DEPARTAMENT DE TEORIA DELS LLENGUATGES I CIÈNCIES DE LA COMUNICACIÓ

THE SPEECH ACTS IN MOROCCAN ARABIC: AN INTERCULTURAL APPROACH.

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TESIS DOCTORAL

Speech Acts in Moroccan Arabic

An Intercultural Approach

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To the memory of my Dad

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The idea of conducting a study of the speech acts of thanks/apology, invitations, and compliments in Moroccan Arabic (hence MA) began to appear as scientifically a tempting one especially for being myself Moroccan and somehow "bicultural" after my long stay in Spain (20 years). What I intuitively perceived as different in the employment of these three speech acts along my communicative transactions as Moroccan with Spanish natives, was corroborated through my conversations with some colleagues at the University of Valencia, and in particular with my supervisor Professor Carlos Hernandez, who, as a friend and as a specialist in the field of pragmatics, encouraged me to start working on this subject.

Through my experience as a native and my observation as intiated in the field of pragmatics, I could anticipate that the use of the three speech acts chosen for the present study signal potential pragmatic conflicts in the communicative expectations of the Spanish community as a host country in contact with the Moroccan migrants settled in Spain. Communicative breaks are then suspected to occur in the course of interactions between these two communities as a result of the lack of a "one-to-one" correspondence of how thanks/apology, invitations and compliments are culturally used and interpreted in the speech of native Moroccans with how it is used by Spanish natives. The decision then to explore scientifically and from a native perspective these three speech acts in Moroccan Arabic started to cover meaning.

The first point handled was that of the theoretical paradigms to be followed in this study. I considered appropriate to place this investigation within a cross-cultural pragmatics framework, though theories from some

other disciplines such as linguistic anthropology, ethno-linguistics and sociolinguistics were also necessary to locate my theoretical approach in the current theoretical frameworks.

PART I of the present dissertation stands as the layer for my research and it is intended to invite the reader to get to some extent familiar with Morocco and the Moroccan language, on the one hand, and on the other hand to situate the reader in the realm of the tradition of emigration of Moroccans in general and to Spain in particular with the aim to justify my reasons for considering relevant the choice of the study of Moroccan Arabic being the mother tongue of Moroccan migrants in Spain.

With the intention to satisfy -hopefully- the reader in this socio-linguistic and socio-economical "tour" across Morocco, I have structured this first part into two chapters with the following objectives:

In *chapter 1*, I offer to the reader a statistical description of the Moroccan community as being one of the largest immigrant groups settled today in Spain as well as one of the most underestimated ethnic groups in the host country. The quantitative data and the mapping of the different Spanish regions in general and the Valencian Community in particular as areas of settlement of Moroccans are provided in this chapter relying mainly on two Spanish official sources of information such as Atlas de la Inmigration and "Ministerio del Gobierno de España para la Inmigración".

In *chapter 2*, I offer the sociolinguistic profile of Morocco together with a geo-linguistic mapping of the different dialects spoken in this country to highlight the relevance of the language under study, namely, MA being the mother tongue of most Moroccans albeit not the official

language of Morocco on the one hand. On the other hand, however, the purpose is to stress the cultural and linguistic disparity of Moroccan and Spanish cultures to ascertain whether the established Spanish negative stereotyping and the prejudicial attitudes towards Moroccans derive originally from predictable communicative conflicts as those commonly watched when different cultures are in contact.

PART II of the present dissertation is structured into two chapters (3-4) where the methodological framework and the general research questions, which guided this study are set.

Chapter 3 is conceived as purely theoretical in which two main frameworks (Speech Act Theory and Linguistic Politeness Theory) are discussed. The chapter, therefore, conveys a general overview of both the overwhelming advantages and the drawbacks offered by these two research frameworks. Such a theoretical discussion provides the reader with the theoretical baseline with which to understand the parameters used for the analysis of the speech acts selected for this study. In this same chapter the relevance of being native of the culture targeted in the pragmatic research is highlighted.

Chapter 4 opens with an introductory part where the differences in the cultural patterns across cultures are discussed as multi-layered.

The exploration of the cultural patterns of a community offers the possibility to consider surface and "material aspects" such as particularities in the choice of lexical repertoires for specific acts, or to venture to survey deeper levels such as the world view and the mental vision of particular acts.

Such a discussion is set to justify that politeness in the case of Moroccan culture can be handled to enumerate particular sociolinguistic and sociocultural "material aspects" which vary from those observed in other cultures, as well as to indulge in "immaterial aspects" such as religion and belief which materialise, for example, in the recurrent use of religious lexicons to perform politeness in Moroccan Arabic. To explore such an outstanding aspect of the speech behaviour of Moroccans, concepts such as "agency" and "participant´s role" were borrowed from Linguistic Anthropology to survey how the use of religious lexicons redistributes authorship, agency and the role of participants in the execution of a transaction by the introduction of a third participant who acts as a mediator and as a warrant for the fulfilment of the speech act.

The chapter concludes with the presentation of the direct objectives proposed for this dissertation.

PART III is composed of three chapters (5-6-7) and it embraces the central issues of the analysis of the speech acts of thanks/apology, compliments and invitations following a method based on scenarios imitative of these speech acts, mainly relying on my experience as a native. The choice of these three speech acts is initially justified by their distinctive features as pragmatically atypically encoded and decoded in Moroccan culture: In the speech of Moroccans, *apologies* are sometimes provided where *thanks* are expected, for example, in English or Spanish. The use of *Compliments* is socially restricted and culturally associated with the "bad-eye" afflict. *Compliments* are rarely used as such granting that in Moroccan Arabic, complimenters need to *bless* complimentees whenever a compliment is formulated.

Seemingly, *invitations* in Moroccan Arabic turn up to break literally one of the most outstanding western maxims of politeness, namely, "do not impose". Normally, Moroccans pragmatically oblige potential invitees to accept the invitation by resorting to *oaths* or *swearing* as a pragmatic device to validate invitations.

In *chapter 5*, the speech acts of *thanks/apology* are subjected to the theoretical analysis to answer the following questions:

1- Why do Moroccans use "smahli" <sorry> and "shukran" <thanks> as they are used in English or Spanish?

2- Why in Moroccan Arabic are "apologies" used when "thanks" are expected in English or Spanish and not vice-versa?

3- Why is "apology" used simultaneously after "thanks"?

4- Why is "apology" used as a response to "thanks"?

The status of "thanks/apology" as multifunctional speech acts was also discussed together with a review of the situational factors which affect the performance of these speech acts.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the analysis of the speech act of *invitation* in Moroccan Arabic. The purpose of the study of this speech act is justified by its inherent impositive feature which conflicts with the western tenets of politeness, that is, "do not impose", "give options" and "make your receiver feel good" (Lakoff, 1973: 9). In Moroccan culture "noblesse oblige" that inviters compel their invitees to accept the invitation by resorting to *swearing* as a politeness strategy, especially, if the invitation is intended to be genuine. In the course of the analysis of invitations in this

study, three invitation types are identified, namely, *ostensible*, *genuine*, and a third type which I have labelled *genuine-reinforced*. My current taxonomy is based on the degree of markedness which characterises the inviting behaviour of Moroccans. The label *genuine* follows Clark & Isaac's (1990) definition of invitation as sincere invitations extended with appropriate cues and a series of *felicitous conditions* which makes it recognisable to the invitee that the inviter is serious about the delivered invitation. Such *felicitous conditions* are provided if inviters propose, among other persuasive strategies, a fixed time, or require an answer, or resort to insistence to adduce the invitee to accept the invitation. Contrarily, *ostensible* invitations, also identified as *ambiguous* invitations (Wolfson et al. 1983), denote a sort of insincere invitations which are extended, albeit not intended by inviters to establish an invitation but rather to serve some other unstated discourse function. This type of invitation is usually vague and governed by "leads" where time is always left indefinite and a response is not required, etc (Wolfson, 1989: 222). These definitions seem not flawless in that they do not contemplate our third category, namely, the *ostensible-reinforced* invitations. I have then postulated that to reach an elaborated operational definition of invitations was another attractive pretext for the study of this speech act.

In this part, particular attention was paid to the employment of *swearing* as a politeness strategy "par excellence" to validate *ostensible* invitations. Code-switching was also observed to be another important aspect in the speech behaviour of Moroccans. The focus of this research within this area was to point to what extent the educational background alters the invitation behaviour of the target population.

Chapter 7 focuses on the speech act of compliments. Following the main stream research of (Wolfson 1981, 1983; Wolfson and Mane 1983; Holmes 1987; Herbert 1989, among others) Compliments are described as formulaic speech acts at the lexical, syntactic and topical levels. Status of compliments as multifunctional speech act in Moroccan Arabic was also discussed together with a review of the most salient factors affecting the performance of compliments.

The theoretical discussion of compliments draws mostly on the work of Pomerantz (1978), and Herbert (1989, 1990). A review of the relevant empirical literature on compliments is presented in this chapter. The studies included in this part constitute a sound baseline from which comparison across cultures/languages regarding the use of compliments can be effected.

To meet the objectives and the analysis´ needs in this dissertation, the employment of Discourse Completion Test questionnaires was eventually decided on as an adequate means for the collection of data. The complexity and relevance of methodological issues within social sciences and more specifically within the field of cross-cultural pragmatics, is reserved a particular attention.

PART IV is composed of four chapters (8-9-10-11) and as its title indicates, it is devoted to the quantitative analysis of the whole corpus data obtained through our informants on the use of compliments, invitations and thanks/apology.

The analysis of the data obtained is merely descriptive. The recourse to additional techniques, sucha as, inferential statistics was not contemplated in this study.

For expositive reasons, the three speech acts treated in this part are presented in a reverse order to that followed in part III of the present study. Namely, chapter 8 is centered on the design of this research, chapter 9 deals with compliments; chapter 10 is reserved to the analysis of invitations, and chapter 11focuses on the use of thanks/apology. The choice of this expositive distribution is justified by the decrescent number of variables exploited for the quantitative analysis and discussion of each of the three speech acts under study.

Chapter 8 focuses on the design of this research method and the instrumentation of the study. Particular attention, hence, was paid to the different socio-cultural and socio-linguistic variables used for the analysis of the three speech acts under study.

In this chapter, a summary of DCTs´ pros and cons was provided following, Beebe & Cummings (1996: 80) who claimed that DCT is a highly effective method to gather a large amount of data in short periods. Many possibilities are provided to create an initial classification of semantic formulae and strategies that are likely to occur in natural speech. Possibilities also to gain insights in the social and psychological factors that affect the speech act performance and to ascertain the canonical shape of speech acts in the mind of speakers of the language under study are available.

Notwithstanding, Beebe & Cummings (1996: 9) claim that DCTs are not intended to provide natural speech and, subsequently, they could not be claimed to represent, among others, the actual wording as that employed in real interaction. The whole range of formulae such as avoidance, smile, irony, and embarrassment, etc, seems to be left out. Silence, for example, to avoid a compliment is not usually captured in DCTs.

Fortunately, this was not the case with our corpus data as far as our method relied, basically, on individual interviews, and many naturally occurring nonverbal communication features were captured and taken into account for the interpretation of the speech behaviour of every individual informant.

The selection of a Discourse Completion Test questionnaire was not claimed free of bias. However, the Questionnaires were designed bearing in mind the research aims of this study and the limitations of our prospective respondents. The existing probability of illiterate respondents, for example, made it necessary to elicit data through personal and individual interviews.

This method for collecting data was rewarding in spite of being tedious, particularly, for our respondents who patiently responded to our questions for almost two long hours.

Realia was also opportunely attained, and several non-verbal features - which are present exclusively in natural talk- such as smile, ironic look, embarrassment, the tone of the voice, among others, were successfully captured in our interviews and extremely guiding in the analysis of the obtained data.

Gender was observed to be another important factor, especially, in what concerns complimenting behaviour (Knapp et al., 1984; Herbert, 1990).The focus of this research within this area was on cross-gender compliment speech events. Accordingly, the questionnaire was devised depending on the gender of the respondents. Situations were created where male respondents have to pay compliments to females and vice-versa. Whereas, in other situations, male/male, and female/female compliment paying were provided with the intention to reach a considerable understanding of the use of compliments in MA.

Age as a social parameter was reserved a particular attention in what regards compliments and invitations´ behaviour. The questionnaires were distributed to two specific age groups, i.e., the "young group" (aged between 18 and 35 years), and the "old group" (aged between 35and 60 years).

Four social contexts were considered in this study to analyse respondents´ behaviour, particularly, in formulating compliments and invitations. Compliments and invitations were to be exchanged with interactants from the *workplace* (male/female boss and male/female employee); from *friendship circles* (male/female friend); with *direct family* members, such as, (father/mother and sister/brother); with *family-in-law* members, namely (brother/sister-in-law or mother/ father-in law).

The sociolinguistic variables power (P) and distance (D), and the relationship between interactans were also accounted for in this study mainly to examine the willingness of Moroccans to pay compliments and exchange thanks/apology, and invitations with addressees of various social

and psychological distances. The social status and power of the addressees were deliberately set so that respondents would be affronted with scenarios involving various psychological distances and differing levels of social power. With regard to psychological distance, four types of distinctions were inserted.

One type was distant, as for example, to exchange invitations, and compliments with a higher status addressee (s/he boss). The second was still distant but inverted with regard to power, where these speech acts were to be exchanged with lower status interactans (s/he employee). The third scenario was set to observe respondent´s behaviour in interactions with an unknown male/female person, as a situation where high distance is involved. The fourth scenario was built as the counterpart of our third situation. Interlocutors are endowed with less distance and close relationship. In this context, respondents have to interact with a male/female friend. Type four involved interactants of less status but with a high degree of psychological distance as is the case with family-in-law (brother/sister-in-law, mother/father-in-law) as opposed to direct family relationship where psychological distance and power are almost inexistent. The choice of these situations was intended to emphasise Moroccan´s concept of distance.

The Japanese notion of "uchi" (inside(r)) and "soto" (outside(r)) (Bachnik 1994) was borrowed to highlight Moroccans´ concept of "self" and "others". Moroccans culturally set a line between "insider" and "outsider" everywhere according to perceived social and psychological distance between themselves and other people. Normally, direct family members enjoy permanent status of "insiders". Direct family members

were included as addresses in this study because Moroccan distinction of "outsiders" and "insiders" is particularly influential in establishing levels of politeness in the language. Given that the need for politeness is less required with family members. Contrarily to what usually happens regarding the biding use of politeness strategies with other social categories such as mates, friends, acquaintances, and family-in-law members.

Particular attention was also paid to the profile of the informants. A statistical description and graphical representations of the age, gender and the educational background of the respondents were provided.

Chapter 9 is exclusively reserved to the discussion of the results of the compliment behaviour of the informants in the light of the socio-cultural variables and the social contexts used for this study. Gender and cross-gender analysis in the four social contexts (workplace, with friends, direct-family, and family-in-law members) suggests that male informants are reticent to use compliments on physical appearance and apparel with female informants. This is coherent with Moroccan males´ concept of virility where the use of compliments in general is considered effeminate and "Women´s stuff".

The attitude of the informants as to the use of the *complement* of compliment, namely the use of *blessing* with compliments is also discussed in this chapter. The results obtained validate the use of this politeness strategy and confirms the extension of the belief in the *evil-eye* among –at least- 50% of the informants.

Chapter 10 deals with the quantitative analysis of invitation and it is introduced by a revision of the patterns of invitation in the speech of Moroccans. Aristotle´s theory of persuasion and the concepts of *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* were borrowed to discuss informants´ tendency to resort to *swearing* as a politeness strategy to persuade potential invitees, who do not belong to direct-family or intimate friends contexts, to accept the invitation.

Chapter 11 focuses on the discussion of the behaviour of the informants in the use of *Smahli* (sorry), or *shukran* (thanks) as expressions of gratitude depending on the role-relationship of the respondents with their interactants in the different social contexts and the speech events provided for the study of this speech act.

Part V is reserved to general conclusions and pedagogical implications of this study.

Chapter 12 encloses a summary of the different chapters in the light of my research questions, as well as, a synopsis of the most outstanding conclusions in relation to the three speech acts approached in the present dissertation.

A discussion of the pedagogical implications of the present study and suggestions for further research were also proposed.

Part I contextualization of the study

CHAPTER ONE

Chapter 1: Moroccans in Spain

1.1. Brief historical account of Moroccan Migration

In this introductory chapter, we will start with a global description of Morocco, with the aim primarily to situate the reader within the socio-cultural scope of this country, and to justify the relevance of my choice to investigate MA. A brief overview of the history of Morocco will be provided together with a concise description of the economical situation. Then -central to our research – is to provide a general account of the tradition of migration of Moroccans to Europe as a whole and to Spain particularly.

1.2. Brief account of the history and the economical situation of Morocco

1.2.1. History

The strategic position of Morocco has affected its history. It was the territory for many invasions and re-invasions either for trade as was the case during the Phoenician period, when many foreigners came to the area for trade; or as invaders to successively rule the country, like Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, and byzantine Greeks and at last the Arab settlement in 1649.

As early as 1803, France showed a strong interest in Morocco´s strategic location and its natural resources. In 1906, the United Kingdom recognized Morocco as a French "sphere of influence" and entrusted the policing of Morocco to France and Spain jointly. After the treaty of Fez

(1912), Morocco was declared a protectorate of France and Spain assumed the power over the northern and southern zones. After almost half a century of colonialism, independence was restored on the 2nd of March 1956.

1.2.2. The economic situation

The economy of Morocco relies mainly on Phosphates and its derivatives. This mineral covers more than a quarter of Moroccan exports. It is considered one of the most fertile sectors of Moroccan industry. Agriculture plays a leading role in the economy of the country and covers an average of 20% of the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P), and provides employment to 40% of local work force. The secondary sector represents about 1/3 of the G.D.P where manufacturing industry, mining industry and other sectors, are included. However, and in spite of the natural richness of this country, unemployment seems to be the most direct reason for the establishment of Moroccan tradition of emigration. According to Hamdouch (2000), by the 60´s unemployment represented only 17% of the causes for emigration, contrarily to the opinion obtained in the 90´s, where 41% of the answers obtained, pointed to unemployment as the main cause for emigration.

1.3. Review of the history of Migration

The colonial era, marked the beginning of labour migration to France. During the First World War, an urgent lack of manpower in France led to the active recruitment of Moroccan men for the army, industry and mines (Obejin, 1993). They were predominantly recruited near Agadir and Tiznit in the southwestern souss region (Bonnet and Bossart, 1973).

Between 1914 and 1918, more than 35,000 Moroccan left to France and between 34,000 and 40.000 joined the French army (Muus, 1995: 198). After the end of the war, most migrants returned and the international migration resumed by 1920. With the French flourishing economy around 1929, more than 20.000 Moroccan migrants worked in France. Then they were sent back with the Great Depression of 1930 (Obejin, 1993).

In Spain, about 40.000 Riffans found employment in Franco´s army during the Spanish civil war and in the auxiliary troops in Spanish Morocco (De Mas, 1991: 113). Apart from soldiers and a small group of merchants, labour migration from Morocco to Spain was negligible. Until 1960, Spain itself was a source of labour to Northern Europe and even to Algeria (Lopez Garcia, 1999). During the Second World War and the subsequent war in Korea and Indochina, again 126.000 Moroccan were recruited in the French Army and most of them returned after the end of the war (Bidwell, 1973).

1.3.1. The great migration boom (1963-1972)

The economic growth in northwest Europe after the Second World War boosted shortage of unskilled labour especially in sectors such as industry, mining, housing and agriculture. This triggered an increasing emigration of "guest workers" from poorer countries around the Mediterranean. Up to 1960, most immigrants were from south European countries, and when it stagnated, attention shifted to south Mediterranean countries. Moreover, agreements on the recruitment of "guest workers" were signed between Morocco and former West Germany (1963), Belgium

(1964) and the Netherlands (1969). This was the starting point of official immigration of Moroccans that reached its peak by 1972.

1.3.2. Diversification of migration patterns

Migration patterns of the colonial and the post-colonial period started a modified continuation and spatial broadening where new destinations emerged. By mid-1980, former labour exporters such as Spain, Italy and even Portugal became the new destination for Moroccans who found employment in agriculture and construction fields.

1.4. The socio economical profile of Moroccans in Spain

The country "par excellence" for immigration in Spain is Morocco. According to the statistics, (Eurostat, 2001) the number of legal Moroccans residing in Spain ascended to 160.000 and probably the number would be higher if we include the illegal migrants.

The geographical proximities (only 14 Km separate Spain physically from Morocco) make the movement of Moroccans to Spain easy. Although Spain is not considered among the richest countries of Europe and Morocco has higher standards of living than most other African countries, today Spain presents a migration panorama quite similar to that found in other European countries that count with a longer history as a destination of migration.

1.4.1. Evolution of Moroccan Immigration in Spain

Evolution of Moroccan Immigration in Spain (1996-2007)
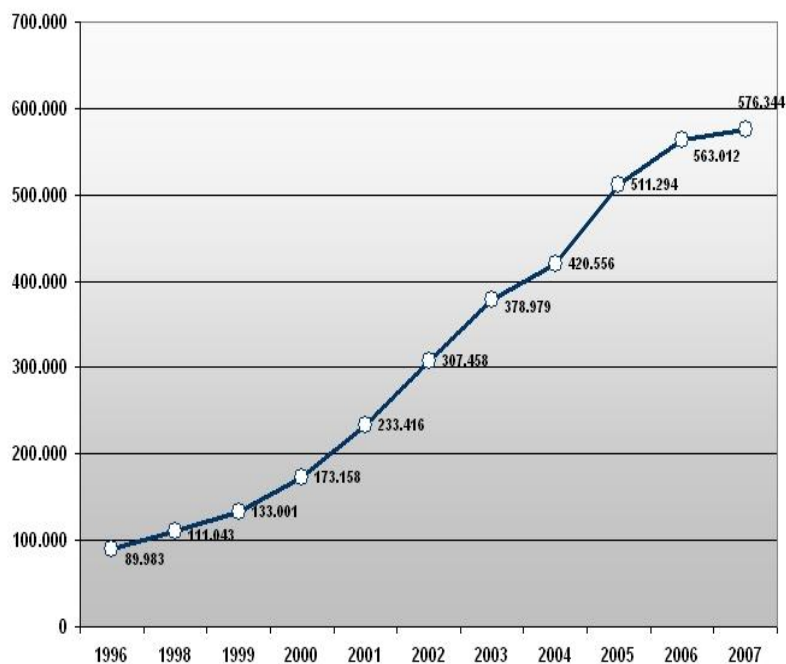
Fuente: INE, avance del padrón 2007 (datos provisionales)
Elaboración: Equipo TEIM

The line graph displays the evolution of Moroccan immigration in Spain from 1996 to 2007. We can see that the total of immigrants in 1996 was 89.983, and by the year 2007 it had grown to 576.344. This increase is leagued to the rapid economic growth in Spain over these years, and the substantial need for unskilled labour, mainly in sectors such as construction, tourism and services as a social phenomenon tightly associated with the progress in the educational level of Spanish women and their considerable access to labour market. Agriculture also offered opportunities for the incorporation of immigrants to satisfy the immense, though, seasonal demand. In the field of construction, the period reflected

in the chart represents the golden era for the high activity and the extensive promotion of this sector.

1.4.2. Geographical distribution of Moroccan immigrants in Spain

Geographical distribution of Moroccan immigrants in Spain

Fuente: INE, avance del padrón 2007 (datos provisionales)
Elaboración: Equipo TEIM
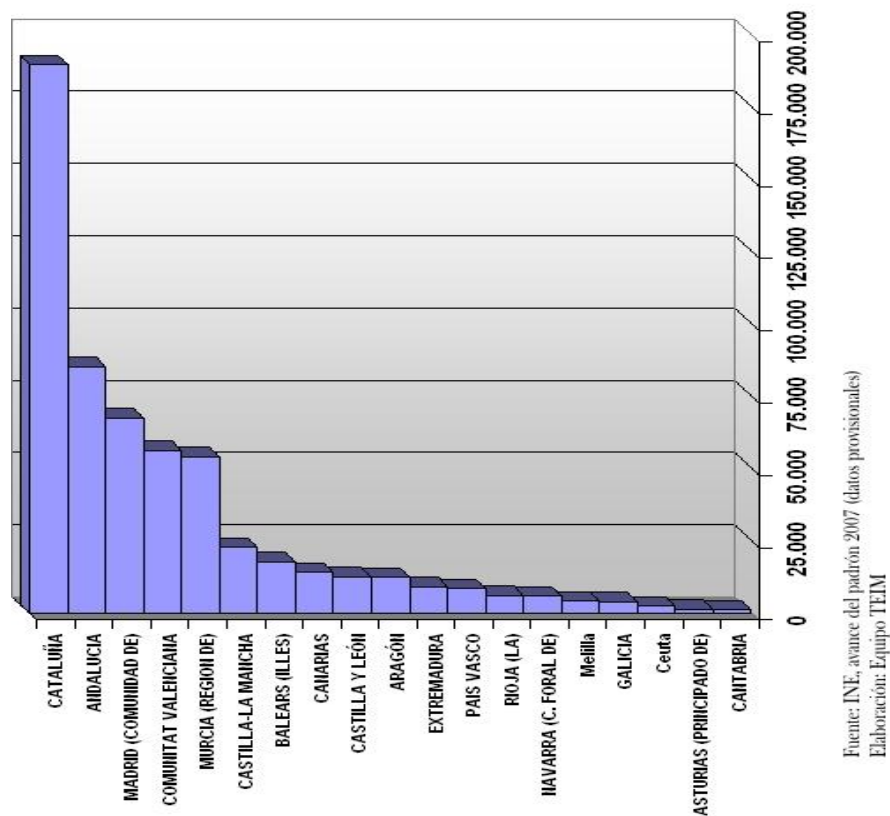
As we can observe from the chart, Cataluña stands at the head of the Spanish communities where major inflow of immigrants is registered (more than 175.000. Andalucia is the second region with major concentration of Moroccan immigrants. A probable reason for this tendency in this region is its reputation for proliferating agricultural activities. Madrid figures as the third community, with an estimated number around 60.00 immigrants.

Successively, we find the Valencian Community with a number slightly minor than that found in the mentioned Communities. The rest of Spanish regions show an irregular distribution with a less important concentration of Moroccan immigrants.

1.4.3. Evolution of Moroccan Immigration in the Valencian Community

Evolution of Moroccan Immigration in Valencian Community (1996-2006)
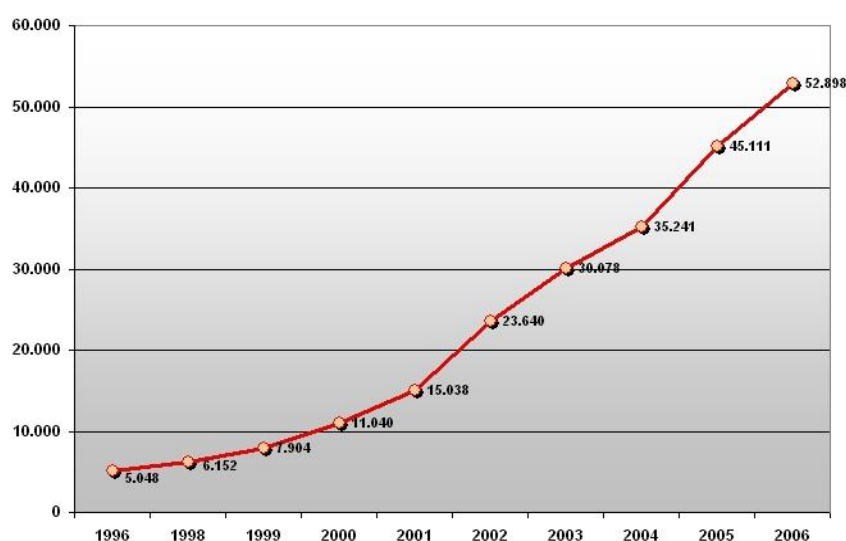
Fuente: INE, padrones, 1996-2006
Elaboración: Equipo TEIM

The Valencian Community is the fourth region of Spain in number of immigrants. The agricultural sector and its contiguant industries such as stoking and export which characterise this region worked as a "pull" factor for immigrants. As we can observe in the chart, the number of immigrants grew fractionally through 1996 up to 2006 with an estimated growth of 1000% in a period of 10 years with a rate increase of 100% per year.

1.4.4. Distribution of Moroccan migrants in theValencian Provinces

Distribution of Moroccan migrants in Valencian Provinces

Fuente: INE, padrón 2006
Elaboración: Equipo TEIM
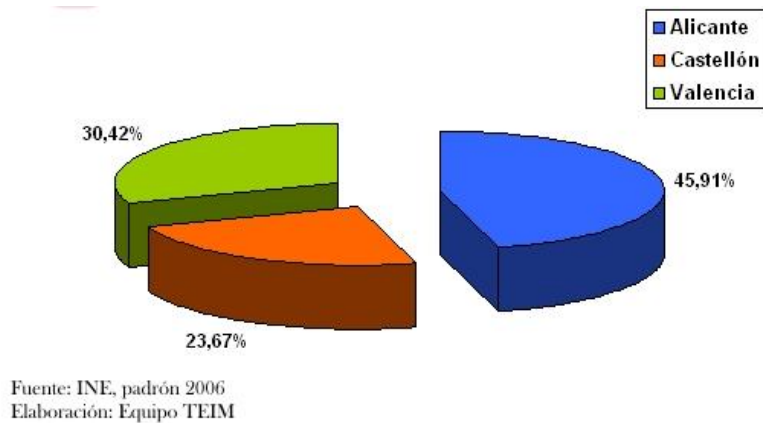
The pie chart reflects the distribution of Moroccan migrants in the Valencian Community and its respective Provinces. As we can see from the chart, the Province of Alicante is the destination of 45.91% of the total number of Moroccan migrants registered in the Valencian Community. Valencia, the Capital of the Community represented in this chart, stands in the second rank in number of Moroccan immigrants (30.42%). Castellon, however, albeit it is well known for its prosperous agricultural activities, tile industry and export (especially oranges), is the least region in number of Moroccan immigrants, i.e., (23.65%).

1.5. The socio-cultural implication of being Moroccan in Spain

Over recent years, Moroccans ranged among the most numerous immigrant group settled in Spain (Lopez Garcia, 1996; Lopez Garcia et al, 2004). During the last centuries, considerable controversy has characterized the political and social relations between these two countries. The social interact between Moroccans and Spanish could probably be adequately defined as frictional and explicitly at odds. Martin Corales (2002), in his study on the image of the Maghrebis in Spain, illustrated excellently this statement in his claim that "from an analysis of the Spanish bibliography dealing with Hispano-Maghrebi relations, there is no doubt that the image the Spaniards had of the others (in this case, the Moroccans) between the 16th and 20th centuries was mainly negative. This is shown by the fact that stereotypes and clichés coined throughout centuries are still with us today" (Martin Corales, 2002: 247, cit. in Aixelà, 2007: 84). Many more field studies, mainly with particular focus on the Spanish regions of major settlement of Moroccan migrants, have corroborated the social rejection and the "deteriorated" image of Moroccans in the host country. Worth mentioning is the work by Morera (1999) on the Muslims in Barcelona, and the study of Lacomba (2001) in the case of Valencia.

This negative evaluation of Moroccans is deeply rooted in the Hispano-Moroccan politico-economical fluctuating relationship.

What is today known about the reputation of Moroccan migrants is the declared social result of a substantial array of economical and political discord that enhanced the discrimination of this group in the host country.

In the last ten years, many political, social and economic sectors believe that the Spanish capacity to receive and integrate immigrants will soon

reach its limits, thus creating social alarm due to various fictitious ideas that do not correspond to Spanish reality. (Marrero, 2005: 414). Initially, the number of foreigners living in Spain is substantially lower (with an average of 6% of the total population) if we compare it to other countries such as Germany, Austria, or Belgium, where the number of foreigners ascends to 9%.

Among the 6% of total population of foreigners settled in Spain, 34.74% resort from the European Community and are therefore considered "rich migrants" who have European Citizenship rights, while the other 65.26% of foreigners come from developing countries, and are regarded as "economic migrants".

According to some institutional sources, the history of Spain as a host country started as late as the 80´s and between 1996 and 2004 the number of migrants tripled from 1.5% to 6% of the total Spanish population. This rapid rhythm of migration flows and the explicit absence of experience of the Spanish administration in migration affairs were probably the prima facie reason for this feeling of social alarm about immigrants in general, and about the Moroccan group, in particular. In the last decade, Moroccan migrants were surrounded by negative sensationalist impressions and reprehensible opinions like "avalanche", "massive invasion", "immense, elephantine, gigantic" group.

CHAPTER TWO

Chapter 2: The socio-linguistic profile of Morocco

2.1. Morocco as a multilingual community

Morocco´s strategic situation at the cross road between Africa and Europe and its recent history of colonization is the major source for the Moroccan rich ethno-linguistic *patrimoine*. Though the original language was Berber and its varieties, today, Moroccan Arabic is the mother tongue of most Moroccans.

Most accounts describe Morocco as a multilingual community where most Moroccans speak at least two of the five co-existing languages[1], namely, Berber, Moroccan Arabic (MA), Classical Arabic (CA), French and Spanish.

Berber is the language of the aboriginals of Morocco and of all Northern Africa as well, and the first contact of Moroccans with CA was through the conquest of the Arabs from the east in the 7th century A.D, and through the process of conversion to Islam. CA is today the official language of all Arab countries and it is used in press, in politic activities, in religious ceremonies and in the educational programs. CA is the symbol of unity of all Arab countries and a highly esteemed language by Arabs especially Muslims who consider it sacred for being the language of the

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[1] With the aim of updating the geo-linguistic map of Morocco, it is worth mentioning that the Moroccan community counts with "six" and not "five" languages as it has been claimed up to the date considering the existence of the Hassani language. This language is a variety of Arabic spoken in the area from Layyoun down to the Moroccan border with Mauritania, a territory integrated into Moroccan political map since 1974. During the Spanish protectorate, this region was referred to as the Occidental Sahara.
 The absence of mention of this language is probably not due to neglect, but rather to its recent integration in the political map of Morocco after its independence from the Spanish protectorate.

Koran, `the eternal word of God´ as well as `a transcript of our eternal book, sublime and full of wisdom´(Dawood, 1975, cit. in Gravel, 1979: 83).

As a natural evolution of CA, we find Modern Standard Arabic (M.S.A), which is used today in all Arab countries as a manifest of progress and adaptation to the modern world where the coinage and the use of technical and scientific terms is a *must*. To express this in terms of Youssi (1977), (M.S.A) is the language of argumentation and vulgarization of ideas pertaining to politics, science, medicine, technical procedures, theatre and sport. (M.S.A) is exclusively spoken by educated people and in mass- media. (M.S.A) shares the same syntax and morphology with C.A though they differ with respect to lexis.

Within this process of invasion of the Arabic language and its consequent establishment (on the cost of Berber) as the official language of Morocco, we arrive at the process of colonization of Morocco by both France and Spain. The French settlers used the French language as a policy of expansion meant to annex and gain ground over the Moroccan culture and language. French was introduced and inculcated to Moroccans as the language of civilization and progress so it becomes the language of instruction at different levels of educational programs from the primary to university levels. All this has guaranteed the diffusion of the French language and has created a prosperous climate for the emergence of a large elite completely assimilated into the French culture and reaching a native-like proficiency in French. Whereas Arabic was reduced to a language

taught in Coranic schools, known as "M´sid"[2] which are nor public nor private, and normally situated in/or in the proximities of Mosques and usually ruled thanks to collective funds and donations, but not by the state. These schools were the only institution where children could learn the Arabic language, and as a secondary level they could go to "M´dersas"[3], and those who wanted to continue their studies, they were admitted to the University of Karaouiyine in Fes.

The impact of the French linguistic invasion is still obvious in the speech behaviour of Moroccans even after independence was achieved. Despite the government attempts of Arabi-zation of the school and the administration, Moroccans still use French or a kind of "Russian salad" language, where French and Arabic are inter-mingled. The language spoken today by Moroccans is almost intelligible for Arabic speakers from other Arab countries. This sociolinguistic phenomenon has been the central focus of many studies for the fact of been a good example of code switching. Up to the date, French is still used in Moroccan administration so the government is attempting to replace it by Arabic. Nevertheless, the process of Arabi-zation seems to be slow and with little margin to be totally achieved. However, in the present, French is solely taught as a foreign language and there appear a shy detachment from the sequels of the French linguistic and cultural colonialism.

Unlike with French, the Spanish language was introduced gradually and through a longer period of history considering that Melilla fell under

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[2] "m´sid" is a corruption of the Word "Masjid" (C.A) <the Mosque> and it refers to the schools where Coran is usually taught to children at early age. These schools are a kind of nursery schools and they are normally situated in or next to the Mosque.

[3] "M´dersa" is another corruption of the Word "Madrassah" (C.A.) <school>.

the Spanish protectorate as early as 1497. Nevertheless, Spanish could hardly interfere in the linguistic and cultural scene of Morocco. More importantly, the use of Spanish language never went beyond the northern part of Morocco and the Moroccan Sahara and it never penetrated in the educational or administrative domains as French did. As is the case with French, today Spanish is also learned as a foreign language at the secondary school level.

2.2. Berber/Tamazight: language and history

Within this complicated sociolinguistic panorama, Berber has survived to all these invasions and re-invasions taking refuge in the mountain as if waiting for better social climate to reappear. During decades, Berber was neglected as a language and Berbers were considered Moroccans of "second type". To speak Berber was synonym of under-civilization. As an approximation to the linguistic persecution that Berber has lived as a language and as a culture, we find the case of "Valenciano" in Valencia the Capital city of Comunidad Valenciana where those who speak Valenciano were identified as "gent de poble" (in Valenciano) <country people> as a pejorative denomination. Similar to this sociolinguistic infra-evaluation we find the appellative "3robi" MA <country man> used by Arabic speaking Moroccans to Berbers to denote a lack of "civism" and culture. However, if we consider the etymology of the word "3robi" we think that the word "3robi" is a corruption of "3arabi" (C.A) meaning someone who speaks Arabic as a pejorative appellative to those who speak Arabic in a time where Berber was the dominant language in Morocco and Arabic was the language of the "invader". I t can also be a corruption of the word "A3rabi" from (C.A) meaning also "country man".

Even the word "Berber" is pejorative in itself, or at least this is how it could be understood granting that Berbers never refer to themselves as Berbers but as "Imazighen" plr. of "Amazigh" <free man> who speak "Tamazight" i.e.: the Berber language.

Tamazight is classified as belonging to the Afro-asiatic branch and descending from the Proto-Afro-Asiatic language. From a linguistic migration theory, and as it is stated by historical linguists, (c.f. Igor Diakonoff and Cristopher Ethret[4]) Berber is believed to have existed in Eastern Africa 12.000 years ago. However, Berbers today are located principally in Northern Africa and it represents an estimated population of 36 million Berber speaker distributed in countries all over the world[5]. The most representative country in what concern the density of Berber population is Morocco (18.980.000) then Algeria (12.800.000) also in Niger (1000.000); Mali (700.000); Libya (280.000); Mauritania (150.000); Tunisia (130.000); Israel /100.000); Egypt (20.000) (see map bellow). Moreover, and as consequence of the flux of emigration to Europe, Today we find large communities of Berbers settled in some of the European countries such as France with a total of (1.200.000); Spain (850.000); Netherlands (120.000) and Belgium (115.000)[6].

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[4] See: www.answers.com

[5] See: www.answers.com/topic/berber-people

[6] See: www.answer.com/topic/berber-people
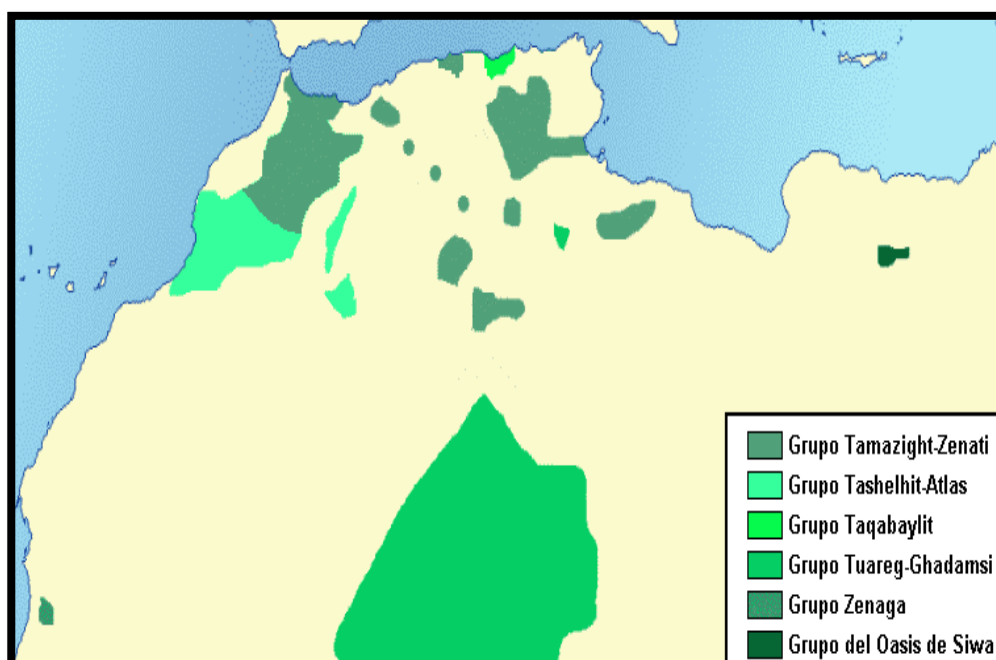
The distribution of Berbers in Africa[7]

The most outstanding cultural patrimony of Imazighen/Berbers is their mysterious alphabet (as illustrated in the chart below) which is reported to have similar characteristics of a language which was used in the antiquity (i.e.: Inscriptions on tombs and monuments) and which was known as the "Tifnakh". This script is reported to derive probably from the Phoenician alphabet.

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[7] See: : www.answers.com

"Tirra n tmaziyt" (the alphabet of Tamazight/ Berber)[8]

o	Θ	Ӿ	Ӿ□	٨	Е	÷	Ӂ	Ʀ	Ʀ□	⊕
ya	yab	yag	yagʷ	yad	yaḍ	yey	yaf	yak	yakʷ	yah
a	b	g	gʷ	d	ḍ	e	f	k	kʷ	h
[a]	[b]	[g]	[gʷ]	[d]	[ɖ]	[e]	[f]	[k]	[kʷ]	[h]
⋏	⊓	Ӿ	Ʋ	Ƹ	I	H	Ɛ	I	°	O
yaḥ	yaɛ	yax	yaq	yi	yaj	yal	yam	yan	yu	yar
ḥ	ɛ	x	q	i	j	l	m	n	u	r
[ħ]	[ɛ]	[x]	[q]	[i]	[ʒ]	[l]	[m]	[n]	[u]	[r]
Q	Ⴢ	Ⴖ	Ø	C	+	Ɛ	U	⌁	Ӿ	Ӿ
yaṛ	yagh	yas	yaṣ	yac	yat	yaṭ	yaw	yay	yaz	yaẓ
ṛ	gh	s	ṣ	c	t	ṭ	w	y	z	ẓ
[ʳ]	[ɣ]	[s]	[ʂ]	[ʃ]	[t]	[ɫ]	[w]	[j]	[z]	[ɛ]

Tamazight is composed of 38 consonants and only 3 vowels (a, i, u), and to be able to write it in Latin letters many diacritical marks and letter pairing are used: i.e. The "th", which represents a sound similar to "th", as in the English verb "think". "kh" similar to "J" in Spanish word "jardin". "gh", which we can find in the word "Tamazight" itself, represents a phonetic variant of "r" equivalent to the now used "$" symbol in Berber to represent a sound which belongs to the class of "fricatives" similar to the French "r[9]".

In what concerns grammar, the word order commonly found in European languages, for example (S+V+C) is converted into (V+S+C) in Tamazight[10].

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[8] See: http://wiki.verbix.com/uploads/Category/Tifinagh01.gif retrieved (16/05/2010)

[9] The author is bilingual in Arabic and Tamazight. The Berber used for the illustrations belongs to the variety spoken in medium Atlas and the phonetic and grammar information provided here is based on my personal knowledge of this language.

[10] See: Berber@everything2.com

Accordingly, a sentence like "the boy drank the water" in English, will be "drank the boy water" in Tamazight i.e.: "yeswa l3il aman[11]" (T). Variations as to tense, gender and number are also found. In English for example, the tense-marker or number-marker are achieved through "concatenation" i.e.: the adding of a corresponding word-end as in "happen / happen**ed"**, or "one table / two table**s"**. In Tamazight, the marker of plural, for example, is achieved through a partial transformation of the word as in "ariaz" sing. <man> becomes "irizen" pl. or in some other instances, it is converted into a new word. i.e.: "tamtot" sing. <woman/wife, also> becomes "ti3iyalin" pl. <women>; "tharbat" sing. <girl> is converted in "thishirrathin" pl <girls>; " l3il" sing. <boy> becomes "l´washun" pl. <boys>. Many more grammatical aspects could be provided to explain how Tamazight works and some of its underlying grammar rules but it is beyond the scope of this paper and we keep it for a future work on Tamazight as a language).

Nowadays, this alphabet has become the symbol of identity claim and recuperation.

2.2.1. A chronological account of Imazighen (Berbers)

The history of Imazighen/Berbers goes back to ancient Egyptian times. The name "Berbers" or "Barbarians" is the appellative Romans used for speakers of intelligible languages, standing in the tradition of Greeks who also used the same term. The Berbers are geographically situated in a

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[11] the Berber sentence provided in this example is from Tamazight as a Berber variety spoken in the area of Medium Atlas and it shows some differences at the level of lexis in comparison with the two other varieties of Berber which are spoken in Morocco such as the "Rifi" Berber / "Tarifit" which is spoken in the north of this country and the "Soussi" Berber/ "Tashelhit" spoken in the South. For example: the word "l3il" in Tamazight corresponds to the word "afrukh" in soussi Berber.

geographical extension from the north Africa to west of the Nile Valley (in Egypt) and they are discontinuously distributed from the Atlantic to the Siwa oasis, in Egypt, and from the Mediterranean to the Niger rivers (see, E. Gellner, 1969 ; E. Gellner and C. Micaud, 1972; J. Waterbury, 1972[12])

Despite the succession of invasions, the Berbers have kept their culture homogenous. Their existence remounts to 2400 B.C as some Egyptian tomb paintings indicate. The history of Berbers is almost mysterious, though some theories situate them in the Canaanites, the Phoenicians, also the Celts, the Basques and the Caucasians. It was also reported that most Berbers were Christian and some other tribes were Jewish up to their conversion to Islam with the Arab conquest in the 7th century.

2.2.2. Moroccan Berbers

The most representative population of Berber is located in Morocco. Nearly 40% of Moroccans are Berber speakers if we consider blood-tights, may be 60% of Moroccans are Berbers despite the nation´s identification as Arab and despite the establishment of Arabic as the official language.

The three existing varieties of Berber in Morocco are found in the north as mentioned earlier, there exist three varieties of Berber Today, Berbers live mainly in Morocco with an estimated population of 40% of total inhabitants, Algeria (8-15%), Tunisia and Libya[13],

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[12] See www. Answers.com

[13] Most of the statistics provided here are just approximations for the absence of a reliable census of the real population of Berbers.

