiten your face' for thanking, 'may God blacken your face' for swearing, and 'your face is white for complimenting' reflect the importance of face as a positive social value in communication. Expressions such as 'to save the water of the face', or 'he lost his face' also demonstrate the importance of the interlocutors' positive and negative face to their public image.

Furthermore, the use of facework concepts as a theoretical framework in this current research is effective; indeed, all of the speech acts used to elicit the data involved facework. REs lend themselves well to analysis as facework 'formulas', and have both pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions. For example, using *'jazak Allah kair'* ('may Allah reward you with goodness') instead of *'shokran'* ('thank you') is considered a face enhancing response with greater illocutionary force than a non-religious one. REs can also be used as intensifiers to strengthen the illocutionary force of an utterance and, consequently, to heighten its perlocutionary effect. They can also be used as face enhancing markers in utterances such as 'give me a cup of tea; may Allah keep you

(safe)'. In this example, the illocutionary force of the request, which is also an FTA, is attenuated by the use of the RE. As such, REs in general, and invocations and religious phrases in particular, play a role in speech act performance to mitigate, or intensify, illocutionary force, and Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of this is formed on the basis of the notion that politeness mitigates FTAs.

The role of the social and cultural context is also significant, as rules of politeness and facework directing interactions are established by social institutions (Fraser and Nolen 1981), including religious institutions. To illustrate, the severity of the offence variable of Brown and Levinson (1987) might be influenced by the interlocutor's culture, as what is seen as offensive in one society might be seen as normal in another; the level of offence might also be motivated by religion, especially in a religious speech community like Saudi Arabia. For example, different interactions between the two genders in what is essentially a conservative culture are governed by many social and religious guidelines that constrain cross-gender interactions, and organise social interactions in general (Al-Adailah, 2007; Al-Marrani and Sazalie, 2010) (see Chapter Six). Investigating the concept of facework in society, and the associated cultural motivations, can serve as effective methods when studying daily REs in interactions.[37]

3.6.3. Leech's Politeness Principle

Another traditional approach that emphasises the role of social norms in understanding and explaining politeness is Leech's (1983) conceptualisation of politeness, which is

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[37] In this research context, 'social norms' and 'religious norms' are conflated. However, it should be noted that such an approach might be unacceptable in contexts where religious norms are perceived as being 'counter-cultural'.

based on Grice's (1975) maxims, despite his criticisms of Grice for not considering social factors in his CP. Leech (1983) claimed that interlocutors are often more indirect than Grice suggests. He proposes the politeness principle, to explain why interlocutors violate Grice's CP; indicating that the CP is not sufficient for successful interaction, as one needs to first retain politeness, which is "an important missing link between the CP and the problem of how to relate sense to force" (Leech, 1983: 104). Leech's principle rests on the assumption that interlocutors are cooperative because they wish to maintain social goals of harmony and rapport. Thus, avoiding conflict is a desired goal, but some speech acts are inherently impolite, demanding the speaker would use negative politeness strategies to minimise the effect of its impoliteness. However, other speech acts are inherently polite, encouraging the speaker to use positive politeness to maximise the effect of the politeness.

Leech (ibid.: 123-126) introduces a set of pragmatic scales that exert an effect on a set of maxims. The first scale he proposes is the 'cost–benefit' scale, whereby the greater the cost the speaker imposes on the hearer, the less polite the utterance is. This means the hearer always has to be given greater benefit. The second scale is 'optionality', which indicates the choices the hearer is given to perform or not perform an act. The third scale is 'indirectness', which indicates the extent of any inference involved in an illocution. The fourth scale is 'authority', which represents the difference in power or social status between interlocutors. The fifth scale is 'social distance', which represents degree of familiarity and solidarity between interlocutors.

Leech has also developed maxims to demonstrate his orientation with regard to the proposition that politeness is more aligned to the hearer (the other) than the speaker (self). He introduces these maxims alongside Searle's categories of illocutionary acts (ibid.: 132):

1) Tact maxim (in impositives and commosives)

The speaker minimises cost to others and maximises benefit to others. Leech considers this the most important form of politeness.

2) Generosity maxim (in impositives and commosives)

The speaker minimises benefit to self and maximises cost to self. This maxim is often employed in speech acts such as offers and invitations, in which the speaker acts generously.

3) Approbation maxim (in expressives and assertives)

The speaker minimises dispraise of the other and maximises praise of the other. These include speech acts that make the hearer feel good, and avoidance of conflicting speech acts (e.g. criticising).

4) Modesty maxim (in expressives and assertives)

The speaker minimises praise of self and maximises dispraise of self. Leech (1983: 136) observes that the speaker should be modest to be polite and that breaking the maxim of modesty is "to commit the social transgression of boasting".

5) Agreement maxim (in assertives)

The speaker minimises disagreement between self and other, maximising points of agreement between self and other. Leech (1983: 138) indicates "there is a tendency to exaggerate agreement with other people, and to mitigate disagreement

by expressing regret, partial disagreement, etc." So, to be polite, one must "talk in terms of a maxim of agreement."

6) Sympathy maxim (in assertives)

The speaker minimises antipathy between the self and other and maximises sympathy between the self and other. This involves the use of courteous speech acts, such as condolence.

Leech (ibid) clearly indicates that not all these maxims carry equal weight. For example, tact and approbation maxims are more important than the generosity and modesty maxims, and the minimisation sub-maxim is more important than the maximisation sub-maxim. This situation arises because, as Leech observes, negative politeness (avoidance of discord) elicits greater consideration than positive politeness (seeking concord). However, the weights attributed to each maxim differ from one culture to another.

Although Leech's PP functions effectively as an approach to pragmatics that overcomes the drawbacks of others' proposals (Kasper, 1990; Sifianou, 1992), it has also led to criticisms. For example, Brown and Levinson (1987: 4) point out; "if we are permitted to [as suggested by Leech (1983)] invent a maxim for every regularity in language use, not only will we have an indefinite number of maxims, but pragmatic theory will be too unconstrained to permit the recognition of any counter-examples". Jucker (1988) agrees with Brown and Levinson (1987) that unless maxims are restricted, any taxonomy would be open-ended. This possibility of extending maxims has been criticised by other scholars, such as Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003). However, Spencer-Oatey (2002) proposes that maxims can be considered as constraints when maintaining social goals and avoiding conflict. Considering them as constraints would also allow them to be extended, according to the cultural context of interlocutors.

A further criticism is of Leech's use of Searle's categories as given above, on the basis that some could be applied to different speech acts, depending on their situational and cultural context. For example, Leech associates the agreement maxim with assertives only, but it can in fact be associated with expressives also, as in compliments and responses to compliments (see Chapter Seven).

Leech has also been criticised for the suggestion that indirect utterances are always polite and direct ones always impolite. However, in natural interactions in certain situations and cultures, this is not always true (Sifianou, 1992). For instance, a higher level of indirectness in requests with a close or intimate person might be perceived negatively by the addressee if the speaker is distancing themselves and treating them as a stranger. Moreover, Leech's suggestions about absolute politeness, including that some speech acts are inherently polite (like offers) and other speech acts are inherently impolite (like orders), are not always correct. For instance, orders in the classroom context can be neutral; i.e. neither impolite nor polite (ibid). Mills (2003) also argues that some of the least polite illocutions (such as swearing) can in some circumstances be used among close friends to demonstrate camaraderie.

Traditionally, assessments of facework and politeness include appraisals of social and cultural norms when considering interlocutors' interactional behaviour. Interlocutors' cultural (including religious) beliefs and values, when performing certain speech acts, can greatly influence how they communicate these acts. The following section will discuss the ideological considerations that could influence interlocutors' performance of speech acts in the context of this research study.

3.7. Ideological[38] considerations as a theoretical framework

Ideological considerations provide a useful conceptual framework for exploring the motivation behind certain linguistic behaviours, in this case REs, because language in general expresses interlocutors' experiences and beliefs (Mukherjee, 2013). Language in use is not an independent structure; rather, its selection and application suggests and indexes something about the speaker. It describes the convergence of structure, pragmatics, and ideology (Silverstein, 1985). Thus, when REs are examined without considering these three aspects, and so are decontextualized in a 'null context' in Searle's terms (1978: 207), they might not provide a clear picture.

The ideology of language use, as Hill (2008: 38) observes, is "that the most important part of linguistic meaning comes from the beliefs and intentions of the speaker". Therefore, the focus of the ideology of language use becomes the interlocutors' beliefs and intentions. This understanding is relevant to the present study with regard to REs, because they can be used to perform indirect and multi-functional speech acts, while simultaneously conveying religious meanings. The present research also discusses the potential intentions of the interlocutors (participants). In addition, the ideology of language use is important when perceiving the performativity of speech acts, particularly REs, and specifically, how and why they are used to perform explicit and implicit illocutions. Examples include the use of invocative illocutions, and the ideologically perceived performativity present in various expressive speech acts.

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[38] The meaning of 'ideological' here refers mainly to beliefs and values grounded in theological references, but the term 'ideology' is used to establish the fact that the relationship between language use and theological resources might be intangible and indirect. Ideology, in general, can be defined as a cognitive, social, and cultural system of beliefs that a group shares towards a certain issue (Al-Hamandi and Jassim, 2006), and people's ideologies are reflected in their discourse through using specific syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic strategies (Van Dijk, 2000).

The assumption that priori ideologies can drive language use does not elide the characteristic of language as a constitutive of ideology. Beliefs about the world are formed by language. Language is also necessary to formulate propositions that can be used to perform speech acts, which engender the state of affairs regardless of whether the propositions are true or false. Ideologies are dependent on language for their genesis, and are also dependent on it for communicating them. Taylor (1985) observes that cultural values and beliefs, and the qualities and practices of social relationships, are constituted by language, and carried by it. In terms of the use of language for communication and for performing speech acts, as in the context of this research, this requires intentions, and intentions presuppose the possession of beliefs/ideologies in order to fulfil the speech act; one would not be able to intend without beliefs as beliefs lie behind all intentional acts, whether they are explicit or not, understood or not (Frowe, 1999). Therefore, language has both representational features, and a constitutive function; in Searle's (1975) terms, words to fit the world, and the world to fit the words. Ontologically, "Language can be constitutive of aspects of reality but not all aspects of reality. Language fulfils a representative function but not all language use is representational" (Frowe, 1999: 64). In this research context, for example, the performance of the speech act of complimenting using the RE *'ma sha Allah'* ('it is God's will'), constitutes a complimenting act, and a protective act against the evil eye (see Chapter 7), and it also represent the religious belief of the RE. The perceived effect of the evil eye and envy is a belief and attitude that requires priori ideologies concerning the concepts and their influence, but this not to negate the fact that this ideology has been constituted by language. However, their 'real' influence is subjective to the ontological position and experience of interlocutors.

The suggestion of a relationship between interlocutors' ideologies and language use in the context of Islamic Arabic speech communities emerges in various utterances. For example, the expression *'in sha Allah'* ('if God wills') is predicated on the belief that things happen by the will of God, affirming that fate lies in the hands of God. Another example is the RE *'ma sha Allah'* ('it is God's will'), which can be used when complimenting. This is rooted in the belief that God is both responsible for, and the cause of, all things, especially those good things that entail the delivery of compliments. It also reflects a superstitious belief in the 'evil eye', and can be used to protect objects from its influence. Moreover, these REs, and others, might be linked to theological concepts that would then explain the motivation behind them (see Chapters 5, 6, and 7 for details of various theological concepts and references concerning REs and religious phrases).

Having discussed the theoretical frameworks, it is apparent that the concept of 'context' is significant when analysing the efficacy of theories and notions raised in the study of speech acts. The following section will elaborate on the relevance and meaning of context within the present study.

3.8. Speech acts and context

The significance of context proceeds from the definition of pragmatics itself; i.e. as a field of study that explains language use in context. In the domain of pragmatics research, the knowledge of language use is afforded equal importance to the knowledge of language structures. Communicating means not only recognising the grammar, lexicon and phrases of a language, but also when, where and how to use them according to the context. It appears that the conception of context in sociopragmatic research begins with the situational context, "the time and space of a speech act" (referred by

Hymes as 'setting' (1974: 55)); specifically the circumstances associated with speech events, which do not necessarily have a definite end. Hymes (1974), outlining his theory of communicative competence, observes the process of communication as first including an evaluation of a speech's social context, then selecting an appropriate communicative option to encode intention. Hymes (1972: xix) claims "the key to understanding language in context is to start not with language, but with context".

Wolf (2017) observes that, in pragmatics, scholars have taken different stances when recognising context. Fishman (1972) Hymes (1974) and Halliday and Hasan (1976), for example, have tended to consider context as stable, and perceived it to exist in advance of a speech event, focusing on the external features of context; whereas the other stance (see Sperber and Wlilson, 1982 and Žegarac, 2007) considers context to be more dynamic and constructed continually throughout the course of a speech event, focusing on its internal aspects (Wolf, 2017). Other scholars, such as Brown (1995) and Wolf (2017) consider both perceptions of context as crucial to furthering our understanding of interlocutors' communicative utterances; when studying REs, this view appears to be useful, as religious context includes both stable and dynamic/ cognitive features of interaction.

When studying communication in general, the social context is considered as crucial as the situational context[39]. The social context of language use is culturally variable; thus, its definition differs from one society to another. The scope of the study is termed 'pragmatics' if the situational context takes priority, or 'sociopragmatics' if both contexts are prioritised. This is why the present research is classified as sociopragmatic

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[39] Situational context refers to interpersonal communication (Wish and Kaplan, 1977).

(there is no religio-pragmatics), because the social (religious) context is as crucial as the situational context. This can be illustrated by the example *'ma sha Allah'*, which is used as a religious phrase to communicate the speech act of complimenting. Its use can be interpersonally/situationally perceived as a protective act, against the evil eye, and its non-use can thereby negatively influence the social relationship between the interlocutors. This perception of use of the phrase is rooted in religious belief. Thus, it is apparent that the relationship between language use and society is reliant on how the interlocutors themselves perceive and define their own communicative context, and how this context influences their language use.

Sperber and Wilson (1982) also observed the importance of social context, stating that context is comprised of situational context and information that interlocutors, particularly the hearer, can access while communicating. This information is intrinsic to interpreting an utterance correctly, and can be expanded to include the "encyclopaedic knowledge which is attached in [the hearer's] memory to the concepts present in the utterance" (ibid, 1982: 76). The speaker also relies on social conventions to perform successful speech acts; failure to draw on these jeopardises the social goal of the utterance. The concept of convention is crucial when defining context, as it is integrated within it. While Austin (1962: 119) did not explain social context when studying speech act performance, he did confirm that all illocutionary acts are conventional; however, "it is difficult to say where conventions begin and end". Conventions are always socially and mutually recognised as the means for acting, "counting as such only because [they are] mutually recognised, perhaps having been agreed upon" (Bach and Harnish, 1979: 108).

Thus, the context of communicative utterances is not limited to the relevant aspects of a physical setting; it also involves the social and cultural setting. The temporal and spatial aspects of speech events, social conventions, and the knowledge and beliefs of interlocutors are all considered contextual elements, and can be extended to include "any background knowledge assumed to be shared by s [speaker] and h [hearer] which contributes to h's interpretation of what s means by a given utterance" (Leech, 1983: 13). In the present research, the religious context is paramount, as REs are becoming more appropriate methods for communicating expressive acts (i.e. greeting, thanking and complimenting). The participants recognise the greater relevance of REs because of their knowledge of the religious context and the multi-illocutionary acts the REs support. Perceived religious context can also constrain the use of certain utterances, as is the case with cross-gender communication (see Chapter Six).

In the previous discussion, 'background knowledge' and the participants' 'shared knowledge' were identified as playing an instrumental role in explaining the concept of context. However, they can be used to refer to the same concept; i.e. 'mutual knowledge'. Lee (2001: 22) argues that this term is sometimes used interchangeably with other terms, such as 'shared knowledge', 'common knowledge', 'background knowledge', 'common ground', 'mutual beliefs', 'shared beliefs', 'mutual suppositions', 'presuppositions', etc. Gibbs (1987: 572) defines mutual knowledge as the shared knowledge and beliefs interlocutors use when interpreting utterances in communication. It is an essential prerequisite for the recognition of utterances in interactions: "people can infer exactly what is meant directly by relying on a contextual framework partially composed of the knowledge and beliefs shared by speakers and listeners".

However, Sperber and Wilson (1982: 61-62), have observed "mutual knowledge is knowledge that is not only shared, but known to be shared and known to be known to be shared and so on". They also contend that conversational inferences can be deduced without any reference to mutual knowledge. They propose an alternative notion to navigate the concepts of mutual cognitive environments and the principle of relevance. The difference between mutual knowledge and mutual cognitive environments is that the context for comprehension is a prerequisite in the case of mutual knowledge, as assumed by most pragmatics theories, whereas in mutual cognitive environments, the context of comprehension is not determined in advance results from comprehension (Sperber and Wilson, 1982). For example, Sperber and Wilson (1982: 70) mention the following example to demonstrate that comprehension can be included in context despite not being a constituent of mutual knowledge:

Bill, while travelling in Southern Europe, offers a cigarette to a peasant whom he believes to be ignorant. The peasant answers "No thank you, I have read the latest statistics". Bill is surprised, but understands correctly that the peasant wants him to take as part of the context that the latest statistics show that smoking is hazardous to one's health, and to infer from that context and the peasant's answer the reason why his offer of a cigarette is declined. (Of course, Bill cannot be sure that this is what the peasant meant.) As a result of this act of comprehension, the fact that smoking is hazardous becomes mutually assumed to be known.[40]

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[40] What would the comprehension be if Bill were to offer a bar of chocolate and the peasant replied with the same answer (implying that sugar is bad for someone's health)?. That is, the hazard of smoking and the issue of smoking statistics may still, in one way or another, involve a requirement for mutual knowledge.

Sperber and Wilson (1982) further criticise the original definition of mutual knowledge, whereby the hearer has to compute an infinite series of assertions or propositions to interpret an utterance; they argue such a situation is unlikely to arise in real conversation. However, in response to this problem, Clark and Marshall (1981) point out that mutual knowledge can be inductively identified, and should be simple, analysable and applicable without the need to compute infinite assertions. They argue that interlocutors must rely on three types of the co-presence of heuristics to infer mutual beliefs: linguistic co-presence, physical co-presence and community membership (see Clark and Marshall, 1981).

As mutual knowledge is an essential prerequisite to understand and interpret many types of REs in speech acts, the inclination in the present research is to accept it exists. Mutual knowledge is necessary, for example, to interpret (and appreciate) a phrase such as *'ma sha allah'* as a multi-functional speech act of various illocutionary forces. An interlocutor (hearer) who does not share the speaker's knowledge and beliefs would not recognise it, or at least would perfectly comprehend it, as Sperber and Wilson (1982) put it, as an assertive act confirming God's will while performing a complimentary speech act, as well as constituting a protective act, shielding the interlocutors from envy. This mutual knowledge is also necessary for the hearer to recognise that religious phrases are more appropriate when complimenting than other more direct utterances, guiding the speaker to perform a stronger perlocutionary act, through the knowledge that the hearer recognises and appreciates the force of their phrases and the hearer knows the speaker will acknowledge his/her recognition and appreciation.

3.9. Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the many relevant theoretical approaches and concepts that contribute to the theoretical framework employed to study REs and the influence of religion on language use, particularly in reference to expressive speech acts, and the performance of greeting, thanking and complimenting. The theoretical approaches reviewed reveal insights into the role that REs can play in guaranteeing appropriate communication. Prior to introducing the various approaches used to interpret REs in this study, the chapter has offered a discussion defining the theoretical background to the research. The chapter began with an attempt to define pragmatics; explaining how it is distinct from semantics, and showing the significance of studying REs in their pragmatic, particularly sociopragmatic context. It was further shown, through the discussion that these approaches are distinct, although it is difficult to differentiate between them completely.

The chapter provided a critical review of SAT, as represented by Austin and Searle, showing there is a place for the many concepts and notions included within it, when explaining the function of REs in the performance of speech acts. It has also extensively discussed the concept of facework and politeness, approaching it from different perspectives, and focussing on Brown and Levinson's model. It further demonstrated the importance of facework and politeness when analysing REs as facework expressions, also considering the role they play in addressing the interlocutors' positive face.

The chapter then moved on to describe and evaluate other pragmatic proposals, such as Grice's CP and Leech's PP, as related to SAT and politeness, in reference to their potential to be complementary to an understanding of REs in speech acts. As an additional and important context in which to study REs, key ideological and theological aspects have been considered concerning the motivation behind using REs (more

indication with respect to the theological aspect will be included in the discussions of the expressive speech acts: chapter5, 6 and 7). Finally, the chapter concluded by discussing perceptions of context, to understand how it informs understanding. It revealed that context is crucial for interpreting utterances in general, and REs in particular.

Thus, this chapter has highlighted the main theoretical frameworks that will be used in this study. Furthermore, through discussing the relevance of context, it has assisted in the preparation of tools to deliver a systematic analysis of the data by laying the groundwork for a methodology for the research. The following chapter will introduce the research methodology and discuss it in depth.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This empirical study analyses the presence of Religious Expressions (REs) in the daily speech of Saudi speakers of Arabic through the analysis of certain speech acts (i.e. greeting, responding to greeting, thanking and complimenting and responding to compliments) and their cultural relevance to communication. The sociopragmatic functions of such expressions are identified, including their cultural, and (in particular) religious motivation. Speech acts have been chosen to explore religion's influence on the use of language in order to consider which specific religious utterances are employed to achieve particular effects in exchanges shaped by cultural and social norms (Meier, 2010). A number of approaches and procedures were necessary in order to address the complexity of the data and the required analysis. Firstly, there is a discussion of: (1) approaches to data collection; (2) the setting and procedures of data collection; (3) the participants; and (4) ethical considerations. Secondly, there is a discussion of the treatment and presentation of the data, and thirdly, there is a discussion of the methods used for data categorisation and analysis.

This chapter commences with a discussion of the predominant research approaches concerning speech acts and pragmatics in general, in order to highlight their advantages and disadvantages and justify the combined approach employed in this current study.

4.2. Data collection approaches

Research methodologies have proved controversial in the study of speech acts, and in pragmatics research in general. Researchers in pragmatics are faced with methodological issues concerning data collection methods, along with their merits and drawbacks. Kasper (2000: 340) observed that "research into adequate data gathering methodology remains a lasting concern in pragmatics research". Data needs to be as realistic, inclusive and representative as possible, and each approach must be capable of successfully overcoming any issues that may arise.

The various data collection approaches used in speech act research can be identified in terms of the restrictions they enforce on the data. i.e. "the degree to which the data is predetermined by the instruments, and the modality of language use that subjects/informants are engaged in" (Kasper and Dahl, 1991: 216). The following figure identifies data collection approaches related to the above constraints.
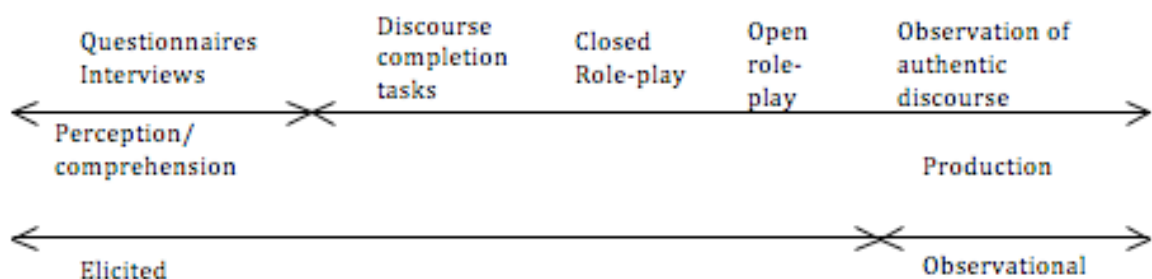
Figure 4.1. Data collection approaches related to modality of language use and degree of control (Kasper and Dahl, 1991: 217).

The approaches from the left of the continuum (i.e. questionnaires and interviews) elicit data concerning the participants' perceptions of speech acts. The approaches from the middle to the right of the continuum, which is to say the Discourse Completion Tasks

(DCTs), closed role plays and less-controlled open role plays) represent constrained approaches. On the extreme right of the continuum there is the observational approach for data collection, in which no premeditated constraints are placed on the participants, although accidental influence may be found from the presence of the observer. The following sections discuss the approaches in detail, clarifying the features of each approach and providing the rationale for the chosen approach in this study, role play and semi-structured interviews.

4.2.1. Observation of authentic discourse

Authentic discourse includes ethnographic data collected through observation, i.e. field notes or recording naturally occurring language (ibid). Field notes permit the researcher to collect a large amount of data from a wide range of interlocutors in different settings, and can provide the necessary information concerning the context of each speech event (Golato, 2003). Wolfson (1983: 95) considered this approach as being "the only reliable method of collecting data about the way speech acts function in interaction". The approach obtains data from naturally occurring language, however, the researcher is reliant on observational skills and memory to recall and write the linguistic data, which may lead to limitations in terms of quality and quantity (Labov, 1984). For example, linguistic units (e.g. intensifiers, modifiers and hedges) could be retrieved less frequently than other words (Lehrer, 1989: 105).

The other major ethnographic data collection approach of authentic discourse is recording (orally or visually) naturally occurring speech. The most important merit in this approach is spontaneity, which can reflect the interlocutors' real, rather than imagined, speech, since the speech event involves real-life consequences. Hence, such events can be a rich source of pragmatic features (Cohen, 1996).

Researchers have emphasised the importance of the ethnographic approach of data collection for studying social phenomena (e.g. linguistic behaviour) in natural settings (e.g. Walsh, 1998; Burns, 2000; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2000). Walsh (1998: 221) indicated that this approach is distinguished by "the multiplicity of processes", i.e. observing events and listening to what is being said as the investigation continues. Burns (2000) and Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2000) stressed the significance of ethnographic observation as the most direct approach for data collection. In addition, collecting naturally occurring data enables the researcher/observer to become involved in the natural context, granting the opportunity to recognise common 'cultural meanings' in behaviour (Punch, 2005: 152).

Recorded natural language is the most authentic discourse in terms of reflecting the natural linguistic behaviour of speakers (Wolfson, 1988). However, scholars disagree concerning the definition and description of 'natural language'. Wolfson (1976: 202) identified the difficulties in reaching a consensus concerning the nature of natural language, arguing that any language can be deemed natural, as long as it is contextually and socially appropriate to achieving the interlocutors' goals. Thus, unnatural language occurs when native speakers recognise the inappropriateness of language used in a specific context. This accords with the views of Stubb (1983), i.e. that it is impossible to capture authentic or natural speech data, as interlocutors manipulate their communicative language to be appropriate to the situation, thus lessening the possibility of obtaining purely natural language (ibid).

Furthermore, the naturally occurring data collection approach has inherent disadvantages, which may hinder its use in some empirical research, including the present study, i.e. difficulties in controlling the influence of social variables on the interlocutors' communicative behaviour, as factors such as gender, power distance,

status and age can play a role in speakers' production of language (Yuan, 2001; Adachi, 2011). Moreover, there is no guarantee that the production of the targeted speech acts will take place, as the researcher is unable to control the interlocutors' performance, potentially resulting in inadequate data (Houck and Gass, 1999; Tran, 2004). In addition, it is not feasible to replicate the outcomes of such research, as identical conditions would be required (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1993; Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Tran, 2004).

A further limitation with the potential to negatively affect the authenticity of this approach is the presence of the observer, i.e. participants conscious of being observed tend to be more formal in their speech, which also raises the issue of the naturalness or of linguistic data (Labov, 1972; Wolfson, 1976; Stubbs, 1983; Demeter, 2007). On the other hand, any attempt by the observer/researcher to conceal their identity could result in ethical issues, including intrusion of the informants' privacy (Bryman, 1989), while such a covert identity of the researcher could hinder the integration of other approaches, i.e. follow-up interviews (Gomm, 2004).

Due to the above issues, the present study makes no use of this approach, as discussed in a later section. The following section discusses a further major data collection approach, i.e. DCTs).

4.2.2. Discourse completion tasks

DCTs represent constrained approaches eliciting data regarding participants' language production (see Figure 4.1), and are common features of pragmatics research (Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Kasper; 2000; Yuan, 2001; Mey, 2004). Kasper and Dahl (1991) noted that 54% of the thirty-five studies they reviewed implemented the DCT approach to

collect data concerning speech act production, arguing that its usefulness is undeniable. The major merits of DCTs consist of their ability to enable the researcher to gain a large amount of data in a relatively short period of time, while controlling social and personal variables (Billmyer and Varghese, 2000). When DCTs are administered to a sufficient number of participants, they establish specific cultural correspondences for communicative language (Mey, 2004), thus proving beneficial in highlighting the orientation of different cultures towards verbal language (Clyne, 1998).

Beebe and Cummings (1996) found that, if the main concern is the naturalness of the data, a number of similarities can be identified between DCTs and naturally occurring speech. They identified DCTs as an effective approach for establishing an initial categorisation of linguistic formulas and pragmatic functions in naturally occurring speech. They concluded that DCTs enable researchers to study the perceived demands for socially appropriate responses and provide insights into cultural factors influencing the speech acts of interlocutors.

However, these conclusions were challenged by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992: 47), who claimed that DCTs are less likely to reflect authentic and spontaneous speech acts, including the elaborated utterances and nonverbal features occurring in natural speech. In addition, a number of strategies used in speech acts during real interactions (e.g. 'avoidance'), are lacking in DCT data. The written form of DCTs has also been criticised for eliciting responses more formal than those taking place in real-life situations, due to writing being generally perceived by respondents as formal (Rintell and Mitchell, 1989). In addition, although the aim of this approach is to analyse speech act responses, it is not possible to capture nonverbal features through written discourse (Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Cohen, 1996). A further version of the DCT approach consists of oral DCTs, created to avoid the shortcomings of written DCTs,

including perceived formality and the absence of spoken language features, e.g. exclamation particles, repetition and omissions (Yuan, 2001). Oral DCTs are deemed to be a form of closed role play and can reflect a more authentic discourse than written DCTs (see Figure 4.1).

However, the oral DCT still "suffers similar drawbacks as does the written DCT in that it cannot elicit elaborated negotiations and indirect [speech act] exchanges seen in everyday conversations" (Yuan, 2001: 289). Furthermore, oral DCTs minimise the opportunity for 'realistic' conversation, since such tasks lack the multi-turn feature of dialogue and the sequence organisation of any interlocutionary act (Tran, 2004).

This has led the current research to adopt the open role play approach, which lacks the shortcomings of written and oral DCTs, as noted above. This approach is discussed in the following section.

4.2.3. Role play

Kasper and Dahl (1991) stated that role play forms a major instrument of data collection in pragmatics research. In role play, the participants simulate social interactions, during which they enact defined roles in described situations (Tran, 2004). There are two types of role play: (1) closed role play and (2) open role play. Closed role play bears a number of similarities to oral DCTs, i.e. one turn produced by the participant. Open role play consists of multi-turn interactions, which lead to the production of the required data. One important characteristic of open role play is the production of spoken data resembling real-life acts. This enables the researcher/observer to consider the discourse features attached to the utterance content, e.g. pauses, intonation, repetitions and

laughter. At the same time, they are more effective at providing elaborated speech acts than any other data elicitation approach (Rintell and Mitchell, 1989).

Kasper and Dahl's (1991) categorisation (Table 4.1) considers open role play as the most appropriate data elicitation instrument in pragmatics research. Although authentic discourse obtained from naturally occurring data has the most exhaustive features, they suggested that open role play can prove an effective substitute for the authentic discourse approach, due to containing all aspects of real conversations. Kasper (2000) asserted that the discourse produced through role play possesses similar characteristics to authentic discourse. This can be seen in the following model:

Table 4.1. Focus and procedures in different data collection approaches (Kasper, 2000: 316).

Focus					Procedure	
	Interaction	Comprehension	Production	Metapragmatic	Online/ offline	Interaction with researcher
Authentic discourse	+	+	+	_	on	-/+
Elicited conversation	+	+	+	_	on	+/-
Role play	+	+	+	_	on	_
Production questionnaire	_	_	+	_	off	_
Multiple choice	_	+	+	+	on/off	_
Scales	_	_	_	+	off	_
Interview	_	_	_	+	off	+
Diary	_	_	_	+	off	_
Think-aloud protocols	_	+	+	+	on	_

The table demonstrates the ways data collected through different approaches relates to different aspects of spoken language, including whether it is the focus or the procedure of the approach. It is clear that the data elicited from role play has similar characteristics to data of authentic discourse, as can be seen by the plus and minus marks. Kasper (2000: 317) indicated that both have "oral, interactive productions and thus allow examination of a wide range of discourse features, including the overall structuring of talk exchanges, the distributions of turns at talk, sequencing of conversational contributions, speaker-listener coordination, and participants' joint achievement of transactional and interpersonal goals."

Thus, while authentic discourse is motivated and developed by the participants' communicative goals, the discourse in role play is a result of the researcher's goals. On the other hand, role play can be replicated and compared, since the researcher is able to provide a similar and full context to the participants (Chang, 2006). A number of studies have been undertaken to compare the production of certain speech acts using role play and DCTs, e.g. Rintell and Mitchell (1989); Edmondson and House (1991); Margalef-Boada (1993); Sasaki (1998). Analysis of these studies reveals that data from role play includes longer, and more complex, responses, as well as the existence of various strategies. These forms of response appear in naturally occurring data, rather than in artificially elicited data.

However, there are also a number of disadvantages to role play, including the time-consuming need for transcription (Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Chang, 2006). In addition, the interactions between interlocutors are often imagined, which can impact on the authenticity of the discourse. In addition, the interactants are aware that role play does not result in pragmatic consequences, as it consists of fictional situations (Golato, 2003). Furthermore, Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) argued that participants may

produce the item on which the researcher is focusing, thus influencing the spontaneity of the data. Moreover, researchers generally employ audio- or video-recording devices which can lead to the participants experiencing discomfort, thus influencing their performance (Chang, 2006).

Despite these disadvantages, role play remains widely employed in pragmatics, and in particular in speech act studies (e.g. Kasper, 2000; Tran, 2004; Demeter, 2007; Martinez-Flor and Usó-Juan, 2010), due to containing features similar to naturally occurring discourse. Some disadvantages are shared with authentic discourse approaches and are remediable (Kasper, 2000; Martinez-Flor and Usó-Juan, 2010). The following section outlines the rationale for employing role play for data collection in the present research.

4.3. The rationale for using role plays

Although authentic discourse collected from naturally occurring data is preferable in terms of reflecting the use of language in everyday interactions (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Rintell and Mitchell, 1989; Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Cohen and Olshtain, 1994; Beebe and Cummings, 1995), this approach is not always feasible. This can lead to further approaches (i.e. role play) proving more appropriate. As discussed above, role play is the most appropriate approach for the current research. Firstly, role play is efficient in providing relatively authentic discourse (Kasper, 2000). Rintell and Mitchell (1989: 251) pointed out that role play can be "a good indication of [the participants'] 'natural' way of speaking". Kasper and Dahl (1991) and Kasper (2000) categorised role play as the closest approach to authentic discourse. Unlike DCTs, they are interactive and dynamic, affording participants the opportunity to speak without the restrictions of writing. On the other hand, participants have no time to consider their responses, which,

in this current research, enhances the opportunities for the researcher to address the research question: what are the pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions of the religious expressions that are used in the participants' speech acts?

The researcher carefully followed specific procedures in order to address the issue of a lack of spontaneity in data elicited from role play. Tran (2004: 5) defined spontaneous data as "data provided by informants who, at the time of uttering the data in focus, are unaware that such data is the focus of research". This can be achieved by the researcher concealing the exact objective of the research from the participants while eliciting the data. This definition accords with the views of further researchers concerning spontaneous data being that collected without the participants being aware of being observed or studied (Manes and Wolfson, 1981; Beebe and Cumming, 1996; Houck and Gass, 1996). Moreover, if, as discussed above, it is necessary for the participants to be completely unaware of being studied, this also cannot be achieved with naturally occurring data.

Role play is thus the most appropriate approach for this research, enabling the researcher to elicit data in settings in which contextual and social variables can be controlled, e.g. the participants' age, gender, education and religiosity. This enables the researcher to answer one of the main research questions: how do different social variables (i.e. age, gender and religiosity) influence the participants' use of religious expressions? In addition, role play is the most appropriate approach to address the research question concerning the actual presence of religious expressions in the participants' speech acts, due to ability of the researcher to set up interactions according to the speech acts being studied. This contrasts with naturally occurring data collection approaches, in which the researcher is unable to control the occurrence of the studied speech acts (Houck and Gass, 1999; Tran, 2004). The current researcher undertook

follow-up interviews probing the participants' utterances to question them directly concerning their linguistic choices, in order to investigate the religious motivations behind the use of religious expressions in the participants' speech acts.

Hence, the use of an approach with controlled settings (i.e. role play) is more convenient than naturally occurring exchanges. The following section outlines the rationale and efficiency of interviews.

4.4. The interviews

Interviews were used in this study to elicit more data from participants in the role plays. Further details about the procedures are given below, after discussing the advantage of this approach as employed in earlier studies.

The categorisation of data collection approaches by Kasper and Dahl (1991) and Kasper (2000) employs the interview approach to identify the interlocutors' perceptions of their interactions. An example of this approach is a pragmatic study by Takahashi and Dufon (1989), who employed playback interviews in combination with role play to investigate speech act strategies used by Japanese ESL learners. They found that the playback interviews provided a significant supplementary approach in identifying the participants' perceptions of their linguistic behaviour. The same approach was applied by Al-Adaileh (2007), using DCTs rather than role play. Both studies found that the combination of the language production approach and the language perception approach (metapragmatic) is beneficial in speech act research, providing "an empirical basis for explaining observed patterns of speech act realisation and politeness value language users attribute to different linguistic means and strategies" (Kasper, 1991: 238). The

present research employs metapragmatic assessment to identify the participants'
preferences regarding the use of REs over other expressions.

Interviews are beneficial when exploring participants' attitudes and beliefs, and have
been employed in applied linguistics research in relation to a number of topics, i.e.
attitudes towards language in general; attitudes towards specific language aspects;
individual perceptions of linguistic experiences; and perceptions of deeper levels of
meanings (Al-Adaileh, 2007).

The application of more than one research approach (i.e. role plays and interviews) is
advantageous for this current study, as it strengthens the validity and credibility of the
findings and broadens the understanding of the cultural (religious) factors of the
linguistic phenomenon. Gomm (2004: 214) contended that it is beneficial to combine
more than one research approach, asserting that the employment of the interview
approach with further approaches permits the researcher to answer 'why' questions.
This combination can be used "to know what has been in the mind of the respondents",
i.e. when they initiate or respond to certain speech acts (Al-Adaileh, 2007: 100). The
current researcher employed semi-structured interviews for this purpose.

4.4.1. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are the most common type of interview employed in applied
linguistics research (Dörnyei, 2007). The format is open-ended, with the
interviewee/participant encouraged to elaborate on their responses. A semi-structured
interview approach, combined with role play, enables the interviewer/researcher to ask
questions and obtain information unavailable solely from observational data collection
approaches or data elicitation approaches. This combined approach thus enables the

researcher to identify the participants' beliefs and motivations, as well as why they think, talk and feel the way they do (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010). Dörnyei (2007) termed such questions 'probes'. This has been achieved in the current research by questioning the participants concerning their use of REs in role play conversations, along with the significance of such usage. Thus, in the present study, when a participant performed the speech act of complimenting during role play, s/he may have employed the religious phrase '*ma sha Allah*' (it is God's will). The probe method was used to ask why such a phrase was employed, in order to establish whether any significant religious motivation was present. The researcher took care not ask any leading questions, and focused on being as indirect as possible focusing on the religious motivation behind the use of the REs, i.e. rather than "did you use this expression for religious motivation?", the question was: "why did you use this expression? Is it going to be different if you use another expression?"

In addition, the researcher employed a third innovative approach to measure the significance and the participants' awareness of using REs. This is discussed in the following section.

4.5. Measuring the participants' awareness

This study also employed a further approach with a different group of forty-eight participants who did not take part in role play and the follow-up interviews, in order to test their reactions (by writing down their observations/comments[41]) to certain speech

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[41] It should be mentioned here that the researcher was not able to employ interviews in this approach (with G2) due to the cultural constraints. For the first group, the researcher was able to overcome such constraints by obtaining consent from 10 female participants who were relatives.

acts that were in an audio recording[42]. The researcher recruited two individuals (not from the participant sample) to act and be audio tape-recorded for the purpose of this part of the study. The scripts used here deliberately omitted any REs and phrases. This approach was undertaken following the collection of the initial data from the role play and interviews, which enabled the researcher to consider the expressions elicited from the role play, followed by excluding a number of religious phrases and words that the participants in the first part of the study had used. The participants were asked to listen to the audio conversations (see chapters 5, 6 and 7 for the scripts of the conversations) and write down their perceptions concerning the interactions and the interlocutors' linguistic behaviour, including any justifications for their comments. The perceptional comments of this group were compared with data elicited from the interviews with the first group. This approach further revealed the recognition and awareness regarding REs and words in the speech acts, and the beliefs held by this second group of participants. It was also employed to afford additional reliability to insights regarding religious motivation. Thus, in the example of the speech act of complimenting, as discussed above, the individual giving the compliments did not make use of the religious phrase *ma sha Allah.* The analysis of the participants' comments enables the researcher to examine their awareness of the absence of this phrase, and any religious motivations behind this realisation.

Other approaches

However, it is in effect the same rationale throughout, self-evaluation/reflection post role play and written evaluation on someone else's performance have the same nature of material.

[42] This method of speech perception/detection is often used in language studies in phonetics to measure participants' perception of pronunciation or mispronunciation (e.g. Ingram and Park 1997; Best, 1995). It has been used in this sociopragmatic study as a supplementary means of strengthening the conclusions concerning the participants' intentions and motivations regarding the use of certain REs.

Further approaches (e.g. the use of existing corpora or educational materials), can also be used in pragmatics research. None of these were employed by the current study, which adopted experimental and ethnographic approaches in controlled settings. The combined role play and interview approach was deemed the most suitable approach for the purpose of addressing the research questions in this study, where the role of language and culture is intertwined and the nature of the communicative situation is of crucial importance. In addition, the absence of spoken Arabic corpora in general, and Saudi Arabic corpora in particular, leads to researchers constructing their own corpora for the Arabic language (Mansour, 2013).

4.6. Participants and data collection procedures

This research collected data through role play, interviews and measuring the awareness of the participants. This current section examines the procedures followed to obtain the data.

4.6.1. Role play

A number of procedures were followed to ensure the validity of the role play scenarios (i.e. seven scenarios) (see Appendix B). Three senior university lecturers[43] acted as advisors in order to ensure that the devised scenarios would be able to help the researcher to elicit the relevant material, as well as the clarity and suitability of the instructions. The scenarios were further examined by four native Saudi Arabic speakers, to ensure the cultural and social relevance and the relationship to real life occurrences. These procedures are significant, as the participants' understanding of the situations

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[43] Two doctors from University of East Anglia and one from Qassim university.

(and their subsequent use of language) can be influenced by any ambiguity of the language, and a lack of familiarity with the situations (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986; Moser and Kalton, 2004).

The eight recorded sketches were also examined by four native Saudi Arabic speakers in order to confirm that the language used was natural, and the speech acts, even without REs, were those that occurred in daily life. The role plays included interactions involving encounters in different social situations. The first situation was in a bank, and involved the participant meeting the employee. The second situation was an interaction between the participant and an employee in their administration building. The third situation was an encounter between two friendly interlocutors at a social occasion/party. The fourth situation was an interaction between two friends in the office where they work. The fifth situation was between two friends in a library. The sixth situation was a communication between two friends on the telephone. The seventh situation occurred when the participant was helped by a stranger in the street.