2.3. Moroccan Arabic: Varieties and accents

After this brief historical overview of the function and the status of the languages that exist in Morocco, we will be concerned in the following paragraph about Moroccan Arabic and its deriving varieties and accents.

Moroccan Arabic is rated as low (L) in a diaglossic relation with Modern Standard Arabic usually considered as high (H), (Ferguson, 1979). However, M.A is the mother tongue of Moroccans and it is the most practical and the only means of communication used by most Moroccans[14].

M.A is known in Morocco as *"Darija"* and it has no written form. It is exclusively used as a spoken language. M.A shares many properties with the C.A to put it as Gravel, (1979) and Bentahila, (1983) claim, M.A and C.A exhibit many variations as far as phonology, syntax and morphology are concerned. Despite the historical relation of M.A and C.A, the origin of M.A and the other similar "low" languages spoken in Morocco and in every Arab country in Parallel with C.A, was a matter of controversy for many linguists. Consequently, three different theories were founded to delimit the origin of these low varieties. The first one situates these varieties as derived from C.A and representing a linguistic continuum of C.A. whereas the second theory views these varieties as pertaining to a spoken language, which existed side-by-side with the formal and the written C.A (Ferguson, 1979: 616-630). The different Arabic "dialects" which are in use in the different Arab countries [15] are referred to as "Arabic

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[14] Moroccan Arabic is also spoken by the Berber community. Most Berbers are completely bilingual and are able to use both (M.A) and Berber ambivalently.

[15] Every Arabic country has its own Arabic dialect as illustrated in what follows: Algerian dialect (D), Tunisian (D), Lybian (D), Egyptian (D), Libanese (D), Jordan(d), Sirian (D), Palestinian(D), Sudanese(D), Khaliji (D) ("Khaliji" refers to the Arabic Dialects spoken in the Gulf countries), etc.

Koiné" and finally, the third theory which states that these low varieties have developed from different Koinés.

From a contrastive point of view, M.A exhibits many variations in comparison with C.A in what concern lexis, syntax and phonology. C.A Phonemes like /ð/, /ð/ and /θ/ are actually realized as /d/, /ḍ/ and /t/ and referring to lexis, the lexical repertoire of M.A is marked by an exaggerated borrowing from French, Spanish and Berber. In some cases, we find instances where some borrowed words do no longer serve the same meaning as in the language they are borrowed from.

On the syntactic level, however, M.A seems to have a more simplified system of inflection in comparison with C.A. This fact endows M.A with more freedom in what concerns word order. M.A is also void of duality and the feminine plural and case endings are distorted.

In what concerns tense, the time of the action is not clearly segmented as in English or French (c.f. Meziani, 1985: 190). Contrarily, in M.A the action is projected as fulfilled or not fulfilled, that is, any action performed at a specific point is an action done in the past of that point, or, on the contrary, any action not completed is considered present. Mainly, accomplished actions are marked by forms used as prefixes of the verb as, for example, /ghadi/ is used to announce futurity and /rah/ to describe an action in progress. To put it as (Meziani, 1985: 190) claims:

> "The M.A verb has in and of itself no reference to the temporal relations of the S (speaker). It is concerned rather with the realization of a process or event."

Consequently, in M.A, the speakers have recourse to periphrastic forms, i.e.: adverbs of time, to refer to a specific time.

2.3.1. Geo-linguistic distribution of MA

Apparently, M.A is identified and defined as the language spoken by all Moroccans but the geo-linguistic reality is different. Ennaji (1985) and
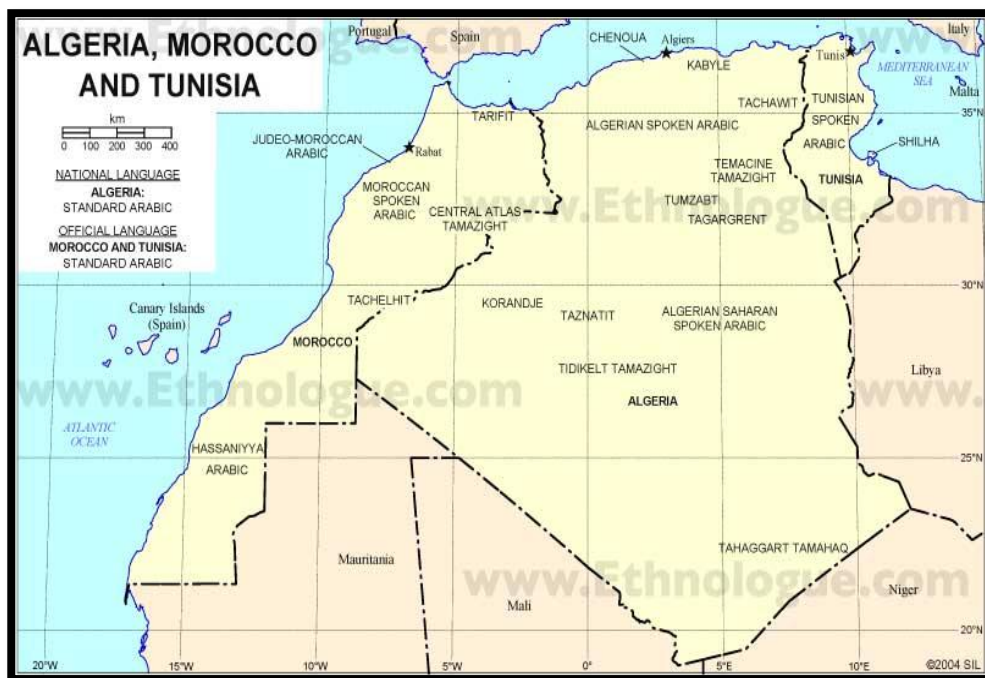
Gordon, Raymond G. (2005)

Gravel (1979) stated that MA is composed of five regional dialects which have common syntax and morphology but which have their own distinctive features.

Starting from the North, we find the Tanji dialect, which is spoken in Tangier. Though it takes its name from Tangier, this dialect is also spoken in Tetouan and Larache. Due to the geographical proximity and the recent history of Spanish colonialism, this dialect is characterized by the integration and use of many Spanish lexical items. Considering the

phonological level, (Gravel, 1979: 91) states the Tanji phonological inventory includes a big number of diphthongs.

In the north east of Morocco and up to the Morocco-Algerian border, the dialect spoken in this area is Oujdi, namely from Oujda. This dialect is characterized by its similarity to Algerian Arabic rather than to M.A as a result of the immediate contact with Algerians and possibly due to the settlement in this area of Algerians who escaped from the war with France in the sixties.

In the western and the central parts of Morocco, the dialect spoken is "Casablancais" which is not only found in Casablanca but also in the surrounding rural areas of this city. The most salient feature of this variety as (Gravel, 1979: 90) states is the insertion of the pronoun /tta/ <you> just before any imperative to give more emphasis to the petition. However, this practice is not common among all "Casablancais" but rather among some uneducated people.

In the area of Fès and Rabat we find the Fassi and Rbati dialects respectively. These dialects, as is the case with the Tanji dialect, show a phonological alteration as to the pronunciation of the phoneme /g/ which is realized as /q/ or in some other instances as /?/. Another phonological particularity about the Fassi dialect is the realization of /r/ as a velar sound instead of apical flapped sound.

Getting to the south of Morocco, we find the Marrakshi dialect, which is spoken not only in Marrakesh, but also rather in all the neighbouring areas of this city. The Marrakshi dialect is characterized by

the realization of /g/ instead of /q/ we find in Fassi and Tanji dialects and in CA; or /ʔ/ also found in the mentioned dialects as well as in the Egyptian dialect. Another distinctive phonological aspect of the Marrakshi dialect is the dropping of the velar sound /ġ/ exclusively in the word "bgha" <want>, which is pronounced as /ba/.

In addition to these varieties of MA we consider opportune to mention the existence of other dialect varieties on which few studies have been reported, namely, the Judeo-Moroccan Arabic, possibly, due to the lack of particular location of the Jewish community in a particular region of Morocco. Or probably, thanks to the harmonious convivance and the absence of exclusion of this community within Morocco, Jews were found in different cities of Morocco especially in some districts called "Mellah" also known as <juderias> in Spanish <Jewish quarter/district> where Jews used to live and where many of their commercial activities (mainly gold-smiths) were concentrated. The Jewish Moroccan Arabic is reputed for sharing with Fassi and Tanji dialects the phonological characteristic of realizing the phoneme/q/ as /ʔ/.

Hassani Arabic is also now integrated in the geo-linguistic map of Morocco since the independence of the Occidental Sahara from the Spanish colonizers and its integration in the Moroccan political map. The Hassani Arabic or "Hassanyia" is the language spoken by natives of the geographical area located from Layyoun down to morocco-Mauritanian border. This linguistic variety stands more as a variety of Arabic in a macro representation of the different varieties of Arabic spoken in the Arabic world than as a variety of Moroccan Arabic.

PART II
Methodological framework and general research objectives

CHAPTER THREE

Chapter 3: Methodological framework

Introduction

It is a truism to state that the purely linguistic level, i.e. grammar, phonology and lexis, of any given language is of necessity enclosed into the socio-cultural reality in which languages are immersed. Particularly, inspired by the relatively recent developments in the field of pragmatics (and its connection with sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, linguistic anthropology, discourse analysis, second language learning/acquisition and cross-cultural research) recent studies have embraced a pronounced culture-sensitive stand. This in turn has led to the integration of wide range of socio-cultural factors that put away the traditionally claimed trilogy, i.e. grammar, phonology and lexis, and the communication between native and non-native speakers has consequently been progressively perceived as not simply inter-linguistic but also intercultural.

3.1. Intercultural communication

The notion of intercultural communication is rather complex. Banks et al. (1991) introduce their intercultural miscommunication by yielding the existence of two initial "obstacles" that hint to a lack of accord, on the part of the academic community, about the two components of the concept, i.e., *inter-cultural* and *miscommunication*.

First, what is meant by "miscommunication" is often ambiguous and varies among intercultural studies; and second, `what constitutes the realm

of intercultural encounters is not universally agreed upon´ (Banks et al., 1991: 103)

The term intercultural has been typically used to denote encounters between members of large cultural groups, namely different countries or ethnicities. However, scholars as Thomas (1983) and Cameron (1995) have claimed that intercultural does not simply refer to these two contexts, but it can be adequate term for other social settings, i.e., male female communication, intergenerational talk and even communication involving members of different social / professional backgrounds such as doctor-patient or, legal practitioner-client interaction.

3.2. Culture

The subject of culture in intercultural communication is surrounded by the intrinsic difficulty[16] of reaching an agreement on what is denoted by the term culture in the first place, and considering its relevance to our study, to some extent it preludes a revision of the various conceptualization of the term culture.

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[16] Since its coinage in the 16th century (Harper Douglas, 2001), the term "culture" covered different concepts and definitions. Stemming originally from the Latin word "colere" meaning "to cultivate", Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, 1952 compiled a list of 164 definition of culture. However, the word culture was commonly used in three basic senses, i.e. "Excellence of taste in the fine arts and humanities, also known as high culture"; or as "An integrated pattern of human belief, and behavior that depends on the capacity for symbolic thought and learning"; as well as "The set of shared attitudes, values, goals and practices that characterizes an institution, organization or group.

3.2.1. The cultural anthropological perspective

The problems speakers from different cultures find in interpreting others´ norms "based on generic cultural types" (Banks et al., 1991: 109, emphasis added) are located within this perspective. Individuals are perceived as representatives of different cultures. Assante et al. (1979) identify two groups within this perspective on the basis of their research objectives. The first school of researchers known as *cultural dialogists* assign priority to the foundation of a humanistic approach to communication theory and practice that would promote world understanding. The second group, labeled *cultural criticism* intends to identify as object of research those aspects of divergence between cultures.

Sarangi (1995), claims that both schools depart from common ground mainly because they share the same concern for the investigation of differences across cultures. He further argues that, despite the recognition of the function of language in the exhibition of cultural differences, these studies claim that "cultural problems are more significant than linguistic problems" (Sarangi, 1995: 410), and they keep an analytical disconnection between language and culture.

With regard to this framework, cultures are evaluated in terms of generic cultural values that decisively affect the result of communication endeavour. The study led by Hall (1976), applied subsequently by several intercultural communication theorists to particular cultural variables, obey this approach. Hall argues that cultures show a tendency towards *High Context* communication and *Low Context* communication. *High Context* refers a form of communication where most of mutual information is taken

for granted and thus little information emitted. Conversely, by *Low context* he points to a way of communication where little mutual information is assumed and most information is emitted. The concept of *High context / Low context* communication has been exploited in different manners, namely, as conveying directness/indirectness and exaggeration/ understatement, or individualism/collectivism (Cohen 1987). Likewise, correlation was set up, on some occasions, between these generic variables and intercultural communication. Tirandis and Hui (1988) have argued that collectivist cultures with their group-centeredness tendency can promote mismatch of group exclusivity, as adversity in the mind of members of individualistic cultures who might feel offended.

3.2.2 The interactional/sociolinguistic and the cross-cultural pragmatic perspectives

This approach (that can be further subdivided) emerged partly as a reaction to the cultural anthropological perspective, which does not pay much attention to the linguistic and interactional data.

3.2.3. The interactional/sociolinguistic approach

Gumperz, as a leading scholar in sociolinguistic and interethnic communication research, used two concepts that are central to this discussion: *contextualization cues* and *socio-cultural knowledge.*

Contextualization cues refer to "constellations of surface features of message form" (Gumperz 1982a: 131), as for example, prosody, phonology, choice, turn taking conventions, interjections, idiomatic or

formulaic usage, which are used by speakers as means by which "the semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (Gumperz and Tannen 1979: 308). Differences in the use of these contextualization conventions by members of different cultures can end in miscommunication. In his study of British white teachers and Indian and Pakistani immigrant trainees (1979), Gumperz claimed that neither party was "right" or "wrong" in relation to the miscommunicative sequence: Both participants contributed to miscommunication, but because one way of interpreting (one code) was institutionally countenanced in that particular context, the immigrant became the victim of the mis-communication.

Socio-cultural knowledge refers to the extra linguistic knowledge of culture and the world that always emerge in communicative behaviour. In Gumperz´ view (1982b), the more we know about a particular society, the more efficient our communication in that culture will be, though it is the individual who makes the final decision, and his/her freedom to select is always subject to both grammatical and social restraints. By grammatical restraints, Gumperz means those restraints affecting the intelligibility of sentences. Social restraints, however, relate to their acceptability.

Differential knowledge of socio-culturally appropriate way of communicating can lead to misattribution of motive and, hence, failure to convey the intended communicative act.

3.2.4. The cross-cultural pragmatic approach

The main issue at risk are the supposed benefits of looking into the differences (cross-culturally determined) realizations of specific linguistic activities (most frequently speech acts) as a means of shedding some light into the potential causes of intercultural miscommunication.

It has been argued that cross-cultural analysis on its own does not suffice for the understanding (let alone the prevention) of potential cases of intercultural miscommunication. Such an analysis needs implementing with a context-inclusive analysis of what strategies and discursive patterns are actually activated in each specific interaction as well as personal, social and other variables.

Thus, the fact that, particular languages such as English, German, Spanish, or Arabic, employ different formulae for the "same" communicative routine, for instance sneezing or coughing , does not automatically indicate that a Spanish or an Arabic speaker will resort to his/her formulae when communicating in English for example. Even if s/he does, there may be other factors involved, such as a certain degree of tolerance or awareness on the part of the native speaker of the possibility of having misunderstood the non-native speaker´s utterance.

Nonetheless, I shall concur with Gass and Varonis (1991: 130) in their claim that we "interpret through the *filter* of our native language", accordingly, we shall not undervalue the special position held by native speakers in their communication in foreign language.

An important issue connected with the socio-linguistic tradition is found in the field of social psychology of individual versus group identity.

The cultural difference approach, as Banks et al. (1991) argue, focuses on the members´ communicative behaviour together with their selection of linguistic codes and interactional strategies, as tools for individual and group identity preservation. What seems at stake in the cultural difference approach is the speakers´ adjustment of their behaviour relying on several cognitive and social dynamics as for instance, a sense of threat to ethnic identity (Bourhis and Giles, 1977), or a claim for social approbation or need to adhere or detach from others (Street and Giles, 1982).

The utilization of formulaic language such as jokes or swearing by non-native speakers is not always considered as a convenient technique to relate to the "native group". Simply because this latter might interpret the exploitation of such an idiosyncratic facet of one´s language as invasive and then reject it; or in some other instances, s/he might consider it as something uncommon which causes astonishment and probably not approve it; or, on the contrary, as something entertaining in the best of cases.

Contrarily, opposite situations might happen where non-native speakers detach from the native group and stick to their identity through the use of his/her own communicative stock, this attitude probably derives from the value non native speakers attribute to their own culture and language in an "alien" setting. Accordingly, it may come into view that members of a non-native group with a negative politeness cultural orientation affiliate deliberately to this cultural pattern in their communication with members of positive politeness oriented culture as a

means to conserve their own idiosyncrasy despite the likely risk of miscommunication between interactants.

Studies into cross-cultural communication, especially those carried out on speech acts, have frequently been directed to verify and, hopefully, to advert latent problematic areas for non-native speakers in their interaction with native speakers. The case of formal acquisition of L2 as opposed to naturalistic context of acquisition of L2 has received remarkable attention by the academic community. There was, eventually, a correlation between applied linguists and cross-cultural pragmatists on the basis of a common concern to apply their theories to a wide-ranging concern of different cultures and notably to language (for the seminal role it plays), and to an improvement of L2 formal instruction (Thomas 1983; Kasper 1989; Fraser 1990).

One common point recurrent among many L2 researchers is that of the liability of NSs- NNSs interactions to miscommunication at both the linguistic and the pragmatic level. (cf. Edmundson, R. J. 1992; Holmes, J. 1989; Cohen A. D. & Olshtain, E. 1993; Boxer, D. 1996; Maeshiba, N., Yoshinaga, N., Kasper, G.,& Ross, S. 1996; Ide, R. 1998; Kumatoridani, T. 1999), among others.

Comments on things "going wrong" in interaction usually allude to communication among members of different cultures and, most frequently, different languages. There is a considerable quantity of research on mismatch talk, (and its consequences), that associate breaks in communication with dissimilitudes in the attribution of meaning to

linguistic forms or silence[17] in different cultures. (cf. Thomas, J. 1983; Saville-Troike 1985; Tannen, D. 1986; Ting-Toomey, S. 1988; Sarangi, S. & Slembrouck, S. 1991; Tyler, A. 1995; Roberts, C. 1996), among others.

Notwithstanding, the frequent, real difficulties that participants in intercultural encounters experience cannot be ignored, the absence of problems of meaning exchange among interactants from the "same culture" does, on no account, indicate the absence of miscommunication at deeper level. As Habermas (1970) maintains in his argument on "pseudo-communication", the notion of sharing the same linguistic code is an erroneous belief as far as it speciously attributes simplicity and ordinariness to communication. This point of view is sustained in the comparative study led by Herbert (1990) on the variation in the use of compliments by South Africans and North Americans, where both group have the same L1.

3.3. Politeness as a universal variable in cross-cultural communication

The central purpose of this chapter is to present to the reader a general view of the theoretical baseline of two important frameworks (Speech Act Theory and Linguistic Politeness Theory) previously referred to in the present study.

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[17] Saville-Troike (1985: 111) reports the following example of miscommunication during a period of military tension between Egypt and Greece: "Egyptians pilots radioed their intention to land at an airbase on Cyprus and the Greek traffic controllers reportedly responded with silence. The Greek intended thereby to indicate refusal of permission to land, but the Egyptians interpreted silence as assent. The result of the misunderstanding in this case was the loss of a number of lives when Greek fired on the plane as they approached the runway. Fortunately, not all instances of miscommunication evolve in such a tragic manner.

Both Speech Act Theory and Politeness Theory have been subject to numerous revisions since their early formulations, and various weak points have been consequently identified. This chapter attempts to convey a general view of both the overwhelming advantages and the drawbacks offered by these two frameworks. A concise discussion of the main notions employed in Speech Act Theory and Linguistic Politeness Theory is believed to contribute to facilitate the understanding of the data yielded in this study, as well as to avoid unnecessary theoretical digressions with concrete findings.

3.3.1. Speech act theory

Speech Act Theory (henceforth SAT) is based on two main assumptions, namely (1) a distinction can be drawn between the meaning expressed by an utterance and the way in which the utterance is used, and (2) it is plausible, and sensible to envisage utterances as acts. An utterance is the production (oral or written) of a token of a linguistic structure that can, but not necessarily does, correspond to a complete sentence. An act, in general terms, is a piece of active (versus passive) behavior by an agent, that is, something that we "do". The consideration of utterances as acts implies that producing words or sentences is tantamount to performing them.

3.3.2. Early formulations of SAT

3.3.2.1. Austin

The last decades have witnessed a considerable proliferation of research covering numerous aspects of speech act behaviour, both at an

intralinguistic and an intracultural level. However, the origin of SAT must be traced back to the 1940s and to the Oxford philosopher engaged in the analysis of ordinary language, J.L. Austin.

Austin posits the existence of a type of utterance, the performative utterance, that -when issued under appropriate circumstances- constitutes the performance of an act even though its form (declarative sentence) seems to indicate a simple report or description of it. Instances of such performative utterances are:

- I pronounce you husband and wife;
- I name this ship "Queen Elizabeth".

In the early 1950s, Austin developed this notion of performative utterance, namely the performative hypothesis, into a first formulation of SAT.

Austin stated that there were different senses in which to say something is to do something, i.e., different facets of a speech act. Firstly, the speech act can be characterized by a *locutionary* act, i.e., an act of saying. According to Austin (1962) saying something is:

- To perform the phonetic act of uttering certain sounds;
- To perform the phatic act of uttering certain sounds of certain types, conforming to certain rules (certain words, in a certain construction, with a certain intonation);
- To perform the rhetic act of using the word uttered with a certain meaning.
  (Austin, 1962: 92-93)

Secondly, a speech act can be described or reported by using verbs such as "order", "advice", "promise", "state", "ask", etc. By doing so, emphasis is placed on the way in which the speaker has used his/her utterance, in other words, on the act he/she has performed in saying what he/she said –the illocutionary force of the utterance as opposed to its locutionary meaning (1962: 98-100). A set of conventions, referred to as felicity conditions, regulates the successful performing of illocutionary acts. There has to be an accepted conventional procedure for performing the act, the participants and the circumstances need to be appropriate for the invocation of the procedure, the procedure has to be carried out correctly and completely, participant have to have appropriate inner state and attitudes and they must behave in the appropriate way (1962: 14-15, 138-139). The performing of the act can be wholly linguistic to include extralinguistic behaviour, as in protesting, appointing, swearing, etc.

3.3.2.2. Grice

Grice, another important language philosopher, and Austin´s disciple, contributed significantly to the ensuing development of SAT by attempting to define meaning in relation to the intention of the speakers in making an utterance. In Grice´s view, speaker´s meaning is prior to sentence meaning. It refers to the intention to produce that effect in the hearer through the hearer´s recognition of the intention to produce that effect. Grice also formulated the idea of conversational implicature employed in SAT in order to account for the understanding of speech acts by hearers not on the basis of semantic conventions but of inferences.

3.3.2.3. Searle

A paramount contribution to SAT is to be found in the work conducted by Searle. Searle strongly affirmed a view of speaking as a rule-governed form of behaviour whose basic unit -the speech act- consisted in the production of a sentence token under certain conditions. As he put it, "The hypothesis of this book is that speaking a language is a manner to performing speech acts according to systems of constitutive rules" (Searle, 1969: 38)

For Searle, the illocutionary act has an illocutionary point or purpose (Searl, 1975: 2-3) that corresponds to the speaker´s intention of the utterance to count as a certain type of act. The illocutionary point, albeit being the most central feature of illocutionary force, does not coincide with the latter, since forces with the same illocutionary point can differ in other features. Thus, whilst Austin wanted to differentiate force from meaning, Searle regarded force as an aspect of meaning.

Searle (1969: 54-71) distinguished four sets of necessary and sufficient condition for performing illocutionary acts (felicity conditions). There are:

1. Essential conditions that say what kind of illocutionary act the sentence is to stand for.
2. Propositional content conditions that specify what kind of propositional content the speech act is to have.
3. Preparatory conditions that specify contextual requirements (particularly regarding the speaker´s and the hearer´s epistemic and volitional states)

4. Sincerity conditions, which specify the psychological state of the speaker to be expressed by the speech act.

The satisfaction of felicity conditions together with the speaker´s employment of the appropriate linguistic devices in order to convey the intended illocutionary force, and under normal communicative conditions, makes it possible for the speaker to communicate the force of the utterance to the hearer, i.e., to achieve the illocutionary effect.

3.3.3. Revision of SAT

As mentioned before, SAT has been examined by numerous scholars since the days of its early formulations. As a result, a number of questions have been posed for which different explanation have been produced. In what follows, four main problems within the conceptual framework emerging from the previously described are outlined.

3.3.3.1. Approach to Illocutionary-force-indicating devices (IFIDS)

For illocutionary acts to be understood by hearers there must exist ways in which the illocutionary force of these acts can be made explicit, or at least indicated, by speakers, i.e., IFIDS. The general assumption behind this line of reasoning is that explicit performative formulae (i.e., a performative verb in the first person present indicative active) are employed. However, other illocutionary-force-indicating devices have also been identified, such as intonation, mood and tense.

3.3.3.2. Identifying performative utterances

Viewpoints have been advanced in the literature, mostly philosophical, that discuss the performative utterances regarding its truth-value status and the bond existing between successfulness and truth (Leech, 1983; Searle, 1975). Performative utterances are best characterized as subgroups of utterances with a specific set of defining traits, namely: (1) they are declarative sentences; (2) they appear in first person singular present tense; and (3) they are not subject to truth-value, that is, they are not true or false but rather dependent on the communicative context. For performatives to be successful, they have to be uttered under appropriate contextual circumstances.

1. In the absence of explicit formulae, what devices are used in order to indicate the intended illocutionary force of a speech act?

Austin already mentioned several types of illocutionary indicators (1962: 73-76), namely mood and modal verbs, intonation adverbs, connectives and extra-linguistic gestures or contextual features accompanying the utterance. Empirical cross-linguistic research on speech act in the last decades has shed some light on a wider range of illocutionary indicators.

2. How do explicit and implicit ways of performing the same illocutionary act relate to each other?

The so-called "performative hypothesis" (Ross, 1970) which posited the existence of higher explicit performative in the deep structure of any sentence, was soon abandoned.

Recent research is more concerned with a scale from most direct to most indirect ways of performing illocutionary acts (eg. Blum Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989) where, the performative formula is not given primacy.

3.3.4. Taxonomy of illocutionary acts

Several attempts to classify illocutionary acts have been made, mostly deriving from either the initial taxonomy of Austin or that of Searle. Austin based his classification on a personally designed list of performative verbs. However, his taxonomy allows for some degree of overlapping and is characterised by intuitive descriptions of some salient features of the procedures of which their prototypical members consist (1962: 151-163).

Searle´s classification, following Austin´s, was based on illocutionary verbs, not acts. It represents a neater subdivision of illocutionary acts and it has been by far the most influential on and has frequently been the baseline for further investigation into specific areas. According to Searl, speech acts can be classified as follows:

- Assertives: commit S (peaker) to the truth of some proposition;
- Directives: count as attempts to bring some effect through the action of H (earer);
- Expressives: count as the expression of some psychological state;
- Commissives: commit S to some future action;
- Declaratives: are speech acts whose "successful" performance brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality.

(Leech and Thomas, 1990: 197)

3.3.5. Interpretation of illocutionary forces

Illocutionary force lies in an ambiguous position somewhere between semantics and pragmatic. On the one hand, it cannot be regarded as a purely semantic phenomenon, depending entirely on the codified meaning of words, for the illocutionary force of speech acts cannot simply be assigned on the basis of the linguistic indicating devices. On the other hand, the role of such linguistic indicating devices cannot be undermined. Hence, yielding illocutionary force a purely pragmatic tension is clearly misleading.

Relevant to the issue of modes of understanding illocutionary force is the notion of direct and indirect speech acts. The former are performed by means of pertinent illocutionary indicators. The latter, however, do not display explicit indicators of their intended force. The hearer, therefore, has to understand such force by inference (Searle, 1979). Grice´s work (1975) has been decisive in the area, for the notion of implicature bridges the gap between direct and indirect speech acts. Strategies for performing and understanding indirect speech acts have been related to politeness phenomena (Brown and Levinson, 1987) and to different socio-cultural environments (Blum Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989).

3.4.Universality versus linguistic and cultural relativity of speech acts

According to Austin, the existence of socially accepted conventional procedures determines the performance of illocutionary acts. This, in turn, explains their being subject to historical and cultural variation (linguistic and cultural relativity). Contrarily, Searle claims that there is a small

number of basic illocutionary types (1969: 64; 1979: 29) that can be regarded as "natural kinds of uses of language" (Searle and Vanderveken, 1985: 179). This approach suggests a certain universality of speech acts, at least, as far as illocutionary points are concerned, although the ways for expressing these in language may vary. Brown and Levinson (1987) shift this very issue from kinds of speech acts to kinds of strategies for performing them. They propose to analyse the cross-cultural idiosyncrasy of such strategies in the light of a universal abstract model of politeness.

3.4.1. The interactional act

The label "speech event" has been progressively replaced by a more dynamic one, that is, interactional act (or even speech act set). Recent research has the necessity to assign primacy to the interactional nature of any given speech act, for the negotiation of illocutionary force is always jointly done by all speakers involved in the encounter. The negotiative nature of speech act sets allow, then, for a less static view of interaction that reflects more accurately the reality of language.

3.4.2. Cross-linguistic/cross-cultural approach to SAT

Research into cross-linguistic and cross-cultural pragmatics has attempted (and still does) to explicitly or implicitly tackle the issue of the alleged universality of speech acts. In conversation, speakers may make use of various speech acts with the intention of achieving a certain effect. In a cross-cultural perspective, an utterance may for instance, constitute an invitation in one language whereas its literal translation may render a question. Moreover, the requirements of the situation need to be carefully considered. On the one hand, different speech acts may be required in

different languages in analogous situations, and on the other hand, the realisation strategies may vary as with regard to their degree of social appropriateness from one language to another. A specification of equivalence of contrastive structures is therefore necessary.

During the last decades, there was a substantial number of publication differences in the nature and sequencing of speech acts between one language/culture and another. Such diversity was seen to affect more than the structural aspect of the language in question (their phonology, lexis and morpho-syntax). Sociolinguistic, communicative, interactive and discursive aspects of language use and behaviour (by large neglected in the past) were merged with the former, and the result was the bulk of an all-encompassing empirical speech act research as for instance, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Wolfson (1983) , Manes (1983), Olstain and Wienbach (1987), among others.

One of the major concerns of discourse studies across languages has been that of setting up comparable units of analysis. Olstain and Cohen (1983) proposed the speech act set as the appropriate cross-language unit. They defined it in the following terms:

> (a speech act set) consists of all the major linguistic and/or pragmatic strategies, any of which would suffice as a minimal element to represent the particular speech act. Such a unit provides us with a framework for defining the relationship between illocutionary intent and linguistic repertoire. (1983: 56)

Although they propose the speech act set as the basis for comparability across languages, they acknowledged the fact that "the

preference for one semantic formula over another and the frequency of use of each speech act set have to be established for each language" (1983:56). Olstain and Cohen give the example of the apology speech act set which has developed and refined through cross-cultural and crosslanguage research:

> The semantic criteria that need to be met by the apology act are an expression of regret and an acknowledgement of responsibility on the part of the offender. Accordingly, the apology speech act set must include formulas or strategies that meet such semantic criteria. We have a reason to believe that these criteria hold true across cultures, but cultures may allocate the need to apologise and the degree of apology different in different situations. (1983: 55)

In order to arrive at the speech act set, it is necessary to define the goals of the speech act in question and to identify the performative and semantic prerequisites for the realisation of these goals. I shall agree with Olstain and Cohen in the need for comparative studies of speech acts across languages to begin with a description (for each language) of the systematic connection holding between the pragmatic preconditions necessary for the performance of an act and its linguistic realisation. The linguistic realisation is dependent on language-specific constraints in grammatical and lexical usage as well as on appropriate conventions or formulaic patterns for use at different levels of formality. Two levels of comparability are, therefore, de rigueur: "the procedural level" and the "level of linguistic realisation". The former refers to contextual features of the interaction, i.e., "similar situations with respect to types of participants, their social status and familiarity, and the content". The latter is related to the grammatical and lexical selection made according to conventionalised patterns. The notion of "conventional" in speech is defined by these authors as the

"reflection of the range of habitually used realisations of speech acts in given situations (1983: 57). Cohen (1996) establishes three theoretical areas of concern in speech act research, namely:

1. The selection of research methods for use in gathering the speech act data,

2. Interlanguage features present in the speech act data in case where respondents are non-natives, and,

3. The description of the sociocultural and sociolinguistic abilities required to perform a given speech act.

The effective use of speech acts calls for the mastery of interactants over their corresponding speech act sets. Such domain requires the speaker´s adroitness to decide whether, or not a speech act set is to be used, and which components of the set need to be employed. This socio-cultural ability requires knowledge of the adequate speech act strategies available "in the culture concerned, the age and sex of the speakers, their social class and occupations, and their roles and status in the interaction" (Cohen, 1996: 22-23). Moreover, "sociolinguistic ability", i.e., control over the actual linguistic tools employed to perform the speech act as well as over the register of the utterance, is equally paramount to the successful performance of speech acts.

The speech act theory set has been usefully employed as a unit of analysis in cross-cultural pragmatics studies. Such investigations have shed light upon various ways in which different people of the world conceptualise language phenomena such as linguistic politeness, thus

providing a substantial pattern for the understanding of socio-cultural aspects in those other cultures.

3.5. Linguistic politeness

The notable attention exhibited within pragmatics towards linguistic politeness theory over the last decades has resulted in the emergence of a vast eclectic literature around it. Linguistic politeness theory can in fact be considered almost as an independent field of study of pragmatics, and more specifically, it is the social approach to pragmatics as opposed to the cognitive approach (relevance theory). Thomas (1995) lists the various set of phenomena for which the politeness theory label has been employed, namely politeness as (1) a real-world goal; (2) as deference; (3) as register; (4) as a surface level phenomenon; (5) as an illocutionary phenomenon (1995: 149). The approach to politeness discussed in the present chapter is to be located within the fifth sub-class. However, even within this sub-set, various areas can be differentiated. Subsequently, Thomas (1995) following Fraser (1990) distinguishes between:

1. Politeness explained in term of principles and maxims (Leech, 1983)
2. Politeness and the management of face (Brown and Levinson, 1987)
3. Politeness viewed as a conversational contact (Fraser, 1990)
4. Politeness measured along pragmatic scales (Spencer-Oatey, 1992)

Over the last four decades, politeness has been the central object of scholarly works in the field of pragmatics. This is palpable in the vast literature around it. (cf. Thomas Nash, 1983; Blum-Kulka, S. 1987; Watts, R. J., Ide, S., et al.1992; Sifianou Maria.1992-1999; Kienpointner, M. 1997; Watts, Ide and Ehlich, 1992-2005; Eelen, G. 2001; Bargiela-

Chiappini, F. and Harris, S. 2006). However, there seems to be no consensus as to how to define politeness, "politeness will be always slippery, (Sarangi, 1994; Hartog, 2006), and ultimately indefinable quality of interaction which is subject to change through time and across cultural space. There is, in other words, no stable referent indexed by the lexeme polite" (Watts, Ide and Ehlich, 1992, 2005: xiii). The perennial discussion over how to define politeness is still a matter of contention. In what follows, I will offer an overview of the different trends in the approaches of politeness.

3.5.1. Politeness as face-saving strategy

Brown and Levinson (1987) theory is based on the existence of a Model Person who is *rational* and is endowed with *face*. Rationality, denotes that the Model Person is "endowed with… a precisely defined mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 63). In addition, "face" is to be understood in terms of Goffman´s definition of "face" as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman, 1955: 213). Brown and Levinson define "face" as the "public self-image" that every member wants to claim for himself" (1978: 66). Then, divide face into two different, but related aspects, namely, positive and negative face which are to be understood in terms of wants that every person knows every other person has, and knows that it is in his best interest to at least partially satisfy (1987: 67). Positive face denotes the desire to be appreciated and approved by others whereas negative face concerns a person´s want to be unimpeded and free from imposition (Tracy, 1990: 210).

Brown and Levinson also classified verbal or non-verbal acts, which contradict or "run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or speaker" as Face-Threatening-Acts (FTA) (1987: 70). Requests for instance, are considered as FTA to the hearer´s (H´s) negative face in so far that the speaker (S) is impeding on H by asking H to do what S wants and not what H wants. Whereas, any "contradiction or expression of disagreement, which means the speaker thinks that there is something wrong with an opinion held by the hearer" is FTA to H´s positive face. There are also acts that threaten both positive and negative face of the hearer as is the case with offers where H complies with S´s wants and not necessarily his/her own wants (Fasold, 1990: 161).

Some other acts are liable to affect S´s positive face such as expressing thanks, excuses, acceptance of offers and apologies, acceptance of compliments, confession, etc., as well as S´s negative face as is the case with the acceptance of compliments, confessions, admission of guilt, or apologies where S is admitting his act as contradicting the H´s expectation. According to Brown and Levinson ´s politeness hypothesis, MP would resort to different strategies to keep his/her face intact and at the same time to reduce the possibility of damaging the positive or negative face of H. Brown & Levinson grouped these politeness strategies that speakers use to reduce the impact of an FTA into five categories that range from the most to the least polite as illustrated in the chart below:

```
                                              1. Without redressive action, baldly
                                             /
                                            /
                              On record  <
                             /             \
                            /               \
                           /                 \         2.Positive politeness
                          /             With redressive action  <
               Do FTA  <                                          \
                         \                                         3. Negative politeness
                          \
                           \        4. Off record
                            \
                             5. Don´t do FTA
```
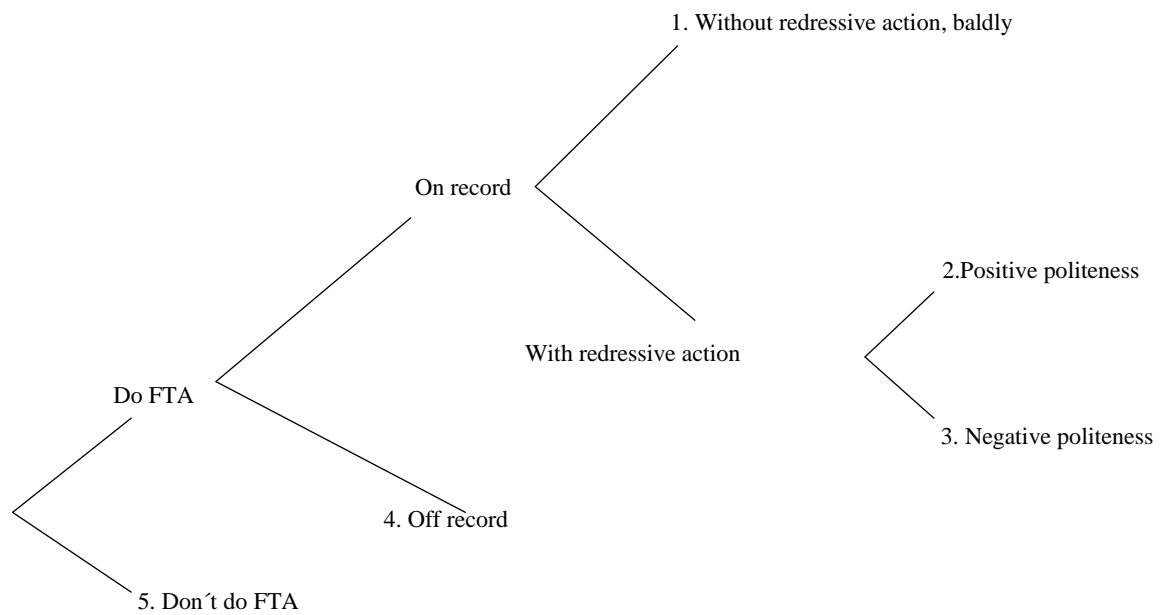
Figure 1: Five Politeness Strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1978: 74)

The first difference to be stated is between doing an FTA *on record* (strategies 1, 2, and 3) and doing FTA *off record* (strategy 4). O*n record* term denotes an expression with "one unambiguously attributable intention with which witnesses would concur", and *off record* term refers to an expression which has "more than one unambiguously attributable intention" (Brown & Levinson, 1978: 73-74). A good illustration of on record strategy would be as when S wants H to open the window because s/he is hot and formulates a somehow direct request to H by saying "would you mind if I open the window". Whereas, off record strategy is when the S formulates an indirect request by saying "it is hot in here".

Bald on record (strategy1) refers to action without redress and "involve doing it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible" (Brown & Levinson, 1978: 74).

Strategies (2) and (3) refer to doing an act with redressive action "'giv[ing] face' to the addressee" (Brown & Levinson, 1978: 74), that is, using "positive politeness" (strategy 2), which "oriented towards the positive face of H, the positive image that he claims for himself". Moreover, strategy (3) is "oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination" (ibid: 75).

Brown and Levinson argue that the assessment of the seriousness of an FTA, that is, the calculation made by the speaker and the hearer, is determined by three factors "in many and perhaps all cultures" (1978: 74).

- The social distance (D) of S [the speaker] and H [hearer] (symmetric relation)
- The relative power (P) of S and H (an asymmetric relation)
- The absolute ranking (R) of imposition in a particular culture

Thus, the weightiness or seriousness of an FTA (x) can be estimated according to the following equation: $Wx = D (S, H) + P (S, H) + Rx'$, where S and H stand for speaker and hearer respectively (1978: 76). D and P are regarded by Brown and Levinson as "etic" pan-cultural social dimension "which nevertheless probably have "emic" correlates" (1978: 76). As for R, the degree to which it is thought to interfere with an agent's positive or negative face wants is culturally and situationally defined.

In the case of positive FTA's, R involves "an assessment of the amount of "pain" given to H's face, based on the discrepancy between H's own desired self-image and that presented, explicitly or tacitly in the FTA" (1978: 78). With negative FTAs, two ranks of imposition are empirically

identifiable: one in proportion to the expenditure of services (including the notion of time) and another in proportion to the expenditure of goods (including non-material goods). The three factors P, D, R are both context dependent and also independent variables among themselves.

3.5.2. Politeness and the conversational-maxim view

The conversational maxim is based on Grice theory postulated in his paper "Logic and Conversation" (1975). Grice discussed how speakers actually mean more than they say in their conversation. Grice claimed that conversationalists are rational and equal individuals who are primarily interested in the efficient conveying of messages. To this end, he devised the *cooperative principle* (CP) which states that individuals should say what they have to say, when they have to say it, and how they want to say it.

For Leech (1983) to be polite is essentially an incitement for violating Grice´s (1975) conversational maxims. His politeness principle is based on six maxims, namely, tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy. Each of these maxims amalgamates a dual distinction:

1. Tact maxim (in impositives and commissives):
    a. Minimise cost to other.
    b. Maximise cost to other.
2. Generosity maxim (in impositives and commissives):
    a. Minimise benefit to self.
    b. Maximise cost to self.
3. Approbation maxim (in expressives and assertives):
    a. Minimise praise to self.

b. Maximise praise to other.

4. Modesty maxim (in expressive and assertive):

a. Minimise praise to self.

b. Maximise dispraise of self.

5. Agreement maxim (in assertive):

a. Minimise disagreement between self and other.

b. maximise agreement between self and other.

6. Sympathy maxim (in assertive):

a. Minimise antipathy between self and other.

b. Maximise sympathy between self and other.

Lakoff (1973) followed Grice´s conversational principle in an attempt to account for politeness. Unlike Grice, Lakoff broadened the notion of grammatical rule as associated with well-formedness to pragmatics and applied it to the field of politeness where she claimed that specific constructions of some sentences can convey politeness.

Lakoff envisages politeness as "a device used in order to reduce friction in personal interaction (Lakoff, 1979: 64). Pragmatic competence for Lakoff is based on two rules, that is, "Be Clear" this rule derives, basically, from Grice´s maxim; and "Be Polite". These two rules are claimed by Lakoff as dichotomous, i.e., they are reinforcing in some instances and conflicting in others. Thus, she proposed a set of politeness sub-maxims. The first sub-maxim, i.e., "Don´t Impose" is necessary, in her opinion, for *formal* and *impersonal* politeness. The second "Give Options" is needed for *informal* politeness. Whereas, the third sub-maxim "Make `A´ Feel good" is required for intimate relations.

3.5.3. Politeness and the conversational-contract view

This view was launched by Fraser (1975), Fraser & Nolen (1981) relying, basically, on Grice´s theory of Cooperative Principle and on Goffman´s (1967) concept of face.

Within the conversational-contract view, participants are involved in conversations as relying on a mutual understanding of a set of obligations and rights that regulate at initial stage what each participant expects from the other. Along the conversation, participants have the possibility to renegotiate the conversational contract by readjusting the rights and obligations they have for each other. The dimension of rights and obligations vary depending on participants´ selection. However, some conversational norms are pre-established, conventional, and rarely negotiable among participants, as for instance, turn-taking and the use of mutually intelligible language.

Jary (1998), standing in the line of Fraser (1990) advocated that politeness in communication in terms of Relevance Theory is usually anticipated rather than communicated. Intuitively, participants are more concerned about what is permissible in term of force and content and hardly notice the polite forms when they are engaged in conversation.

3.5.4. Politeness and the social-norm view

The social-norm view denotes the conventional view of politeness as a series of refined and good mannered acts, and any deviation from these rule as impoliteness.

Notwithstanding, the study of politeness viewed as social rituals, is subject to several problems, especially if the purpose is to hold a cross-cultural investigation. Presumably, the concept and the social interpretation of a polite behaviour in a given culture might not be systematically equated with that found in other cultures (Nwoye, 1992: 315). Equivalent polite terms might be inexistent, or might denote a different concept across cultures (Hill et al. 1986); or alternatively the concept of what is conceived as polite might differ from a period to another (Locher, 2004: 72).

Additionally, the strategies used to display a polite act might contradict with those used in different cultures. The use for example, of modality or indirectness as devices to display formality in English in instances of requests, is inexistent in MA and other devices, such as, "plea for blessing" is used instead to convey the same propositional contents. (This politeness strategy will be treated in the coming chapters). Another case in point is with whom politeness should be used. According to Fraser (1990: 321) the use of polite behaviour among family members could be seen as arrogant or even impolite.

3.5.5. Politeness and the post-modern view

Recently, the tendency within the studies of politeness rely mainly on two approaches namely, "the traditional" approach inspired basically in Grice´s Cooperative Maxims, and/or in speech act theory and their claimers (Lakoff 1973, Brown and Levinson 1978-1987, Leech 1983).

The premises established by the classic movement were soon disclaimed by the "Post-Modern" view in which politeness is captured as

emerging from the participants´ own perception of politeness (Ellen 2001, Mills 2003, Watts 2003 cit. in Terkourafi, 2005: 237). In this view, politeness falls within two categories, namely, "first-order" and "second-order" politeness (Watts et al. 1992).

The first term refers to how politeness is determined by ordinary people, and how it is defined in dictionaries, for instance. The second term, however, suggests politeness as a field of study determined by theories such as face-work and maxims, (how politeness is approached by pragmatic researchers). The post-modern view encompasses social theories, such as Bourdieu´ s practice-based theory of "habitus". In this movement, politeness is conceived as "contested" conversely to the traditional view, which claims politeness as "shared norms", that is, politeness as regulated by social norms rather than by pragmatic rules. This is particularly resumed in Eelen (2001)

> "Norms are not straightforward entities, but rather highly versatile argumentative tools, and their nature and operational aspects need to be examined more closely before they can be posited as explanatory concepts- and before they can be allocated any scientific role whatsoever" (Eelen, 2001: 233; cit. in Terkourafi, 2005: 243).

3.5.6. Politeness and the frame-based view

A critique directed to the post-modern view is that it emerged out of dissatisfaction about the theories of politeness of the traditional view which they sought to remedy by "importing insights from social theory into pragmatics, or rather, exporting politeness into the realm of social theory" (Terkourafi, 2005: 246). Terkourafi (2005), in her article *beyond the micro-*

level in politeness research argues that the post modern-view is an extension of the traditional view:

"Despite departing from the traditional theories in this respect, post- modern theories share with them the two premises which may after all prove crucial. The first premise is that both types of theory are theory-driven. Their respective points of departure are concrete theoretical preoccupations- the Co-operative Principle and speech act theory on the one hand, the notion of politeness1 and discursive struggle over politeness on the other. These theoretical preoccupations then provide the lens through which they approach the data, invariably coloring their analyses. This theoretical focus is seen most clearly in the attitude the two types of theory adopt towards the notion of norms. On the one hand, traditional theories assume the existence of norms a priori, hence they do not bother engaging in quantitative analyses of the data. On the other hand, post-modern theories challenge current understandings of norms, pre-empting the value, or indeed the possibility, of quantitative analyses. The second premise shared by both traditional and post-modern views is their analysis of politeness on the pragmatic level as particularized implicature." (Terkourafi, 2005: 246)

Terkourafi then proposes an alternative to, or rather, a complement to both traditional and post-modern views, which are theory-driven. This alternative is the frame-based view (Terkourafi 2001, cit. in Terkourafi, 2005: 246) which is data-driven and concerned with the analysis of large corpus of naturally occurring interactions to observe the regularities between linguistic expressions and their co-occurrence in their extra-linguistic context of use. According to this researcher, to uncover these regularities, it is necessary to categorize real life contexts into types of contexts. This can be done appealing to the notion "frame" adapted from related notions in (Minsky, 1975), from psychology (Schank and Abelson 1977), and from linguistics (Fillmore 1982). The frame-based view of politeness is characterized by a focus on politeness 2 as all face constituting

linguistic behaviour that accounts for linguistic behaviour through the lens of its face-constituting potential.

3.6. Critiques of politeness theories

Some scholars have been criticized for their view of interaction as problematic where speakers permanently struggle to avoid the pertinent "conflict", "threat", "friction", supposedly abidingly inherent to interaction with others.

The way some scholars perceive politeness and defined it was also criticized for being too vague (Watts, Ide and Ehlich, 1992-2005: xvi), "pessimistic" and "overtly paranoiac". Richard Smith, in his critique to Brown and Levinson´s conceptualization of politeness as the realization of face-threat mitigation (Schmidt, 1980: 104) stated that it is "an overtly pessimistic, rather paranoid view of human social interaction".
Lakoff (1975a, cit. in Watts, 2003) suggests that "politeness is developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction". On the other hand, Leech (1980: 19) defines politeness as "strategic conflict avoidance and it can be measured in term of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of conflict situation".

In the same line, Brown and Levinson (1978-1987) claim politeness as "a rational behaviour aimed at strategic softening (or mitigation) of face threatening acts". Kasper (1990) regards politeness as a set of strategies "to diffuse the danger and to minimalise the antagonism" in so far that he envisages communication as "a fundamentally dangerous and antagonistic Endeavour" (Kasper, 1990: 194). Hill et al. (1986) regards politeness as

"one of the constraints on human interaction, whose purpose is to consider others´ feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort and promote rapport". Another point in case is the controversy on whether im/politeness should be studied as a lay or folk notion labeled hence, 1st order im/politeness (1) (cf. Eelen 2001, Watts 2003, Locher 2004, 2006; Locher & Watts 2005), or as a theoretical construct to be used for the sociolinguistic and pragmatic research, labeled 2nd order im/politeness (Watts 2003).

However, even those who consider im/politeness as a theoretical concept diverge on its definition. Politeness has been approached in terms of maxims and norms, namely, face-work, adherence to social norms and adequate behaviour, and impoliteness as a deviation or infraction of all these norms.

Admittedly, we can resume that all of the theories of politeness have a "reason to be" granting that analysts draw on their intuition about their local understanding about what is polite. We don´t consider a matter of contention the existence of contradictory theories in the field of politeness, on the contrary, we consider pointless to claim one valid norm for all cultures.

CHAPTER FOUR

Chapter 4: Politeness in Moroccan Arabic and General Aims of the study

Introduction

Most of the studies in cross–cultural pragmatics have evolved around the phenomenon of misunderstanding in cross–cultural communication , and some research in this field has eminently stressed the origin of this phenomena as relying on the differences of languages and cultures. (cf. Coupland & Wiemann 1991: Garcés 2001; Zhou 2009; Bazzanella & Damiano 1999; Ross 1994; Brown 1995; Levinson 1992; House 2000; Yus 1990, among others).)

Many surveys that have been carried out in this area pointed out to the relevance of transfer of the speech behaviour from one language to another as the major factor which contributes to the problems of communication across cultures.

First of all , we ought to be clear about what is meant by the speech behaviour here . It does not refer to what a community says with words and how it is said , it refers to something abstract , it involves the implicit norms and conventions of a society, its transmitted ethos[18], in a word, the speech of a community is its "identity card", it is the physical representation of a coherent and

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[18] "Ethos" is used in Brown & Levinson´s term : " ethos is a label for the quality of interaction characterizing groups , or social categories of persons in a particular society". Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987, P : 243)

culturally determined system. It follows from this, that to use a language implicates to know the culture where this language is used provided that language reflects and integrates into itself features of the physical and ideational world in which it operates . Hence to neglect or to impose one of these features of a language upon another might result in a communicative conflict or in a "Pragmatic error" to use the technical term coined for this situation.

There are actually many cases of communicative misunderstanding which result from the variability inherent to different speech behaviours and the most reported and the most that pejorative stereotyping create are the pragmatic errors related to politeness.

For example Loveday (1982: 83) reports on Applegate that in the Mediterranean and middle eastern areas " an offer is generally never accepted the first time " . And in Greece politeness requires "at least four offers" and it is considered ill–mannered to accept immediately. So if a Greek transfers such a pattern to any Anglo American or British context, it probably results in him going without.

Another instance of misunderstanding is observed in the transfer of the verbal patterns. As we all know , every speech community has a "stock of ritual routines" which include or not formulae for addressing, thanking, apologizing , congratulating, etc. And when they are employed, they obey to the communities´ code and its socio-cultural values.

Thus a simple misuse of the form of address may end in a pragmatic break. In French for example , superiors are addressed with Monsieur / Madame / Mademoiselle + family name and to call the boss with Monsieur + first name as is the case in Spanish Don / Señor + first name, is considered as an excess of familiarity or even ill-mannered .

Also a simple daily act like greeting could ground a cheerful and a cordial face-to-face encounter , or on the contrary , it could recess it giving way to confusion or offence when none was meant . For example to say " Salam Alikum" <peace be onto you >[19] is perceived by Arabs as the most correct and respectful greeting term . This greeting is an expression of the Muslim faith and is intimately connected with Islam (Al-Nassar, 1993) hence, to use this form of greeting to a person who is sitting in a Bar would be regarded as provocative or almost as an insult to the hearer considering the socio-cultural constraints placed on the use of "Salam Alaikum". In fact , this expression has a religious connotation and its use would not be adequate in a bar where Alcohol (being banned by religion) is served .

Probably an endless list of examples can be added to illustrate the cultural patterns, which stand poles apart in whatever two different communities. Contact between members of two distinct cultures will suffice to be acutely conscious of these variations. Evidently, and as Professor Hernandez (1999) postulates, "the differences in the cultural patterns have always existed independently of the intercultural contact.

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[19] The translations given here are approximate equivalence.

However, it is the contact between different cultures, which highlights these differences, and it is through contact that we become conscious of the disparities in the cultural patterns inherent to discrete cultures". (cf. Hernandez Sacristan, 1999)

It follows from this , that the understanding and the knowledge of appropriate speech behaviour is crucial if non- native speakers are to communicate effectively with native speakers . More than words , they need for example , to know what is appropriate to particular speech event , what forms of address are to be used , to whom and in which situation ; and how speech acts as greeting, thanks, compliments, apologies, complaints and invitations etc . are to be done , interpreted and responded to .

Although it seems exaggerated the difference in cross – cultural framing and symbolizing patterns , there is a need to be sensitized to the cultural and contextual relativity , a need also for more empirical studies void of speculation and directed to exploration . It is true that communication all over the world is based on commonly–shared–principles, but communities select and institutionalize certain patterns in preference to others . It is true also that we all say " something " or do "something " to greet our interlocutors - if this speech act exists in this community - but does it mean that we are "all Polite" and we all " do it", and "understand it" in the same way?

An answer could be found in the experience of (bicultural) members who belong to two or more communities, and who are submerged in the task of incessant culture-switching to meet their communicative requirements as a daily exercise. My experience as bicultural in Moroccan

Arabic and Spanish, and bearing in mind the reports of outstanding researcher such as Wierzbicka (Polish acculturated in Australia), and Florian Coulmas (German acculturated in Japan) give substantial clues to postulate that we do not conceive and practice politeness unanimously. In Moroccan culture, I consider that the concept of "politeness" is not structured on the use of modal verbs and compound conditionals[20], as is the case with English, or anchored in the provision of as many strategies to reduce the imminent threat to the face of one, or of both of the interactants, as Brown and Levinson Claim. Politeness in Moroccan culture denotes particular concepts, which are nourished mainly by religious norms and cultural conventions. To be polite in Morocco is to abide by a series of concepts, which can hardly be transferable to any western community. Among such concepts we find "Hasmah" <a kind of shyness>, "al ihtiram" <respect>, "l´adab" <education>, "l´akhlaq" <morality (basically religious)>, "l´hayae" <shyness>, and a polite act is the concurrence of all these concepts in one act.

The speech behaviour of members of individual communities is multi-layered and the analysis of the cultural patterns across cultures should be sought in deeper levels. Seemingly, the speech behaviour is not the compilation of those "shell" routines which are visible to interactants in the course of communication and which uncover linguistic or/and cultural stocks ordinarily used in one individual community and not in others. Obviously, the differences in the stock of routines used, for example, to

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[20] The conditional as a tense is inexistent in Arabic. The realisation of such a tense in Classical Arabic, for example, is effected through the use of the verb (Awadu) <I want/ I hope> which is usually used in the present tense. In MA however, the conditional tense is realised through the use of (man´krehsh) meaning <I would not detest> to do this or that, or through the use of the religious lexicon (if God wants/ God willing) I do this or, that.

greet, or invite in Arabic can be easily perceived by Spanish speakers, simply because they stand out of the "ordinary" way of greeting or inviting in this community.

The exploration of the speech behaviour of Moroccans can go beyond the enumeration of the different "material"manifestations inherent to this language/culture to include an examination of the mental view and the individual concepts that this community has selected for a particular acts of speech.

4.1. Politeness in MA

In the present paragraph, we are concerned about the discussion of an outstanding aspect in the strategies of politeness in MA, i.e., the use of "religious lexicons" hence, (RL) as a politeness strategy. To understand the use of these RL we necessitate knowing the ethno-pragmatic mechanics governing RL, which requires not only access to the local cultural norms which regulate interpersonal relationships, but also knowledge of these locutions as intrinsically compatible with the local norms of a proper polite interactional exchange. The use of RL is observed to be strategically encoded and decoded by interactants following the local belief system and the cultural notions. In this paragraph, we aim at answering the following research questions:

1. *How important is the element belief in delivering the meaning of polite utterance?*
2. *How participants´ framework and their alignment vis-à-vis God or, the "supra-individual" (for the lack of better term) reflect their vision of personhood, causality, action and interaction and unpack the concept of participant´s agency? and,*

3. How does the concept of agency manifest itself in RL?

4.1.1. The function of RL in the performance of politeness in MA

Michael Silverstein suggested that the communicative force of a culture works not only in representing aspects of reality but also in connecting one context with another. The concept of indexical meaning of signs states that "communication is not only the use of symbols that `stand for´ beliefs, feeling, identities, events, it is also a way of pointing to, presupposing or bringing into the present context, beliefs, feelings, identities and events (cit. in Duranti, 1997: 37)

In MA, religion as a set of the cultural beliefs of Moroccans in particular and all Arabs in general, is inlaid in the language Moroccans daily use. An outstanding sociolinguistic aspect in MA is seen in the overuse of religious formulae as politeness devices. This sociolinguistic phenomenon is regarded as unique and related only to Arabic language (Morrow and Castleton, 2007: 202). There are maybe thousands of religious expressions or "lexicon of Allah", to use the term these authors have coined for this phenomenon. The lexicon of Allah is found in all communicative activities:

> "…tradition has found countless circumstances and formation for its delivery. Some of these phrases, reminders of Allah power, characteristics, capacity and identity have been seen to appear in conversation multiple times each day in venues from the market to the television news." (Morrow, Castelton, & Vittor, 2006)

In Standard Arabic, these expressions are usually used joint to nearly all speech acts such as greeting "hayak Allah" (God greet you); farewell "fi amani lah" (Go with God); thanks "baraka Lahu fik" (may God bless you); apology "Bilahi alaik" (for God´s sake); congratulation "masha Lah"; promise "in shaa Allah" (God willing)[21], among others.

Additionally, in some other instances, they may substitute a speech act and work as a speech act on their own as is the case with compliments. In order to perform a compliment, a speaker may say, "masha Allah alik" (God willing on you), or, "tabarak lah" (may God bless you) meant to be interpreted as a praise to the hearer for being pretty/handsome or, skillful…etc.

> "It is an important cultural pattern that compliments or words of praise should be accompanied by a deferential reference to God. Without the reference to God, such statements appear crude, and in older, more traditional social circle, they are taken as bad omens which bring misfortune. References to God of this sort are usually not directly translatable into English." (Harell, Abu Talib and Caroll, 2003: 352, cit. ibid)

Turner Medhi (1978, cit. ibid) postulates that "Arabic language is an inseparable part of Islam" (ibid: 109). With a similar point of view, Steward (1968 cit. ibid) claims that "[t]he Arabic language is more than the unifying bond of the Arab world; it also shapes and molds that world" (ibid: 14); in view of that, "it has even greater effect on its speakers than other languages have on their speakers" (ibid: 14). Accordingly, in MA as a

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[21] The translation of these lexicons is nearly impossible. There is no one-to-one equivalent term in English this is the reason for providing a same word translation for different lexicons. Originally, in Arabic these lexicons are composed of different words with different semantic and linguistic characteristic.

variety of Arabic, RL may surface almost all interactional activities mainly because the use of these lexicons is crucial for the construction of meaning. It is a means to adhere to the social norms of politeness.

As Davies (2000) argues, `the inappropriate use of religiously-based Arabic politeness expressions may be perceived as abrupt or impolite´ (2000: 80).

Many instances where RL are used for particular speech function are found in MA, namely as "attention-getter" before a request for information as in "3afak asidi, fin la poste?" (Bless you my master, where is the post office?). This situation can be equated with English "excuse me, would you, please, show me the way to the post office?" RL also can work as "please" as in, "3tini Lah yekhalik wahed l´kilo dial l´btata" <give me, may God bless you a Kg of potatoes> (please, give me a Kg of potatoes). It can also be used as "thank you", as a second turn answer to any of the two mentioned examples where the speaker might say: "lah yerhem waldik asidi" (may God bless you my master). As a "greeting" as in "salamu alaikum" (peace with you), or as a "farewell" as in "Lah yehennik" (may God give you happiness); also as apology "smehli, lah yerhem waldik" (forgive me, may God bless your parents); as a compliment complement "masha Alah 3lik" (God willing on you), (see chapter on compliments).

At the syntactic level, the structure of RL is usually:

1- May God + verb + positive noun = May God give you happiness/ peace/ good health/ blessing…etc.
2- May God+ positive verb = May God bless/save/ help/ you

Contrarily, RL can be used also to insult and curse. In this context, positive verbs and nouns are substituted by negative ones, i.e., [May God+

(verb) + (negative noun)] OR [(May God) + (negative verb)], as we can observe in the following examples:

1- May God + negative verb = May God damn/kill/ you

2- May God + verb + (negative noun) = May God give you blind

"Lah ye3tek l´3ma" <may God make you go blind; give you blindness>

4.1.2. Politeness and the indexical meaning of RL

A close attention to the pragmatic function of these speech particles shows that RL are generally "pleas for blessing" where the invocation of God (the supra-individual, henceforth) is used by the speaker to warrant the completion of the speech act on one hand, and to coerce the hearer to comply with the solicited act on the other. In other words, the supra-individual (from the standpoint of belief) represents absolute authority (it is the master of the world) and "its" intervention is the instrument the speaker uses to get his/her speech act fulfilled simply because the speaker believes that the hearer believes that to fulfill the desired act would please the supra-individual. Hence the completion of the speech act is deviated from the speaker. To this point, the hearer would perform the requested act because it pleases the supra individual and not to please the speaker (the requester).

In order to arrive at the speech function of RL, it is necessary to identify the performative and semantic concept for the realisation of this goal. A description of participants is then de rigueur primarily because we should not neglect the social character of speech, given that along the course of a given interaction participant are likely to work together to limit the possible interpretation of their utterances (Borker, 1986; Duranti & Brenneis 1986).

With regard to RL**,** the performance of the speech act manifests a range of speakers control and a variety of presumed presences and actors, visible and invisible. The supra-individual here is full co-participant in the shaping of the meaning, it participates in the action as other sorts of conversation partners do.

Dubois (1986) argues that these features tend to shift apparent control over speech from the individual proximate speaker, who is bodily present at the moment of speaking, to some spatially, temporally, or ontologically more distant agent.

Let´s consider this correct and politely formulated request in MA: "ara dak stilo lah yerhem waldik" <Give that pen may God bless your parents>.

The participants are: 1- The speaker, 2- the hearer, 3- the supra-individual

Participants

Figure 1

Action

Requestee

Plea   Blessing

Ask   Receive

Ask

Requester   Requestee

Receive
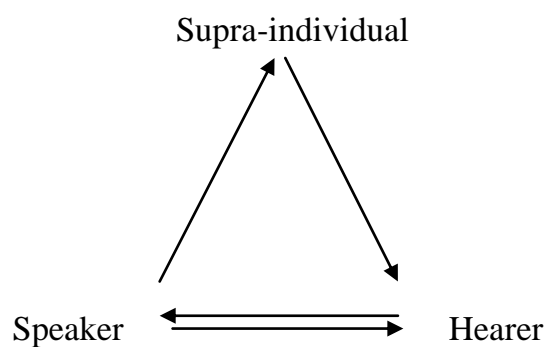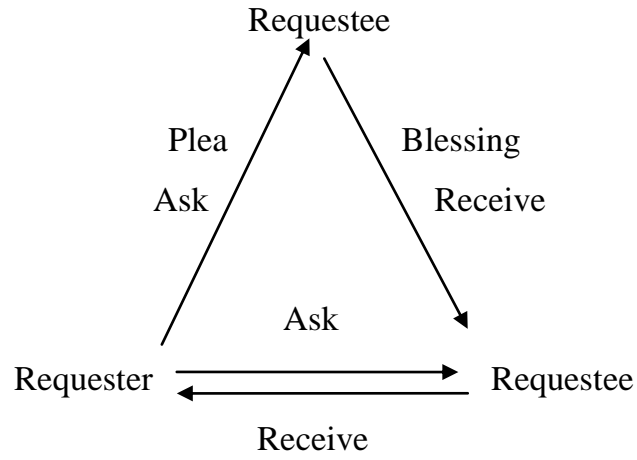
Figure 2

The sequencing of action

The speaker   Asks hearer to give him the pen

    Asks the invisible to give blessing to hearer

The invisible   (Maybe) complies with the request of speaker

    (Maybe) gives blessing to hearer

Hearer   (Thinks he can) receive blessing from invisible

    Gives the pen to speaker
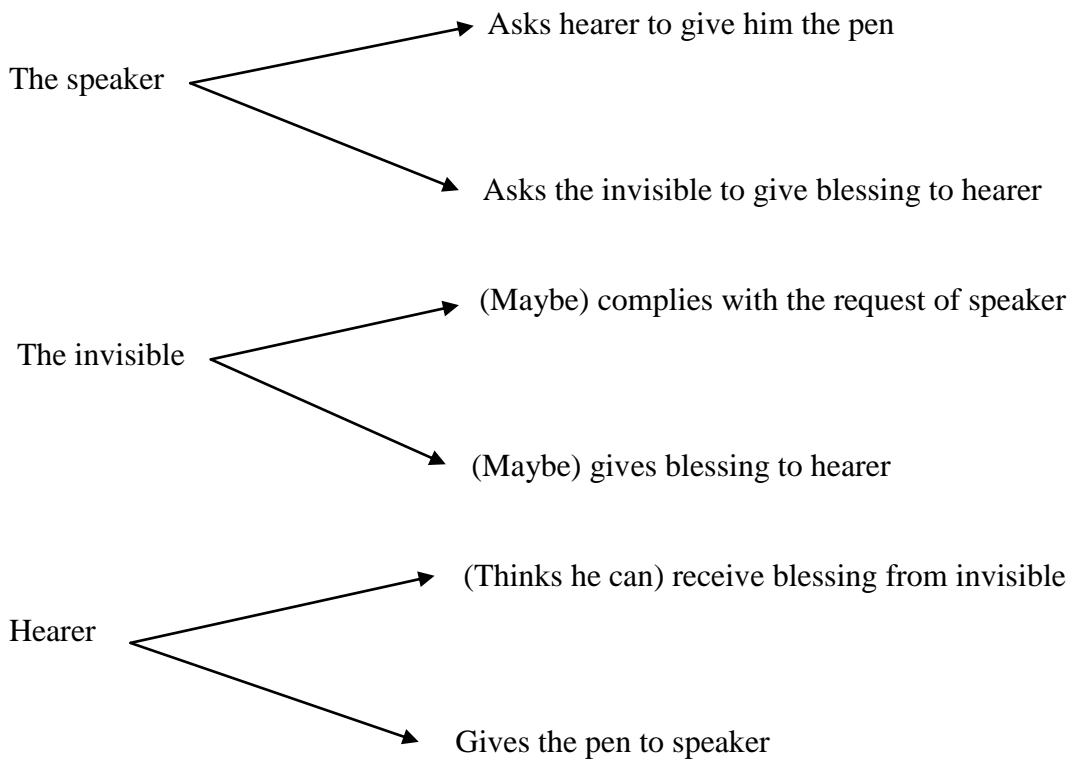
Figure 3

The way human beings communicate with invisible beings tend to reflect underlying assumptions about the nature of these beings, of the human subject, and of the social relations between them (Buckley 1984, cit. in Keane, 1997: 56)

The invisible in this context is treated as an extension of the speaking subject beyond the scope of the individual (Keane 1997a) and a promoter of collaborative authorship and interpretation (Lambek 1981, cit. ibid)

This extension becomes operational in the creation of participant roles. Erving Goffman (1981) issued several roles involved in speech events, namely, the "principal" who bears responsibility for what is said, the "author" who creates the actual words, the "animator" who says them, the "proximal addressee" of the utterance, the "target" to whom the words are ultimately directed, and the "overhearer". To deal with the invisible as the addressee of words is to attribute to it a different kind of presence, and maybe of agency different from that of an overhearer. Roles that can be adopted by one person may also be assigned to numerous subjects. As illustrated in the example provided here, we see that the supra-individual can hear, give, and can be pleased, he participates in the performance of the act as any other interactant.

The distribution of roles may also serve to dislocate responsibility away from individuals or diffuse it among many. In the creation of participant roles participants may appeal to sources of authority (God in this case) that do not pertain to the noticeable here and now, so that for instance, the speech event makes tangible the existence of the invisible and the inaudible (Hanks 1996a, cit. in Keane, p:58). The religious belief,

hence, is reinforced through the speech practice more for what participants take for granted than for what it actually represents.

4.1.3. Authorship and agency

To understand personhood, causality, action and interaction we have to refer to agency. In the sequencing of the action, the distribution of the roles participants adopt delimits their relationship and at the same time fosters the distribution of authorship. Here it is important to ask how participants conceive their own action and whom they attribute responsibility to for the events. Is it to fate, to individuals, to deities, to other animate or inanimate forces? (Ahern 2001b, 2001) Readily, we can expect agency to be enacted and defined according to the culture where it is enclosed and depending on how personhood and causality are conceived.

Scholars, especially action theorists have attempted to explain human agency and they argue that agency requires some sorts of related mental state, such as:

➤ "Intention" (Davidson, 1980 [1971]: 46),
➤ "Presence of the self" (Segal, 1991: 113), also
➤ "A rational point of view" and a "domain of intentional control" (Rovanne, 1998: 85), or
➤ "Motivation, responsibility, and expectation of recognition or reward" (Mann, 1994: 14)

The use of RL from the standpoint of language as a form of action (Schiefflin, 1990: 16) affiliates participants to Mann´s theory (Mann, 1994: 14). Considering the sequencing of the action of request presented earlier

(see figure 3), we see that the action develops relying basically on the mutual belief (motivation) about the hearer´s expectation of reward (to receive the blessing) from the supra-individual and not from the hearer. The hearer suffers a contextual "displacement" considering that the requested act pleases the supra-individual (not the hearer) who no longer abides responsibility for the requested act. The hearer gets his recompense via the blessing through the supra-individual.

For the listener, the performance is sufficient to index the existence of the relationship (between addressee and supra-individual). The relationship in turn provides the warrant for the performance, in addition, the efficacy of the intervention of the supra individual gives the speaker special authority or persuasiveness, or places the listener under special obligation (Beldsoe & Robey 1986; Briggs 1993, cit. in Keane, 1996: 59)

4.2. General research objectives of this study

The aim by now is to locate the object of my research as an exploratory intercultural research from a pragmatic perspective of the speech acts of thanks/apology, compliments and invitations in the speech of immigrant native speakers of Moroccan Arabic settled in Spain with the intention to meet two different objectives. The first one is set as *empirical-descriptive*, and the second one is establishe as *theory-explicative*.

AT THE *EMPIRICAL-DESCRIPTIVE* LEVEL my aim is:

1. *To investigate how native speakers of Moroccan Arabic use thanks/apology, invitations, and compliments as politeness strategies.*

2. To examine whether there are any linguistic and/or cultural variations in the speech behaviour of Moroccan Migrants, which prelude a potential liability of the members of this community to misunderstanding in their interactions with members from the host culture.

The study also pursues a *theory-explicative* objective particularly in what concerns the theories of speech acts and politeness.

The discussion of the particularities of speech acts and the patterns of politeness in the speech behaviour of Moroccans suggests on the one hand, a reconsideration of the theory claimed by Austin, where speech is conceived as an action, and a re-opening of the debate on the concept of universality of speech acts and politeness theories, on the other hand.

I consider that the concept of speech acts, together with the sociocultural, and the sociolinguistic devices, which are called for to perform politeness in the Moroccan culture diverge substantially from those exploited in the Western culture.

The concluding discussion, in this dissertation, will be therefore set to answer the following research questions:

AT THE *THEORY-EXPLICATIVE* LEVEL

3. Do speech acts represent a universal concept for the performance of a communicative act?

4. Do all cultures handle and exercise politeness under universal patterns, or, are there some other cultural components such as "superstition", the fear of the bad-eye, the "public image" and the tension between the "individual" and "society" which are more salient in some particular contexts of communication? , and if there are some, which of these cultural components surface within this tension? Are they the social aspects, the particular aspects or the universal aspects?

Answers to these questions will be offered, from different perspectives, along the following chapters.

PART III

Qualitative experience-based approach

CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter 5: Thanks/apology

5.1. The phenomenon of extrapolation of "sorry" in Moroccan Arabic

Among the languages on which few studies have been done or at least have been reported is Moroccan Arabic and one of the most striking phenomena observed in this language is the inverted use of "sorry" for "thanks".

My aim in this chapter is to shed light on this phenomenon providing an intra–cultural insight to bring about the mechanism underlying the use of apology instead of thanks with a focus on the situational variations and the discourse constraints which affect the pragmatic process involved in the creation of what we consider as the "phenomenon of extrapolation.[22]" In the first sub-part, we would deal with Smahli "sorry" as an apology and Smahli and Shukran "thanks" as an expression of gratitude.

Whereas in the second sub-part, we would analyze the extension of the use of Smahli " sorry " as a gratitude expression.

Our third sub-part would focuses on the use of Shukran and Smahli together. And in the last part, we would be concerned with Smahli as a response to an expression of gratitude.

Taking as a point of departure the theory claimed by Brown & Levinson (1978-1987: 74) that politeness strategies are directed to "

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[22] With "extrapolation" we refer to the extension of the use of "sorry" beyond the notion of Apology to become an expression of Thanks .

Face [23]", be it, the speaker´s or the hearer´s self or public image. And that most of the speech acts are Face-threatening acts which are regulated by three sociological variables, namely, Distance , Power and Ranking, we intend to answer the following questions:

1. *Why do Moroccans use Smahli " sorry " and Shukran " thanks " as they are used in English for example , and under what speech situation are they used ?*

2. *Why is that in Moroccan Arabic apologies are used when thanks are expected in English and not vice – versa ?*

3. *Why is apology used simultaneously after thanks?*

4. *Why is apology used as a response to thanks?*

Account for situation I

Both of Shukran "thanks" and Smahli " sorry " exist in Moroccan Arabic and are used to serve the same discourse function as that of English as illustrated in what follows :

Example (1)

[A by – passer stumbled and hit a person and to apologize he said:]
A: Smahli a sidi .

---

[23] "Face "is something that is emotionally invested and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced , and must be constantly attended to in interaction . Brown & Levinson (1978 , 1987, p. 61)

> "I am sorry, sir"
>
> B: Makain mushkil .
>
> "No problem"

Example (2)

> [In the office , the conversation is between two mates]
>
> A: Haki lewrak li brhiti
>
> "Here you are the papers you wanted"
>
> B: Shukran. "Thank you".

In relation to example (I), by using smahli " sorry " , the speaker (A) asks the speaker (B) forgiveness for the violation that motivated the need to apologize(the speaker hurt the hearer), and this act is done by the most explicit realization of an apology, that is, via an explicit Force Indicating Device (I F I D 24), (Searle, 1969 : 64) to fulfill the conventional function of signaling regret to placate the hearer as would do any formulaic expression of regret in English, such as "sorry" , "to apologize", or "excuse", among others.

However, in example (2) Shukran " thank you" apparently seems to indicate the expression of gratitude and could be understood as adequate to the situation to a non – native speaker , we should point out that Shukran is interpreted differently among Moroccans and the use of it is submitted to situational constraints and to the relation existing between   the   interlocutors . In other words, Shukran   in

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24 Coded by language specific realization.

Moroccan Arabic is used depending on "where " and "who " is talking to " whom " as we would discuss in the following .

In example (2) , the encounter is held in a public place and the speaker and the hearer are mates and the act for which the expression of gratitude is given is an official transaction . These three factors are determinant for the evaluation of : First to what extent the speaker ´s Face is compromised . And Second , the degree of gratitude vis–à–vis the act for which the expression of gratitude is used . And Third is the distribution of Role$_{25}$ between the interlocutors .

Kumatoridani (1999) reports on Coulmas (1981). in his study on Japanese thanks and apology that whether one performs an apology or thanks `depends on one ´s perception of indebtedness toward the object of gratitude and the object of regret´, and offers the following statements:

Gratitude + indebtedness = apology

Gratitude + indebtedness = thanks

Gratitude + no indebtedness = thanks

Regret + no indebtedness = sympathy

Regret + indebtedness = apology

(Kumatoridani 1999, p: 630)

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[25] The Role Relationship refers to the relationship which people have to each other in an act of communication and which influence the way people speak to each other. Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985, p. 246)

In example (2) the choice of the use of Shukran by the speaker (B) is performed on the basis that the act for which he/she has to express gratitude is an " official" act which does not serve the speaker´s interest or affect his / her face. This fact reduces or rather annuls the feeling of indebtedness toward the benefactor. Systematically , the use of Shukran would correspond to the use of thanks in the situation where the speaker expresses his /her gratitude without being in debt vis – a – vis the hearer as shown in Coulmas´ third statement. however , the statements offered by Coulmas remain short as far as they determine the use of Shukran or " thanks " only from the perspective of the speaker in relation to the act for which the gratitude is expressed . And neglect one of what we consider the central constraint that blocks the use of Shukran , that is, the Role–Relationship of the interlocutors.

Indeed we wonder if the speaker (B) in example (2) would have opted to use Shukran as a politeness strategy if the benefactor were the boss for example , or his / her father , or the porter etc ? . An immediate answer then is in order , and an alternative model is needed to explain the pragmatic process involved in the choice of Shukran.

According to Brown & Levinson (1978-1987: 74) the assessment of the seriousness of an F.T.A (that is, the calculations that members actually seem to make) is bound to three sociological variables : The " Social Distance " (D) ; the " Relative Power " (P) and the " Absolute Ranking " (R) . And these variables are attributed particular values as

high (+) or low (-) depending on the socio-cultural fix[26] available to the interlocutors and the nature of the FTA whose seriousness is calculated by the variable W which is the numerical value that measures the weightiness of the FTA on the basis of the three parameters mentioned earlier .

It is now possible to proceed to the discussion of why we consider the parameters PDR and the calculation of the variable W as crucial for the speaker (B) in example (2) in the choice of Shukran as a politeness strategy.

As we have mentioned earlier, (in the description of the speech situation in example (2)). The interlocutors are mates, and this fact presupposes that the notion of individual ranking is annulated, that is, (the speaker (A) is equal to the speaker (B)) so we have $R = 0$, which by its turn annuls the relative power of the interlocutors i.e. (the speaker (A) has no power over the speaker (B)) that is $P = 0$ which annuls the distance between the speaker and the hearer i.e. : $D = 0$. Added to the fact that the act for which the gratitude expression Shukran is used , is a public service and not in the speaker´s personal benefit which implicates no personal indebtedness. We can say that the weightiness of the FTA is by its turn annulated , i.e. $W = 0$.

By now we can draw the conclusion that the use of Shukran in Moroccan Arabic serves the discourse function of a gratitude expression only when : (as we represent schematically):

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[26] A priest would be attributed a high (P.D.R) in cultures where the priest is a high authority, as is the case for Catholics which would not be the case for Muslims as far as priests do not exist .

$$\{ \; D \; (\; S \, , H \;) + \; P \; (\; S \, , H \;) + R \; (\; S \, , H \;) \; \} + W = 0$$

5.2. Politeness and the extrapolation of Smahli "sorry" in MA

Account for situation II

It is generally agreed that apology is a face – redressive act directed to the hearer to repair the damage caused by the speaker. However, in Moroccan Arabic Smahli "sorry" as an apology strategy is extrapolated, it is extended and serves more discourse functions than that assigned to apology. As we illustrate in the diagram bellow, apology belongs to the group of speech acts performed for thanking or expressing gratitude.

Thanks
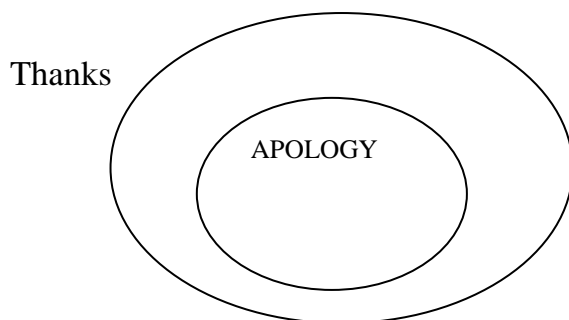
APOLOGY

What is involved in this process is a deviation from the standard pragmatic force assigned by definition to apology.
Indeed, if we have to spot where Smahly "sorry" stands, we would put it in the intersection between the group of the speech acts used for apology and those used for thanks as shown below:

```
        S
        M
        A
        H
        L
        I
```
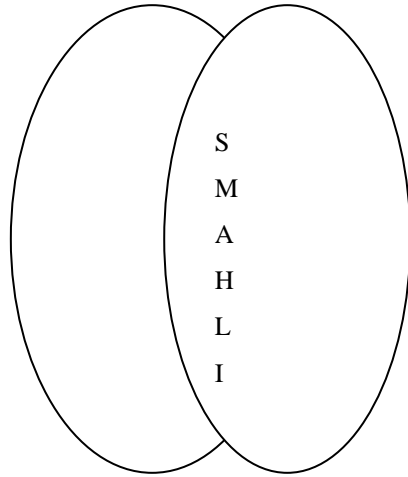
Provided this redefinition of Smahli in Moroccan Arabic, we would proceed to answer the question II posited referring to why is that in Moroccan Arabic apology is used when thanks are expected in English for example. However, before embarking on the analysis of this phenomenon, let us consider the following example:

Example (3)

[A guest on leave after the dinner to which he was invited concluded saying to the host:]

A: Wa semhuna8, semhuna bezaf.

"We are sorry, very sorry" / "forgive us, please forgive us (a lot)"

B: Ntuma li tsemhuna.

"We are who are to be sorry"

B: Wa fdiwenna had el mejia.

"Come again and allow us to compensate you with a better reception."27

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[27] Here the translation is of the general idea, it is not a word-to-word translation

5.3. Issues in the interpretation of Moroccan apology

According to Fraser (1983: 41) both thanks and apologies are "evaluative illocutionary acts: "thanks" are acts in which the speaker expresses his "gratitude for the hearer`s participation in some prior action" and "apology" are acts in which the speaker expresses "regret for a prior action for the hearer".

However, this definition does not provide clues as to why the speaker (A) in example (3) has chosen Smahli instead of Shukran.

It is true that both acts are based on the speaker`s evaluation of the action to compensate the hearer with "thanks" in case the speaker receives a positive action from the hearer, or "sorry" in case of having caused any damage to the hearer.

Actually, in Moroccan Arabic what seems to be involved in the employment of Smahli instead of Shukran as in example (3) is a reversion of the perspective of evaluation. In fact, instead of being a process in which the speaker evaluates the act in relation to himself/herself (speaker-focused), it becomes a process by which the speaker evaluates the act in relation to the hearer (hearer-focused). To say it in other words, in English for example, any speech situation of "thanks" could be interpreted in a way that by using "thanks" the speaker evaluates the "benefit" he/she obtains from the act and uses thanks to compensate the benefactor for his/her generosity.

However, in example (3) the pragmatic process seems to be inverted; the speaker (A) evaluates how "costly" the action is, that is, (the invitation,

the reception, the dinner, etc.) is to the hearer, and uses Smahli to apologize and at the same time to compensate the hearer (B) for the act of (inviting, receiving, etc) him/her.

Thus, we can assume that the prototype acts subject to thanks are speaker-focused and are evaluated in relation and as beneficial to the speaker, whereas the Moroccan thanks are marked by a shift of focus, they are hearer-focused and the act is evaluated in relation to the hearer and as costly to the hearer, which converts the thanks into apologies.

5.4. "Shukran" versus "Smahly" and the Phenomenon of Permutability

Example (4)

[A young pregnant woman trying to get her way through a crowd says to a young man]
A: Smahli, khalini ndouz a khouya.
"Excuse me, allow me to pass brother."
B: Douzi a khti.
"Go sister"
A: Shukran a khouya.
"Thank you brother"

Example (5)

[An elderly woman, trying to get on the bus, asked a young man to help her]
A: Awenni netlaa a weldi.
"Help me to get on the bus, son."
B: Eyyeh a lala.
"Of course madam"
(And when she is on the bus, she says:)
A: Smahly a weldi.
"Sorry, son"

As represented in example (4) and (5) both of the apology and thanks are used for the same speech event, that is, a request. The speaker (A) asks the hearer (B) to do the action. So the problem which arises from this situation is that why do the speakers in example (4) and (5) use different politeness strategies considering that they are performed for the same speech event.

Brown & Levinson (1978-1987, P:203) suggested that different groups may treat the factor of power, distance and the weight of imposition depending on the value they attribute to the distance between individuals.

Accordingly, some individuals would prefer to hold common ground (-P) (-D) to create solidarity and low rate of imposition either for social, individual or context conveniences. Others would maintain distance (+D) for any of the reasons mentioned earlier to create deference where the imposition is assumed to be high. These two groups are classified as "Symmetric" as far as they reflect the assumption that there is little difference in power between the individuals. Whereas, others would maintain more power (+P) and more distance (+D) and this group is classified as "Asymmetric".

Our general interest in this discussion of variability in the distribution of power and distance is to bring about the importance of the factors Symmetry/Asymmetry for the applicability of Shukran or Smahly, and how they block the pragmatic process involved in the choice of Shukran and Smahli.

It is common among young Moroccans to be addressed or to address their interlocutors on a common ground[28], that is to say, as equals. The address form "khouya" (brother) and "khti" (sister) as illustrated in example (4) is a marker of solidarity and at the same time, it is an honorific.

By using khouya, the speaker (A) invites the hearer (B) to familiarity and at the same time signals respect as in a real family relationship between brothers and sisters.

This role-relationship provides a situation of symmetry whereby both interlocutors would act on the assumption of less power (-P) and less distance (-D). Accordingly, the degree of the imposition of the FTA, i.e.: the request would be rated as low on the assumption that the speakers are equals (like siblings), and to ask for a favour to a brother or a sister is less impositive and less compromising to the speaker, as it is perceived by native speakers. This fact justifies the speaker´s (A) use of Shukran as a gratitude expression despite the threat that the request as "directive" represents for both the speaker`s and the hearer`s face.

As shown above, we can draw the conclusion that the pragmatic process involved in the choice of Shukran by the speaker (A) in example (4) as a politeness strategy is again determined by the parameters PDR, which by their turn determine the weightiness of the speech act for which Shukran is used. We can summarize all this process in the following formula: Shukran can be used only when:

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[28] This is valid only between young people. Old people are treated with more deference.

$$\{ P (S,H) + D (S,H) + R (S,H) \} + W = 0$$

The problem that I would like now to discuss is that why in example (5) the speaker (A) uses Smahli and not Shukran provided that in both the example (4) and (5) the act for which the gratitude expression is given is a request.

Scollon & Scollon (1983: 171) report on Bateson (1976) that the way people relate to each other is determined by patterns of relationships and could be understood in terms of dominance and submission.

In Moroccan society, old people are attributed a kind of social "prestige" and are placed in a dominant position especially in situations where the interlocutor is young. The theory of Bateson comes close to our interest here to discuss how the factor Dominance/ Submission creates asymmetry and blocks the pragmatic process involved in the choice of Smahli.

In example (5) the conversation is held between an elderly woman and a young man and based on the assumption that old people have a social "prestige" –as we explained before- which creates a situation of imbalance, or in Brown & Levinson´s term, a situation of asymmetry.

Subsequently, the elderly woman would be in a position of dominance (+P) over the hearer, being young (- P). This situation of imbalance would increase the degree of imposition of the request and consequently the threat to the hearer´s face. So aware of this situation, the speaker (A) would proceed on one hand to reduce the imbalance and on the other hand to redress the hearer`s face.

As shown in example (5) the speaker (A) uses Smahli plus the form of address "a weldi "(son), and this address form is meant to reduce the distance with the hearer. Whereas the redress of the hearer´s face is done via apology "smahli" as a conclusion of the process of evaluating the cost the speaker causes the hearer in asking him to do the action.

5.5. Shukran + smahli[29] and the "added" constraint

In this part, we would deal with the simultaneous use of Shukran and Smahli as a politeness strategy frequently used and expected to be used by Moroccans in particular circumstances which we would discuss later. But before, let us consider the following example:

Example (6)

[A man missed the bus and saw a neighbor driving along
And stopped him to ask him if he can give him a lift. And
The neighbour accepted and once in the car, the speaker says:]
A: Hna Ç3ib bach telka taxi
"It is difficult to get a taxi in this area"
B: Makain mushkil, ghadi f`triki
"No problem, it is in may way."
A: Makansh khas nsedaak
"I shouldn`t have disturbed you."
B: Makain mushkil, hahna wselna
"No problem we have already arrived"
A: [getting out of the car, he says:]
Shukran w? smahli a sidi
"Thank you and sorry sir"

---

[29] These two expressions are always used in this order.

It might seem contradictory to use Shukran and Smahli simultaneously if we take into consideration the situational constraints that interfere in the pragmatic process underlying the performance of these two politeness strategies.

However, we can assume that such a "contradictory" process is predictable and normally used by native speakers as in example (6). Among Moroccans, to ask for favours is considered highly compromising to the speaker who asks for the favour, and he is urged to use a series of remedial strategies to mitigate the situation. [Requests are FTA to the speaker and the hearer, (Cf. Blum Kulka et al, 1989)]. As shown in example (6), the speaker gives a series of self-justification for the situational context to soften his imposition upon his neighbour. The techniques used are as follows:

Strategy I:

The speaker (A) gives an "explanation or account" (Cf. Blum Kulka, et al, 1989:21) to the hearer of how the FTA, that is, "to ask for a lift" depends on external factors: "it is difficult to get a taxi in this area" example (6).

Strategy II:

"Intensification": the speaker (A) expresses explicit concern for the hearer (B), i.e. "I shouldn´t have disturbed you".

These two strategies are perceived by the hearer (B) and are responded to by "makain mushkil" (no problem) to redress the hearer´s face.

Now we should answer why the speaker (A) uses a double politeness strategy. In the previous chapters we have discussed how Shukran is exclusively used in contexts where the interlocutors are equals, and how this equality could be established by virtue of similar professional ranking as in example (2), or for social neutralization of ranking as in example (4), and the relation between these two circumstances of the use of Shukran with the example (6) is the kind of social link that exists between neighbours, granting that neighbours are perceived by native speakers as equals. However, this factor of equality between the speakers (A) and (B) as neighbours does not include asking a neighbour to do you a favour, which in this situation is an "added constraint".

Subsequently, the use of Shukran is a gratitude expression meant to confirm the equality between the interlocutors as neighbours whereas Smahli is an apology for the cost the speaker causes to the hearer from the speaker perspective based on the process of Cost / Benefit evaluation.
We can resume then the use of Shukran + Smahly as a "dual politeness strategy "as a means by which the speaker as equal to the hearer and for an added constraint (here it is a request) expresses his gratitude to the hearer, and this situation could be represented as in the formula bellow:

$$(S=H) + Action = Shukran + Smahli.$$

5.6. The "hearer´s apology"

In this part, we would deal with apology as a closing stage of an interchange of politeness strategies where the hearer apologises using Afwan[30] as a response[31] to Shukran. This is represented in the following example:

Example (7)

A postman delivering a telegram inquires:
A: wash inti hya lala X?
"Are you Madam X?"
B: Eyyeh a sidi.
"Yes sir/ master"
A: 3endek had telegram
"I have a telegram for you, here you are "
B: Shukran a sidi
"Thank you sir"
A : Afwan
"sorry"

Afwan in example (7) is used by the speaker (B) as a closing stage of an interchange of politeness strategies, which is initiated, by the speaker (B).

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[30] Afwan and Smahli serve the same discourse function, i.e.: apology. However they are not inter-changeable : Smahli is exclusively used for apology as a gratitude expression, whereas Afwan is used as a response to a gratitude expression.