These situations (see Appendix B for details) were selected in order to demonstrate how interlocutors performed the specific speech acts, and use REs, in different situational and social contexts with unfamiliar employees, friends, and strangers, and to observe whether the different situations and contexts influence the use of REs. However, the majority (four) of the situations involved scenarios in which the participants embraced urban and workplace roles. These roles reflect the status quo in Saudi Arabia in general, and the society of the research participants' in particular. The social context in Saudi Arabia has changed over the last fifty years, following the oil boom; from living nomadic lives, people have increasingly become urban dwellers, living in more civilised communities (Alhujelan, 2008). Nowadays, it is rare to find a nomadic Bedouin, and where they do occur, they are sometimes referred to as 'Bedouin' only for their tribal

affiliation (ibid). For example, in the Najd province, where this research was conducted, those who were once known as Bedouin have relocated to live in urban lives in nearby cities and towns, and are considered a part of the mainstream, using the shared Najdi dialect (see the next section) (Ingham, 2006). In terms of the use of language, Alhujelan (2008: 362) argues that the conservative religious movement in the last twenty years of the twentieth century in Saudi Arabia influenced the population to engage in more religious activities and practices, and to use more religious phrases in their interactions. As Alhujelan (ibid) argues, this influence occurred in all communities, at all levels of society. It should be noted that, because of the limited number of role plays undertaken in this present study, most of which involved situations in an urban workplace environment, the relevance of the findings, and any conclusions and generalisations, should be restricted to interlocutors sharing similar characteristics of the urbanised lifestyle of the participants, which can be claimed to include the mainstream of the Saudi Najdi dialect speakers.

4.6.2. The setting

The research was conducted in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, specifically the Al-Qassim region at the centre of the country. The language used in the role plays, together with the instructions, with the exclusion of those in the written questionnaires, is the Qassimi dialect, which is a subdivision of the Najdi Arabic dialect that is spoken in the central and north central areas of Saudi Arabia. According to Ingham (2006), there are four main dialects in Saudi Arabia: the Najdi dialect, the Southern dialect, the Eastern dialect, and the Hijazi dialect. These dialects include local dialects within them, which are generally similar to each other, although with slight differences. The Qassimi dialect is similar to the other Najdi dialects with some phonological and morphological

differences (Al-Rojaie, 2013). However, as Cowell (2005) observes, dialectual and Classical Arabic are not always separate, and Classical Arabic is used in everyday spoken language. For example, in the context of this research, the participants included a significant number of prophetic sayings and Quranic verses in Classical Arabic in their interviews. In terms of the use of REs in the Najdi dialect, it can be argued that this is a common feature in Saudi Arabia, and in the Arab World in general, in varying degrees of intensity of use (Morrow, 2006). Castelton (2006) reported that Saudi Arabians were found to use REs more extensively than other Arab nationalities. She attributed this high level of use to the conservative status of the Saudi people in general.

The research was undertaken over a period of three months in January 2015. The execution of the first research instrument (i.e. role play) took place in a room in the researcher's house that was quiet and comfortable, with each participant attending at a separate time, and the performance of the seven role play activities taking between sixteen and twenty minutes in total. The interviews followed immediately, with each lasting between eighteen and twenty-five minutes. The third instrument (i.e. measuring the awareness of the participants) was undertaken in two different locations by the researcher's two assistants[44]. The male tasks were carried out in the home of the researcher's male assistant, while the female tasks were undertaken in the home of the researcher's female assistant. The tasks were undertaken at different times and days, and in groups of three, four, five and six participants.

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[44] Since cultural restraints meant that the researcher was being unable to work with females, the decision was taken that assistants would undertake the experiments with both genders.

4.6.3. The informants

All of the participants were natives of Saudi Arabia who speak the Najdi dialect of the Qassim province. The participants' religious affiliation was to the majority Sunni branch, which forms 90% of the 100% Muslim citizens, the remaining 10% of whom are Shiite Muslims (Britannica, n.d.). Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of Islam. It is the most conservative country in the world (Bradley, 2005; Buchele, 2008). Qassim province is considered to be the most conservative region in Saudi Arabia (Al Sharif, 2014). This indication of the religious situation and affiliation is useful for achieving a better understanding of the influence of religion on the language used, particularly in terms of REs, although their use is a common characteristic in all of Saudi Arabia, as mentioned in the previous section.

Twenty four participants engaged in the role play (Group 1), and forty-eight engaged in measuring the participants' awareness approach (Group 2). All of the participants were aged twenty years and over. They were selected on the basis that they belonged to one of five groups: the two genders, two age stages, and Imams. The participants were chosen randomly from among those of the researcher's relatives and acquaintances who were willing to participate in the research. The researcher employed non-probability sampling, since the study primarily constituted an in-depth qualitative study, a feature of which is that the sample is often small (Wilmot, 2005). As Wilmot (ibid) asserts, for interviews (and role plays) involving one-to-one investigation, a sample of 20 to 50 participants is expected. The study did not aim to produce a sample that is statistically representative of the larger population, rather it drew a statistical inference from the

tendencies and patterns that appeared in the sample. The following table summarises the participants in both groups and their characteristics:

	Group one (role plays and interviews)					Group two (measuring participants' awareness approach)				
Gender	Males			Females		Males			Females	
Group	G1A	G1B[45]	G1C	G1D	G1E	G2A	G2B[46]	G2C	G2D	G2E
Age	20-30	22-37	over 50	20-30	over 50	20-30	22-37	over 50	20-30	over 50
Number	5	5	4	5	5	10	10	8	10	10
	14			10		28			20	
	24					48				

Table 4.2. Summary of the participants in both groups and their characteristics.

The researcher aimed to include a similar number of males and females, however, due to the fact that the study involved Imams, who are exclusively male, more men took part than women. Although there was no focus in the analysis on the economic and educational variables, in order to ensure that the group was homogeneous, all participants were from middle-class backgrounds, and had gained a Bachelor's degree, or were studying at university. The involvement of both genders, and a range of ages, enabled the researcher to examine the influence of these factors on linguistic behaviour. The research included five male [47] participants labelled with certain religious

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[45] Imams

[46] Imams

[47] Imams (G1B) are labelled as religious, as they lead the prayers in mosques. Moreover, older female participants (G1E) in group one are also identified as religious in this research, as all five

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characteristics (i.e. they all led the prayers in mosques), and ten participants of the same characteristics in the second group. This allowed the researcher to examine the influence of the individuals' religiosity on their daily use of language, and in particular on the performance of specific speech acts (e.g. greeting, responding to greeting, thanking, complimenting and responding to complimenting).

4.6.4. The conductors

The research recruited two native speakers of Saudi Arabic (one male and one female) to participate with the informants in the role play, in place of the researcher, whose participation could have negatively affected the performances. The conductors recorded the interactions. The role of the conductor was to lead the conversations with the informants, enabling them to undertake the speech acts being studied without being aware of the precise nature of the targeted speech acts. Due to the significance of their role, the conductors were trained in leading the tasks to enable them to elicit the targeted speech acts in a natural and spontaneous manner from the informants.[48]

4.6.5. The actors

As noted previously, the researcher employed a third approach to measure the significance and the participants' awareness of using REs. The two actors were given specific roles and asked to act as naturally as possible, while their interactions were tape-recorded. They undertook conversations as sketches, producing a number of speech

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participants noted in the background information section of the consent form that they recited the Quran and deliberately mentioned God (*dhikr*) in their leisure time.

[48] It should be noted that the conductors themselves were not informed of the focus of the research (i.e. REs).

acts, while excluding any REs that might occur in such speech acts. Following this, the recordings of the conversations were played to the informants (the forty-eight informants in G2), who were asked to write down comments, including any justification, concerning the use of language.

4.6.6. Procedures

Prior to commencing the process of linguistic data elicitation, the participants were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix A), which detailed: (1) the nature of the research; (2) that their participation was completely voluntary and anonymous; and (3) that they had a right to withdraw at any stage. They were also asked a number of demographic questions pertaining to the research variables.

The researcher subsequently gave each informant a written description of the situations and roles they were to play. The informant was asked to play seven different roles, each of which was designed to ensure the informant produced the speech act being studied[49] (i.e. greeting, thanking and complimenting and responding to compliments). The interactions between the two interactants (i.e. the conductor and the informant) were tape-recorded. Once all seven role play activities were completed, the researcher interviewed each informant in an informal manner. The researcher played back each conversation, asking the informant about their linguistic choices, e.g. the reasons for selecting one expression over another, or what made them speak in a certain way. The

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[49] The seven scenarios were set up to elicit various speech acts i.e. greeting, requesting, complimenting and replying to compliments, promising, apologising and thanking. However, only greeting, thanking and complimenting and compliment responding were analysed in this current study.

participants were given the opportunity to elaborate, and their answers were probed to investigate any religious motives. These interviews were also tape-recorded.

Similar procedures were undertaken in the awareness approach with the participants (G2) concerning the consent form (see Appendix C) and a set of instructions[50] on how to participate, accompanied by demographic and background information, and space for comments and justifications for the conversations (see Appendix C). The researcher's assistants then asked the participants to listen[51], once, to the pre-acted conversations, and write down their notes and comments regarding the interlocutors' language. This was intended to measure the awareness of the participants, as such an instant reaction can give more spontaneous answers, and determine the existence of any underpinning religious motivations behind their responses.

4.6.7. Ethical considerations

This study included a number of potential ethical issues, due to the study involving participants of different ages (i.e. twenty and above) and of both genders. Both factors were taken into consideration. The researcher ensured that he met the ethical principles set by the University of East Anglia's 'General Research Ethics Committee' (GREC) (see Appendix G), and so explained to the participants the purpose and general[52] area of the research, and gained their written consent for their participation. As noted above, they were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher

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[50] The instructions did not include any indication concerning the kind of linguistic expressions they should notice (neither religious nor others).

[51] The sketches were sent to the participants by email, and downloaded on each participant's laptop. They were also given headphones.

[52] Informing the participants of the specific objectives of the research was delayed until the end of the data collection procedure, due to the potential influence on their linguistic behaviour and their answers. They were given the right to request their contribution was removed.

reassured the participants that their identities would not be revealed, and that their recorded role play conversations and interview discussions would be treated with confidentiality, and would be used solely for the purposes of the research. Thus, all the names in the extracts and the quotations are pseudonyms.

The researcher made an effort during the interviews to ensure the participants felt free to express their perceptions and opinions. The researcher also stressed that there was no right or wrong answer, and that they were able to terminate the interviews if they felt their privacy might be compromised. The participants were also asked if they would like to be provided with a copy of the research findings.

4.6.8. Recording and observational procedures

In general, the analysis of the interactions between interlocutors requires the use of a video or audio recording, in order to capture the participants' complex conversational behaviour (Markee, 2000). Video recording is the most effective method, due to its ability to capture conversational features, e.g. body language and nonverbal gestures. However, for a number of reasons, the present study chose to use audio recording, i.e. (1) video recording can cause participants to feel uncomfortable, thus negatively affecting their performance (Chang, 2006; Nurani, 2009); (2) as this research involved female Saudi participants, video recording would have been a sensitive issue, due to societal and cultural factors; (3) audio recording were used for the sketches for the third approach, in order to ensure the informants concentrated on the language employed, as videos may have caused them to be distracted by nonlinguistic issues. Thus, audio recording was established as the most appropriate approach to maintain a convenient environment to enable the participants to preserve their natural linguistic behaviour.

Two digital voice recorders were used to enable the researcher to access the data and replay the conversations, in order to obtain an accurate transcription, as well as listen to the participants' perceptions and views.

4.7. Representing the data

The first step in the analysis of the interactions between those undertaking the role play was to write down the speech of the participants. This process is known as transcription, and the conventions of Conversation Analysis (CA) proved beneficial when transcribing the participants' role play discourse, as this approach revealed many characteristics of the interactants' produced language in an efficient manner (Liddicoat, 2011). Following the transcription, the researcher carried out transliteration and translation from the Saudi Arabic, in order to present a detailed account of the language produced. These procedures are discussed in the following sections.

4.7.1. Transcribing the data

As this study analysed discourse elicited from interactive speech, it was necessary to employ CA conventions as they analyse all linguistic levels (ibid). CA transcription may contain many further features than the linguistic units themselves, e.g. pace, loudness, pitch and timing (Myers, 2000). The researcher listened to the extracts repeatedly while transcribing, thus familiarising himself with the discourse under analysis. An important feature of CA transcription is that it identifies the turn construction units, which are essential in analysing speech acts as communicative acts (Hansen, 1998).

The present study employed Jefferson's (2004) transcription style, as it renders "details that contribute to the organisation and intelligibility of talk [and] it helps to retain

features of prosody and turn positioning in the transcription" (Mazeland, 2006: 153) (e.g. Extracts in chapters 5, 6 and 7).

4.7.2. Transliterating the data

The researcher carried out a transliteration process, due to the original language of the data being Arabic. Transliteration "denotes an orthography using carefully substituted orthographical symbols in a one-to-one fully reversible mapping with that language's customary orthography" (Habash et al., 2007: 1), i.e. in relation to this current research, it represented Arabic words in Latin letters to readers unable to read Arabic-language scripts. A number of systems exist for transliterating Arabic, including: (1) the Buckwalter Arabic transliteration system; (2) the Library of Congress system; (3) the Encyclopaedia of Islam system; and (4) the Bikdash Arabic Transliteration Rules[53]. This study adopted the latter, due to it being a system of one-to-one transliteration employing only two special characteristics as modifier (i.e. the apostrophe and the hyphen), thus ensuring this system is more accessible.

4.7.3. Translating the data

This study adhered to the sense-to-sense style of translation, as literal translation is not always able to denote the sense of the original language, and thus context-based translation is necessary in order to understand the sense of the original language. While literal translation is able to reveal the proposition of the utterance, it is not always capable of demonstrating the illocutionary force of the utterance, in other words, it is not always possible to translate REs directly from Arabic into English (Farghal, 1995).

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[53] Available at: http://eiktub.com/guide.html.

Whereas some REs in Arabic have direct equivalents in English, many need to be translated according to their pragmatic cultural functions (Farghal and Borini, 1997). For example, the religious phrases *in sha Allah* (if God wills) and *ma sha Allah* (it is God's will) are often both translated as 'God willing', whereas their meanings actually differ, and perform different illocutionary acts, and they are employed in completely different contexts, with the former used to promise a future act, and the latter used when complimenting a past act (see Chapter 7).

4.7.4. Analysing the data

The methodology for analysing the data included two approaches dedicated to answering the research questions. A quantitative approach was employed to answer the questions concerning the presence of REs in the participants' speech acts, and to establish how different social variables (i.e. age, gender and religiosity) influenced the participants' use of REs in the researched speech acts. It also employed a qualitative analysis to answer the two major questions of the pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions of REs in specific speech acts and the religious motivations behind such use.

The present research followed two quantitative analytical methods: (1) descriptive (i.e. frequencies and percentages) to address the presence of REs in the speech acts; and (2) inferential statistical, using a SPSS software programme, particularly chi-square test, to address the influence of the social variables on the presence of REs and on religious motivation. The descriptive analysis was also used to demonstrate the participants' tendencies to use REs in certain subjects of the performed speech acts with a potential relationship between the topics or situations triggering the speech act, and the use (or extended use) of REs. Thus, the data revealed that, when thanking for routine activities, there was less frequent use of REs than when offering thanks in other situations, in

which the participants felt greater indebtedness (i.e. recognising the illocutionary forces of REs) (see Chapter 5). To observe the variation between participants in terms of the frequency of REs, the participants in group one (G1) (i.e. the twenty four participants taking part in the role play and interviews) were divided into five groups. Similarly, the participants of group two (G2) were divided into five groups (see Table 4.2 above). The statistical inferential analysis was undertaken to address the relationship between the independent variables (i.e. gender, age and religiosity), and the various dependent variables emerging in the data concerning the use and perception of REs in the researched speech acts, along with the religious motivations of their use (e.g. the occurrence of religious phrases in complimenting (see Chapter 7), the use of invocations in thanking (see Chapter 6), the use of *assalam* forms in greeting (see Chapter 5), etc.). The chi-square test was used to indicate the existence of any association between the relevant variables. Statistical significance (p<.05) was considered to be an indication of association between tested variables. The data set included solely categorical variables, which is to say variables that are measured at a discrete level, through categories; some were nominal, such as gender, and being religious, but most were ordinal, in other words, it was possible to establish a clear descending/ascending order between categories. There were no continuous variables, in other words, variables for which one may compute means. Therefore, the chi-square test was the most suitable test for assessing the association between the two categorical variables, as one should use non-parametric tests, or tests that are not based on the mean. The chi-square test is employed to determine whether any associations exist. If significant (p<.05), it indicates that an association exists between the two tested variables, for example the association between age categories and type of *assalam* average. Other statistics such as gamma, and Cramer's V, were useful for assessing the intensity of the association. These varied

between 0 and 1, and between 0 and -1. The more distant the value is as compared to 0, the stronger the association.

The coding scheme for the statistical analysis of the use of REs during role play was based on the single number of utterances in each speech event, e.g. when considering each religious utterance in each compliment event (e.g. *"ma sha Allah ma sha Allah tabarak Allah"/* "it is God's will, it is God's will, blessed is God") is deemed to be three religious utterances/expressions, rather than one). As for the coding for the greeting speech act, it was based on the semantic structure for the *assalam* greeting, (see Chapter 5), the coding scheme for the patterns (i.e. dependent variables emerging from the interviews or measurements) was based on yes or no from the participants' responses (e.g. reference to religious motivation: yes or no).

The qualitative analysis commenced with a discussion of the emerged patterns and tendencies concerning the participants' use of REs, which were primarily organised based on the quantitative results in each of the three chapters concerning the speech acts studied i.e. greeting, responding to greeting, thanking, and complimenting and responding to complimenting), and these three different speech act events are discussed in separate chapters, 5, 6 and 7 respectively. The discussion was undertaken to examine the functions of REs within the participants' speech acts, with reference to existing theoretical concepts, including Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]), Austin (1962) and Searle (1969; 1975; 1979), in addition to further theoretical pragmatic theories, e.g. Grice (1975) and Leech (1983). The researcher also discussed the interview responses relation to the theoretical notions and their relationship with the recognised use of REs and religious motivation within the existing patterns and tendencies (e.g. the perceived relationship between illocutionary force and the use of invocations) (see Chapter 6). The

discussions also linked those motivations to a number of theological references. The participants' comments in Group 2 were discussed in a similar manner.

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter described the methodology of the current study. Firstly, there was a description of the data collection approaches, identifying and justifying the employment of the chosen approach. A detailed description of the setting and procedures of the data collection was also provided, as well as information relating to participants (i.e. the assistants and the informants) and ethical considerations. Secondly, there was a description of the treatment and presentation of the data. Thirdly, there was an explanation of the methods employed for analysing the data, outlining the quantitative approaches employed and the presentation of data analysis. In addition, there was an outline of the qualitative orientation when identifying participants' patterns of use of RE, and the importance of the qualitative aspect in providing insights into cultural and social influences (in particular religious influences) relating to the use of language (Dörnyei, 2007).

Following this description of the methodology, the following three chapters offer a detailed analysis of the expressive speech acts (i.e. greeting, responding to greeting, thanking and complimenting and responding to complimenting) and their pairing replies. The focus is on REs in these speech acts (i.e. rather than a comprehensive investigation) due to the large numbers of them involved (along with their variety and multi-functionality), which led to difficulties in treating them as one precise system (Mughazy, 2003). This justified the focus of the present research on investigating REs in these specific speech acts within pre-identified situational contexts, thus enabling an

examination of a number of different kinds of REs, along with their functions and potential religious motivation[54].

The methodological approaches chosen for the data collection and data analysis revealed an overall frequent occurrence of REs in the specified speech acts, alongside differences in the quantitative and qualitative aspects of REs that are detected in the language use in different populations. The following three chapters commence with the presence of the REs, and then they present extracts and the contexts of their occurrences, followed by the explanations of their functions and religious motivations.

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[54] The researcher's intention was to examine the existence of REs in previously identified speech acts, which the participants were expected to perform while acting out the situations. However, further speech acts occurred during the course of these conversations.

CHAPTER FIVE

The use of religious expressions in greeting and responding to greeting speech acts

5.1. Introduction

A greeting forms an expressive speech act (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). In general, the performance of the greeting act is a sign of: "the recognition of an encounter with another person as socially acceptable […] and it involves a concept of positive social quality in the relationship" (Firth, 1972: 1). This sign can be represented in a number of different ways, including cultural and social, along with religious, implications. Although greeting signs are, in general, conventionalised, they "are not merely formal empty recognition procedures" and sometimes have their own specific effects, as in the use of a blessing as a greeting (ibid.: 2). In an Islamic Arabic context (i.e. Saudi Arabia, the context of the present research), this concept is emphasised when using REs in the speech act of greeting, as it will be discussed in this chapter.

This chapter discusses firstly, the presence of REs in the participants' conversations, responses, comments, and replies, in relation to the greeting speech act, and the variations among them; secondly, the communicative functions of REs in reference to theoretical pragmatic concepts and notions; and thirdly, the religious motivation associated with their performance. The following sections demonstrate the ways participants employed REs in their performance of greetings, in accordance to the perceived function of the greetings. The chapter will firstly, examine the frequency of the occurrence of REs in the various patterns, including the frequency of the various

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forms of *assalam* and its responses. Secondly, there is a demonstration of the many examples of these greetings and responses as they appear within the different patterns. Thirdly, there is a discussion of the functions of REs in speech, and fourthly, there is a discussion of a number of different religious motivations. Finally, there is a discussion of the (G2) participants' awareness of REs in greeting and responding to a greeting speech act.

5.2. Occurrence of REs in greeting and responding

The data analysis revealed that the participants performed the speech act of greeting in five situations (S) (S1, S2, S3, S4 and S5) and performed the greeting response in one situation (S6) (see Appendix B). The total number of greeting exchanges consisted of 136 opening encounters and follow-up greetings, and twenty-four response exchanges. The most common and frequent greeting expressions used to perform (1) a greeting and (2) a response to a greeting were REs (92%) and (88%), respectively, disregarding the situational contexts of the encounters, in particular *assalam* and invocations. The following figures summarise the participants' employment of their REs in the various exchanges:
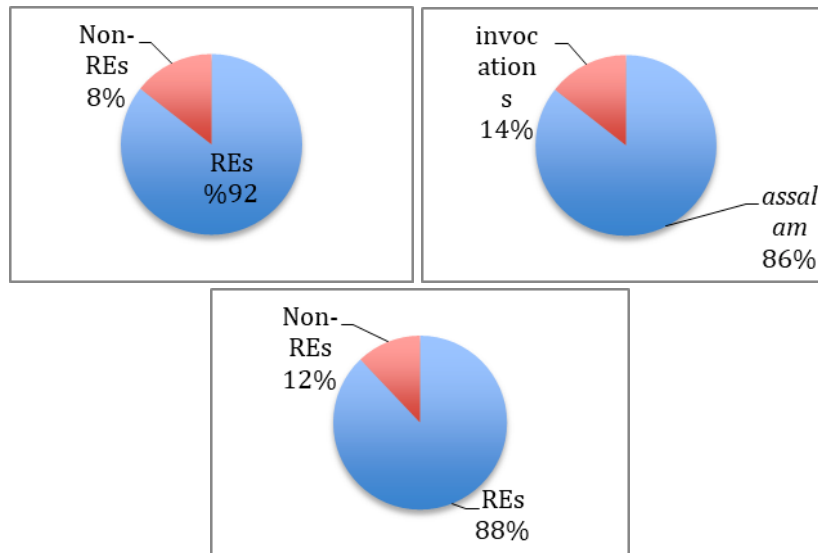
Figure 5.1. Summary of the participants' use of REs in greetings. Figure 5.2. Types of greeting. Figure 5.3. Participants' use of REs in responding to greetings.

The first figure clearly exhibits the inclination of the majority of participants to perform greeting using REs, with 92% of their greeting illocutions being religious. The second figure demonstrates that the majority of these REs were *assalam* (86%), and a number of participants tended to use invocations to perform a greeting, as 14% of their utterances were invocations. The following sections outline how the participants used these REs when greeting.

5.2.1. Greetings for opening encounters

The most common and frequent greeting expression of REs in the participants' illocutions to open encounters (regardless of situational context) was *assalam* (92.2%), either in: (1) its longest form '*assalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-ullah wa barakatu-h'* ('peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings') (34.5%); (2) in its shorter form (10.2%) *'assalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-ullah'* ('peace be upon you and God's mercy'); and (3) its shortest form (55.1%) *'assalamu alai-kum'* ('peace be upon you'). This form of greeting appeared at the beginning of the participants' illocutions in

different situations. The Extracts below demonstrate the participants' use of REs in their greetings.

Extract 5.1

(Participant Azzam (G1A))

Situation 1: The participant goes to the bank with the intention of picking up his/her debit card. S/he approaches an employee and requests him/her for the card.

01→   P[55]: *a-ssalamu alai-kum*

02   C: *wa alai-kum a-ssalamu wa*

03   *rahmat-ullah wa barakatu-h=*

04   C: *= hala w-allah*

Trans. 1.→ P: **"Peace be upon you."**

    2.   C: "And peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings."

    3.   C: "Hello by God."

Extract 5.2

(Participant Hani (G1B))

Situation 2: The participant is in his/her employer's administration building to submit a number of documents related to a one-year exceptional leave. He/she enters an office and approaches the employee to whom he/she wishes to give the documents.

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[55] See List of Abbreviations.

01→ P: *a-ssalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-*

02 *ullah*

03 C: *wa alai-kum a*-ssalam *wa*

04 *rahmat-ullah*

05→ P: **hayya-k allah ekho-i**

06 C: *hala wa sahla=*

07 C: *= hayyak*[56]

Trans. 1.→ **P: "Peace be upon you and God's mercy."**

2. C: "And peace be upon you and God's mercy."

3. P: "May God greet you, my brother."

4. C: "Hello"=

5. C: = "May [God] greet you."

Extract 5.3

(Participant Norah (G1E))

Situation 1:

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[56] In Arabic, perfect verbs can be used to express illocutionary acts and events in the future (Stewart, 1996).

01→ P: *a-ssalamu alai-kum wa rahmatu*

02→ *allah wa barakatu-h*

03   C: *wa alai-kum a-*ssalam *wa-*

04   *rahmatu allah wa barakatu-h*

05   P: *masa el-khair*

06   C: *hala w-allah*

07   C: = *hayya-k*

Trans. 1.→ P: **"Peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings."**

2.   C: "And peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings."

3.   P: "Good evening."

4.   C: "Hello by God"=

5.   P: = "May [God] greet you."

These three extracts clearly demonstrate how some of the participants opened their encounters with the *assalam* greeting in its different forms. This pattern occurred in a number of different situations, e.g. a bank; the office in an employer's administration building; at a party; at the library; and in a new working location.

The data also demonstrates that the participants occasionally (1.8%), opened encounters in some situations with a different type of RE than *assalam*: religious invocative utterances. For example, the participants in the Extracts below used such expressions to open their conversations.

Extract 5.4

(Participant Azzam (G1A))

Situation 3: The participant is at a party and coincidently meets an old friend.

01→ P: *Abu Abdulrahman ya-allah*

02 *hayy-ah*

03 C: *hala w-allah=*

04 C: *= allah yehayyi-k*

Trans. 1.→ P: **"Father of Abdulrahman O God greet him."**

2. C: "Hello by God"=

3. C: = "May God greet you."

Extract 5.5

(Participant Talal (G1A))

Situation 1:

01→ P: *bi-elkhair ekhoi*[57]

02 C: *hala bi-elkhair=*

03 C: *= hayyak*

04 P: *endi mowe'd tasleem bitaqet*

  assaraf

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[57] The agent here is contracted, but both the speaker and the hearer understand the implication of God.

05

Trans. 1.→ P: **"[May God greet you] with goodness, my brother."**

   2.   C: "Hello [may God greet you] with goodness"=

   3.   C: = "[May God] greet you."

   4.   P: "I have an appointment to collect the debit card."

5.2.2. Follow-up greetings

The data also revealed a further pattern of the use of REs in greetings. The participants' discourse revealed that they used a variety of REs as greetings to follow up the *assalam* greeting. This can be observed in Extract 5.2, Line 5, as well as the following examples.

Extract 5.6

(Participant Sami (G1C))

Situation 1:

   01   P: *assalamu alai-kum*

   02   C: *wa alai-kum a-ssalam*

   03→   P: ***massa-k allah bi-elkhair***

   04   C: *massa-k allah bi-ennoor*

Trans. 1.   P: "Peace be upon you."

   2.   C: "And peace be upon you."

3.→ P: **"May God greet you with goodness this evening."**

4. C: "May God greet you with brightness this evening."

The above examples outline how REs occurred in two patterns to perform the speech act of greeting. The following extracts demonstrate a further pattern in which participants employed REs in greeting and responding.

5.2.3. Enquiries as greetings and their pair-replies

The initial greetings previously introduced were, at times, expanded with further greetings, i.e. enquiring after the addressee's well-being and that of his/her family. The use of REs in this pattern was frequently associated with the responses to such a greeting. This pattern tended to occur in situations involving encounters between friends (S3, S4, and S5). This is illustrated by the following examples.

Extract 5.7

(Participant Roqayyah (G1E))

Situation 5: The participant is in the library looking for a specific book and accidently meets a friend.

01   P: *assala::mu alai-kum*

02   C: *wa alai-kum assalam=*

03   C: *= hala w-allah*

04   P: *hayyats allah=*

05   P: *= kaif el-hal?=*

06   P: = *wesh akhbarets?*

07   C: *[wesh akhbar-ets?]=*

08   C: *= wesh elom-ets?*

09→   P: **alhamdu l-ellah bi-khair allah**

10   **yajza-ts khair**

11   C: *wesh endi-ts bi-almaktabah?*

Trans. 1.   P: "Peace be upon you."

2.   C: "And peace be upon you"=

3.   C: = "Hello by God"

4.   P: "May God greet you"=

5.   P: "How are you?"=

6.   P: "What is your news?"

7.   C: "[What is your news?]"

8.   C: "How are things?"

9.→ P: **"Praise be to God I am in goodness; may God reward you goodness."**

10. C: "What do you have to do in the library?"

Extract 5.8

(Participant Maryam (G1D))

Situation 3: The participant is at a party and coincidently meets an old friend. They chat with each other for two minutes about life and work. They began their encounter as follows:

01   C: *assalamu alai-kum*

02   P: *wa alai-kum assalam*

03   (They kiss each other on the cheeks)

04   C: *hala wa allah*

05   P: [*hala wa allah*]

06   C: *akhbar-ets?=*

07   C: *= elom-ets?*

08   P: [*kaif elhal?*]=

09   P: = [*wesh akhbar-ets?*]

10   C: *wain addenya b-ets?*

11   P: *mawjodah*

12   C: *wesh akhbar-ets?*

13→   P: **alhamdu l-ellah bi-kair allah**

14   **yesalm-ets=**

15   P: = *wesh akhbar-ets anti?*

16→   C: *wa allah alhamdu l-ellah=*

17   C: = *wesh akhbar-ets?*

18→   P: **ya rabi le-k al-hamd**

19   C: *akhbar alwaldain?*

20→   P: **bi-khair al-hamdu l-ellah**

21   C: *akhbar alahal keluhum?*

22→   P: **keluhum bi-khair al-hamdu l-**

23   **ellah**

24   C: *shlon aliyal?*

      P: **ma enda-hum khilaf alhamdu l-**

25→ *ellah*

Trans. 1. C: "Peace be upon you."

2. P: "And peace be upon you."

3. [They kiss each other on the cheeks]

4. C: "Hello by God."

5. P: "[Hello by God]."

6. C: "What is your news?"=

7. C: = "How are things?"

8. P: "How are you?"=

9. P: = "What is your news?"

10. C: "Where have you been in this world?"

11. P: "Still exist."

12. C: "What is your news?"

13.→ P: **"Praise be to God, I am in goodness."**

14. **May God save you"**=

15. P: = "What is your news?"

16. C: "By God, praise be to God"=

17. C: = "What is your news?"

18.→ P: **"O my Lord, praise be to you"**

19. C: "How are your parents?"

20. → P: **"In goodness, praise be to God"**

21. C: "How is all of your family?"

22. →P: **"They are all in goodness, praise be to God"**

23. C: "How are your children?"

24. → P: **"They are fine, praise be to God"**

The examples in these Extracts clearly demonstrate the ways interlocutors complement their opening encounters and follow-up greetings with additional greetings. It is notable that the participants' responses to these greetings employed only REs (see 5.3.4.).

5.2.4. Responding to *assalam*

As noted above, the participants performed the greeting responding speech act of *assalam* in one situation (S6), in which the participant received a phone call from the other party beginning with the *assalam* greeting. In addition, the participants returned *assalam* following a certain pattern, i.e. the 'same or more' principle. This is illustrated by the following examples:

Extract 5.9

(Participant Najla (G1D))

Situation 6: A friend calls his/her friend to remind him/her to return a book he/she has borrowed and to tell him/her that they need it urgently.

01   C: *assalamu alai-kum*

02   **P: *wa alai-kum assalam***

Trans. 1.   C: "Peace be upon you."

2.→ **P: "And peace be upon you."**

The participant in the above example returned *assalam* using the same locution; in the following example the participant responded using more locutions.

Extract 5.10

(Participant Solaiman (G1C))

Situation 6:

01   C: *assalamu alai-kum*

02→   P: *wa alai-kum assalam wa- rahmatu*

03   *allah wa barakatu-h*

Trans. 1.   C: "Peace be upon you."

2.→ P: **"And peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings."**

Extract 5.11
(Participant Modi (G1E))

Situation 6:

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01   C: *assalamu alai-kum wa- rahmatu*

02   *allah wa barakatu-h*

03→   P: *wa alai-kum assalam wa- rahmatu*

04   *allah wa barakatu-h*

Trans. 1.   C: "Peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings."

       2.→ P**: "And peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings."**

The final three extracts exemplify the ways the participants returned *assalam* with similar (or lengthier) religious utterances, as discussed in further detail in 5.4.1.

All the above examples of the various patterns and tendencies of the participants in their speech acts of greeting, and greeting response, clearly demonstrate the significance of REs. However, the data reveals a disparate use of REs among the participants, as discussed below.

5.3. Variation in the use of RE when greeting

An examination of the frequencies and distributions of REs across the five groups revealed no significant differences, as demonstrated in the following chart:
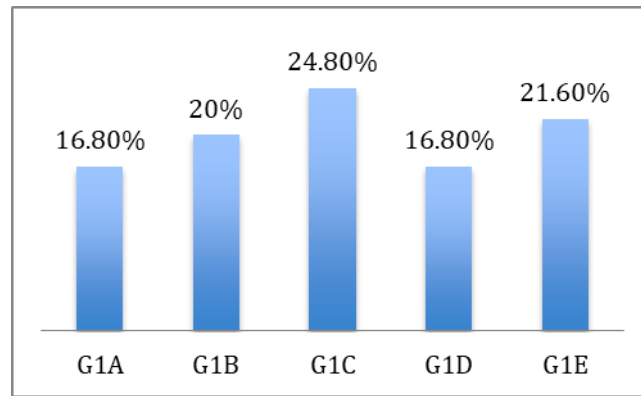
Figure 5.4. The frequency of REs in greetings, according to the five groups.

The above figure indicates that the two younger participant groups (i.e. G1A and G1D) employed fewer REs (16.8% + 16.8%) than the other groups; and the older male and female participants (i.e. GIC and G1E) had a slightly increased use of REs (24.8% + 21.6%), along with the Imams (G1B) (20%). The data reveals that, in a number of situations, some younger participants made no use of REs either: (1) to open their encounters; and (2) as follow-up greetings. Nevertheless, the data reveals that the participants from these five groups differed in their use of REs in greetings, i.e. in how they performed and returned *assalam* in its three forms. This difference is most likely informed by a number of factors, including age, gender, and the participant's degree of religiosity. However, in order to examine which of these factors was the most influential, a statistical test (chi-square test) was employed to assess the association between the three variables and the type of *assalam* employed (i.e. independent variable). The following table demonstrates the significance of this association.

Dependent variable	Independent variable	χ^2	df	p^a	y

Type of *assalam* average	Gender	2.229	2	.461	
	Age	**13.956**	**4**	**.005**	**.813**
	Religiosity[58]	**12.514**	**2**	**.001**	**-.915**

Table 5.1. Chi-square measurement of association between the social variable and type of *assalam* when greeting

The result of the chi-square test shown in the table reveals the factors of age and religiosity as being more influential than gender, due to a significant association between the p-value association between age (.005) and religiosity (.001). The following test table clarifies in greater detail the degree to which the participants differed in their use of each form of *assalam*:

	Type of *assalam*[59]			Total
	Shortest form	Long form	Full form	

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[58] Religiosity scales for measuring religiosity are culture-bound, and often specific to Western Christian contexts (see Tanaka, 2011). These are not suitable for the Islamic Saudi context. For example, the items/questions in those scales that are related to beliefs, such as believing in God, are difficult to apply to Saudi society, because everyone is Muslim, and such beliefs apply to every Muslim. Therefore, measurement of religiosity in an Islamic context, such as Saudi society, should focus on practices other than questions concerning basic beliefs of faith. In the context of the present research, the participants were all practicing Muslims, however, two groups were associated with the religiosity factor because of certain religious practices. G1B (male Imams) lead prayers, and were therefore labeled as religious people. G1E (older female participants) were associated with the religiosity factor because all five participants noted in the background information section of the consent form that they recited the Quran, and deliberately mentioned God (*dhikr*) in their leisure time.

[59] The three forms of the coding scheme are: (1) Full form '*assalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-ullah wa barakatu-h*' ('peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings'); (2) Long form '*assalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-ullah*' ('peace be upon you and God's mercy'); and (3) Shortest form '*assalamu alai-kum*' ('peace be upon you'). This is a religious classification (see 5.6.1).

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20-30 (G1A and G1D)	90%	10%		100%
Age 22-37 (G1B)	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	100%
Over 50 (G1C and G1E)	22.2%	11.1%	66.7%	100%
Religious (G1B and G1E)	10.0%	20.0%	70.0%	100%
Religiosity				
Neutral (G1A, G1C and G1D)	78.6%	14.3%	7.1%	100%

Table 5.2. Type of *assalam* for greeting, cross-tabulated according to age and religiosity.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 clearly demonstrate that older participants (G1C and G1E) were more likely to use the long, and full, forms of *assalam* for greeting, while younger age groups (G1A and G1D) tended to use the shorter forms, i.e. 90% of the short forms of *assalam* were used by these groups. In addition to the factor of age, that of religiosity played a significant role in the participants' (i.e. G1B and G1E) use of the longer forms of *assalam*.

The variables of age and religiosity also influenced how participants returned the *assalam* greeting, as illustrated by the following test:

Dependent variable	Independent variable	χ^2	df	p[a]	y
Type of returning *assalam* average	Gender	.162	2	1.000	
	Age	**15.367**	**4**	**.002**	**.881**
	Religiosity	**13.565**	**2**	**.001**	**-.961**

Table 5.3. Chi-square measurement of association between the social variable and type of returning *assalam*.

The table reveals that the age and religiosity of the participants was more influential than gender, as the p-value association between age (.002) and religiosity (.001) indicates a significant association in their manner of returning *assalam*. The exact test illustrates this:

	Type of returning *assalam*[60]			Total
	No return	Same form	Longer form (including full form)	
20-30 (G1A and G1D)	30.0%	70.0%		100%
Age 22-37 (G1B)		20.0%	80.0%	100%
Over 50 (G1C and G1E)		22.2%	77.8%	100%
Religious (G1B and G1E) Religiosity		10.0%	90.0%	100%
Neutral (G1A, G1C and G1D)	21.4%	64.3%	14.3%	100%

Table 5.4. Type of returning *assalam*, cross tabulated according to age and religiosity.

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[60] The three forms of the returning *assalam* coding scheme are: (1) Longer form, which means that they used more words of *assalam* expression than the greeter used, for example, when the greeter said, '*assalamu alai-kum*' (peace be upon you), they replied with '*wa alai-kum assalamu wa rahmat-ullah wa barakatu-h*' (and peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings); (2) Same form, which means that they used the same words of *assalam* expression that the greeter used, for example, when the greeter said, '*assalamu alai-kum*' (peace be upon you), they replied with '*wa alai-kum assalam*' (and peace be upon you); and (3) No return form, which means that they used an expression other than the *assalam* reply, for example, when the greeter said, '*assalamu alai-kum*' (peace be upon you), they replied with '*hala*' (hello). This is a religious classification (see 5.6.2).

The exact test reveals that older groups (G1B, G1C and G1E) and religiously identified groups (G1B and G1E) were more inclined to use longer forms when returning *assalam*. However, the younger groups (G1A and G1D), and those identified as religiously neutral (G1A, G1C and G1D), tended to return *assalam* using the same[61] form of *assalam* greeting, or by using a separate greeting response, e.g. '*hala*' (hello), '*ahlain*' (two hellos).

The above data revealed the tendency of both the older participants, and the most religious group, to extend their *assalam,* as well as extending their *assalam* response utterances. However, the participants' discourse in greeting, and responding to greeting, revealed that the majority used REs pervasively, according to the setting and the social interactional context of each situation. The participants' performance of the speech act of greeting revealed that they used REs, in particular *assalam* in its various forms, for opening encounters and follow-up greetings, which where typically invocations. In addition, the participants employed REs in their responses to both greetings and replies to enquiry greetings.

Having demonstrated this pervasive use of REs in all circumstances, answering the quantitative question of the presence of REs in the participants' greeting and responding to greeting speech acts, together with the question of the influence of different variables on that use, the following more qualitative sections discuss why REs were pervasive, as this can be connected with their pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions and religious motivation. The participants' recognition of the religious meanings of *assalam* and greeting invocations were essential in the use of such REs, as well as their cognisance of

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[61] See section 5.4.1 for the 'same or more principle' for returning *assalam*.

their illocutionary communicative functions. This can be ascribed to: (1) their understanding of the religious motive of *assalam* utterances in general (95.8% referred to the religious motive of *assalam*); (2) the religious motive for using longer forms of *assalam,* and in particular, the 'same or more' principle of returning *assalam* (95.8% indicated the religious motive for using the longer forms[62] for both acts); (3) their perception of the relationship between addressing the hearer's positive face, and the use of the longer *assalam* and its return; and (4) their recognition of the stronger illocutionary forces of such lengthier religious utterances. This is discussed in further detail in the following sections.

5.4. Functions of REs in the speech act of greeting

A greeting forms an expressive speech act (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Searle (ibid) observed that greeting forms a simple form of speech act, arguing that:

> In the utterance of 'hello' there is no propositional content and no sincerity condition. The preparatory condition is that the speaker must have just encountered the hearer, and the essential rule is that the utterance counts as a courteous indication of a recognition of the hearer (Searle, 1969: 64-65)

Greeting expressions are comprised of culture-specific connotations and serve a number of different communicative functions (Schleicher, 1997). Thus, they can be used to denote: (1) "politeness, presence validation (for self and others), threat denial, petition preliminary, display and identity establishment for self and others"; and (2) (in the American context) to exhibit happiness in being in the company of another individual (Goffman, 1971: 74). Further communicative functions of greetings in different cultural

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[62] Even if they do not always use long forms.

contexts are also highlighted by Yousouf et al. (1976), who found that greetings, and responses to greetings, among the Tuareq tribes of the Sahara function as a demonstration of respect and solidarity, while a failure to use such speech acts can be dangerous, and violates a number of socio-cultural norms. They further observed that the quantity of language used in greetings influences their sociopragmatic function, i.e. shortened greetings can be understood in a negative manner, as rude and impolite, while lengthened greetings can be seen as highly courteous.

Following this discussion of the general functions of the speech act of greeting, the sections below discuss the functions of REs in the different patterns of the speech act of greeting.

5.4.1. REs with *assalam* as the opening encounter

In an Islamic Arabic context (i.e. within the Saudi Arabian speaking community), the speech act of greeting can be performed using various REs, the most prevalent being *assalam* (saying '*assalamu alai-kum*' ('peace be upon you') or its longer forms) (see Figure 4.2). This use of *assalam* causes it to be employed on occasions to mean 'greeting' and vice versa, i.e. stating that an individual did not perform the *assalam* speech act is most likely to refer to the fact that the speaker did not greet him/her. This may be perceived as demonstrating a negative attitude towards the addressee. Wierzbicka (1987: 219) noted that the speech act of greeting should "consist of assuring the addressee of one's feelings towards him, as well as of one's readiness to enter into conversation with him."

The current data reveals a readiness to employ *assalam* in its different forms as the act of greeting. The participants employed *assalam* regardless of the situation, and whether

the encounter was with a friend or a stranger. In Extract 5.1, for example, the participant visited a bank in order to pick up his debit card. He validated his presence and opened his encounter with an employee with "*assalamu alai-kum*". This is similar to the participant in Extract 5.7, who performed the act of *assalam* when he encountered a friend in the library, in order to demonstrate his recognition of the encounter.