[31] All the expresions of gratitude are responded to in Moroccan Arabic by expressions like "hada wajib" (it is my duty); "bla jamil" (<it is not a favour>a kind of equivalent to the English expression "don´t mention it") etc. But we brought about the case of Afwan as a response to a gratitude expression only because it is an apology and this paper deals with apology in all its aspects.

Afwan is usually used as the pair-part of Shukran. Whenever a speaker uses Shukran the hearer answers Afwan.

This structural distribution results from a complex pragmatic process, which could be understood in relation to the hearer in two ways:

    1 - By using afwan, the hearer perceives a situation of imbalance created by the fact of being thanked for an act, which the hearer considers not a favour, that is, (example (6) the job of the postman is to deliver all things concerned with the post office).

    2 – As a "self-effacement" vis-á-vis the speaker, as if the hearer means that there is no reason to thank him.

    Hence, Afwan could be considered as a result of the same pragmatic process used to give an expression gratitude to evaluate the substantial cost the speaker causes to the hearer. Whereas with Afwan the hearer evaluates the cost s/he causes to the speaker´s face in being obliged to thank him for an act, which is his/her, duty. Consequently, in order to redress the speaker´s face, he apologizes. The whole process could be represented as follows:

$$(H+S) + Shukran = Afwan.$$

CHAPTER SIX

Chapter 6: Invitation

Introduction

In the present chapter, we are concerned with the analysis of invitation making and acceptance/declining in Moroccan society from a pragmatic perspective. It is my intention to approach invitation making in MA in the light of two procedures: the first procedure was selected to provide a descriptive account of the modus operandi of invitation making in MA. To this end I have resorted to my intuition as a native speaker, and relying on past personal communicative experiences, I have re-created similar speech situations with the endeavour to immerse the reader in scenarios where interactants impersonate invitation negotiations similar to those that occur in Moroccans daily-life. The second method of research I opted for was with the purpose to validate my experience-based findings through reliable techniques, resorting to DTCs.

6.1. The purpose of the study of invitation

The choice of invitation as a speech act is based on the pragmatic constraints which characterise the performance of this speech act in MA. Invitation in MA seems to pragmatically conflict with one important politeness rule "Do not impose". The performance of invitation according to Moroccan politeness norms is impositive in the sense that inviters oblige (literally) their potential invitees to perform the act. This seems revealing as to how politeness is conceived in the culture under study. With the intention to shed light on the inviting behaviour in Moroccan community, I pursue the following research questions:

1. What is meant by invitation from the inviter´s perspective, and how it is decoded by the hearer?

2. What are the socio-cultural parameters and the socio-linguistic clues which guide the invitee to accept an invitation?

3. Why and when the invitee can decline /refuse an invitation?

6.2. Research on Invitations

Many studies led on the speech act of invitation were directed to uncover how native speakers fail to identify the patterns of their own speech. Wolfson et al. (1983) argued that the mastery of how to give, interpret, and respond to invitations is a facet of communicative competence which is crucial for adequate social interaction.

Social concurrence and negotiations are indispensable to facilitate any interaction, no matter how simple it might seem. This tendency is observed among middle-class Americans invitations. (Wolfson, 1989) In their empirical study on invitations, Wolfson et al. adverted that since speech communities generally display variations in the rules of their speech behaviour, it is compulsory for non-native speakers to know these rules, in this case, the rules for the appropriate management of invitations. With regard to this point, they stated that the only way to analyse and make the rules for extending and responding to invitations amid speakers of American English accessible to NNS is through the empirically based descriptive analysis.

The study of invitation conducted by these scholars relied on observation as a naturalistic method for data collecting. They recorded their

observations and collected a good deal of information where dependent variables such as sex, age, occupation and the relationship between interactants engaged in invitation exchange were contemplated. Interactants´ relationship proved to be decisive in what is said and how it is said and responded to. Accordingly, they evaluated interactants´ relationship in a continuum of social distance starting from intimates to strangers.

In order to determine the degree of intimacy, they handled membership within a *nuclear family* as a possible parameter, bearing in mind, hence, the differences that exist in the relationship between husband and wife for example, and that between parents and children, or siblings. Notably, social distance should be acknowledged as susceptible to variation with factors such as age, sex, ethnic background and relative status. Asymmetrical status relationship figures in the bare minimum degree of social distance continuum. Whereas service encounters are examples of situations of maximum degree of social distance.

In the analysis of the data obtained on invitation Wolfson et al. claimed that social commitments, according to popular wisdom, are normally arrived at by unambiguous invitations. In their definition of invitation, they claim:

> "...such a speech act... contains reference to time and/or mention of place or activity, and, most important, a request for response."
> (Wolfson, 1989: 119)

The request for time can come before or after the mention of place. Like many other conversational interactions, context frequently substitutes words to convey the particular information to be communicated. The

request for response could also be signalled only by question intonation. These hints, however, enable speaker to actually extend invitations albeit they are no longer than a word. The word "tomorrow?" for instance, could stand perfectly for an invitation if it is uttered by a speaker (friend) to a hearer (friend) with whom s/he habitually have lunch on that particular day.

The context, the shared knowledge of interactants, and the question intonation are three important factors that affect invitation exchange. Among intimate friends where substantial contextual knowledge is shared, one-word invitations such as the above example are frequently used.

Another salient invitation pattern observed in Wolfson, et al. (1983), is the negotiation process whereby interactants move turn by turn until a social commitment is reached. They used the term "lead" to refer to the statement or question which hints to the addressee that an invitation will follow if s/he makes the appropriate move.
Depending on their function, leads can be classified into three categories:

> The first type of lead is the most evident so far as it guides the addressee to know what is going to follow. The function of this pre-sequence is to establish the availability of the addressee. This type of lead may appear in form of a question/statement meant educe not only the desired information but also information about the addresses availability at a particular time.
> The second type of lead is vague. It is referred to as "expressive" since it is usually used to convey the feelings of the speaker without any specific commitment. Regardless of its vagueness, this type of lead is frequently used and usually ends in a firm invitation.
> The third type of lead is referred to as the "past-tie". This lead is associated with shared knowledge of previous attempts to negotiate

social arrangement by the interactants. In this type of lead interactants re-consider previous attempts in which they failed to complete the invitation, whilst still leaving the matter open to further negotiation and possible refusal by the addressee.

(Wolfson, 1989: 120)

Generally, a lead will contain at least one of the components of an unambiguous invitation, namely, reference to time and/or mention of place, mention of activity and a request for response.

Two significant studies have been led to analyse invitations known as ostensible. In the first study, ostensible invitations are referred to as "Ambiguous Invitations". The second study emphasises the importance of what has been referred to as "Ostensible Invitations".

6.2.1. Ambiguous Invitations

The first outstanding research on Ostensible Invitations was led by Wolfson, et al. (1983). In this study, they analysed invitation formulas and observed that in the speech behaviour of Americans, many leads occur without invitations. Seemingly, speakers of Americans English display a tendency to express the desire or even the need for arranging a social commitment. This attitude, however, is never followed by a conclusion of the mentioned arrangement. It is arguable whether such commitments were ever intended to be completed.

The frequency of use of these invitation free-leads has given them the status of formulas. They are easily recognisable for the following features:

1. Time is always left indefinite

2. A response is not always required

3. A modal auxiliary like "must", "should" or "have to" is usually used.

(Wolfson, 1989: 122)

In order to hint to the addressee that the lead is not intended to reach an invitation, inviters usually resort to the use of expressions like "soon", "one day", or "sometimes", or any indefinite clauses beginning with "when" (for example: let´s have lunch together when things settle down."). For natives, these expressions are regarded as polite "brush off", or a way of communicating desire to continue the relationship with the addressee without any definite engagement for the future.

According to Wolfson, et al., such an attitude is comprehensible if we consider that Americans belong to a variety of groups usually overlapping where the contact with friends and acquaintances is somehow intricate.

6.2.2. Ostensible Invitations

This study was carried out by Clark and Isaacs (1990). According to these researchers, American native speakers habitually extend invitations which they do not pretend to be taken seriously. This sort of invitations is usually used to accomplish some other tacit purpose and not to establish an invitation. The label these scholars gave to the responses obtained for this kind of invitations is "ostensible acceptance" as illustrated in the following example:

A: Let´s do lunch sometime.

B: Yes, let´s.

(A)´s utterance is an example of "ostensible invitation" and (B) response is an illustration of "ostensible acceptance". Clark and Isaacs (1990) argued that ostensible invitations as a category of speech acts can be classified as belonging to what they have labelled ostensible speech acts.

Traditional theories seem not faulty in identifying invitations as a speaker (S) inviting a hearer (H) to an event (E) only if (S) requests H´s presence and promise acceptance of his/her presence (Bach and Harnish, 1979: 51) following this argument, (A)´s invitation is not sincere, her real intention is not to invite (B) to lunch. However, Clark and Isaacs (1990) state that invitations should not be evaluated on the ground of sincerity, this is not as a lie. Lies normally are insincere assertions primarily meant to deceive the hearer. Notwithstanding, (A) ´s invitation is not insincere simply because both (A) and (B) mutually believe they both "recognise it for what it is (ostensibly an invitation and actually something else)." In other words, there is a kind of mutually recognised pretense in this type of invitation.

With the aim to identify the properties and the characteristics of ostensible invitations, Clark and Isaacs gathered a repertoire of 156 invitation exchanges. Five important aspects were indentified to distinguish ostensible invitations from genuine ones as we can see in what follows:

1. Pretense: The inviter, in ostensible invitations, is only pretending to extend a sincere invitation, as illustrated in the example above.

2. Mutual Recognition: Inviters intend their pretense to be vividly recognised by them and their addressees. This is called mutual recognition. (A) Intends (B) and her/himself to mutually believe they

both recognise that s/he was only pretending to make a sincere invitation. Mutual recognition is crucial for the distinction of ostensible invitations from genuine one.

3. Collusion: Invitees are intended to collude with the inviters on the pretense by responding accordingly. They are expected to respond in a manner which is appropriate to the pretense. In the above example, the response is appropriate to the pretense. Invitees may improvise ostensible excuses to justify the reasons why they could not make it.

4. Ambivalence: If inviters were asked "do you really mean it?" they could not honestly answer "yes" or "no". This is a paradoxical point with regard to ostensible invitations. Ambivalence usually sets the line between ostensible speech acts and other forms of non-serious speech uses like jokes and irony among others.

5. Off-record Purpose: Ostensible invitations are extended as a way of expressing certain intentions off-record. Any given utterance has a set of vivid implications which the speaker can be held accountable for. These implications are said to be on-record. There are however, certain other plausible but necessary implications for which the speaker cannot be held accountable. These are referred to as off-record (Brown and Levinson, 1978). An ostensible invitation in this case is a manner of testing the waters to see how the invitee might react.

To this point, we can say that ostensible invitation enclose two facets, namely, a "layer" one where inviters formulate invitations and invitees respond accordingly, and the second is the "core" in which invitees and inviters take the collusive actions toward each other with the mutual recognition that the "layer" is just a pretense.

Unlike Wolfson (1989), Clark and Isaacs (1990), state that ostensible invitations are not intended to be ambiguous, on the contrary, they are modelled to be recognised as a pretense by interactants. They may appear ambiguous to the analyst but not to the addressee.

According to Clark and Isaacs (1990), the pretense inherent to ostensible invitations is made explicit through a set of strategies. On the basis of the analysis of their data, they identified seven different manners of making the pretense obvious:

> A makes B´s presence at event E implausible. To this end, inviters usually violate the felicity conditions necessary for the establishment of genuine invitations. These conditions are:
> A must believe that B would like to be present at E.
> A must be able to provide what s/he offers.

By violating these conditions, B will have enough ground to believe that the invitation is insincere. Nonetheless, if the violation is obvious for both of them, the invitation is ostensible.

According to Atkinson and Drew (1984), and Levinson (1983), inviters usually use questions or utterances with the purpose to establish felicity conditions for the invitations to follow. These utterances are referred to as "pre-invitations" and for Wolfson (1981-1989) they are known as leads. With regard to genuine invitations, these pre-invitations are naturally used to establish a propitious condition for the invitation whereas, with ostensible invitations, pre-invitations are used to establish unfavourable conditions. Pre-invitations, in this case, would emphasise the pretense of these invitations.

1. A invites B only after B has solicited the invitation. B can solicit the invitation in two ways: through the context or directly. In the former case, B can take advantage of the cultural connotations of politeness formulas. In the American culture for example, it is impolite to exclude a member of a group from an event. Hence, if B is excluded, B can ask a question which will highlight B´s exclusion. In this case, B explicitly requests an invitation if s/he believes that A cannot or will not anticipate B´s desire to be present at event E.

2. A does not motivate the invitation beyond social courtesy. If the invitation is genuine,

3. A usually uses utterances to make the invitation more attractive. In other words, A tries to induce B´s acceptance of the invitation. With ostensible invitations however, A does not motivate the invitation by stressing the pretense.

4. A does not persist or insist on the invitation. In genuine invitations, A usually repeats the invitation several times. With ostensible invitations, A usually fails to pursue the invitation upon B´s first refusal to accept.

5. A is vague about the arrangements. Unless they are established by the situation and the shared knowledge of the interactants, A must specify the time and place of the event to B. A common feature of ostensible invitation is the vagueness of such a logistics.

6. A hedges the invitation to B. A can show that his/her heart is not really in it by hedging the invitation by expressions such as "well", "I guess", "I mean"...etc.

7. A delivers the invitation with inappropriate cues. Genuine invitations are usually obvious and clear. Ostensible invitations, however, are full of inappropriate cues such as hesitations, pauses,

down-casting of the eye, rapid speech, and other non-verbal signs that manifest the pretense of the invitation.

6.3. Invitating across cultures

6.3.1. Invitation in Arabic

Research on invitation in Arabic as a language is scarce. We can actually find more studies on the speech behaviour of some minority linguistic communities but hardly on Arabic especially by non-Arab researchers, regardless of being the official language of more than 200 million speakers. Supposedly, this could be due to a lack of familiarity with this language /culture or simply the result of a lack of interest. Also, there are few, if not no references concerning studies on Arabic across-cultures which makes it hard for researchers to contrast or have their achievements in whatever linguistic field contrasted anyhow.

Recently, there appears to be a meagre concern about this language especially from the part of natives. It is worth mentioning, at least, two important studies on invitation as a speech act, which provide some illuminating information in what concerns the cultural contour of invitation in Jordan culture led by Al-Khatib (2006). In this study, the researcher explores from a pragmatic point of view the nature of invitation making and acceptance and the various strategies used for the purpose of inviting in Jordanian society. The study consists of 120 Jordanian subjects who were made up of 63 female and 67 male informants from different age group and different educational background. Data analysis showed that the subjects of this study used different strategies of inviting. 77% of the informants resorted to explicit strategies to formulate their invitations using

expressions which indicate that the addresser has explicitly the intention of inviting, as for example, "I invite you to my birthday party". On the other hand, 23% used implicit strategies, that is, when the speaker has the intention of inviting but without saying it directly. According to Al-Khatib, this strategy is very common among intimates, friends, status equals, or family members and especially in intimate situations.

As reported in this study, Jordanians usually use intensifying strategies to achieve the pretended pragmatic effect on the inviter. The intensifying strategies as in "would you honour us by lunching with us..." which consist in using several speech acts to achieve different goals at the same time with the intention , on the one hand, to enhance the positive face of the invitee by telling him in an indirect way how important a person s/he is for the inviter. And, on the other hand, to communicate to the invitee how appreciated is her/his acceptance of the invitation.

The study also refers to what Al-Khatib calls theo-pragmatic expressions, as for example, (swearing by God or all that´s holy or of great value) as a means of intensifying the effect of inviting. The study also offers important information in what concerns the accepting strategies in the Jordanian culture which turns to be `politeness-sensitive´. According to the author, 50% of Jordanians preferred to accept the invitation rather than refusing or rejecting it: "accepting invitations among Jordanians is a norm" (Al-khatib, 2006: 284).

In what concerns invitation-refusal, the study revealed that Jordanians use a variety of apologetic strategies so as to soften the perlocutionary effect of the face-threatening act on the addressee to have

her/his invitation refused. Hence, 42% of Jordanians use expressions of regret, whereas 32% give a justification to their refusal; 13% ask for forgiveness, 9% compromise of compensation and finally, only 5% offer good wishes.

Gender differences were also detected in this study. Females use apologetic strategies to soften the impact of refusing an invitation more than men and more frequently to men interlocutors than between women. As to age, younger speakers (15-29) were more likely to reject an invitation than middle (30-49) or older (50+) age group.

6.3.2. Invitations in Farsi

Another important work on invitation extending and response is the socio-pragmatic comparative study of ostensible invitations in English and Farsi led by Salmani-Nodoushan. (2006). This study explores how Iranians formulate and respond to invitations. Two major pragmatic aspects were treated: genuine invitations as opposed to ostensible ones. According to the writer, genuine invitations have the operational definition of: "A speaker (A) invites a hearer (B) to receive some task the primary aim of which is to benefit the hearer himself/herself."(2006: 906), and ostensible invitations are characterised by five properties following Clark and Isaac's (1990) taxonomy: pretense, ambivalence, mutual recognition, collusion, and off-record, (see 4.3.1.2).

The findings of this comparative study revealed that the apparent difference between English and Persian ostensible invitations is "a matter of degree, rather than kind" (Salmani-Noudoushan, 2006: 911). However, according to the author of this research, the nature of the strategies

employed by Persian inviters to extend ostensible invitations were similar to those of English inviters as far as both cultures used the same five mentioned strategies.

Inviting is expected to be universal and common as a social practice in all cultures. Actually, not all cultures are expected to use invitations unanimously to serve the same speech functions or to be interpreted and decoded as such in all cultures. As is the case with many speech acts, invitations have been reported to vary across cultures and to be at the origin of many communicative breaks. As a vivid example, we report the experience communicated by John J. Gumperz in an interview which took place on 31/03/95 at the institute of linguistics at the University of Bologna. Where Gumperz relates how he was asked to join a Chinese family for dinner:

> "J.J.G.: "...this reminded me of a field-work experience in a south Asian village where I lived for almost two years. People would come up to me in the street and say, "Dinner is ready, come on over." once, when I seemed hesitant, the speaker said, "don´t you want to come? We ´ve made dinner, why don´t you join us? " I still hesitated. I didn´t know what to do. Finally, thinking I had perhaps actually been invited and had forgotten about it and might offend them if I didn´t come, I went along. Well, it turned out that I was...
>
> C.P.: "Invited?
>
> J.J.G.: "I was not invited, no. It was just a greeting. An invitation is a very common solemn matter in the village. To invite someone, you send an emissary, a young man in your household, to give the invitation. And even then one doesn´t go to the host´s house until a second emissary comes to call and asks the guest to come over. This means that a special meal has been prepared and is now ready. So that to say, "Dinner is ready" to someone in the street, simply counts as a form of greeting.
>
> C.P.: "this is a convention, a typification within a community.

J.J.G.: "One finds similar usages all over South Asia. In some parts of the continent they say, "Have you eaten yet?" as a way of conveying something like, "How are you?" such conventions arose over time as outcomes of culturally specific processes of typification. They may reflect a time when people in farming communities did not have everything they wanted to eat.

C.P.: So when you are confronted with this kind of utterances, if you come from another community, like myself, you take it as an invitation.

J.J.G.: Exactly, as I did. In fact, once I went, and they had to prepare the food. And I don´t know whether they had enough to feed me. They were not poor people -it was a wealthy village- but still, you know the woman had to get work and make some more food".

 (John J. Gumperz, quoted from interview 31/03/95, emphasis added)

The interview reports the experience of J.J. Gumperz as an interlocutor and his failure to decode adequately the cultural code inherent to the act of inviting in this area of Asia. The conversation relates step-by-step how what apparently was perceived as an invitation by the hearer was merely a way of greeting in this Asian village. Gumperz explains how this experience uncovers the mechanism inherent to the process of communicating where interlocutors are guided through "contextualisation cues" together with an "orientating relationship" to be able "to reach the same inferences".

Here our attention is called on the complexity of the interpretative mechanism not only across cultures but within a same one. Basically, invitation at the conceptual level is universal. Yet, what is meant, the cultural referent it represents and the speech function it serves in a given community is what should be taken into account so as to communicate efficiently.

6.4. Invitation in Moroccan Arabic

Inviting in Moroccan society is a recurrent speech act and serves different speech functions. Inviting or the claim of the interlocutor´s visit is frequently used as part of face-to-face encounters independently if the interactants are acquaintances, relatives, or they have just met for the first time. It is also used as a closing sequence after a greeting, farewell, thanking or complaint.

Any visitor who is not acquainted with the Moroccan culture would get the impression that Moroccans display a permanent solicitude to receive visitors which is not a completely misleading interpretation of this speech act. In fact, Moroccans as Arabs, and standing in the Arab renowned tradition of hospitality, would not mind to have guests continuously at home as a response to a religious discipline. Indeed, there are many references both in the Qur'an (Muslim´s holy book) and in the Hadith (the Prophet´s words and deeds) where Muslims are required to share their food and goods with the other members of the community as we can see in the prophet´s words "tahadu, tahadu" <exchanging gifts, you will exchange love> (Alkhatib, 2006: 282).

Nevertheless, this tendency of inviting permanently among Moroccans is not to be taken as valid for all the situational contexts and suitable for any interlocutor; neither all invitations are intended to be taken as genuine.

Our aim in this part is to uncover the strategies used for the purpose of inviting in Moroccan society; and to bring about the socio-pragmatic parameters which govern this speech act.

In the first paragraph, we would be concerned about how invitation is defined from a socio-cultural perspective. The second paragraph would be dedicated to the socio-pragmatic and the pragma-linguistic parameters which affect the extension and the decoding of invitations by Moroccan interlocutors.

Inviting is a means to create harmony and consolidate personal ties in interpersonal relations. It is a recurrent act in daily life and it is generally understood as a device to enhance good relationship between the members of a community. Among Arabs, it is considered as of part of good manners and the completion of a religious practice based on generosity and hospitality meant to consolidate family ties, neighbourhood and friendship.

> "Socially, the conventional expectations of Jordanian society are that brothers, sisters, relatives, friends and even neighbours will remain in contact with each other, and be mutually loyal and helpful. One way through which Jordanian people tend to express their feelings toward each other is by inviting one another" (Al khatib, 2006: 273)

As is the case with the Jordanian society, in Morocco, people commonly invite each other and not especially for any particular event or celebration but rather as a social practice which is governed by some routines and formulas based on some cultural clues and a mutually shared background which makes it easy for both the inviter to extend invitations and to the invitee to interpret them and respond to them accordingly.

Invitation refers normally to the act of offering to share a social activity (lunch, dinner, parties) and requires a place, a date and the intervention of two components: the inviter/s and the invitee/s. This is resumed in Muhammad Nahar (2006)

"Invitation, irrespective of form, is a commemorative social action having the function of informing and requesting the presence or participation of a person(s) kindly and courteously to some place, gathering, entertainment, etc., or to do something." (Nahar Al–Ali, 2006: 691)

However, from a cultural standpoint, three types of invitations can be identified in Morocco, namely, official invitations (invitations communicated to invitees for official celebrations), the "imposed invitations" (refers to the visit of the non-invited invitee) and casual invitations (commonly exchanged between friends, colleagues and relatives).

 In the coming paragraph, I will be concerned about the analysis of these types of invitation basically relying as a native speaker on the concepts I built through my past communicative experience.

6.4.1. Socio-cultural function of invitation in MA

6.4.1.1. Official invitations

Official invitations refer to the type of invitation made for special celebrations as weddings, baptism, pilgrimage, birthdays and similar events, to persons who are considered close to the inviter such as family members, relatives, and close friends. However, unlike in western tradition where official invitations are communicated through official cards, official

invitations in Morocco are still communicated verbally and they follow a series of rituals which we consider worth analysing to shed light on this type of act as a practice of politeness in the speech behaviour of Moroccans.

Official invitations are common practice in western societies especially for official ceremonies and they are usually communicated through an official card which is sent to the invitee specifying the date, the place and the name of the inviter and the reason for the invitation.

In Morocco this practice is very recent. I would venture to say that it is a very modern and it turns out to follow the western pattern for inviting, though, the frequency of the use of this means is quite reduced and perhaps limited to the Moroccan high society[32]. Normally, even invitations for official ceremonies are communicated verbally and are characterised by some patterns which follow a whole ritual that makes it clear for any hearer to detect the event[33].

Normally, this kind of invitations is not expected to be rejected by the invitee unless there is a considerable excuse for not attending the ceremony.

In this type of invitation, no face-challenge is placed on the inviter or the invitee. Although the invitation is verbal, no negotiation is expected on

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[32] written invitations will not be covered in this paper not being concerned with this form of invitations

[33] Traditionally, the inviter carries a bouquet of flowers and visits all the persons who normally are potential invitees for the ceremony. And every time she gets into the house of the future invitees, she is received with a "yoo,yoo" (onomatopoeia, a sound made by women as a symbol of joy and happiness). Then the inviter proceeds to tell the invitee about what is going to be celebrated, then she communicates the date and where the ceremony is going to be celebrated.

the part of the invitee, and the inviter is not required to insist (being a common strategy) to save the invitee´s face by showing him/her how much she cares for the invitee as we would see in the coming part in which I will discuss other varieties of invitation where face-work and negotiation between the inviter and the invitee are involved. The term Face-work is used here as is defined by Goffman (1959) as an effort of the participants to communicate a positive face and to prevent loss of face.

6.4.1.2. The "imposed" invitee

In modern Western life, there is a tendency to organise all daily activities. Apparently, there is no room for surprises or unscheduled activities. The facilities that the technological means of communication offer today allow visitors to announce and negotiate their visit with the host. Unlike westerns societies, in Morocco it is a common practice to visit family members and friends without previous arrangements as a gesture of concern and appreciation for the host and as a religiously recommended act.

It is no surprise for non-Moroccans to fall into stereotyping when faced with this type of visits basically as a consequence of what Thomas (1983) identifies as differences in evaluation regarding what she terms "size of imposition", "taboos", "cross-culturally different assessments of relative power or social distance", and "value- judgements". Accordingly, the transfer of the surprise-visit and its underlying cultural conceptualization and interpretation may not be understood across cultures. Culturally, the essence of the surprise-visits diverges with western society´s cultural concern about the non-interference in the other´s space and will/want. In fact, the surprise-visit seems to conflict with the principle of

the politeness (Lakoff, 1973) who claims a series of maxims to be followed by a speaker for the achievement of a good social behaviour:

- Do not impose;
- Give options;
- Make your receiver feel good.

   (Lakoff, 1973: 199)

From a pragmatic point of view, the surprise-visit violates all and every one of Lakoff´ s politeness maxims. Indeed, the visitor imposes upon the visited in visiting her/ him without a previous consensus or agreement. This fact violates, in turn, the second maxim: the host is not given any option to receive the visitor, consequently, we wonder if the visitor is respecting the third maxims by making the "receiver feel good".

Nonetheless, what could be regarded in what concerns the surprise-visit as ill-mannered according to the western social norms of politeness is culturally well accepted and appreciated in Morocco as far as it is evaluated more as an act of concern and consideration for the visited than an act of imposition.

In Moroccan society [c.f Emilio Garcia & Saida Anssari, 2004] the family is "nuclear" and relatives are still considered unconditional components of an undivided unit which is regulated by rights and obligations. Among these duties we find some deep-rooted traditions such as the "visit-surprise" which could be comprehensible and valid only in those communities that share the same cultural code and concept. In what follows, I will expose what might be considered for Westerners an atypical tradition, but which is culturally feasible and acceptable in Moroccan society.

This socio-cultural phenomenon denominated the "surprise-visit" will be analysed in the coming paragraph, particular attention will be paid to the underlying socio-pragmatic and the pragma-linguistic parameters which interfere in this speech event from its first stage, that is, the visit, up to its negotiation and its conclusion as a firm invitation or as an empty one. All this pragmatic process is regulated by the nature of the relationship that exists between the visitor and the visited.

"The surprise-visit" is pragmatically a risky practice; it is a kind of "self -invitation" and it may be considered as one of the most compromising variety of invitation for its degree of imposition and the challenge it creates to both the host and the visitor´s face: On the part of the visitor, there is a kind of fear of being inopportune and not being welcome; whereas, it leaves no choice to the host to negotiate the visit provided that s/he is morally obliged to welcome the visitor and treat her/him as any officially invited guest should be treated.

This kind of visit is governed by some cultural cues on the one hand, and on the other hand, it is regulated by sociolinguistic routines confectioned for both the visitor and the host to negotiate the visit and convert it in an official one depending on the disposition and the intention of both of the visitor and the visited: First of all, the `imposed´ visitor should be invited to come in, and should be offered to have a drink as a first step, then, depending on the time of the day, as "noblesse oblige", the host should invite the visitor to stay for lunch or dinner and in some occasion to stay for the night. And there are some instances where the visitor should be attended for at least three days if we consider the Moroccan idiom which says: ["Diaf?t? n?bi telt? Yam" N.W.T. : <The

prophet used to offer hospitality for three days to the persons who visit him >] as a moral and religious norm to follow.

Notwithstanding, on the part of the visitor, s/he has to show reluctance to accept the invitation as a politeness strategy and as a manner to reduce the cost of her/his visit to the visited at least at the talk level. A good illustration of this strategy is found in the common expressions many visitors use to reduce the weight of imposition of their visit to the host, such as:

"mat3ed?bish rasek" Do not bother yourself>;

" w?´Láh ma fiya ma yeshreb Hetta haja" < I swear by God that I don´t feel like drinking anything>;

"w?´Lah la derti shi haja" <I swear by God that you should not prepare anything>;

"w?Lah ya lalla la neD?ti" <I swear by God that you should not move from here>. Among many others.

These formulae are not meant to be taken seriously by the host basically and relying on the common knowledge that this is how visitors should behave in these situations (the host knows in advance that this is a polite strategy). In order to compensate the visitor, the visited should make another pragmatic move to convince the visitor that the offer is firm, or on the contrary, it is just a pretense.

In order to hint to the visitor that the invitation is just a pretense, inviters usually use speech particles such as:

"3afak" <bless you>;

"L´AH yekhellik" <may God give you long life>

"Zidi"<come on>;

"guelsi, Guelsi t?sherbi m3ana kwiyess d´atay"/ <sit/stay, sit/stay, to drink a glass of tea with us >. Or,

"Ghir kwiyess d´atay <just a glass of tea>;

"ghir q?Hiwa" -on its own- are not used to convince the hearer.

This strategy is known among Moroccans as "n´dewwez 3?liH" < I am going to brush this person off >.

Culturally, Moroccans recognise these expressions as a polite brush off meant to please the hearer but without making any definite commitment. It is as if the speaker says to the invitee what he/she wants to hear but not what s/he really means. Actually, the pragmatic content of this strategy could be used in all speech situations where an "ostensible invitation" is extended (Clark and Isaac, 1990), but not for all speech participants. Indeed, depending on the degree of intimacy and the degree of familiarity between the interlocutors, this pragma-linguistic aspect could be decoded as such, i.e. as hypocrisy or as mere protocol. Or, on the contrary, it could be interpreted as an added gesture of intimacy and familiarity between the interlocutors where no protocol or exaggeration is needed as is the case between family members and intimate friends.

Contrarily, if what is intended is to extend a genuine invitation, one of the most outstanding linguistic devices hosts use to hint to the visitor that s/he is solicited is the "conversational swearing" (hence CS, this linguistic device will be treated in the coming paragraph).

Despite the pragmatic weight enclosed in the "surprise-visit", it is worth to mention that the essence of his kind of visit is primarily

understood as humane and somehow self-sacrificing from the visitor´s perspective. Accordingly, this kind of visit happens normally to show consideration, appreciation and sympathy for the visited especially in unfavourable circumstances, or simply, to offer company to the host.

It is also worth considering that depending on the degree of intimacy that exists between the interlocutors: relatives: parents/children; siblings, or acquaintances. The pragmatic impact created by the surprise-visit would be reduced or increased.

In what follows and on the basis of my past communicative experience as a native, I have tried to construct a likely scenarios or narrative plots that will suggest similar interpretations:

Scenario (1)

A woman/friend visited another friend and after the preliminary greetings, the visitor announced the reason for her visit:

A-"salamu alaikun a mallin´ Daar

B-"wa alaikum assalam, wa mufajaA Hadi¡, m?rehbaa, m?rehbaa"

A-"t'reheb bik jennah. 3liHa katsw?li 3lina. Ila ma jitsh ana, makayin lli yedreb fiya l?fqed."

B-"wallah ya lalla ma n?sinak. kul n´Har kan qol kheSni n´mshi n?shuf l´hajja w? Mazal ma ktab. Wa zidi, t?feDli"

A-"ghir shwiya w? n´mshi"

B-"W?malki 3?la Had ´Zerba?. Guel?si t´sherbi qHiwa m3ana. hatta ana l?qitini ghir buhdi"

A-"w?Lah ya lalla ma t?3edbi. guilsi ghir n?jem3o shi shwiya w? nem?shi l?jjama3 n´Selli l´3aSer"

B-"3?dabek raha, w?llAH hetta t?guelsi. ghir sherbi qhiwa w?siri fin má bghiti"

A-"wa shetti, 3reftek katkelfi beZaf hadak 3?lash makanjish beZaf"

B-"ma kayen t´klaf, m?3a l´?hbab"

The conversation is held between two women/friends who are engaged from a pragmatic point of view in the process of the transformation of a surprise-visit into a firm invitation. Both the speaker and the hearer are aware of how embarrassing this speech event is for the face of both the interlocutors. Consequently, they both use different politeness strategies to save each other´s face.

From a native point of view, and experience, the repetition of the speech particle `m'rehba´ twice announces at early stage of the conversation that the visitor is in fact welcome. It also indicates that the host is pragmatically signaling to the visitor that his face is safe. The host proceeds then to act accordingly by offering her to go in, and have a coffee. However, as a polite move the hearer refuses the offer with the intention to respond to two culturally regulated politeness norms: 1- the first offers or invitations are never accepted, and 2- as a good mannered visitor, she should reduce the cost and increase benefit to the inviter by avoiding to molest her.

This is explicitly communicated to the inviter in the sequence where the invitee says: `w?Lah ya lalla mat? 3edbi´<I swear by God that you should not bother yourself>; < just sit and let´s have a little chat>. Then the inviter moves to a secure strategy to meet `the face need´ of both of her and that of the interlocutor. It is a case of conversational swearing to save her face by emphasizing to the hearer her serious intention and generosity and that it is not a simple act of protocol and at the same time to save the face of the inviter, who must feel uncomfortable to accept the invitation from

the first mention. Then she proceeds to put more pressure on her to meet the speech function-ends of her invitation and make her accept to take the coffee.

6.4.1.3. Casual invitations

This third category of invitation refers to invitation exchanges in general between relatives, friends and acquaintances. This type of invitation displays variations as to whom they are directed to. The age, the gender and the educational level of interactants seem to affect the course and the denouement of the negotiation of this sort of invitations.

From a pragmatic perspective, we can identify three types of invitations, namely, ostensible invitation (in the sense of Wolfson) genuine invitations (normally exchanged between members of the family and intimate friends), and the third type which we have denominated "ostensible reinforced" (this type refers to any ostensible invitation which can be transformed into genuine through "swearing" as a politeness strategy). These three types of invitations will be treated separately. With regard to ostensible invitations, we will provide scenarios with the aim to delimit the speech situations where these invitations are extended. Genuine invitations will be treated on the basis of a social continuum from the most intimate to the least intimate. The function of "Swearing" as a strategy to convert ostensible invitations into genuine ones will be analyzed with the aim to shed light on the speech behaviour of Moroccans.

As mentioned earlier in this part, Moroccans are generally inviters par excellence at least at the talk level. Inviting is practised as a social

courtesy, directed to satisfy the addressee´s face need. Inviters generally insist on the addressee to accept the invitation, Actually, to invite without insistence means that the inviter is not serious about the invitation, and it could be interpreted by the addressee as a "mere remark of courtesy"(Al Khatib, 2001: 190). Whereas the invitees are expected to show reluctance to accept the invitation at least several times before accepting it definitely. Otherwise, the addressee might be regarded as a `gluttonous´ and `ill-behaved´ person.

Somehow, Moroccan speech behaviour regarding invitation turns out to have similar patterns of inviting and offering as those found in Jordanian society as reported in AlKhatib (2006: 274)

> "Jordanian society has a special pattern of inviting/offering. When two people engage in an encounter, the one who offers should insist on offering and the one who is being invited should bashfully reject the offer – but in reality intends to accept it later. Put it differently, the invitee is expected to reject an offer several times, before accepting it with a show of reluctance".

However, in Moroccan culture the negotiation of invitations and the shift from the moment it is rejected by the invitee up to the moment the invitee accepts it requires a pragmatic move on the part of the inviter who has to use conversational swearing sine-qua-none, naturally, if the invitation is intended to be genuine.

6.5. Conversational Swearing: the pragmatic strategy "par-excellence" to validate invitations

Swearing is an outstanding aspect in Moroccan speech behaviour. It is common practice among Arabs independently if they are Muslims or not. (Christian Arabs also swear by the Virgin or by the Bible and similar categories).

Swearing is meant to serve a pragmatic function. It could be classified as a speech particle which is used to validate and give more support and credit to the pragmatic content provided for a particular speech situation. When a person swears, s/he intends his words to be taken for granted by the addressee. It is as if the speaker communicates to the hearer -via swearing- that he "means" what he says. It is assumed that the basic form of swearing is intended to serve its `prototypical functions´, which are establishing (1) `the credibility and truthfulness´ of the speaker and the content of the message and (2) offering `legal and authoritative binding or validity frame for what one says or does´. However, in daily informal contexts, `speakers tend to refer to some powerful sources in their life to swear by´, not only `to confirm what they say (illocutionary force), but also `to influence the addressees or hearers to make them accept what is said or done and take it seriously´, that is, `to have an emotive function (perlocutionary force).

It follows then that on the part of the speaker her/himself, conversational swearing as a strategy of communicating `helps to enhance his self image´, and `defend her/him against any presupposed doubt, accusation, or challenges to her/his propositions´... "Oaths are used to

achieve a variety of communicative functions: confirmation, support, defence, politeness, etc." (Hassan R.S Abd el-Jawad, 2000: 228)

In Morocco, swearing is the only clue to validate an invitation. It is the utmost recourse directed to save the invitee´s face: The invitee has no chance to decline or negotiate an invitation when it is conditioned by a swearing. On the one hand, because s/he feels really welcome and her/his presence desired by the inviter and her/his face being safe, and on the other hand it is because s/he cannot refuse to accomplish any task where the name of God or a sacred deity is pronounced. For it could be interpreted as an act of irreverence to God.

6.5.1. The cultural contour of swearing

Swearing is equated in Arabic with "?aqasama, halafa" (verbs, both meaning to swear, or to take an oath) or, "qasaam, yamiin" (Nouns) and in "h´lef" and "qeSem" (verbs in MA). It denotes a speech act by which a "person binds her/himself to do or not a certain specific physical or juridical act, by invoking the name of God or one of the divine attributes" (Hassan R.S. Abd el-Jawad, 2000: 218) . According to the researcher, oaths are classified, into 3 categories:

1. Judiciary, which are formally taken in the court of law ;
2. Loyalty, constitutional or office oaths and pledges taken by senior officials when assuming office; and
3. Extra-judiciary or conversational oaths which are used routinely by people in their daily interactions.

Apparently, the first two types have "fixed formulas" and serve limited functions both in Arab or western culture, be it a legal binding and committing. Whereas, the third variety (conversational swearing), excludes any legal connotation or legal persecution, except that of the divine judgement, in case of violation.

As defined by (Oxford English Dictionary) Swearing is "the act of adding a linguistic formula (a form of speech) to what one says or does" as a "solemn or formal appeal to God (or to a deity or something held in reverence or regard) in witness of the truth of the statement, or the biding character of a promise or undertaking" this definition seems valid for the Arab culture whereas, there seems that swearing has undergone a pragmatic degeneration in what concerns western societies where swearing denotes profanity and a negative sense. It is associated with the use of foul and bad words (Nash, 1996. cited in Hassan R.S. Abd el-Jawad 2000) and as "violation of the language behaviour code..." (Igualada & Anunciación 1996, Cited ibid), or, as it is referred to in (Murray, 1995, cit. ibid) "the use of patterns of dirty words" or to put it as Taylor states in his study on Australian society (1975:43. cited, ibid) "the term "swearing" is used to refer to the inclusion in a speech act of one or more of a restricted set of lexical items, "swear words" which have a certain loading of taboo".

Unlike in western societies, Moroccans - as is the case in many Arab countries - have retained the original speech function of swearing or conversational oaths. It is part of their daily transactions. All face-to-face conversations are conditioned by this speech particle. It is a means of ascertaining the truth in all speech situations and events and between all kinds of interlocutors: family/domestic matters, between friends,

commercial transactions, political and religious discourses.etc... It is also used to validate all speech acts such as promising, inviting and declining an invitation, complaining, offering and declining an offer, ordering, thanking, apologising, claiming, contracting, and also for congratulating and complimenting. (cf: Nelson et al., 1993; Al Khatib, 1994, 1977)

6.5.2. Form, Context and Function of Conversational Swearing in MA

Generally, Moroccans like most Arabs swear by "Allah" (God) and his "Divine Attributes" which ascend to 101, and his "Creations" possibly conditioned by the divine source: the Qur´an, where we find many instances of swearing and a big range of referents of swearing: Allah swears by Himself, as in *"warabbu issawaati wal?ard"*(by the God of Heavens and Earth), by his actions and creations, e.g. *"wassamaaˊWa maa banaah*a" (by the Heaven and Him Who built it), by his creatures, e.g. *"WaTTuuri wa Kitaabin masTuur"* (by the Tur (mountain) and a Book Inscribed). Also *"Wal3aSr inna..."* (by al asr (the time in the afternoon) that...), by His important creatures, i.e. Heaven, Night, Dawn, Forenoon, Afternoon, Morning, The promised day, Witnessing day (Friday) and Witnessed day (ninth of Thul Hijja, the Day of Arafa, Great pilgrimage), Angels, Winds, the sun and its brightness, the moon as it follows, the daybreak as it shows up, the earth, the *nafs* (the soul), the fig and the olive trees, the holy city of Mecca, etc. (Hassan, 2000: 219).

6.5.3. The linguistic realization of conversational swearing

Moroccan Arabic follows basically the same structure patterns of conversational swearing as those used in the different dialectal varieties of

Arabic spoken in the Arab countries i.e. a swearing particle + swearing referent + a speech act. Nevertheless, and departing from the chart provided hereafter, we see how the linguistic construction of conversational swearing in Jordan Arabic is more or less the same of that found in Moroccan Arabic except some variations which will be discussed in the coming paragraph.

Swearing particle	Swearing referent	Speech act
Waaw alqasam /wa~wi~wu/~ Or Baa?Alqasam/bi~ba/~ Or Fiˊl alqasamˊS. Verbˊ?uqsim	Allah and divine attributes Allahˊs, actions, creations and creatures Prophets and messengers Religious and national figures Dear individuals / relatives Holy and dear places Cultural values + referent Relevant body parts + referent Present occasions or context (ˊalyyi `on meˊ) + Divorce (repudiation) Humorous expressions / oaths, e.g. ˊalyyi inniˊmi, ˊalyyi iTTarbuush etc.	Stating, declaring and claiming Complaining and blaming Threatening and challenging Promising and offering Requesting and apologising Inviting Accusing Praising Denying, refusing or declining etc.

The structure of conversational swearing in Jordanian culture

(Hassan R.S. Abd el Jawad, 2000: 222)

In this chart, we have observed some differences as to the referent of swearing. Actually, In Morocco, people would not swear by national figures or dear individuals or relatives as in Jordan culture as the author states:

"Members of the family and relatives (alive, dead or absent) are very frequent objects of oaths. One may swear by the life, head, honour, etc.

Of his/her father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sisters, a husband, wife, or by any dear one..."

(Hassan R.S. Abd el Jawad, 2000: 225)

There is no evidence in (M.A) of swearing by relevant body parts. Yet, we find instances where swearing by how much love one bears for the interlocutor as a referent of conversational swearing such as: "w´Haaq m´habtek/m´habtkum 3end ´llah". Or, "w´Haaq m3aztek/m´3aztkum / m´haabtek/ m´habtkum 3endi" <I swear by how much I like/ appreciate you>.

There are also examples of swearing by food "w´Haaq haad ´TT3aam" "w´Haaq had ne3maa" <I swear by this food/dish>. Apart from these swearing referent variations, Moroccan generally swear by Allah, i.e. "w´llah"; "w´Haaq´llah"; "w´ haaq rab´bi"< all meaning: I swear by Allah/God> or by the prophets. i.e. "w´Haaq sidna Muhammed, sidna Musa, or, sidna 3isa..."< I swear by (our master) Muhammad, Moses, or, Jesus...> and sometimes, especially among uneducated and may be some old people, we find swearing referents as w´Haaq lallaa faTTim ´z´zahraa"<I swear by the prophet´s daughter>; "w´Haaq mulay Driss; mulay brahim" < I swear by (our master) Driss; Brahim[34]; as we also find some swearing referring to an important religious time or place, i.e.: "w´Haaq had l´weqfa d´slaa" < I swear by this time/hour of the call for a prayer>; "w´ Haaq had le´3washer" <I swear by this sacred days> (in reference to some religiously reputed days) "w´Haaq had shHaar l´mubaarak"[35] < I swear by this sacred month>; "w´Haaq Had l´m'qam" <I

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[34] Both are names of religious and respectable persons: a kind of / or the equivalent of a saint in western culture.

[35] It could be Ramadan/ the month of fasting, Shoual/, aid el fitr, aid al adha, Muharram/ the Muslin new year.

swear by this sacred place: it could be a pantheon of a saint or a religious person>; "w´Haaq lalla mekah" < I swear by mekah> and sometimes, we find swearing by people as in "w´Haaq Had l?mejme3" < I swear by this group of people>.

We also observe a phonetic variation, very common and distinctive of Moroccan dialectal Arabic, instead of "*wa*" as a swearing particle we find "*w*" without the vowel /a/. Moreover, no humorous expressions are found as swearing particles in Moroccan Arabic.

We find also what could be called *pleas* where the speaker asks the hearer to do some task for the sake of God or some important religious figure as in: "W´jjeh ll´aah", "w´jjeh n´bii" <for the sake of the face of Allah, for God´s sake>, <for the prophet´s sake>.

The introductory paragraph about swearing sheds the light not only on how culturally rooted and important swearing is in Morocco but it also shows the socio-pragmatic functions it serves, that is` backing and adding credit´ to any speech act inherent to any speech event in Moroccans daily communicative tasks.

In what follows, I will refer to how swearing is used as a strategy to validate an invitation and how it resolves the superfluous situation which poses on both the inviter and the invitee whenever an invitation is extended.

Another outstanding sociolinguistic pattern in the speech behaviour of educated Moroccans in general and in extending invitations in particular

is the use of code-switching. As a sign of distinction, educated Moroccans normally resort to the use of French and Standard Arabic especially in their daily relationship with colleagues. Our intention in this paragraph is to analyse this sociolinguistic pattern and the way it affects the decoding of invitations by interactants.

6.6. Education and invitation in the speech behaviour of Moroccans

The speech behaviour of educated Moroccans is marked by a language "a-cheval" between French and Arabic not only at the linguistic level, but we also find instances where Moroccan adopt the French cultural attitude to extend invitations.

Indeed, if we consider "insistence" or the "conversational swearing" as persuasive strategies to convince the invitee to accept the invitation we find that this strategies are altered in the speech behaviour of educated Moroccans. Supposedly, this could be due to an Occidentalised attitude and a borrowing from the French style to formulate and negotiate invitations. Apparently, Moroccan educated people seem to be less cheering and sound less convincing when they formulate their invitation in French despite their recourse to insistence as a strategy to validate their invitations as in: "s´il te plait, s´il te plait" < please /if you (please/want), please/if you (please/want)> or, "je t´en prie, je t´en prie" <I beg you, I beg you>.

Hence, a return to the Moroccan "traditional" strategy of conversational swearing is required to give credit to their invitations and to achieve the pragmatic end of inviting which is to convince the invitee to accept the invitation. Moreover, there is another variation in the speech

behaviour of Moroccan educated people exemplified in a tendency to use classical/ standard Arabic instead of the "dialect"/Moroccan Arabic. This tendency also affects the interpretation and the decoding of invitations as genuine ones. In their use of Standard Arabic, Moroccans sound more formal and sophisticated and this fact reduces the invitee´s credibility of the inviter´s sincerity and the authenticity of the invitation.

6.6.1. The socio-cultural context of code switching in MA

The use of French and/or Modern Standard Arabic together with Moroccan Arabic in the speech behaviour of Moroccans is socially interpretable as a sign of prestige, status and social distinction.[36]

In the post colonial period, education was mainly in French. And to speak French was socially interpreted as a symbol of high education, elitism, modernism and in some occasion as an indicator of high economical status. French was used to "show off" (Bentahila, 1983: iii), cit. in Lawson & Sachdev 2000). Indeed, French was the official language in schools, the mass-media and administration. Even uneducated people used to use some French words with a distorted pronunciation to be up to date. Nowadays, there are still some French words which are completely integrated in the Moroccan repertoire that many Moroccans use them unconsciously and would find it difficult to guess their equivalent or the Arabic original term for them among these words we can list:

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[36] In the north of Morocco (ex-territory of Spanish colonialism) Moroccans switch to Spanish and not to French. This aspect would not be covered in this paragraph for the limitation of the author to deal with French being of origin from the ex- territory of French colonialism.

["l?bishklet/a" <Bicycle>; = addarajah (M.S.A)];

["l´moutour" <scooter> = aDarrajah annariah (M.S.A)];

["Tebla" <Table> = al maidah (M.S.A)];

["l?fersheta" <the fork> = al furshah (M.S.A)];

["Tomobil" <the car> = aSayarah (M.S.A)]; ["Telefon" <the phone> = al Hatif M.S.A)];

["L?kwafur"<the hair-dresser> = al hallaq (M.S.A)];

["shofaj" <the heater> = al midfae (M.S.A)]; "seshwar" <hair-dryer> = munashif asha3r (M.S.A)];

["l?climatizeur " <air-conditioner> = mulaTif al Hawae (M.S.A)];

["l?kuzina" <the kitchen> = al maTbakh (M.S.A)];

All these words are originally French and they are normally used by Moroccans with a `Moroccan-ized´ pronunciation: We can observe from the transcription that most of the words are introduced by an "l" without any vocal and in some instances it is dropped being a phonetic distinctive aspect of Moroccan dialect. The article "l?" is a corruption of the French singular definite articles: "le", "la". Moreover, this "Moroccan-ization" is strikingly obvious when these terms are put in the plural form where we can find that Moroccans modify these terms following the Arabic rules of grammar for the formulation of plural and not that of French. The normally used rule in Arabic is the concatenation i.e.: a long /a/+ (the last vowel of the root) or the word to be modified, are joint to the root to form plural of some words[37], as for example, "bint" (C.A) <girl> becomes "banat" <girls>; "rajul" <man> "rijal" <men>.

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[37]The rule is valid only for the provided examples and not for all the Arabic nouns. There are some variations but they will not be commented here for the limitation of the scope of this research.

Hence, instead of using the plural of [fershita / fourchette (fork) as "les fourchettes" they normally say "l?frashet" or "l?fershiTat", or instead of "les telephones" we find "Telefonat", ["les tables" = "Teblat" or, "tbali"]; [les chauffages = shofajat]; [les sechoires = seshwarat]; [les cuisines = L?kuzinat]; [les cravattes = l?cravaTat] [les motos = l?muturat] etc. To this, we can add that the `Arab-ized´ French articles are not put in accordance in number with the noun they determine as it is dictated by the grammatical rule for plurals in the French language. To put it differently, the "l?" article is used for both singular and plural nouns when normally it is expected to be "les" for plural countable nouns.

However, this tendency is gradually inverted in Moroccan society, hence, to speak French started to be regarded as a symbol of alienation and a residual negative effect of the French colonialism on the Moroccan culture and language.

The attitude of natives towards the use of two or more languages or dialects within the same conversation or sentence have been the central subject for many researchers (Lawson & Sachdev 2000). In their study on code-switching in Tunisian Arabic, The authors reported that:

> "[....] mixed codes are typically considered by members of bilingual speech communities, including habitual users, to be deteriorated forms of local languages, evidence of the loss of cultural integrity and/or a lack of linguistic competence in any language..."
> (Swigart, 1992: 97. Cit. in Lawson, Sachdev, 2000: 1344)

Consequently, there was a gradual shift from this linguistic demarcation of the speech of Moroccans towards a tendency of a return to

the origins, namely, Arabi-zation. Accordingly, Arabic started to be the official language in school, administration, press as well as in the daily communicative activities especially among educated Moroccans to a point that speaking Arabic is now considered as a prestige and a marker of high education and sophistication among Moroccans[38].

This attitude towards the use of Modern Standard Arabic is reflected in its alternation with the Moroccan dialect especially among educated people who use it but with a Moroccan-ized pronunciation: The phonetic realization of some Modern Standard Arabic words is affected by the Moroccan pronunciation, where the vocals are generally dropped, which is not the case with (M.S.A) where all the vocals are pronounced. So we find words like[39] "sh?r?funa" (M.A) instead of "sharrifuna" (M.S.A) <honour us> or, "t?ASlu bina" (M.A) when originally it is "ittasilu bina" (M.S.A) < keep in touch>; or, "kheb?runa (M.A) instead of "khabbiruna" <let us know (about you)> etc.

This socio-cultural phenomenon is widespread all over the world. It is just a natural inter-action and the logical consequence of the co-existence of two or more languages within a same community. This phenomenon known as code-switching has given birth to many researches and debates and has generated different interpretations and definitions. Generally, code switching is defined as "the alternate use of elements from two different

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[38] (M.S.A) is exclusively used by educated Moroccans (who had access to school). Analphabet people can understand it but hardly can speak it.

[39] the words provided here as examples of the Moroccan-ization of (M.S.A) words are not the only words which illustrate this linguistic feature of Moroccan-ization of (M.S.A) the choice of these words is related to the central topic of this part. As far as they are normally used "to invite" in situations where interlocutors are both educated persons.

languages or dialects within the same conversation or even the same utterance" (cf. Gardener-Chloros, 1992:2; see also, inter alia, Bentahila, 1983; Eastman, 1992; Grosjean, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1988; Lahlou, 1993; Larousi, 1991; Milroy and Muysken, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Code-switching has received a particular attention by researchers from different disciplines and from different perspectives. (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993; Nortier, 1990 (cit. Ibid: 1344). In these studies, the focus was mainly on the linguistic aspects of inter and intra-sentential code switching. Other researchers have led longitudinal studies of how code switching is acquired among children (c.f. Grosjean, 1982; Köpe and Meisel, 1995; Farris, 1992; Leopold, 1934-1949; Lindholm and Padilla, 1978; Ronjat, 1913). Issues on the sociolinguistic aspects of code switching as a result of languages into contact are also found (see Fishman, 1972; Gardener-Chloros, 1991; Milroy and Muysken, 1995), among others.

As reported by Lawson and Sachdev in their study on code switching in Tunisian Arabic. Most natives have a negative opinion about code switching. As a matter of fact, Moroccans consider people who code switch as "still colonised" and Nigerians see code switching as a "verbal salad" and in Hong Kong it is regarded as "irritating" (Gibbons, 1987 cit. in Lawson and Sachdev: 1345). There are also opinions about code switchers as not being skilled in any of the two or more of the varieties they speak. (Bentahila, 1983: iii, cit. ibid)

Another aspect of code-switching found in the speech behaviour of Moroccans is the use of "Insha allah" which is commonly switched to in a conversation in French between Moroccan interlocutors. The speech

particle "insha Allah" has been reported to be frequently used and switched to in Muslim non-Arab communities such as Turkey, Iran, Indonesia, Philippine, Indonesia, Pakistan, or Afghanistan.

6.6.2. The conversational meaning of "Insha Allah"

The Arabic phrase "Insha Allah" has a literal meaning equivalent to "God willing" in English. From a religious point of view, Muslims are required to use this expression when referring to an act which is to be done in the future. This expression is mentioned several times in the Koran. A good example of this requirement is illustrated in (XVIII, The Cave, 23-24) or, (Sûrah 18, Ahl Al-kahf: 23-24, part 30, page 296).

> "Do not say of anything: "I will do it tomorrow unless (you add) "if Allah wills". "And remember your Lord when you forget and say:
> "It may be that my Lord will guide me to something nearer to rectitude than this."

The literal meaning is to "submit to the will of God" which coincides also with the *Dictionary of Islamic Terminology* (Gayo, 2004: 225. cit. in Susanto Djoko, 2006: 5) `The term Insha Allah must be used by Muslims to express a certain condition as whether or not one can fulfil doing something by relying on the will of God´.

6.6.3. The speech function of "Insha Allah"

The use of "insha Allah" is recurrent in Arabs daily interactions. This term is used to serve different speech functions. As reported by Susanto on Nazzal (2001) and Johns (1985) in their study on how Muslims use and

interpret Insha Allah in Indonesian and Arabic context, they found that this expression is used when speakers `do not want to make commitment´. This instance occurs when `the speaker is not interested in the interlocutor´s request, offer, or invitation´. According to Nazzal (2001), Insha Allah is used `to mitigate the speaker´s rejection´. Likewise in Johns (1985) who found that this expression is used to `avoid offending interlocutors feelings´ As is the case also in Javanese culture (Susanto, 2006 :5) where generally `people feel awkward about saying "no" to express disagreement´.

In speech situations where this expression is used as a response to an invitation, susanto (2006) claims that there is `often a confusion over whether the invitation will be taken up or not´, or to put it as it is claimed by Nazzal (2006, cit. in Susanto, 2006: 5), the use of Insha Allah serves as a `release of the speaker from the responsibility for carrying out a request or accepting an invitation´.

All in all, we can say that Insha Allah is an established code-switching phenomenon in non-Arabic speaking Muslim communities which is used as it is resumed in Susantos´ words to serve the speech function of `avoiding social conflicts between interlocutors, to maintain face and to preserve harmony if one fails to fulfil one´s request or invitation´ or as he reports on Nazzal , the use of this term can bring a `lot of merits and payoffs for both the speaker and interlocutor´ i.e.: the speaker is exempt of worrying about incurring any cost or staking to the interlocutor´s self image in case the speaker is unable to accomplish the interlocutors request´.

In the following scenario, we have tried to represent an interaction between colleagues to illustrate the code-switched language that "educated" Moroccans use for extending invitations with interactants of similar professional context.

Scenarios (1): (between colleagues)

Two colleagues leaving the office and as a farewell they wish each other a good week-end and one says:

A-**"wa zuruna ntuma w´madam had l? Wik and, sherfuna, Ila q?beltiw 3?lina"**

N.W.T.:<[Standard Arabic:visit us (pl.you) and your wife]+[S.Arabic: this]+[English:week-end]+[S.Arabic: Honour us with your visit] + [Moroccan Arabic: if you accept us]>

B-"n´q?b?lu 3la t?rab d?rejlikum?. n?sha´aLah, wa labu´d n?´Zurukum. 3? tini ghir sh?wiya d?l? weqt. W?n? sha´aLah on ira vous voir"

N.W.T.: <[M.A: we accept the floor which you have under you feet]+[M.A: God willing]+[M.A: it is a must]+ [S. Arabic: to visit you]+[M.A : give me some time]+ [M.A: God willing] + [French words: we will go to see/visit you]>.

A-"mar?Haban Asidi. Quand vous voulez. On est a votre entière disposition. donc, on fait comme ça, ILa L´iqae?. A très bientôt. Bon week-end.

N.W.T.:<[S. Arabic words: welcome, (my master)]+[French words: Whenever you want(you can visit us)]+[French words: We are at your disposal]+[French words: so we do like this]+ [French words: see you soon]+[French word: have a good]+[English words: week-end]>.

B-"ila´l?´iqae?. tahiyati l? Malin ´Dar.

N.W.T.: <[S. Arabic: see you soon. My regards] + [M.A: to those of your house/to all the family]>

A- "muballagh Asidi, shukran".

N.W.T.: < [S. Arabic: I will (give your regards)], [S. Arabic: thank you]>.

The addresser and the addressee in scenario (1) are colleagues. The relationship between the interlocutors is expected to be symmetrical, or at least, it is what it seems to be from the conversation. The sophisticated and exaggerated formality which characterise the language of the inviter in his formulation of the invitation is not an indicator of any real disequilibrium as to his status vis-a-vis the interlocutor. `Zuruna´<visit (pl. you) us>; `sher?funa´<honour(pl. you) us>; `ila qbeltu 3?lina´< if you accept us>; `Asidi´<my master>.

All these expressions betray a high level of sophistication in the language of the inviter. The "you plural" or, as it is known in French, "vous de politess" is used by Moroccans in very reduced speech situations, especially in situation where the addressee is inferior as far as the status is concerned. It is also used as a strategy to reduce intimacy and familiarity of the speaker with the interlocutor.

Indeed, the "you plural" is used to serve pragmatically the speech function as that it serves in French: it is meant to create distance between interlocutors be it as a gesture of reverence of a speaker of inferior status vis-a-vis a hearer of high status, or as a strategy to create distance between the speaker and the hearer either for hierarchical reasons or just as an act of courtesy. We Also find different expressions of self-humbling or self-effacement `iLa t?q?blu 3?lina´<if you accept us>; `sherfuna <honour us>; `madam´< French appellative used as honorific title to refer to the invitee´s wife> it substitutes Moroccan Arabic the word "m?ra"< woman> or "m?ratek" <your wife>.

The choice of this linguistic repertoire is a device to create a high level of sophistication between the speaker and the hearer at least at the talk

level and not meant to portray a real speech situation where protocol is expected or required.

Additionally, by recurring to SA instead of MA, i.e.: `Zuruna´ <visit us> instead of `Ajiw 3endna´<come to us. or, come to our place/home, house> as most Moroccans would generally say to extend an invitation, the inviter is trying just to mitigate the real end of the invitation, it is the expression of mere protocol, and not meant to be taken seriously, which was so obvious for the invitee that he corresponded the invitation by a declination to not contradict the inviter´s expectations.

Nevertheless, the invitee chooses similar politeness strategies to correspond the inviter by the same linguistic and pragmatic level of sophistication and exaggeration. All the changes in the linguistic repertoire used by the inviter are responded to by the invitee in the same registers, both inviter and invitee use Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and French. The formulaic expression we find in the first sequence of the inviter `iLa q?beltiw 3?lina´<if you accept us>is responded to by the invitee with the corresponding formulaic expression: n´q?blu 3?la t?rab d?rejlikum´<we accept the floor which is under your(plural) feet> which is a common answer that Moroccans usually use to respond to such an exaggerated expression of self-effacement.

In fact, it is another exaggerated expression of self-effacement. The linguistic practice of "pairing" some expression especially those regarding politeness is very common in Moroccan speech behaviour. Many formulaic expressions have a "ready-made" formulaic correspondent among which we can list as examples: [(ajiw 3?n?dna/ y?jik l´khir)< come and visit us/

may all the good visit you]; [(m?b?ruk/ Lah´y?barek fik) <congratulation=may God be bless it / you]>; [(n´tina mulat l´khir/ n?´ti m?n?h?lu)<you are the most generous/ you are from the most generous family]>.

Generally, these expressions are regarded today as old fashioned and reserved to the speech behaviour of Moroccan old people or in some regions of Morocco such as Fez, where protocol is still used in daily communication. The linguistic characteristic of these paired formulaic expressions is that the subject, the verb or the adjective used in the first part is re-used for the answer: verb- [`ajiw´/ y?jik <come(verb, imperative, plural) /may come(verb, simple present=wish, singular)>]; adjective-[mebruk´/yebarek <may it be blessed (adjective)/ bless(verb)] and finally, [(n´tina <you (subject feminine) /you (subject, feminine)>] .

6.7. Age and invitation

In the field of pragmatics, age is regarded as a parameter which affects the course and the nature of communication. As Helfrich claims,

> "In most societies, age is an important category for social interaction and social organization among other things, age is associated with the role structure in the family and in social groups, with the assignment of authority and status, with the attribution of different level of competence". (1979: 63)

In the same line of argument, we find Aroyo (1994) who claims that the age of interlocutors is a determinant variable as far as it establishes the particular norms of behaviour… as we can see from illustration hereafter.

"Por un lado, la edad de los interlocutores se ha revelado como una variable determinante ya que establece unas reglas de comportamiento muy definidas [...] Otro factor relevante es el tipo de actividad social desarrollada por los participantes en el intercambio verbal. Así se ha comprobado que en los contextos donde prima un interés instrumental entre las partes o donde se aprecia claramente una jerarquía social entre ambas, el empleo de usted se contempla todavía como una elección mayoritaria. Por el contrario, otros ámbitos- la calle, el bar, las relaciones alumno-profesor… determinan un comportamiento sociolingüístico menos conservador". (1994-95: 38-39)

In the speech behaviour of Moroccans, the age of interactants is crucial in the creation of meaning. The way young people address older interactants is particularly insightful in the determination of status, power and distance. Generally, young Moroccans reserve a high degree of respect to older addressees. The relevance of age as a sociocultural variable to our study is the extent to which it affects invitation exchange in Moroccan culture. Invitations across age-range seem to display alteration with regard to how invitations are interpreted or negotiated. The following scenarios are intended to illustrate the encoding and the decoding of invitation in interaction between old and young people.

Scenario (2): older / younger (acquaintances)

[S (+P) + H (-P)] +[S (-D) + H (+D)] + [S (+R) + H (-R)] = Ostensible

A mother meets a friend of her daughter in the street and after the preliminary greeting and after asking her if everything is all right with her family, she asked the girl to visit her and to tell her mother that she is welcome and it will be a pleasure for the inviter to meet and receive her:

A-"Wa´ajjiuw 3endna"; *N.W.T.* :< come to our home/ visit us>

" wa ma tgheybiish ?3liina"; *N.W.T.*:<let us see you soon>;

> "wa Ajjiuw t´ ?3eshiiw m´?3aana/ ?3endna"; *N.W.T.*:<come and spend the afternoon with us>
>
> B- "n´sha9´llah"; *N.W.T.*: <God willing

This speech situation is representative of a situation where interlocutors are both females but of different age range, the age of the inviter affects the course and situation for the processing of invitation: Inasmuch as in Morocco, young people can hardly invite older persons. Normally, old people act with less distance towards young people whereas young people keep more distance with older people as a symbol of respect.

In Moroccan culture older people are considered of higher ranking per-se. It is to be understood as an assignation for the sake of respect, than as a merit of old people. Generally, old people are addressed and treated with more deference no matter how close the relationship of the interlocutor is with that of the addressee.

The equation provided in scenario (2) informs us that age is a pragmatic constraint on invitation performance. It is a `one way´ invitation, i.e. only old people can invite young people. Moreover, we see that the solicitude of the presence of the mother´s hearer is meant to repair the imbalance created due to the difference of age of both the inviter and the invitee. There is a kind of "bridging" of the hearer. Apparently, the speaker invites the hearer. But indirectly, the speaker is inviting the mother of the hearer (i.e. another adult). This can be understood as if young people are not expected "culturally" to be invited and the presence of an adult is required for a pragmatically correct invitation. And as a consequence, adults are not supposed to invite younger persons.

On the other hand, the answer of the hearer is also important as to how the hearer decodes the invitation and shows her awareness of the existing pragmatic constraints on responding to this invitation. The "n?´shaa´llaah" response of the invitee is void of any compromise. It is a neutral response meant to comply more with a protocol code than to respond to the speaker´s invitation. In this sequence, we discover how determinant is the age of the interlocutors in both formulating and responding to invitations.

Scenario (3): old / old (friends)

[S (-p) + H (-p)] + [S (-D) +H (-D)] + [S (-R) + H (-R)] = genuine

Two women meet in the market place: after exchanging greetings and inquiring about how are all the members of the family of both interlocutors, one of the speakers says:

A: Ghir l´bareh tfeqertek, w? qelt shHaal hadi ma shefna l´Hajja.

<W.w.T.: Just yesterday I remember you and I said it is long we didn´t see l´Hajja -a pilgrim: An honorific title used to address a person who has been to Mecca. Yet, sometimes it is used only as a marker of respect and not because the addressee has been to Mecca indeed>

N.W.T.: <Yesterday, I thought about you and said it is a long time since l´Hajja visited us.>

B: yetfakrek l´khir. Wl´llahi la kul n´Haar kanqol khasni n´mshi n´shuf kum, w´mazal ma ktaab. W´la bgha L´aaH had jjem3a n´duz n´gles makum shi shwiya.

W.W.T.: <May all good things remember you, I swear by Allah, I say every day I have to go to see you. And it is not yet destined. God willing, this Friday I will pass and sit with you a little bit. >

> *N.W.T.:* <Thank you for thinking of me. I swear by Allah that every day I want to visit you but I can´t find time to do it yet. But, God willing, I will call on you on Friday.
> A: M´rehba. Wa 3endaki ma t´jish.
> *W.W.T.*: <Welcome. Be careful you don´t come.
> *N.W.T. :*< Welcome. Please, come.>

The conversation presented in scenario (3) happens between interlocutors of nearly the same age. The content of (A) sequence reveals that (A) is inviting (B), and (B) knows it is a genuine invitation on the basis of mutual shared information which both interlocutors have. i.e.: (A) is not required to insist on (B) ´s visit. And (B) is ready to visit (A). The invitation extended in scenario (2) reveals that both speaker and hearer are good friends and they are used to exchange visits as a marker of their good relationship.

We can observe a lack of insistence on the part of (A). For (A), (B) does not need to be insisted on to visit (A). And (B) takes (A) ´s indirect invitation for a genuine one. There is no need for negotiation to redress/save (B) ´s face. The degree of intimacy that exists between the two interlocutors shortens the distance between (A) and (B) and consequently creates a prosperous pragmatic contour for extending an invitation by (A) and reduces the challenge put both on (A) to convince (B) to accept the invitation, and on (B) to take it as a genuine one without the expectancy of any insistence on the part of (A).

Scenario (4): old / old (acquaintances)

[S (+P) + H (+P)] + [S (+D) + H (+D)] + [S (+R) + H (+R)] + swearing = genuine reinforced

[S (+P) + H (+P)] + [S (+D) + H (+D)] + [S (+R) + H (+R)] – swearing = ostensible

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A neighbour/woman went to another woman´s house to complain about the noise the children of this latter were making.

A-Msel´khir a laLa

N.W.T.: <Good afternoon>

B- Msel´khir. Yak labas?

N.W.T.: <Good afternoon. Anything wrong/ can I help you?>

A- Laa makayen hetta bas. Brit ghir n? ´Tleb mennek yela yemkenlek tqoli l?´wlidat y´neqsu shwiya m´?n? sda3 3afak. 3endi´rrajel m´Rid f´l frash.

N.W.T.:<No, there is nothing wrong. I just want to tell you if you can ask your children to make less noise, please. My husband is ill.>

B- Labas 3liH.daba ghadi n´qol?l´Hum y? S?´ktu. Wa zidi, mat?b?qaysh waqfa f?l? bab,

N.W.T: <Sorry, for your husband. I will immediately ask the children to be quite. Why don´t come in. Please, don´t stay out/at the door.>

A- la ghir khell´ini nemshi. Sa3a kh?ra n´sha allal. Daba lqitini m?z?ruba.

N.W.T. :<No, just let me go, another time (I will come). Now, I am in a hurry>

B-Wa 3ib 3?lik. d?kh´li, w?jjeH L´lah.

N.W.T. :< This not kind of you. Come in, for Allah´s face.>

(1)A-N´mut w?´mans?wahsh. adi n´dkh´ul ghir 3la w?´jeh´LaH.

N.W.T. :< I can´t refuse, I will go in just for the sake of Allah´s face.>

(2)A- f? Had Ssa3a ghir khellini n?m?shi. Gheddaa n?´ji n´sha´Llah.

N.W.T. :< I am sorry, just let me go now. Tomorrow, I will come, God willing.

The conversation between (A) and (B) in scenario (4) is between two female interlocutors. And it resumes on the one hand the moves for the negotiation of the invitation extended by (A) to (B). And on the other hand it represents a speech event where the interlocutors are conscious about the

pragmatic constraint created by the situational context of this speech event. i.e.: (A) is: 1-invading (B) ´s space: she is at (B) ´s door; 2-the reason for this space franchising is a complaint. and (B) is: receiving a complaint about her children in her house.

The invitation extended by (B) provided in this sequence serves three speech function: it is used by (B) first as a compensatory tool to repair the damage caused by (B) ´s children. Second, it is used as a gesture of solidarity with the interlocutor whose husband is ill. And third, to respond to a traditional canon which obliges Moroccans to receive "non-expected" visitors.

The conversational swearing particle used by (B) i.e. "for Allah´s face" shows that this interlocutor is willing to receive (A) to meet the intended speech functions for which the invitation is extended: compensation, solidarity and to serve a socio-cultural value.

On the other hand, (A) ´s attitude in sequence (1) provides a possibility where the hearer decodes the invitation positively and in accordance with the pretended functions of the invitation. Apparently, the hearer considers that there is enough situational ground for interpreting the invitation as a genuine one. Hence she accepts the invitation but with a condition to justify her acceptance: "I will go in just for the sake of Allah´s face" which serves by its turn two speech functions as far as the invitee is concerned: to save the invitee´s face from being considered ill- mannered as far as she accepts the first invitation (where no insistence is produced by the inviter), and it shows how much consideration the invitee has for the religious referent (Allah´s face). By no way can the invitee decline an act for which Allah is mentioned as far as, the act is meant to please Allah.

Unlike sequence (1), sequence (2) is a possibility where (A) is not receptive to (B) ´s invitation. The excuse she is giving to the invitee is a pragmatic strategy to decline the invitation: "I am sorry, just let me go now, I will come tomorrow, God willing". From a pragmatic point of view, it seems that the conversational plea "for Allah´s face" is not enough for the hearer to decode the invitation as a genuine one. Possibly, the hearer needs more insistence from the speaker to definitely accept the invitation. Or, possibly, the invitee is not willing to accept the invitation as a compensatory tool for the damage caused to her by the children of the inviter.

Scenario (5): Young / old + acquaintances:

[S (-P) + H (+P)] + [S (+D) + H (-D)] + [S (-R) + H (+R)] = Ostensible

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A young girl arrives at a shop where she meets and elderly woman who is a friend of the young girl´s family.

A- M?s?l?´khir

N.W.T.: <good afternoon>

B- M?s?l? khir a binti, labas 3lik?, sh?khbar mamak? fin mashia?

N.W.T.: <good afternoon daughter, how are you?, how is your mother?, where are you going?>

A- Mashia n?t?s?kh?r l?´dar, 3endna id milad khti.

N.W.T.: <I am going to by things for my house/family. We have my sister´s birthday.>

B- Selmi 3?liha , w?´Qolil´ha id milad said.

N.W.T.: <give her my regards and my best wishes for her birthday>

A- Shukran, wa duzi 3endna. Ghadi n?qol l? Mama ghadi t?´jji 3endna l´hajja.

N.W.T.: <thank you, why don´t you drop in? I will tell my mum that you are going to visit us.>

B- N?shal´lah. Sel?mili 3la mamak

N.W.T.: <God willing, give her my regards.>

A- Muballagh, b? S?lama.

N.W.T.: <I will. Good bye.>

Scenario (5) represents a speech situation where the interlocutors are females of different age. The difference of age creates asymmetry as to the distribution of the ranking and the distance in favour of the hearer (B) caused by the lack of power which characterises the speaker (A) for the fact of being of minor age. The speaker invites the hearer only because she mentioned the birthday of her sister. It is as if she is telling the interlocutor that she is welcome only because it is a special occasion: the birthday.

The sentence uttered by the speaker "I will tell my mother that `l´hajja´ is going to visit us" is illustrative of the speaker´s awareness about her cultural inability to invite unless she is assisted by, and have the consensus of an adult: the speaker´s mother. Also the honorific title `l´hajja´ shows the speaker´s deference towards the hearer as an expression of respect.

Scenario (6) young/young female (friends)

[S (-P) + H (-P)] + [S (-D) + H (-D)] + [S (-R) + H (-R)] = genuine

Two girls / friends meet in a cafeteria and one was very glad to meet her friend that day:

A-salut¡, quelle agréable surprise¡

N.W.T.: <Hello, what a nice surprise¡>

B-c´est vraie, c´est une vraie surprise¡ ça fait plaisir te revoir après

Longtemps. Sh?´hkbarek?, sh?´hkbar l´3aila? Tout le monde va bien?

N.W.T.: <It´s true, it is really a surprise. It is a pleasure to meet you again. How are you? How is your family? <Is everybody doing well? >

A- Tout le monde est bien l´hamdu liLah. Merci. Tfadli ghuelsi sherbi ma3na qHiwa.

N.W.T.: <everybody is O.K. Thanks to Allah. Thank you. Honour us and sit to have a coffee with us>.

B- La ghir khellini 3afak. Je vois que tu es accompagnée et je ne veux pas te déranger.

N.W.T.: <no just let me go please. I see that you have some company and I don´t want to bother you>.

A-tu ne déranges pas du tout, au contraire.Hadu ghir collègues diali d?l? bureau. La´Y? khellik, ma treddihalish f?wejhi. ghir qHiwa w? N?m? shiw kamlin.

N.W.T.: < you don´t bother us at all, on the contrary, these are just colleagues of mine. May Allah save you, Don´t turn it in my face (meaning don´t refuse my invitation). Just a coffee, and we all have to go>.

B-yaLaah a lalla, shnu yeqol l?miyet qeddam ghessalu.

N.W.T.: <Let´s. What can a dead say to the person who is cleaning him/her./dead can´t talk or complain about anything. (Meaning she can´t refuse the invitation)>.

B-Bonjour tout le monde. (Then, she joined the group and sit)

N.W.T.: <good morning everybody>.

In scenario (6) we are exposed to the extending of an invitation from a friend to another one, both young and both girls. The situational context is very proclive for the fulfilment of the pretended pragmatic content of an invitation and its transformation in a firm one, that is, the relationship between the two interlocutors is apparently very good.

A good illustration of this is the opening speech particles uttered by (A): "quelle agréable surprise¡" and the hearer´s confirmation of her sharing of this fact i.e. c´est vraie/ <it is true>. The conversation is marked

by the code switching of French as an indication of the educational level of the interlocutors, and also as socio- cultural marker of the speech behaviour of educated young Moroccans.

The preliminary conversation shows that (A) was very happy to meet her friend and a good way to prove her happiness is by inviting her to join the group and have a coffee with them. Pragmatically, (A) was successful, the strategy she used to convince (B) to accept the invitation was adequate and at the same time expressive of the speaker good will of inviting the hearer: "La´y? Khellik ma t´reddihalesh f?wejhi"/< please, don´t refuse>. The clues the speaker provides to the hearer are not misleading as to the intention of the speaker to really want to invite (B) which made it easy for (B) to decode the invitation as a genuine one and concludes by accepting to have a coffee.

All in all, we can see how the reduction of distance (-D) between the interlocutors -being old friends- reduces the risks (-P) for the interlocutors to negotiate the invitation without creating any situation of challenge or face- threat to anyone of the interlocutors. Also it is evident that the strategy used by the speaker was efficient as to help the hearer resolve pragmatically correctly the invitation by accepting it.

Scenario (7) young/ young male (friends)

[S (-D) + H (-D)] + [S (-P) + H (-D)] + [S (-R) + H (-R)] = genuine

Two friends / boys meet in the street:
A-ahlen asahbi, comment ça va?
N.W.T.: <hello friend, how are you?>
B-ahlen, ahlen. Wa ghyub hadi, wa fayn? Yak labas? 3ad dik n?Har suwelt 3lik khuk wghali raq f?Rabat. wash welliti kheddam temma?

N.W.T.: <hello, hello, it is so long since we last meet. Where were you? Is everything O.K. with you. One day I met your brother and I asked him about you and he told me that you are in Rabat (the Capital City of Morocco). <Are you working there now?>

A- eyyeh a sidi. Iwa shnu ghadi n?diru. Ha h?na m?3a d'durruf. Wa fin ghadi daba? Yallah nsherbu si haja mejmu3in.

N.W.T.: <yes, sidi/ my master (honorific title). What can we do? We have to cope with the circumstances. Where are you going now? Let´s go and have a coffee together>.

B-shukran, m?z?rub shi shwiya.l?qitini ghadi n´shuf wahd s´seyid 3la shi gharad. Iwa ila n?ta baqi h?na n´tchawfu f?l? qarib. Wa ta´sel biya et on fix l´heure. D´accord.

N.W.T.: <thank you, I am in a hurry. I am going to see someone for some matters. If you are still here, we shall meet soon. Call me and we will fix a date. O.K?>

A-la, walu. W?Lah ma tef?let. daba n?sherbu qehwa w? Labas.

N.W.T.: <no, not at all, I swear by Allah, you are not going to escape from me. We shall have a coffee any how>.

B-a sahbi, waLahila mezrub. Wa lakin makain mushkil. Mashi kul n?Har kan n?tlaqaw m?3a Mohsine. Yallah a sidi n?sherbu had l? Qahwa.

N.W.T.: <friend, I swear by Allah that I am in a hurry. But, no problem. We don´t always have the opportunity to meet Mohcine (the name of the inviter). Let´s go (master) and have this coffee>.

Scenario (7) is a good example of an informal invitation, which usually takes place between friends and colleagues. Apparently, the interlocutors are close friends who have lost contact for some time. The speaker knows the brother of the hearer which reveals the degree of intimacy that exists between the interlocutors. Also the speaker shows how much he cares for the hearer by reporting to him that he asked the hearer´s

brother about his news. From a pragmatic point of view, the extending of the invitation by speaker (A) to speaker (B) is primarily supported by an adequate situational context, that is, the meeting again of two old friends. Then by the degree of intimacy that exists between the interlocutors exemplified in the type of appellatives that both interlocutors use to address each other and to stress common membership ´A sahbi´ < "A" (vocative), friend masculine>.

Nevertheless, the sequence of speaker (B) `la walu´ w?Lah ma tef?let´/<no, not at all, I swear by Allah, you are not going to escape> is revealing as to the speaker´s sincerity of the invitation, not only through the conversational swearing particle `I swear by Allah´ but rather through the pragmatic content of `you are not going to escape from me´ as a politeness strategy where the inviter makes use of the maxim of generosity (Leech, 1983) by `maximising the benefit to self and minimising the expression of cost to self´.

Indeed, the invitation in this speech situation is converted into "a favour" which the invitee has to do to the inviter by accepting the invitation and by no way declining it. At the same time, it works as face-enhancing device directed to the hearer: it guides the hearer to feel desired and his presence wanted.

In order to respond to the inviter´s solicitude, the invitee on his turn uses different politeness strategies. First, he accepts the invitation but with another face-enhancing strategy, this time, directed to the inviter: `I swear by Allah that I am in a hurry, but no problem´ on the one hand, and on the other hand, `we don´t always have the opportunity to meet Mohcine´, meaning that the speaker considers meeting his friend is a matter of

celebration because he doesn´t always have the opportunity to enjoy the presence of the hearer as a compliment to the hearer and as a pragmatic device to enhance the inviter´s face for being generous and insisting on his invitation.

In addition to the first part of the sequence, where the speaker shows consideration and gratitude for the inviter by giving priority to having the coffee with the inviter instead of resolving the personal matter for which he was in a hurry.

All in all, scenario (6) represents the conversation between two Moroccan male friends and the process inherent to the negotiation of an invitation. It also uncovers accepting strategies of invitations in the speech of Moroccan males.

6.8. Invitation refusal

6.8.1. The cultural aspects of the speech act of refusing

Refusal is a controversial speech act in all speech situations and probably in all languages and cultures. From a pragmatic point of view speakers have to employ different politeness strategies to soften the impact of the act of refusing on the hearer. According to Tanck (2002), refusing is a face-threatening act to the listener/requester/inviter in so far that it contradicts directly or indirectly the expectation of the hearer by saying `no´ to a request, an offer or an invitation and often it is realized through an indirect strategy (2000, p:2)

As refusing is classified among face-threatening-acts, speakers are required to have a high pragmatic knowledge of the socio-cultural and the conversational norms involved in the realization of this speech act so as to avoid offence and communication breaks especially in communication across cultures (Gumperz, 1990).

Studies on refusal reveal that refusing is culture bound and many irregularities as to the choice of the politeness strategy to perform the act of refusing were detected across cultures (Beebe, 1985; Beebe. et al., 1985; Beebe and Takahashi, 1987, cited in Wolfson (1989)). The authors found that Japanese learners of English are status sensitive in the formulation of refusal. The status of the interlocutor conditions the speech of the Japanese both when they speak English or their native language. Generally, Japanese do not apologize or express regret as a politeness strategy to soften the impact of the act of refusing to interlocutors of inferior status.

The study also revealed that Japanese transfer this speech behaviour to the target language. On the contrary, Americans -as reported in this study- seem to show less concern about the social ranking or the interpersonal distance of their interlocutors: they give brief and less sophisticated details to both higher and lower status interlocutors as a repair strategy to the act of refusing, while they give longer and more elaborated response to peers. Moreover, the study is also revealing in what concerns the strategies used by Americans to perform the act of refusing: Americans generally refuse directly recurring to "I refuse" or "no" mainly with, strangers, status unequal acquaintances, or intimate.

On the contrary, they use indirect refusals with equal status acquaintances, and they perform it mainly in three different strategies: the first one is used by Americans especially as a pre-sequence or introductory to a refusal via an expression of positive opinion such as "I´d like to", the second one is to express regret as in "I am sorry" or to give an explanation, an excuse, or a reason why the hearer is refusing the speaker´s request or invitation: "my children will be home that night" or "I have a headache". The third strategy includes a wish or a promise of realizing the `refused´ request in future occasions as in "if you had asked me earlier"; "I´ll do it next time"; or statements of principle " I never do business with friends", a statement of philosophy "one can´t be too careful", a criticism of the request for empathy, a statement letting the interlocutor on the hook "don´t worry about it", an indefinite reply, to show lack of enthusiasm and verbal or non verbal reticence such as silence, or a change of topic, a hedge or a joke.

Another study of refusals as performed by Yemenis as Arabic speakers was led by Al-Eryani (2007). In this study, the author investigated the sociolinguistic and the pragma-linguistic aspects of the speech act of refusing as made by a group of Yemenis learners of English as a foreign language, and a group of Yemenis as native speakers of Arabic and a group of Americans as native speakers of English. The results showed that, in spite of the existence of similar varieties of refusal strategies in both of English and Arabic, many cross-cultural differences were detected in the frequency and the content of the semantic formulas used by each language group in relation to the contextual variables. Mainly those referring to the status of interlocutors (higher, equal, or lower status) as well as the eliciting acts such as, requests, invitations, offers and suggestions.

According to the author, Yemeni Arabic native speakers are less direct in their refusals, they generally offer preceding "reason" or "explanation" (in the first position of the semantic formula order) other than their own desire in refusing, unlike Americans native speakers who normally use different semantic order by preceding "regret" in the first position giving more direct refusal (2007: 19).

In the same line of investigation we find (Al-Shawali, 1997, cit. in Al-Eryani, 2007: 23) who analysed the semantic formulas used by Saudi and American males in the speech act of refusal. The results of this study show that American and Saudis use similar formulas to perform refusal but they differ in what concerns direct refusal and also in what concerns the use of the semantic formulas in the content of their refusals: Saudi showed a tendency to give unspecified answers or to use avoidance strategies such as postponing or hedging.

Worth mentioning is also the study on the patterns of refusal in Costa Rican Native Spanish Speakers abbreviated as Ticos by Barbara E. Miller (in press).The study was conducted to test how Ticos refuse an invitation or a request to complete a favour. The participants were 11 native adult males and 11 native adult females and the testing device was a written survey in Spanish composed of 10 situations which ranged from a direct "no" to a Negative Passive responses. The result of this study revealed a cultural inclination of Costa Rican adults to the use of non-direct refusal patterns.

> "Among Costa Ricans (Ticos) and foreigners living in Costa Rica it is said to be true that as a cultural norm, most Costa Ricans tend to not give a direct *no* when refusing a favour and much less when refusing an invitation. Costa Ricans tend to be very polite and less direct in their forms of refusal and will most often

either say *yes* or *maybe* which can be a masked *no* or *no* followed by an excuse or reason for refusing the offer. The *si pero no* tendency allows Ticos to find ways out of difficult situations such as refusals, by means of compromise. In general want to get along with people and make good impression in social encounters to appear amiable." (p.3)

This same view is shared by Biesanz (1999, reported ibid) who stated that "Ticos will nod or say *si* even when they don´t mean it simply to avoid conflict" (1999: 7) and "*quedar* bien" with others.

In terms of cultural patterns, Lyuh (1992) led a study on refusal in Korean and English which showed that Koreans and Americans used different refusal strategies. The Americans´ refusals responded to the profile of an individualistic society, whereas the refusal patterns of Koreans seemed to be more characteristic of a collectivistic culture.

Liao & Bresnahan (1996) directed an extensive study based on the testing of 24 refusal strategies in Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan and American English. Similarities were detected between Americans and Mandarin Chinese in the use of one particular strategy i.e. "apology" (I am sorry), especially in term of frequency distribution. Differences were detected as to the receiver of refusal: Americans were less likely to refuse a friend, while Chinese hesitated to refuse a family member. Americans and Chinese used different formulaic expressions of refusals. Chinese were using fewer strategies at making excuses. In refusing the requests made by a person with higher status , one common refusal pattern in Chinese was using address term, apologies, and reasons (Liao & Bresnahan, 1996) whereas, Americans tended to use the formula "I would like to", reasons and apology as a mode of polite refusal (Liao & Bresnahan, 1996).

According to the authors of this study, Chinese´s avoidance of the use of "I would like to" formula is because they fear that if they expressed positive opinions, they would be forced to comply with the request.

6.9. The speech act of refusal in Moroccan culture

Moroccans as Arabic native speakers display similar cultural patterns as those of Yemeni Arabic native speakers. Generally, Moroccans are quite hesitant to openly refuse requests, suggestions, offers or invitations and they prefer to resort to different politeness strategies to reduce the threat the act of refusing creates to the face of the interlocutor. Expressions like "n? Sha Lah" <God willing>, "ila b?gha Lah"<if God want> are usually used as answers to offers, or invitations.

Moroccans resolve their speech situations generally from the interlocutor´s perspective. There is a high concern about the interlocutor and nearly all the conventional indirect strategies are used to avoid offence to the hearer. Hence many indirect strategies are used to pragmatically mean "no" but rarely a "no" answer is openly given to the interlocutor independently of his/her status or the degree of intimacy that exists between the interlocutors. Nevertheless, we can find instances of direct refusal as an answer to requests especially in speech situations where the interlocutors are siblings or intimate friends: the close/intimate relationship that exists between brothers and sisters and good friends makes it possible for the addressee to refuse a suggestion or a request but possibly not an offer or an invitation.

6.9.1. Invitation refusal in MA

If we consider invitation from the inviter perspective, we can systematically understand why invitees find it difficult to refuse an invitation. Psychologically, to refuse an invitation is deceiving for the inviter (who pretends to please the addressee via invitation, and for the invitee being the receiver of the beneficial act: the invitation). This could probably help understand why invitees have recourse to different politeness strategies to resolve the pragmatically "tricky" speech situation instead of declining openly an invitation. Nevertheless, factors like the social status of the addressee and the relation that exists between the interlocutors can affect the performance of invitation refusals.

Moroccans use a wide range of expressions or `semantic formulas´ as a pre-sequence to refuse an invitation. In what follows, we will be concerned about how Moroccans refuse an invitation.

Moroccans have recourse to a wide range of semantic formulas to "disguise" an open refusal in speech situations where an open refusal is intended by the speaker. Accordingly, the degree of "disguise" will vary depending on the status of the hearer. In situations of asymmetry between speaker and addressee, we find expressions such as "n?shae Lah maykun ghir khatrek" < God willing, I will satisfy your desire> as a sign of embarrassment and regret followed by a promise to compensate the hearer for the implicit refusal. Refusal also can be neutral and less sophisticated, particularly, between equals such as in: "Ma3?lih?sh, n?khlewHa l? Merra kh?ra" <never mind, let´s make it another day>; "wLah ila l?qitini

mez?rub/meshghul"<I swear by God that I am in a hurry; that I am busy>
as an excuse; "n?Har akhur"<another day>: future acceptance.

The excuse here is more sincere and it is expressed with less feeling
of embarrassment about the refusal. It is almost close to an open "no" but
not saying "no" in situations where the hearer is of higher status than the
speaker (H>S) as in "f? fursa qadima" <in another opportunity/occasion>
or, "n?shae Lah maykun ghir khatrek" < God willing, I will satisfy your
desire>; "n? shaa Lah; bi kulli farah"<God willing; with pleasure>"tushkar,
sukran a sidi" ma3endi ma n? Qol, l'merra jaya n?ressiw" <thank you my
master, I can´t refuse, we will make it next time> as an expression of
gratitude; "wala bud" <of course>; "w?Lah ghir smehli had l´merra, n
f?diwha n? shaa´LAh" <I beg you to forgive me this time; I will
compensate you in another opportunity, God willing> as a sign of regret
"agi, w? 3lash matzuruna n?tuma"<by the way, why don´t you, (you) visit
us> (meaning why don´t you accept to be my guest instead of inviting
me?), offering alternatives to the addressee.

Scenario (1)

A by passer, meets a friend of her who was trying to get into her house:

A-Sbah lkhiiik, faiyen ghad?ya, wash jaya 3ndna?

<Good morning, where are going? Are coming to visit us>

B-Lala, lquetina ghad?ya n?tqeDa.

<No, no, I am going to do some shopping>

A-Wa mazal l?hal, hadi 3ad l? 3eshra d? s?baH. Dukhli n?sherbu qhiwa.

<It is still early. It is just ten o´clock. Come in and let´s have a coffee>

B-Mada biya. Walakin kheSni 3ad netqeda w?nemshi n?Seweb l?makla l?lewlad.

<I would like to, but I have to do the shopping to prepare the lunch for my
children>

A-Wa mazal l?hal. l?wlad makayjiw Hetta l? tnash. Ghir Sherbi qhiwa w? Siri t?qeday.

<It is still early. The children don´t come home before twelve. Just drink a coffee, then go.

B-Rebbi y?khellik. Ghir khellini nem?shi. behra n?ji m?3a l? weq?t?, merra khra n? shaa Lah.

<May God save you. Just let me go. I would just get in time (to do the lunch). Another time (I will visit you)>

A-wa li b?ghiti, m?rehba bik fuq ma bghiti.