As noted above, a number of the participants performed the speech act of greeting using the long forms of *assalam* (i.e. Extracts 5.2 and 5.3). Although all forms of *assalam* have the Illocutionary Force (IF) of greeting, they differ in terms of the IF strength, and the degree of facework encoded. This is due to the *assalam* utterance being perceived as an invocative act, with longer forms including additional invocations (see Q3 below) and thus also additional IFs, which increase the IF strength of *assalam* as a greeting. In addition, as noted above, lengthened greetings can be seen as signifying a higher level of courtesy, which (along with the religious inducement of such extensions discussed in 5.5.1) was recognised by many of the participants. For example, Haya justified her use of the longer form of *assalam* as being due to its increased positivity in addressing the positive face:

> I always attempt to say *'a-ssalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-ullah wa barakatu-h'* or at least *'a-ssalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-ullah'*. In addition to the reward from God […] I think it is more polite[63] to lengthen *assalam*. It shows more respect and displays my psychological state and good attitude towards the person I am talking to. You even, sometimes, can know if I am angry from the way I greet with *assalam*, as I only say

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[63] The participants, in this quotation and in the others, did not elaborate on what they meant when they said 'polite'. They used the word *mu'addab*, or *mu'addabah*, which literally means 'polite'.

"assalam" ('peace') without *'alai-kum'* ('upon you'). (Q1, post-role play interview, Haya, 2015)

A second participant also indicated this correlation between the degree of facework and the use of the longer forms of *assalam*, stating:

I think when I performed *assalam* in the complete way and said: *'a-ssalamu alai-kum wa-rahmatullah wa-barakatu-h'* in the situation of the bank, that would make [the employee] pay more attention to me, I mean give me a face [pay attention to him], and help me. (Q2, post-role play interview, Azzam, 2015)

The quotations above demonstrate that the use of different locutionary forms of the same type of act can influence the other levels performed in an utterance, i.e. the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act. This is observed in the participant's intention in Q2 to perform the complete form of *assalam* in order to gain additional attention from the addressee, while this intention is also perceived by the other interlocutor, who thus pays more attention (i.e. the perlocutionary effect). Similarly, the participant's intention in Q1 to demonstrate anger (and negatively influence the hearer's face) is achieved by greeting with the abridged version, *assalam,* i.e. using a shortened locutionary act. The following section discusses this aspect in further detail.

5.4.1.1. *Assalam* and the three levels of speech acts

When Austin's (1962) three-level distinction between the acts of an utterance is applied to *assalam* in the speech act of greeting, it reveals that (although the different forms of *assalam* attain the same illocutionary act, i.e. greeting), they perform different locutions and provide additional meanings. These additional meanings have the capacity to influence the illocutionary act, and thus strengthen IF. They also reflect the link between the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act performance, and the effect on the

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addressee. Thus, the semantic structure of *assalam* when employing religious utterances influences the pragmatic function of the act (for the relationship between semantic structure and pragmatic function, see Bierwisch (1980) and section 3.2). *Assalam* (peace) or *'a-ssalamu alai-kum'* (peace be upon you) differ in their locutionary status from *'a-ssalamu alai-kum wa-rahmat-ullah'* (peace be upon you and God's mercy) or *'a-ssalamu alai-kum wa-rahmat-ullah wa-barakatu-h'* (peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings). Additional religious meanings are included in the latter two forms, in comparison to the former. These additional meanings (i.e. divine mercy and blessings) were recognised by a number of the interlocutors, including the following participant, who reflected such awareness of the illocutionary status of these REs, as well as their effectiveness in the illocutionary act:

> Surely there is a difference! It is not the same if you pray for someone to have peace or you add God's mercy and His blessings. I mean, invoking three things is better than one. This will have an influence on the addressee as well. This is in addition to, of course, the reward from God[64]. (Q3, post-role play interview, Abdullah, 2015)

Thus, in contrast to Searle's (1969) and Youssouf's (1976: 804) proposals that greetings are communicative acts that lack propositional content and referential value (a suggestion apposed by Duranti (1997: 64)), a greeting with an *assalam* utterance conveys religious propositional content. As asserted by the participants in the latter two quotations, if this does not signify such content, or is viewed as having zero referential value (Youssouf, 1976: 804), then the *assalam* component (along with its different forms) is pragmatically insignificant in terms of IF. The suggestions that greeting

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[64] The participant is indicating that the longer the *assalam* utterance, the more the reward from God, i.e. the prophetic saying in 5.5.1.

expressions are only communicative acts that are used to establish social relations, that they are empty of propositional contents and that interlocutors do not mean what they say in greetings (see Sacks, 1975) may be relevant to cultural contexts and specific expressions (like 'hello' in English), as Searle (1969) posits. However, greetings in this current research were performed using *assalam* with its religious content, resulting in a number of interlocutors demonstrating a conscious awareness of the religious content (see Q3). This recognition of *assalam* as a greeting utterance and its locutions, illocutions and propositional content (i.e. the propositional content of *assalam* is that peace (from God) and God's mercy and blessings upon the addressee) also appeared when the greeters abstained from performing *assalam* in certain contexts and for certain conditions (as discussed below in 5.5.3).

A further act undertaken by participants when performing *assalam* (and in particular during the use of extended forms) was the perlocutionary act. Perlocutions are the "consequences or effects [that] acts have on the actions, thoughts, or beliefs, etc. of hearers" (Searle, 1969: 25). Austin (1962: 101) noted that they consist of: "saying something [that] will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons: and it may be done with the design, intention, or purpose of producing them". They are also performed through the use of the REs in *assalam*. Searle (1969: 46) commented that, in relation to the speech act of greeting, "there is no associated perlocutionary effect of greeting", and that when the speaker says 'hello' and means it, s/he has no intention "other than the knowledge that he is being greeted". This contradicted the meaning of *assalam* as a greeting and its religious components, along with the participants' cognisance (as in Q3) of the perlocutionary effect elicited by these components. The participant's comment that "invoking three things is better than one

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thing", indicated his awareness of the illocutionary act he performed in association with the greeting (invocation) and the resulting perlocutionary act. He further stated that: "this will have an influence on the addressee as well". This perlocutionary effect was also indicated in Q2, as performing *assalam* in a complete way would result in an improved response on the part of the hearer.

However, Zwagerman (2010) observed that the speaker has a motive to accomplish a certain perlocution in every communicative illocutionary act, but that this is not always in the forefront of the speaker's awareness while actually producing the utterance. Whether or not the perlocutionary acts of *assalam* REs are intentional, the effect remains identical, due to the religious content conveyed. The religious perlocutionary effect also depends on securing the uptake on the part of the hearer, i.e. s/he should recognise the religious meanings, and the IFs that REs include in *assalam*, as interpreted by the participant in Q3.

This recognition of such religious meanings and their IFs are exemplified by frequent examples in the Islamic literature explaining the meaning of *assalam*, i.e. Alothaimeen (2003: 327) asserted the recognition of the IF of *assalam* as an invocation in greetings, noting that: "This meaning should always be recognised […] it is necessary we understand that it is an invocation in addition to being a greeting".

The above discussion evidenced the prevalence and importance of the use of *assalam* and its religious components as a greeting speech act to open an encounter between interlocutors. The following section focuses on additional patterns of the use of REs in greetings, in order to initiate an encounter.

5.4.2. Invocations in greetings for opening encounters

The participants' discourse revealed that only a small number employed REs to open their encounters with a pattern other than *assalam*. These exceptions used invocative expressions (see Extracts 4 and 5). In Extract 4, the participant expressed his recognition of his friend's presence through greeting him with the phrase "*ya allah hay-ah*" ('O God greet him'). The performative quality of this invocation as an expressive utterance was used by the participant to show a positive face strategy towards his friend upon meeting him unexpectedly in a social situation (see S3 in Appendix B). This communicative function was recognised by the hearer, leading him to reply to the greeting with "*hala wa allah*" ('hello by God').

The participant justified his use of this form of greeting due to the situation not allowing him to use *assalam*:

> I suddenly saw him. It was fast. I didn't have space and time to perform *assalam* then let him return it […] I know *assalam* is better, I mean more formal and polite, but in some situations one has to speak quickly, and it is not bad; it is still an invocation. (Q4, post-role play interview, Azzam, 2015)

The participant thus indicated that it was more significant to be efficient in this situation than being very "polite", in particular as the exchange took place between two individuals who knew each other well (Brown and Levinson, 1987). This strategy is generally acceptable when "the maxim of efficiency overrides the maxim of politeness" (Wei, 2010: 59). It leads to efficient communication, while conforming to Grice's maxim of quantity (Grice, 1975) as the greeter is still conversationally cooperative. In such conditions, greetings may, on occasion, be omitted (see Wei, 2010; Jaradat and Zuraiq, 2009). Nevertheless, the participant preserved a degree of polite behaviour in performing the greeting speech act by using REs to enhance the hearer's positive face.

In addition, in Extract 5.5, the speaker commenced his conversation with the bank employee with the RE "*bi-elkair ekhoi*" ('with goodness, brother'). The religious structure in this expression is contracted, i.e. the RE: 'may God greet you with goodness this evening/morning, my brother' is reduced to "with goodness, my brother". Nevertheless, due to this expression being frequently produced in its complete form, both speaker and listener apprehended the reference to the removed agent, i.e. Allah (God). This form of greeting is time-specific, in other words, morning or evening, and, if used in its abbreviated form, can damage the addressee's positive face (see the above discussion concerning short greetings). Its lesser degree of addressing the face was also recognised by the participant, who stated in the interview:

> I should have performed *assalam*. I imagine I didn't use it and said only '*bi-elkair*' because of the situation; I was in a hurry. (Q5, post-role play interview, Talal, 2015)

Again, the speaker attributed his less appropriate form of greeting to address the hearer's positive face in the situation, i.e. he was in a hurry. Brown and Levinson (1987) considered urgency as one of the factors justifying non-minimisation of the face threat, and using a long greeting such as *assalam* in its complete form would decrease the urgency. Notwithstanding this situational motive, the speaker redressed the reduced facework by implicitly using an in-group identity marker strategy (ibid) by addressing the hearer (i.e. the employee) as "my brother"[65]. Such usage is frequently driven by a large number of social and cultural norms, including religious norms. In the Islamic context of the current research, the implication of such an address is informed by many

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[65]Alhujelan (2008: 365) noted that in the Saudi speech community the word *'ekhoi'* ('my brother') is linked to the phrase 'in God' and that the omitting of 'in God' would not change the intended meaning, which is the religious brotherhood.

religious prescriptions (see Alhujelan, 2008; Ahmad, 2015) (see individuals' religious motivations for using 'brother' with non-Muslims 5.5.3.).

5.4.2.1. Invocations in greetings and the three levels of speech acts

As previously discussed, greetings are viewed as expressive acts. Searle (1975: 356) noted that the illocutionary point of an expressive act is an expression of "the psychological states specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content", i.e. there is no direction of fit when performing an expressive act. The speaker (i.e. the greeter) does not attempt "to get the world to match the words nor the words to match the world" (ibid). In Extract 5.4 and Extract 5.5, both speakers perform the act of expressive greeting using utterances that have the direction of fit to get "the world to match the words". IF of utterances are therefore not limited to expressive points, but are also interpreted as invocations bringing about a state of affairs. The speakers greet their listener by calling God's favour upon them. However, the IF of the two utterances varies in accordance with the locutionary acts performed, thus influencing the perlocutionary effect. The linguistic structures of the two REs indicate a number of different semantic meanings and syntactic structures that reduce the IF of the utterances in comparison to other greetings, i.e. *assalam*. Bierwisch (1980) and Jibreen (2010) acknowledged this connection between syntactic structures and semantic meanings and IF. Bierwisch (1980: 1) contended that the presence of IF-indicating devices (IFIDs) "determine[s] the illocutionary force of the speech act in which they are used". The speaker during the greeting in Extract 5.5 did not explicitly refer to God, or use IFIDs (although understood), thus decreasing the force of the utterance. In Arabic rhetoric, this non-use of the agent influences the pragmatic meaning of the utterance (Abdu-Raof, 2011), i.e. the invocative force of the greeting is

minimised, with the greeting containing the utterance "with goodness" pragmatically differing from "may God greet you with goodness", even if the agent (God) is recognised by interlocutors. Austin (1962) considered the non-use of an explicit reference as adversely influencing IF, the audience's understanding and, at times, the infelicity of the performative act.

5.4.3. Follow-up greetings

Follow-up greetings appear in Extracts 5.2 and 5.6. Following the introduction of *assalam* to open the encounter, the participants employed REs in the elaboration of their greetings. This pattern conforms to Saville-Troike's (1982: 11) observation that greetings within the Arabic context are performed with a form of elaboration. In the examples, the speakers elaborated their greetings using the speech act of invocation to confirm the recognition of the hearers and establish spatio-temporal interactions with them. As previously discussed, these elaborated REs (including their religious references and meanings) are also a form of extension of greetings that demonstrate greater levels of facework.

In the Saudi speech community, the use of the two REs *'hayya-k allah ekhoi'* ('may God greet you, my brother') and *'massa-k allah bi-elkhair'* ('may God greet you with goodness this evening') denotes respect and deference towards the addressee (Alhujelan, 2008). Thus, it can be concluded that an indirect greeting with a religious invocation has a stronger IF than employing direct greeting forms.

5.4.4. Enquiries as greetings

A number of participants (see Extracts 5.7 and 5.8) complemented their initial and follow-up greeting exchanges with a pattern of reciprocal greetings enquiring after the

hearer's well-being and that of his/her family. Bouchara (2015) and Emery (2000) concluded that this elaborative and repetitive form of greeting is unique to Arabic speakers in general, with the exchange lasting up to five minutes before the interlocutors move on to another speech act. Although these interrogative speech acts tend not to include REs, the responses frequently include REs (see 5.4.3.).

The purpose of these follow-up greetings is to maintain the social relationships between the interlocutors, and are often employed between friends and acquaintances (see Situations 5 and 3, Extracts 5.7 and 5.8). Such greetings are employed to demonstrate the speaker's concern for the recipient and his/her family members, and reflect a high degree of positive politeness towards the hearers, while their absence may be understood as impoliteness, according to Brown and Levinson (1987). Thus, alongside their role as greeting and enquiry illocutionary acts, the utterances also suggest that a speaker expressing solidarity and rapport has a positive perlocutionary effect on his/her hearers. These greetings are representative of positive politeness, demonstrating the speaker's interest and concern (ibid) by enquiring about the well-being of the hearer as well as his/her family members. The role of social and cultural (including religious) norms is significant in such behaviour.

Such linguistic behaviour is a source of approval in a collectivistic and family-oriented society such as Saudi Arabia, while this may be perceived by some Westerners as prying into the addressee's privacy and personal affairs (Homeidi, 2004). In the Islamic context, enquiring after the interlocutor's family (and parents in particular) as a greeting

act results from the stature of parents in Islamic morals and values[66]. This is demonstrated by the speaker in Extract 8, Line 19, who asks the hearer about her parents' well-being to imply 'sharing of wants' (Brown and Levison, 1978), i.e. "because I know how much you care about your parents, I share this want with you and ask about their well-being". Al-Qinai (2011) noted that this form of question/answer greeting exists in many languages, but with a greater frequency in Muslim and Arabic speech communities, with interactants demonstrating social solidarity through the employment of elaborate questions concerning the addressee and his/her family (and parents in particular).

Following the above discussion of the functions of REs in the various patterns of the participants' performance of the greeting speech act, the following sections discuss the employment of REs when responding to different patterns of greetings.

5.5. Responding to greetings

As discussed previously, performing the greeting act reflects positive politeness on the part of the speaker or, in other words, addressees the positive face of the hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Similarly, the act of responding to a greeting[67] reflects a greater degree of positive politeness on the part of the respondee. The rejection or ignoring of a

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[66] Islamic literature contains a considerable degree of discussion of the importance of kindness towards parents. The Quran and prophetic traditions include numerous verses and sayings asserting such beneficence. For example: "We have enjoined upon man concerning his parents" (Quran, 31: 14); and: "And your Lord has decreed that you worship none but Him, and that you be kind to parents" (Quran, 17: 23).

[67] Responding to greeting is one of the speech acts that have not attracted researchers' attention. It is surprising, when surveying the literature, that studies on this speech act are very rare, for example Jaworski, (1994).

greeting (or even insufficient response) violates the principles of facework and threatens the face of the greeter, which negatively affects the social interaction. The following sections examine the patterns of participants' responses to different types of greetings.

5.5.1. Responding to *assalam*

The data reveals that the overwhelming majority of responses to the *assalam* greeting followed a specific pattern, in which: (1) the participants responded using the same locutions (i.e. the same religious meanings) (see Extracts 5.9 and 5.11); or (2) through the use of extended locutions with additional religious meanings (as in Extract 10). The greetees made use of similar (or stronger) IFs when responding to *'assalamu alai-kum'* ('peace be upon you') with *'wa alai-kum assalam'* ('and peace be upon you'), *'wa alai-kum assalam wa rahmatu allah'* ('and peace be upon you and God's mercy') or *'wa alai-kum a-ssalam wa rahmatu allah wa barakatu-h'* ('and peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings'). The tendency to reply with stronger IF demonstrates a high degree of positive facework, while replying with less IF conveys a lower degree. This can be explicated in the following comments from a participant:

> Depending on the situation, responding to *'assalamu alai-kum wa rahmatu- allah wa barakatu-h'* with only *'wa alai-kum assalam'* would possibly, disregarding the religious matter, be understood negatively. The other person may think I am angry with him if he is a friend or may see it as rudeness if he is not a friend. (Q5, post-role play interview, Saleh, 2015)

This comment (along with those of other participants) demonstrates the interlocutors' perceptions of the lower strength of IF when using less locution, in particular when responding to *assalam*. This affects how the greeter interprets the intentions of the responder, as he/she may have purposefully wished to damage the hearer's positive face in order to express anger, or to be rude. In general, the intention to express anger can be

signalled through the use of various utterances or failing to reply to the greeting. A number of participants indicated that this could be achieved by the greetee answering *assalam* with a lesser utterance, i.e. Q5 (above) or the following comment:

> You can tell I am angry with the greetee when I reply to *assalam* with *'wa alai-kum'* only. (Q6, post-role play interview, Modi, 2015)

Therefore, the intention to express anger when returning *assalam* (and for this to be recognised by the addressee) is similar to Grice's (1957: 219) utilisation of intention when he defined it as: "A uttered x with the intention of inducing a belief by means of the recognition of this intention". Haugh and Jaszczolt (2012: 94) pointed out that Grice accepted that recognition of the speaker's intention does not "always mean conscious and laborious processing".

5.5.2. Responding to invocative greetings[68]

The data revealed that the interlocutors followed symmetrical patterns when replying to greetings with invocations, whether they were greetings initiating an encounter or follow-up greetings. For example, in Extracts 5.4 and 5.5, the greetees returned the greetings with invocative responses, consisting of identical religious meanings preceded by further greetings, which can be sufficient if used alone, i.e. '*hala*' (hello) or '*hala w-allah*' (hello by God). However, the IFs of such non-religious responses would be viewed as face damaging acts, due to the greetings themselves having such religious meanings. This type of response was noted by Ferguson (1967) in his study of the politeness formulas of Syrian Arabic and American English. He argued that these 'root–

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[68] It should be noted that the responses in this section (i.e. to invocative greetings) were made by the conductors rather than the participants.

echo' responses of invocative greetings are culturally specific and related to socio-cultural factors and historical variations in speech communities. Alharbi and Al-Ajmi (2008: 120) endorsed Ferguson's (1978) notion of these 'same or more' invocative root–echo responses, attributing a religious effect (see section 5.5.1).

Thus, the interlocutor in Extract 6 responded to the time-specific invocative greeting '*massa-k allah bi-elkhair*' ('may God greet you with goodness this evening') with its time-specific adjacency pair: '*massa-k allah bi-ennoor*' ('may God greet you with shine this evening'). The format of the adjacency pair was observed by Duranti (1997) as a characteristic of greetings, referring to a greeting having: "a clear and identifiable case of predictability: Given one part of the pair, the other is normally predictable"[69] (Mey, 1993: 218). This predictability of adjacency is also culturally specific (see Mey, 1993; Emery, 2000; Wayar, 2015).

In the Islamic context of the current research, such adjacency is not constantly semantic, as suggested by scholars (ibid), but rather can be predicted regarding the sense of its religious IF. This can be illustrated by an answer made by a participant when questioned concerning the use of '*ya hala*' ('oh, hello') or '*marhaba*' ('welcome') as a response to the greeting '*massa-k allah bi-elkhair*' ('may God greet you with goodness this evening') instead of '*massa-k allah bi-ennoor*' ('may God greet you with brightness this evening'):

> I think it is not proper to respond with '*ya hala*' ('oh, hello') or '*marhaba*' ('welcome'). It is known that '*massa-k allah bi-ennoor*' comes with 'massa-k allah bi-elkhair'. So the response to a prayer should be a prayer

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[69] William (1997) argued that this is not always correct, as some examples from real life are not always predictable.

too. It can be another one like *'massak allah bi-arredha'* ('may God greet you with His satisfaction this evening'). (Q7, post-role play interview, Azzam, 2015)

This quotation clearly exhibits the pragmatic predictability of adjacency in responding to invocative greetings, rather than the semantic adjacency as in other greetings in different languages (ibid). The following section discusses further forms of adjacency responses employed with enquiry greetings.

5.5.3. Responding to enquiry greetings

In response to enquiry greeting utterances, the participants' discourse revealed that they used the same pattern for responding, as exemplified in Extract 5.7, Line 5.9 and Extract 5.8, Lines 13, 16, 18, 20, 22 and 24, in which the interlocutors responded to all enquiries concerning the hearer's welfare, parents, family and children with the religious phrase *'alhamdu lillah'* ('praise be to God'). This phrase can be used alone, or can be preceded or succeeded by invocations as an illocutionary act, in order to express gratitude to the speaker for asking after the well-being of the addressee (and others).

The use of the expression *'alhamdu lillah'* demonstrates gratitude to God and mirrors the belief that all good things are caused by God, revealing the cause of its ubiquitous presence in response to enquiry greetings. Hence, the answer is always positive, regardless of the true state of affairs. Piamenta (1979: 193) noted that such use of *'alhamdu lillah'* in Islamic speech communities "praises God for one's good or bad lot, under all conditions and at all times".

The interlocutors used this form of praising as both a facework communicative act in response to the enquirers, and to demonstrate satisfaction with, and faith in, God's

destiny. The inclination to use this constant positive response can be demonstrated by the following justification from a participant:

> As Muslims, we are always required to praise and thank God for any situations. If we are in bad situations, we are still living in His favour, and if we are in good situations, He will give us more: 'if you thank, I will increase'. (Q7, post-role play interview, Abdulrahman, 2015)

The participant is referring to two religious resources. Firstly, he is implying the prophetic tradition, as narrated by Ibn Majah (2009: 422), that when the prophet saw something that pleased him, he would say "praise be to Allah with whose blessings good deeds are perfected", while if he saw something that displeased him, he would say "praise be to Allah in all circumstances". Secondly, the participant directly referred to the Quranic verse: "if you are grateful, I will add more (favours) unto you; but if you show ingratitude, truly my punishment is terrible indeed" (Quran, 14: 7).

5.6. Motivation for using REs in the speech act of greeting and responding

The above sections revealed that the performance of greeting and responding can be influenced by religion, and that many of the REs used are rooted in religious Islamic discourse. The following sections examine these prescriptions, followed by a discussion of the participants' indication of establishing interpretive links.

5.6.1. Theological motivations to greet

As noted previously, *assalam (*in both its short and extended forms) proved the[70] RE most frequently employed by the participants to perform the greeting speech act in the various situations. Muslims are encouraged by their religion to initiate *assalam* greetings through many religious prescriptions, i.e. Muslim (1954: 378) noted that the Prophet Muhammad recommended Muslims to spread the greeting of *assalam* to achieve intimacy and love among Muslims:

> By Him in whose hand is my life! You will not enter *Jannah* [paradise] until you believe, and you will not believe until you love one another. Shall I inform you something which, if you do, you will love one another? Promote *assalam* among yourselves. (Muslim, 1954: 378)

Al-bukhari (1994: 981) also noted that the messenger of Allah (Muhammad) stated: "Worship the All-Merciful and feed people. Make the *assalam* common practice among you and you will enter the Garden."

In addition, Muslim (1954: 2162) also narrated a further *hadith* (saying) of Prophet Muhammad reflecting the importance of religion in the performance of the speech act of greeting (and in particular *assalam*) in Islamic speech communities, whether or not members are known to each other. The prophet conceived of this as a right of one individual over another, stating:

> A Muslim's rights upon a Muslim are six: if you meet him, greet him with *assalam*; if he invites you, accept his invitation; if he asks for advice, give him the advice; if he sneezes and praises Allah, say: may Allah have mercy on you; if he is ill, visit him; and if he dies, attend his funeral.

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[70] All the participants performed *assalam* in the different situations, and only four did not use *assalam* as a greeting in all situations.

Moreover, Islam not only encourages interlocutors to initiate *assalam,* but also motivates its performance in its optimal form. Abu Dawud (2009: 5195) narrated that Imran bin Hussayn (a companion of the prophet) reported:

> A man came to the prophet and said: *'assalamu alai-kum'* ('peace be upon you'). The prophet returned the greeting, then the man sat down. The prophet said: 'ten' [meaning the man had earned ten rewards]. Then, another man came and said: *'assalamu alai-kum wa rahmatu allah'* ('peace be upon you and God's mercy'). The prophet returned the greeting, then the man sat down. The prophet said: 'twenty'. Then another man came and said: *'assalamu alai-kum wa rahmatu allah wa barakatuh'* ('peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings'). The prophet returned the greeting, then the man sat down. The prophet said: 'thirty'.

In addition to the aforementioned prophetic sayings, the Quran contains a large number of verses indicating the Islamicity of the *assalam* greeting (e.g. Quran, 6: 54; 13: 23; 16: 52; 24: 61; 39: 37).

These examples (along with many more) demonstrate that the religious discourse prompting the speech act of greeting (in particular *assalam)*, and the way it is performed, establishes beneficial relationships and maintains rapport and solidarity within the speech community.

5.6.2. Theological motivations to respond

The discussion now transfers its attention away from these religious texts for the speech act of greeting, to focus on texts addressing the speech act of responding to greetings. This action is deemed to express a further act of facework, with the potential to become a FTA when not performed or performed improperly. Although Brown and Levinson (1987) did not discuss responding to greeting in their strategies for positive politeness,

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the use of responding to greeting as a facework strategy is more important, while its absence is more face-threatening than other positive politeness strategies, due to it potentially involving additional FTAs. Brown and Levinson (1987) argued that positive politeness is used for smaller FTAs, while negative politeness is used for greater FTAs, but an improper greeting responding act is of considerable significance, since it can indicate that the speaker has: (1) no interest in the hearer's needs; (2) does not care about his/her feelings; and (3) has no respect for him/her. Religion, and particularly Islam, appreciates the importance of such a strategy of facework when responding to greetings. This is exemplified in the Islamic belief that it is obligatory to respond to greetings, while the greeting act itself is virtuous and recommended. Bouchara (2015: 86) pointed out that "clerical scholars differed as to whether we have to return the greeting. The majority of them said that we do have to return the greeting, and this seems to be the correct view."

This obligatory decree for the need to respond to greetings in general, and *assalam* in particular, is motivated by a number of prophetic sayings in Quranic verses, i.e. the Prophet Muhammad says: "a Muslim has five rights over another Muslim: returning the greeting […]" (Al-bukhari, 1994: 1240). As the main source of Islamic laws and morals, the Quran also contains a number of verses mirroring the mandatory understanding of returning greetings. Thus, the following verse instructs believers to return the greeting using a similar, or improved, response (i.e. in Austin's (1962) terms, with stronger or at least equal IF): "when you are greeted with a greeting, greet [in return] with one better than it or return it. Indeed, God takes account of all things" (Quran, 4: 86).

Following the discussion of this religious discourse, the following section focusses on establishing a link between these religious references and the participants' practice of their meanings.

5.6.3. Individuals' religious motivations

The data from the interviews demonstrated the participants evoking many of the above-mentioned religious meanings of religious discourse. Although members of the Saudi speech community can use various phrases for greetings, all but two of the participants used *assalam* to initiate their exchanges, justifying this use by stating that it is the standard Islamic greeting. The following quotations highlight this perception by the participants, i.e. when questioned about their preference for *assalam* over other expressions of greeting, their responses were:

1. It is better because it is an application of the prophet's *sunnah*[71] (traditions). (Q8, post-role play interview, Haya, 2015)

2. Islam urges us to use *assalam*. (Q9, post-role play interview, Abdullah, 2015)

3. *Assalam* is better in regard to rewards [from God]. (Q10, post-role play interview, Azzam, 2015)

4. There is a big difference between [*assalam*] and any other greetings. I perform it as a kind of worship. (Q11, post-role play interview, Yasser, 2015)

5. It is religiously different, in terms of rewards and as a practice of religious rituals in all times and places. (Q12, post-role play interview, Hani, 2015)

The above quotations demonstrate the beliefs held by the participants towards the use of *assalam* as a greeting speech act. Indeed, its religious features were realised and evoked by the participants.

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[71] *Sunnah* is defined as "the body of traditional social and legal custom and practice of the Islamic community. Along with the Qur'ān (the holy book of Islam) and Hadith (recorded sayings of the Prophet Muhammad)" (Britannica).

In addition to this knowledge of the religious quality of *assalam*, the majority of the participants referred to a number of its characteristics and of responses. For example, many of the participants attributed their use of the full form of *assalam* to religious virtue, referring to the verses and prophetic sayings discussed above:

1. My use of the full form of *assalam* depends on the situation, but I try to always remember it for its greater rewards. (Q13, post-role play interview, Bothaina, 2015)

2. It sometimes comes to my mind to offer a complete *assalam* for more rewards. (Q14, post-role play interview, Maryam, 2015)

3. I perform the full form of *assalam* as much as I can, as the prophet, peace be upon him, says: 'whoever says "*assalamu alai-kum*" will gain ten rewards, if he added "*wa rahmatu allah*" he will gain twenty, and if he added "*wa barakatu-h*" he will gain thirty'. (Q15, post-role play interview, Abdulrahman, 2015)

4. I have accustomed myself to always greeting with the full form of *assalam*, bearing in mind the prophet's response when one of his companions came and said '*assalamu alai-kum*'. Then the prophet said 'ten'; then another one came in and increased it with '*wa rahmatu allah*'. Then the prophet said 'twenty'; then another one came in and increased it with '*wa barakatu-h*'; then the prophet said 'thirty'. (Q16, post-role play interview, Saleh, 2015)

These examples (along with and many others) revealed the motivation behind the inclination to perform a greeting with *assalam* in its full form. However, it can be argued that this inclination is employed in some speech events without the speakers

instantaneously subscribing to religious resources[72], i.e. when only considering the situational context of the speech event. However, the religious motivation seems to maintain an influence over the interlocutors' performance of the *assalam* greeting when acknowledging the broader context.

It can be observed from the above quotations that the participants retained the intentionality to use *assalam* in its full form, as in Q13, Q14 and Q16: "I try to always remember it"; "It sometimes comes to my mind"; and "I have accustomed myself to always greeting with", respectively.

The latter quotations reflect Searle's (1983: 95) account of the influence of prior intentions on verbal behaviour. Searle stated that all non-reflexive actions have some prior intentional components that influence actions. The religious prior intention of using the full form of *assalam* was also observed in the following comment of a participant employed as a teacher: "In class, I always use the full form of *assalam* to greet the pupils and to teach them the religious benefit". El-Sayed (1990: 19-20) observed this evoking of religious beliefs and values during the use of REs, stating that in the Egyptian Islamic context: "parents train their children on the correct forms, for instance, *bismillah* (in the name of God) and *Alhamdulillah* (praise be to God)".

As indicated earlier, a number of the interlocutors recognised the religious content of *assalam* and its invocative IF, e.g. when abstaining from performing *assalam* in certain contexts. An example is the religious ideology retained by some members of the speech community concerning the ruling and religious legal opinion of using *assalam* with non-believers. The Islamic literature is rich in questions concerning such use, and the

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[72] See section 5.6.

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answers vary, with some clerics viewing *assalam* as an invocative act containing religious meanings that must not be introduced to non-believers, while others consider that such meanings can be introduced to believers and non-believers in order to demonstrate the tolerance and leniency of Islam (see, for example, Annawawi, 1972: 322; Alothaimeen; 1992: 392; Ibn Qayyim, 1994: 233). Even those who prohibit giving *assalam* to non-believers accept that believers can use greetings other than *assalam* with non-believers, so long as they do not constitute invocative acts and have no religious meanings (Bin Baz, 1999). This belief also appears in the comments of the participants when questioned concerning their views of *assalam* as an Islamic greeting:

> I mean it is only with Muslims, but non-Muslims can be greeted with other greetings. I, for example, sometimes greet non-Muslims with '*kaif elhal?'* ('how are you?') or *'sabah or masa elkhair'* ('good morning or evening') (Q17, post-role play interview, Mansour, 2015)

Following this discussion of the participants' perceptions concerning their use of *assalam* as an RE, and the attribution to a religious motivation, it can still be argued (despite the majority of participants indicating a religious motivation), that the use of *assalam* and its different forms can be ascribed to convention, rather than the participants' religiosity. This was expressed by a small number of the participants, in particular in relation to the short form. The following section discusses this issue through a measurement of the participants' (group 2) awareness.

5.7. Participants' (group 2) awareness of the absence of *assalam* and its 'same or more' response

The researcher employed an awareness-measuring approach (see Chapter Four) to measure the participants' awareness of the absence of *assalam* as an initiative greeting and the unemployment of the 'same or more' principle in the responses to *assalam*. This

measured the participants' instant observations and reactions when listening to two situations.

In the first situation, the participants listened to the following conversation (see Appendix D for the full conversation), in which the speaker initiates the encounter by using a greeting other than *assalam*.

Situation one: The speaker (actor A) is in his employer's administration building with the intention of submitting documents related to his non-standard leave.

01   A: (knocking on the door)

02   B: *tafaddal*

03→   A: ***ahlain ekhoi***

04   B: *hala bek*

Trans. 1.   A: (knocking on the door)

2.   B: "Come in please."

3.→ A: "**Two hellos.**"

4.   B: "Hello."

Interlocutor A greets interlocutor B by using a greeting other than *assalam*, i.e. "*ahlain echo-i*" (two hellos). In the Saudi speech community, this greeting can be employed to open encounters (Alharbi and Al-Ajmi, 2008), as demonstrated in some of the participants' greetings, and thus is neither abnormal, nor peculiar. Nonetheless, the majority (64%) of the participants detected the absence of *assalam*, commenting that it would have been preferable for interlocutor A to perform *assalam* instead of 'two

hellos'. To justify their observations, they pointed out the religious motivation of *assalam*, noting its role in the greetings of Islam and Muslims and (like some of the participants) referring to Quranic verses and prophetic sayings. The examples below display some of the participants' reactions to the above conversation (see Table 5.5 in Appendix D for more examples):

> He didn't say *assalam. Assalam* is *sunnah* (prophetic tradition): "If one of you meets his brother, he should greet him with *assalam*."[73] (Participant Ahmad)

> After he entered, he didn't deliver *assalam:* "O you who have believed, do not enter houses other than yours until you ask permission and give *assalam*."[74] (Participant Asma)

> The person entered, but didn't say *assalam:* "Because *assalam* is the greeting of believers as well as the greeting of the people of paradise. Spreading *assalam* is also of the prophet's manners. (Participant Sarah)

In the second situation, the participants listened to a conversation in which interlocutor A (the greeter) greets interlocutor B with the full form of *assalam* and interlocutor B replies with a shortened form, contrary to the religious principal 'the same or more'. The passage below shows part of the exchange (see Appendix D for the full conversation).

Situation two: The speaker (actor A) is in his employer's administration building with the intention of submitting documents related to his non-standard leave.

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[73] The participant is citing the prophetic saying reported by Abu Dawud (2009: 5200).
[74] The participant is referring to the Quran (24: 27).

01   A: (knocking on the door)

02   B: *tafaddal*

03   A: *assalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-*

04   *ullah wa barakatu-h*

05→   B: ***wa alai-kum assalam***

Trans. 1.   A: (knocking on the door)

   2.   B: "Come in please."

   3.   A: "Peace be upon you and

   4.   God's mercy and His blessings."

   5.→ B: **"And peace be upon you."**

The majority of the participants (77%) reacted to the audio version of the above encounter by observing that the greetee did not appropriately return *assalam*. They justified their comments by noting the religious rule of responding to a greeting, i.e. replying with the same, or the same level of, greeting. Some cited the following Quranic verse: "when you are greeted with a greeting, greet [in return] with one better than it or return it"[75]. The following examples illustrate some (as the majority are similar) of these comments and justifications (see Table 5.6 in Appendix D for more examples):

He didn't return *assalam* properly: "When you are greeted with a greeting, greet with one better than it or return it. [Responding with the full form] would create contentment between the two parties." (Participant Ahmad)

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[75] The Quran (4: 86).

Not responding with a better greeting, or the same greeting: The Quran orders us to respond to a greeting with the same greeting, or one better than it. (Participant Solaiman)

The greetee didn't return *assalam* completely. He should return it completely in order to gain more rewards [from God]. (Participant Salma)

The above two groups of quotations include examples from the G2 participants' instant reaction concerning the non-use of REs in the performance of greeting and responding to greeting speech acts. Such an instant reaction has the capacity to provide information concerning the intentionality of interlocutors in using REs in greeting, as it an indication of their recognition of function, while their justification indicates the motivation. Although both interlocutor A (in situation one) and B (in situation two) performed (1) the greeting act and (2) the greeting responding act, the participants still viewed the performance as deficient, due to it failing to contain the presumed religious meanings.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter revealed that participants generally employ REs both when greeting, and responding to greeting. It also demonstrated that, due to its religious characteristic, the preferred RE was *assalam*. The analysis showed that interlocutors demonstrated awareness of both the religious and pragmatic functions of the forms of *assalam*. The pragmatic function consists of the longer the utterance, the stronger greeting IF it incorporates in its illocutionary act. This is due to the increased locutions of invocations, which in turn address facework that is more positive. In SAT terms, the locutionary status impacts upon the illocutionary status that influences the perlocutionary affect. Similarly, returning *assalam* with longer utterances is perceived

to carry stronger IF when responding to a greeting, and to be more positive in addressing the hearer's face, as it addresses the positive aspect of the hearer when recognising his/her greeting.

In religious terms, the analysis clearly demonstrated that the use of *assalam* (and the inclination to extend it to longer forms) was motivated by the participants' awareness of the religious incentives of *assalam* being potentially an Islamic greeting, and the longer it is, the more rewards the interlocutor will attain from God. In addition, confirmation was made of participants' recognition of the religious 'same or more' principle in returning greetings in general, and *assalam* in particular. The analysis also demonstrated that REs of other types (e.g. invocations) were used for the performance of greeting to open encounters, or as a follow-up, and to respond to enquiry greetings, which are grounded in perceived pragmatic and religious functions.

The findings showed that greetings with an *assalam* utterance and invocative utterances convey religious propositional content, which contradicts Searle's (1969) and Youssouf's (1976) proposals that greetings are communicative acts that lack propositional content and referential value. These types of greeting expressions are not the communicative acts suggested by Searle (1969) and Sacks (1975), that are empty of propositional content and interlocutors only use to establish social relations.

Furthermore, contrary to Searle's (1969: 46) suggestion that the speech act of greeting does not retain any perlocutionary effect, and that when the speaker greets, he has no intention "other than the knowledge that he is being greeted", the meanings of *assalam* and invocative utterances for greeting and their religious components, along with the participants' cognisance of the perlocutionary effect elicited by these components, proves that greeting can effectively perform a perlocutionary act on interlocutors.

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CHAPTER SIX

Religious expressions in the speech act of thanking

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated the presence of REs in the participants'

conversations, responses, comments, and replies, in relation to the greeting speech act.

This review included a description of communicative functions in reference to

theoretical pragmatic concepts and notions, and an explanation of religious motivations

in relation to their performance. The second speech act considered in this thesis, in

reference to REs in the participants' discourse, is thanking. Thanking is an expressive

speech act used by interlocutors to demonstrate their gratitude towards others. Searle

(1969: 67) described thanks as an expression of gratitude or appreciation. Thanking can

be governed by various social and cultural values and beliefs, which constrain some

behavioural norms and encourage other norms that determine what polite and impolite

communication is (Pablos-Ortega, 2011: 2412). While the speech act of thanking is a

universal behaviour, its performance alters between speech communities, conforming to

various factors (Wolfson, 1986; Morsi, 2010), of which, religious aspects can be

significant. The following sections discuss how participants use REs to perform the

speech act of thanking

The data reveals that when thanking they employed REs abundantly. The REs

referenced were typically invocations. The patterns of use of these invocations

depended on various contextual factors. Facework was an important influential factor

affecting the participants' use of invocative utterances; this communicated the degree of

the indebtedness and imposition perceived by the thanker (the speaker) towards the

thankee (the hearer), a variable that differed according to the situational aspect of the

interlocutions. A further influential factor was the participants' realisation of the multi-functionality of the invocations.

The following sections demonstrate the extent of the employment of invocative utterances to perform thanks, and the patterns and tendencies that arise in the participants' utterances. For the purpose of categorisation, the thanking interactions will be ordered according to topic, based on perceived indebtedness, as expressed by many participants in the post role play interviews to justify their extended use of REs. The chapter will commence by presenting the frequency of the occurrence of REs, including variations in the selected speech act, and will then include examples of the participants' discourse before continuing to discuss the functions of the REs in relation to the thanking speech act.

6.2. Occurrence of REs in thanking

The data analysis reveals that the participants performed the speech act of thanking in four situations (S). The total number of thanking exchanges was 92. A large proportion of these exchanges were performed using REs, particularly invocative illocutions, which varied semantically and pragmatically (see figure 6.1):
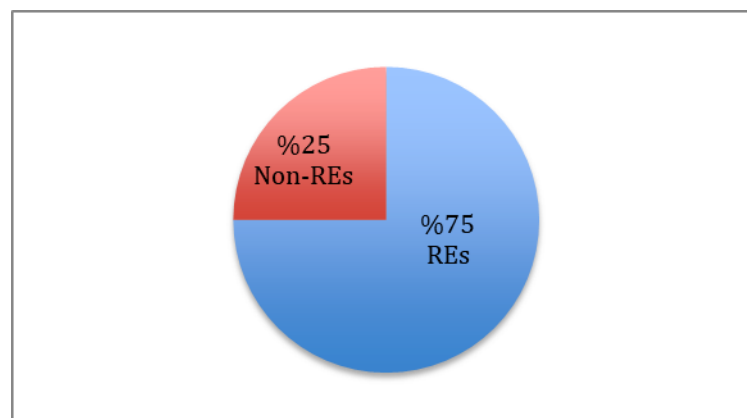
Figure 6.1. Occurrence of REs when thanking

This figure clearly exhibits the participants' tendency to employ REs, as they were present in 75% of the thanking acts. However, the frequency of use of the REs and the patterns of repetition and elaboration[76] relied on the situational context (i.e. the topic of the interaction and the social distance between the interlocutors). The four situations in which the participants performed the speech act of thanking included: (S1) where the participant thanked the employee at a bank for giving him/her their card, (S2) was where the participant thanked an employee for receiving their request for a holiday and showed willingness to reply as soon as possible, (S5) where the participant thanked a friend for a book, and (S7) where the participant thanked a stranger for helping him/her collect scattered papers. The following section demonstrates the participants' tendency to use REs in the former two situations (S1 and S2), in cases where the feeling of gratitude perceived was less, as the favour received was considered insignificant.

6.2.1. Thanking behaviour for routine jobs

The data shows how two (S1 and S2) of the four situations that involved the performance of the speech act of thanking were reflected in this topic. The first situation (S1) was an incident in which a participant thanked an employee at the bank for giving him/her their card. In this situation, REs were employed the least and elaboration and repetition patterns occurred rarely. In contrast, the participants, especially young males and young females, tended to employ non-REs to perform acts of thanking, such as '*shokran*' (thanks) and '*mashkora*' ([you are] thanked). The following table displays the frequency of REs according to the four situations (the table presents the four situations

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[76] What is meant here by repetition is the use of the same semantic utterance (invocation) repeatedly; and what is meant by elaboration is the repetition of the invocations with semantically different utterances.

as they will be referred to in the next section), demonstrating their presence in S1 and in other situations:

Situation	S1	S2	S5	S7
Presence of REs	13.2% (15)	17.6% (20)	23.8% (27)	46.9% (43)
Presence of non-REs	32.2% (9)	25% (7)	17.8% (5)	25% (7)

Table 6.1. Frequency of REs and non-REs, according to the four situations

The table clearly shows the least occurrence of REs, and the most use of non-REs occurred in S1, where only 13.2% REs were used. However, interestingly, the dominant majority (93%), i.e. 13.2% of REs (and 89% of non-REs) occurred in specific groups (as will be discussed in section 6.3).