<As you want. You are welcome any time you want>

The dialogue between the two interlocutors depicts a typical speech situation for an invitation and the subsequent conventional situation where the speaker intends to persuade the hearer to accept the invitation and the hearer tries to convince the speaker of the contrary for different reasons such as, etiquette reason, situational reason or personal reason. The relationship between the two speakers can be regarded as symmetrical mainly because speaker and addressee are friends.

The negotiation of the invitation is based on common ground as we can see in the last answer given by the inviter "as you want". This shows the inviter´s solidarity and readiness to accept the invitee´s decision (to not accept the invitation), not because the inviter is not willing to insist on the invitee to accept the invitation as a politeness strategy but rather it shows the degree of familiarity that exists between speaker and hearer. On the other hand, from the invitee´s perspective, we find that the strategy used to refuse the invitation "I would like to" is similar to the strategy used by Americans (Beebe et al.,1985: 125) as a pre-sequence to perform refusal primarily to acquaintances of equal status.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Chapter 7: Compliments

7.1. Definition of compliments

There appears to be a popular consensus on how compliment are conceived. The way natives define compliments usually matches their folk definition. According to Holmes (1988), compliments are defined as follows:

> A compliment is 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 valued by the speaker
>
> (Holmes, 1988: 446)

The definition of Holmes points to the two aspects usually associated with compliments: (1) compliments represent admiration of the speaker about, (2) the object of admiration, namely, possessions, achievements, or physical appearance of the addressee (at least in the culture of Holmes).

Another hypothesis about compliments is put forward by Wierzbicka (1987: 201)

> I perceive something good about your Y.
>
> I want to say something good about you because of that.
>
> I say (something good about X and X´s Y)
>
> I feel something good thinking about it.
>
> > I say this because I want to cause you to know that I am thinking something good about you.
>
> I assume that you will feel something good because of that.
>
> (Wierzbicka, 1987: 201)

It is truism to state that the true purpose of compliments is to please the addressee (Brown and Levinson 1987; Wierzbicka 1987; Herbert 1990), however, compliments prove to be multifunctional in different cultures, and seem to be used sometimes to manipulate or reinforce behavioural patterns, as an expression of disapproval or sarcasm.

7.1.1. Aspects of compliments

In most studies, compliments are classified as formulaic speech acts, which follow determinate patterns both at the syntactic level and in the lexical repertoire, which initially bears positive evaluation (cf. Manes and Wolfson 1981; Holmes 1988; Herbert 1990).

7.1.1.1. Lexical repertoire

Wolfson (1981) in her research on compliments in American English identified how the content and the lexical choice are repetitive. Among 700 compliments, 80% were discovered to bear a positive semantic content and 70% of the adjectives used for complimenting fell among five adjectives, namely, nice, beautiful, good, great and pretty.

However, with regard to non-adjectival compliments, positive verbs such as "like", "love" were preferred for 80% of Americans and in other instances, "be impressed by", "admire" and "enjoy" were also used whereas the use of positive nouns or adverbs such as "well", was found to be scarce (Manes and Wolfson, 1981: 122-123).

The comparative or superlative form of adjectives was rarely used.

Present and past tense was preferred while the future tense was almost never used. Instances of the progressive, present perfect and conditional were found: "You´re looking as smart as ever"; "I´ve always liked that red jumper of yours"; "I´m sure you´d be excellent at languages".

However, only 5% of compliments not directed to the addressee or the owner of the complimented object or aspect were observed to happen.

7.1.1.2. Syntax of compliments

The use of compliments displayed a uniform pattern at the syntactic level. Manes and Wolfson (1981) reported that 53% of their data exhibited the following model:

NP is/looks (really) ADJ = those trousers look great on you

I (really) like/love NP (16%) = I love your new shoes

PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP (14%) = That´s a nine hair-cut

Whereas, the following patterns were found be used with less frequency:

You V (a) (really) ADJ NP (3.30%) = you gave a great presentation

You V NP (really) ADV (2.70%) = you do this kind of writing so well

You have (a) (really) ADJ NP (2.4%) = you have such beautiful eyes

What (a) ADJ NP! (1.6%) = what a pretty dress!

ADJ NP! (1.6%) = Nice car!

Isn´t NP ADJ! (1.0%) = Isn´t it pretty!

Other studies on other varieties of English such as South African English (Herbert 1990) and New Zealand English (Holmes 1988)

corroborated these fixed patterns of compliments as extremely structured formulae.

7.1.1.3. Topical patterns

Compliments were also observed to exhibit regularity in the choice of topics for compliments, however, irregularities and preferences were reported to exist from one culture to another.

From a cross-cultural standpoint, the allocation of topics of compliments proved to be remarkable for their socio-cultural features. In Greece for example, compliments are usually paid on belongings such as jewellery, new possessions and personal belongings. According to Herbert, this socio-cultural pattern in complimenting is linked to the socio-economic circumstances of the country. In the 80´s (when the study was carried out) the economical situation of Poland was not flamboyant, accordingly, the access to goods was scant. As Herbert suggests:

> (Compliments)…especially on possessions, particularly new possessions, recognize an achievement/ accomplishment on the part of the addressee, who has managed by persistence, personal connections, or simply good fortune to acquire some desirable consumer item. In this regard, this subset of polish compliments blurs the distinction between compliments and congratulations. (Herbert, 1991: 397)

Our attention is called her on the hybrid function of compliments in Poland. It appears to be more than a compliment; it is the expression of congratulation to the addressee for possessing what might be almost regarded as an object of desire for the complimenter.

Another prominent difference in the choice of topic is observed in a comparative study of complimenting behaviour of American and Egyptians (Nelson et al. 1996). Although both Americans (43%) and Egyptians (50%) frequently compliment addressees on their physical appearance and apparel, Egyptians display a tendency to praise addressees on their natural beauty such as the colour of the eyes, the hair and the skin (Manes, 1983: 99). Unlike Americans who usually compliment their addressees on aspects derived from personal effort. Among Egyptians, praise concerning personal characteristics such as maturity, intelligence and kindness (33%) was also used more frequently than Americans (10 %). Here we acknowledge the risk to which interactants are exposed, on the basis of, differences in the preferences about the object of praise.

7.2. Participants and complimenting behaviour

7.2.1. Gender

The gender of participants in compliment exchange is revealing as to how compliments are perceived and interpreted across gender. In the studies led by Holmes (1988) on New-Zealanders and Wolfson (1983) on Americans, women were reported to have a tendency to be more compliment doers and receivers than men mainly on aspects related to appearance. Surprisingly, in New Zealand, men also receive compliments frequently especially from women. For Americans compliments on appearance proved not to be the favourite object of praise for either men or women. According to Wolfson (1983), males are praised on their appearances only when the male addressee is younger than the female who

is giving the compliment. She also reported that such an attitude is hardly feasible with higher status men and practically impossible in the workplace.

Jaworsky (1995) in his study on Polish offers a different to view of how compliments are perceived across gender:

> Other things being equal, females tend to exchange compliments offered as gifts of genuine praise to achieve relational solidarity more often than males, whereas males use the procedural solidarity function of compliments as a means for negotiating in-group power relations.
> (Jaworsky, 1995: 89)

7.2.2. Age

The age of participants in compliment exchange was also reported to impinge on the object of praise. Knapp et al. (1984) reported that the age-group under 30 years displays a tendency to praise addressees on their appearance more frequently than those over 30 do, mainly because they consider compliments suitable more on personality and performance.

The study also revealed that compliment exchange was also conditioned by the age rate of interactants. In view of that, most compliments were exchanged between interactants of the same age-group, namely, young to young (77%) and old to old (70%) addressees.

7.2.3. Status

There is an agreement on how compliment exchange is commonplace among interactants of similar status. However, compliments are normally positively interpreted if they come from higher-ranking

complimenters, especially, if we take for granted that compliments are directed to create solidarity between interactants. The first gesture of solidarity then should be initiated by a status superior.

7.3 Social function of compliments

7.3.1 Solidarity

Compliments are claimed to function as a device to establish and maintain solidarity between interactants (Wolfson and Manes 1980; Wolfson 1983, Herbert 1989). They are considered integrative rather than distancing discourse strategies. Accordingly, they are classified as belonging to the pole of positive politeness where strategies are used as redressive in performing FTA´s or "to come closer" to the addressee (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 103). Compliments match the purpose of attending the hearer´s interests, wants, needs and goals.

According to Brown and Levinson, they are positive politeness strategies directed to the addressee´s positive face and generally meant to enhance approval in the sense that the speaker shows a commune evaluation with the addressee on a particular object or aspect. By virtue of this, compliments function as a sort of "social accelerator" which denotes a desire to establish social solidarity (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 101).

A similar idea of how compliments create solidarity is held by Chen (1993) who claims that:

> When I say to a female colleague, for example, that "I like your hair-do", I am
> indicating that I notice the effort she has made to enhance her appearance and

that I share the values of what constitutes a good "hair-do". By so doing, I make her "feel good", since appearance is an important component in the self-image of females in most societies. Besides, the cultural institution in American society has imposed on the members of the community the expectation of being complimented when they have made efforts to enhance their appearance, have obtained a new possession, or have performed well on a particular task. They will feel disappointed, sometimes even upset, when no compliments are offered (1993: 57).

7.3.2. Consolidation of desired behaviour patterns

Compliments are claimed to consolidate desired behaviour patterns. In American English, Manes (1983) maintains that compliments are used as a reinforcement of the generalised belief that, for instance, women must look attractive. Compliments mirror cultural judgments and they function as explicit expressions of approval and admiration of addressees´ work, taste or appearance. According to Manes (1983), the expression of approval goes beyond the individual and seems to be consolidated within the culture as a whole, granting that `compliments represent one means whereby an individual or, more importantly, a society as a whole can encourage, through reinforcement, certain desired behaviors. (1983: 97). The judgmental aspect of complimenting stems from its ability to reinforce and maintain societal values.

> People compliment one another time after time on the same things: personal appearance, new acquisitions, and good work. If we wish to be approved of and complimented, we must conform to the extent of doing things which others will recognize as worthy of compliments.
> (Manes, 1983: 98)

This tendency in complimenting on new acquisitions, according to Manes, relies partly on the American consumer-oriented culture and the mass manipulation through advertising which persuade people to continuously buy. This, in turn, stimulates in people the behaviour of complimenting on new acquisitions.

The positive reinforcement enclosed in compliments, on Manes´ view, is also part of the American culture. Children are inculcated to follow particular patterns in complimenting behaviour:

"As we all learned as children `if you can´t say something nice, don´t say anything at all´"
(Manes, 1983: 101)

Compliments can have other functions such as to request. In her study on the use of compliments in the Apache culture, Liebe-Harkort (1984) and Brown&Levinson (1987) in their research on complimenting behaviour of Samoan culture observed that praise on possessions is understood as a petition for the object. The conversation between a Samoan and a Pakeha interactants illustrates this function:

Complimenter (female Pakeha): what an unusual necklace! It´s beautiful
Complimentee (female Samoan): Please take it.
(Holmes and Brown, 1987: 526)

This is an instance of misattribution of the function of compliments across cultures. Holmes and Brown argue that from a sociopragmatic (failure) point of view, the complimenter´s lack of familiarity with the particular set of the Samoan sociopragmatic conventions in complimenting

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affects the course to convey the illocutionary force, which is initially that of conveying solidarity with the addressee through praise.

Compliments also might function as a "social lubricant". Wolfson (1983) argues that compliments can be used joint to or even substitute some speech act formulae, as for instance, greetings, apologies and thanks. They can also be used as a pre-sequence to soften a criticism.

7.4. Compliments and culture

Findings point out that compliments are subject to cultural variations hence, many compliments in one culture could be regarded as inappropriate in another culture (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) In some regions of Morocco, especially among old people, for example, to praise a woman of being fat is regarded as a compliment, whereas, if we compared it to the aesthetic standards of European societies, this would be considered as an insult. Expressions like < Çandha wahed lewgeh m?dawar tÇekri menú > *W.w.t:* "she has a round reddish face that you can use it as a lipstick" are used as praise to a woman of being fat as a symbol of good health and well-being. However, in Spanish, for example, this same woman would be described pejoratively as <tiene cara de pan quemado> "she has the face of - typical Spanish- brioche", meaning too "fat" which denotes an esthetically undesired look.

The frequency of the use of compliments also varies across cultures. Accordingly, many societies are familiar with compliment paying and consider it as an appreciated necessary act in their daily transactions. Contrarily, in other cultures, this speech act can hardly be used or

otherwise, under some cultural restrictions. In Spain, for example, we find expressions like "pamplinero"; "pelota"; "salsero" as a negative description of someone who overuses compliments. This could possibly be understood as a cultural marker of Spanish reticence to the excessive use of compliments.

My aim in by now is to shed light from a socio-pragmatic and a pragma-linguistic perspective on the aspects inherent to compliments as a speech act in Moroccan Arabic[40] with a special focus on the variables that affect the use of compliments such as sex, status and age. I will also provide some outstanding findings relative to the research on compliment behaviour across cultures mainly to set the basis for the analysis of complimenting behaviour in Moroccan society with a particular attention to the cultural aspects inherent to this speech behaviour and their reflection in the speech style of Moroccans.

Furthermore, I will be concerned with the elicitation of the cultural aspects, primarily, religion as an important parameter which affects the compliment behaviour of Moroccans. Moreover, a sex-based description is provided to uncover how Moroccan men and women handle complimenting and how their educational background determines the choice of the object of compliments and alters the linguistic realization of this latter.

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[40] It is worthwhile mentioning that the dialectal variety used in this research is limited to the 'fassi' language, being my mother tongue, and it is not meant to include all the existing dialectal varietiesof Moroccan Arabic, which do not necessarily coincide with the 'Fassi' dialect.

Recently, there seems to be a growing concern about compliment behaviour among the researchers of different disciplines (cf. Pomerantz, 1978; Herbert, 1990; Holmes, 1988a, 1988b, 1994; Al Khatib, 2001).

Most of the studies in the fields of applied linguistics, especially pragmatics, point at the importance of compliments in cross cultural communication and how they can affect the course of communication between speakers of different culture. They also stress their liability to communicative breaks as emerging from interactants´ inability to decode the socio-pragmatic norms inherent to this speech act or how to respond to it. (Nelson et al, 1996; Ye, 1995; Han, 1992; Creese, 1991; Herbert& Straight, 1989; Holms, 1988; Daikuhara, 1986; Barlund & Araki, 1985).

7.4.1. Compliment in American culture

On the basis of a review of literature on compliments, we find those exploring the American culture. Americans are known to pay compliments frequently and neglecting to do so in this culture can be interpreted as a sign of disapproval (Manes, 1983; Wolfson, 1989, Wolfson & Manes, 1980.). In the United States, for example, compliments are used as a tool for establishing friendship, and creating ties of solidarity. Compliments are defined as the expression of sincere admiration of positive qualities, and they can replace apology, thanks or greeting, and minimize face-threatening acts such as criticism, scolding, or requests. (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holms, 1988; Wolfson, 1983, 1989). A wrong use of compliments may cause embarrassment and offence (Dunham, 1992; Holms & Brown, 1987).

The primary assumption about compliments is that they generally fall into three categories (Mane&Wolfson, 1981) who set out to determine that 85% of the compliments are based on three syntactic categories, i.e.: appearance and possessions; performance, skills and abilities; and finally personality traits. Generally, positive meaning is carried by an adjective such as "nice" with a percentage of 23%, "good" 20%, "pretty" 10%, "beautiful" 9%, and "great" 6%.

There are also studies regarding compliment responses (Nelson, Al-Batal, M. & Echols 1996).According to these authors, compliment responses fall into four situations where the complimentee can accept the compliment via an expression of gratitude like "thanks", this strategy is considered the most frequently used compliment response among Americans with a percentage of 29%. In addition, there are situations where the complimentee agrees with the complimentor "Well, I think so too" with a choice frequency of this possibility of 14%.

We also find some other instances, though, with a lower percentage of frequency 14% where the complimentee returns the compliment as in "Yours are nice, too". Another strategy used by American complimentees to respond to compliment is to resort to mitigation either by deflecting or by qualifying the comment , as in "I bought it in X", whereas, sometimes, 3% of complimentees openly disagree with the complimentor providing the contrary of the content of the compliment such as in (A: "You look good and healthy." B: "I feel fat."). Alternatively, 2% may give no response.
In general, 50% of Americans accept compliments and 45% use mitigation whereas only 3% just reject it.

Consistent with the hypothesis of Mane & Wolfson, we find Herbert (1989, 1990); Herbert & Straight (1989) who obseved that Americans mostly accept compliments with a same percentage as that of Mane & wolfson. Other particularities were reported on Americans´ attitude towards compliments such as, to make comments apart from accepting the compliment as in "Yeh, it´s my favourite, too" (7%), or, to praise or upgrade the compliment though with a meagre average (0.4%) as in, "Really brings out the blue in my eyes, doesn´t it?" they found some other situations concerning rejection or, rather non-acceptance of compliments where 19% of American complimentees comment the history of the complimented object as in "I bought it for the trip to X", or just reassign the compliment as is the case in "My brother gave it to me/ it knitted itself" and in some other instances, they return the compliment as in "so´s yours".

7.4.2. Compliments in New Zealand culture

With a minor difference from the American attitude towards compliments, (Holms&Brown, 1987) found that 40% of the New Zealanders receive compliments on their appearances and compliments are paid by women to men. The authors also state that most of compliments, especially in situation of inequality of status, refer to skills or performance, while between equals, the contrary was observed to happen (Holms, 1988). Also high status women seem to be more complimented than high status men (Holmes, 1988) are. Generally, the study points out to the relevance of the acceptance and the absence of rejection of compliments among New Zealanders with a particularity of non-existence of differences between men and women as to accept or reject a compliment.

7.4.3. Compliments in Japanese culture

Unlike Americans, the Japanese pay compliments less frequently (cf. Daikuhara 1986) although they serve basically the same social functions be it to create and maintain harmony and to express solidarity, they also, sometimes, stand for greetings and a good will for conversation. Actually, Japanese use/have recourse to/ a limited and less dramatic repertoire when formulating compliments. i.e.: 80% of Japanese compliments are expressed via an adjective for a positive evaluation: "li" (good); "sugoi" (great, surprising/beyond my imagination); "kirei" (Beautiful/clean); "kawaii" (pretty/cute); "oishii" (good/delicious); "erai" (great/diligent). Whereas, expressions of the kind of "I love" or "I like" hardly happen, and the most used adverb is "yoku" (well).

According to the author, the Japanese compliment each other on acts, appearance, taste, work or studies. They are more concerned about which college one has graduated from or the company where he/she works and when they do a compliment, they normally do it openly and explicitly. Surprisingly, Japanese never compliment the members of their families in front of a third party being regarded as a self-praise, which is not well considered among Japanese. Unlike American, Less than 30% of the Japanese complimentees are praised for their appearance or possessions and, the complimentor has to be the least direct using expressions like "Odekake desuka?" (Are going out?), or "Omekashishite" (you´re really dressed up).

Additionally, with regard to compliment response (cf: Barnlund& Araki (1985), p. 14.), Japanese avoid self-praise so they show doubt about the accuracy of the compliment using expression like "soo?" (so?); or,

openly deny the compliment saying "Lei, i.e." (No, no); " sonna koto" (That's not true) as they might sometimes explain why the compliment is not deserved or just smile or say nothing as they might happen to downgrade the value of the complimented object, or, simply decline the credit to someone else. Whereas to accept a compliment saying "thank you", seems exclusively reserved to close friends –especially in jokes- with a percentage of 5% for the mere fact that the Japanese consider paying compliments to relatives or intimate friends as unnecessary or irrelevant. For Japanese, compliments are understood as an act of courtesy, so there is a tendency of self-effacement vis-a-vis the complimentee as a strategy of upgrading the complimentee.

7.4.4. Compliment in Mexican culture

Another study of compliments was conducted by Campo&Zuluaga (2000). In this work, the authors deal with the use of "piropos" among Colombians as another aspect/variety of compliments. In Hispanic culture, Piropos are considered a way of showing masculinity and the consolidation of the image of "macho" (Snyder, 1991: 31, cit. ibid). `Unlike with Americans, who hide their feelings in public, Hispanic males are expected to notice women´. This practice has its origin in the courtly love and the romance ballad in which women are the centre of attention. However, this does not mean that the use of piropos is exclusively men´s practice. The study revealed that 40% of piropos are destined to women whereas 20% are for men.

7.4.5. Compliments in Egyptian culture

In addition, and guiding for our research, is the paper on Egyptian compliments as a linguistic variety of Arabic (Nelson, El-Bakary, & Al-Batal, 1993). Apparently, Egyptian compliments tend to be more elaborated and long. i.e.: Women use compliment which contain up to 11 words and men 9 words when we find that American use only 6 words in the case of women and 4 in that of men.

Like Japanese, Egyptians compliment others less frequently. In fact, the informants interviewed in this research, reported to have last received or did a compliment with an average of 8.6 days before the interview, whereas American did it only 1.6 days before. Generally, 73% of Egyptian compliments are given directly, though they happen to pay compliment jokingly with a frequency of 20% and the most common Egyptian response to compliments are formulaic expressions 12%.

7.4.6. Compliments in Syrian culture

Worth mentioning is also the research on compliment response in Syrian Arabic. Syrians are reported to follow nearly the same routines as Americans in responding to compliments. indeed, they can accept the compliment –though not very frequently, only 2%- via appreciation token using expressions like "shukran" (thank you), or, in 12% situations, they express their agreement as in "kill taSamiimi naajHa"(all my designs are successful) and in 13% they return the compliment "w-inti heek yaa

Sawsan" (and you and the same, Sasan). Whereas, the commonly used response to compliments 40% is acceptance + formula "m´addam" (it is presented to you).

Mitigation is also used as a strategy to respond to compliments, 25%, and it is achieved through the addition of a deflecting or a qualifying comment as in A: " Your body has filled out" B: " I used to work out a long time ago." whereas we find situation where 8% of Syrians seek reassurance about the compliment. i.e.: (is that really me?), and generally, Syrian would never reject a compliment. The study revealed a significant percentage as to Syrian rejection of compliments (0%).

7.5. Compliments in MA

In Standard Arabic, compliments are known as "mujamalah[2]" ("to please") and in MA, as "Swa´ab" ("what is right": referring to protocol). Both terms point to the act of paying compliments, and among Arabs it is considered as a mere act of pleasing and cooperating. However, what might seem different from the American concept about the use of compliments is that in MA compliments are not perceived or interpreted as sincere acts, on the contrary, Moroccan would usually pay compliments more as a strategy to accomplish the rules of a protocol than as a sincere act. There are instances where what is said as good about someone or something does not exactly correspond to what the speaker thinks of feels. It is not necessarily a sincere act. We could say that paying compliments is a kind of "blank-

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[2] Also "tarra´h" (see. online.ectaco.co.uk)

hypocrisy" to which speaker resort to please the hearer, and what the speaker and the hearer are less concerned about is the degree of its sincerity. Compliments in Moroccan society carry purely social functions and not necessarily have an information-bearing function. Actually, whether they are sincere or not could be regarded as optional and would not affect the course of the transaction.

7.5.1. Complimenting and religion in MA

Religion is a cultural component that interferes in almost all daily transaction of Arabic-speaking cultures, especially in Moroccan Arabic. Religious routines are recurrent in interlocutors ´speech as a symbol of appropriateness and good manners be it for greeting, as in "assalamu alaikum" *<peace* on you>; departing: "maça assalama" <with peace>; congratulating: "tabaraka Allah" <God bless>, "mashaa Allah*"* <What God want>; inviting: "billahi alik+ invitation" < God ´sake>; accepting an invitation: "in shaa Allah" <if God want>; agreeing/disagreeing: "wallahi+opinion" <in the name of God, I think that>; blaming: "Allah yesamhak"; <may God forgive you>; promising: "in shaa Allah" <God willing>.

Interlocutors are generally expected to use an appropriate religious expression as a marker of politeness and concern for the interlocutor. Nevertheless, the pragmatic interpretation of these religious routines does not match in its essence with the pragmatic content of compliments as a speech act. Generally, and departing from the information provided in the coming paragraph concerning the notion and interpretation of "the evil eye", we can infer that compliments in MA are characterized by some

cultural constraints and seem to have a superstitious connotation and a fear of the "evil eye" or "curse".

Before embarking in the analysis of the linguistic variation observed in the compliment behaviour in M.A, we consider an outlook on the origin of the belief in the evil eye will be helpful to the understanding of the reasons behind this belief. In this paragraph, we will be concerned about an historical overview of the belief in the evil eye across cultures and religions with the aim to show how the evil eye is not exclusively related to the Arab/Muslim culture despite its linguistic "manifesto", but it is also recurrent in many cultures. In the first paragraph, we would explore the importance of the eye in the realm of communicating, on the other hand, we would expose how the sight can perform different functions in personal and interpersonal relations and how it is used and interpreted following some cultural patterns which can be contradictory across cultures.

7.5.2. The socio-cultural interpretation and constraints on the eye/sight

The eye is assigned different physical and social functions apart from the biological functions. The eye is the only channel that unites humans with the outer milieu and it is involved in all communication processes at all levels. It is also a tool for the use of language as Saphir-Worf-hypothesis states. `Looking´, being the primary function of the eye, is assigned different socio- cultural functions and interpretations. The way people look is psychologically and interpersonally interpretable, i.e.: a look can portray the psychological and the emotional state of a person per-se and on the other hand, it could emit information about a person´s attitude vis-a-vis other persons. Hence a look can be perceived and interpreted as

`sad´; `happy´; `insolent´; `arrogant´; `disdaining´; `supportive´; `daring´; `lovely´; `piercing´; `ignoring´ etc. In addition, we find different taxonomy to describe the intensity and the duration of a look: to look, to see, to watch, to glance, to gaze, to stare, to observe, to view, to scrutinize, to inspect, to examine, to keep an eye on)

The use of eye contact has different socio-cultural interpretation and rules. The way people look at each other could serve different communicative tasks: the eye contact can be used as a politeness/impoliteness strategy, or as a marker of high/low socio economic status, as well as a sign of respect or humiliation.

In western cultures, to maintain a visual contact with the interlocutor is appreciated and regarded as a marker of good manners , and a good quality in face-to-face communication. The person who looks in the eyes of his/her interlocutor is qualified as true and trustful. In other cultures, it is a marker of superiority and high social status such as in employer/employee relationship. In other societies, to look fixedly into the eye of the interlocutor is not welcome and it is regarded as a gesture of insolence, impertinence and disrespect: high/low castes in India. Unlikely, in some Arab countries to avoid eye contact especially by women in their interactions with men, is considered as a sign of `refinement´ in women, and as a highly appreciated attitude.

7.5.3.The eye as a nonverbal instrument in face-to-face communication

Eyes play many roles in the process of communication. Eyes can serve several communicative functions, namely, to signal communication

or communication avoidance. They also serve to `initiate and terminate social interaction´ (cf. Thirumalai, 2004: 13). The author in his study on communication via eye and face in Indian contexts exposes that the eyes can perform, among other functions, monitoring function, regulatory and expressive function in interactions between individuals.

`Monitoring´ occurs when a speaker tries through his eyes to gather information from the listener/s: i.e.: to see if s/he is being followed, or if the interlocutor/s want/s to get the turn to speak. The speaker can also regulate the conversation with his eyes by looking away as a strategy to maintain the floor, or by giving the listener a prolonged look at the end of his utterance to signal that a response is desired. (Kendon 1967, cit. ibid)

Another communicative function of the eyes/sight is the negation or the avoidance of eye-contact as a communicative strategy. According to Thirumalai, `Gaze avoidance or omission´ is a communicative device that interlocutors use to convey an excess or, on the contrary, to indicate a loss of self-esteem to the counterpart involved in the communicative activity. It can also be - from the user´s perspective- a clue to show lack of readiness to communicate with the interlocutor. Moreover, we can find it as a common practice to manifest respect and subordination, as is the case in India for low castes in their face-to-face interaction with higher castes or with person of higher socioeconomic status:

> "Superior status of a person addressed is indicated in certain Tamil castes by speakers not looking at the addressee. Respect is shown to the individual addressed in this manner. The individuals shown this respect may be close relatives, (males-in-law elder to the speaker, for example), individuals of higher socioeconomic status, and employers. This form of communication posture is

resorted to more by womenfolk. This posture is achieved by looking away from the individual addressed, including looking down on the ground in case the person addressed stands face to face."

 (Kendon,1967: 12, cit. ibid)

7.5.4. Eye/sight in the religious contour

Eye-contact avoidance or even the proscription of the use of the look/sight is found in many religious rites and contexts. In the Christian religion for example, the confessionary is structured in a way that the confessor and the person being confessed are void of any visual contact. Be it for creating an atmosphere of psychological ease and trust for the person who is being confessed, or, maybe to avoid distraction for the confessor especially when the person being confessed is a woman[41] Another example of eye-contact avoidance as a religiously recommended practice is found in India. As Thirumalai reports:

> "There are certain religious injunctions that proscribe looks of individuals of lower caste upon superiors and on food and other objects offered to the deities. Sometimes, these members of the so-called castes are also proscribed from seeing the idols/objects of worship. To carry out the above, it is conjoined upon the members of the so-called upper castes to conduct themselves and their religious acts in such a way that the members of the so-called lower castes would have no opportunity to cross the proscribed limits of vision and space" (Thirumalai 2004, p:12).

Another cultural aspect where the use of eye-contact and the proscription of eye-contact are at hand is the notion of the evil eye.

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43 The information mentioned here is based on the author´s personal interview with a religious authority and it is not intended to establish a universal interpretation of such a religious act, or practice.

Supposedly, in many cultures/religions - as we would expose in the coming parts- people are expected to protect themselves from casting the evil eye by not giving any opportunity to others to see what one does or has.

7.6. Socio-cultural approach to the evil eye

7.6.1 Definition of the evil eye

The evil eye denotes a kind of sickness, which affects anyone, any animal, or livestock as victims of the gaze or the praise of an invidious person -usually without intention-. It is also known as the invidious eye. Since the Somers, the belief in the evil eye is recurrent almost in all cultures. In Arabic, it is known as "al 3ain" (the eye); in Hebrew, as "ayin ha´ra" (the evil eye). In Spanish, it is known as "mal de ojo" (bad eye); in Italian it is "mal occhio" (the bad eye), and in Sicily it is "jettatore" (the projection (from the eye)). In English it is referred to as "overlooking"; in Scotland "droch shuil"; in German "bösen blick; in French "mauvais oeil" (bad eye), and among the classical Romans "oculus malus".

Obviously, most of these expressions refer to a popularly agreed on version about the evil-eye as Dundes (1997) claims, that the evil-eye "He posits that the true "evil" done by the evil eye is that it causes living beings to "dry up", notably babies, milking animals, young fruits trees, and nursing mothers or livestock, withering of fruit on orchard trees, and loss of potency in men. In short, the envious eye "dries up liquids". In some cultures, as is the case with Turkey and Greece, it is said that blue-eyed people are evil-eyed, undoubtly, because most people in this area are brown-eyed.

7.6.2. Cultural extension of the belief in the evil eye:

The evil eye belief got its start in ancient Sumeria and is considered a Semitic and indo-European belief. Dundes theorizes that the evil eye is found in Middle Eastern, Mediterranean, and Indo-European countries and was introduced in the Americas through the Spanish conquest in Pacific Island and Asia. Moreover, in Sub-Saharian Africa as a consequence of slavery trade, and Australia through the contact with the European culture. Nowadays, this belief is extended from ancient Sumerians, where it supposedly got its origin up to India in the west, and Spain, Portugal, Scandinavia and Britain in the north to reach North Africa in the south.

7.6.3. The evil-eye and religion

Despite the appearance of being a "women´s tale" and responding to the profile of a folkloric credo, the evil eye was mentioned in almost all monotheist religions. Accordingly, many texts are found either in the Torah, the Bible, or the Koran or in the Hadith of the prophet Muhammad.

7.6.3.1 The evil-eye belief in the Jewish/Christian culture/religion

References to the evil eye as a consequence of envy is found in some Jewish books: Provers 23:6 "Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainty meat" also, we find in Provers 28:22, "He that hasteth to be rich hath an evil eye, and considereth not that poverty shall come upon him." Then we find references to the early Jewish Christian belief in the evil eye as it is written in Mark 7: 21-22, when Jesus lectured about Defilement, he told his followers that ayin ha´ra (evil eye)

comes forth from a man and defiles him just as if he had committed a physical crime: " From within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murder, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness." .

7.6.3.2. Islam: "the evil-eye is a fact"

According to Islamic sources, the effect of evil eye exists. Imam al-Bukhari reported on the authority of Abi Hurayrah that the Prophet said that "al 3ainu Haq" W.w.t.: "The effect of the evil eye is a fact" but it should not be taken for granted if we consider that it won´t affect the target person unless Allah wants so. As illustrated in the Koran [64:11] "Nothing happens to you except in accordance with God´s will. Anyone who believes in God, he will guide his heart. God is fully aware of all things." Hence the expression "Ma shaa Allah" which most Muslims use after a praise as we will see further in the parts dealing with compliments.

References to the evil eye are collected in different "Hadiths"[42]. Hereafter, we provide some relevant "hadith" which resume some of true stories concerning the evil-eye and its consequent effects.
Narrated ´Aisha: The Prophet ordered me or somebody else to do "Ruqya" (a ritual) (if there was danger) from the evil-eye. (Bukhari)

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[42] Generally they are reported through the prophet´s disciples through what is known among Muslims as "3an3anah" which means (a fact) X is reported by A (person1), from B (person2), from C (person3)...etc, depending on how many disciples have heard this Hadith always ascending to the original sayer, in this case, the prophet.

Narrated um Salma that the Prophet saw in her house a girl whose face had a black spot. He said. She is under the effect of an evil-eye; so treat her with "Ruqya"." (Bukhari)

7.6.4. Diagnosis of the evil eye

There seems to be a whole ritual to diagnose if a person is affected or not by the evil eye. It is reported that some of the symptoms are circumstantial and some other have to be detected through some practices. The circumstantial symptoms are those observed when any person is well, then he/she gets into contact with some other persons then suddenly he/she gets ill. The reading for such a change in the state of this person for those who believe in the evil-eye is that s/he is under the effect of the evil-eye. In some other situation the rituals held to diagnose if the person is under the evil eye spell varies according to some cultures and many products are used for this end. In Eastern Europe, for example, charcoal, coal, or burnt matches heads are dropped into water and if the coals float, the person who is being treated is under the effect of the evil eye.

In Greece, wax will be dropped into holy water and if it is dissolved or it goes to the sides of the bowl, the patient is indeed stuck by the evil eye.

7.6.5. Rituals and remedies to ward off the evil-eye: the case of "ma shaa Allah" in MA

If the evil eye is a fact, then there should be some remedies to ward it off and surprisingly not only referring to Islam. There are many rituals and cults to avoid or cure the evil-eye effects in many cultures. Among Jews, for example, particular attention is paid to avoid the evil eye.

In the Jewish tradition, many customs are followed to prevent jealousy being a reason for the evil eye afflict. Accordingly, with the aim not open people to jealousy for their large families, for instance, it was long the custom for each person to simply pay a sheckel to the census taker and let the coins be counted rather than peoples' name written down, to avoid damage from ayin ha´ra. Another Jewish custom for preventing jealousy about the size of the family, is not calling a father and a son successively to read the Torah in Synagogues and the reason behind this custom is to avoid jealousy in case there is "an orphan in the congregation who has lost his father, or a father who has lost his son, for they might be reminded of their loss and feel jealous and give ayin ha´ra."

Apart from the properly religious contour, we find some popular practices to counteract the effect of the evil eye. The Jews would throw salt, or say "Kein ayin hara" (no evil eye). In some countries, especially in what concerns the praise of babies[3], we find traditions or protocols like touching the baby by the praiser just after the praise "to take off the eye" or by spitting on it as a gesture of good will and cooperation to avoid afflicting the evil-eye to the child. Some other sources say that this same protocol is used also about the praise directed to dairy animals or fruit trees. Yet, if the person who praises forgets the protocol, the mother of the baby, or the owner of the dairy animal or the fruit trees, would recite a religious prayer to ward off the effect of a potential evil eye. Or they might just speak "bad" about the praised person, animal or tree to avoid the damage of the evil-eye. There are even cases where mothers put some dirt

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[3] The person who praises the baby or the child is not evil per se, unless the praiser thinks of how lucky is the mother for being the mother of such a nice baby. Think about the situation of a woman who can´t have children, any praise could be interpreted as an act of envy.

on their baby´s face before taking it out to public places where the baby might be exposed to the admiration of any by-passer. And if someone happens to praise the baby, he/she should say immediately "too bad he/she has dirt on him" and if the praiser forgets to do so after praise, the mother would respond "he is so dirty right now."

In some other countries around the Mediterranean, there is a belief that the evil-eye affects men and causes impotence. In Italy, especially in the south and in Sicily, there is a tradition - to counteract the evil eye - to do "mano figo" (fig hand) which is a practice which consists in putting the thumb in between the middle and the ring fingers, or to do "mano cornuto" holding the middle and ring fingers with the thumb and stretching both the index and the little finger. Both gestures describe a sexual act as a remedy against the impotency that the evil eye might cause.
In Turkey, Greece and Middle East the use of a blue eye-in-hand charm as an amulet is very common.

The data gathered in this paragraph elicits instances of how extended is the belief in the evil eye. In this sense, it helps understand why Moroccans are so cautious about complimenting and how they handle this speech act in their daily transactions. Our coming paragraph would cover the linguistic aspects which characterise Moroccans´ restricted use of compliments and the linguistic tools they use to resolve the pragmatic constraints which derive from the belief in the evil-eye.

Generally, complimenters are aware of the existing pragmatic restrictions on the act of complimenting subsequently, to repair the

situation, most complimenters resort to the use of religious linguistic formulae such as:

<Ma shaa Allah> "God willing";

<t?barek Allah> " may God bless (the hearer)";

<s?lat 3en n´bi> " Be peace on the prophet";

<khamsa 3la 3enik> "five on your eyes"

In reference to the five fingers of the sacred hand of Fatima[43].

In so far, we see that the use of compliments is bound to the use of a complement. We would denominate it compliment/complement (hence Cc) To use a compliment without a complement, in Moroccan society, can be controversial and exposes the complimenter to three situations:

1- The complimentee might claim the complimenter to say the Cc as is the case in scenario 1.

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[43] "five" is in reference to the five fingers of the sacred hand of Fatima "the daughter of the prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H)" which is reputed to be a good amulet against the evil eye. It is also said that the five fingers of "khmisa"as it known in Morocco, represents the prophet Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, her husband Ali, and their sons Hassan and Husain. "In South Africa, this amulet appears during "Ta´ziah" procession commemorating the martyrdom of Husain and his followers at Karbala. Some of ta´ziahs, floats of the tombs of the martyrs, have stars and crescents above the domes but others have cardboard symbols of the outstretched hand covered in silver foil.". This is also found in many other Muslim cultures: "in Egypt, the hand is generally used as an amulet against the evil-eye. It is made of silver or gold in jewellery, or made of tin in 42. (continued) natural size, and is then suspended over the door of a house. The top of a Muslim banner is often of this shape. It is used on the harness of horses, mules, etc., and on every cart used in Alexandria we see either a brass hand or one painted in various colours."(Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, p. 85).The same happens in Tunes: "The hand is often painted upon the drum in the bori (devil) dances in Tunis. It is held up, fingers outstretched and pointing towards the evil-wisher, and in Egypt, North Africa and Nigeria has now become a gesture of abuse. In Egypt, the outstretched hand pointed at someone is used to invoke a curse. They say *yukhammisuna,* "He throws his five at us", and he curses. (Zwemer, 2007: 253). Actually, many Moroccans use it as a charm in their necklace as a protection from the evil eye.

Scenario (1)

> (Two girls who know each other meet in the street, one is wearing a dress that the speaker considers worth a compliment, says):
>
> A-<ghzala kswtek> "your dress is gazelle//beautiful in (M.A)
>
> B-<Guli tbarek Allah¡> "say may God bless me¡". Also, it may be understood as "say may God save my dress from the evil eye".

2- In this situation, the complimentee might just say the Cc secretly for him/herself without the complimenter´s notice[44].

3- The last situation is the most compromising for the complimentor. The complimentee might reject the compliment if it is used without Cc and might get upset about the complimenter lack of concern and good feeling, as we can see in scenario 2:

Scenario (2)

> (Two girls/ friends. one is sitting in her new car and the other one is passing by and she stopped to greet her)
>
> A-< wa guelsa darbalek f´tomovil ¡>
>
> "I see you are well seated in the car¡"
>
> B-< le3ma ¡ wash ma yegles hed f´tomovil dialu ?>
>
> "May God drive you blind¡, one cannot sit in one´s car?"

7.7. Socio-cultural constraints on complimenting in MA

Moroccans, usually compliment their relatives and friends on appearances: new hair cut, and apparel, we also find compliments

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[44]It is not possible to provide an example for this situation inasmuch as the complimentee does not say the Cc loudly but rather silently.

concerning the complimentee´s skills such as cooking, repairing, and sewing or driving, among other activities.

Regarding cooking, there are some common expressions which stand for a compliment. Instead of saying, "the dish is succulent", or to say, "Well done" in M.A, we find:

- "lah ya3tek s´sah´ha" <May God give you health>

- "lehla yeqte3lek yed´din¡" <May God save your hands>

Scenario 3 represents this situation:

Scenario (3)

(A neighbour visits another one. The host was cooking and she proposed to the visitor to try the dish she has just finished cooking)
A-<duqili kif ja had twegine>
B-<lahla yeqta3lek yed´din>.

We find also some situations where both formulas are used together as in scenario 4.

Scenario (4)

(A woman visits her tailor to pick up a traditional dress, the tailor claimed this woman´s opinion about the traditional dress)
Tailor: <Wa kif jatek l´lebsa?>
WwT: <How come to you the dress?>
NT: <how do you find the dress?/ what do you think of the dress?>
The woman: <lah ye3tek as´sah, lehla yeqta3lek yed´din> (see WwT and T In previous examples).

It is common to hear Moroccans complimenting each other when someone has just had a bath, or, especially for women, if they have put some henne in their hair or henne tattoo on their hands[45]. And the formula used for this occasion is <b sah´hah w´r´rah´hah>

WwT: "with health and rest"

NT: "may this bath or henna bring you good health and well being>

7.8. The phenomenon of speaker´s request for compliments

In Moroccan culture, the "newness" is another speech situation for complimenting. When someone acquires something new and he/she uses it for the first time, be it goods such as jewellery, car, clothes or a house or any other kind of possessions.
The formula used is:

<Nbous b´yed´dik/býed´dikum>

WwT: "I kiss with your hand".

NT: impossible to translate

It is as if the speaker is calling the hearer´s attention and reminding him/her of doing a compliment on the one hand, and on the other hand, he/she announces that this is the first time he/she is using this item. The intention in the use of this formula is to make known to the speaker´s (who is the person who wants to receive a compliment) his/her will to share the satisfaction of using or possessing this item for the first time with the hearer as a symbol of solidarity and cooperation. In this situation, the usual answer on the part of the hearer is a compliment <b

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45 women use henna as a tatoo on their hands and legs for the celebration of some events as <l´3aid>
T. "Religious celebration"; for the wedding of some relatives; for the birth of a child...

s´sahah w´r´rahah> (see *W.w.T* or *N.T* in previous examples) which can be used alone or together with <t?qe´t?3i w´t´3awd/i> if the object to be complimented is a fabric, such as, clothes.

   W.w.T: "you tear it once and again"

   NT: "I wish you would live long to be able to outwear this item and many more". As illustrated in Scenario 5:

Scenario 5

A-<iwa la´la n´bouss b´yed´dik l´khatem l´li jabli r´rajel l´ çid el milad daili>
WwT: "and madam I kiss with your hand the ring he brought me the man for my birthday"
NT: "this is the ring my husband gave me for my birthday"
B- <iwa la´la b´Se´hah w´r´rahah> (see W.w.T. or, T. in previous examples)

7.9. The phenomenon of the use of Cc as a compliment in MA = 0 compliment + Cc

   Sometimes, the complimenter does not mention the quality of the object, that is, belongings in general, or the quality of the person: beauty or skills, which is to be complimented and we find situation where a Cc is used on its own as in Scenario 6:

Scenario (6)

(A women talking to another woman about the daughter of a third person)
A-< çend´ha wah´d l´binita mashaa ´llah>
W.w.T: "she has one daughter what God wants"
N.T: "she has a daughter may God bless her"
B- <WA shef´ti tbar´k l´ lah>

The referred/omitted compliment is to be inferred from the conversation and it could be that the girl mentioned is beautiful, skilled in her work or studies, tall, etc. This omission of the qualifier, which supposedly here has to be an adjective, is probably one of the most illustrative examples of evil-eye afflicting avoidance. The complimenter pretends in this situation to be cooperative with the complimentee, showing his good will in not affecting the complimentee.

7.10. Compliment responses

With regard to Compliment responses, apparently, the appreciation of compliments (i.e.: thanks) is recommended in most etiquette books as the most adequate response, we find studies on American culture which seem interesting for the information they provide as to the cultural patterns inherent to this community. (Pomerants, 1978) found that most Americans have recourse to the self-praise avoidance strategy. In the same line, we find Billmyer (1990a) who classified responses to compliments into three sets: acceptance, deflection or rejection. The deflection category is characterised by the complimentee´s comment on the history or where the referred object of compliment was acquired (I got it at Macy´s.) also, we find instances where the complimentee declines the credit from oneself (i.e.: a friend of mine gave it to me), or might downgrade the compliment by saying that it is a cheap item or not really of good quality (i.e.: it´s not all that expensive). Or openly express doubt about the opinion of the complimentor (i.e. do you really think so?) or just return the compliment (i.e.: your bike looks great, too) (pp.36, 42).

7.10.1. Compliment response in MA

As compliments in MA are expected to be used with a compliment/ complement, the response to the compliment is not equated with the compliment but with the Cc instead. Accordingly, most of the responses to a compliment are religious routines or pleas for the complimenter. Among the formulas used to answer a compliment, we find:

- <l´lah yebarek fik>

NT: "may God save you/ bless you"

- <re´bi yekhal´lik>

WwT: "God remains you"

NT: "may God give you long life"

- <l´lah y´twel 3amrak"

WwT: "God extends your life"

NT: "may God give you long life"

However, and independently of the semantic formulae Moroccans use to respond to compliments, we can argue that with relation to the strategies employed to respond to compliments, Moroccans seem to display similar types as those provided in the taxonomy of compliment responses types of Herbert (1989).

As Americans, Moroccans´responses to compliments are also observed to fall within Herbert´s types as we can see in the following examples:

1. Appreciation tokens

A: Ghzal sakek, tayhemmaq   your bag is beautiful, it drives me mad

B: Shukran   Thank you

As illustrated in this example, Moroccans also resort to appreciation (thank you) as a response to this type of compliments. Notwithstanding, in Herbert´s view, when this type of response is used on its own, it normally indicates that the interactants do not know each other very well. Otherwise, they would have used it as part of another response type. Such as (appreciation token +comment acceptance), in this case the response will be: "Thank you, but it is really worn out", instead of "thank you" on its own.

2. Comment acceptance

A: Tay3jebni dak l´bleue li f´kebotek   I love that blue colour in your jumper

B: Ana tay hemeqni   I love this colour too.