As mentioned above, the types of REs used by the participants for thanking were invocative illocutions, such as "*jaza-k Allah khair*" (may God reward you with goodness), "*bara-k Allah fee-k*" (may God bless you), "*Allah la yeheena-k*" (may God not humiliate you), and "*Allah ye'afee-k*" (may God grant you health). The following extracts illustrate the participants' use of these utterances:

Extract 6.1
(Participant Ammar (G1A))[77]
Situation 1: the participant in the bank thanked the employee for giving him/her their card.

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[77] All the names are pseudonyms.

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01        C: tafadhal al-bitakah
02→      P: jaza-k Allah khair
03        C: amin wa iyya-k
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Trans.   1.   C: "Here is the card"

          2.→   P: **"May God reward you with goodness"**

          3.   C: "Amen"

Extract 6.2
(Participant Abdulrahman (G1C))
Situation 1:

```
01        C: =hathi al-bitakah (handing it)
02→      P: barak Allah fee-k
03        C: wa fee-k
```

Trans.   1.   C: ="This is the card" (handing it)

          2.→   P: **"May God bless you"**

          3.   C: "And you"

These extracts (and 6.3 and 6.4 in Appendix E) exemplify how the majority of participants (58%) employed invocative illocutions in S1.

The use of invocative illocutions to perform thanking in relation to routine work also applied to situation two (S2). In this situation, the participants thanked the employee for receiving their holiday request, and demonstrating a willingness to reply in a timely manner. However, similar to what was remarked upon in the first situation, the participants' employment of invocative illocutions was second lowest (17.6%) for the thanking speech act, as evident in table 6.1, wherein non-REs were also present (25%).

Likewise, the tendency to produce REs in this situation (speech event) clearly emerged (87%) relative to specific groups and vice versa with regard to the production of non-REs, as these (100%) emerged specifically in two groups (G1A and G1D, see section 6.3). Furthermore, patterns of repetition and elaboration appeared in other situations to a limited extent.

The participants used a variety of invocations to thank employees when performing their speech acts. The most commonly uttered invocative illocution was *"jaza-k Allah khair"* (may God reward you with goodness). They also employed other invocative illocutions that varied semantically, and which were pragmatically specific on some occasions. The Extracts below (and Extract 6.5 in Appendix E) exemplify the various invocations:

Extract 6.6
(Participant Solaiman (G1C))
Situation 2: The participant enters the employer's administration building with the intention of submitting documents relating to his/her one-year exceptional leave. He/she enters the office and tells the employee that he/she wants to give him/her the documents to apply for his/her one-year exceptional leave. He/she tells him/her that he/she wants a response as soon as possible.

05   C: *in sha allah ne-red-lek be-*

06   *agrab forsah*

07→   P: ***Allah ye'afee-k***

08   C: *wa iyya-k*

Trans. 1.   C: "If God wills it, we'll reply to you at the soonest opportunity"

       2.→ P: **"May God grant you health"**

       3.   C: "And you"

Extract 6.7
(Participant Sami (G1C))
Situation 2:

01   P: *ya'ni kam takheth?*

02   C: *ya'ni yomain thalath*

03→   P: **bas bayyadh Allah wajh-ak**

04   C: *wa wajh-ak*

Trans. 1.   P: "Roughly how long does it take?"

        2.   C: "Roughly two or three days"

        4.→ P: **"Fine, may God whiten your face"**

        5.   C: "And your face"

Extract 6.8
(Participant Meznah (G1E))
Situation 2:

01   C: *in sha allah*

02→   P: **Allah yajza-ts khair we yesani'**

04   **omore-ts**

05   C: *wa iyya-ts*

Trans. 1.   C: "If God wills"

        4.→ **P: "May God reward you with goodness and fulfil your affairs"**

        5.   C: "And you"

In these examples of the participants' use of REs for thanking under the topic of routine jobs, all the REs were invocations. Yet, the participants' performance of these invocations has changed when they perceived that they needed to express their gratitude more extensively. The following section clarifies this.

6.2.2. Thanking behaviour for personal indebtedness

The participants' elicited discourse showed that their thanking behaviours differed remarkably in two situations (S5 and S7), which were perceived as more worthy of REs

than the former two situations. This influenced the presence of invocative illocutions, as they emerged as relatively more frequent (23.8% + 46.9% = 70.7%), as shown in Table 6.1. The discourse also demonstrated that in these speech events, patterns of elaboration and repetition were noteworthy. In S5, the interlocutors were both friends who had coincidentally met and chatted for some time before the participant thanked their friend for giving him/her a book. The participants' discourse revealed 23.8% of REs used in this class of interaction. Similar to what took place in the routine job interactions, the most common types of invocations were "*Allah yajza-ts khair*" (may God reward you with goodness), "*Allah ye'afeek*" (may God grant you health) and "*Allah yebarek fee-k*" (may God bless you). However, new invocative illocutions that differed semantically and pragmatically, as compatible with the situational context, appeared when the participants felt more gratitude towards the thankee (see section 6.4.2). The following extracts (and Extracts 6.10 and 6.13 in Appendix E) demonstrate the types of invocations some of the participants used, focusing on how they tended to repeat and elaborate on their utterances:

Extract 6.9
(Participant Abdulrahman (G1C))
Situation 5: Two friends accidently meet in the library. After chatting for a while, one friend (the participant) asks his/her friend (the conductor) to lend him/her the book he/she has been carrying for two days and promises to return it within two days, as requested by his/her friend.

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01      C: khalas sam (giving him the book)
02→     P: barak Allah fee-k wa rahem allah
03      waldai-k
04      C: amin wa iyya-k
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Trans.  1.      C: "Fine, here you are" (giving him the book)
        2.→     P: "May God bless you and may God have mercy upon your
                    parents"
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3.   C: "Amen, and you"

Extract 6.11
(Participant Fatimah (G1E))
Situation 5:

01   P: *hkalas araje'a-h in sha allah ba'ad*

02   *yomain in sha allah=*

03→   P: *=**Allah yajza-ts khair wa***

04   ***yaj'ala-h fe mizan hasanat-ets***

05   C: *wa iyya-ts*

Trans. 1.   P: "Fine, I'll return it if God wills after two days, if God wills"=

2.→   P: = **"May God reward you with goodness and allow [the good deed]**

in your scale of good deeds"

3.   C: "And you"

Extract 6.12
(Participant Rogayyah (G1E))
Situation 5:

01   P: *khalas in sha Allah araj'a-h bi-*

02   *ethn allah=*

03→   P: *=**Allah yajza-ts kair allah yefarrej***

04   ***l-ets be-addenya wa al-akherah***

05   **C: *allah yajza-ts khair***

Trans. 1.   P: "Fine, if God wills I'll return it, with God's permission"=

2.→   P: = **"May God reward you with goodness, may God relieve you in life**

and the hereafter"

3.   C: "May God reward you with goodness"

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A further situation, in which the participants' performance of thanking could be classified as expressing personal indebtedness was S7, in which the participant's papers had fallen and scattered and a person (the conductor) helped him/her collect them. As shown in table 6.1, the participants used REs the most frequently (46.9%) in this situation. Furthermore, repetition and elaboration patterns were used extensively as strategies to express gratitude. The majority of the participants (88%) employed REs when performing thanking in this case, and the majority (63%) tended to elaborate on their use of REs. The type of repetition here required the participants to repeat the commonest invocative illocutions, such as "*Allah yajza-k/ts khair*" (may God reward you with goodness), "*barak Allah fee-k/ts*" (may God bless you) and "*Allah ye'afee-k/ts*" (may God grant you health), sometimes using elaborative invocating, uttering new illocutions that pragmatically (contextually) conformed to the speech event, as illustrated in the following extracts. As mentioned, this categorisation of thanking included 70.7% of the REs in the participants' discourse. The participants chose to produce additional invocations to perform thanking when they felt they were personally indebted, and that the favour they had received was major, as 70.7% of the invocative utterances related to situations categorised by personal indebtedness and 46.9% of these arose in relation to S7. The following extracts present examples of extended repetition and elaboration:

Extract 6.14
(Participant Norah (G1E))
Situation 7: A man/woman (the participant) is walking down a street carrying some documents. Suddenly, all the documents fall and scatter all over the street. A man/woman (the conductor) comes to help him/her and collects them for him/her and then goes on his/her way.

01   C: *sammi* (giving her the papers)

02→   **P: *Allah yajza-ts khair Allah yajza-ts***

03   ***khair we ykather min***

04   ***amthale-ts Allah yebarek fee-ts we***

05   ***yaj'ala-h fe mizan hasanat-ets***

06   C: *amin wa iyya-ts*

Trans. 1.   C: "Here you go"

        2.→ P**: "May God reward you with goodness, may God reward you with**

        3.   **goodness and increase those who are like you. May God bless you and**

        4.   **allow it in your scale of good deeds"**

        5.   C: "Amen, and you"

Extract 6.15
(Participant Rogayyah (G1E))
Situation 7:

01   C: *tafadhal-i* (giving her the papers)

02→   P: ***Allah ↑ yajza-ts khair ya omr-***

03   ***i allah yajza-ts khair we***

04   ***yesalem-ts we yaj'aa i'yale-ts***

05   ***yeborron be-ts***

06   C: *amin*

07→   P: ***allah yajza-ts khair***

Trans. 1.   C: "Here you are"

        2.→ P: **"May God reward you with goodness, my life, may God reward you**

        3.   **with goodness and make you safe and make your children be dutiful**
                to you"

        4.   C: "Amen"

        5.→ P: **"May God reward you with goodness"**

Extract 6.16
(Participant Meznah (G1E))

Situation 7:

01	C:	*zain ma fee-h hawa* (giving her the
02		papers)
03→	P:	↑*jaza-ts allah khair mashkorah*
04		*allah yaj'aal-oh yakhdem-ts al-mal*
05		*wa al-banoon*
06	C:	*amin*
07→	P:	*jeza-ts allah khair*

Trans. 1. C: "It's good that there is no wind" (giving her the papers)

2.→ P: **"May God reward you with goodness, I am thankful, may God make you wealthy and children at your service"**

4. C: "Amen, amen"

5.→ P: **"May God reward you with goodness"**

6.3. Variation in RE use when thanking

By examining the frequencies and distributions of invocative utterances across the five groups, noteworthy differences can be observed, as exhibited in the chart below:
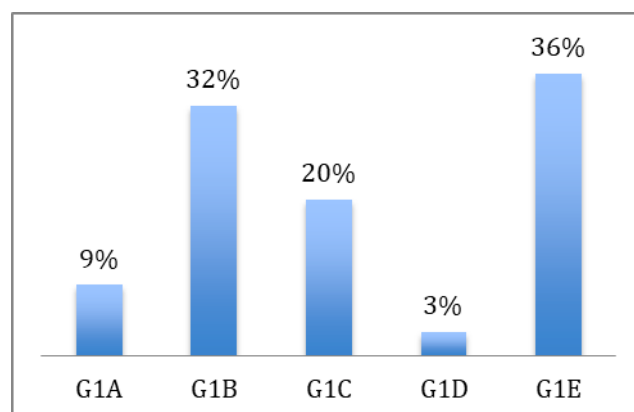
Figure 6.2. Frequency of invocative utterances

The above figure indicates the significant disparities between the groups in terms of how they use invocative utterances when giving thanks. The two young participant groups (G1A and G1D) employed considerably fewer invocative utterances (9% + 3%) than the other groups; and the older female participants (GIE) and the Imams (G1B) were more profuse in their use of REs (36% + 32%). This considerable variation is probably informed by several factors, including the age, gender, and the participant's degree of religiosity. To examine which of these factors was most influential, a statistical test (chi-square test) was employed to assess the association between the three variables and the use of REs (independent variable), particularly invocations, for thanking. The following table demonstrated the significance of this association:

Dependent variable	Independent variable	χ^2	df	p^a	p^b
Occurrence of REs in thanking	Gender	4.947	4	.326	
	Age	24.000	8	**.000**	1.000
	Religiosity	12.245	4	**.003**	-1.000

Table 6.2. Chi-square measurement of association between the social variable and use of REs when thanking

The chi-square test results in the table show that the factors of age and religiosity were influential, as the p-value association between age (.000) and religiosity (.003) indicates a significant association. The following test table clarifies in greater detail how significantly the participants differed in their use of invocations for thanking:

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[78] See section 4.6.3.

	Occurrence of REs in thanking					Total
	Non-occurrence	Very low occurrence	Low occurrence	High occurrence	Very high occurrence	
20-30 (G1A and G1D)	30.0%	20.0%	40.0%	10.0%		100%
Age 22-37 (G1B)					100.0%	100%
over 50 (G1C and G1E)					100.0%	100%
Total	12.5%	8.3%	16.7%	4.2%	58.3%	100%

Table 6.3. Occurrence of REs for thanking, cross tabulated according to age

The table clearly demonstrates older age groups (G1B, G1C and G1E) are positively associated with a high, or very high occurrence of REs for thanking, when considering all the invocations in the four situations; meanwhile, the younger age groups (G1A and G1D) are more associated with incidences of no occurrence or low occurrence. However, when considering the age (22-37) of G1B (the imams), it is apparent that they are closer in terms of age to the younger age group than the older age groups. Thus, their use of REs can be attributed to the variable, religiosity. The exact test also shows religiously identified groups (G1B and G1E) are heavily inclined to use REs when expressing thanks, as the table below shows:

	Occurrence of REs in thanking					Total
	Non-occurrence	Very low occurrence	Low occurrence	High occurrence	Very high occurrence	
Religious (G1B and G1E)					100.0%	100%
Religiosity						100%
Neutral (G1A, G1D and G1C)	21.4%	14.3%	28.6%	7.1%	28.6%	100%
Total	12.5%	8.3%	16.7%	4.2%	58.3%	100%

Table 6.4. Occurrence of REs in thanking, cross tabulated according to religiosity.

This table clarifies that those characterised as religious tended to use REs to a very high frequency; i.e. using repetition and elaborate patterns of invocations. Meanwhile, those who are characterised as neutral tended to use REs less frequently.

The data shows a tendency among older participants and the most religious groups to use more REs. However, the participants' discourse in thanking revealed that the majority also used REs pervasively, and according to the setting and the social interactional context of each situation. The participants' performance of the speech act of thanking revealed that they used REs, in particular invocations in their various expressions, for expressing gratitude and repaying the thankee for the act of favour.

Having demonstrated this pervasive use of REs in all circumstances, answering the quantitative question of the presence of REs in the participants' thanking speech act, and the question of the influence of different variables on that use, the following more qualitative sections seek to explain why the invocations were pervasive, as this can be linked to their pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions, and religious motivation. The participants' recognition of the religious invocative force of the utterances in general, and of their perception of the relationship between indebtedness in expressing gratitude, and the use of invocations in certain situations, can be ascribed to their understanding of the religious motive of using invocative utterances in general, and the religious motive for using '*jaza-k Allah khair*' (May God reward you with goodness) in particular. In addition, their perception of the relationship between addressing the hearer's positive face and the use of invocations, and their recognition of the stronger illocutionary forces of such religious utterances was evident. This is discussed in further detail in the following sections.

6.4. Function of REs in the speech act of thanking

Thanking is an expressive speech act used by interlocutors to demonstrate their gratitude towards others. Searle (1969: 67) categorises thanks, "as an expression of gratitude or appreciation", asserting that the interlocutor's intention "is just expressing

gratitude". Similarly, thanking behaviour can be considered a speech event, via which interlocutors negotiate mutual wants (Goffman, 1967). If a person receives a favour from a friend, "a slight disequilibrium results, with a greater favour leading to a greater imbalance" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 36); therefore the expression of gratitude is necessary to restore equilibrium. Expressions of gratitude can also be described illocutionary acts "performed by a speaker which is based on a past act performed by the hearer. This past act benefits the speaker and the speaker believes it to have benefited him or her. The speaker feels grateful or appreciative, and makes a statement which counts as an expression of appreciation" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986: 167-168). This post-action characteristic of thanking is also acknowledged by Searle (1969) and Kasper (1993: 83). Norrick (1978) and Aijmer (1996) add that performing the illocutionary act of thanking in advance of the act produces a defective illocutionary act.

From the theoretical perspective of facework, thanking is performed by a speaker to negate a face-threatening act (FTA) performed by a hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The offer of a favour by the hearer threatens the speaker's negative face, as it places him/her in indebtedness to the hearer (the thankee). This perception of indebtedness would certainly be expected to influence how the interlocutor pays off the debt. From a more sociopragmatic perspective, thanking has a social function. When performed appropriately and felicitously, it "can engender feelings of warmth and solidarity" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986: 167), and if the interlocutors fail to demonstrate appreciation and gratitude, or do so inadequately, this can have a negative social impact. Leech (1983) also supports the socially oriented conceptualisation of thanking, asserting that its illocutionary objective concurs with the social objective of retaining convivial social relations.

The sociopragmatic function of thanking is governed by various social and cultural values and beliefs, including religion. According to Pablos-Ortega (2011: 2412), these rules prohibit some "behavioural norms and favour other norms, and that determines the aspect of polite and impolite communication". Indeed, while the speech act of thanking is a universal behaviour, its performance in terms of realisation, frequency and function alters between speech communities, conforming to various factors (Wolfson, 1986; Morsi, 2010), and of these religious factors can be significant. The following sections will discuss how participants used REs to perform the speech act of thanking, and their function relative to the participants' elicited discourse, as well as looking at the religious factors that influenced the performance and how these are differently realised in comparison to some other speech communities.

6.4.1. REs in thanking for routine jobs

Although it is challenging to identify clear boundaries so as to categorise thanking behaviour by topic, the participants' thanking discourse and their interview responses revealed patterns that facilitated classification. Thanking for routine jobs means the interlocutors performed the speech act of thanking for minor favours[79], or no favour at all, as perceived by the speaker. This is relatively similar to what was observed by Rubin (1983) as a 'bald thank you', which she mentions as typical for service encounters.

This explains the tendency of some participants, particularly those in G1A and G1D, to not use REs to perform the speech act of thanking and to instead use non-REs, as they

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[79] Favour means an act of kindness beyond what is due (oxforddictionaries.com, n.d.).

do not feel indebted to their interlocutors. This also justified the rare presence of a pattern of elaboration. This means that thanking speech acts can be understood as facework utterances supporting "social amenity" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986: 171), rather than expressing gratitude and appreciation. This concept was also expressed by some of the participants (from G1A and G1D) when they justified their non-use of REs in their post-role play interview, as apparent in the next two examples:

> In reality, he didn't do me any favour, as he was doing his job. So '*shokran*' [thanks] is enough. (post-role play interview, Q1, Azzam, 2015)

> Both '*shokran la-k*' [thank you] and '*jaza-ts Allah khair*' [may God reward you] are polite expressions, but I didn't feel she had done something big for me [to invoke for her]. It was her job. (post-role play interview, Q2, Najla, 2015)

These statements show that when the participants did not feel they were especially indebted, their gratitude was minimised or absent, resulting in use of the routine "*shokran*" (thanks) "*mashkor/ah*" (I'm thankful) rather than employment of REs. This is similar to what Cooper and Cooper (1996) have observed elsewhere; for example, some cultures, particularly Thai culture, do not verbalise their gratitude as frequently as others (e.g. English); reserving expression of thanks for when they feel sincerely grateful. However, this can be culture-bound rather than universal. For example, generally in the British speech community, 'thank you' is always used, regardless of the perceived degree of gratitude, because it is ritualised facework, similar to "*shokran*" (thanks) in Arabic. Theoretically, what has occurred here is that preparatory and sincerity conditions have been disrupted, with the result that the speaker does not believe that the act done by the hearer benefits him/her, or not sufficiently to engender special gratitude or appreciation (Searle, 1969).

However, the majority of the participants (70.8%) in this study, especially those in G1B, G1C and G1E, still employed REs for this topic, regardless of their perceived degree of indebtedness. They also recognised that some effort had been made by the hearer to employ illocutions that addressed his/her positive face in order to perform acts of thanks. This can be seen in various participants' acts of thanks in S1 and S2, such as Extracts 6.1-6.7. For example, in Extract 6.4 and Extract 6.6, the participants used the invocative illocution "*allah ye'afee-k*" (may God grant you health) to express thanks for the employees' acts (the conductors). They both explained use of this invocative illocution instead of "thank you" or "thanks" by saying:

> The employee [in S1] was cooperative and helpful, so he has made some
> effort, though little, so he deserved *du'aa* [invocation], as it is, kind of,
> politer and, of course, more useful. (post-role play interview, Q3, Saleh,
> 2015)

> This invocation is not only a polite expression like '*shokran*' [thanks] but it
> is an invocation for someone who has done something for you, even if it was
> little. (post-role play interview, Q4, Solaiman, 2015)

According to these comments, it can be suggested that the interlocutors recognised the pragmatic use of the invocation for use with someone for a perceived effort. There is a pragmatic connection between a fulfilled act demanding some effort and the use of this invocative locution, which leads some researchers to pragmatically translate it as "may God give you strength", rather than "may God grant you health" (see Ferguson, 1976), although the latter is the literal translation for "*Allah ye'afee-k*". Producing the necessary preparatory and sincerity conditions prompted the participants to use more positive illocutions for the face when performing thanking. The preparatory condition is that the speaker benefited from the act by the hearer and, as a sincerity condition, he/she (the speaker) felt genuinely grateful and appreciative towards him/her (the hearer).

This pragmatic use of invocative illocutions conforming to the situational context is evident in the participant's thanking act in Extract 6.8, where the speaker uses the invocative illocution "*we yesani' omore-ts*" (and fulfil your affairs), preceded by the most common and frequent invocative illocution "*Allah yajza-ts khair*" (may God reward you with goodness). The participant's perception here was that she benefited from the thankee's act (submitting her holiday request) and that the kindness of the act led her to invoke using analogous propositional content, i.e. "God may fulfil her affairs".

The participants also employed a variety of invocative illocutions to perform the speech act of thanking. For example, "*jaza-ts/k Allah khair*" (may God reward you with goodness) was frequently employed by the participants, as in Extracts 1, 5, and 8. They also employed other locutions for the invocative illocution to perform the thanking act, such as the frequently using "*barak Allah fee-k/ts*" (may God bless you), as in Extract 2; "*Allah la yeheena-k*" (may God not humiliate you) (Extract 3); and "*bayyadh Allah wajh-ak*" (may God whiten your face) (Extract 6.7). All the participants who used these invocative illocutions indicated a higher degree of positive facework, attributing it to the potential illocutionary force (IF) of the invocations, as they recognise them as invocative acts. For example, Q3: "du'aa [invocation]… is, kind of, politer and, of course, more useful [as it bring about state of affairs]". Holmes (1984) observed that interlocutors may boost or attenuate the force of an utterance according to the intention and degree of feeling behind it, i.e. the degree of politeness he/she wants to communicate. Analogously, the participants were inclined to perform a thanking act using invocations that perceived the connection between the invocative IF, and the degree of positive facework.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 142) point out that they "have not properly investigated what makes some conventionally indirect expressions slightly more or less polite than others", observing that making generalisations regarding this is difficult. However, Holmes (1984) argues that what makes some indirect speech acts politer than others is that they can mitigate or attenuate the performance of certain speech acts. In contrast, participants recognised the increased positive facework of the invocative illocutions as being indirect speech acts, used to express thanks, and resulting from their invocative IF, in addition to their expressions of gratitude, as in Q3, Q4, and the participants' comments below.

6.4.2. REs in thanking for personal indebtedness

The participants' thanking discourse revealed that in certain contexts (i.e. S5 and S7), their illocutionary performance had shifted remarkably. The majority of the participants (89%), including those otherwise not inclined to use REs when expressing thanks regarding routine jobs, employed invocative illocutions to demonstrate their personal indebtedness towards the hearer. The thanker thereby recognised the trouble that the thankee had taken to help him/her and the major favour he/she had offered the thanker. In response to this feeling of personal indebtedness, the participants employed invocative illocutions to downgrade and lessen the degree of indebtedness; as when the interlocutor uses an invocative act for thanking, he/she in some way repays the debt. This is apparent from participants' responses where thankees apparently benefitted from the invocations, as in the following responses:

> In the last situations [S5 and S7], she has done much for me. So, as a way of repaying some of her favour, I invocated for her." (post-role play interview, Q5, Maryam, 2015)

I see 'jaza-k Allah khair' [may God reward you with goodness] and the other invocations I used as repaying for the big favour he has done; the prophet says: 'anyone who has done a favour for you should be repaid the favour; if you cannot find what to repay him with, do invocation for him[80]. (post-role play interview, Q6, Saleh, 2015)

The concept of repayment was indicated by many of the participants as relevant, especially when they perceived personal indebtedness (as in S5 and S7), as the type of benefit plays an important role in determining the nature of the thanks. This fundamentally complies with Coulmas's (1981) and Haverkate's (1988) recognition of the act of thanking as a reactive act compensating for the debt caused by giving a favour. That is, the beneficiary's thanking act might be used as an "act that symbolically compensates the cost invested by the hearer for the benefit of the speaker" (Haverkate, 1988: 391). In some speech communities, such as the English and Chinese, the strategy of repayment can involve offering a service or promising a future repayment (Cheng, 2005) such as saying "next time, it [the meal] will be on me". However, for this study's participants, the invocative act extended beyond a symbolic and face reciprocal speech act. The participants actually recognised that, in Austin's (1962) terms, they were doing something to compensate or repay the hearer even partially. This was also apparent in some of the participants' comments, as they highlighted the value of the invocations to the hearer, as in the following examples:

I intended to use invocations as they were more useful for the addressee. (post-role play interview, Q7, Azzam, 2015)

I didn't say 'shokran' [thanks] because 'jaza-ts Allah khair' [may God reward you with goodness] is thanking and more; it is invocation and

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[80] The participant here is referring to a prophetic saying.

thanking and one would benefit from it, whereas '*shokran*' won't. (post-role play interview, Q8, Najla, 2015)

"*barak Allah fee-k*" [may God bless you] or other [invocative] utterances are invocation and thanking at the same time; I like people to invoke for me, as I may benefit from it, unlike '*shokran*'. (post-role play interview, Q9, Abdulrahman, 2015)

Thanking [saying 'thank you'] is only thanking, while invocative utterances are thanking and invocation, which she would benefit from if God responded to my invocation. (post-role play interviews, Q10, Fatimah, 2015)

In the above examples, the speakers expressed the belief that they had benefited from the thankee's act and that the magnitude of that benefit was recognised; therefore, they used invocative acts to relatively 'return' the benefit, or to at least minimise the effect of the thankee's act as an FTA on the beneficiary by using utterances greater than gratitude expressions. Theoretically, Searle (1969: 67) observes thanking as a speech act is "just expressing gratitude in a way that e.g., promising is not just expressing an intention". However, the participants' conscious realisation demonstrates that thanking acts can be extended beyond expressions of gratitude. As such, in addition, they "express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs indicated in the propositional content" as Searle (1975: 356) posits, they also perform a directive act, aiming to do something for the thankee (see section 6.8).

Having generally discussed the function of REs, particularly invocations, under the theme of personal indebtedness, it is vital to examine them in their situational context, as it is important as a means of determining the way in which acts were performed. In Extract 9, the participant performed the speech of thanking for a friend, who had done him a favour by lending him a book and invocating for him: "*barak Allah fee-k*" (may God bless you) and his parents: "*rahem Allah waldai-k*" (may God have mercy upon

your parents). He uses a common invocative utterance (may God bless you) and then elaborates with another one aimed at the hearer's parents, specifically that God have mercy upon them. The latter invocative utterance can be used for either living or dead parents, and is based on the belief that "[one] is to be admitted to heaven only by the mercy of God" (Piamenta, 1979: 74). It also reflects the high status of parents in the Muslim speech community. If such an utterance were used in a different cultural context, it would be awkward to thank someone who did you a favour by invocating[81] for someone else; however, in an Islamic cultural context, doing so is highly appreciated.

In the same situational context, in Extract 6.10, the participant elaborated her thanks, using the most common and frequent invocative utterance: "*jaza-ts Allah khair*" (may God reward you with goodness). Many of the participants employed this particular invocative utterance, as in Extracts 6.11, 6.12, and 6.13. This pervasive and frequent use of this specific invocative utterance is not arbitrary. Rather, it originates from the religious encouragement expressed by interlocutors when performing the speech act of thanking, as the prophetic saying indicates: "whenever being favoured by someone, say 'may God reward you with goodness', and indeed you would have thanked him in the most proper way" (Abu Dawood, republished 2009: 5109[82]) (see section 6.10.1. for a discussion of theological references).

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[81] Invocate is an archaic word for invoke; the researcher prefers to use it as it seems to fit more rhythmically with the adjective invocative and the noun invocation. It is also a word used in religious contexts.

[82] With prophetic sayings and Quranic verses, the researcher uses the *hadith* (saying) and verse numbers instead of pages, as that is how they are commonly cited.

To express their indebtedness, the participants demonstrated their inclination to perform thanks by elaborating their invocative illocutionary act, whether by repeating the same invocative utterance as in Extract 6.10, line 8, or by using other invocative utterances pragmatically attuned to the situational context. These "higher-level speech act set[s]" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986: 171) were used to due to a feeling of indebtedness, as the more overwhelmed the interlocutors were, the lengthier the speech act sets they produced (ibid).

The use of various invocative utterances, as in the example Extracts, for the thanking act show they are not always "formulaic by nature, in that their internal structures are rooted in a restricted repertoire of grammatical and semantic choices", as in the English and Thai languages; for example (Intachakra, 2001: 233). In Extract 6.12, for instance, the participant used the invocative utterance (after 'may God reward you with goodness') "*Allah yeffarej le-ts be-addenya wa al-akherah*" (may God relieve you in life and the hereafter) to thank the hearer for reliving her of the dilemma of not finding the needed book. So, unlike thanks in languages such as English, or even non-REs for thanking in Arabic, in which lexical components as conversational routines can readily be identified (Aijmer, 1996; Intachakara, 2001), the lexical and semantic elements of invocative utterances cannot always be predicted, although with the presence of mutual knowledge,[83] their semantic and pragmatic meanings are recognisable.[84]

The latter invocative utterance, in Extract 6.12 and those in Extracts 6.11 and 6.13, also contain phrases reflecting religious belief. The participants invocated that God bring

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[83] See chapter 3 for the definition of mutual knowledge.

[84] For example, if the speaker had been served a glass of water, he/she may perform thanking by saying: "may God let you drink from *alkowthar*" (a river in paradise, as Muslims believe).

about something for the addressee "in life and the hereafter" and "allow it in [her] rewards scale". This is grounded on the belief that one's good deeds are rewarded by God, either soon in this life or later in the hereafter.

In the other situation (S7) under the heading of personal indebtedness, in which the participants had received help from another interlocutor, the pattern of elaboration was more ostensible. The participants performed their thanks more profusely, with complex invocative speech act sets. For example, in Extract 6.14, the participant used successive invocative utterances when performing thanking: "*Allah yajza-ts khair Allah yajza-ts khair we ykather min amthale-ts Allah yebarek fee-ts we yaj'ala-h fe mizan hasanat-ets*" (may God reward you with goodness, may God reward you with goodness and increase those who are like you, may God bless you and allow it in your scale of good deeds). Similarly, in Extracts 15 and 16, both participants used different sets of speech acts: "*Allah yajza-ts khair ya omr-i Allah yajza-ts khair we yesalem-ts we yaj'aa i'yale-ts yeborron be-ts*" (may God reward you with goodness, my life, may God reward you with goodness and make you safe and make your children be dutiful to you) and "*jaza-ts Allah khair mashkorah Allah yaj'aal-oh yakhdem-ts al-mal wa al-banoon*" (may God reward you with goodness, I am thankful, may God make your wealth and children at your service), respectively. Their use of such invocative illocutions varies from employing common phrases, such as "*jaza-ts Allah khair*" and "*barak Allah fee-ts*", to situational ones, such as "[*Allah*] *yaj'aa i'yale-ts yeborron be-ts*" (make your children be dutiful to you) and "*Allah yaj'aal-oh yakhdem-ts al-mal wa al-banoon*" (may God make your wealth and children at your service). The two latter illocutions mirror the participants' recognition that they had received help from the hearer and wanted to

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thank her, or to repay her, by invoking that her children be of help to her and at her service, which in this cultural context is religiously desirable and appreciated.[85]

An inclination to elaborate is perceived in the above examples, and speakers of other languages might consider the thanks proffered as insincere or excessive, as Morsi (2010) observes. In the examples, the speakers flouted the quantity maxim of the cooperative principle of conversation as explained by Grice (1975) (see section 3.5). They are doing this intentionally to make their thanks more effective. These invocations are conventional implicatures, in Grice's terms, for thanking, and are considered by interlocutors to be very effective utterances that would be appreciated by the hearers. The implicature derived by hearers is that the speakers recognise the favour and feel indebted to the hearer, attempting to repay them with multiple invocative utterances rather than an explicit thanking utterance, which can express the speaker's gratitude.

The elaborated invocative illocutions also reflect the participants' sincere invocative acts and desire to express their gratitude and, simultaneously, repay the thankee with the invocations, perceiving that thanking-only expressive illocutions are inadequate to performing the speech act of thanking, as indicated by many of the participants:

> '*Shokran*' [Thanks] is not enough. It should be an invocation that is repeated." (post-role play interviews, Q11, Norah, 2015)

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[85] In Islam, there are a great number of prophetic sayings and Quranic verses that reflect the virtue of children serving their parents and treating them appreciatively and respectfully. Just to mention one saying and one verse: Ibn Majah (re 1996: 2781) narrated that a man came to the prophet asking him to participate with him in jihad, he asked him: is your mother alive? The man said: yes. The prophet said stay by her feet, for there is Paradise [a metaphor to encourage him to please her and be at her service]. In Quran (46: 15), the verse says: "And We [God] have enjoined on man to be kind and dutiful to his parents".

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I must thank her strongly in the last situation, and '*shokran la-ts*' [thank you] is not sufficient. When I do an invocation, the addressee will benefit from that. (post-role play interviews, Q12, Meznah, 2015)

These two examples reveal the sincerity that the interlocutors possessed when elaborating their invocations. This is similar to the fact observed by Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) that in general, lengthier thanking is perceived as being more sincere, although in some contexts, it can engender discomfort in the addressee, and negatively influence his or her face (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Religiously, repetition, and elaboration of invocations are considered a type of praying, conveying an urgency and fervency, which is perceived by believers to be more likely to be communicated and answered by the divine.

6.5. Contextual variables influencing the extensive use of invocations

Although the present study did not focus on the influence of the sociological variables posited by Brown and Levinson (1987) on facework and the assessment of FTAs, the participants' use of invocative illocutions to some extent reflected that a degree of imposition plays a significant role in the decision to elaborate and extend invocative illocutions for thanking; more so than social distance and relative power variables. For example, Brown and Levinson (1987: 78) include the example of a bank manager who might be highly esteemed (the relative power), leading the interlocutor to use more positive face strategies than if the interaction were with someone rated lower. However, the majority of the participants in the present study (59%) tended to use the positive facework strategy of extending their invocative illocutions with an interlocutor with no perceived power (as in S7), more often than with a relatively powerful interlocutor (as in S1 and S2).

A further example demonstrating the influential impact of the degree of imposition on the interlocutors' performance of the speech act of thanking is that almost all the participants elaborated their thanks in S7, despite the interaction being with a stranger. By contrast, in S5, when the interaction was with a friend, the elaborate thanking took place to a lower degree than in S7. However, this is inconsistent with Wolfson's (1988) bulge theory of linguistic politeness, which claims that people use lengthier utterances with acquaintances and friends and shorter utterances with their intimates[86] and strangers. The use of extended REs for thanking also contradicts Eisenstein and Bodman's (1986: 176) claim that greater social distance reflects "shorter thanking episodes".

In the following section, the research turns to discuss another important variable found to influence the interlocutors' 'perceived' performance of thanking, i.e. the gender of the interlocutor.

6.6. Participants' perception of cross-gender communication

Although Brown and Levinson (1987) failed to reach a clear-cut answer to gender differences in terms of linguistic facework behaviour, their discussion implies that such gender differences may be understood by identifying the relationship between gender and associated sociological variables: social distance, relative power, and the ranking of impositions. They also suggest "we need to be crystal clear about exactly where and how the differences are supposed to manifest themselves. For example, we need first to distinguish effects due to sex of speaker from those due to sex of addressee" (ibid.: 30).

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[86] Wolfson (1988: 74) used the term 'intimate' in his bulge theory to mean a very close personal relation.

Thus, in the context of the latter suggestion, the participants' perceptions of their cross-gender performance of thanking can be explained; especially as these perceptions imply several influential aspects that extend beyond the sociological variables influencing interlocutors' use of facework strategies.

In this research context, particularly in S7,[87] the gender of the addressee appeared to be extremely important when performing the speech act of thanking. It was very obvious from the participants' responses that they would have employed different thanking behaviour if the other interlocutor were of the opposite gender to themselves. The majority (71.4%) of the male participants indicated that they would not thank a female as profusely as they had the male interlocutor. They attributed this behaviour to several cultural, particularly religious, restrictions, as their illustrated in their comments:

> If it were a woman, I would treat her very formally. I may say '*shokran*' [thanks] only. It is also for her not to be embarrassed. (post-role play interviews, Q13, Azzam, 2015)

> I would shorten it as much as possible, since in Islam dealing with a strange woman should be restricted. Also, she might be embarrassed. (post-role play interviews, Q14, Haitham, 2015)

> If it were a woman, I would thank her less, as in our culture and religion it is not allowed to talk to a strange woman more than necessary. It is for her not to be embarrassed too. (post-role play interviews, Q15, Ibrahim, 2015)

It is apparent from these participants' comments, and many others, that the elaborate and complex speech act sets recorded above would be replaced for shorter and

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[87] This was the only situation where the participants were asked about their perceptions of cross-gender thanking behaviour, as it was the only one that was culturally suitable for cross-gender communication due to the segregation in Saudi society.

minimised versions to perform thanking if dealing with someone of the opposite gender. Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) observe that the lengthier and more elaborate the thanking is, the more sincere and polite it is, but according to Brown and Levinson (1987), in some contexts, it can make the hearer uncomfortable, or damage their face. In the cross-gender communication context in the present research, the latter appeared to be true. The male interlocutors preferred to sacrifice the elaborate thanking in order to save the female's negative face, "for her not to be embarrassed". She would be embarrassed because they both realised that cross-gender communication is culturally/religiously discouraged (see Q18 and Q21 below). Thus, for the sake of enhancing the addressee's face when thanking female interlocutors, and so as not to threaten their faces by elaborating, the male participants tended to be formal and brief. This concurred with Al-Khawaldeh's and Žegarac's (2013: 270) finding that, the Jordanian context, men are inclined to be formal when performing a thanking act with female interlocutors, typically choosing to use simple verbal expressions, such as 'thank you'.

Moreover, as mentioned above, the thanking act has the social function of engendering "feelings of warmth and solidarity" among interactants; thus, a failure to perform it or its inadequate performance can have a negative social impact. This led to the suggestion of cross-gender thanking being lesser in intensity as this perceived positive quality of facework is undesirable for men when communicating with female interlocutors, as expressed in the following comments:

> If the person were a woman, surely I would use the minimum way with her because if I elaborate for thanking her, that would be considered warm speech with a woman, which may open the door to evil, and that is not appropriate in Islam. (post-role play interview, Q16, Solaiman, 2015)

I would thank her, but in fewer invocations, as thanking with invocations is warmer than saying '*shokran*' [thanks] or '*mashkora*' [I'm thankful]. (post-role play interview, Q17, Sami, 2015)

If the other party were a woman, surely I would be brief, maybe using one invocation. Islamically, we as men should not speak with a strange women in a *hamimah* [warm] way… (post-role play interview, Q18, Saleh, 2015)

Thus, the male interlocutors would attempt to avoid the generally sought-after social objectives of facework, in order to adhere to cultural and religious requirements.

Indeed, this religious orientation relative to communication when performing the speech act of thanking with other-gendered interactants was, likewise, expressed by the female participants. Almost all the female participants, with the exception of one, demonstrated an inclination to communicate acts of thanking with the other gender differently. Similar to the male interlocutors, the female interlocutors justified relinquishing some conventions and notions of facework, such as using mitigating and softening behaviour designed to establish rapport and harmony, to meet the strictures of religious expectation. Some of them perceived invocative utterances as mitigating and soft utterances that should be avoided when thanking male interlocutors; as the two following examples show:

I would only say '*shokran la-k*' [thank you] because it is more formal and as a matter of not softening my speech. (post-role play interview, Q19, Haya, 2015)

I would thank him [saying 'thank you'] and would invocate for him inwardly as he is a man, and to speak in a soft way with a strange man is forbidden in Islam. (post-role play interview, Q20, Modi, 2015)

Indeed, many of the other female participants confirmed that their thanking speech acts would be shortened and less effusive; ascribing this difference to religious rules that

govern such inter-gender communication, and asserting that 'unnecessary' extended and 'soft' talk with strange males is 'prohibited' by religion. In fact, sometimes, the participants substantiated this attitude by referring to other religious sources, as exemplified below:

> It is not religiously allowed to be soft and to speak for long with a strange man; 'if you fear God, be not [as a woman] soft in speech [with a man], lest his heart is diseased and should be moved by desire, but speak in an appropriate manner'.[88] (post-role play interview, Q21, Norah, 2015)

> If he were a man, my thanking would be shorter, as he is stranger and God says: 'be not [as a woman] soft in speech…'. (post-role play interview, Rogayyah, Q22, 2015)

Some of the female participants suggested their tendency to communicate less with male interlocutors arose from shyness. In terms of Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, female thankers are still being cooperative and communicating their thanks efficiently if they are being brief, clear and orderly in accordance with the maxim of manners. That is why, in Q19 and Q20, the female participants indicated that they would use explicatures [89] ('thank you') instead of implicatures (invocations) to be clearly understood and to avoid any misinterpretation by the hearer, such as a perception of softness or attraction towards him. Shyness is generally deemed a virtue in Islam,[90] especially on the part of women. This was directly referred to by some of the female participants', such as:

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[88] The participant is referring to the Quran 33:32.
[89] 'Explicature' here means "explicitly communicative content" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 618).

[90] See, for example, Albukhari (republished 1994: 9).

I would thank him in a lesser way as a matter of shyness, and shyness is "part of faith".[91] (post-role play interview, Q23, Meznah, 2015)

I may invocate only once as he is a stranger, and as a matter of religion and shyness. (post-role play interview, Rana, Q24, 2015)

It is apparent from the above discussion that both male and female interlocutors would act differently when expressing thanks, depending on the gender of the opposite interlocutor. Furthermore, in a masculine cultural context, where the notion of power as a facework variable can play an influential role (Al-Khawaldeh and Žegarac, 2013: 275), as implied by Brown and Levinson (1987: 30 and 251), men might assume they will be thanked more by less-powerful interlocutors (women). However, when the reverse occurs, this can be understood in terms of the religious norms. In contrast, women are generally perceived to be more sensitive to enhanced facework expressions and thanking strategies (Holmes, 1995; Al-Khawaldah and Žegarac, 2013). Nevertheless, this can be changed in cross-gender communication for religious reasons.

Having discussed the influence of the gender variable on use of REs, particularly invocative utterances, the researcher turns in the following section to use of REs for thanking indirectly.

6.7. REs to express indirect thanks

As previously indicated, the speech act of thanking was significantly performed indirectly using invocative expressions (75% as the thanking acts were REs). This reveals a distinctive characteristic of the present study's speech community, as thanking is often performed directly in other cultural contexts. For example, in an English

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[91] The participant is referring to a prophetic saying; see Albukhari (republished 1994: 9).

language context, offering gratitude directly and explicitly is preferred when thanking and frequently occurs in direct expressions of thanks: "thank you" and "thanks" (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986; Aijmer, 1996; Intachakra, 2001; Cheng, 2005). Similarly, in Chinese and Thai contexts, direct 'thanking' is the strategy most frequently used by interlocutors to express their gratitude and appreciation (Intachakra, 2001; Cheng, 2005). In Spanish (de Pablos-Ortega, 2011, Siebold, 2012), French (Dumitrescu, 2006), Italian (Ghezzi, 2015), and German (Siebold, 2012) this is also the case. Thus, unlike in cultural contexts where REs are not used when thanking, Saudi speakers of Arabic have shown REs are the most used and appreciated strategy.

Even in relatively similar Islamic and Arabic contexts, such as the Jordanian speech community, where interlocutors "attach great significance to religious norms of communication", simple and direct 'thanking' is "the most striking of" the strategies used by Jordanian interlocutors, and the use of "praying expressions" are comparatively low[92] (Al-Khawaldah and Žegarac, 2013: 268, 277).

This finding in the present study, does not correlate with the claim that all languages draw on the same assortment of strategies to perform the speech act of thanking, and that culture-specific differences guide the preference for some strategies over others (Scollon and Scollon, 1995; Cheng, 2005). It is noteworthy that the absence of a direct reference to 'thank you' or another direct expression of gratitude and appreciation, and the directive (not expressive) characteristic of the invocative illocutions as indirect speech acts for thanking, does not reduce the expressive IF of the acts; rather, it

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[92] The researcher does not claim that the present research's Islamic context is more religious than other Islamic contexts, such as Jordan, in the use of indirect thanking of invocations, as this requires further research, therefore factors other than religious belief may also be invoved.

increases the degree of expressiveness. Invocative illocutions are often more highly desired and appreciated, and so are more capable of performing thanks (as demonstrated in the following section). Nevertheless, this might lead to a rethink about how to define the speech act of thanking, as it is not only intended to express gratitude and appreciation. Wierzbicka (1987, 1991) highlights that using English terminologies to define some speech acts might prove inadequate, as it may lead to associating meanings that are specific to the cultures of English speech communities. The following section therefore discusses how invocative illocutions, such as those in direct speech acts function when performing thanking.

6.8. Invocations in thanking and the three levels of speech acts

As discussed previously, thanking is classified by Searle (1969, 1976: 356) as an expressive act to enunciate "the psychological states specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content". Similarly, Austin (1962: 160) positions thanking within a group of behaviours that "include the notion of reaction to other people's behaviour and fortunes and of attitudes and expressions of attitudes to someone's else's past conduct or imminent conduct". Thus, both speech act theorists, alongside many others (e.g. Ohmann, 1974; Fraser, 1975; Bach and Harnish, 1979), conceptualise the speech act of thanking as using expressive illocutionary acts that their propositions ascribe properties to the speakers or the hearers, and that they do not have a direction of fit (null) (Searle, 1969).

However, when considering the interlocutors' performance in terms of thanking in the context of this study, it is very apparent that there is an overwhelming impetus to prefer directive illocutionary acts (or exercitive acts, in Austin's terms). Searle (1975) defines a directive illocutionary act as one where the speaker endeavours to urge the hearer to

do something. However, the direct addressee in these directive illocutionary acts of invocation is not the interlocutor himself/herself but God. Nevertheless, by using the invocative illocutionary act when thanking, interlocutors are actually performing two illocutionary acts; an expressive act that expresses how grateful and appreciative the speaker is, and a directive act to establish divine intervention for the interlocutor (the thankee).

This directive-expressive illocutionary status of invocative utterances can be interpreted according to Searle's (1979: 30) description of indirect speech acts. In an indirect speech act, "the speaker utters a sentence, means what he says, but also means something more". In this case, a religious utterance that contains the IF of invocating can also be said to contain another IF for expressing gratitude; thus, in both illocutionary acts, the speaker acknowledges the benefit to be obtained from the hearer's act. The speaker hereby intends to "produce in the hearer the knowledge that" thanking has been directed towards him/her, and that the speaker "intends to produce this knowledge by means of getting the hearer to" recognise the intention of invocating for him/her (ibid.: 30-31). As such, in a single RE of invocation, the speaker performs two simultaneous and different illocutionary acts with two different IFs. Indeed, this dual-function characteristic of the invocative utterance is thoroughly recognised by participants, with the result that it is considered the most preferable illocution when performing thanks. This recognition was precisely expressed in many of the participants' comments, as evidenced in Q8, Q9, Q10 and in the comment below:

> Whenever being favoured by someone, say 'may God reward you with goodness', and indeed you would thanked him in the most proper way'. If I only thanked him, it wouldn't be deemed invocation for him, but this [the invocation] is both, two in one. I myself sometimes ask the person to

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invocate for me instead of thanking me, who knows it might be answered. (post-role play interview, Q25, Solaiman, 2015)

Furthermore, while the illocutionary invocative act has its own IF, it can also contribute by boosting the entire IF of the speech act of thanking, as indicated by many of the participants' comments. For example, the participants' frequent indications that thanks uttered with invocations are 'stronger', and that the use of mere thanking phrases such as 'thanks' and 'thank you' are "not enough", reflect the modification of the IF, and the influence that invocative utterances are perceived to have on the general strength of thanking as a speech act.

However, the characteristic of making invocative utterances for thanking as indirect speech acts is not addressed by Searle's (1979: 30) thesis. In this conception, the speaker must communicate directly and indirectly to two different hearers: divinity and the 'human' interlocutor. In the illocutionary act of invocation, it is not the speaker who confers the favour on the hearer, but the divine power to whom the speaker invocates. It is a direct illocutionary act towards divinity with a certain IF, and simultaneously an indirect illocutionary act towards the 'human' interlocutor. Neither of these two acts is unimportant, but for the 'human' interlocutor, it can be established that the directive one is more fundamental. This can be construed from some of the participants' responses, and the perceived perlocutionary effect arising from invocative illocutions. The perceptions of the interlocutors that such illocutions are of 'beneficence' and 'usefulness' to hearers indicates the greater importance of the directive illocutionary act. This is also reflected in the following responses given by some of the participants:

I would say only '*shokran*' [thanks], but I would invocate for him without him hearing. (post-role play interview, Q26, Maryam, 2015)

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I would extend my invocations for him inwardly, as he is a man… (post-role play interview, Q27, Modi, 2015)

…I prefer people to do invocations for me, as I may benefit from it if God responded to the invocation. (post-role play interview, Q28, Abdulrahman, 2015)

These responses, as well as Q25, illustrate the interlocutors' recognition of the perlocutionary effect, as incorporated in invocative illocutions. In the former, in the perceived context of cross-gender communication for expressing thanks, the two participants (females) clearly demonstrated an intention to perform the perlocutionary act of directive invocation more significantly than the perlocutionary or expressive act of communicating psychological state, as they perform the invocative acts "without him hearing" and "extend[ing] [them] inwardly"[93]. Likewise, the latter responses and Q25 reveal how interlocutors appreciate and anticipate the perlocutionary effect of the directive illocutionary act. That is, a single invocative locution for thanks involves two illocutionary acts that convey two IFs and consequently achieve two perlocutionary acts, with a direction of fit that perceptibly changes a state of affairs. To illustrate this hybrid classification, the figure below shows how this invocative utterance functions to communicate the speech act of thanking:

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[93] This can also be considered an indication of intentionality when performing an invocative act, which is not only polite or face saving, but is also an expressive act of gratitude, as they do not communicate the expressive act.
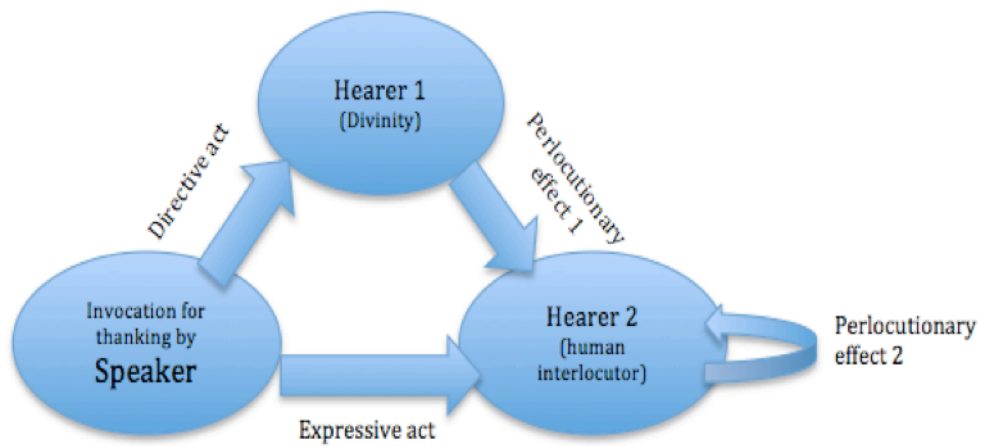
Figure 6.3: How invocative illocutionary act functions.

Nevertheless, the recognition and appreciation of the invocative act as an indirect speech act of thanking relies on access to mutual "shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer" (Searle, 1979: 32). Furthermore, for both illocutionary acts to function smoothly and felicitously, Austin (1962: 14-15) proposes several conditions. Interestingly, he uses the terms "invocation" and "invoke" to express the procedure for any illocutionary act.[94] He also asserts that for an illocutionary act to be successful and fully recognised, "there must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain effect, that procedure to include the uttering of a certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances, and the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of a particular procedure invoked". All interlocutors also need to recognise and execute the procedure, as it is intended that it be used by people who hold certain beliefs and attitudes.

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[94] Interesting, too, that Austin, on many, occasions, uses examples taken from a religious context.

Therefore, the interlocutors "invoking the procedure" should also hold those beliefs or attitudes, as well as the intention to conduct themselves.

In terms of the invocative religious utterance, its conventionality resides in its invocative nature to be performed when thanking, but that does not always entail "the uttering of certain words". In other words, it does not necessarily involve conventional locutions as in Austin. For example, when interlocutors invocate for thanks, the propositional content is, sometimes, informed by the situational context, as in Extracts 6.12, 6.15 and 16.6, where speakers invocate for hearers with propositional content according to the favoured act received from the hearer. For example, if they were to receive assistance, they could invocate "may God assist you", or if they were given food, they could invocate "may God feed you".

As for the condition that the procedure should be performed by certain people who hold certain beliefs, feelings and intentions to ensure any invocative illocutions are felicitous (according to religious doctrine), interlocutors must necessarily believe in divinity, or the act would be "void", and interlocutors must also perform any invocative illocutionary act sincerely, or the act would be "unhappy" (Austin, 1962: 39). In truth, sincerity is the most important condition in Islamic doctrine, if an invocative illocutionary act is to be fulfilled.[95] In Islam, a very famous and conclusive principle drives actions, stating: "Deeds are by intentions"; this is derived from a prophetic saying: "The reward of deeds depends upon the intentions, and everyone will be rewarded according to what he has intended…" (Albukhari, republished 1994: 1). In respect to sincerity in invocations, Ibn Almubarak (republished 1995: 1694) reported

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[95] See, for example, the book of Adda'i wa Addawa (disease and medicine), Ibn Alqayyim (republished 2008).

that Ibn Masud (one of the prophet's companions) said: "God would not accept [invocation] from a person who does it for people to hear or see him but accept from one who does with a present heart".

Having referred to the importance of sincerity in ensuring the felicity of invocative illocutionary acts, and having discussed the circumstances of their IFs, it is necessary to briefly discuss how these illocutionary acts were responded to,[96] as this can be a sign of the interlocutors' recognition of their functions.

6.9. Responding to thanking speech acts

According to facework approach (Brown and Levinson, 1987), when responding to thanking, the thankee faces a dilemma about whether to say something to minimise the influence of the thanker's FTA. For that reason, the thankee may choose to downgrade the favour offered to minimise the feeling of being indebted to the thanker, especially if the favour is perceived as major. By doing so, the thankee can "restore the imbalance in the relationship between the interactants caused by the thankee's action in favour of the thanker" (Schneider, 2005: 107).

In order to achieve the objective of addressing the negative face, the thankee can employ various strategies (Aijmer, 1996; Schneider, 2005; Farenkia, 2012). According to these studies, in English, interlocutors follow five strategies: minimising the favour using, for example, 'no problem' or 'don't mention it'; expressing pleasure, as when using 'my pleasure'; expressing appreciation, as in 'you are welcome'; returning thanks, as with 'thank you too'; or acknowledging the thanking with 'yeah'. However, the

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[96] Note: all responses were made by the conductors, not the participants.

preference for one strategy over another differs from one speech community to another. The thankees' responses to invocative utterances of thanking also draw on similar strategies. The responses in the data show thankees used three strategies to respond to invocative thanking: (1) by returning the thanking using invocative utterances, too, such as '*allah yajza-ts khair*' (may God reward you with goodness), as in Extract 6.12, or using an adjacency pair[97] of invocative utterances: '*wa iyya-k/ts*' (and you) and '*wa fee-k*' (and in you), as in Extracts 6.1–6.6, 6.8 and 6.10; (2) acknowledging invocative utterances using '*amin*' (amen), as in Extracts 15 and 16; (3) or by combining these two strategies, as in Extracts 6.1, 6.9, 6.13 and 6.24. While on the one hand, the use of the invocative utterance by the thankee to thank the thanker implies that interlocutors generally appreciate being thanked with invocative utterances, in Extract 6.12, the thankee invoked for the thanker in response to her extension of extending invocations to her. On the other hand, the acknowledgment of thanking by the thankee, when using the customary religious utterance '*amin*' (amen) points to their recognition of the invocative force of the thankers' utterances. The word '*amin*' (amen) itself is a directive illocution to God to respond to whatever is being invocated, as Bin Abdelbar (an Islamic scholar) (1967: 9-10) semantically defines it, the meaning is "O God answer"[98]. Pragmatically, this shows that the thankee accepts the invocation addressed to him/her as an act of thanks, as demonstrated by their reinforcement and ovation of the invocation as being an act addressed to God.

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[97] The format of the adjacency pair was observed by Duranti (1997) as a characteristic of greetings, referring to a greeting having: "a clear and identifiable case of predictability: Given one part of the pair, the other is normally predictable"97 (Mey, 1993: 218). It is used here with thanking.

[98] In the Christian context, 'amen' has various meanings and functions and is often used in liturgical contexts. One of its meanings is as a confirmation of agreement and ratification of prayers (see Flor, 2000).

6.10. Theological motivation to thank and use REs

The participants' thanking discourse is striking with regard to the presence of REs, particularly invocative utterances. This tendency to use invocative utterances, despite the vast body of (non-religious) words and expressions available for thanking can be influenced by religious incentives. In addition, the preference for using certain invocative utterances rather than others can also be attributed to religious resources. The following section addresses such religious motivations by referring to theological discourse, and individuals' ideological motivations.

Thanking, generally, as an act of gratitude is greatly encouraged in Islamic contexts. Many Quranic verses and prophetic sayings urge believers to show gratitude to God. For instance, in a very well known and frequently cited verse, believers are addressed as follows: "if you are grateful, I (God) will add more (favours) unto you; but if you show ingratitude, truly my punishment is terrible indeed" (Quran, 14: 7). Another example is when the Prophet says: "amazing is the state of the believer, as there is goodness in every affair, and this is only for the believer. If something of goodness happens to him, he is grateful (to God) and that is good for him. If something of harm happens to him, he is patient and that is good for him" (Muslim, 1954: 2999). These examples, among the many other verses and authentic prophetic sayings, demonstrate the importance of offering thanks to God. However, in another saying, the Prophet asserts that gratitude to God is often retained by people who show gratitude when favoured by others. In a very famous saying, he states: "those who do not show gratitude to people, would not show gratitude to God" (Attirmithi, 1998: 1955). Elsewhere, the Prophet says: "the most grateful people to God are those who are most grateful to people" (Alalbani, 2000: 971).

These narratives clearly confirm the religious inducement to share gratitude during interlocution, and that the thanking act is deemed a virtuous one.

Moreover, Islamic religious discourse not only encourages thanking but directs interlocutors to perform it using certain preferred acts. This is exemplified by the following prophetic saying: "anyone who has done a favour for you, should be repaid the favour; if you cannot find what to repay him with, do invocation for him" (Abu Dawud, 2009: 1676). Thus, the inclination among interlocutors to use invocations for thanking speech acts in the Islamic speech community cannot be arbitrary. Furthermore, as additional specific guidance on thanking, religious discourse enjoins interlocutors to use certain invocative utterances in many prophetic sayings. For example, Abu Dawud (2009: 5109) narrates that the Prophet Mohammad said: "whenever being favoured by someone, say: may God reward you with goodness, and indeed you would have thanked him in the most proper way". Alalbani (1995: 3098) also reported that the Prophet Mohammad used to thank people using the invocative utterance, "may God reward you with goodness", as in the following saying: "you people of Ansar, may God reward you with goodness…"[99]. Ibn Abi Shaibah (1989: 322) also reports that Omar Ben Alkhatab (one of the Prophet's companions) said: "if you knew how much goodness there is in saying 'may God reward you with goodness' to a brother, you would use it immensely".

This emphasis on religious discourse justifies and explains the constant presence of invocative utterances in general throughout the interlocutors' thanking speech acts, and specifically the very common use of the 'may God reward you with goodness' utterance, as employed by many of the participants. However, such usage of invocative

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[99] The Prophet's deeds and sayings are always considered to be teachings and examples to follow among Muslims.

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utterances might sometimes, and in certain circumstances, be modified in response to the influence of certain ideological factors.

As clearly indicated in the many examples given in this chapter, in interview, many of the participants expressed a religious motivation for using invocative illocutions, as they referred to several verses and prophetic sayings to justify their use of invocative utterances in general and specific invocative utterances in particular (e.g. 'may God reward you with goodness'). Nevertheless, although not mentioned by the participants in this study, some interlocutors predicted that they would not use these invocations with interlocutors that do not share their religious beliefs. This aversion can also be considered a manifestation of interlocutors' awareness of the invocations' religious meanings. For instance, some Islamic resources proffer multiple questions and answers concerning the use of invocations for thanking when communicating with non-believers. This subject is, for example, reflected in the following fatwa:[100]

> Question: Is it permissible for us to say: 'may God reward you with goodness' to a non-Muslim if he does us a favour or helps us?
>
> Answer: It is not permissible to invoke to unbelievers with 'may God reward you with goodness', but if he does something good to you, you should thank him with 'thanks'" (Ibn Jebreen, accessed 27/3/2016).

However, other Muslim scholars do not agree with this strict fatwa, considering the use of invocations and their propositional content as a preferable way of communicating, pointing to the Quranic verse: "...and speak good to people" (1: 83). The following fatwa is an example of this permissive perspective:

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[100] A fatwa is "a ruling on a point of Islamic law given by a recognised authority" (Oxford Dictionary).

Question: Is it permissible for me to say to an unbeliever 'may God reward you with goodness' when he does me a favour?"

Answer: It seems there is nothing wrong in saying 'may God reward you with goodness' by a Muslim to an unbeliever as a repayment for a favour that has been done" (Islamweb, accessed 27/3/2016)

These examples, both the strict and the permissive views, demonstrate there can be an ideological reason for thanking with invocative illocutions.

6.11. Participants' (group 2) awareness of the absence of invocative illocutions

This section examines the extent to which the study participants were aware of the absence of REs in some performance of the thanking speech act. The participants' reactive responses in this task were instant and spontaneous (see chapter 4 for an explanation of this approach), so they reflected the interlocutors' genuine perceptions about the speech act behaviour of thanking and the utterances used. To test if the participants were cognisant of the absence of invocations for thanking, they were asked to listen to the conversation below and register their observations and comments on the interactants' language:

Situation: The speaker (interlocutor A) is in a street and his papers fall and scatter on the ground, interlocutor B bends down to pick up and gather the papers for interlocutor B.

01   (Papers have fallen)

02   A: *khale-hen khale-hen*

03   B: [*la la istereh*]=

04   A: = *ana asheel-ehen ana asheel-*

05   *ehen*

06   B: [*istereh istereh*]

07   (B handing in the papers)

08→   A: *shokran shokran ma qassar-t*

09   B: *ala'afu hayy-ak*

Trans. 1.   (Papers have fallen)

       2.   A: "Leave them, leave them"

       3.   B: [" No no, relax"]=

       4.   A: = "I will pick them up, I will pick them up"

       5.   B: ["Relax, relax"]

       6.   (Interlocutor B is handing in the papers)

       7. → **A: "Thank you, thank you; you have done well"**

       8.   B: "Welcome, [may God] greet you"

Despite speaker A having thanked B with repeated utterances that show his gratitude to the addressee for helping him, many participants (35%) in group (G2) observed that A's expressions of gratitude are insufficient, and that his thanks would have been more efficient if he had utilised REs, particularly invocations. Their comments demonstrate their recognition of the multiple and stronger illocutionary forces when using invocations. This is demonstrated by the examples of the participants' comments presented in the following quotations (see Table 6.5 in Appendix E for more examples):

> He is supposed to invoke for him "because there is a saying from the
> prophet if one is being done a favour, he should say '*Jaza-k allah khair*'
> (may God reward you with goodness)". (Participant Sara)

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His way of thanking does not express much gratitude. It would express more gratitude if he add invocations: "Anyone has done a favour for you should be repaid the favour, if you couldn't find what to repay him with, do invocation for him". (Participant Khalid)

He didn't say '*Jaza-k allah khair*' (may God reward you with goodness), because "whoever says *Jaza-k allah khair* (may God reward you with goodness) he indeed thanked him in the most proper way". (Participant Monera)

From these comments, it is evident that the participants recognise the potential force of the invocations drawn on for expressing thanks. Although the thanker used three utterances: "thank you, thank you; you have done well", they still state clearly that thanking with invocation is stronger. Some participants' (see Table 6.5 in Appendix E) explicitly expressed their realisation of the directive function of the invocation, observing that it is better (beneficial) for the addressee. Many participants justified their comments in relation to how they observed the thanking performance with reference to religious resources. This reflects the significance of religious motivation when thanking using invocations.

6.12. Conclusion

This chapter analysed and discussed multiple topics related to the participants' discourse and their perceptions of the use of REs when performing thanking speech act. It reported intensive use of REs by the participants, with the majority integrating REs into their thanking speech acts, particularly invocations. However, various factors were observed to influence this use of REs. The topic of thanking and the participants'

recognition of their indebtedness towards the addressee played a major role in the decision to engage in extended use of invocations. The participants' realisation of the directive nature of the invocations, in addition to their expressive nature, as well as their positive impact on the addressees exerted a crucial influence on their tendency to use invocations. The more highly perceived face enhancement of REs were important for many participants who preferred them to the non-use of REs. However, social factors: participants' age and religiosity played a significant role in the extent of their use of REs when thanking. The participants' responses and comments (in interviews) also demonstrated religious motivations to use invocations, and on many occasions a specific one, were recognised by many participants. Religious references were made expansively, and many participants' observations (in G2) reflected shared perceptions regarding the use and function of invocations for thanking, and the religious motivations behind that use.

This chapter observed the dual nature of the act of thanking involving divinity. The use of REs – particularly invocative utterances – in the thanking act can extend it beyond the expressive function, to include the directive function of the invocative act. That is, the speaker's intention is to express gratitude, but also to invocate for the hearer. Thanking acts are directive illocutionary acts with a direction of fit, in which the speaker endeavours to urge the hearer (in this case, the divinity) to do something. Indeed, this directive act is recognised by interlocutors as more significant than the expressive thanking act. Moreover, this chapter demonstrated that, particularly in cross-gender communication, some facework and politeness concepts and notions, such as the prevailing strategy proposing that the longer and more elaborate the thanking act is, the more sincere and polite it is (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986), cannot be always applied to the cultural context of this study, and should therefore be recognised differently.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Religious expressions in the speech act of complimenting and compliment responding

7.1. Introduction

Following the discussion of the functions of REs in the expressive speech acts of greeting and thanking and the religious motivation in communicating these speech acts with various REs, this chapter concentrates on the use of REs in performing another expressive speech act that generally expresses the psychological state of the speaker in relation to a specific state of affairs (Searle, 1979: 15) and attitudes and expressions of attitudes towards an individual or object (Austin, 1962: 160). This chapter explains the presence of REs in the speech acts of complimenting and responding to compliments, as well as the influence of factors, notions and motivations.

The participants' conversational discourse showed an intense use of REs in performing the speech act of complimenting. The data illustrated that this use relies on a number of contextual, situational, and cultural (especially religious) aspects, the most important being the topic (see below) of the compliment and what is being complimented. The participants' perceptions also indicated that REs have various interactional and cultural communicative functions motivated by religious impulses (see 7.7 for theological motivations). The following sections illustrate this aspect, commencing with an examination of the occurrence of REs in the performance of the compliment speech act in different situations. This chapter demonstrates how complimenting with REs goes

beyond being expressive act of the psychological state, and that it performs multiple acts that are religiously perceived.

7.2. Occurrence of REs in complimenting

The participants performed the speech act of complimenting (see 7.5 for the definition of this speech act) in two situations, focussing on three complimenting events on three different topics: two in Situation 3 (S3) and one in Situation 4 (S4). The total number of complimenting exchanges[101] was seventy-two, with the majority (97%)[102] undertaken with REs, as shown in Figure 7.1:
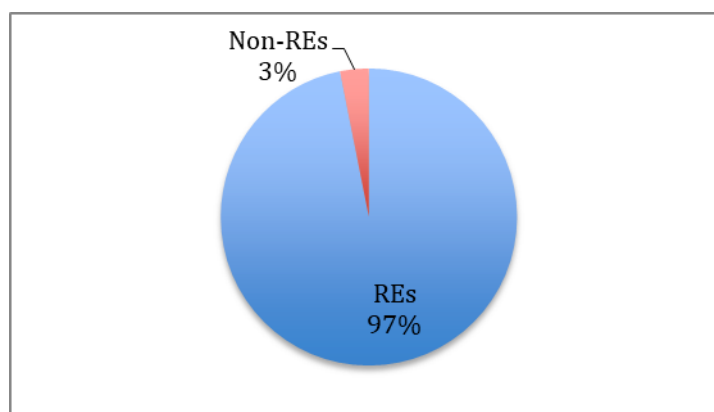
Figure 7.1. Occurrence of REs in participants' compliments

With the exception of two exchanges, where complimenting was achieved through the use of positive words and directly expressing the speaker's positive evaluation and admiration of the addressee (e.g. "honestly, incredible" and "what beauty, what beauty, I congratulate you"), the utterances illustrated that the participants did not compliment without employing REs, with 97% (No: 70) of their compliments being performed using

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[101] An exchange means here the acts where participants gave compliments and received responses.
[102] What counted here is the utterances.

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REs, employing phrases referring to God's attributes, as well as invocative illocutions. The intensity of the use of these REs (in addition to the patterns of repetition and elaboration) depended on the topic of the compliment, with speakers using more elaborate REs when compliments related to having children and owning a new house, rather than the possession of a newly furnished and decorated office. The following sections discuss the use of REs in further detail, categorising the three compliment events in relation to Holmes' (1988) categorisation framework of compliment topics[103]. The two situations include two compliment events concerning achievement and one concerning possession.

7.2.1. Complimenting achievements

Two events involved the performance of complimenting achievements, with both being in situation 3 (S3), in which the participant unexpectedly meets his/her old friend (the conductor) at a social occasion and chats for a while. In the first compliment event, the participant pays a compliment to the friend on having five children. The participants' discourse revealed that they tended to use more REs in this event than in other compliment events in both situations (i.e. a compliment on the achievement of moving to a new house (see S3) and a compliment on new décor and furniture (see S4). The discourse further demonstrates that the majority of the participants (in particular GIB,

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[103] Holmes observed that interlocutors can pay compliments on an infinite number of topics, but the overwhelming majority come under four broad topics: possession, appearance, performance and ability, along with aspects of personality. Manes (1983) and Herbert (1991) agree with this categorisation with a slight difference, i.e. the compliment topics in the present example do not go out of this framework. However, the type of compliment on having children and a new house can be considered as achievements, which can be placed under the topic of ability and performance.

GIC and GIE (see section 4.6.3 for what these stand for)) were inclined to extend their compliments using patterns of repetition and elaboration. This is shown in Table 7.1:

Situation	S3		S4	
	CE 1	CE 2	CE4	
Presence of REs	82 (44%)	55 (30%)	41 (26%)	Total= 178

Table 7.1. Presence of REs according to situation and compliment event (CE)

Table 7.1 confirms that there were a total of 178 religious utterances, e.g. "*ma sha allah ma sha allah tabarak allah*" (it is God's will, it is God's will, blessed is God) is deemed (by the researcher) to be three independent religious expressions[104], rather than one. The greatest percentage of REs (44%) was in the first compliment event. The types of REs employed by the participants to perform their complimenting acts were comprised of specific God-venerating phrases: '*ma sha allah*' (it is God's will), '*tabarak allah*' (blessed is God) and '*la ilah illa allah*' (no God but Allah), and were mostly followed by invocative illocutions aimed at invoking good things for the addressee's children, e.g. such as '*allah yesleh-hom*' (may God redress them) and '*allah yekhale-hom le-k*' (may God preserve them for you), which were used frequently, as well as '*allah yebarek fee-hom*' (may God bless them) and '[allah] *yehadee-hom*' (may God guide them). The following extracts demonstrate the use of these phrases and invocative utterances throughout the interactions:

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[104] I consider it independent expression because the act can be performed by using one expression.

Extract 7.1

(Participant Sami (G1C))

Situation 3 (E1): The participant is at a social occasion and coincidently meets one of his/her old friends. They chat with each other for a while. During the conversation, the participant asks the friend (the conductor) about his/her life. The friend tells him/her he/she has had five children and has just bought a new house.

01   C: *ih al-hamd li-allah endi khams*

02   *eyal al-hamd li-allah*

03→   **P: *ma sha allah ma sha allah=***

04→   **P: *=allah yesleh-hom we yehadee-***

05   **hom**

06   C: *amin*

Trans. 1.   C: "Yes, praise be to God; I have five children, praise be to God"

       2.→ **P: "↑It is God's will, it is God's will"=**

       3. → **P: ="may God redress them and guide them"**

       4.   C: "Amen"

Extract 7.2
(Participant Fatima (G1E))
Situation 3 (E1):

01   C: *me'i khamseh h-alheen*

02→   **P: *ma sha allah la ilah illa allah=***

03   P: *=wesh-om?*

04   C: *thalath banat wa waladin*

05→   **P: *ma sha allah tabarak allah=***

06→   **P: *=allah yekhale-hom le-ts ya rab***

07   **al-a'alam-een we yeslwh-hom**

08   C: *amin*

Trans. 1.   C: "I have got five now"

2.→ **P: "It is God's will, no God but Allah"=**

3.   P: ="What are they?"

4.   C: "Three girls and two boys"

5.→ **P: "It is God's will, blessed is God"=**

6.→**P: = "May God preserve them for you, O Lord of the worlds, and redress them"**

7.   C: "Amen"

Extract 7. 3
(Participant Solaiman)
Situation 3 (E1):

02	C: *e'nd-i khamseh e'yal*
03	*h-alheen*
04→	**P: *ma sha allah ma sha***
05	***allah tabarak allah ma***
06	***sha allah=***
07→	**P: *=allah yebarek fee-***
08	***hom***
09	C: *amin amin=*
10	C: *=allah yajza-k khair*

Trans.	1.	C: "I have got five children now"
	2. →	**P: "It is God's will, it is God's will, blessed is God, it is God's will"=**
	3. →	**P: ="may God bless them"**
	4.	C: "Amen, amen"=
	5.	C: = "May God reward you with goodness"

These Extracts (7.1, 7.2, and 7.3) clearly exhibit the use of the pattern of repetition and elaboration and the invocative illocutions exploited to compliment in the compliment event illustrated. For example, in Extract 7.1, the participant repeated the use of the

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religious phrase '*ma sha allah*', prior to elaborating on invocations for the complimentee's children, saying '*allah yesleh-hom we yehadee-hom*' (may God redress them and guide them). In Extract 7.2, the participant repeated her use of religious phrases with three different phrases in two turns, then expanded her REs with invocations for the complimentee's children, using two different invocative utterances: "*allah yekhale-hom le-ts ya rab al-a'alam-een we yeslwh-hom*" (May God preserve them for you, O Lord of the worlds, and redress them).

In the same situation (S3), but in a different compliment event, all participants paid their compliments to their addressees. In this compliment event, the participants complimented their addressees on their achievement of moving to a new house moving. To perform their compliment acts, they used the same religious phrases in similar patterns of repetition and elaboration, while similarly using invocative utterances to extend their compliments. These illocutions differed semantically, as they accorded with the compliment event and the complimented object. However, Table 7.1 clarifies that the intensity of the use of religious phrases and invocative utterances was lower than in the first compliment event (44% to 30%), indicating the influence of the nature of the complimented object on the complimenting performance (as discussed in 7.5.1).

These semantically different, but pragmatically specific, invocative illocutions included purposeful utterances, in addition to their communicative goal, to bring about desirable event for those living in the house, and to invoke God's blessings on the house. These frequently used utterances included: "*allah yaja'al-oh a'amer be-attae'h*" (may God make it full of obedience [to God]) and "*allah yaja'al-oh manzel mubarak*" (may God make it a blessed house), as well as a number of further utterances used by a small number of participants, including "*allah yebarek le-kum fee-h*" (may God bless it for

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you), "*allah yaja'al-oh baiten saleh*" (may God make it a righteous home) and "*allah yaja'al-eh o'nen ala atta'eh*" (may God make it of assistance for obedience [to God]). The following extracts illustrate how the participants communicated these illocutions for the performance of the compliment speech acts:

Extract 7.4
(Participant Ibrahim (G1B))
Situation 3:

01   C: *al-hamd li-llah tow-na negal-*
02   *na li-bait molk*
03→   **P: *ma sha allah tabarak allah=***
04→   **P:=*allah yaja'al-oh a'amer be-***
05   ***attae'h***
06   C: *allahma amin*

Trans. 1.   C: "Praise be to God, we have just moved to a new house"
        2.→ **P: "It is God's will, blessed is God"=**
        3.→ **P: = "May God make it full with obedience [to God]"**
        4.   C: "O God, amen"

Extract 7.5
(Participant Modi (G1E))
Situation 3:

01   C: *abashr-ets je-na hina we sekan-na*

02   *be-bait molk*

03→   **P: *ma sha allah tabarak allah*=**

04→   **P:=*allah yaja'al-oh manzel***

05   **mubarak**

06   C: *allah yajza-ts khair*

Trans. 1.   C: "Good tidings, we have come here and stay in an owned house"

      2.→ **P: "It is God's will, blessed is God"=**

      3.→ **P: = "May God make it a blessed house"**

      4.   C: "May God reward you with goodness"

Extract 7.7
(Participant Sami (G1C))
Situation 3:

01   C:=*tow-na negal-na hol-*

02   *kom be-bait molk*

03→   **P: *ma sha allah ma sha allah*=**

04→   **P:=*allah yaja'al-oh baiten saleh***

05   C: =*amin ya rab*

Trans. 1.   C: ="We have just moved into an owned house near you"

      2.→**P: "It is God's will, it is God's will"=**

      3.→**P: "May God make it a righteous house"**

      4.   C: = "Amen, O Lord"

All the Extracts shown here (see Appendix F for more examples), along with the participants' compliment utterances, demonstrate the effectiveness of REs (and religious phrases and invocative utterances in particular) in communicating compliments between interlocutors, specifically concerning the achievements of the addressees. They also reveal how the complimentors repeated the religious phrases, extending them with invocations to confirm their complimenting performance (see the detailed analysis in 7.5.1). For example, in Extract 7.4, the participant elaborated his use of religious phrases, extending the compliment with an invocation for the complimentee for owning a new house. This also took place in Extracts 7.5 and 7.7 (and 7.6, 7.8, 7.9 in Appendix F), in which the participants elaborated their religious phrases with invocations to confirm their compliment acts (this will be discussed further in 7.5.1).

The following extracts reveal how the participants performed their complimenting in a different context, i.e. where compliments focussed on a possession belonging to the addressee.

7.2.2. Complimenting possessions

The participants' discourse revealed that they performed compliments for possessions in a single situation (S4) and event, in which the participant meets an old friend (who works in the same building but in a different office), and compliments the friend on having new décor and furniture. Their discourse revealed that their performance of compliments differed considerably, i.e. invocative utterances were only performed once, and there was a lower degree of frequency/repetition of the religious phrases or their absence with two participants. This is represented in the following extracts:

Extract 7.10
(Participant Ammar (G1A))
Situation 4:

01   C: *wesh ray-ek?*

02→   **P: wallah menteb baseet thog-ek**

03   **foug**

04   C: *kel ha-lli teshoof ala thogi*

05→   P: **ma sha allah**

Trans. 1.   C: "What do you think?"

2.→ P: **"By God, you are not simple; your taste is high"**

3.   C: "All that you see is my taste"

4.→ P: **"It is God's will"**

Extract 7.11
(Participant Rana (G1D))
Situation 4:

01→   P: *shakl al-maktab jedeed* **ma sha**

02   **allah?**

03   C: *ih*

04→   **P: ma sha alla::h**

05   C: *ma amdai meatheeth-t-oh*

06→   P: **assaraheh marah thog-ets**

07   **yejanen**

08   C: *men thog-ets*

Trans. 1.→ P: "The office looks new, **it is God's will**?"

2.   C: "Yes"

3.→ P: **"It is God's will"**

4.   C: "I have just furnished it"

5.→ P: **"Honestly, your taste is incredible"**

6.   C: "That is because of your taste"

In comparison to the compliments on achievement, the above Extracts reveal a disparity between the participants' performance of complimenting in terms of: (1) the employment of religious phrases; and (2) the use of invocative utterances. This disparity of performance included all groups of participants (G1A, G1B, G1C, G1D and G1E), being more noticeable in groups G1B, G1C and G1E, due the more frequent occurrence of invocative utterances in the first topic, which can be ascribed to the topic of the compliment and the nature of the compliment object (see discussion sections for further details).

It was clear from the participants' conversations in Extracts 7.10 and 7.11 (7.12, 7.13 and 7.14 in Appendix F) that there was less of a pattern of repetition in the use of religious phrases in comparison to the acts of complimenting in different topics. It was also clear that there were a considerably greater number of non-religious utterances in these Extracts concerning this topic, as in Extracts 7.10, 7.11 and 7.13. Moreover, there were only a small number of invocative utterances in the participants' compliments on this topic (see Extract 7.14).

The following section examines the variation of the performance of the five groups in relation to the general use of religious phrases and invocative utterances, and their presence in the three compliment events.

7.3. Variation in the use of REs in complimenting

A number of notable variations can be detected by examining the frequency of religious phrases and invocative utterances, and their distribution across the five groups and the three compliment events. This is demonstrated in the following three charts:
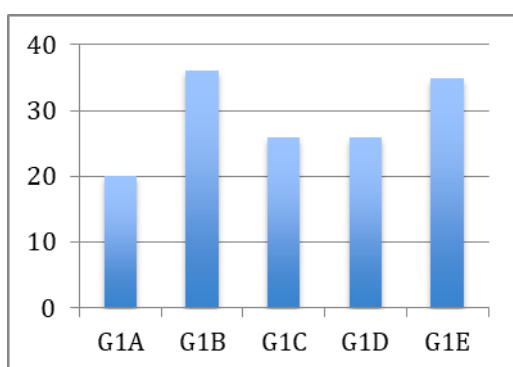
Figure 7.2 Variation in religious phrases
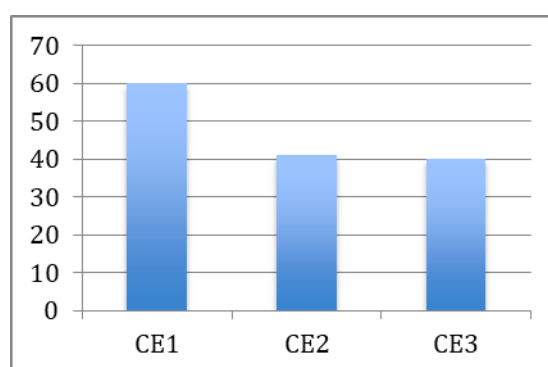
Figure 7.3 Variation according to CEs
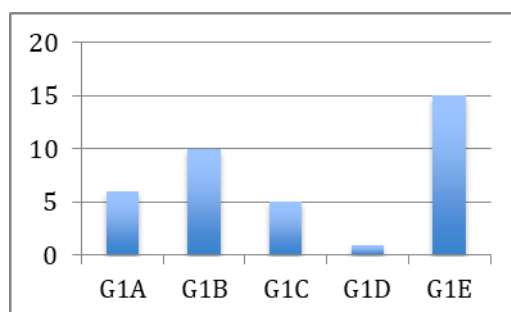
Figure 7.4. Variation in invocative utterances

The first chart reveals that G1B and G1E employed a greater number of religious phrases (36+35) in comparison to the other groups, in particular G1A and G1D, who used the lowest number of religious phrases (20+26) (see 4.6.3 for a description of these groups). The second chart also indicates the influence on the frequency of religious phrases, of the context of the compliment event, i.e. the first compliment event (the compliment on having five children) involved a greater number of religious phrases (60) than the second compliment event (the compliment on owning a new house) (41) and the third (the compliment on new décor and furniture) (40).

This third chart reveals the overt differences in the use of invocative utterances for complimenting between the groups. G1E employed considerably more invocative utterances (15) than the other groups, while G1B also employed a relatively higher

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number of invocative utterances (10) than the other groups, among whom such usage was lower (6+5+1) for G1A, G1C and G1D, respectively. It is significant is that these invocative utterances appeared in the two compliment events in S3, but (apart from on one occasion) disappeared in the third compliment event in S4. This reflects the importance of the topic of the compliment and the nature of the entity being complimented.

However, this variation can be due to a number of factors, including age, gender, and the participant's degree of religiosity. A statistical test (chi-square test) was employed to establish which of these factors was the most influential, assessing the association between the three variables and the use of REs (independent variables) for complimenting, in particular religious phrases and invocative utterances. The following table demonstrates the significance of this association:

Dependent variable	Independent variable	χ^2	df	p[a]	y
Occurrence of religious phrases in complimenting	Gender	3.886	4	.507	
	Age	16.119	8	**.021**	.916
	Religiosity	7.543	4	.076	
Occurrence of invocative utterances in complimenting	Gender	7.749	4	.105	
	Age	22.440	8	**.002**	
	Religiosity	8.709	4	.72	

Table 7.2. Chi-square measurement of association between the social variable and use of religious phrases and invocative utterances when complimenting.

The chi-square test results in the table above reveal that the factor of age was significantly influential, as the p-value association between age and religious phrases, and the use of invocative utterances, indicated a significant association (**.021** and **.002,**

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respectively). Table 7.3 (below) clarifies in greater detail the degree to which the participants differed in their use of religious phrases while complimenting:

	Occurrence of religious phrases while complimenting					Total
	Very low occurrence	Low occurrence	Medium occurrence	High occurrence	Very high occurrence	

Age   20-30 (G1A and G1D)
     22-37 (G1B)
      over 50 (G1C and G1E)
	20.0%	30.0%	50.0%
			40.0%
			22.2%
				60.0%
				66.7%
					11.1%	100%
						100%
						100%

Total	8.3%	12.5%	37.5%	37.5%	4.2%	100%

Table 7.3. Occurrence of religious phrases for complimenting, cross tabulated according to age

The table demonstrates that older age groups (G1C and G1E) were positively associated with a high[105] (or very high) occurrence of religious phrases for complimenting, while the younger age groups (G1A and G1D) were more associated with very low, low, and medium occurrence. G1B (i.e. the imams, who were aged between twenty-two and thirty-seven) were closer in age to the younger age groups than the older age groups, but their use of religious phrases to compliment tended to be of medium and high occurrence. However, the chi-square test does not confirm a significant association.

Similarly, Table 7.4 (below) demonstrates that, when it comes to the details of invocative utterances, participants differed in their use of invocative utterances to compliment:

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[105] See Appendix H for the difference between low, high, very high, etc.

	Occurrence of invocative utterances in complimenting					Total
	No occurrence	Very low occurrence	Low occurrence	Medium occurrence	High occurrence	
20-30 (G1A and G1D) Age 22-37 (G1B) over 50 (G1C and G1E)	60.0%	30.0% 20.0%	60.0% 33.3%	10.0% 20.0% 33.3%	33.3%	100% 100% 100%
Total	25.0%	16.7%	25.0%	20.8%	12.5%	100%

Table 7.4. Occurrence of invocative utterances for complimenting, cross tabulated according to age

The table clarifies that the majority (60%) of the younger age group of participants (G1A and G1D) either made no use of invocative utterances for complimenting, or used them (30.0%) at a low level. By contrast, older participants (G1C and G1E) were more inclined to employ invocative utterances in their compliment speech acts, with 66.6% (33.3%=33.3%) employing these utterances in medium or high frequent occurrence.