The same as in western politeness norms, Moroccans also tend to follow Agreement Principle (Herbert, 1989: 23). Habitually, this kind of response refers to replies in which the complimented accepts the complementary force of the utterance through the provision of response semantically fitted to the compliment. This strategy is used to save the complimenter´s positive face agreeing with the complimenter.

3. Reassignment of praise

A: Wa tajin hada!   What a succulent dish!

B: La recette dl´walida   It ´my mum recipe

Moroccans normally avoid self-praise and usually assign the content of the praise to other persons or circumstances. Reassignments of praise are mainly self-praise avoiding strategies. The compliment receiver does not consider him/herself worthy of the compliment.

4. Return

A: Tomobiltek tathemmeq   your car is beautiful
B: Heta dialek fenna   yours is also nice

This type is used to stick to three different politeness strategies, namely to agree with the complimenter and to redress his/her face on one hand, and to avoid self-praise (by complimentee) on the other hand. Apparently, these responses are use by Moroccans to accept partly the compliment as they do not disagree with the complimentary force of the complimenter´s original assertion and at the same time they avoid self praise, redress the interlocutor´s face in that order.

5. Qualification

A: Ghzala juptek   I like your skirt
B: yaki m´ziwna, wakha raha balia meskina   Yes, I think it is nice, though it is old

This type of compliment responses is frequently used by Moroccans mainly because it allows the complimentee to accept the positive assessment and at the same time to qualify the compliment assertion. This strategy is used normally to place the complimentee in a humble situation by allowing him/her to attribute the object of praise some defects.

6. Praise downgrade

A: Ghzal décore dial darek   I like the decoration in your house
B: Wa mashi hetta l´temma,   It is not really that nice. It is simple
ghir kan 3eddiw

This is also another preferred response to compliments among Moroccans. In this type of responses, the force of the compliment is reduced. The complimentee does not disagree overtly with the content of the compliment but s/he mitigates it, on the basis of, "hidden flows" (Herbert, 1989: 15).

7. Disagreement

A: Jatek zwina had l´keswa   This dress suits you
B: Makan hemlhash, tatjebni kif lala ghenu   I don´t like it, it makes me look ridiculous

From the point of view of Politeness Maxims, this type of response observes the principle of avoiding self-praise. However, this strategy flouts the Solidarity Maxim explicitly by disagreeing with the complimenter. The use of this strategy would probably be avoided by Moroccans due to its conflictive nature.

8. Question

A: 3ejbatni shumiztek   I like your shirt
B: Wash bessah, wela katfelay 3liya   Really? Or, you are jocking

The responses within this category are ambiguous, it seems that the complimentee doubts about the sincerity of the complimenter on one hand, and possibly asks for the expansion or the clarification of the praise on the other hand.

9. Praise upgrade

A: Jat m3ak had la coupe   This hair-cut suits you

B: Anal i jit m3aha.   It is me who suits the hair-cut

This type of compliment possibly would happen in contexts where interactants are intimate (friends, relatives). This type of response violates prominently the Maxim of self-praise avoidance. By upgrading the compliment, the complimentee is placed in a position of prevalence. This type of responses can be expected to be used jokingly and with teasing connotation.

10. Comment history

A: Ghezlan 3ende had ridoyat   Your curtains are cute
B: Shrithum fel 3ers dial benti   I bought them for my daughter´s wedding

This type of response is another strategy used by Moroccans. This type of responses is reported by Herbert (1989) to have a high incidence of use in his corpus. Herbert´s reason to treat this category as distinct from comment acceptance is that the complimentee, though agreeing with the content of the compliment, he does not interpret it as directed to him/her; on the contrary, it seems as if he ignores the compliment by giving impersonal details.

11. No acknowledgment

A: jak ghzal had l monto a mama   This coat fit you very well mum
B: nod tekra a weldi   Go to study (do your homework)

This is also another praise self-avoidance strategy. However, it seems as if the complimentee considers that the moment is not opportune for compliment exchange especially if we take into consideration the

relationship between the interactants (mother and son). The mother gives the impression that there is no real point in talking about the supposedly positive aspects of her, but rather worth is that her son does his homework.

12. Request interpretation

A: ghzal djinek   I like your jeans
B: mnin tebghih n selfulek   You can borrow it whenever you want

In this type of response, the complimentee interprets the compliment token as an indirect request. However, there is an implicit observance of agreement with the complimenter on the basis that the complimentee recognizes the commonness of tastes about the object of praise on one hand, and on the other hand, the complimentee observes the maxim of solidarity by putting the complimented token at the complimenter´s disposition.

By now, we have observed that almost compliment response listed in Herbert (1989), for example, are potentially feasible in the speech behaviour of Moroccans. However, the examples provided here are reliable to some extent as long as they are provided relying on my experience as a native, and regrettably, not on an empirical testing.

7.10.2. Compliment response in the speech behaviour of young and educated Moroccans

In the complimenting response attitude of young Moroccans, many variations are displayed. As is the case with compliments, the response to compliments follows the same linguistic patterns among young Moroccans,

namely, the use of code-switching, especially in their interactions with interlocutors from similar age-group. Correspondingly, most young Moroccans are observed to resort to French terms or expressions to respond to Compliments exactly as would French natives do.

Young Moroccans represent the educated class where French was the dominant language of education and a symbol of civilisation. Therefore, most young Moroccans were completely immersed in this language/culture to the point that the speech behaviour in responding to compliments of this group, for instance, seems to duplicate perfectly the speech behaviour of French natives. "Merci" (thank you) as response to compliments is the most recurrent type young educated Moroccans use as an appreciation token to show agreement with the content of the compliment. "C´est vraie?" (really?), and "ça te plait vraiement?" (do you really like it?) are used to question the content of the compliment. "Tu exagère" (you are exaggerating) and "c´est pas vraie" (this is not true) are also used to downgrade a compliment.

7.10.3. Status and compliments in MA

Among the variables that affect the use of compliments in M.A, we find status. In fact, depending on who is speaking to whom, the object of compliment might be limited to some topical aspects or to others. What seems to be involved in here is the degree of intimacy that exists between both the speaker and the hearer. A subordinate, for example, would not compliment his boss for his new haircut.

Apparently, family tights denote relations where the members share more intimacy and less concern for sophisticated politeness strategies. Nonetheless, in M.A we find that the speech situations for compliments between the members of the family are restraint and bound to some cultural norms. The gender of the speaker, for example, is in itself a constraint for paying a compliment or not. A male speaker, namely, father, brother, uncle...etc; have access to very limited speech situations to formulate a compliment to female relatives. Generally, in Moroccan culture, male members of a family, would compliment female relatives more on their skills and achievements and maybe, rarely or never on their apparel or physical qualities. Though we find an exception in what concerns grandparents, possibly, it is because old Moroccan males are less concerned about the psycho-image of seriousness that Moroccan males generally care in emitting.

In what follows, we would expose the underlying reasons behind the limitation of the speech situations for the formulation of compliments by males to female members of a family.

In Moroccan culture, the status of the father or the brother denotes seriousness and to consolidate it, Moroccan males display more distance towards Moroccan females. As a result, disequilibrium is created as to power and ranking in favour of men.

This could be summed as:

(f.m) M + (f.m) F = (+D) + (+P) + (+R) = compliments exclusively on achievements and skills. Unlike men, women show less distance vis-a-vis their female relatives and consequently, speech situation restrictions for compliments are hardly found except in the case of the members of the

family-in-law where we find instances where women display more distance and deference as a sign of respect.

(f.m) F + (f.m) F = (- D) + (- P) + (- R) = compliments on all aspects. Whereas we find[46] :

(f. l.m) F + (f. l.m) F = (+D) + (+P) + (+R) or,

(f.l.m) F + (f.l.m) M = (+D) + (+P) + (+R) = compliments on achievements and skills.

This same situation is also found in male´s interaction with female acquaintances or colleagues and with male interlocutors in general independently if they are relatives, acquaintances, or colleagues.

7.10.4. Gender and compliments in MA

Gender is claimed to be determinant in complimenting behaviour, whether the speaker or the hearer is a man or a woman, would affect the choice of the object of compliment, its syntactic and lexical construction, and even the frequency of its use. Many studies point out that complimenting as a speech act occurs more between women than men as they state that generally women are more compliment doers and receiver than men. Holms (1988) theorises that complimenting a woman rather than a man is "more acceptable and socially appropriate" as far as complimenting is a social device to express social approval and to give confidence to the addressee, in this case a woman, who is considered socially insecure. Holmes also abides that complimenting is not a preferred strategy for men as far as it is regarded as "FTAs, as

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[46] Note that (f.l.m) = family-in-law member; F = female; M = male

embarrassing and discomforting the fact which explains why it is not surprising that the fewest compliments occur between men".

> "It appears to be much more acceptable and socially appropriate to compliment a woman than a man. One could speculate that because compliments express social approval one might expect more of them to be addressed "downwards" as socializing devices, or directed to the socially insecure to build their confidence. On the other hand if men regard compliments as FTAs, as embarrassing and discomforting, then this is not surprising that the fewest compliments occur between them."
> (Holms, 1988: 452)

7.10.4.1. Men versus women and the object of compliments

Gender is also an important factor that affects the choice of compliment topics. In her study of the distribution of compliment topics by sex, Holms (1988) found significant differences in the behaviour of men and women in what concerns compliments. Apparently, women seem to pay and receive compliments more frequently than men, especially on those aspects related to appearance, which are regarded by women as most appropriate for complimenting.

Indeed, a compliment on someone´s appearance is difficult to interpret other than as an expression of solidarity, so the predominance of this compliment topic in women´s interaction is consistent with the view that women use compliments for this positive function. This is not true for men, of course, who usually consider other topics –ability or possession- as most appropriate for complimenting.

Men´s inclination for the use of compliments on some topics except those referring to appearance supports the hypothesis that men are more likely to perceive and experience compliments as embarrassing and discomforting. Obviously, these differences (between men and women) with regard to the choice of compliment topics, is a clear indication that they generally use and perceive compliments quite differently.

7.10.4.2. Men versus women and the linguistic realization of compliments

It is claimed that genre affects the complimenting behaviour of both men and women. Many irregularities were observed in the syntactic and the lexical realization of compliments of both men and women. In her analysis of the syntactic patterns of New Zealand, Holms (1988) reported that women frequently have recourse to syntactic forms, which attenuate or hedge the compliment force through the use of minimal patterns, as in, "great shoes". In what concerns the lexicon, Wolfson (1983) claimed that in American society no differences were observed between men and women in the choice of the adjectives commonly used for compliments. On the other hand, the sex of the addressee proves to be a significant variable, which affects the choice of speech forms. She also reported that some of the adjectives are never addressed by women to men but commonly used to refer to them.

In the same line of the findings of earlier works on the differences in the compliment behaviour of men and women, we find that complimenting is a common behaviour in Moroccan society. However, some differences were observed to occur in the complimenting

behaviour of Moroccans. These differences are due to different social or cultural values and attitudes that govern the speech behaviour in Moroccan society. There are more speech situations where women versus women are involved in compliment paying than those we can find concerning men vs. women, women vs. men, or men vs. men. Generally, in Moroccan culture, there are many cultural and religious celebrations, which offer a wide range of possibilities for women to exchange compliments. Indeed, ceremonies like "el-Aid S?ghir[47]", "el-Aid l-Kbir[48]", "3ashura´h[49]" "She3ban[50]", "Aid el mulud[51]", among others, are occasions where some women dye their hands and feet with Henna and

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[47] ` Aid´ul Fitr´ in clasical Arabic, and "el aid Sghir" in M.A refers to the celebration of the end of "Ramadan",the Holy month during which the Muslim fast from the dawn to the sunset. (see. Islamonline.net)

[48] Aid al adha" in C.A and "l´aid l´kbir" in M.A It comes to perform one of the pillar of Islam. and it is celebrated by the sacrifice of a ship as a commemoration of the day the prophet Abraham was commended by Allah/God to sacrifice his son as a test to his Faith.which he accepted as an act of obedience and submission to God´s will .(see ibid)

[49] "Ashurah" is celebrated on the tenth day of "Muharram" the first month of the Islamic Hijrah calendar. According to some "Hadith" the Prophet Muhammad used to fast on this day (reported by Imam Bukhari) (see. Ibid) And in Morocco, some adults also fast, but it is an accasion to offer, especially to children, new toys and clothes.

[50] In Morocco, there is a tradition among women to buy new clothes and dye their hands with Henn during the last days of hijrah month before Ramadan.

50 "Aid al mawlid annabawi" in C.A. Is the equivalent of Christmas and it stands for the celebration of the birth of the prophet Muhammad. During this day family members exchange visits and sometimes also presents.

51Aid al mawlid annabawi" in C.A. Is the equivalent of Christmas and it stands for the celebration of the birth of the prophet Muhammad. During this day family members exchange visits and sometimes also presents.

buy new clothes or new pieces of jewelry, this holds true also for children. All these ceremonies, provide numerous opportunities to exchange compliments between female friends, female neighbours, or between some members of the family. On the contrary, men are exceptionally complimented by women in some limited situations, such as, the acquisition of a new vehicle, for their achievements in their studies or work. This same situation is also valid for men to compliment other men, and in some occasion, women also, especially, between colleagues as a societal politeness rule.

Moroccan males´ s reluctance to use compliments has to do narrowly with the image of men in the Moroccan culture. A man is required to have and emit an image of seriousness and severity and this is probably one reason behind men´s reticence to praise their interlocutors on aspects related to appearance and apparel.

Moroccan women have a tendency to use many diminutive adjectives in the formulation of their compliments. The following adjectives are among some of women´s favourite words:

[Original adjective; zwina / diminutive adjective: zwiwna <nice>];

[O.adj: ghzala / D.adj: ghziwla<nice/pretty>];

[O.adj: h?luwa/ D.adj: hlilwa <sweet / nice>];

[O.adj: ketkuta/ D.adj: k?tikta<tiny/cute>];

[O.adj: l?dida/ D.adj: l?diwda<tasty/succulent>].

We also find intensified/exaggerated adjectives such as:

"l´khawar", "tat´hemmak"<it drives one mad>,

"tat´setti" "tat´hebbl", <it drives one crazy>,

"fenna"<incredibly nice>,

"shehwa"<attractive>.

"nari" *W.w.T*: "my fire" but functionally, it is used as an emphatic term.

We find also "maÇammerni" *W.w.t*: "no in my life" *N.T:* "I have never" which is not expected to be taken in its literal meaning inasmuch as it is used to denote "uniqueness" as an exaggeration of the appreciation of the referred object of the compliment.

7.10.5. Age and complimenting in MA

There is a tendency among Moroccans that most compliment users are generation specific. Generally, old people especially women are good complimenters, and they follow the classical patterns in complimenting where compliment are used to the Cc.

However, among younger people, there is a tendency to follow western patterns in complimenting. The use of Cc, for example, is scarce and French expressions are usually switched (to) to perform a compliment. Some of the most recurrent French expression are "c´est shouette", "c´est sympa", "c´est beau", "tu es belle", "ça te va trés bien" etc, usually used to praise on appearance. There are also instances where the compliment is formulated in French but joint to the Cc especially in what concerns skills as we can see in the example:

"C´est très bon, lah ye3tiq sa´hah"

<This is succulent, may God give you health>

Or may be using the equivalent in Arabic, but without Cc, except in some situations concerning dishes for example, we find some younger complimenters using compliment + Cc as

"Jak l´did had tagine, tbarek lah 3lik"

<This dish/tagine is tasty, may God save you>

The difference in the linguistic patterns depends on whether the complimenter is educated or not. Expression like "L´khawar", "y´tub 3lik", "bikhir" "f´yeddk", "mabiksh" are normally used by youngsters and exclusively by males in their interactions with other males. This is a kind of "street language" "Hadra d-zzenqa" and it is , more or less, used generally by low educated, if not at all, young Moroccans.

However, sometimes, it used also by educated young men exclusively to display virility. Surprisingly, when a female enters the scene of the interaction, all these linguistic patterns will be substituted by what we might called neutral adjectives such as "mez´yana" which is understood as meaning "good", "nice" in its strict and socially correct meaning. i.e.: it is not effeminate like "z´wina" or "m´ziwna", or let´ s say "vulgar" like "bihkir".

Here we see how the linguistic patterns inherent to the language of men and women in Moroccan society are somehow delimited by a "psycho-linguistic" border where we find three categories of language: women- language: more refined, emotive and marked by an excessive use of diminutives and exaggeration as well as boosters (intensifiers, intonation features).

The second category would be that of a neutral language: a kind of "passe-partout" which can be used indistinctively both by men and women from different rank, age, in all speech situations and in their interaction

with addressees from all different social rank, age or sex. The third category would be what we might call "street language" or "young men language" which is commonly used by young males in their interaction with other males. Whereas we find that older Moroccan males´ language ranges among the category two.

7.11. The "piropo" in Moroccan culture

"Piropos" are a genre of compliments normally directed to women by men (Achuar, M., 2001, 2002) in the form of "spontaneous outburst of poetic rhymes" (Moore, 1996: 116) and normally regarded as an artistic verbal practice. This practice takes roots in the tradition of courtly love, and it is reported to be culturally acceptable among Hispanic. Among the illustrative examples reported in (moore, 1996)´s study on "piropos", we find: "vaya usted con Dios y su hija conmigo" <May you go with God and your daughter with me>; (culturally referring to the beauty of the addressee's daughter). We also find "¡ Dios mio, tantas curvas y yo sin freno¡" <My God¡ so many curves and me without brakes¡>, meaning: (how sexy you are¡), or "dejaron el cielo abierto y se voló un angelito" < Heaven was left open, and out flew an angel>: (how beautiful you are).

Regardless of the sexist nature of these manly formulae, I was regrettably told that normally Spanish do not find them particularly sexist or sexual in nature, on the contrary, for some women, they are regarded as a confirmation of womanliness, and they are esteemed.

In Morocco -as it is the case in some Mediterranean and South American cultures the practice of this compliment type is also frequently

used by Moroccan young men and it is generally regarded by Moroccan women as an irritating practice. This is observed in the attitude of women who would, generally, avoid answering this type of "piropo".

PART IV
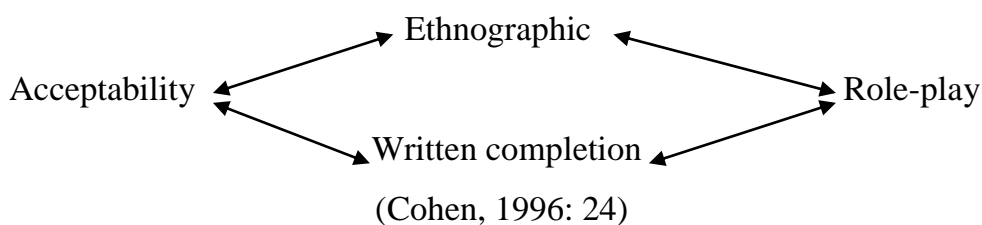# QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

CHAPTER EIGHT

Chapter 8: Cross-cultural research and methodology

Introduction

Our primary aim in this chapter is to justify the research method I opted for in this study with the purpose to substantiate my choice. I pursue to offer an ample relation of the research procedure with a particular focus on informants, the sampling, and more importantly on the Discourse Completion Test being the research method I selected for the present study.

Data collection is crucial issue in pragmatic research. The instrument we choose for this end determines the reliability and the accuracy to represent authentic performance of linguistic action. Various methods are available as reliable instruments that enable researchers to reach concluding descriptions of speech act behaviour. The most frequently used oscillate between elicited written responses through *Discourse Completion Test* (DCT), *role-play*, or *ethnographic fieldwork*.

Standing in the line of research of Olstain and Blum-Kulka (1985), Cohen proposed a cyclic method for data gathering.

(Cohen, 1996: 24)

The use of this set of methods aims at the triangulation of data with the objective to add to their validity and reliability. At first stage, the hypotheses are founded on the basis of the ethnographic data obtained

through natural speech. Subsequently, these first assumptions are tested through role-play and as a final stage, written completion tests are applied to highlight particular realisations and manipulate situational and social parameters, which meet the researcher´s goals.

The application of these techniques provides researchers with several benefits inasmuch as it offers the possibility to test the data through different collection methods that allow on that account to obtain more valid and reliable input.

Regrettably, triangulation is not a methodological solution for data collecting. The limitations of most of data collection methods are inevitable and they could by no means grant researchers with the possibility to capture all the facets of natural spontaneous talk. Bearing this in mind, researchers should adopt methods that better meet the particular intended research expectations and acknowledge the drawbacks of the selected procedure.

8.1. Design of the research

8.1.1. Instrumentation of the study

In the present study, I have administered DCTs written in Spanish to Moroccans residing in Spain. The questionnaires were distributed during the months of December 2009 and January 2010.

8.1.2. The selection of the language

Although it is the mother tongue of almost twenty million Moroccans, MA is an oral language with no official written form. This posed an initial query regarding whether the questionnaire should be provided in the vernacular written in Standard Arabic (Hence SA) or in Spanish, especially if we take into consideration that in both cases it will be solely a transcription and not the original script that, in fact, is inexistent. The SA version was then discarded merely for technical reasons, especially and regrettably, because I am not well trained in the use of an Arabic keyboard. The alternative left was forcibly to opt for the Spanish version

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The choice of this code does not postulate any of the ever-present risks of translation mainly because the possibilities for the three speech acts carefully proposed in the questionnaires used for this study, albeit written in Spanish, are originally Moroccan. In other words, the language is MA written in Spanish.

Independently of the code in which the questionnaires were written, simple Moroccan language was preferred for the wording of the different situations. Special care was taken to consistently maintain the level of language to which respondents, as Moroccans of different age rate with different education levels, could easily relate. The situations for the three speech acts were worded in not too formal or too colloquial terms.

However, granting the probable existence of some illiterate Moroccans, I considered necessary to interview the respondents orally and

personally. All of the responses obtained were inscribed exactly how they were produced by the respondents.

8.1.3. Discourse Completion Test

The study of the sociolinguistic behaviour of Moroccans provided in this dissertation seemed incomplete as a method to set a general conclusion for this study. Granting that I issued the study from a native standpoint, and that I basically relied on introspection for the provision of situations to illustrate my understanding, analysis and the discussion of the cultural dynamics underlying Moroccan speech behaviour in the performance of thanks/apology, compliments and invitations. I considered it, therefore imperative to employ a more reliable method in order to convert my experience-based observations into empirically founded results. A methodological alternative was, therefore, to use a controlled elicitation method.

Many studies in SAT employed DCTs, which are questionnaires that include a number of situational descriptions followed by a short dialogue and an empty slot for the speech act under study. Respondents were asked to fill in a response slot that they think fits into the communicative context. This method has frequently been adopted in cross-cultural pragmatics, especially in the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). The strong and weak points of this method have been mentioned by the proper adherents of the CCSARP, namely, (Wolfson et al. 1989; Rintel & Michell 1989; House 1989). A brief overview of the different strengths and weakness of this method will be considered here following Beebe & Cumming (1996: 79).

Initially, DCTs are not confectioned with the intention to substitute natural speech or to offer 100% authentic speech features. This is one reason why they do not seem to epitomize satisfactorily the actual wording used in real interactions. Beebe & Cummings (1996) argued that among the whole set of formulae used, some relevant strategies were not taken into consideration as for instance "avoidance" which we observed to be a recurrent strategy to ignore a compliment or decline an invitation in the speech behaviour of the Moroccan group under study in this dissertation.

Beebe & Cumming proposed some nonverbal aspects that, in their opinion, are normally used for particular communicative purpose as, for example, the use of facial expressions by complimentees as a sign of disproval, surprise or appreciation to a given compliment.

Notwithstanding, the inclusion of these non-verbal aspects such as ironic look, smile, facial expressions or the tone of the voice do not allow for an approximation to authentic natural speech, unfortunately, researchers are, somehow, limited to report solely their existence but not to what extent they actually affect the course of communication.

Another weakness of DCTS is the shortness of the responses and the limitations of turns, albeit compared to role-play technique, for example, the results of the collected data through both methods were reported to be insignificant. Bodman & Eisenstein (1988) reported that in DTCs the responses are much more concise, less varied and talk is short and not negotiated. Generally, speakers are granted less freedom than in real talk in as much as most of the responses elicited in DCT questionnaire are limited

to one turn talk and provide no possibility for the respondents to maintain the conversation.

In the face of DCTs´ criticism for generating short data, Edmundson et al. (1991), claimed that DTCs produce large and unavailing information labeled as "waffle phenomenon" however, this was not observed in the present corpus. In this study, the respondents provided relatively average utterances and valuable information that I pretend to reflect in the discussion of the obtained in the present study.

The emotional or paralinguistic stock which is normally leagued to natural talk as for example, the facial expressions, the voice-tone, smile, kind of look; which pragmatically affect the interpretability of the linguistic production, are unfortunately not captured in this written method of elicitation. However, our respondents provided guiding information as to how their responses should be interpreted. Many remarks were inserted along our discussion with the respondents and clarifications were usually required to capture their "meant" meaning and not that I could probably have understood. Smile, for example, was a recurrent facial expression, however, its interpretation was surprisingly different from one respondent to another, in some cases, smile was to be interpreted as a pre-sequence to formulating a compliment jokingly whereas, in other instances, it was as sign to hide shyness or even reluctance to do the compliment at all[52].

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[52] Some informants discarded teasingly the possibility to compliment their mother-in-law and considered it extremely improbable and daring to compliment their mother-in-law especially on her appearance.

Another worth considering drawback of written elicitation techniques is that they fall short at reflecting repetitions and clarifications that characterize natural conversations. However, and without intending to undermine the significance of the existing limitations of DCTs, it seems appropriate at this point, to highlight the strengths of this data collection tool and relate them to my research.

Mainly my choice of DCT as an instrument of the study of thanks/apology, compliments and invitations is based on the possibility to gather reliable data for quantitative analysis and, by the same occasion, to analyse the obtained data within a more qualitative paradigm thanks to the manipulation of socio-cultural parameters for each situation.

DCTs are claimed to be a highly effective method for collecting data as Beebe & Cummings (1996: 80) claim. According to these scholars, DCTs enable researchers:

a. To collect a large amount of data in a brief period. Particularly, when compared with ethnographic procedures for instance. This latter usually requires a longer collection period.

b. To set an initial classification of semantic formulae and strategies that are likely to happen in natural speech, this classification need not to be either exhaustive or definite but rather should provide a template from which to interpret the data.

c. To handle the stereotypical observed requirements for a socially appropriate response. This in turn will shed light upon the cultural norms

and values held by the different groups under consideration, creating, once more, an adequate baseline for further research in the field.

d. To gain insight into social and psychological factors that are likely to affect speech act performance in so far that DCTs allow for the control of the different variables that affect the selection of a particular strategy to perform a speech act.

e. To verify the basic aspect of speech acts in the minds of the speakers of particular language.

8.1.4. The socio-cultural and the socio-linguistic variables

8.1.4.1 The socio-cultural variables: Power (P), Social Distance (D), Rank of Imposition (I)

Five socio-cultural parameters were considered in the questionnaire to analyse respondents´ behaviour in formulating the three speech acts chosen for this study, respectively to:

- Persons from *workplace* (male/female boss and male/female employee);
- Persons from *friendship circle* (male/female friend);
- To an *unknown* (female/ male by-passer);
- To *direct family* members, such as (father/mother and sister/brother);
- To *family-in-law* members, such as (brother/sister-in-law or mother/ father-in law).

The sociolinguistic variables power (P) and distance (D) relationship between respondents and their respective interactants were also observed in the questionnaire mainly to examine the speech behaviour of Moroccans in the performance of thanks/apology, compliments and invitation with addressees of various social and psychological distances. The social status and power of the addressees were deliberately set so that respondents would be affronted with scenarios involving various psychological distances and differing levels of social power.

With regard to psychological distance, four types of distinctions were inserted, particularly on compliments. One type was distant as for example to pay a compliment to higher status addressee (he/she boss). The second was still distant but inverted with regard to power, where compliment was to be paid to a lower status person (he/she employee). The third scenario was set to observe complimenters´ disposition to do a compliment to a male/female unknown person as a situation where high distance is involved. The fourth scenario was built as the counter part of our third situation where interlocutors are endowed with less distance and close relationship. In this context, respondents have to pay a compliment to a male/female friend. Type four involved interactants of less status but with a high degree of psychological distance as is the case with family-in-law (brother/sister-in-law, mother/father-in-law) as opposed direct family relationship where psychological distance and power are almost inexistent. The choice of these situations was intended to shed the light on Moroccan´s concept of distance.

As is the case with Japanese notion of "uchi" (inside(r)) and "soto" (outside(r)) (Barnick 1994), Moroccans normally set a line between

"insider" and "outsider" everywhere according to perceived social and psychological distance between themselves and other people. Normally, direct family members enjoy permanent status of "insiders". Direct family members were included as addresses in this study because the Moroccan distinction of "outsiders" and "insiders" is particularly influential in establishing levels of politeness in the language. The need for politeness is less required to compliment family members. Contrarily to what usually happens regarding the compulsory use of politeness strategies with other social categories such as mates, friends, acquaintances, and family-in-law.

8.1.4.2. Gender

Gender was observed to be another important factor in complimenting behaviour (Knapp et al., 1984; Herbert, 1990).The focus of this research within this area was on cross-gender compliment speech event. Accordingly, the questionnaire was devised depending on the gender of the respondents. Situations were created where male respondents have to pay compliments to females and vice-versa. Whereas, in other situations, male/male, and female/female compliment paying were provided with the intention to reach a full understanding of the use of compliments in MA.

8.1.4.3. Age

Age as a social parameter was reserved a particular attention in what regards the three speech acts under study. The questionnaires were distributed between two specific age groups which I called the "young group" (aged between 18 and 35 years), and "the old group" (aged more than 35 years).

8.1.4.4. The choice of aspects for compliments, invitations and thanks /apology

Before embarking on the discussion of the different aspects and variables considered for the quantitative investigation of the three speech acts under study I should mention that for expositive reasons, the three speech acts treated in this part are presented in a reverse order to that followed in part III of the present dissertation. Namely, the first speech act submitted to analysis is that of compliments then succuessively that of invitation and at last thanks/apology.

The choice of this expositive distribution is justified by the decrescent number of variables exploited for the quantitative analysis and discussion.

- **Compliments**

The questionnaire covered three main thematic areas, namely, physical appearance, personality/skills, and possessions.

In the area labeled physical appearance, compliments were formulated regarding attributes, which were the result of personal effort such as the make-up, or the haircut. Physical beauty was also incorporated as object of praise specifically the quality of the eyes. The reason to incorporate these aspects in the questionnaire was that of testing whether or not there would be any deviation from the stated patterns found in western culture.

Praise on personality/skills focused on driving and cooking abilities, and regarding possessions, compliments were partly related to good taste for dressing, or for the choice of the car.

- **Invitations**

In what regards invitations, the questionnaire was deviced to obtain responses through which the invitation preferential type and attitude of the respondents can be identified. With the intention of testing the variations in the behaviour of the respondents in invitation exchange, I have provided four social contexts: the workplace, with friends and with members from direct family or family-in-law.

As with compliments, the gender and the level of education of the respondents was paid a particular attention, mainly to observe if the young age-group follows the same patterns of inviting as those of old age-group, and to what extent the level of education affects these patterns.

- **Thanks/apology**

The questionnaire covered particular speech events within specific social contexts to observe why respondents perform thanks as an expression of gratitude and why they sometimes employ apology. The length and the nature of the relationship that exists between the respondents and their hypothetic interactants were taken into account to observe how respondents give expressions of gratitude to their respective interactans and why they sometimes use "thanks" and in some other instances "apology as expressions of gratitude. The interactants I provided to test the respondents' attitude in the choice of "thanks" or "apology" were selected from intimate to unknown continuum.

To examine overviews of Moroccan willingness and attitude in expressing gratitude, complimenting and inviting addressees of various social and psychological distances, averages of respondent ratings were calculated for each of the three questionnaires I have provided for the three speech acts. Graphic representations were provided to illustrate the analysis variance as to how the respondents´ behaviour would differ according to the status and psychological distance of the addressees. .

8.1.5. Limitations

The study is explanatory in nature. Respondents were not chosen at random, on the contrary, we had to select our respondents primarily because they have to be native MA speakers and not of Berber origin to avoid linguistic bias. Respondents were additionally chosen with the intention to establish two gender groups (male/female) and two different age groups (old/young) as necessary parameters for this study.

Another limitation of this study was that the participants´ likelihood to give thanks/apology, compliment or invite, in this study was elicited by means of DCT questionnaire. This means that what respondents indicated they are likely to do in a given context may not coincide with what they would actually do when they are later involved in a situation similar to the one in the questionnaire. However, the replies express viable and acceptable responses, which proves relevant for my study.

Relevant is also to mention that the participants are immigrants and they were interviewed here in Spain and not in their native country. We can envisage that probable deviations in the behaviour of the respondents in the

realization of the three speech acts might be present. In any case, the conclusions are hence to be cautiously linked to the speech behaviour of MA used by Moroccans immigrated to Spain.
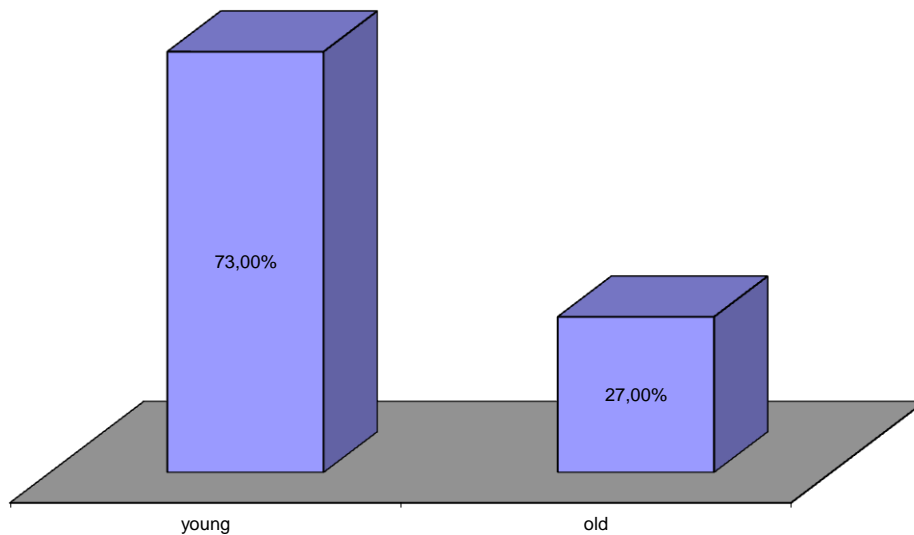
8.2. Informants

I have relied in my research on 30 participants reasonably representative of MA native speakers. The collection of the participants was selective; the existence of regional different linguistic and cultural behaviour within Morocco made it necessary to collect informants from exclusively Arabophone regions of Morocco. Informants hence were selected according to the different Moroccan geo-linguistic areas. Berbers as bilingual speakers of MA were excluded , we also set aside "Hassani" (as a dialect spoken in the southern area of Layoun and Dakhla but significantly different from MA) mainly, to avoid biasing the results of the data collected as mainly directed to the study of compliments, invitations, and thanks/apology attitude exclusively of MA native speakers. The informants were hence, from Casablanca as representative of "bidaoui" dialect, from Rabat "rbati", Fez "fassi", Marrakech "marrakchi", Oujda "Oujdi", and Tangier "jebli".

8.2.1. Profile of respondents

We consider at this point relevant to provide an introductory summary of the profile of our respondents in as much as it will be interestingly guiding in the understanding of the respondents´ behaviour in the performance of compliments, invitations and thanks/apology.

8.2.1.1. Age of respondents

age profile of respondents

Chart nº 1

The bar chart shows that 73% of respondents are young. We labeled as "young", Moroccans aged between 18 and 35 years. This is comprehensively consistent with the age profile of Moroccans who reside as immigrants in Spain. By contrast, only 27% of respondent are old, i.e., aged between35 and 55 years. Normally few old people migrate especially if we put into consideration the limitation of work opportunities they might find in the host countries.

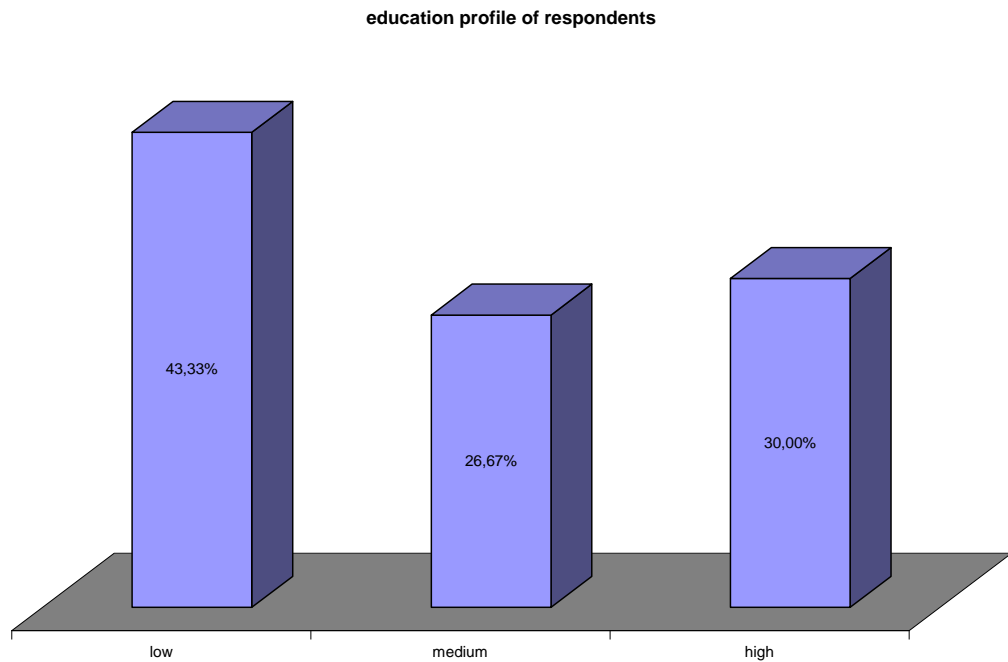## 8.2.1.2. Gender of respondents

63,00%

37,00%

male   female

Chart nº 2

Concerning sex variable, the chart shows that the number of male respondents significantly doubles that of females (63% against 37%). The tendency observed in this chart is consistent with migration attitude of Moroccans. Traditionally, the quasi-totality of Moroccan migrants are males. This was observable in our process of sample collection. It was substantially easier to interview men, while, the access to women was considerably difficult. Men were directly localized in their workplace such as shops, whereas the provision of female potential respondents was chancy considering that most female migrants are employed in domestic services or do not work at all. Arrangements and negotiations with male interviewees were necessary to get into contact with women respondents. Female respondents were initially male respondents´ family female members.

8.2.1.3. Education of respondents
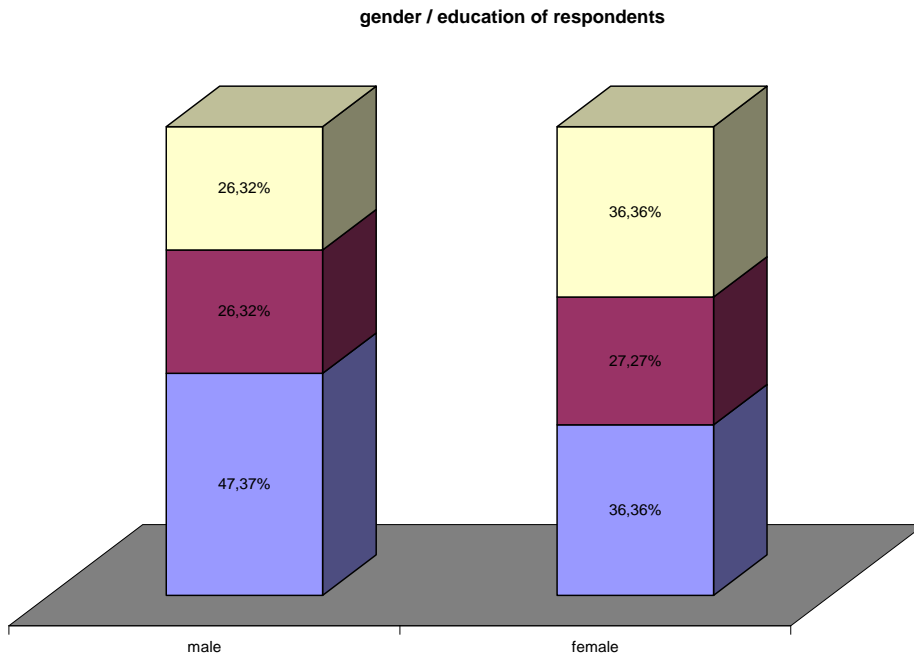
education profile of respondents

Chart nº 3

As we can see from the chart, almost half of our total respondents have low education (43.33%). This is interpretable in terms of the profile of Moroccan immigrants. Allegedly, we can conclude that most of Moroccans who adhere to the tradition of migration are originally people who, due to their scarce qualification, are faced with difficulties in finding a job in their home country. This is probably a prima facie reason for migrating. Significantly minor is the number of Moroccans with a medium level of education (26.67%). However (30.00%) of Moroccans have a high degree. This latter represents originally the group of educated Moroccans who normally migrate in search of higher education in prestigious international universities.

8.2.1.4. Gender and education of respondents

Education in Morocco is free and compulsory through primary school up to the age of 15. However, in the rural areas, the provision of schools is still meager and many children especially girls have little possibilities to attend school. The country illiteracy[53] rate is almost about 50% of the total population. Recent government policy targeted the eradication of illiteracy and Moroccan Prime Minister Driss Jettou reported that illiteracy rate has decreased by 39% mainly thanks to literacy courses, which were attended by two million persons along the past four years. Notwithstanding, gender bias is still commonplace precisely that among males the literacy rate ascends to 64.1% while only 39.4% is reached for females.

gender / education of respondents

Chart nº4

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[53] See www.infodev.org retrieved 19/05/2010

CHAPTER NINE

Chapter 9: Quantitative analysis of compliments

9.1. Compliment behaviour in MA

use of topical aspects of compliments

□1 ■2 □3 □4

pers/skills:
29,57%

phys.appeare
nces/apparel
12,86%

possessions:
26,44%

absence of
use 31,13%

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Chart nº5

The results reflected in this chart show the lower incidence of use of compliments on physical appearance, and apparel (12.28%), which is counterbalanced by a higher tendency of use of compliments on skills (29.57%) followed by a scarce frequency difference of use of compliments on possessions (26.44%). Surprising is also that (31.13%) of Moroccans would not use any variety of compliments on any of the three thematic areas used for the analysis of compliments. A possible explanation of such deviation patterns is related to the content of the compliment namely, praise for the good taste for the make-up, the haircut, or on the beauty of the eyes in particular social contexts namely workplace, to friends and to family members. The statistics disclose variations attributable to the

influence of symmetry/asymmetry relation variable as we can see in the coming charts.

9.2. Gender variation in the use of compliments in general

gender variation in the use of compliment in general

appearence; 16,39% achievements; 44,65% possessions; 38,96%

male

appearence; 23,75% achievements; 39,05% possessions; 37,20%

female

Chart nº6

The chart reflects an almost uniform attitude of male and female respondents in complimenting. The rate variance with regard to gender is low. The percentages obtained on the three topical areas do not allow for contending the existence of considerable gender variations. With relation to compliments on possessions, for instance, the difference in the frequency of use of possession-related compliments of males in comparison with females is scarce (males: 38.96% against 37.20% for females). Contrarily, compliments on achievements seem to be preferential for males. The percentages enclosed within this content area put on view that almost 5.6% of male respondents used compliments on achievements more frequently than females. Quite the reverse is observed on physical appearance-related

compliments providing that 7.36% of females praised their addressees on their beauty more frequently than males.
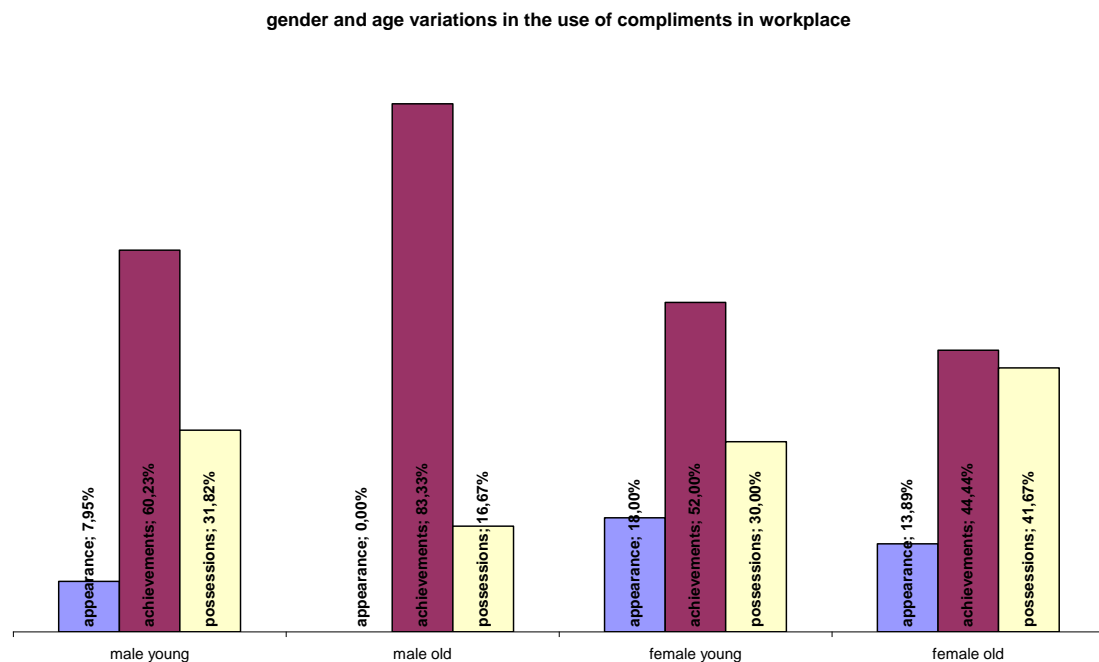
9.2.1. In workplace

9.2.1.1 Gender

gender variation in the use of compliment in workplace

appearance; 6,60% | achievements; 64,15% | possessions; 29,25% | appearance; 17,28% | achievements; 51,85% | possessions; 30,86%

male   female

Chart nº7

The tendency in this chart is the pronounced low incidence of use of compliments by men on appearance and apparel to members of their workplace (6.60%). Unlike men, women are more likely to pay compliments on apparel and physical appearance to their colleagues. The rate 17.28% obtained in the analysis of women complimenting behaviour doubles considerably the prevailing results among men. This is consistent with our hypothesis that Moroccan men are less compliment doers than women mainly because Moroccan men envision virility as excluding attitudes like complimenting, and consider this latter as effeminate and ultimately reserved to women. Contrarily to the male´s attitude observed with regard to compliments on apparel and physical appearance, men show

significantly less reticence in complimenting their colleagues on skills and achievements. The 64.15% scored among men against 15.85% among women testifies to men propensity and disposition to compliment substantially more than women on skills, and achievements. Whereas, regarding the topical area of possessions the rate variance between men and women´s complimenting attitude is almost insignificant (29.25% among men against 30.86% among women). Only 1.61% separates women from men in what regards complimenting colleagues on their possessions. This is interpretable as an evident existing similarity in complimenting behaviour between Moroccan men and Moroccan women.