7.4. Occurrence of REs in responding to compliments

The participants' discourse included only one situation (S4) in which the participants performed the speech act of responding to compliments, i.e. when the complimentor (the conductor) complimented them on their appearance. There were twenty-four compliment response exchanges[106] in total. The data reveals that the majority of participants (i.e. twenty-one out of twenty-four, 87.5%) performed the speech act of compliment responding with REs, in particular with semantically varied invocative utterances as an indication of compliment acceptance. This could have been influenced by the use of REs in the compliment acts, as discussed in detail in the discussion section. The following extracts provide a small number of examples of these responses:

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[106] An exchange here means when participants responded to compliments they received.

Extract 7.15
(Participant Azzam (G1A))
Situation 4:

01   C: *ant ma sha allah alaik mehlow!*

02→   **P: *allah yardha ala-ik wallah***

03→   ***Ketheer yeqolon-ah* [laugh]**

Trans. 1.   C: "It is God's will, you have become more beautiful"

          2.→ **P: "May God be satisfied with you, by God, a lot of people say this [laugh]"**

Extract 7.17
(Participant Solaiman (G1C))
Situation 4:

01   C: *ant metghayer ala-ina mehlow we*

02   *zayen*

03→   **P: [laugh] *gel ma sh allah***

04   C: *ma sha allah*

05→   **P: *allah yajza-k khair***

Trans. 1.   C: "You have changed: you have become sweeter and more beautiful"

          2.→ **P: "[laugh] say it is God's will"**

          3.   C: "It is God's will, it is God's will"

          4.→ **P: "May God reward you"**

Extract 7.18
(Participant Modi (G1D))
Situation 4:

01   C: *ma sha allah wesh ha-azzain wa*

02   *al-hala?!*

03→   **P: *allah yajza-ts khair hatha men***

04→   ***thog-ets allah yajza-ts khair***

Trans. 1.   C: "It is God's will, what beauty, what sweetness this is!"

　　　2.→**P: "May God reward you with goodness, this is of your taste, may God**
　　　　　　reward you with goodness"

These examples, along with many more (see, for example, Extracts 7.16 and 7.19 in Appendix F), demonstrate the tendency of the participants to accept compliments by using invocative utterances to express their gratitude and appreciation, as well as repaying them. They also reflect the importance of the presence of religious phrases in the acceptance of compliments, as demonstrated in Extract 6.17, in which the participant requested the complimentor to use the religious phrase "it is God's will" prior to demonstrating his acceptance of the compliment. This action was taken in order to avoid the negative influence of the evil eye (as discussed in further detail in 7.6). It is significant that the complimentor's reference to God ensured the complimentee was not fully responsible for the illocutionary force of accepting the compliment, leading to him/her to accept the compliment in an indirect manner with invocative utterances, thus avoiding any direct acceptance strategy, e.g. upgrading the compliment, or agreeing with the complimentor (with the exception in Extract 7.15, in which the complimentee 'jokingly' agrees with the complimentor).

It is clear in the above quantitative analysis that the participants did not compliment without employing REs, using phrases referring to God's attributes, as well as invocative illocutions. The intensity of the use of these REs, in addition to the patterns

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of repetition and elaboration, depended on the topic of the compliment, and what was being complimented. The data also revealed that the majority of participants performed the speech act of compliment by responding with REs, particularly with semantically varied invocative utterances, as an indication of compliment acceptance.

This demonstration of the pervasive use of REs according to the settings and the social interactional contexts of each situation answers the quantitative question concerning the presence of REs in the participants' complimenting speech act, and the question of the influence of different variables on that use. The following more qualitative sections seek to explain why such religious phrases were pervasive, as this can be linked to their pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions and religious motivation, and to the participants' perception that REs have various interactional and cultural communicative functions, motivated by religious impulses. The participants' recognition of the religious protective and invocative force of the utterances in general, and their perception of the relationship between the concept of the evil eye in expressing admiration, and the use of the religious phrases in some situations were key reasons for their intensive use. This use can also be ascribed to the participants' understanding of the religious motive for using religious phrases in general, and to the religious motive for using *'ma sha allah'* (it is God's will), in particular. It can also be ascribed to their perception of the relationship between addressing the hearer's positive face and the use of the religious phrases, and their recognition of the stronger illocutionary forces of such religious utterances. This is discussed in further detail in the following sections, which also demonstrate how complimenting with REs surpasses being simply an expressive act of the psychological state, in that it performs multiple acts that are religiously perceived.

7.5. Function of REs in the speech act of complimenting

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In a similar manner to the previous speech acts, complimenting is also recognised as an act which is expressive[107], or, as noted by Austin (1962: 159) "behabitive", i.e. in which interlocutors express their attitudes "to other people's behaviour and fortunes". Therefore, complimenting expresses the speaker's attitude to hearer-related qualities and actions. Holmes (1986: 485) defined a compliment as "a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer." Barnlund and Akari (1985: 12), agreed with this view, defining a compliment as "any expression of positive evaluation concerning the qualities or behaviours of another person without manipulative intent". This definition of complimenting as a positive evaluation is significant in the context of the achievement-complimenting events in the current research (as CE1 and CE2 in S3), where the events may be understood as congratulating events. In a number of situational and cultural contexts, a congratulating act can be deemed an indirect compliment act, as both form a positive evaluation. Austin (1962) viewed compliments as expressions of sympathy, e.g. congratulations and felicitations. Bach and Harnish (1979) also placed compliments under the categorisation of congratulations. Searle (1969, 1976) did not identify compliments in his classification of speech acts, yet his classification can also be applied to compliments, when considering his definition of congratulations as an act of expression of pleasure at an event related to the hearer. All Searle's conditions for congratulations can similarly be viewed as conditions for compliments, i.e. (1) the propositional act (an event or act related to the hearer); (2) the preparatory condition

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[107] Although Searle (1969, 1976) does not specify compliments in his classification of speech acts, he may include them in the expressive acts, as they express the speaker's attitude.

(the event is in the hearer's interest, and the speaker believes that the event is in the hearer's interest); and (3) the sincerity condition (the speaker is pleased with the event). By contrast, Norrick (1980) claimed that compliment utterances are produced as a positive assessment of personal properties and possessions, while congratulations focus on accomplishments. However, compliments can also be positive evaluations of accomplishments, as in the two compliment events in S3. It appears that this aspect is more prevalent in some contexts than others. For example, Herbert (1991) confirmed that the speech acts of compliments and congratulations are more analogical in Polish than in English. Jaworski (1995) also asserted that, in Polish, congratulations function as compliments, and vice versa. Thus, in a number of language and cultural contexts (including that of the current research) the speech acts of congratulating and complimenting are perceived and performed in a similar manner.

In the further cultural context of Syrian Arabic (which is relatively similar to the cultural context of the current research), Nelson et al. (1996) analysed a number of congratulating expressions as compliment events. Al-Khatib (1997: 157) defined congratulations in the Jordanian Arabic context as a speech act "intended to praise or approve a particular achievement or action". The reference to 'praise' was also confirmed by Wierzbicka (1987: 199), who considered a compliment as praise with the illocutionary purpose of "expressing one's positive judgment". In the context of the current research, the participants used the word '*madh*' (praise) frequently in their interview comments on the compliment events in S3. Thus, the most important criterion for classifying (or identifying) an illocution as a compliment is the attributed intention, rather than the form indicators, as posited by Leech (1983). Interestingly, indicators of compliments and congratulations in the context of the current study, are encoded in the same syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic utterances, because they are realised

linguistically through the use of identical religious phrases, such as '*ma sha allah*' (it is God's will), and invocative utterances, as well as identical pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions. The above discussion has noted, as it might be thought that the two compliment events in S3 are mere congratulating acts for having five children and owning a new house.

Furthermore, when conceptualising the function of congratulations and compliments as acts of facework, they are the clearest positive strategy of facework, first recognised and clarified by Brown and Levinson (1987: 102), who observed complimenting as positive facework behaviour, as the speaker attends to the hearer's wants, needs and interests, and praises the hearer for a current (or previous) action. In addition, they are understood as acts of positive facework, as they claim 'common ground' by conveying "x is admirable and interesting" (ibid.: 102). A number of scholars have contended that the primary sociopragmatical function of such facework acts is social (Wolfson, 1981, 1983, 1989; Holmes, 1986, 1988; Brown and Levinson, 1987; Herbert, 1989, 1990), i.e. they are performed to consolidate the solidarity and harmony between interlocutors (the complimentor and the complimentee) and "grease the social wheels" that maintain rapport (Wolfson, 1983: 89). It should be noted that face enhancement and social functions are neither contradictory nor discrete, but are rather performed simultaneously and inclusively; they are face enhancing, performative utterances that, when performed in the appropriate conditions, perform social functions.

Notwithstanding this conceptualisation of the functions of compliments, they should not always be perceived and interpreted in a similar manner across cultures and speech communities. Brown and Levinson (1987), in theorising concerning facework concepts, recognised the influence of cultural context in realising complimenting acts, as they can

sometimes be interpreted in a negative manner, e.g. in Samoan culture, complimenting an object can place the complimentee under pressure to offer the complimented object to the complimentor (Holmes and Brown, 1987). This can also be seen in a study conducted of Saudi culture, in which Saudi interlocutors were observed, in a pragmatic transfer of their L1 to L2, responding to compliments of a watch they were wearing by offering it to the complimentor (Alsohaibani, 2012). In addition, in a number of cultures (including that of the current research), compliments can be interpreted as envy. Thus, in Egyptian (and similar) societies (Kamel, 1993), there is a tendency (as discussed in further detail below) to intentionally eschew compliment acts by avoiding drawing attention to any potential object of envy. Compliments are therefore not always recognised as tokens, or expressions, of goodwill unless they are performed appropriately. This is clearly observed in the context of the present study, in which the concept of envy (and interlocutors' perceptions of its influence when communicating compliments) is confirmed by the interview comments of the participants (see section 7.5.3). Their beliefs, as reflected in these comments, play a crucial role in their linguistic behaviour in using REs to perform the speech act of complimenting (as discussed in the following sections). The subjects of the compliments, along with the nature of the complimented objects, were also influential in determining the use of REs in the participants' discourse. The following sections discuss the ways participants used and perceived REs in the different compliment topics.

7.5.1. REs in complimenting achievements

Following the discussion of the functions of compliments as generally positive facework acts and social acts, it should be noted that, in some cultural and situational contexts, they can be perceived negatively, as face-threatening acts. This negativity, as

recognised by a number of scholars, lies in the perceived relationship between envy and the production of compliment utterances. Brown and Levinson (1987: 247) indicated that compliments can be negative acts in speech communities with a belief in envy. Similarly, Holmes (1988: 448) observed that, in some communities, compliments, may imply that the complimentor envies the complimentee "in some way, or would like to have something belonging to the addressee", i.e. a face-threatening act.

However, the recognition of the negative influence of communicating compliments depends on the subject/topic, and aspects attracting compliments are, as stated by Manes (1983: 97), culturally and socially informed: "compliments represent one's means, whereby an individual (or more importantly, society as a whole) can encourage, through such reinforcement, certain desired behaviours". Thus, an action (or object) subject to compliments in one culture, may not prompt compliments in another, and some topics can invite stronger compliments than others. Likewise, some compliments on certain topics are more face-threatening than others, in particularly when it comes to the issue of attracting envy.

Nevertheless, all of these perceived negative aspects are redressed by the use of certain religious phrases and utterances, e.g. '*ma sha allah*' (it is God's will), '*tabarak allah*' (blessed is God) and '*la ilah illa allah*' (no God but Allah), and also by invocative utterances, as in Extracts 7.1 to 7.9. The participants all confirmed their motivation to use these REs to address the issue of envy, and its negative effect on interlocutors, in particular the first compliment event in S3, where the compliments focussed on the complimentee having five children. Complimenting without using REs can be a face-threatening act to the complimentee, as he/she may believe he/she is envied by the speaker (as in Q5 below). It can also be a face-threatening act to the complimentor, as it might indicate that he/she is envious, and the complimentee may ask them to use REs in

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their performed compliments. This was expressed by many participants, as in the following examples:

> It actually depends on the person; some people may notice that you haven't said '*ma sha allah*' and didn't mention God and would say to you: "say '*ma sha allah*' or mention God", especially if it [complimented topic or object] is important and eye-catching. (Q1, post-role play interviews, Rana, 2015)

> It sometimes happens to me: if I forget to mention God, the other person tells me to mention God. (Q2, post-role play interviews, Ibrahim, 2015)

These two examples clearly reflect the potential bidirectional negative consequences on both sides of a compliment event in a failure to associate compliment illocutions with REs. However, as observed by the current researcher (see section 7.2.1), such use of REs is more manifest in some topics than others. For example, in the first compliment event in S3 (i.e. the speakers perform their compliments for a hearer who has told them that he/she has five children), all participants used REs for complimenting. This can be seen in Extracts 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3, in which the participants used various religious phrases. The most common religious phrase was '*ma sha allah*' (it is God's will). The participants' conversational discourse demonstrates that they constantly used this phrase, overwhelmingly with repetition and elaboration. Their interview comments also revealed the importance of the use of this phrase, in particular during such a compliment topic/event, i.e. the participants in the following comments justified their use of '*ma sha allah*' with the nature of the complimented:

> When I said '*ma sha allah*', I really meant it, as I was surprised. I have to say it, as something may happen to his children, then I would be blamed for not saying '*ma sha allah*' or mentioning God." (Q3, post-role play interviews, Sami, 2015)

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The person should always say '*ma sha allah*' if he admires something, especially when it comes to children. If something happened to them, it might be because I didn't say it. (Q4, post-role play interviews, Fatima, 2015)

These comments demonstrate the participants' perceptions of the importance of using '*ma sha allah*' in complimenting, and this importance is emphasised in certain topics of complimenting, i.e. having many children.

Furthermore, the participants justified their use of '*ma sha allah*', as well as their inclinations towards repetition and reoccurrence, due to: (1) its efficiency as a communicative strategy in complimenting for saving the face of both interacting parties; and (2) its performative function as an effective phrase (act) to avoid the perceived negative influence of envy, as stated by all participants. The following comment provides an example of this notion:

I said '*ma sha allah*' to show her that I do not have envy and also not to strike her or any of her children [with an evil eye] even without my knowing." (Q5, post-role play interviews, Bothainah, 2015)

This comment is also an example of the pervasive belief among interlocutors of the effective function of '*ma sha allah*' to maintain complimenting as a positive facework strategy, as it is perceived to address the negativity of the evil eye in the performance of a compliment act, which is religiously informed (the concept of the evil eye is discussed in further detail below).

The fear of the evil eye towards children is a highly sensitive matter in a number of cultures, including that of the current context. This leads to the importance of the choice of utterances in praising and complimenting to prevent such fear and any consequences. This leads to children in some societies (i.e. Egyptian society) being given ugly names, or made to appear lacking in any beauty to prevent praise/compliments (Kamel, 1993).

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Similarly, In Serbian culture, people tend to say "how ugly" for a baby, to avoid the evil eye consequences; it is pre-Christian pagan matter as Filipovic (2017) indicated[108].

In the same vein, the participants' discourse revealed a similar tendency, although to a lesser extent, towards the repetitive use of religious phrases, in particular '*ma sha allah*' in the second compliment event in S3, in which the topic of the compliments referred to owning a new house (see Extracts 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9). From a cultural perspective, owning a new house may open the door for envy and a blow from the evil eye, which is why in some societies (e.g. Egypt) amulets are placed on their houses as a preventive action[109] (Kamel, 1993), and in some Islamic societies (including Saudi Arabia) religious phrases are written on houses, most commonly '*ma sha allah*', to remind those observing and admiring them to use the phrase.

As noted, the participants employed several religious phrases and invocative utterances to avoid any perceived negative influence of envy and the evil eye. The following section discusses the concept of the evil eye in further detail, before discussing, the use of '*ma sha allah*', and other religious phrases, as well as invocative utterances, to remove any negativity when complimenting.

7.5.2. The concept of the evil eye

The concept of the evil eye (along with the fear of envy in general) is pervasive in Islamic societies, including that of Saudi Arabia. Dundes (1980: 93) noted that this concept can be defined as "the idea that an individual, male or female, has the power,

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[108] Professor Luna Filipovic (personal communication, March, 2017)
[109] In some societies (e.g. Saudi Arabia) this deed is considered un-Islamic and to be avoided, as it is superstition prohibited by several religious resources.

voluntarily or involuntarily, to cause harm to another individual or his property merely by looking at, or praising, that person or property. The harm may consist of illness or even death or destruction". Similarly, Maloney (1976: 5) conceptualised the evil eye as "the belief that someone can project harm by looking at another's property or person." It is believed that this active and negative effect of the evil eye is a result of the 'innate' quality of envy that can exist in any individual, and is believed to appear both advertently and inadvertently (Kamel, 1993). This leads to a need to prevent the potential impact of the evil eye using various methods, and linguistic strategies undertaken by interlocutors are perceived to function efficiently.

This belief in the evil eye is not specific to Arabic or Islamic cultures. In a cross-cultural study, Roberts (1976, cited in Dundes, 1980) found that 36% of the 186 cultures included in his study had a belief in the evil eye. Dorson (1980) also observed that belief in the evil eye is tenacious among Eastern European, Irish, Scottish and Mediterranean peoples. The difference between these cultures and Islamic cultures (and in particular Saudi culture) concerns the methods taken to prevent the possible consequences of the evil eye, as well as the religious grounding of such beliefs. Islamically, religion endorses belief in the evil eye in many references (see Section 7.7), confirming the harm that it can cause. On the other hand, religion provides interlocutors with the means to avoid such harm, including linguistic strategies, e.g. the use of certain religious phrases. A number of these phrases were extensively used by the participants in the current research, including '*ma sha allah*' (it is God's will), '*tabarak allah*' (blessed is God) and '*la ilah illa allah*' (no God but Allah).

The following two sections discuss the use of these phrases and their relation to the evil eye, beginning with the most common phrase: '*ma sha allah*'.

7.5.3. The use of *ma sha allah* in complimenting

As noted previously, the use of '*ma sha allah*' was common among the participants (i.e. 44% of REs). Semantically speaking, the phrase infers that each accomplishment or possession must always be ascribed to the divine will and power, and therefore the use of this phrase recognises this will and power, invoking it to preserve and protect the disappearance of accomplishments and possessions (the use of this phrase is particularly attributed to theological sources as in 7.7). This recognition of, and reference to, God is more emphatic when the quality and quantity of the achievements and possessions that triggered the compliment are of great value, (i.e. Extracts 7.1–7.9). Moreover, its semantic meaning is "consistent with the fatalistic worldview" (Migdadi et al., 2010: 481), which is a pervasive phenomenon in the daily discourse of Arabic speech communities (Farghal, 1993).

However, a failure to use such an expression (i.e. '*ma sha allah*') in the context of complimenting does not necessarily imply a failure to recognise God's power and will in providing and preserving that which prompted compliments, or any opposition to religious beliefs or values. However, its recognised use demonstrates the perception of God's ultimate will and power, as it forms a direct reference to God's will.

Moreover, the use of this phrase implies that the speaker is explicitly expressing admiration by praising others' achievements and possessions, while retaining awareness of the negative impact of their admiration and praise on the evil eye, and are thus seeking God's protection.

This concept was clearly expressed by all of the participants using the phrase in their compliments, as demonstrated below:

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I used '*ma sha allah*'; it was something great and for preventing anything bad that may happen [to the children]. (Q6, post-role play interviews, Maryam, 2015)

If I didn't say ['*ma sha allah*'], something may happen to them. '*Ma sha allah*' would protect them. (Q7, post-role play interviews, Najla, 2015)

It is necessary to say '*ma sha allah*'; if I didn't say it, the evil eye may hit, even though I didn't mean it. (Q8, post-role play interviews, Sami, 2015).

These participants clearly demonstrated their awareness of the influence of the evil eye when complimenting, along with the role played by '*ma sha allah*' in defusing its harmful influence.

Furthermore, the use of this phrase implicates a highly sociopragmatic function. If any failure to use the phrase while complimenting was followed by harm, this could have a negative influence on the relationship between the interlocutors, as it may be considered an act of envy, regardless of being voluntary or involuntary. This viewpoint was articulated by a number of the participants, as cited below:

If I didn't say '*ma sha allah*' and something happened to her children, she would think I hit them with an evil eye. (Q9, post-role play interviews, Bothainah, 2015)

Some people would notice if I didn't say 'ma sha allah', and if something [bad] happened, they would think it was caused by me and would get angry with me. (Q10, post-role play interviews, Rana, 2015)

Therefore, the absence of the phrase was noted by interlocutors, as well as its potential to cause negative impact on interpersonal relationships. On the other hand, its use as an effective speech act reflects the speaker's desire to protect the addressee from any negative result of their admiration and complimenting, which plays an important role in establishing and maintaining solidarity and positive interpersonal relationships.

The use of *'ma sha allah'* pragmatically and sociopragmatically is so significant in compliment utterances that it has the potential to stand alone as an affective indirect compliment speech act (this is discussed in further detail below).

7.5.4. *Ma sha allah* as an indirect compliment act

Searle (1979: 32), following an account of Grice (1975), suggested that meaning (i.e. intentional meaning) can be derived from an indirect speech act, through a cooperative process by which multiple illocutions can be recognised. Both asserted that politeness/facework can play a significant role in interpreting indirect speech acts, or conversational implicatures, in Grice's terms. This is evident in the indication of politeness in Grice's and Searle's theoretical works, with Grice (1975: 47) observing there are "other maxims (aesthetic, social, or moral in character), such as 'be polite', that are also normally observed by participants in talk exchanges, and these may also generate nonconventional implicatures". Similarly, Searle (1975: 177) posited that politeness forms a motivation to use an indirect utterance. Searle's reference to Grice in relation to indirectness was initially seen during his borrowing and revision of Grice's (1957) notion of 'non-natural meaning', i.e. "to say that a speaker *S* meant something by *X* is to say that *S* intended the utterance of *X* to produce some effect in a hearer *H* by means of the recognition of this intention" (Searle, 1969: 43). He (ibid) observed that Grice's account of meaning is highly beneficial, as: (1) it constitutes a connection between meaning and intention; and (2) it achieves an essential characteristic of communication:

> In speaking, I attempt to communicate certain things to my hearer by getting him to recognise my intention to communicate just those things. I achieve the intended effect on the hearer by getting him to recognise my intention to achieve that effect, and as soon as the hearer recognises what it is my

intention to achieve, it is, in general, achieved. He understands what I am saying as soon as he recognises my intention in uttering what I utter as an intention to say that thing. (Searle, 1969: 43)

Thus, the religious utterance of '*ma sha allah*', for example, is used as a positive face enhancing, indirect act of compliment, or as a conversational implicature, as discussed below, i.e. the speaker attempts to communicate the compliment act indirectly, as the hearer will recognise the speaker's intention to compliment and to utter such an indirect utterance with the intention to attend his/her face, as the speaker recognises that the hearer recognises the negative influence of a direct compliment. In order to avoid FTA, the speaker is indirect and face enhancing, inviting "conversational implicature, by violating, in some way, the Gricean maxims of efficient communication" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 213). Such indirect use flouts Grice's (1975) maxim of manner if the hearer understands the utterance as an act of complimenting, and violates it if the hearer fails to perceive it as a compliment. What is being flouted in the use of religious phrases such as '*ma sha allah*' to compliment, is that the speaker does not utter any words that carry a perspicuous meaning of positive assessment or admiration[110]. This could result from a lack of mutual knowledge between interlocutors[111], while the presence of mutual knowledge enables the use of '*ma sha allah*' to be automatically understood as a highly positive assessment or, as having "a high ranking on the assessment scale", i.e. praise (Searle, 1962: 432). The consideration of '*ma sha allah*', and other religious phrases, as an implicature of facework for complimenting proves convenient, as implicatures

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[110] Imagine this exchange: A: *what do you think of this?*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　B: *it is God's will*.
It is not clear for the hearer that this is a very positive assessment unless he/she is familiar with its function.
[111] See 3.8 for the definition of mutual knowledge.

generally retain additional meaning and "additional thoughts with their own pragmatic force" (Haugh and Jaszczolt, 2012: 96). Thus, '*ma sha allah*' is a compliment utterance that is also a protective utterance, and a recognition of God's will.

The relationship between politeness/facework and implicature led Haugh (2007: 85) to conceptualise some type of utterances as "politeness implicatures". Haugh (ibid.: 85), drawing on Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983), introduced the notion of 'politeness implicature' to refer to "instances where by virtue of implying something, rather than simply stating it directly, politeness arises" (2007: 85). Thus, politeness can arise from '*ma sha allah*' as implicature, since the complimentor demonstrates that he/she still admires the complimented, while simultaneously recognising the sensitivity of the evil eye and the addressee's desire not to be envied. This leads the speaker to reduce the illocutionary force of the act as a potential act of envy, while increasing its illocutionary force as an act of compliment. The question remains as to whether, as argued by Brown and Levinson (1987: 6), politeness/facework naturally constitutes an implicature, i.e. "politeness arises from the addressee attributing a 'polite intention' to the speaker" (Haugh, 2007: 88). Leech (1983) further claimed that politeness arises as an implicature when the utterances are consistent with his maxims of politeness. '*Ma sha allah*', and REs can thus be confirmed as polite implicatures for complimenting, as politeness constitutes implicatures for complimenting.

Similarly, Leech (1983: 108) contended that the degree of indirect politeness is determined by:

> Using more and more indirect forms of illocutions. Indirect illocutions
> tend to be more polite because (a) they increase the degree of optionality
> and (b) the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and
> tentative its force tends to be. (Leech 1983: 108)

However, such perspectives concerning the additional politeness and/or face enhancing nature of indirectness have been assumed in the context of discussing certain speech acts, such as requesting, offering, and suggesting. However, the reverse is true for the compliment speech act in a number of cultures, including English speech communities, in other words, the more direct, the more face enhancing the utterance are. Manes and Wolfson (1981) and Holmes (1986, 1988) observed that, in English, direct complimenting is most commonly achieved through the use of positive words and adjectives that clearly express the speaker's positive evaluation and admiration of the addressee (for example, "this is beautiful" and "it looks beautiful"). However, in the context of this study, the notion of face enhancing indirectness can be considered even within complimenting. The participants' performance of compliments revealed that the complimenting act can be indirectly performed via the use of religious phrases such as '*ma sha allah*', as in Extracts 7.1–7.9 and 7.12. Their compliments revealed that they only used '*ma sha allah*' (along with other religious phrases) to express their positive evaluation and admiration without any semantic reference to the positive evaluation. When used alone, '*Ma sha allah*' forms an indirect speech act of complimenting that differs from the use of adjectives, i.e. direct speech acts for complimenting.

As previously noted, the phrase '*ma sha allah*' can, of itself, retain the illocutionary force of complimenting. It can also be used as an utterance in addition to further utterances of semantically direct references signifying complimenting, using propositions of positive evaluation, as in Extracts 7.10 and 7.11, e.g. "your taste is high" and "your taste is incredible".

The illocutionary force of '*ma sha allah*' in complimenting, and its function in relation to the three levels of speech acts, is discussed in the following section.

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7.5.5. Religious phrases in complimenting and the three levels of speech acts

Religious phrases such as '*ma sha allah*' (it is God's will), '*tabarak allah*' (blessed is God) and '*la ilah illa allah*' (no God but Allah), have the illocutionary force to perform the illocutionary act of complimenting, both when used singly, or followed by further religious phrases. In the participants' conversational discourse, these phrases were pragmatic indicators of the illocutionary force of the compliment. For example, in Extracts 7.1–7.9 and 7.12, the participants used only these phrases, in addition to invocative utterances, for complimenting the addressees on having many children and owning a new house (Extracts 1–9) and on new office decoration and furniture (Extract 7.12). In a number of further examples (e.g. Extracts 7.10, 7.11 and 7.13), religious phrases were used as utterances for boasting, and strengthening the illocutionary force of other complimentary utterances: "*wallah manteb baseet, thog-ek foug*" (By God, you are not simple; your taste is high), "*thog-ets yejanen*" (your taste is incredible) and "*wesh ha-azzain wesh ha-addecor*" (what beauty is this?! What décor is this?!), which have the direct illocutionary force of complimenting. Therefore, religious phrases can, in the latter illocutions, be considered types of those "linguistic forms which can perhaps be described as intra-textual or metapragmatic devices for boosting the IF of utterances" (Holmes, 1984: 354). Thus, they are used to boost the illocutionary force of complimenting as a positive speech act, and are simultaneously used to attenuate the force of a compliment as a negative act of envy. Many participants expressed the latter facet, as follows:

> '*Ma sha allah*' and mentioning God make the addressee rule out the issue
> of envy. (Q11, post-role play interviews, Rogayyah, 2015)

> Mentioning God and invocations make the other party accept the
> compliment and not suspect envy. (Q12, post-role play interviews, Fatima,
> 2015)

The simultaneous presence of such REs (i.e. religious phrases and invocations) as boosters and attenuators is important on the sociopragmatic level, as they enhance the illocutionary force of compliments as an interpersonal and social act.

However, the participants' use, and perceptions, of religious phrases reveal that complimenting reflects a highly complex act. This is due to the multiple illocutionary forces included in such religious phrases being more than simply speech acts categorised as: (1) behabitives (Austin, 1962); (2) acknowledgments (Bach and Harnish, 1979); or (3) expressives (Searle, 1969, 1976). Religious phrases are expressive illocutionary acts, as they demonstrate the psychological state and positive attitude of the speaker. They are also indirect assertive illocutionary acts, as they form: (1) the speaker's assessment of the event or object, and (2) direct assertive illocutionary acts performed in recognition of God's will and ability. The latter are deemed direct, due to religious phrases' locutionary meanings being considered assertive illocutionary acts of recognising God's will and ability. For example, '*ma sha allah*' (it is God's will) refers the praised quality or quantity to God, implying that it would not be brought about without his will. Similarly, the phrases '*tabarak allah*' (blessed is God) and '*la ilah illa allah*' (no God but Allah) denote the causation relationship between the complimented value, and God's favour and blessings, thus implying that only God is responsible for such a value that deserves complimenting.

Moreover, religious phrases can be performed as directive illocutionary acts of protection from the evil eye, due to the potential for complimenting utterances being perceived as acts of envy. In this act, the speaker is invoking God's name and attributes,

in order to prevent any negative consequences for either the complimentee or the complimented object. Interlocutors invoke such phrases, in particular '*ma sha allah*', as a protective act, as this is promoted by religion. However, the locutionary status of such phrases does not denote any protective meanings and does not directly invoke protection from God.

However, the recognition of simultaneous illocutionary acts depends upon the uptake and mutual knowledge maintained by interlocutors, i.e. some interlocutors who do not share the belief in, or knowledge of, the influence of the evil eye, may fail to recognise the important illocutionary force of offering protection through the use of religious phrases when complimenting. However, such acts can, in some contexts, be more easily recognised than other simultaneous illocutionary acts.

The protective illocutionary act of religious phrases is significant in maintaining the act's perlocutionary effect of complimenting to please the addressee, with a positive effect on him/her, while its absence may result in a negative perlocutionary effect. Similarly, the participants tended to use invocative utterances to extend their compliments, in order to preserve this positive perlocutionary effect. This is discussed in further detail in the following section.

7.5.6. Invocative utterances in complimenting and the three levels of speech acts

The participants' conversational discourse revealed that invocative utterances were used as complimentary locutions to reinforce the expressive illocutionary force of complimenting (see Extracts 7.1–7.9 and 7.14). They were also independent directive

illocutionary acts employed to enhance the positivity of complimenting as a social act, and to diminish the negativity of complimenting as an act of envy (i.e. Q12).

The locutionary status and propositional content revealed a link between what has been complimented and what has been invoked. Thus, in Extract 7.1, the speaker complemented his compliment illocution to the hearer on their children, by invoking for them to be redressed and guided: "may God redress them [religiously] and guide them". In the same situational context, the speaker in Extract 7.2, also extended her complimentary illocution through the use of invocations for the children: "may God preserve them for you, O Lord of the worlds, and redress them". Although the two speakers performed identical illocutionary acts of invoking (which retain the same perlocutionary affect), they performed different locutions (or different words of different references) and performed different propositional acts. Searle (1969) considered the expression of a proposition performing a propositional act, defining a proposition as "what is asserted in the act of asserting, what is stated in the act of stating" (ibid.: 29). Thus, the invocation in the above utterances (although propositionally different, due to having different references) contains common religious propositions "God redress them and guide them" and "God preserve them and redress them"). These propositions of the references to God (as well as references to religious redressing and guidance) reflect the importance of the propositional content in the performance of the illocutionary act of invoking for performing the general illocutionary act of complimenting.

In further situational context, during which the speakers performed the illocutionary act of complimenting on owning a new house, the speakers also followed their complimentary religious phrases with appropriate (for the situation) invocations. This can be seen in Extracts 7.4, 7.5, 7.7 and 7.9. In Extract 7.4, for example, the speaker

followed his religious phrases "it is God's will, blessed is God" with the invocation "may God make it full with obedience [to God]". In Extract 7.7, the invocation was also performed using the locution "may God make it a righteous house". A third example is found in Extract 7.9, as the speaker finished his complimenting act by invocating: "may God make it of help to obedience [to God]". Similar to the former two utterances, the latter three utterances performed the same illocutionary act of invocating. Nevertheless, the propositional contents differed, while also referring to similar religious contents in terms of God making this a righteous and obedient household. Thus, the performance of the religious propositional act for compliment has an identical importance to the performance of the illocutionary act of invocating for complimenting. That is, these invocative utterances are not general invocations such as "God bless you" and "God reward you with goodness", but they are specific to the person being complimented with religious propositional contents.

It is clear from the propositional content, or from what has been invocated (as Searle, 1969, defines proposition), that such locutions include many religious meanings. The speakers invocated for the children to be religiously redressed and guided, and for the new house to be a means of obedience to God. Such religious meanings mirror the interlocutors' realisation of the sociopragmatic importance of these meanings, and the perlocutionary effect on the hearer's response to illocutionary acts of complimenting. The following section discusses the participants' compliment responses.

7.6. Function of REs in responding to compliments

The discussion of compliment responses primarily focuses on the responses of the participants in a single situation (i.e. S4), in which the participants performed the speech act of responding to compliments when the complimentor (i.e. the conductor)

complimented them on their appearance (see Extracts 7.15–7.19). However, there are also some indications of compliment responses by complimentees (i.e. the conductors) in Extracts 7.1–7.14, as they reflect an additional inclination in the interlocutors' performance to respond to compliments.

It is important to examine compliment responses alongside compliments, as the former reflect the perlocutionary effect of the performance of the illocutionary act of the latter. Herbert (1990: 201) described the compliment event as an utterance of two units, with utterance one and two "linked by the temporal and relevancy conditions", with the second utterance "conditionally relevant and sequentially dependent on the first utterance". This link is confirmed when the first illocution is performed using REs, as they determine how the interlocutors view the compliment. For example, the use of '*ma sha allah*' in complimenting would make it more acceptable to the addressee, while performing the complimenting act without '*ma sha allah*' could (if perceived as an act of envy) lead to its rejection.

Generally speaking, the functions of compliment responses fall between accepting or rejecting the compliment, with a third strategy being to avoid either (Pomerantz, 1978; Herbert, 1986; Tran, 2010). Within these categories there are a number of subcategories, i.e. the complimentee may agree with the compliment by upgrading it, using an appreciation token (such as "thank you") to return the compliment. He/she may also disagree with the compliment by downgrading it, or using a disagreement token (Tran, 2010). In performing either of the two strategies of acceptance or rejection when responding to compliments, the complimentee remains in a dilemma between saving the face of the complimentor and agreeing with him/her, or avoiding self-praise and disagreeing with him/her. Leech's (1983) explanation of politeness stated that the receiver is between the agreement and modesty maxim.

However, the cultural context of the speech community plays an important role in the acceptance or denial of responses to compliments. Leech (1983: 137) stated that: "in Japanese society […] the Modesty Maxim is more powerful than it is as a rule in English-speaking societies, where it would be customarily more polite to accept a compliment […] rather than to go on denying it." A number of studies have confirmed the influence of culture on the performances of compliment responses (Herbert, 1991; Chiang and Pochtraeger, 1993; Chen, 1993; Gajaseni, 1994; Baba, 1999; Golato, 2002; Yoko, 2003). These studies observed that some speech communities, (i.e. American English (Chiang and Pochtraeger, 1993; Gajaseni, 1994), German (Golato, 2002) and Polish (Herbert, 1991)) are inclined to express the acceptance of compliments in their responses. Studies of eastern speech communities (i.e. Chinese (Chen, 1993), Japanese (Baba, 1999; Yoko, 2003) and Korean (Han, 1992)), revealed that, by contrast, complimentees tend to express the denial of compliments. Furthermore, in a relatively similar cultural context to the current study, research examining the inclination of speakers in responding to compliments in different Arabic-speaking communities (i.e. Syria, Jordan and Egypt) established that acceptance is the prevailing pattern among complimentees in responding to compliments[112] (Morsy, 1992; Nelson et al., 1996; Farghal and Al-Khatib, 2001).

Thus, the participants' responses to compliments demonstrated that, as complimentees, all participants tended to express their acceptance of compliments. The vast majority (84.6% = 20) performed their acceptance illocutionary act through invocative utterances, i.e. indicators of accepting a compliment (such as the English 'thank you'),

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[112] Wolf (2017) noted that such studies are often inconclusive, i.e. they base themselves on essentialist static cross-national comparisons.

which (along with similar utterances) are considered 'appreciation tokens' (Tran, 2010: 109). However, invocative utterances are not only tokens for performing the illocutionary act of acceptance, but also when using invocative utterances, thus the speaker (i.e. the complimentee) accepts the compliment and reciprocates the positive assessment of the hearer (the complimentor) by repaying him/her with an invocation. It can also be considered a solution to the dilemma of disagreeing with the complimentor, or avoiding praising the self. Invocations are a compromise for conflicting maxims (i.e. the agreement maxim and the modesty maxim (Leech, 1983)), as the invocative utterances retain the illocutionary act of acceptance, while simultaneously performing the illocutionary act of returning the compliment by invoking good things for the hearer (see Chapter 6 for the notion of repaying and returning).

The participants used various locutionary acts to perform the aforementioned illocutionary acts. For example, the participant in Extract 7.15 returned the compliment by requesting that "God be pleased with him". In Extracts 7.16 and 7.19, participants invocated for the complimentor with: "may God secure you". Moreover, the majority of the participants used the common invocative utterance "may God reward you" in their performance of compliment responses, i.e. Extracts 7.17 and 7.18.

However, the acceptance behaviour of the participants was influenced by the use of religious phrases in the initial complimenting illocutionary act. For example, in Extract 7.17, the participant did not accept the complimenting illocutionary act when the complimentor performed it without using a religious phrase, but rather requested the complimentor to include it in his act, when the complimentor said: "You have changed: you have become sweeter and more beautiful", the complimentee replied: "Say it is God's will", and the complimentor said: "It is God's will, it is God's will". Indeed,

many of the participants in their post-role play interviews expressed the inclination to enjoin the complimentor to use religious phrases when performing complimenting illocutionary acts, as in Q1 and Q2 and in the following comment:

> Some people may tell you when you praise to say '*ma sha allah*' or mention God; I myself may remind the person to say '*ma sha allah*' or mention God […] whether with me or with others. (Q13, post-role play interview, Mansour, 2015)

The participants in Q1 and Q2 also expressed this, stating:

> Some people may notice that you haven't said '*ma sha allah*' and didn't mention God and would say to you: "say '*ma sha allah*' or mention God" and if [one] forget[s] to mention God, the other person tells [him] to mention God.

This inclination towards enjoining such performance of compliment responding was indicated by the majority (63%) of the participants, who linked it with the topic/subject and degree of importance of the complimented, explaining that the more important something is, the more likely they would be to use this strategy. It appears that this finding is unique: even in relatively similar cultural contexts, in which the use of religious phrases in complimenting illocutionary acts is significant, scholars have failed to identify such an inclination among interlocutors (see Morsy, 1992; Nelson et al., 1996; Farghal and Al-Khatib, 2001). Researchers have identified many strategies that interlocutors in the Egyptian and Jordanian speech communities tended to use in terms of accepting or rejecting compliments, but none of them indicated the tendency to enjoin complimentors to use REs when they were not included in their original compliments.

A further inclination reflecting the tendency among interlocutors to accept compliments with the influence of religious utterances, is their acknowledgment of the complimentor's (i.e. the participant's) invocative utterances with the utterance '*amin*' (amen). In Extracts 7.3, 7.4, 7.6, 7.7, 7.9 and 7.14, the complimentees recognise the complimenting illocutionary force by using religious phrases and extended invocative utterances, with 'amen' being an utterance of agreement, approval and affirmation of what has been said, with its Arabic semantic meaning being: 'O God, answer' (Islamweb, 2016). The orientation of interlocutors in such compliment responses is that such invocations bring about God's blessings and favours.

The above discussion demonstrates the importance of REs, including religious phrases and invocative utterances, in particular in the performance of compliments and compliment responses. In addition, it reveals the communicative function of such REs and their conceptual meanings, demonstrating how, in the context of the present research, the context of complimenting can have perceived tangible dimensions: (1) the moral dimension of facework and (2) the consequential negative effect (i.e. of the evil eye) of a compliment performed without REs, in particular religious phrases. Thus, in the context of the culture of the current research, religious beliefs and concerns are given greater significant than in other cultures, in which the most important concern is the principle of facework and politeness. This function is different from the general perception expressed by a number of scholars such as Austin (1962), Searle (1969, 1976), and Barnlund and Akari (1985) who observed complimenting as an always-desirable act that expresses a "positive evaluation concerning the qualities or behaviours of another person without manipulative intent" (Barnlund and Akari, 1985: 12). It showed that in certain contexts, as Brown and Levinson (1987) and Holmes (1988: 448) indicated, compliments can be negatively realised, specifically when REs are not used.

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The following section discusses the influence of religion on the performance of compliments and the use of REs.

7.7. Theological influence on compliment speech acts and use of REs

In Islam, complimenting/praising is not generally motivated by religion, unlike greeting and thanking, and is discouraged in several religious prescriptions. Muslim (1954: 3000) narrated that a man praised another man in the presence of the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet said: "Woe be to you; you have cut the neck of your companion." Albukhari (1994: 2520) reported a similar narration: the Prophet heard a man extolling another man, and the Prophet rebuked him, saying: "You have destroyed or cut the back of the man". In a third prophetic saying reflecting the dislike of praising among interlocutors, the Prophet said, to warn away from praising too frequently: "if you see those who frequently praise people (to their faces), throw sand in their faces". Islamic scholars, including Albaghawi (1983) and Alothaimeen (2005), noted the reasons behind inhibition praising in an individual's presence. Albaghawi (1984: v: 13: 151) stated that "in totality, praising of someone in his presence is a disliked behaviour, because the person who is praised is not safe from the admiration of himself", while Alothaimeen (2005: v: 6: 562) suggested that praising an individual in their presence would be likely to include untrue commendation, leading to the negative effect of arrogance. Complimenting an individual in their presence can turn to flattery (i.e. the speaker compliments the hearer with a positive evaluation that is not necessarily true or sincere). Acceptance of this aspect differs between cultures, and is discouraged in Islamic culture to the point that the Prophet asks interlocutors to "throw sand in the faces" of those who compliment excessively.

The notion of the truthfulness of the compliment can be important to some speech communities, influencing the general behaviour of complimenting and the ways interlocutors perform compliments and compliment responses, placing (as suggested by Golato, 2002: 564) additional emphasis on these utterances' social functions or truthfulness. For example, Golato, (2002) observed that Germans consider the truthfulness of a compliment as more important than its social function, whereas Americans hold the opposite view.

However, complimenting can be permissible, and is encouraged in some contexts and circumstances. Thus, the complimenting act is appreciated if the praise does not include a lie, and thus the complimentee is safe from being arrogant, while the intention behind the compliment is to encourage and motivate (Alothaimeen, 2005).

Furthermore, in the Islamic context, if compliments are to be produced, they should be performed with the use of REs. The two major religious resources, the Quran and Hadiths (the Prophet's sayings), include many indications that complimentors should use REs when complimenting. For example, in Quranic verse (18: 39), believers are reminded to always say "*ma sha allah la guata illa bi allah*" (it is God's will; there is no power but in God) when they see something that attracts admiration, as in "when you entered your garden, you should have said: it is God's will; there is no power but in God." Furthermore, the inclusion of this phrase in the Quran can justify the highly pervasive use of '*ma sha allah*' in interlocutors' compliment performance. Moreover, the prophetic discourse contained many sayings urging the use of REs when observing with admiration. For example, the Prophet says: "If anyone of you sees something he likes in his wealth, himself or his brother, he should invocate for him with blessing" (Ibn Taymiyyah, 1978: 99). In another example reflecting the influence of REs on the

evil eye, the Prophet says: "Why would any one of you kill [with the evil eye] his brother? Should not you have asked God to bless him?" (Bin Abdelbar, 1993: 1749).

Such prescriptions reveal the belief in the performativity of REs in compliments, and their use to ward off the effect of the evil eye. Belief in the evil eye and the harmful influence of envy are rooted in many Quranic and prophetic texts, i.e. in the Quran (113: 5), the Prophet and his believers are commanded to say: "I seek refuge with the lord of dawn from […] the envier when he envies". The prophetic tradition also includes a number of texts endorsing the reality of envy and the power of the evil eye, as in the following quotations:

> The evil eye is real, and if anything were to overtake fate, it would be the evil eye (Muslim, 1954: 2188).

> The evil eye is real, and it can take a man to his grave and a camel into the cooking pot (Alalbani, 1988: 4144).

These are examples from the many religious texts reflecting the origins of the pervasive belief in the evil eye, and justify its perceived influence in complimenting behaviour among interlocutors. The following section includes examples of the participants' awareness of these religious texts.

7.8. Individuals' ideological motivation

The participants' interview responses revealed that they all maintained a belief in the evil eye, and some were also aware of the religious texts endorsing their belief, as well as the benefit of using religious phrases to obstruct its effect. Their responses are represented by the following comments:

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It is necessary to mention God because 'if anything were to overtake fate, it would be the evil eye'. (Q14, post-role play interviews, Mezna, 2015)

Any Muslim must believe in the evil eye because the messenger, peace be upon him, says: 'the evil eye is real, and if anything were to overtake fate, it would be the evil eye'. (Q15, post-role play interviews, Solaiman, 2015)

Because it is obligatory for the person when he admires something to say '*ma sha allah*' and invocate for him with blessing; 'when you entered your garden, you should have said: '*ma sha allah la quata illa bi allah*'.(Q16, post-role play interviews, Norah, 2015)

These comments indicate the considerable influence of religious texts on interlocutors' communication in general, and complimenting in particular. They also reveal the stimulus behind the omnipresence of REs in complimenting speech acts. The following section discusses in further detail the participants' (Group 2) cognisance of the use of REs in performing compliments.

7.9. Participants' (Group 2) awareness of the absence of REs in complimenting

In accord with the two previous sections, this current section examines participants' awareness of the importance of religious phrases (in particular '*ma sha allah'*) in complimenting, including their cognisance of its absence in the performance of complimenting, and their attitudes towards a certain compliment without using '*ma sha allah'* or any other REs. To measure the reactions of the participants, they were asked to listen to a conversation between two friends, with one interlocutor complimenting his interactant on having many children and a new house without using any religious phrase, as follows:

Situation: The speaker (interlocutor A) meets his old friend accidentally and talks to him for a while. During their conversation, speaker 2 (interlocutor B) tells his friend that he has five children and has moved to a new house.

01   A: *wa al-ahal basher-na*

02   *an-hom=*

03   A: *=wesh ende-k men iyal ha-lheen?*

04   B: *tayebeen kel-hom we end-i khams*

05   *iyal abasher-k*

06→   **A: *khamseh↑saheeh↑tamam ala-ik***

07   ***wallah kam bent we kam walad?***

08   B: *bentain wa thalath iyal*

09   A: *mebte-en an-k=*

10   A: *=wa a-ssakan wain saken?*

11   B: *abasher-k negal-na*

12   *holkom share-na bait molk*

13→   A: ***zain khabaren zain***

14   A: (.) *ajal dam-ek hol-na neshof-ek*

15   *esmah li*

16   B: *neshofe-ek*

Trans. 1. A: "And how about the family? How are they?"=

       2. A: ="How many children do you have?"

       3. B: "They are all fine, and I have five children"

      4.→ A: "Five! Really! Well done!"=

       5. A: ="How many girls? How many boys?"

       6. B: "Two girls three boys"

       7. A: "It's been long time"=

       8. A: ="Where do you stay?"

       9. B: "Good tidings, we have just moved around you, we bought

      10. a new house"

      11.→ A: "Great, great, great news"

      12. A: (.) "As you are around, we will see you, allow me"

13. B: "Will see you"

(See Appendix F for the full conversation),

In the above passage, interlocutor A performs the illocutionary act of complimenting in two speech events. The first is when he responds to interlocutor B's achievement of having five children, saying: "Five! Really?! You are doing well!" The second is when he says "Great, great, great news" when interlocutor B tells him that he has moved into a new house. Although these compliment utterances can naturally occur while complimenting (as evaluated by the raters), the majority of participants (58.3%) observed the absence of religious phrases and invocative utterances in interlocutor A's compliment act in the first event, and a large portion (33.3%) also observed this absence in the second compliment event. This result reflects the relationship (as discussed earlier) between the subject of the compliment and the importance of the use of REs. In their reactive comments, the participants revealed that the complimentor should have used 'ma sha allah', and mentioned God, or invocated for the complimentee, when complimenting on having five children and owning a new house. In their justifications, some participants noted the negative influence of the evil eye when complimenting without using 'ma sha allah', mentioning God or invocating for the complimentee. In addition, number of the participants supported their justifications with reference to Quranic verses and prophetic sayings. The examples below (see Table 7.5 in Appendix F for more examples) exhibit some of such comments and justifications:

When mentioning the number of children, [interlocutor A] didn't reply with 'ma sha allah'." "To avoid the evil eye." (Participant Sami)

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He didn't say '*ma sha allah*' and didn't invoke for his children with redressing and guidance." "For more tactfulness and for the evil eye." (Participant Aisha)

In the conversation, he didn't mention God or '*ma sha allah*'." "Because it is of Muslim's attributes to mention God when you see anything you admire. (Participant Abeer)

These comments form a small proportion of the examples reflecting participants' awareness of the essentiality of the use of REs in compliment speech act performance, reflecting their cognisance of the functions of these REs. The participants' justificational comments also reveal a strong indication of interlocutors' use of REs, and their religious motivations for their employment, as many referred to religious sources. For example, participant Sami pointed out that the complimentor should have used '*ma sha allah*' to avoid the evil eye. This phrase in particular was pointed out by the majority of participants, due to the non-use of REs in the compliment event. This can be attributed to its religious reference (see 7.7). Other participants indicated that the complimentor should have used REs (such as mentioning God's name, blessing or invocating) in order to follow the prophetic tradition by directly quoting the prophetic saying.

7.10 Conclusion

The analysis and discussion in this chapter has revealed that, in the context of the current research, participants are very unlikely to perform the speech act of complimenting without using REs, in particular, religious phrases and invocations. This is particularly true where the topic of compliment is culturally perceived as sensitive (i.e. in relation to children and houses), due to the perception of the negative consequences of the evil eye on the complimented. Thus, the employment of

invocations and religious phrases (in particular '*ma sha allah*') is recognised to diminish these negative consequences. By performing these religious acts within the speech acts of compliments, interlocutors perform indirect acts resulting in more face enhancing compliment acts in order to avoid FTAs, and consequently maintain positive interpersonal and social interaction.

The presence of invocations and religious phrases is important to improve the IF of complimenting as a positive speech act, while and at the same time to attenuate the force of the compliment as a negative act. The religious phrases are not only expressive illocutionary acts demonstrating the psychological state and positive attitude of the speaker, but also form assertive illocutionary acts performed in recognition of divine will and power, with this recognition and reference to God being more manifest when the subject, quality and quantity are of great value.

This latter perception is generally consistent with the Islamic fatalistic worldview. The presence of invocations and religious phrases also confirms a relationship between their use in complimenting, and the way the responses to complimenting (as the presence of REs) make the compliment more acceptable.

Furthermore, this chapter has demonstrated that, contrary to the general perception expressed by numerous scholars of compliments as positive acts, compliments can be negatively realised, particularly when REs are not used. Moreover, that using REs ensures the positive intention, of the compliments, which influences the addressees' reaction towards the compliment. The data has shown a distinct performance of compliment responding, when REs are not used, even in relatively similar cultural contexts, in which the use of religious phrases in complimenting illocutionary acts is

significant. That is, by enjoining complimentors to involve REs in their compliment acts, especially when the complimented is of importance to them.

Finally, it is evident that employment of REs for complementing is motivated by religion and the fundamental religious dislike of compliments in general, as well as the desire to exclude the perceived negative influence of a compliment. This religious motivation is confirmed by the correlation between the use of particular REs among interlocutors and the religious references that encourage such use.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

In this study, the aim was to examine the role of religion in the production and comprehension of speech acts in Saudi daily discourse. In chapters five, six and seven, the nature of the use of REs in various speech acts (i.e. greeting and responding to greeting, thanking and complimenting, and responding to compliments) was presented and discussed. The analysis of the empirical data collected for the purpose of this study clearly illustrates the essential role of REs in the speech acts performed daily in Saudi discourse. The theoretical background was provided on the basis of insights from different approaches (predominantly Speech Act Theory and facework approach) and it helped to contextualise function of REs in speech acts, different concepts and notions from previous and current research that inform the conceptualisation of speech acts in general as well as utterances in particular within the chosen cultural context. Moreover, the employment of the various data collection approaches, i.e. role plays for 'authentic' discourse, interviews to examine the motivation and intentions of interlocutors when using REs, and awareness measurement approach used for confirming the perceived role of REs in speech acts, as well as apprehension of religious motivation, meant that the analysis had to include multiple angles, and thus provide a better overall understanding of the complex issue of using religious expressions in speech acts performance.

This final chapter presents a summary of the key findings, followed by clarification of the study's overall contribution. The following sections will also address some implications of the study as well as its limitation and some suggestions for future work.

8.2. Summary of findings

This thesis investigated the influence of religion on language use by analysing the nature of REs when performing certain speech acts, i.e. greeting and responding to greeting, thanking and complimenting, and responding to compliments. From the data presented in the previous three chapters (5, 6 and 7), important conclusions can be drawn concerning the nature of REs in communicating the listed speech acts.

Religious expressions were used in all the interlocutors' speech acts. Moreover, the study revealed remarkable similarities among the participants in terms of their use of REs in the three speech acts regardless of variables such as age, gender and religiosity. In the participants' everyday speech acts, greeting is overwhelmingly performed with *assalam*. Despite the number of possible greeting expressions in Saudi Arabic, and interestingly in terms of pragmatics and sociopragmatics, the use of *assalam* to express greeting means that a greeting is only perceived to have been performed appropriately if *assalam* is employed. Greeting expressions comprise more than one word (*assalam*), and *assalam* can be performed using various forms, each of which is associated with a certain pragmatic meaning. Many expressions can be utilised to initiate encounters between interlocutors to validate their presence; however, this study demonstrated that *assalam* is preferable as it also performs additional functions. Specifically, the use of this religious greeting denotes greater positive face enhancement, demonstrating respect and solidarity towards the addressee. That is because of the religious propositions it denotes, as well as the multiple illocutionary acts it performs. This study further showed

that *assalam* for greeting embodies culture-specific connotations, which clarify a number of different communicative functions (expressive and directive ones). In addition, interlocutors' behaviour when using invocations for initial or follow-up greetings can also be considered culture-specific as was demonstrated in chapter five.

In terms of the religious motivations behind the use of religious expressions in interlocutors' speech acts the study demonstrated that religiosity makes it crucial for interlocutors to employ *assalam* as part of the greeting act. Many religious sources, i.e. Quranic and prophetic prescriptions, encourage interlocutors to initiate *assalam* during new encounters. Moreover, religious practices encourages the extension of the term, promising that those greeters using long forms will be more rewarded by God. These religious motivations are apparent in the speech of interlocutors, and in combination with the religious denotations and connotations implied, they have granted *assalam* religious characteristics, as both a religious greeting and a greeting denoting a shared religion (Islam).

This religious aspect was also demonstrated to influence how interlocutors respond to *assalam* used in greeting. This is evidenced by a pattern of use applying the 'same or more' principle in their response discourse, as well as their recognition of a religious motive for adopting a specifically religious communicative principle when responding. Such religious orientation suggests a potentially unique pragmatic meaning. The 'same' locutions retain similar illocutionary force, and 'more' locutions retain stronger illocutionary force, thereby demonstrating a greater degree of face enhancement. This reveals a lack of employment of the religious principle; i.e. using fewer locutions, can be face damaging, and the addressee might then interpret the respondent's intention negatively.

Additionally, in this research Saudi Arabic Islamic context, it became evident that interlocutors often preferred to use invocative illocutions when thanking. The data collected shows that this preference is directly proportional to the perceived indebtedness interlocutors perceive from the favour act (by the thankee). Thus, some variation was noted within the data set. As in many other languages, the everyday language of Saudi Arabic includes multiple expressions that the speech act of thanking can be performed in conjunction with. Nevertheless, in general, the interlocutors were generally inclined to perform it using invocative illocutions. This stems from the interlocutors' perceptions that invocative utterances include additional pragmatic meaning. Evidently, the interlocutors who participated in the study are cognisant of the multi functionality of such invocative utterances. They are also aware that when expressing their gratitude and their psychological state, or when ascribing properties to a speaker or hearer; they demonstrate the characteristics of performing directive acts to establish divine intervention and positively change the addressee's state of affairs.

Thus, interlocutors (thankers) aim to communicate two acts of illocutionary force while performing the thanking act. Interlocutors' perceptions of these two acts in general, and the directive one in particular has led them to conceptualise their use of invocative illocutions to repay the favour, when, as they perceive, God answers their invocations for the thankee. As a result of the perceived performance of two simultaneous acts, and the invocative status of the utterance used, the entire illocutionary force of the thanking act is boosted. This is evident from the interlocutors' recognition that employing direct thanking utterances is sometimes not adequate to appropriately thank someone, while indirect thanking contributes additional strength when performing the act of thanking. For example, "*shokran*" (thanks), "*shokran la-k*" (thank you), "*shaker wa moqader*" (I am thankful and I appreciate this), or other direct utterances that are considered less

effective thanking acts than "*jaza-k allah khair*" (may God reward you with goodness) or other possible invocative utterances. This striking pattern of indirect thanking is arguably culture-specific, illustrating that not all languages draw on the same assorted strategies when thanking (see section 6.7)

The study additionally demonstrates that the salient presence of invocative utterances in general, and the "*jaza-k allah khair*" utterance for thanking in particular has been extensively influenced by religious incentives. Many prophetic prescriptions urge interlocutors to use invocative illocutions to thank; also occasionally to specifically use the "*jaza-k allah khair*" utterance. The motivation behind this encouragement is the involved invocative illocutionary feature, which was also understood by interlocutors.

Confirming the conspicuous pattern of the interlocutors' use of religious expressions in the performance of speech acts, the study also revealed the speech act of complimenting is often performed using religious phrases and invocative utterances. The intensity of the use of these phrases shown, and the invocative illocutions used depended on the topic of the compliment itself, and the nature of the complimented. Interlocutors repeat and elaborate on their use of religious phrases and the invocative when the complimented is perceived to be of greater importance to the addressee. This extensive production was observed to be influenced by the perceived negativity of compliments as face-threatening acts, due to the perceived relationship between envy and admiration in general and the evil eye, and compliment speech acts in particular. Therefore, interlocutors seek to employ religious phrases and invocative utterances extensively in order to alter compliments from being perceived as face-threatening acts to face enhancing acts, communicating a positive interpersonal and social relationship.

Religious phrases, overwhelmingly *"ma sha allah"* (it is God's will), and invocative utterances are acknowledged and used by interlocutors to ensure that complimenting takes the form of a positive facework strategy. This stems from the recognition that affective functions include protection from the evil eye, as well as observing that God's will established everything deserving of a compliment, in addition to their general function as expressive compliment acts.

A belief in the evil eye was dominant among all the interlocutors, and religion reinforced this belief, as apparent in the participants' indications of these theological references. Religion proved crucial in underlining how the interlocutors perform speech acts intending to achieve pragmatic and sociopragmatic functions. This is evidenced by the correlation between the prevailing use of the phrase, *"ma sha allah"* and the multiple theological resources that specifically recommend it.

Such orientation of the preferred use of religious phrases and invocations as indirect complimenting speech acts is also culture-specific to the current Islamic context, as complimenting is most frequently achieved through the use of direct acts, as in English. The employment of religious expressions when giving compliments is an important factor in interlocutors' performance of compliment responding acts and their acceptance of compliments.

Although the presence of religious expressions is manifest in the performance of the three speech acts, and the responses evoked by the vast majority (see chapters 5, 6 and 7) of interlocutors (participants), the study reveals that similarity in terms of the two variables, i.e. age and religiosity, were influential regarding how interlocutors used religious expressions in the speech acts in terms of intensity. In terms of greeting speech acts, the study showed that older interlocutors and those who identified as religious tend

to use longer forms of *assalam* to open their encounters. Correspondingly, these two factors were also significant, in informing how they returned *assalam* using the 'more' principle rather than the 'same' principle of the 'same or more' principle when performing greeting responding. Religiosity and old age were also positively associated with a high occurrence of the use of invocative utterances to perform the speech act of thanking, because of their perception of the relationship between indebtedness when expressing gratitude and the function of invocative utterances. Similarly, the study also found that older interlocutors were more likely to exhibit a high (and very high) rate of use of religious phrases and invocative utterances for complimenting. Religiosity was also, to some extent, important, as those who identified themselves as religious (i.e. imams and older females) had medium or high occurrence (or very high with regard to older females) of religious phrases and invocative utterances for complimenting, when compared with other interlocutors.

Having summarised the main findings of the research, the following section addresses the contribution of the study.

8.3. Contribution of the study

8.3.1. Contribution to the literature

This study contributes to the knowledge about, and understanding of, the influence of culture and cultural aspects on language that are crucial for interlocutors wishing to communicate and interact appropriately in social situations. It specifically recognised religion as a distinguishing and influential component of culture, with notable influence on language. It has further demonstrated how the influence of religion on language is significant and evident among Saudi speakers of Arabic, when studied in tandem, as

their positions are not sufficiently well discussed together in the domain of communicative language use. Although the influence of religion on language has been a major consideration in the domains of linguistics and cultural research, including generic language-related domains: language polices and maintenance, language acquisition and development, language identities and language ideologies (see chapter two), no study has previously examined the influence of religion in depth or established how it informs the use of language communicatively on a daily basis. The study has also examined the awareness of the influence of religion on language and communication, demonstrating that religion is an effective and active component of interlocutors' daily discourse and not just a formality of expression; this was accomplished through the attesting of salient and cognisant use of religious expressions in the performance of speech acts, i.e. greeting and responding to greetings, thanking, complimenting and responding to compliments, as well as the explicitly described religious motivations informing the acts performed.

Unlike the studies in the extant research, where the investigation into religious expressions was not the primary focus, this study has comprehensively investigated religious expressions and found it has a direct effect on the process of communication, in both production and comprehension. Contrary to most previous studies, this study also had an explicit intention, in addition to examining the role of religious expressions; i.e. to investigate all aspects of the religious motivation for engaging with religious expressions, which was previously shown to play an important role in the application of a number of Islamic theological principles concerning the performance of certain speech acts.

A further contribution of this study is also reflected in the theoretical discussion that this study has informed mainly in the context of Speech Act Theory and facework approach,

and in a broader context, in the context of general pragmatic and sociopragmatic theories of meaning and communication, as will be explained in the following section.

8.3.2. Contribution to theory

The adoption of Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962 and Searle, 1969) and facework approach (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]) in this study pragmatically to analyse religious expressions has been useful as a tool for interpretation and understanding of their function in communication, because of the concepts and notions that these theories introduce in ordinary language use as demonstrated in the previous three chapters. However, the analysis of religious expressions in speech acts proves that these religious expressions include aspects and characteristics beyond the capacity of these theories to explain them. Furthermore, the analysis provided in this study contributes further knowledge that can expand the theoretical views and stances proposed so far.

With regard to the speech act of greeting, the argument is that greeting, in conjunction with the use of religious expression, is not just a simple category of speech act in which the utterance has no propositional content or sincerity condition as Searle (1969) argues. Integrating religious expressions has important cultural, particularly religious, implications. Although greetings, in general, are conventionalised, the use of religious expressions ensure greetings have their own specific effect and are of greater value than empty encounter-recognition procedures, as Searle claims. Greetings with religious expressions, especially the *assalam* utterance, convey religious propositional content with referential value. This is evident from the importance of the quantity of the language used in *assalam* and the interlocutors' recognition of religious propositional content and its illocutionary force. Although all forms of *assalam* have illocutionary force associated with greeting, they vary in terms of strength. This is because the

assalam utterance is perceived as an invocative act, with longer forms including additional propositional content resulting in additional invocations; thus additional illocutionary forces also increase the illocutionary force strength of the *assalam* greeting in general. Thus, the use of different locutionary forms of the *assalam* act can influence the performance of greeting as an illocutionary act and, consequently, influence the perlocutionary effect. For example, "*assalamu alaik-um*" (peace be upon you) and "*assalamu alaik-um wa rahmatu allah wa barakat-uh*" (peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings) denote the different locutionary statuses of *assalam*, because the latter includes the additional meaning (God's mercy and blessings), therefore it performs additional illocutionary invocative acts, with perlocutionary effect.

The perlocutionary effect of *assalam* contradicts Searle's (1969: 46) claim that the speech act of greeting does not invoke any perlocutionary effect, and when the speaker greets there is no intention behind informing the hearer that s/he is being greeted by him/her. It is evident that the perlocutionary effect of *assalam* is recognised by interlocutors and that it can exert an influence on the addressee's response/reaction. Consequently, this perlocutionary effect would influence the sociopragmatic function of the greeting act and its perceived degree of facework. Moreover, the greeting act, using *assalam* and invocative utterances, is not only an expressive act limited to illocutionary points expressing the interlocutors' psychological state, and with no direction of fit, as Searle (1975: 356) argues, the invocations are also perceived to get "the world to match the words" in order to engender a specific condition by calling God's favour upon the hearer.

In the same vein, in Speech Act Theory (Searle, 1969), the speech act of thanking is categorised as an expressive act expressing gratitude or appreciation, as that is the speaker's only intention. This study has observed that the use of religious expressions,

particularly invocative utterances, in the thanking act can extend it beyond the expressive function, to include the directive function of the invocative act. That is, the speaker's intention is to express gratitude and more importantly to invocate for the hearer. Thus, the thanking act, with invocative utterances, is not the mere illocutionary act ascribing properties to the speakers or the hearers or behaviour regarding expressing attitudes about other interlocutor's past conduct, as conceptualised by Speech Act Theory theorists (i.e. Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969, Ohmann, 1974; Fraser, 1975; Bach and Harnish, 1979). Thanking acts are also directive illocutionary acts with a direction of fit, in which the speaker endeavours to urge the hearer (Divine) to do something. Indeed, this directive act is recognised by interlocutors as more significant than the expressive thanking act.

This directive-expressive illocutionary status can be partially interpreted by applying Searle's theoretical description of indirect speech acts. Partially, because Searle's proposal is that the speaker is communicating directly and indirectly to a single hearer; but when using invocative utterances for thanking, the speaker is perceived as communicating with two hearers: the divine and the 'human' hearer. This type of function of communication offers new scope for how communication should be conceptualised and defined, raising the question of what the telos of communication is.

Moreover, the aforementioned multi-faceted thanking act and its enhanced illocutionary force contribute together to the re-conceptualisation of facework. This is because when it comes to cross-gender communication, in this research context, some facework concepts and notions should be conceived of differently. In cross-gender communication, the facework strategy suggested by Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) that the lengthier and more elaborate the thanking is, the more sincere and face enhancing it is, cannot be applied to the cultural context of this research. Male interlocutors evaded

this concept in order to save the negative face of the female addressees, as face saving including warmth is considered to be undesirable. Thus, this generally sought-after social objective of facework can be waived to adhere to religious requirements. Similarly, female interlocutors are able to relinquish the mitigating and softening behaviour of facework, without being perceived as damaging the face, when meeting the strictures of religious expectations.

This study also contributes to conceptualising the function of compliments as perceived acts of positive facework. In this research context, compliments have been observed as potential face threatening acts, i.e. acts of envy, and not necessarily as positive facework strategies (see Brown and Levinson, 1987). They can also be face-threatening acts, since they can be interpreted as acts of envy. This perceived negativity can be redressed only through using religious expressions, particularly religious phrases, when engaging in acts of complimenting. This use of religious phrases renders complimenting a highly complex act in terms of function, because of the multiple illocutionary forces included in the religious phrases (e.g. "*ma sha allah*"), which cause them to be more than simply speech acts, being categorised as behabitives (Austin, 1962) or expressives (Searle, 1969, 1976). They are expressive acts as they express admiration, and indirect assertive acts as they inform the speaker's assessment of an event or object, but also direct assertive acts as they make it possible to recognise God's will and ability, and are directive acts as they also function as protective acts (from the evil eye).

The theoretical understanding of the particular functions of religious expressions in speech acts, particularly in relation to how they influence the general function of certain speech acts, prompts a rethink of how speech acts are defined in different cultural contexts, as greeting thanking and complimenting are not only intended for expressing encounter recognition, gratitude, and positive evaluation. Moreover, it is necessary to

review how some speech acts are classified theoretically (see chapter 3) considering their multi intentional meanings, as linked to the interlocutors' perceptions, which are influenced by their cultural, and in this particular case, religious context.

8.4. Implications of the study

The findings of this research have yielded new and important conclusions bear relevance to cultural and cross-cultural pragmatic studies. They have also demonstrated the essential role of religious expressions in performing speech acts (i.e. greeting and responding to greeting, thanking and complimenting, and responding to compliments) in one Arabic speech community. Thus, learning and teaching Arabic, particularly the Saudi Najdi dialect, as a second language should ensure that this aspect of language use is taken into consideration and is prioritised in teaching, as religion is a significant aspect of the cultural context and the pragmatics of communication in Saudi Arabic-speaking environments. This study concurs with previous research confirming that the use of REs is a common feature in Saudi Arabia, and in the Arab World in general, in varying degrees of intensity of use, and that Saudi Arabians use REs more extensively than other Arab nationalities (see 4.6.2). In other words, learning religious expressions is essential for non-native Arabic learners, both semantically and pragmatically, since their meaning produces ambiguity or misunderstanding when used in different contexts, or if used too little, or too extensively. However, because this study was conducted in the specific context of a small population, many of its conclusions should not be generalised to the entire Arabic language, or to Saudi Arabic, although it is useful as a piece of groundwork, and as a starting point for quantitative research including a larger population of Saudi Arabians from different regions and/or Arabic speakers from different countries, especially since the many notions, concepts, tendencies, and patterns

in this study have religious motivations. The employment of religious expressions may also confuse non-native Arabic learners, as they might only understand their literal meaning, while the connotations of religious expressions, and their illocutionary forces, are diverse when performing multi-communicative acts. In addition, understanding the religious motivation for the employment of religious expressions is crucial for learners to achieve language competency in Najdi Saudi Arabic as a second language. The study is also beneficial for teachers and curriculum designers wishing to consider and explain the pragmatic aspects of religious expressions, both in curriculums and in classrooms, when teaching in context similar to that in this study.

In another pedagogical domain, the results of this study are of use to non-Arabic teachers of second languages teaching Arab learners from certain cultural contexts, who may tend to use religious expressions in their second language communication. The use of first language norms in second language contexts is termed pragmatic transfer.[113] This study can provide non-Arabic teachers with conditions that surround this type of transfer to assist them in finding equivalent or alternative expressions in other languages to ensure successful social interactions. Generally speaking, studies such as this one are of valuable for clarifying important cultural differences and heightening awareness of concepts such as facework. As proven herein, facework cannot be effectively appraised according to norms of a single language or culture.

Another important domain in which the implications of this study might prove useful is translation. Translators from Arabic might find it challenging to find equivalent

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[113] Kasper (1992: 207) defines pragmatic transfer as 'the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information.'

expressions for religious expressions with similar communicative functions in the target language, but familiarity with pragmatic meanings would help them to link the target language's audience to the cultural context of the source language.

One likely implication of this study extends to the area of discourse analysis for the purpose of critical text evaluation and understanding in different academic and non-academic contexts. If discourse analysis "focuses on knowledge about language and the world beyond word, clause, phrase and sentence" and "considers the relationship between language and the social cultural context" (Paltridge, 2006: 19), then knowledge about religious expressions in spoken (and written) discourse is critical, since these features of discourse convey much about both setting and cultural context. Such knowledge about religious expressions is also key, because the use of certain religious expressions in discourse can be linked to ideological aspects, which relate to discourse producers (e.g. abstaining from using *assalam* with non-believers).

8.5. Limitations of the study and suggestions for future work

Extensive care was taken in order to obtain authentic data via eliciting interlocutors' spoken discourse using role plays, which have been proven elsewhere to generate language relatively similar to natural data (as discussed in Chapter four). However, it is necessary to point out that the elicited discourse is still based on imaginary scenarios, and data collected from real life situations would be more reliable, and hence desirable. Also, because of the limited number of role plays, and the fact that most of them involved situations in an urban and a workplace environment, the relevance of the findings, together with any conclusions and generalisations, should be restricted to interlocutors sharing similar characteristics of the urbanised lifestyle of the participants of Saudi Najdi dialect speakers, which can be claimed to include the mainstream of the

Saudi Najdi dialect speakers. Another limitation of the study is the limited number of participants in both groups (G1 and G2). The study would have been enriched if it had involved more extensive data sets derived from responses of a larger participant pool. Furthermore, while the study has also taken social variables into account (i.e. age, gender and religiosity), some other social variables (e.g. education, socio-economic status, etc.) might relate to the interlocutors' use of language.

For future research, it is recommended that the above limitations of this study be addressed to ascertain that the findings reported can be reported. Researchers would also benefit from applying the theoretical framework used in this study to investigate more religious expressions as manifest in different speech acts. Moreover, this study did not focus on the use of religious expressions in particular, and speech acts performance in general, in cross-gender communication (except in one situation, see 6.6); therefore, future research focussing on cross-gender communication in the Saudi Arabic speech community could provide additional new insights. Finally, inter-language pragmatics was beyond the scope of this study, but future intercultural communication studies could usefully focus on the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic influences of religious expressions on any second language (pragmatic transfer). Generally, this study provides rigorous groundwork for future theoretical and applied research into pragmatics, sociopragmatics, speech act performance, politeness and facework research.

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Appendices

<u>Appendix A</u>

<u>موافقة على المشاركة في أداء الأدوار والمقابلات لغرض البحث</u>

في البداية أود أن أشكرك لمنحي بعض من وقتك للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة البحثية.

أنت مدعو للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة البحثية حول تأثير الثقافة وبعض المكونات الثقافية على استخدام اللغة في الخطاب اليومي للمتخاطبين السعوديين لغرض مشروع بحثي للدكتوراه.
المشاركة في هذا البحث هو تطوعي تماماً ولك الحق بأن تقول "لا" أو الامتناع عن الرد على أي سؤال، ويحق لك الإنسحاب من الدراسة في أي وقت.

سوف يطلب منك لعب بعض الأدوار والتفاعل مع مساعد الباحث. وبعد ذلك سوف يتم مقابلتك من قبل الباحث، سيقوم الباحث بتحليل الكلام والأجوبة في كل من هذه المهام. ويؤكد الباحث أن هويتك سوف تبقى غير معرفة وأن جميع محادثات لعب الدور ومناقشات المقابلات سوف يتم التعامل معها بسرية تامة ولن تستخدم إلا لغرض هذا البحث فقط.

إن مشاركتك مهمة جداً للدراسة حيث أن البحث سوف يستند بشكل كبير على الكلام والردود اللتي ترد في محادثات لعب الدور والمقابلات .

أرجو التوقيع إذا كنت ترغب بالمشاركة في الدراسة بشكل تطوعي :
....
....

<div dir="rtl">

معلومات عن المشارك

* الجنس :

□ ذكر   □ أنثى

* العمر :

□ 20 30   □ 31 40   □ 41 50   □51 60   □ أكبر من 60

* أعلى مؤهل :

□ حالياً طالب بكالوريوس   □ بكالوريوس   □ ماجستير   □ دكتوراه

* المهنة الرئيسية :

....

* العمل الجزئي أو التطوعي :

....

....

* الهواية المفضلة / ماذا تفعل عادةً في وقت الفراغ ؟

....

....

....

* كيف تصف نفسك بإيجاز ؟ (اختياري)

....

....

....

....

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Translation of consent form for participation in role plays and interviews

First of all, let me thank you for giving up some of your time to participate in this research study.

You are being asked to participate in a research study about *the influence of culture and some cultural components on language use in the everyday speech of Saudi speakers of Arabic* for the purpose of my PhD project. Participation in this research is completely voluntary: you have the right to say 'no' and refrain from answering any question. You may change your mind at any time and withdraw from the study.

You will be asked to engage in role plays to interact with a conductor. You will then be interviewed by the researcher; your speech and answers in both of these tasks will be analysed by the researcher. The researcher would like to reassure you that your identity will be kept anonymous and that your recorded role play conversations and interview discussions will be treated with confidentiality and for the research purpose only. Your participation will be crucial for the study, as the research will largely be based on the speech and responses given in the role play interactions and the interviews.

If you agree to participate voluntarily in this study, please sign here:

....

Participant's information

- Gender

  Male   Female

- Age

  20–30   31–40   41–50   51–60   over 60

- Highest qualification achieved

  Current bachelor's student ☐   Bachelor's ☐   Master's ☐   Doctorate ☐

- Full-time occupation

  ……
  ………

- Part-time/voluntary work

  ……
  ……
  ………………

- Favourite hoppy / what do you often do in your free time?

  ……
  ………

  ……
  ………

- How would you briefly describe yourself? (optional)

  ……
  ……
  ……
  ………

الأدوار

(الموقف الأول)
(للمشاركين بلعب الدور)

يصف الموقف التالي دور إجتماعي معين في الحياة اليومية في مجتمعنا. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

الموقف:

أنت بالبنك بقصد إستلام بطاقة الصراف. تذهب إلى أحد الموظفين وتطلب منه تسليمك البطاقة. قبل إعطائك البطاقة، يطلب منك تعبئة إستمارة. في أعلى الصفحة، تنص التعليمات وبشكل إلزامي على كتابة الإسم بالقلم الأحمر ولكن ليس معك قلم أحمر.

(لمساعد الباحث)

مهمتك في الموقف التالي أن تجعل المحادثة طبيعية ومرنة. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

الموقف:

أنت موظف في أحد البنوك. أحد العملاء تقدم إليك وطلب أن يستلم بطاقة الصراف الخاصة به. قبل إعطائه البطاقة، أطلب منه تعبئة إستمارة، كما هي مقتضيات السياسات في البنك. في أعلى الصفحة، تنص التعليمات وبشكل إلزامي على أنه على العميل كتابة الإسم بالقلم الأحمر.

(الموقف الثاني)
(للمشاركين بلعب الدور)

يصف الموقف التالي دور إجتماعي معين في الحياة اليومية في مجتمعنا. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

الموقف:

أنت في مبنى الإدارة لجهة عملك بغرض تقديم بعض الأوراق المتعلقة بإجازتك الإستثنائية لمدة عام واحد. تدخل أحد المكاتب وتقول للموظف أنك تريد أن تعطيه بعض الأوراق الخاصة بإجازتك ثم تسلمه الأوراق، وتخبره أنك تريد الرد في أقرب وقت ممكن.

مهمتك في الموقف التالي أن تجعل المحادثة طبيعية ومرنة. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

<u>الموقف:</u>

أنت موظف في مبنى الإدارة لجهة عملك. من مسؤلياتك التعامل مع إجازات الموظفين. أحد الموظفين يدخل مكتبك لتقديم بعض الأوراق المتعلقة بإجازته الإستثنائية لمدة عام. تأخذ منه الأوراق وتخبره أنك سوف تتحق منها.

(الموقف الثالث)
(للمشاركين بلعب الدور)

يصف الموقف التالي دور إجتماعي معين في الحياة اليومية في مجتمعنا. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

<u>الموقف:</u>

أنت في حفلة (عزيمة) وبالصدفة تقابل أحد أصدقاءك القدامى. تتحدث معه لمدة دقيقتين وتسأله عن أموره الحياتيه وعمله وعائلته وعدد أبنائه. بعد دقيقتين تخبره أنك مضطر أن تغادر.

مهمتك في الموقف التالي أن تجعل المحادثة طبيعية ومرنة. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

<u>الموقف:</u>

أنت في حفلة (عزيمة) وبالصدفة تقابل أحد أصدقاءك القدامى. تتحدث معه لمدة دقيقتين. خلال المحادثة وعندما يسألك عن أمورك الحياتية تخبره أن عندك خمسة أطفال و أنك إنتقلت إلى بيت جديد تملكه.

(الموقف الرابع)
(للمشاركين بلعب الدور)

يصف الموقف التالي دور إجتماعي معين في الحياة اليومية في مجتمعنا. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

لقد تمت ترقيتك في العمل وطلب منك الإنتقال إلى مكتب جديد في مبنى آخر بدءاً من يوم غد. عندما تذهب للمكتب الجديد تجد أن أحد أصدقائك القدامى يعمل في نفس المبنى لكن في مكتب آخر. تذهب إلى مكتبه لتسلم عليه وتجد أن للتو غير ديكور مكتبه وحصل على أثاث جديد.

(لمساعد الباحث)

مهمتك في الموقف التالي أن تجعل المحادثة طبيعية ومرنة. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

الموقف:

أنت جالس في مكتبك الذي للتو جددت ديكوره وأثثته. أحد أصدقائك القدامى الذي تمت ترقيته للتو إنتقل للعمل بمكتب مجاور لمكتبك يدخل عليك لإلقاء التحية والسلام. حاول أن تظهر سعادتك بإنتقاله للعمل بنفس المبنى. حاول أن تحدثه عن الديكور والأثاث الجديد وأنك إخترته بنفسك. أثناء حديثكما حاول أن تمدح مظهره وأنه أصبح أكثر جمالاً.

(الموقف الخامس)
(للمشاركين بلعب الدور)

يصف الموقف التالي دور إجتماعي معين في الحياة اليومية في مجتمعنا. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

الموقف:

أنت الآن في المكتبة تبحث عن كتاب معين تحتاجه في اليومين المقبلين ولكنك لم تستطع أن تجده. بالمصادفة تقابل أحد أصدقائك يحمل كتاباً. عندما تسأله عن الكتاب تجده ذات الكتاب الذي تبحث عنه، فتسأله أن يعيرك إياه.

(لمساعد الباحث)

مهمتك في الموقف التالي أن تجعل المحادثة طبيعية ومرنة. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

الموقف:

أنت في المكتبة تحمل كتاباً وبالصدفة تقابل صديقاً يبحث عن كتاب يحتاجه في اليومين المقبلين لكنه لم يجده. عندما تسأله عن سبب وجوده بالمكتبة يخبرك أنه يبحث عن كتاب معين، وعندما تسأله عن إسم الكتاب تكتشف أنه هو نفس الكتاب الذي تحمله معك. عنما يطلب منك إستعارة الكتاب ليومين توافق لكنك تؤكد عليه أن يعيده لك خلال يومين.

(للمشاركين بلعب الدور)

يصف الموقف التالي دور إجتماعي معين في الحياة اليومية في مجتمعنا. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

<u>الموقف:</u>

كنت قد إستعرت كتاباً من أحد أصدقاءك لمدة يومين، وكان قد أكد أن تعيده له خلال يومين، ووعدته أنك سوف تفعل ذلك. بعد إنقضاء اليومين أردت أن تعيد الكتاب لكنك لم تجده. فجأةً يتصل بك صديقك ويسألك عن الكتاب. حاول أن تكون صادقً معه.

(لمساعد الباحث)

مهمتك في الموقف التالي أن تجعل المحادثة طبيعية ومرنة. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

<u>الموقف:</u>

كان صديقك قد إستعار كتاباً منك وأنت أكدت أنك تحتاجه خلال يومين. مر يومان ولم يرجع صديقك الكتاب. تتصل به لتذكره أنك تحتاجه لأمر مهم وعاجل.

(للمشاركين بلعب الدور)

يصف الموقف التالي دور إجتماعي معين في الحياة اليومية في مجتمعنا. يرجى قراءة وصف الموقف بعناية حتى يتسنى لك فهم ماهو الدور الذي أنت مطالب بلعبه. حاول أن تتصرف كما لو كان الموقف حقيقياً واجعل حديثك طبيعياً قدر الإمكان. أرجو أن لاتتردد أن تسأل إذا كان لديك أي سؤال.

<u>الموقف:</u>

أنت في أحد الشوارع حاملاً بعض الأوراق وفجأةً تسقط منك الأوراق وتتبعثر في الطريق، فيأتي رجل ويساعدك بالتقاطها ويمضي في طريقه.

(لمساعد الباحث)

الموقف:

أنت تسير في أحد الشوارع وترى فجأة رجل تسقط منه بعض الأوراق وتتبعثر في الطريق. تساعده في إلتقاطها وتمضي في طريقك.

Translation of Role plays

Situation one

(Elicitation of the speech act of requesting)

To the role play informants:

The following situation describes a specific social role in daily life in our community. Please read carefully the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are in the bank with the intention of picking up your debit card. You go to one of the employees and ask him/her for the card. Before he/she gives you the card, he/she requires you to fill in a form. The instructions at the top of the page strictly specify that you should write your name in red, but you do not have a red pen.

To the conductors:

It is your task in the following situation to make the conversation natural and flexible. Please carefully read the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are an employee in a bank. One of the bank customers approaches you and asks to collect his/her debit card. Before you give him/her the card, you ask him/her to fill in a form, as required by the bank's policies. At the top of the form, the instructions specify that the customer must write his/her name in red.

Situation two

(Elicitation of the speech act of greeting)

To the role play informants:

The following situation describes a specific social role in daily life in our community. Please read carefully the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are in your employer's administration building with the intention of submitting some documents related to your one-year exceptional leave. You enter one office and tell the employee that you want to give him/her the documents for your one-year exceptional leave. You tell him/her that you want the response as soon as possible.

To the conductors:

It is your task in the following situation to make the conversation natural and flexible. Please carefully read the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are an employee in your employer's administration building. One of your responsibilities is to deal with employees' leave and holiday permissions. One of the employees enters your office to submit some documents related to his/her one-year exceptional leave. You take the documents and tell him/her you have to check them.

Situation three

(Elicitation of the speech act of congratulating)

To the role play informants:

The following situation describes a specific social role in daily life in our community. Please listen carefully to the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are at a party and coincidently meet one of your old friends. You chat with him/her for two minutes and ask him/her about his/her life and work. After two minutes, you tell him/her you have to leave.

To the conductors:

It is your task in the following situation to make the conversation natural and flexible. Please carefully read the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are at a party and coincidently meet one of your old friends. You chat with him/her for two minutes. During the conversation, when he/she asks you about your life, you tell him/her that you have moved to a new house and bought a new car.

Situation four

(Elicitation of the speech acts of complimenting and responding to compliments)

To the role play informants:

The following situation describes a specific social role in daily life in our community. Please read carefully the situation description so thatyou understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and

make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You have been promoted at work and have been asked to move into a new office in another building, starting from tomorrow. When you go to your new office, you find out that one of your old friends works in the same building but in a different office. You go to his/her office to greet him/her and find out that he/she has just changed his office decor and got new furniture.

To the conductors:

It is your task in the following situation to make the conversation natural and flexible. Please carefully read the situation description so thatyou understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are sitting in your office, which you have just redecorated and furnished. One of your old friends, who has just been promoted and has moved into the office next to yours, enters your office to greet you. Try to show your happiness that he/she has moved to work in the same building. Try to talk to him/her about your new decor and furniture and the fact you chose them by yourself. While you are talking to him/her, try to compliment on his/her appearance and the fact that he/she has become more beautiful.

Situation five

(Elicitation of the speech act of promising)

To the role play informants:

The following situation describes a specific social role in daily life in our community. Please read carefully the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are in the library looking for a specific book you need for the next two days, but you can't find it. Accidentally, you meet a friend of yours carrying a book. When you ask him/her about the book, you find out that it is the same book you are looking for, and you ask to borrow it from him/her.

To the conductors:

It is your task in the following situation to make the conversation natural and flexible. Please carefully read the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are in the library carrying a book and accidentally meet a friend who is looking for a book that he/she needs for the next two days but couldn't find it. When you ask him/her why he/she is in the library, he/she says he/she is looking for a specific book. When you ask him/her about the book's title, you tell him/her that it is the same book that you are carrying. When he/she asks to borrow the book for two days, you agree but assert that you really need it back within two days.

Situation six

(Elicitation of the speech act of apologising)

To the role play informants:

The following situation describes a specific social role in daily life in our community. Please read carefully to the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You have borrowed a book from your friend for two days. He/she asserted that you had to return it to him/her within two days. You promised him that you would. After two days, you wanted to return the book but could not find it. Suddenly, your friend calls you and asks about the book. Try to be honest with him/her.

To the conductors:

It is your task in the following situation to make the conversation natural and flexible. Please carefully read the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: Your friend borrowed a book from you, and you asserted that you needed it back within two days. After the two days passed, your friend didn't return your book. You call him/her to remind him/her   and to tell him/her how importantly you need it.

Situation seven

(Elicitation of the speech act of thanking)

To the role play informants:

The following situation describes a specific social role in daily life in our community. Please read carefully the situation description so that you know what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are walking down a street carrying some documents. Suddenly, all the documents fall and scatter all over the street. A man/woman comes to help you and collect them for you and then goes on his/her way.

To the conductors:

It is your task in the following situation to make the conversation natural and flexible. Please carefully read the situation description so that you understand what role you are going to play. Try to act in the situation as if it were real and make your speech as natural as possible. Please feel free to ask if you have any questions.

The situation: You are walking down a street and suddenly see a man/woman drop some papers, which scatter all over the street. You help him/her to collect them and then go on your way.

موافقة على المشاركة في التجربة لغرض البحث

في البداية أود أن أشكرك لمنحي بعض من وقتك للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة البحثية.

أنت مدعو للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة البحثية حول تأثير الثقافة وبعض المكونات الثقافية على استخدام اللغة في الخطاب اليومي للمتخاطبين السعوديين لغرض مشروع بحثي للدكتوراه. المشاركة في هذا البحث هو تطوعي تماماً ولك الحق بأن تقول "لا" أو الامتناع عن الرد على أي سؤال، ويحق لك الإنسحاب من الدراسة في أي وقت.

سوف يطلب منك الإستماع لمحادثات مسجلة وكتابة ملاحظاتك و تعليقاتك عليها. سيقوم الباحث بتحليل الكلام والأجوبة في كل من هذه المقابلات. ويؤكد الباحث أن هويتك سوف تبقى غير معرفة وأن جميع تعليقاتك وملاحظاتك ومناقشات المقابلات سوف يتم التعامل معها بسرية تامة ولن تستخدم إلا لغرض هذا البحث فقط.

إن مشاركتك مهمة جداً للدراسة حيث أن البحث سوف يستند بشكل كبير على الكلام والردود اللتي ترد في محادثات لعب الدور والمقابلات.

أرجو التوقيع إذا كنت ترغب بالمشاركة في الدراسة بشكل تطوعي :

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<u>معلومات عن المشارك</u>

* الجنس :
□ ذكر   □ أنثى

* العمر :
□ أكبر من 60 □60 51 □ 41 50 □ 31 40 □ 20 30

* أعلى مؤهل :
□ دكتوراه   □ ماجستير   □ بكالوريوس   □ حالياً طالب بكالوريوس

* المهنة الرئيسية :

....

* العمل الجزئي أو التطوعي :

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* الهواية المفضلة / ماذا تفعل عادةً في وقت الفراغ ؟

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* كيف تصف نفسك بإيجاز ؟ (اختياري)

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أنت مدعو للإستماع إلى سبعة محادثات صوتية، تستغرق كل منها مايقارب دقيقة إلى دقيقتين. بعد أن تستمع لكل محادثة، اكتب تعليقك وملاحظاتك على كل محادثة وعلى لغة المتحاورين. قد ترغب بكتابة أي ملاحظة على اللغة المستخدمة من قبل المتحاورين. لاتوجد إجابات صحيحة أو خاطئة، وجميع الملاحظات هي موضع ترحيب، ولا بأس إذا لم يكن لديك أي ملاحظة أو تعليق وتعتقد أن الحوارات جرت بشكل طبيعي وأن اللغة المستخدمة طبيعية.

*(ملاحظة: الصوت في المحاورات تم تعديله تقنيا، لكن المهم هو ملاحظة العبارات والكلمات)

الموقف الأول:

(شخص في البنك لإستلام بطاقة الصراف)

(اكتبي تعليقك وملاحظاتك)

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(التبرير)...

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الموقف الثاني:

(شخص يقدم على إجازة لدى موظف)

(اكتبي تعليقك وملاحظاتك)

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(التبرير)...

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الموقف الثالث:

(شخص يقدم على إجازة لدى موظف)

(اكتبي تعليقك وملاحظاتك)

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(التبرير)...

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الموقف الرابع:

(محادثة سريعة لشخص في مناسبة إجتماعية ويقابل صديق قديم)

(اكتبي تعليقك وملاحظاتك)

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(التبرير)...

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الموقف الخامس:

(شخص يزور صديق قديم علم أنه موجود في نفس مكان عمله)

(اكتبي تعليقك وملاحظاتك)

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(التبرير)..

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الموقف السادس:

(شخص يقابل صديقه في المكتبه)

(اكتبي تعليقك وملاحظاتك)

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(التبرير)..

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الموقف السابع:

(شخص يتصل على صديق سبق وإستعار منه كتابا)

(اكتبي تعليقك وملاحظاتك)

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(التبرير)...

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الموقف الثامن:

(شخص تسقط منه بعض الأوراق ويساعده شخص آخر في جمعها)

(اكتبي تعليقك وملاحظاتك)

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(التبرير)...

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Translation of Consent form for participation in measuring awareness

First of all, let me thank you for giving up some of your time to participate in this research study.

You are being asked to participate in a research study about *the influence of culture and some cultural components on language use in the everyday speech of Saudi speakers of Arabic* for the purpose of my PhD project. Participation in this research is completely voluntary: you have the right to say 'no' and refrain from answering any question. You may change your mind at any time and withdraw from the study.

You will be asked to listen to recorded conversations and write down your comments about them. The researcher would like to reassure you that your identity will be kept anonymous and that your recorded role play conversations and interview discussions will be treated with confidentiality and for the research purpose only. Your participation will be crucial for the study, as the research will largely be based on the speech and responses given in the role play interactions and the interviews.

If you agree to participate voluntarily in this study, please sign here:

....

Participant's information

- Gender

    Male □   Female

- Age

    20–30   31–40   41–50   51–60   over 60

- Highest qualification achieved

    Current bachelor's student   Bachelor's   Master's   Doctorate

- Full-time occupation

    ....
    ....

- Part-time/voluntary work

    ....
    ....

- Favourite hoppy / what do you often do in your free time?

    ....
    ....

- How would you briefly describe yourself? (optional)

    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

Instructions:

You are being asked to listen to seven audio conversations, each lasting for one to two minutes. After you have listened to each conversation, write down your observational comments about the interactions and the interlocutors' linguistic behaviour. You may want to write down any observations related to the interlocutors' use of language in their speech. There are no right or wrong answers, and all observations and comments are welcome. It is also OK if you do not have any observations or comments related to the interlocutors' language.

Conversation one:
(Write down your observations)

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Conversation two:
(Write down your observations)

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Conversation three:
(Write down your observations)

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Conversation four:
(Write down your observations)

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Conversation five:
(Write down your observations)

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Conversation six:
(Write down your observations)

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Conversation seven:
(Write down your observations)

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Chapter five additional Extracts and table examples

Participants' (group 2) awareness of the absence of REs in Complimenting

Extract 1

Situation one: The speaker (actor A) is in his employer's administration building with the intention of submitting documents related to his non-standard leave.

01	A: (knocking on the door)
02	B: *tafaddal*
03→	A: **ahlain ekhoi**
04	B: *hala bek*
04	A: *low samah-t ana jay ba-sallem*
05	
06	*awraq ashan baqadem ala*
07	*ijaza istethnaeh*
08	B: *Tayyib at-an al-awraq ashayyek*
09	*alai-hen wa nredlek*
10	A: *Ya-lait tredoon*
11	*bi-aqrab waqt*
12	*le-anni mestajel*
13	B: *be-nehawel absher*

14   A: *mashkor*

15   B: *ya-marhaba*

16

Trans. 1.   A: (knocking on the door)

    2.   B: "Come in please."

    3.→ A: "**Two hellos.**"

    4.   B: "Hello."

    5.   A: "If you allow me, I am coming to submit documents because I want to

    6.   apply for non-standard leave."

    7.   B: "Ok, give me the documents to check them and we will reply to you."

    8.   A: "Would you reply as soon as possible as it is urgent?"

    9.   B: "We will try; cheer up."

    10.   A: "Thank you."

    11.   B: "Welcome."

Participant	Comment and observation	Justification
Khalid	"The greeting lacks *assalam*."	"I think *assalam* is better whether religiously or psychologically."
Ahmad	"He didn't say *assalam*."	"*assalam* is *sunnah* (prophetic tradition): 'If one of you meets his brother, he should greet him with *assalam*."[114]
Salem	"Although he was polite, he can be blamed for	"What we have learned from religion is that we should start

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[114] The participant is citing the prophetic saying reported by Abu Dawud (2009: 5200).

	not starting with *assalam*."	with *assalam*, as it is an invocation for peace to the other party."
Youssef	"He should replace 'two hellos' with *assalam*."	"*assalam* is the greeting of Islam."
Hamad	"He didn't start with *assalam*."	"The greeting of Muslims is *assalam*, then the other greeting expressions."
Ibrahim	"He didn't perform *assalam*"	"*assalam* is the first greeting of Muslims."
Saad	"He said 'two hellos'; he should give *assalam* instead."	"It would be better if he performed *assalam* because it is the greeting of Muslims."
Tariq	"*assalam* is missing"	"It is the greeting of Islam."
Solaiman	"He didn't give '*assalam*.'"	"Because *assalam* is one of the acts commanded by the prophet, peace be upon him."
Asma	"After he entered, he didn't deliver *assalam*."	"O you who have believed, do not enter houses other than yours until you ask permission and give *assalam*."[115]
Salma	"The greeting was 'two hellos'."	"It is not the greeting of Islam."
Reem	"He didn't say *assalam*."	"It is of the morals of Islam."
Sarah	"The person came in but didn't say *assalam*."	"Because *assalam* is the greeting of believers as well as the greeting of the people of paradise[116]. Spreading *assalam* is also of the prophet's manners."
Manal	"When he entered, he didn't deliver *assalam*."	"It is one of God's favours that He allocated us with *assalam*."

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[115] The participant is referring to the Quran (24: 27).
[116] The participant is referring to the Quran (10: 10): "their prayer therein is glory to you O God, and their greeting therein is salaam (peace)".

Hessa	"Yes he greeted him but not with the assumed greeting."	"Our religion commands us to greet with *assalam*."

Table 5.5 Participants' reactions to the absence of *assalam* as an initiative greeting

Extract 2

Situation two: The speaker (actor A) is in his employer's administration building with the intention of submitting documents related to his non-standard leave.

01   A: (knocking on the door)

02   B: *tafaddal*

03   A: *assalamu alai-kum wa rahmat-*

04   *ullah wa barakatu-h*

05→   B: ***wa alai-kum assalam***

06   A: *low samah-t ana jay ba-sallem*

07   *awraq ashan baqadem ala ijaza*

08   *istethnaeh*

09   B: *Tayyib at-an al-awraq wa*

10   *n-redlek gereeb*

11   A: *Ya-lait tredoon bi-aqrab waqt*

12   *le-anni mestajel*

13   B: *be-nehawel absher*

14   A: *mashkor=*

15   A: *= ma assalama*

16   B: *ya-marhaba*

Trans. 1.   A: (knocking on the door)

2.   B: "Come in please."

3.   A: "Peace be upon you and

4.   God's mercy and His blessings."

5. → B: **"And peace be upon you."**

6.   A: "If you allow me, I am coming to submit

7.   documents because I want to

8.   apply for non-standard leave."

9.   B: "Ok, give me the documents and we will reply to you

10.   soon."

11.   A: "Would you reply as soon as possible,

12.   as it is urgent?"

13.   B: "We will try; cheer up."

14.   A: "Thank you"=

15.   A: "With safety (goodbye)."

16.   B: "Welcome."

Participant	Comment and observation	Justification
Abdullah	"The employee wasn't courteous."	"It is part of our religion to return a greeting in a more desirable way."
		"When you are greeted with a greeting, greet with one better

Ahmad	"He didn't return *assalam* properly."	than it or return it. [Responding with the full form] would create contentment between the two parties."
Youssef	"[Interlocutor B] didn't respond with the same. He responded with less: 'and peace be upon you', even though [interlocutor A] said: 'peace be upon you and God's mercy and His blessings.'"	"Greet with one better than it or return it."
Saad	"The response to *assalam* was not complete."	"Because whenever someone greets you with the complete *assalam*, you must return it completely. This is one of our Islamic morals."
Abdulrahman	"The employee is supposed to greet with the full form of *assalam*."	"This is what we are requested in the Quran: 'when you are greeted'."
Solaiman	"Not responding with a better greeting or the same greeting."	"The Quran orders us to respond to a greeting with the same greeting or one better than it."
Asma	"The customer greeted the employee with the full form of *assalam*, but the employee didn't respond with the full form."	"God Almighty says: 'when you are greeted with a greeting, greet with one better than it or return it'."
Salma	"The greetee didn't return *assalam* completely."	"He should return it completely to gain more rewards [from God]."
Aisha	"His reply to *assalam* is insufficient."	"That is the religious teaching."
Alanood	"He didn't reply to *assalam* as he was supposed	"He is supposed to do that to obtain thirty rewards, as the

	to.”	prophet used to do provide.”
Manal	“He replied to *assalam* in a short way.”	“Replying to *assalam* in a better way is obligatory, as God says: “when you are greeted with a greeting, greet with one better than it or return it’.”
Hessa	“When the customer entered and delivered *assalam* in its full form, the employee only said: ‘and peace be upon you.’”	“Religion requests us to return a greeting in the same way or better.”

Table 5.6 Participants’ reactions to the absence of a full *assalam* response

Appendix E

Chapter six additional extracts and table examples

Extract 6.3
(Participant Sami (G1C))
Situation 1:

 01 C: *hathi al-bitakah*

 02→ P: ***Allah la yeheen-ak***

 04 C: *wa la ant*

Trans. 1. C: "Here is the card"

   2.→ P: **"May God not humiliate you"**

   3. C: = "You too"

Extract 6.4
(Participant Saleh (G1B))
Situation 1:

 01 C: =*sam hathi al-bitakah*

 02→ P: ***Allah ye'afeek***

 03 C: *wa iyya-k*

Trans. 1. C: ="Here is the card"

   2.→ P: = **"May God grant you health"**

   3. C: "And you"

Extract 6.5
(Participant Maryam (G1D))
Situation 2: The participant enters the employer's administration building with the intention of submitting documents relating to his/her one-year exceptional leave. He/she enters the office and tells the employee that he/she wants to give him/her the documents to apply for his/her one-year exceptional leave. He/she tells him/her that he/she wants a response as soon as possible.

01   C: *khalas in sha allah*

02→   P: ***Allah yajza-ts khair***

03   C: *wa iyya-ts*

Trans. 1.   C: "Ok, if God wills"

2.→   P: **"May God reward you with goodness"**

3.   C: "And you"

Extract 6.10
(Participant Norah (G1E))
Situation 5:

01   C: *ala khair in sha Allah*

02→   P: ***Allah yajza-ts khair allah***

03   *yajza-ts khair*

04   C: *wa iyya-k*

Trans. 1.   C: "That will be fine, if God wills"

2.→   P: **"May God reward you with goodness, may God reward you with**

3.   **goodness"**

4.   C: "And you"

Extract 6.13
(Participant Meznah (G1E))
Situation 5:

01   C: *bas yomain we traj'en-ah l-i*

02   P: *in sha Allah in sha Allah=*

03→   P: *=**Allah yajza-ts khair we yewafge-***

04   ***ts be-addenya wa al-akherah***

05   C: *Amin wa iyya-ts*

Trans. 1.   C: "Just for two days and return it to me"

       2.   P: "If God wills, if God wills"=

       3.→   **P: = "May God reward you with goodness and grant you success in life and the hereafter"**

       4.   C: "Amen, and you"

Participant	Comment	Justification
Sarah	"He is supposed to invocate for him"	"Because there is a saying from the prophet if one is being done a favour, he should say '*Jaza-k allah khair*' (may God reward you with goodness)"
Samar	"He should say invocations for him instead of '*shokran*' (thank you)"	"'*Shokran*' (thank you) is not enough in this situation"
Hanoof	"He didn't thank him strongly"	"He is supposed to invocate for him"
Jawaher	"I didn't like how he thanked him"	"He should thank him more and invocate for him"
Mutlaq	"His thanking was not enough"	"He should thank him more using invocations"
Khalid	"His way of thanking does not express much gratitude. If he add invocations, that would express more gratitude"	"'Anyone has done a favour for you should be repaid the favour, if you couldn't find what to repay him with, do invocation for him[117]'"
Youssef	"Only thanking is not enough, he may say '*Jaza-k allah khair*' (may God reward you with goodness) or invocate	"Invocations are better for the addressee"

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[117] The participant is referring to a prophetic saying.

	with other invocations"	
Reem	"He didn't thank him strongly"	"He should invocate with, for example, '*Jaza-k allah khair*' (may God reward you with goodness) or '*Allah ye'tee-k alafiyah*' (may God grant you health)"
Asma	"Thanking was not enough. He deserves better thanks like saying '*Jaza-k allah khair*' (may God reward you with goodness) and adding other invocations for him and his parents"	As the prophet says: 'whoever being favoured by someone and said 'may God reward you with goodness, he indeed thanked him in the most proper way"
Ghalia	"He didn't thank him sufficiently"	"As he helped him in such a way, he was supposed to thank him more and invocate for him"
Monera	"He didn't say '*Jaza-k allah khair*' (may God reward you with goodness)	"Because 'whoever says '*Jaza-k allah khair* (may God reward you with goodness) he indeed thanked him in the most proper way[118]'"
Salwa	"He didn't thank him properly"	"He deserves to invocate for him"
Abeer	"He didn't say '*Jaza-k allah khair*' (may God reward you with goodness)	"When thanking someone it is better to invocate for him"
Ahmad	"If he thanked him with '*Jaza-k allah khair*' (may God reward you with goodness) is better"	"Because the messenger says: 'whoever being favoured by someone and said 'may God reward you with goodness, he indeed thanked him in the most proper way' and 'anyone has done a favour for you should be repaid the favour, if you couldn't find what to repay him with, do invocation for him'
Abdulrahman	"He should thank him more"	"The best thing to thank some one is to invocate for him"

Table 6.5 Participants' (Group 2) reactions to the absence of invocations in thanking.

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[118] The participant is referring to a prophetic saying.

Chapter seven additional Extracts and table examples

Extract 7. 6
(Participant Ammar (G1A))
Situation 3:

01	C: *abashr-ek jeena*
02	*hol-kom*
03	*be-bait molk*
04→	**P: *ma sha allah=***
05→	**P: *=allah yebarek le-kum***
06	***fee-h***
07	C: *amin=*
08	C: *=allah yebarek fee-k*

Trans.	1.	C: "Good tidings, we have moved in our owned house near you"
	2. →	**P: "It is God's will, may God bless it for you"**
	3.	C: "Amen, may God bless you"

Extract 7. 8
(Participant Norah (G1E))
Situation 3:

01	C: *be-nafs asheghel we*
02	*je-na hina bi-bait molk*
03→	**P: *ma sha allah tabarak***
04	***allah=***
05→	**P: *=allah yaja'al-kom***
07	***tetmahal-oon bo-h be-***
08	***assahah wa al-a'afeyah***

09   C: *allah yajza-ts khair*

Trans.   1.   C: "In the same job, and we have moved here into an owned house"

         2. → **P: "It is God's will, blessed is God; may God make you stay in it**
                in health"

         3.   C: "Amen, may God reward you"

Extract 7. 9
(Participant Saleh (G1B))
Situation 3:

01   P: =*asa-h molk?*

02   C: *ih al-hamd li-allah*

03→   **P: ma sha allah ma sha**

04   **allah=**

05→   **P:=allah yaja'al-oh**

07   **o'nen ala attae'eh**

08   C: *amin allah yajza-k*

09   *khair*

Trans.   1.   P: ="I hope that you own it?"

         2.   C: "Yes, praise be to God"

         3.→   **P: = "It is God's will, it is God's will; may God make it an**
                assistance to obedience [to God]"

         4.   C: "Amen, may God reward you with goodness"

Extract 7. 12
(Participant Bothaina (G1D))

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Situation 4:

01	C: *jayet-ets kel-ha*
02	*barakah towy meghair-ah*
03	*al-athath wa*
04	*a-ddecor*
05→	**P: *ma sha allah tabarak***
07	***allah***
08	C: *ana mekhtar-et-oh ala*
09	*thog-i*
10→	**P: *ma sha allah***

Trans.	1.	C: "Your coming is blessed: I have just changed the furniture and the décor"
	2.→	**P: "It is God's will, blessed is God"**
	3.	C: "I have chosen it with my taste"
	4. →	**P: "It is God's will"**

Extract 7. 13
(Participant Fatima (G1E))
Situation 4:

01→	P: ***=ma sha allah tabarak***
02	***allah***
03	***ma sha allah wesh ha-***
04	***zzain wesh***
05	***ha-a-ddecor (looking)***
06	C: *allah yesallem-ts*
07	*tow-yyi mejaded-t-*
08	*oh*

Trans.	1. →	**P: ="It is God's will, blessed is God, it is God's will; what beauty is this?! What décor is this?!"**
	2.	C: "May God secure you, I have just renewed it"

Extract 7. 14
(Participant Saleh (G1B))
Situation 4:

01→   P: *ma sha allah athathen*

02   *jedeed!?*

03   C: *ih wesh ray-ek?*

04→   **P: *ma sha allah=***

05→   **P: *=allah yaja'al-oh***

06   *o'nen ala attae'eh*

                C: *amin*

Trans.   1. →   **P: "It is God's will, is your furniture new?!"**

          2.   C: "Yes, what do you think?"

          3. →   **P: "It is God's will, may God make it of help to obedience [to God]"**

          4.   C: "Amen"

Extract 7. 16
(Participant Haya (G1D))
Situation 4:

01   C: *ma sha allah*

02   *sayer-eh tehableen*

03→   **P: *allah yesalem-ets ya***

04   *o'mri*

Trans.   1.   C: "It is God's will, you have become incredible"

          2.→   **P: "May God secure you, my life"**

Extract 7.19
(Participant Hani (G1B))
Situation 4:

01	C: *ma sha allah mehlow*
02	*ya abu Zaid?!*
04→	**P: allah yesalem-k**
	eyoon-ek

Trans.	1.	C: "It is God's will, you have become more beautiful, Abu Zaid"
	2. →	**P: "May God secure you, that is your eyes"**

Participants' (group 2) awareness of the absence of REs in Complimenting

Situation: The speaker (interlocutor A) meets his old friend accidentally and talks to him for a while. During their conversation, speaker 2 (interlocutor B) tells his friend that he has five children and has moved to a new house.

01	A: *hala:: Abu*
02	*Mohammad*
03	B: *ya hala ya marhaba*
04	A: *kaif hal-ek?*
05	*basher-na an-k?=*
06	A: *=ash men shaf-ek ya*
07	*ekho-i*
08	B: *ash-at ayyam-ek=*
09	B: *=be-khair wesh akhbar-*

10	*ek ant?*
11	A: *be-khair al-hamd li-*
12	*llah=*
13	A: *=wain a-nnas ma le-k*
14	*hes ma le-k*
15	*shofat?*
16	B: *mawjood-een be-*
17	*ha-denya*
18	A: *wesh mesawwi? Wain*
19	*teshteghel?*
20	B: *end-i moasasah*
21	*wa al-omor zainah*
22	*abashr-ek?*
23	A: *wa al-ahal*
24	*basher-na*
25	*an-hom=*
26	A: *=wesh ende-k men iyal*
27	*ha-lheen?*
28	B: *tayebeen kel-hom we*
29	*end-I khams iyal*
30	*abasher-k*
31→	A:*khamseh ⇑saheeh ⇑tamam*
32	*ala-ik wallah kam*
33	*bent we kam walad?*
34	B: *bentain wa thalath iyal*
35	A: *mebte-en an-k=*
36	A: *=wa a-ssakan wain*
37	*saken?*
38	B: *abasher-k*
39	*negal-na holkom*
40	*share-na bait*
41	*molk*
42	A: *zain zain khabaren*

43		*zain*
44		A: (.) *ajal dam-ek hol-*
45		*na neshof-ek e*
46		*smah li*
47		B: *neshofe-ek*

Trans.	1.	A: "Hello Abu Mohammad"
	2.	B: "Hello, welcome"
	3.	A: "How are you? Tell me about you?"=
	4.	A: ="Long live to whoever see you my brother"
	5.	B: "Long live to you, I am in goodness, what is your news?"
	6.	A: "In goodness, praise be to God"=
	7.	A: ="Where have you been? We don't hear from you! We don't see you!"
	8.	B: " we are still in this life"
	9.	A: "How are you doing? Where do you work?
	10.	B: "I have an establishment and things are fine"
	11.	A: "And how about the family? How are they?"=
	12.	A: ="How many children do you have?"
	13.	B: "They are all fine, and I have five children"
	14. →	**A: "Five! Really! Well done!"=**
	15.	A: ="How many girls? How many boys?"
	16.	B: "Two girls three boys"
	18.	A: "It's been long time"=
	19.	A: ="Where do you stay?"
	20.	B: "Good tidings, we have just moved around you, we bought
	21.	a new house"
	22.	A: "Great, great, great news"
	23.	A: (.) "As you are around, we will see you, allow me"
	24.	B: " Will see you"

Participant	Comment and observation	Justification
Sami	"When mentioning the number of children, [interlocutor A] didn't reply with '*ma sha allah*'."	"To avoid the evil eye."
Nada	"Not mentioning God or blessing in [interlocutor A's] replies."	"For the evil eye."
Aisha	"He didn't say '*ma sha allah*' and didn't invoke for his children with redressing and guidance."	"For more tactfulness and for the evil eye."
Reem	"Not blessing or saying '*ma sha allah*' or 'blessed is God'."	"Mentioning God and blessing are always obligatory with children and houses."
Manal	"He didn't mention God or '*ma sha allah*'."	"'The evil eye is real.'"
Abeer	"In the conversation, he didn't mention God or '*ma sha allah*'."	"Because it is of Muslim's attributes to mention God when you see anything you admire."
Alanood	"He didn't mention God or bless him on his children and the house."	"Because 'the evil eye is real' and one may unwittingly envy his brother, and mentioning God is necessary."
Hanoof	"The person didn't say '*ma sha allah*' when he told him he has five children."	"It is of politeness to mention God and invoke for him and his children"
Asma	"The other person is supposed to mention God and say '*ma sha allah*, may God bless you'."	"To avoid the evil eye, as 'the evil eye is real'."
Saad	"He didn't invoke for or bless his children."	"Because it is assumed that if you admire something, you will bless it, as this is Sunnah and of politeness."
Ahmad	"Not mentioning God or blessing."	"Following Sunnah and warding off what envy might be inside the person."
Solaiman	"Not mentioning God for his Muslim brother."	"The prophetic saying…"

Table 7.5. Participants' comments and justifications on the absence of REs in complimenting

Appendix G

Ethical Approval

Ali Alsohaibani
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6th June 2014

Dear Ali,

I am writing to you on behalf of Professor John Street, Deputy Chair of the General Research Ethics Committee, in response to your submission of an application for ethical approval for your study 'A study on the effect of culture on language use: the influence of religion on the speech acts performance of Saudi speakers of Arabia'.

Having considered the information that you have provided in your correspondence Professor Street has asked me to tell you that your study has been approved on behalf of the Committee, with the proviso that the voice recorder you will be using for the interviews, will be safely and securely stored.

You should let us know if there are any significant changes to the proposal which raise any further ethical issues.

Please let us have a brief final report to confirm the research has been completed.

Yours sincerely

Tasha McGowan
Administrative Assistant
Research and Enterprise Services East Office
University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
Email: GREC@uea.ac.uk

Appendix H

SPSS statistics: Cross tabulation and coding

gender * d1 occurrence_of_REs_in_greeting Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d1 occurrence_of_REs_in_greeting				
		2,00 low occurrence (2)	3,00 medium occurrence (3)	4,00 high occurrence (4)	5,00 very high occurrence (5)	Total
gender	1,00 male	14.3%		7.1%	78.6%	100.0%
	2,00 female		20.0%		80.0%	100.0%
Total		8.3%	8.3%	4.2%	79.2%	100.0%

gender * d2 type_of_assalam_average Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d2 type_of_assalam_average			
		1,00 short form	2,00 long form	3,00 full form	Total
gender	1,00 male	57.1%	21.4%	21.4%	100.0%
	2,00 female	40.0%	10.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		50.0%	16.7%	33.3%	100.0%

gender * d3 type_of_returning_assalam Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d3 type_of_returning_assalam			
		,00 no return	2,00 same form	3,00 longer form (including full form)	Total
gender	1,00 male	14.3%	42.9%	42.9%	100.0%
	2,00 female	10.0%	40.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		12.5%	41.7%	45.8%	100.0%

gender * d4 reference_to_religious_motive_for_assalam Crosstabulation

% within gender

	d4 reference_to_religious_motive_for_assalam	Total

		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
gender	1,00 male	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	2,00 female	100.0%		100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

gender * d5 reference_to_religious_motive_for_long_form_of_assalam Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d5 reference_to_religious_motive_for_long_form_of_assalam		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
gender	1,00 male	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	2,00 female	100.0%		100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

gender * d6 reference_to_religious_motive_for_same_or_more_principle Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d6 reference_to_religious_motive_for_same_or_more_principle		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
gender	1,00 male	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	2,00 female	100.0%		100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

gender * d7 occurrence_of_REs_in_thanking Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d7 occurrence_of_REs_in_thanking					
		,00 non occurrence	1,00 very low occurrence (1-2)	2,00 low occurrence (3-4)	4,00 high occurrence (7-8)	5,00 very high occurrence (9+)	Total
gender	1,00 male	7.1%		21.4%	7.1%	64.3%	100.0%
	2,00 female	20.0%	20.0%	10.0%		50.0%	100.0%
Total		12.5%	8.3%	16.7%	4.2%	58.3%	100.0%

gender * d8 indication_of_invocative_force Crosstabulation

383

% within gender

		d8 indication_of_invocative_force		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
gender	1,00 male	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	2,00 female	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total		87.5%	12.5%	100.0%

gender * d9 indication_of_relationship_between_indebtedness_and_REs Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d9 indication_of_relationship_between_indebtedness_and_REs		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
gender	1,00 male	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	2,00 female	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total		83.3%	16.7%	100.0%

gender * d10 perception_on_cross_gender_different_thanking Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d10 perception_on_cross_gender_different_thanking		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
gender	1,00 male	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
	2,00 female	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total		79.2%	20.8%	100.0%

gender * d11 occurrence_of_religious_phrases_in_complimenting Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d11 occurrence_of_religious_phrases_in_complimenting					Total
		1,00 very low (1-2)	2,00 low (3-4)	3,00 medium (5-6)	4,00 high (7-8)	5,00 very high (9+)	
gender	1,00 male	14.3%	7.1%	35.7%	42.9%		100.0%
	2,00 female		20.0%	40.0%	30.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total		8.3%	12.5%	37.5%	37.5%	4.2%	100.0%

gender * d12 occurrence_of_invocative_utterances_in_complimenting Crosstabulation

% within gender

		d12 occurrence_of_invocative_utterances_in_complimenting					Total
		,00 no occurrence	1,00 very low (1)	2,00 low (2)	3,00 medium (3)	4,00 high (4)	
gender	1,00 male	14.3%	21.4%	42.9%	14.3%	7.1%	100.0%
	2,00 female	40.0%	10.0%		30.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total		25.0%	16.7%	25.0%	20.8%	12.5%	100.0%

age * d1 occurrence_of_REs_in_greeting Crosstabulation

% within age

		d1 occurrence_of_REs_in_greeting				Total
		2,00 low occurrence (2)	3,00 medium occurrence (3)	4,00 high occurrence (4)	5,00 very high occurrence (5)	
age	1,00 20 to 30	20.0%	20.0%	10.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37				100.0%	100.0%
	3,00 over 50				100.0%	100.0%
Total		8.3%	8.3%	4.2%	79.2%	100.0%

age * d2 type_of_assalam_average Crosstabulation

% within age

		d2 type_of_assalam_average			Total
		1,00 short form	2,00 long form	3,00 full form	
age	1,00 20 to 30	90.0%	10.0%		100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	3,00 over 50	22.2%	11.1%	66.7%	100.0%
Total		50.0%	16.7%	33.3%	100.0%

age * d3 type_of_returning_assalam Crosstabulation

% within age

		d3 type_of_returning_assalam			
		,00 no return	2,00 same form	3,00 longer form (including full form)	Total
age	1,00 20 to 30	30.0%	70.0%		100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37		20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	3,00 over 50		22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
Total		12.5%	41.7%	45.8%	100.0%

age * d4 reference_to_religious_motive_for_assalam Crosstabulation

% within age

		d4 reference_to_religious_motive_for_assalam		
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
age	1,00 20 to 30	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37	100.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50	100.0%		100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

age * d5 reference_to_religious_motive_for_long_form_of_assalam Crosstabulation

% within age

		d5 reference_to_religious_motive_for_long_form_of_assalam		
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
age	1,00 20 to 30	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37	100.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50	100.0%		100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

age * d6 reference_to_religious_motive_for_same_or_more_principle Crosstabulation

% within age

		d6 reference_to_religious_motive_for_same_or_more_principle		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
age	1,00 20 to 30	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37	100.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50	100.0%		100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

age * d7 occurrence_of_REs_in_thanking Crosstabulation

% within age

		d7 occurrence_of_REs_in_thanking					Total
		,00 non occurrence	1,00 very low occurrence (1-2)	2,00 low occurrence (3-4)	4,00 high occurrence (7-8)	5,00 very high occurrence (9+)	
age	1,00 20 to 30	30.0%	20.0%	40.0%	10.0%		100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37					100.0%	100.0%
	3,00 over 50					100.0%	100.0%
Total		12.5%	8.3%	16.7%	4.2%	58.3%	100.0%

age * d8 indication_of_invocative_force Crosstabulation

% within age

		d8 indication_of_invocative_force		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
age	1,00 20 to 30	70.0%	30.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37	100.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50	100.0%		100.0%
Total		87.5%	12.5%	100.0%

age * d9 indication_of_relationship_between_indebtedness_and_REs Crosstabulation

% within age

		d9 indication_of_relationship_between_indebtedness_and_REs		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
age	1,00 20 to 30	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37	100.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50	100.0%		100.0%
Total		83.3%	16.7%	100.0%

age * d10 perception_on_cross_gender_different_thanking Crosstabulation

% within age

		d10 perception_on_cross_gender_different_thanking		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
age	1,00 20 to 30	70.0%	30.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37	100.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
Total		79.2%	20.8%	100.0%

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age * d11 occurrence_of_religious_phrases_in_complimenting Crosstabulation

% within age

		d11 occurrence_of_religious_phrases_in_complimenting					Total
		1,00 very low (1-2)	2,00 low (3-4)	3,00 medium (5-6)	4,00 high (7-8)	5,00 very high (9+)	
age	1,00 20 to 30	20.0%	30.0%	50.0%			100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37			40.0%	60.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50			22.2%	66.7%	11.1%	100.0%
Total		8.3%	12.5%	37.5%	37.5%	4.2%	100.0%

age * d12 occurrence_of_invocative_utterances_in_complimenting Crosstabulation

% within age

		d12 occurrence_of_invocative_utterances_in_complimenting					Total
		,00 no occurrence	1,00 very low (1)	2,00 low (2)	3,00 medium (3)	4,00 high (4)	
age	1,00 20 to 30	60.0%	30.0%		10.0%		100.0%
	2,00 22 to 37		20.0%	60.0%	20.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50			33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
Total		25.0%	16.7%	25.0%	20.8%	12.5%	100.0%

religiosity * d1 occurrence_of_REs_in_greeting Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d1 occurrence_of_REs_in_greeting				Total
		2,00 low occurrence (2)	3,00 medium occurrence (3)	4,00 high occurrence (4)	5,00 very high occurrence (5)	
religiosity	1,00 relegious				100.0%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	14.3%	14.3%	7.1%	64.3%	100.0%
Total		8.3%	8.3%	4.2%	79.2%	100.0%

religiosity * d2 type_of_assalam_average Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d2 type_of_assalam_average			Total
		1,00 short form	2,00 long form	3,00 full form	
religiosity	1,00 relegious	10.0%	20.0%	70.0%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	78.6%	14.3%	7.1%	100.0%
Total		50.0%	16.7%	33.3%	100.0%

religiosity * d3 type_of_returning_assalam Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d3 type_of_returning_assalam			Total
		,00 no return	2,00 same form	3,00 longer form (including full form)	
religiosity	1,00 relegious		10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	21.4%	64.3%	14.3%	100.0%
Total		12.5%	41.7%	45.8%	100.0%

religiosity * d4 reference_to_religious_motive_for_assalam Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d4 reference_to_religious_motive_for_assalam		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
religiosity	1,00 relegious	100.0%		100.0%
	2,00 neutral	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

religiosity * d5 reference_to_religious_motive_for_long_form_of_assalam Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d5 reference_to_religious_motive_for_long_form_of_assalam		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
religiosity	1,00 relegious	100.0%		100.0%
	2,00 neutral	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

religiosity * d6 reference_to_religious_motive_for_same_or_more_principle Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d6 reference_to_religious_motive_for_same_or_more_principle		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
religiosity	1,00 relegious	100.0%		100.0%
	2,00 neutral	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
Total		95.8%	4.2%	100.0%

religiosity * d7 occurrence_of_REs_in_thanking Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d7 occurrence_of_REs_in_thanking					Total
		,00 non occurrence	1,00 very low occurrence (1-2)	2,00 low occurrence (3-4)	4,00 high occurrence (7-8)	5,00 very high occurrence (9+)	
religiosity	1,00 relegious					100.0%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	21.4%	14.3%	28.6%	7.1%	28.6%	100.0%
Total		12.5%	8.3%	16.7%	4.2%	58.3%	100.0%

religiosity * d8 indication_of_invocative_force Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d8 indication_of_invocative_force		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
religiosity	1,00 relegious	100.0%		100.0%
	2,00 neutral	78.6%	21.4%	100.0%
Total		87.5%	12.5%	100.0%

religiosity * d9 indication_of_relationship_between_indebtedness_and_REs Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d9 indication_of_relationship_between_indebtedness_and_REs		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
religiosity	1,00 relegious	100.0%		100.0%
	2,00 neutral	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
Total		83.3%	16.7%	100.0%

religiosity * d10 perception_on_cross_gender_different_thanking Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d10 perception_on_cross_gender_different_thanking		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
religiosity	1,00 relegious	100.0%		100.0%
	2,00 neutral	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
Total		79.2%	20.8%	100.0%

religiosity * d11 occurrence_of_religious_phrases_in_complimenting Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d11 occurrence_of_religious_phrases_in_complimenting					Total
		1,00 very low (1-2)	2,00 low (3-4)	3,00 medium (5-6)	4,00 high (7-8)	5,00 very high (9+)	
religiosity	1,00 relegious			30.0%	60.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	14.3%	21.4%	42.9%	21.4%		100.0%
Total		8.3%	12.5%	37.5%	37.5%	4.2%	100.0%

religiosity * d12 occurrence_of_invocative_utterances_in_complimenting Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		d12 occurrence_of_invocative_utterances_in_complimenting					Total
		,00 no occurrence	1,00 very low (1)	2,00 low (2)	3,00 medium (3)	4,00 high (4)	
religiosity	1,00 relegious		10.0%	30.0%	40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	42.9%	21.4%	21.4%	7.1%	7.1%	100.0%
Total		25.0%	16.7%	25.0%	20.8%	12.5%	100.0%

gender * g2r1 awareness_of_the_absence_of_assalam Crosstabulation

% within gender

		g2r1 awareness_of_the_absence_of_assalam		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
gender	1 male	60.7%	39.3%	100.0%
	2 female	70.0%	30.0%	100.0%
Total		64.6%	35.4%	100.0%

gender * g2r2 awareness_of_the_absence_of_same_or_more_response

Crosstabulation

% within gender

		g2r2 awareness_of_the_absence_of_same_or_more_response		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
gender	1 male	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
	2 female	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total		75.0%	25.0%	100.0%

gender * g2r3 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations_for_thanking

Crosstabulation

% within gender

		g2r3 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations_for_thanking		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
gender	1 male	21.4%	78.6%	100.0%
	2 female	55.0%	45.0%	100.0%
Total		35.4%	64.6%	100.0%

gender * g2r4 awareness_of_the_absence_of_religious_phrases_for_complimenting

Crosstabulation

% within gender

		g2r4 awareness_of_the_absence_of_religious_ph rases_for_complimenting		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
gender	1 male	53.6%	46.4%	100.0%
	2 female	70.0%	30.0%	100.0%
Total		60.4%	39.6%	100.0%

gender * g2r5 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations_for_complimenting

Crosstabulation

% within gender

		g2r5 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations _for_complimenting		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
gender	1 male	35.7%	64.3%	100.0%
	2 female	30.0%	70.0%	100.0%
Total		33.3%	66.7%	100.0%

age * g2r1 awareness_of_the_absence_of_assalam Crosstabulation

% within age

		g2r1 awareness_of_the_absence_of_assalam		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
age	1,00 20-30	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22-37	100.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Total		64.6%	35.4%	100.0%

age * g2r2 awareness_of_the_absence_of_same_or_more_response Crosstabulation

% within age

		g2r2 awareness_of_the_absence_of_same_or_more_response		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
age	1,00 20-30	59.1%	40.9%	100.0%
	2,00 22-37	100.0%		100.0%
	3,00 over 50	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Total		75.0%	25.0%	100.0%

age * g2r3 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations_for_thanking Crosstabulation

% within age

		g2r3 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations_for_thanking		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
age	1,00 20-30	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
	2,00 22-37	37.5%	62.5%	100.0%
	3,00 over 50	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Total		35.4%	64.6%	100.0%

age * g2r4 awareness_of_the_absence_of_religious_phrases_for_complimenting

Crosstabulation

% within age

		g2r4 awareness_of_the_absence_of_religious_phrases_for_complimenting		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
age	1,00 20-30	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	2,00 22-37	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%

		66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
3,00 over 50				
Total		60.4%	39.6%	100.0%

age * g2r5 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations_for_complimenting

Crosstabulation

% within age

		g2r5 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations _for_complimenting		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
age	1,00 20-30	9.1%	90.9%	100.0%
	2,00 22-37	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	3,00 over 50	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Total		33.3%	66.7%	100.0%

religiosity * g2r1 awareness_of_the_absence_of_assalam Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		g2r1 awareness_of_the_absence_of_assalam		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
religiosity	1,00 religious	100.0%		100.0%
	2,00 neutral	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%
Total		64.6%	35.4%	100.0%

religiosity * g2r2 awareness_of_the_absence_of_same_or_more_response Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		g2r2 awareness_of_the_absence_of_same_or_m ore_response		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	Total
religiosity	1,00 religious	100.0%		100.0%
	2,00 neutral	65.7%	34.3%	100.0%
Total		75.0%	25.0%	100.0%

religiosity * g2r3 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations_for_thanking Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		g2r3 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations _for_thanking		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
religiosity	1,00 religious	53.8%	46.2%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
Total		35.4%	64.6%	100.0%

religiosity * g2r4 awareness_of_the_absence_of_religious_phrases_for_complimenting

Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		g2r4 awareness_of_the_absence_of_religious_ph rases_for_complimenting		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
religiosity	1,00 religious	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%
Total		60.4%	39.6%	100.0%

religiosity * g2r5 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations_for_complimenting

Crosstabulation

% within religiosity

		g2r5 awareness_of_the_absence_of_invocations _for_complimenting		Total
		1,00 yes	2,00 no	
religiosity	1,00 religious	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%
	2,00 neutral	14.3%	85.7%	100.0%
Total		33.3%	66.7%	100.0%

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