9.2.1.2. Gender and age

gender and age variations in the use of compliments in workplace

appearance; 7,95%
achievements; 60,23%
possessions; 31,82%
appearance; 0,00%
achievements; 83,33%
possessions; 16,67%
appearance; 18,00%
achievements; 52,00%
possessions; 30,00%
appearance; 13,89%
achievements; 44,44%
possessions; 41,67%

male young   male old   female young   female old

Chart nº8

The results prevailing in the previous chart seem to be distorted if we include the factor "age". In the present chart, the distinction between the complimenting attitude of young and old Moroccans is drastically sharp.

Eventually, young male tend to compliment their colleagues on physical appearance and apparel with a percentage of 7.95% whereas the score among old Moroccan men is null (0.00%) this could be understood as a symbol of modernity and assimilation of European mode of life of young Moroccans. Whereas the absence of compliments among old Moroccan consolidate the traditional concept of work relationships where men usually maintain a psychological distance with their colleagues especially if they are women. However, in what concerns the frequency of the use of compliments on skills and achievements in the workplace, the difference is less pronounced granting that the gap concerning the percentage of the frequency of the use of compliments on skills and achievements between young men and old men is still highly significant. This is clearly evidenced in the high score obtained among old men to the detriment of young men.
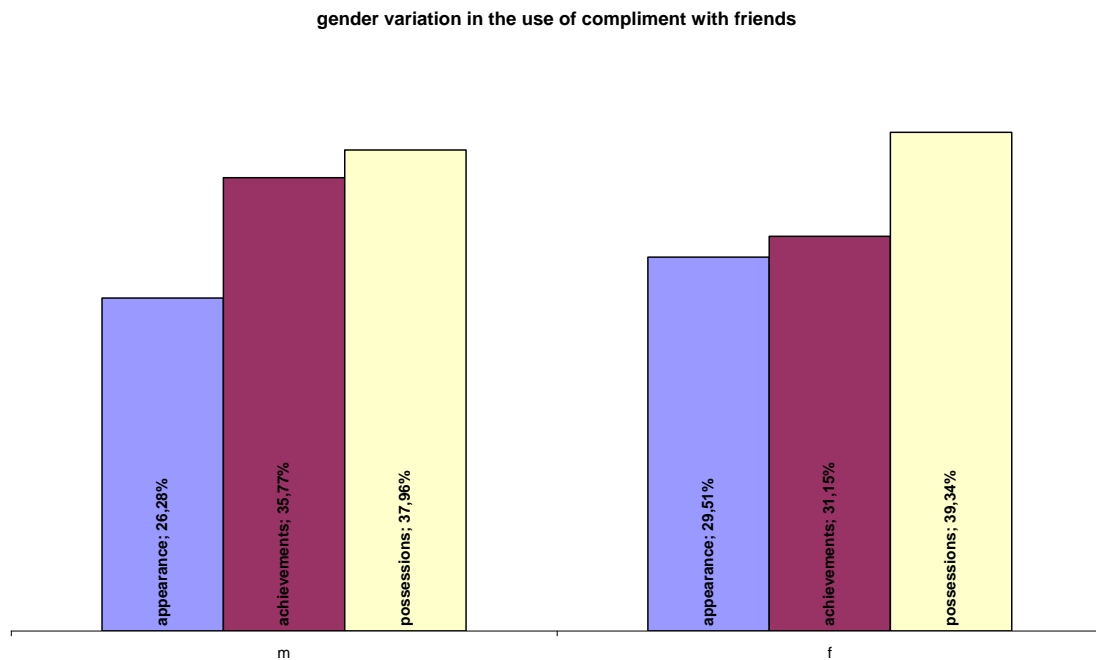
In relation to compliments on possessions, the results is inverted, in the present chart, old men score higher in the use of compliments on possessions than young men possibly because it seems culturally less compromising for men to give compliments on possessions than to pay compliments on physical appearance or apparel of their colleagues.

Unlike with young versus old men´s attitude in complimenting in the workplace, Moroccan women apparently tend to praise their colleagues notably more than men, and the "age" factor is not exaggeratedly displayed. Young women have an almost similar complimenting behaviour as that of old women. Obviously, young women with a percentage 18.00%, show a slight tendency to use more frequently compliments on apparel and physical appearance to their colleagues than old women, especially if we consider the result figured in this chart 13.89%. A propos of compliments

on achievements and contrary to what was observed in men´s attitude, young women compliment their colleagues slightly more frequently than old women (52% against 44.44%), Relating to compliments on the possessions of colleagues, the result shows an inverted frequency attitude, that is, old women are more compliment givers than young women (41.67% against 30%).

9.2.2. With friends

9.2.2.1 Gender

gender variation in the use of compliment with friends

appearance; 26,28%   achievements; 35,77%   possessions; 37,96%
m

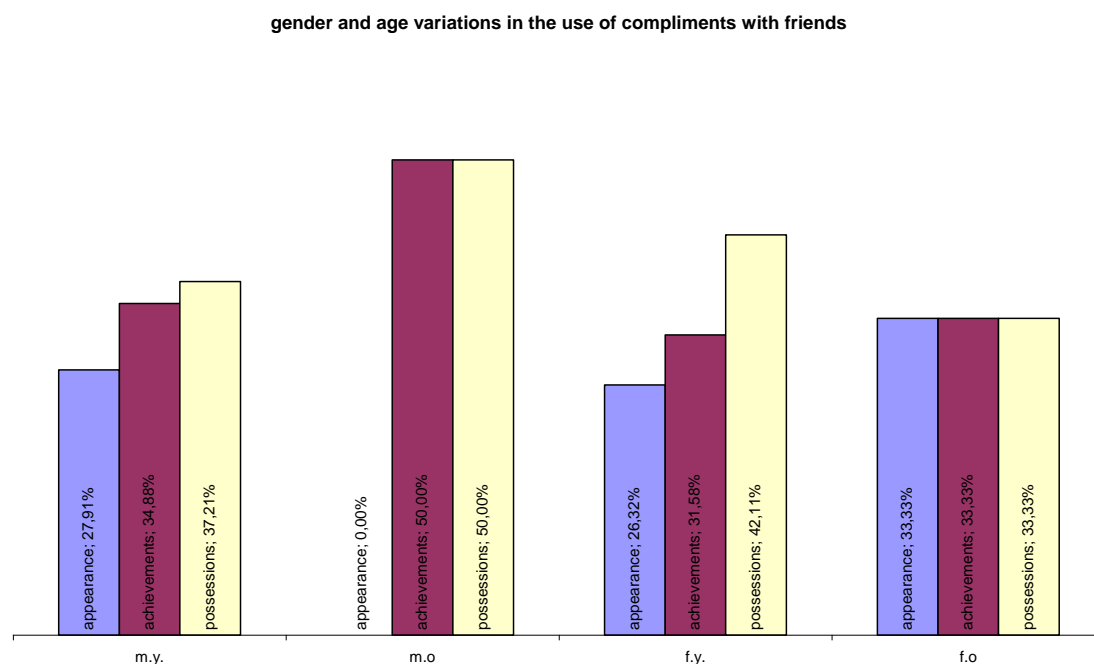appearance; 29,51%   achievements; 31,15%   possessions; 39,34%
f

Chart nº9

The chart makes it explicit how much at ease Moroccan males and females feel with their friends. The general tendency is a uniform frequency of use of the different aspects of compliments among both men and women. The rate variance between men and women with regard to compliment giving on apparel and physical appearance is almost scarce

(men 26.28% against 29.59% for women). This very type of tendency also appears with compliments on achievements although with a slight deviance in favour of men (men 35.77%; women 31.15 %). Identical attitude is observed also in relation to compliments on possessions (men 37.96% against 39.34% women). However, this time the percentage attained is higher among women.

9.2.2.2. Gender and age

gender and age variations in the use of compliments with friends

Chart nº10

The chart presents a complete distortion of the distribution of the frequency of the use of compliments between men and women when the factor age is introduced. Compliments to s/he friends on physical appearance and apparel exhibit a shy rate variance among young men and young women at the same time as it increases slightly with old women. (Young males 27.91%, young females 26.32%; old females 33.33%). In the counterpart, old men with a null percentage (0.00%) substantiate

unquestionably their abstention to use compliments on physical appearance and apparel with their colleagues or friends. Such an attitude seems to be reversed in what concerns compliments on achievements and possessions. Accordingly, 50.00% of old men would compliment overtly their friends on their achievements and possessions retaining then a higher score than those observed in the chart bar of young males (34.88% on physical appearance 37.21% on possessions), young females (31.58% on physical appearance 42.11% on possession), or old females (33.33% for both physical appearance and possessions)

9.2.3. In direct-family milieu

9.2.3.1. Gender

gender variation in the use of compliments in direct-family milieu

| appearance; 23,47% | achievements; 38,27% | possessions; 38,27% | appearance; 29,60% | achievements; 35,20% | possessions; 35,20% |

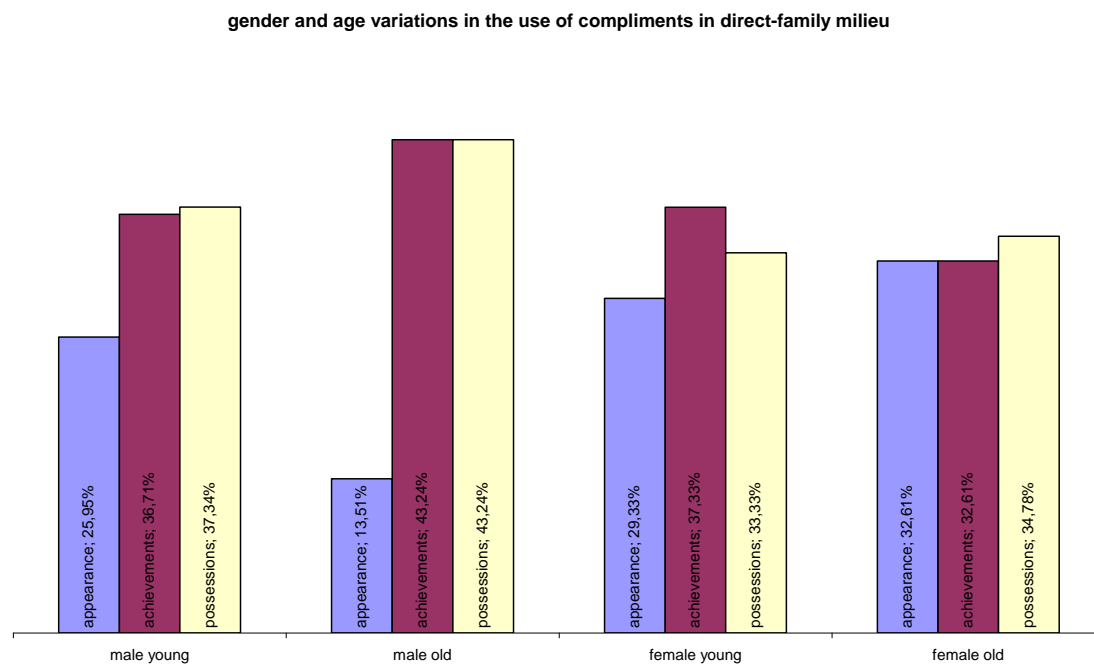m   f

Chart nº11

The attitude of Moroccans in complimenting their relatives as illustrated in this chart seems uniform. With regard to the frequency of use

of compliment on physical appearance with direct members of the family (sisters, brothers and parents), females seem to slightly surpass males (females 29. 60%, males 23.47%) whereas the contrary is observed in what concerns the use of compliments on achievements. The percentage reached among men tends to be somewhat superior to that obtained for women (males: 38.27% - females: 35.20%) on the use of compliments on achievements and (males: 38.27% - females: 35.20%) on the use of compliments on possessions.

9.2.3.2. Gender and age

gender and age variations in the use of compliments in direct-family milieu
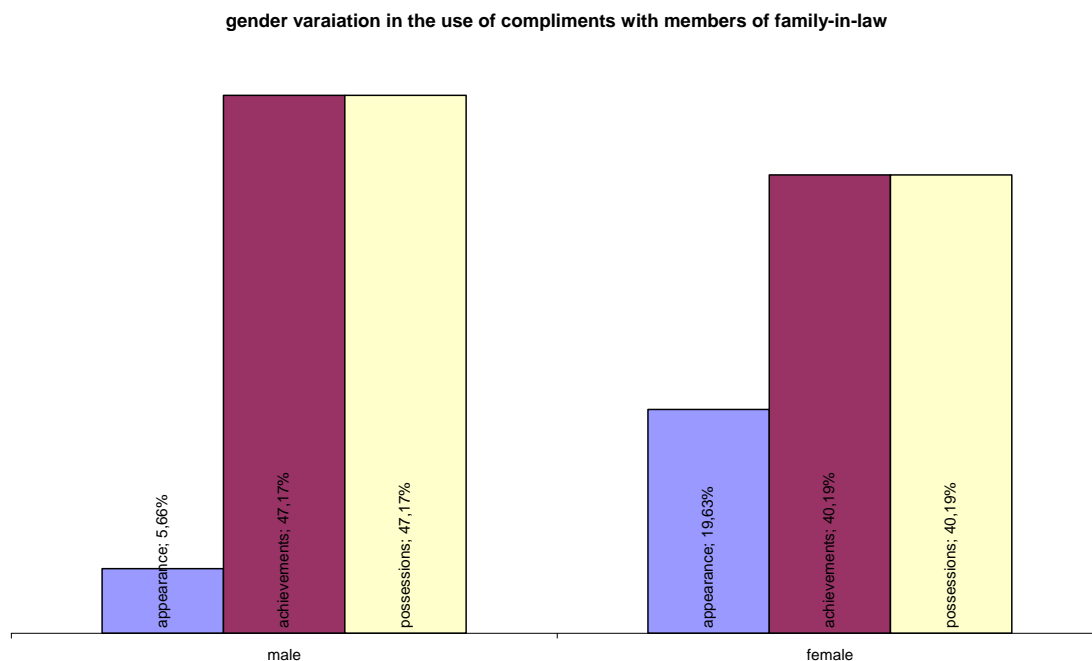

Chart nº12

Once again, the factor "age" is likely to alter the distribution of the attitude of Moroccans in compliment giving. The most outstanding aspect in this chart is the atypical percentage (13.51%) obtained for old males. This is the first and exclusive context where the percentage for men´s use of compliments on physical appearance and apparel is not null. This

tendency elucidates old men contentment and coziness in their family context. We can presumably conclude that old Moroccan men envision compliments on physical appearance and apparel as highly compromising in contexts outside the family allegedly because the variable "socio-psychological distance" affects Moroccan old men complimenting behaviour, independently of the status of their addressees. This is consistent with the notion of "insider" versus "outsiders" previously exposed about the prestigious status assigned to the members of the family as "insiders", that is, as a marker of intimacy and complicity.

9.2.4. In family-in-law context

9.2.4.1. Gender

gender varaiation in the use of compliments with members of family-in-law

Chart nº13

With regard to the family-in-law, the chart shows analogous attitude of males and females in complimenting members of their family-in-law on

possessions and achievements. These topical aspects seem to be preferential objects of praise for men and to a lesser extent for women as we can see from the results (men: 47.17% against 40.19% for women) on both achievements and possessions.

However, in what concerns praise on physical appearance, the chart reflects openly Moroccan´s reluctance to compliment their brothers, sisters and parents-in-law on their physical beauty. Traditionally, the family-in-law is treated with high deference and the contact between members of a given family and those of the family-in-law involve sophisticated verbal politeness. This apparently indicates the high degree of psychological distance Moroccans, especially men, maintain with the members of their family-in-law. This attitude is reflected in the low percentage (5.66%) obtained on compliments on physical appearance among men. Notwithstanding, Females seem less reluctant to praise their family-in-law members on their beauty (19.63%). Nonetheless, we expect the existence of important variations in this attitude of females with regard to male members.
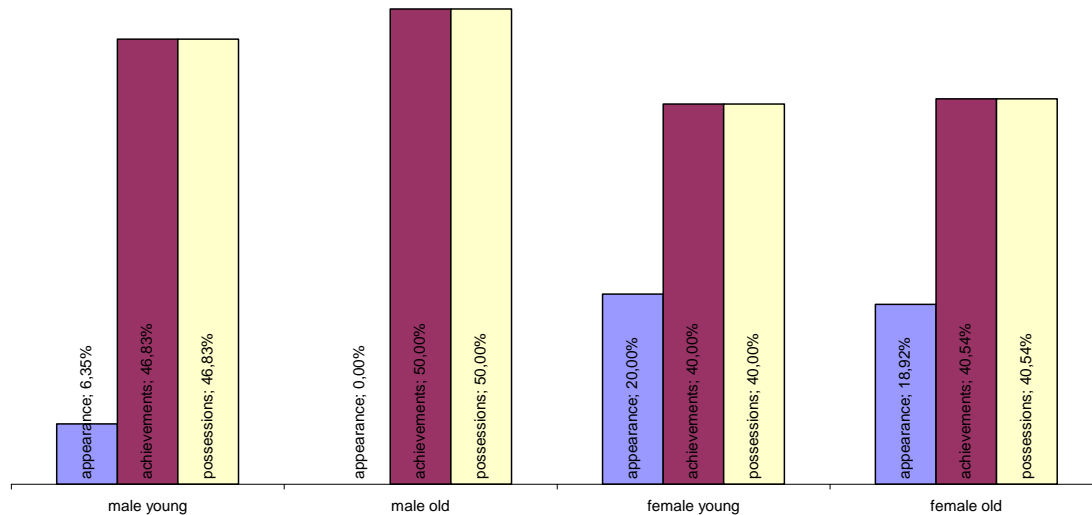
9.2.4.2. Gender and age

Chart nº14

The results shown in this chart unmistakably illustrate the evenly balanced complimenting attitude of young and old women on all of the three compliment aspects. Only a meager difference, particularly on physical appearance and apparel, separates young women from old women (young 20.00% against old 18.92%). However, if we compare women to men we observe from the chart that old men maintain the pattern of abstinence (0.00%) to compliment on appearance persons outside their direct family milieu. Young males seem to follow the same pattern as old men in complimenting on physical appearance as shown in the undersized percentage (6.35%).

9.3. Same-gender and cross-gender variations in the use of compliments

9.3.1. female/female use of compliments

femele/female use of compliments

Chart n°15

What is put on view in this chart is the interface of female respondents with female addressees of different status. As evidenced in the chart, the selection of female interactants is based on the juxtaposition of two disparate power situations where the compliment is to be paid to interlocutors in asymmetric position (high/low). The rate variance of the frequency of use of compliments in female/female interactions as reflected in this chart exhibits a tendency among Moroccan females to harmony and comfort in contact with other females. Generally, Moroccan women display ad-hoc cordiality and good sentiments vis-à-vis *ejusdem generis*. The constant homogenous percentages obtained on two of the three compliment aspects provided for this study substantiate female uniform attitude with

female addressees of different status. Accordingly, no power *enjeux* is involved if one considers compliments on achievements (100%) and to some extent those on possessions (90%). Even so, a blatant difference emerges with regard to compliments on appearance for she-boss and the mother-in-law (50%) this could be interpretable in terms of distance upsurge commonly observed in asymmetric interactions, namely when the addressee is of higher rank than that of the speaker (+P) (+D) as is the case with she-boss. However, in the case of the mother-in-law the asymmetry is provoked probably by age difference. In Morocco, "aged" people are assigned a higher status and are treated with considerable deference, and sophisticated linguistic politeness is normally required.
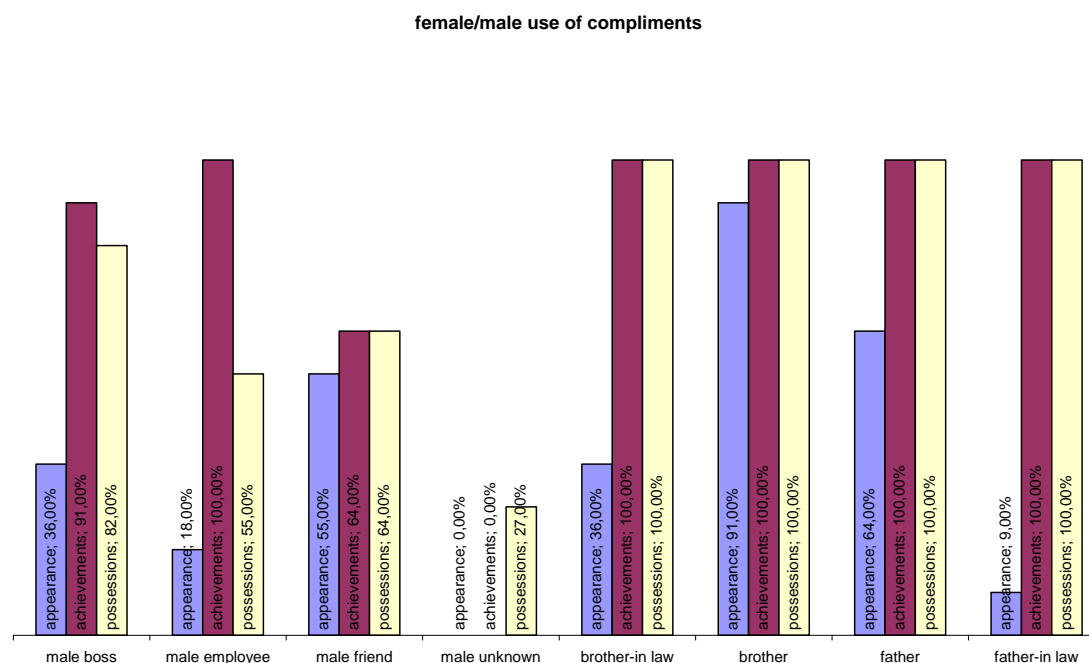
9.3.2. Female/male use of compliments

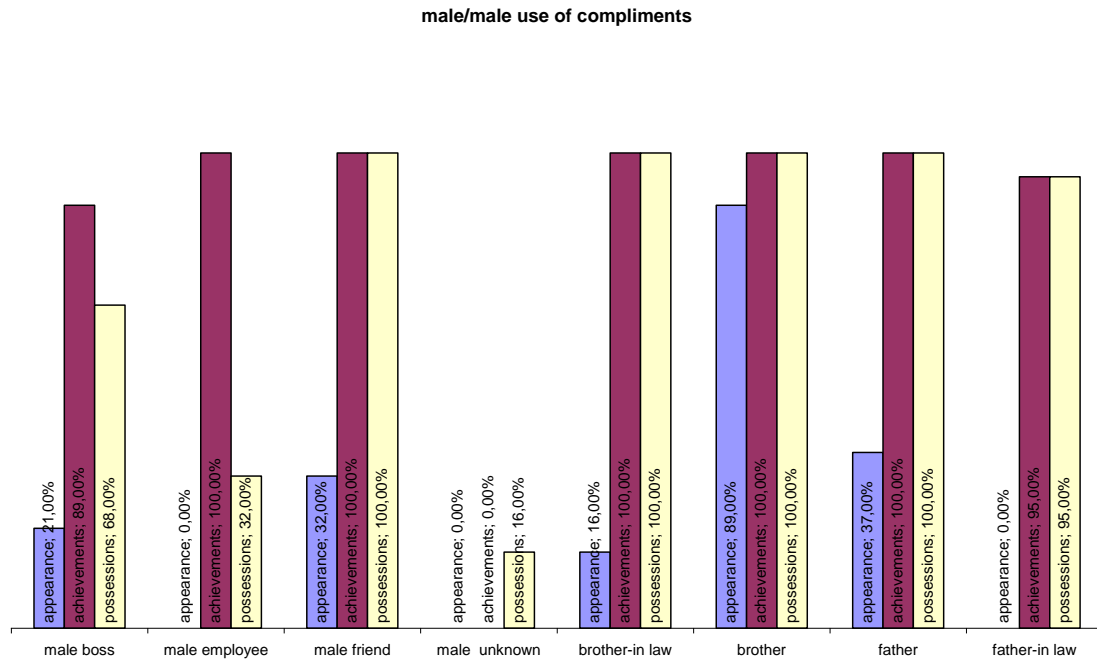**female/male use of compliments**

Chart nº16

In this chart, we can observe two opposed poles where the frequency of female use of compliments to males on physical appearance and apparel

as high corresponds to the brother and as null in the case of "unknown" males. This is coherent if one considers that it is usual to give compliments to a brother rather than to unknown persons. The highest percentage of the frequency of use of compliments among females is obtained exclusively in direct family context (91.00%) with the brother, and (64.00%) with the father. Male friends and male boss also were assigned a substantial prestige inasmuch as they received compliments on physical appearance from female respondents with an average of (55.00%) and (36.00%) respectively. However, only (9.00%) of respondents complimented the father-in-law on his appearance probably for age difference reasons as was the case with the mother-in-law.

However, compliments on achievements and possessions were given uniformly to members of the different social and family milieu(x) and the exception was marked only with regards to "unknown" persons where the percentage was null (00.00%) on achievements and (27.00%) on possessions.
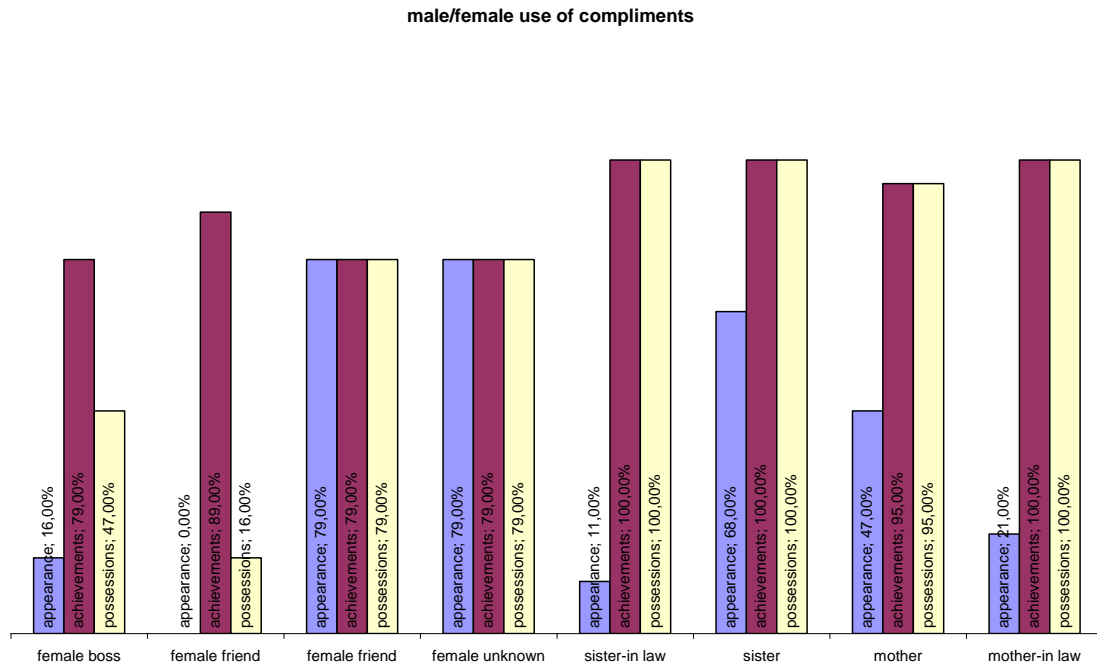
9.3.3. Male/male use of compliments

male/male use of compliments

Chart values by addressee:

- **male boss**: appearance; 21,00% | achievements; 89,00% | possessions; 68,00%
- **male employee**: appearance; 0,00% | achievements; 100,00% | possessions; 32,00%
- **male friend**: appearance; 32,00% | achievements; 100,00% | possessions; 100,00%
- **male unknown**: appearance; 0,00% | achievements; 0,00% | possessions; 16,00%
- **brother-in law**: appearance; 16,00% | achievements; 100,00% | possessions; 100,00%
- **brother**: appearance; 89,00% | achievements; 100,00% | possessions; 100,00%
- **father**: appearance; 37,00% | achievements; 100,00% | possessions; 100,00%
- **father-in law**: appearance; 0,00% | achievements; 95,00% | possessions; 95,00%

Chart nº17

Unlike females, the frequency of use of compliments by males to male addressees is altered. Except for the brother (89.00%), the percentage of the use of compliments on physical appearance is rather meager. In a decreasing order, we can observe that males gave compliments to their father with an average of (37.00%), and to a lesser degree to their friends (32.00%), and finally to male boss (21.00%), while no male respondent complimented his father-in-law or male employees on his physical appearance (00.00%). However, with regard to compliments on achievements and possessions, the tendency is quite analogous for all addressees of the different social and family contexts.
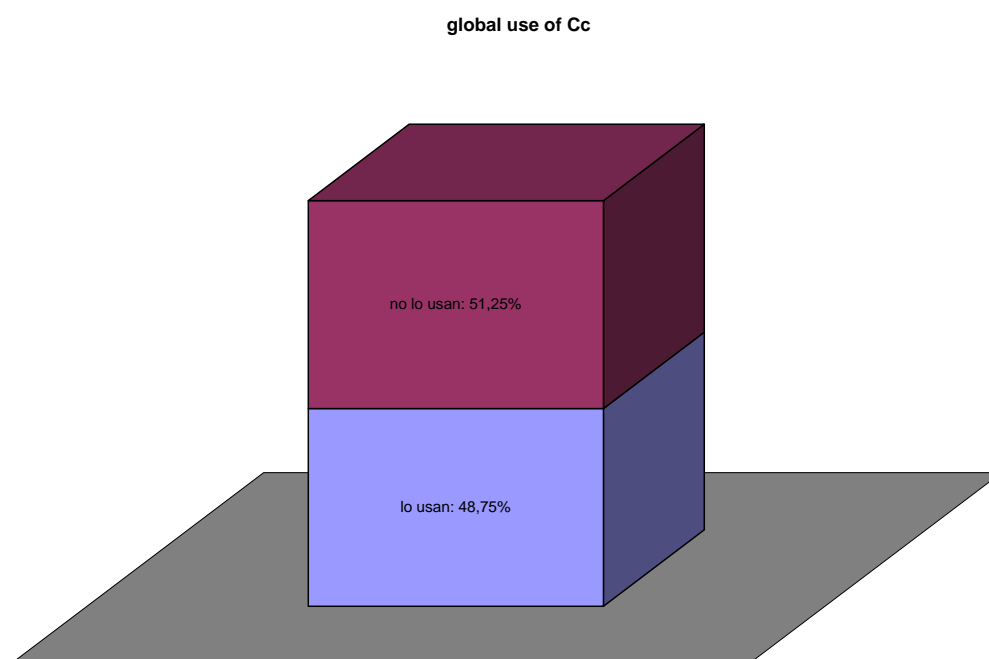
9.3.4. Male/female use of compliments

	female boss	female friend	female friend	female unknown	sister-in law	sister	mother	mother-in law
appearance	16,00%	0,00%	79,00%	79,00%	11,00%	68,00%	47,00%	21,00%
achievements	79,00%	89,00%	79,00%	79,00%	100,00%	100,00%	95,00%	100,00%
possessions	47,00%	16,00%	79,00%	79,00%	100,00%	100,00%	95,00%	100,00%

Chart nº18

The present chart display an alteration in what concerns compliments on physical appearance, "unknown" females and she-friends received the highest percentage of compliments by male respondents. This is consistent with Moroccan male practice of courting. This tradition is comparable the Spanish *piropo* as a technique meant by males to get female´s attention with sexual pretentions. Sisters also were reserved a special attention (68.00%) probably as a tendency to imitate the western social practice, especially if we consider that young Moroccans desist from the traditional traits of Arab societies and adopt more western-like standards to cling to modernity and *debonair*.

9.4. Compliment-Complement as a phenomenon in MA

The choice of compliment as a speech act was intentionally based on the culturally restrictive nature of the use of this speech act sine-qua-non with a compliment-complement. However, variations are expected to emerge in the course of analysis of Moroccan complimenting behaviour through the varied parameters we have applied to test Moroccan´s use of this distinctive compliment-leagued feature.

9.4.1. The use of Compliment-complement in Moroccan Arabic

global use of Cc
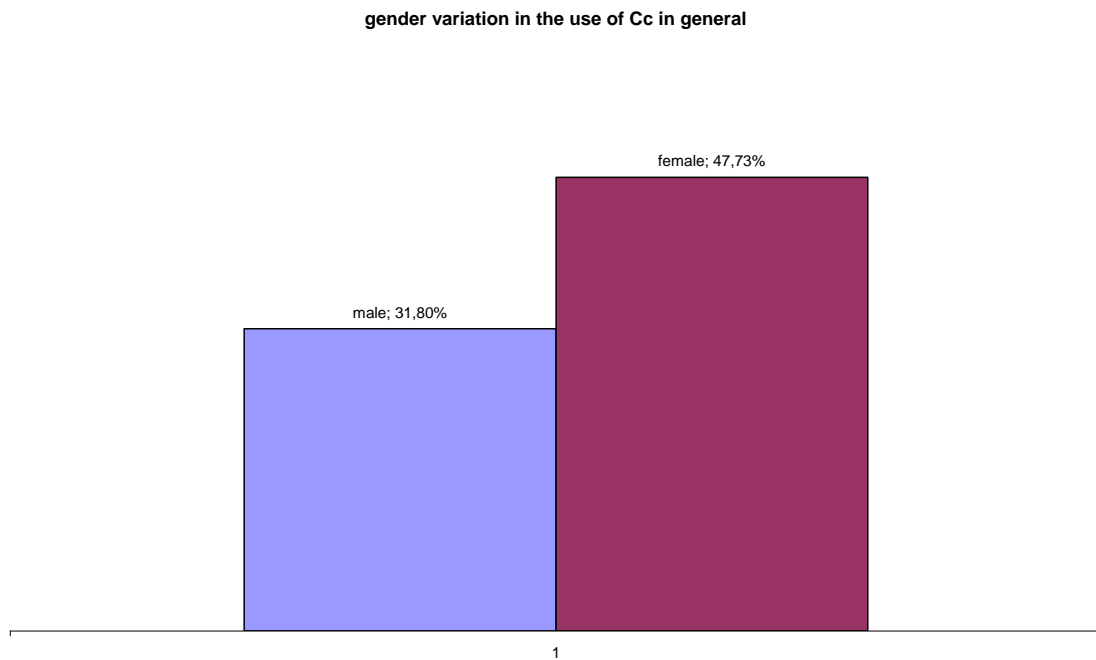
no lo usan: 51,25%

lo usan: 48,75%

Chart nº 19

The chart reflects that the use of Cc is commonplace in the complimenting behaviour of almost 50% of our respondents. This is what we intuitively advocated in our discussion, from a native standpoint, about the prevailing use Cc as a sociolinguistic phenomenon associated with the

belief of bad-eye afflict that addressers may fling to addressees through compliments.

This tendency is probably regulated by concepts that are not possibly valid for the other 50% of respondents who did not use the Cc as we can see from the chart. A possible reason for some Moroccans´ reluctance to use the Cc could be found perhaps, among young respondents who might consider such a practice as outdated and not necessary for "modern" young people like them.

9.4.2. Gender variation and the use of Cc in general

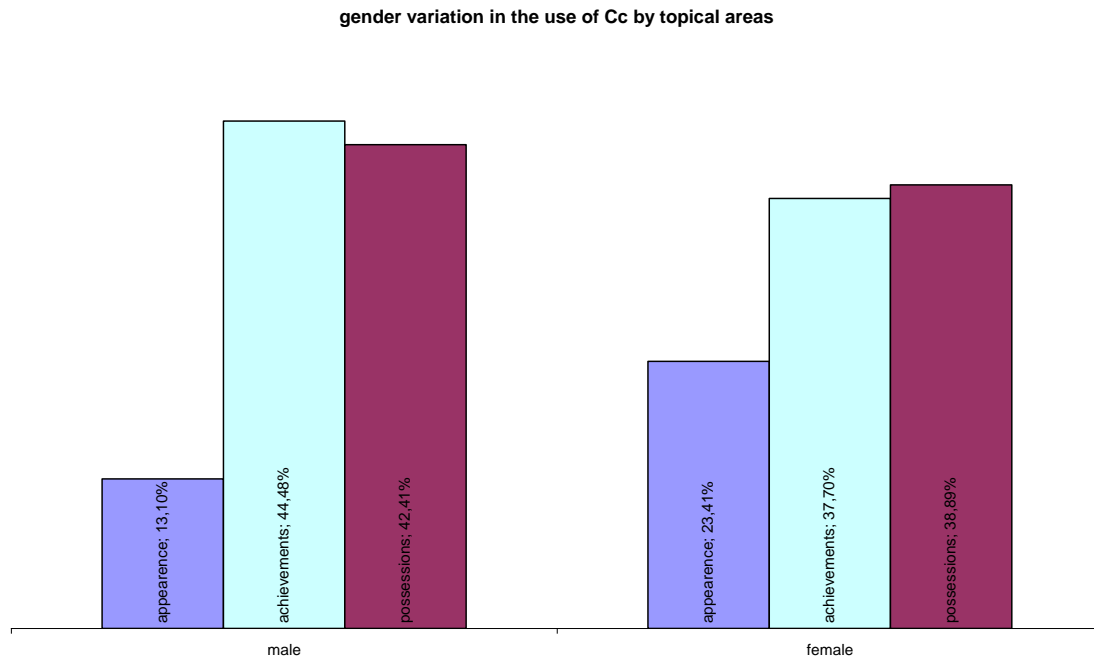**gender variation in the use of Cc in general**

Chart nº20

The major frequency of use of Cc is located among female respondents (47.73%) as we can see from the chart. Contrarily, male respondents showed a low-grade tendency in the use of Cc (31.80%). Although the difference is minor, that is, only (15.93%) separate females from males in the frequency of use, the impression is that women are more

concerned about the use of Cc. this attitude corroborates women´ belief in the bad-eye with a slightly higher degree than that observed among men.

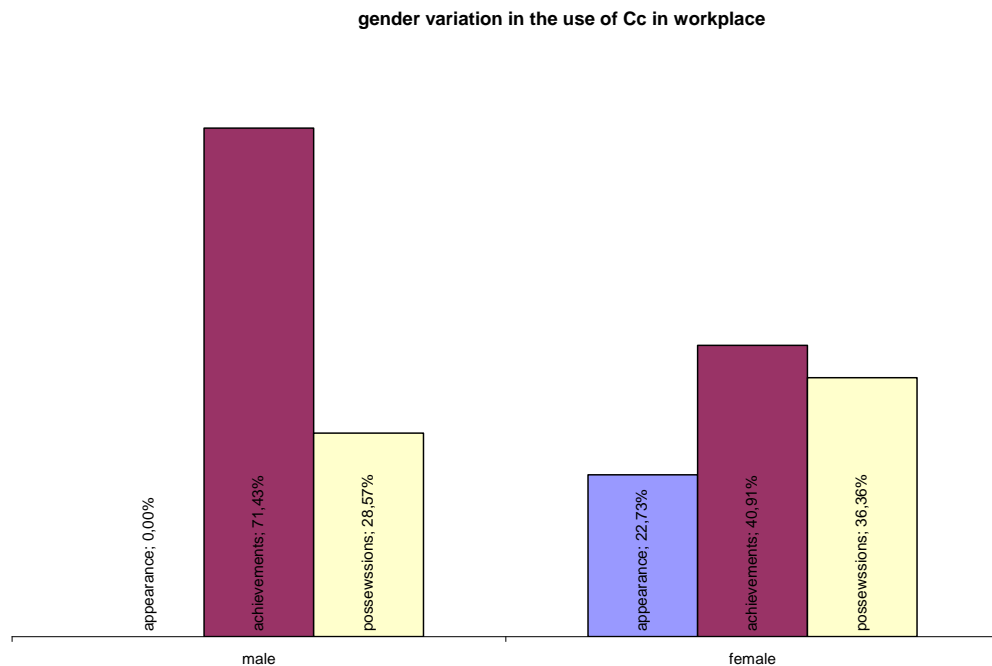### 9.4.3. Gender variation in the use of Cc by topical areas

gender variation in the use of Cc by topical areas

appearence; 13,10% achievements; 44,48% possessions; 42,41% male

appearence; 23,41% achievements; 37,70% possessions; 38,89% female

Chart nº21

Contrary to my expectation as native, the chart reflects a substantial percentage increase in the frequency of use of Cc among males and not among females as I could have intuitively advocated. This tendency possibly stems rather from the social and family preferred context of males for compliment extending, than from a culturally embedded male attitude especially, if we observe the low rate obtained on males´ use of Cc with respect to compliments on physical appearance. This seems coherent with men´s categorical restraint against the giving of appearance-related compliments in general, and the limitation of its use with direct-family members.

In what concerns females, the frequency of use of Cc is moderately higher if compared to that of males. Correspondingly, 23.41% of females used a Cc joint to a compliment on appearance. This seems articulate with regard to Moroccan women compliment behaviour in general, especially if we consider that women are likely to compliment members of their family, and individuals (especially females) who belong to other social or work milieu, (see chart 16, 17). Whereas men hardly compliment other men except their brothers, (see chart 17)

9.4.4. Gender variation in the use of Compliment-complement in social contexts

9.4.4.1. Workplace

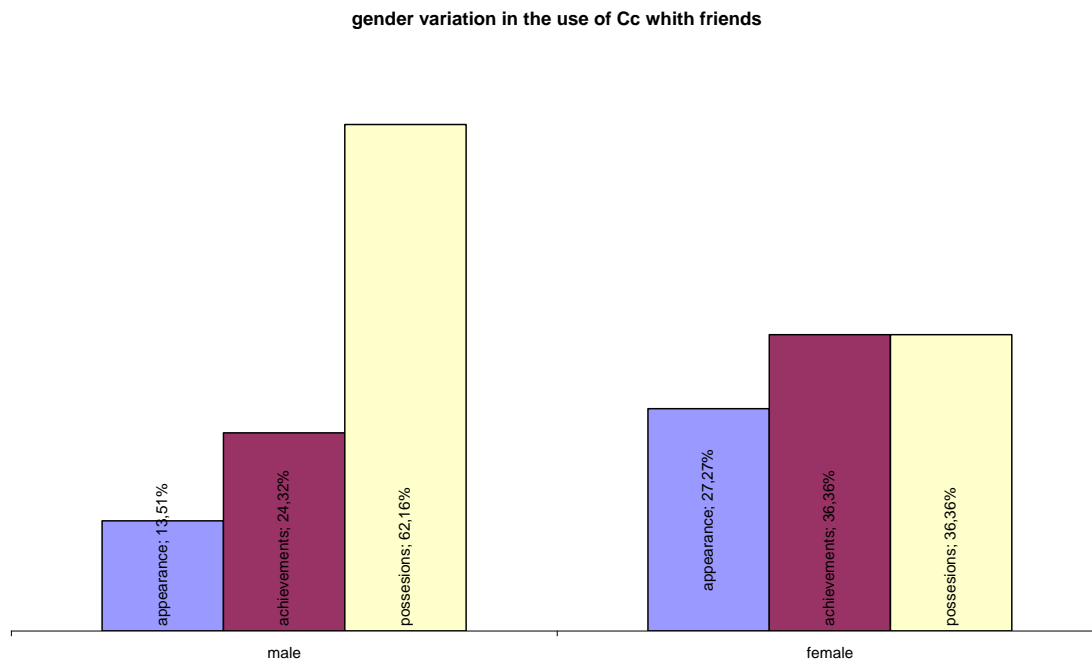**gender variation in the use of Cc in workplace**

Chart nº22

As we have commented in the previous charts, the use of Cc is narrowly laeagued to the use of compliments, and would follow the same

patterns of compliment behaviour. The null 00.00% result obtained among men on appearance-related compliments derives probably from the fact that men do not consider it necessary to bless the addressee (i.e, colleagues) in workplace. Surprisingly, this is not consistent with men attitude in the use of Cc with achievement-related compliments. A vast majority of males used a Cc (71.43%) and only (28.57%) with compliments on possessions.

9.4.4.2. With friends

gender variation in the use of Cc whith friends

Chart nº23

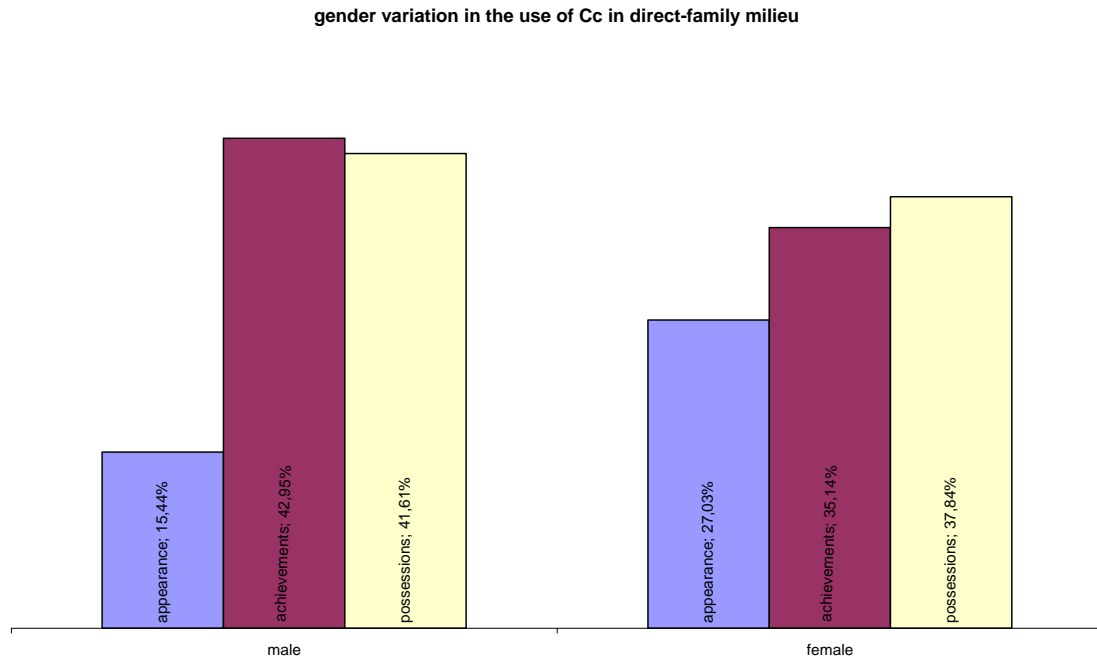The frequency of use of Cc in complementing friends reflected in this chart- even if it is low (13.51%)- it shows that men tend to somehow validate the belief in the bad-eye and resort to the use of Cc to protect their dearest and nearest (friends, in this case), especially, in appearance-related compliments albeit they refrain from its use with their colleagues as we have can see in chart nº 22.

Nonetheless, no evident explanation could be provided in what concerns the use of Cc with compliments to friends on achievements and possessions. If we observe the high percentage(71.43%) displayed about male use of Cc joint to compliment on achievements in workplace (see chart 22), and the low percentage(24.32%) obtained about the same aspect with friends, the results seem , to our surprise, inverted simply because intuitively and as anative, I would probably prefigured the contrary, namely to use Cc more frequently with friends(to protect them from the bad-eye) and possibly to a lesser extent with colleagues as it is shown from the results obtained on the use of Cc with compliments on possessions to friends (62.16%) and (28.57%) with colleagues (see chart 22).

Unlike men, our females respondents display a constant attitude in the frequency of use of Cc. the results obtained on the use of Cc on the three thematic aspects in workplace (see chart 22) are almost analogous to those observed in this chart. Probably because for women –at least for those who use Cc- the belief in Cc´s protective function is constant.
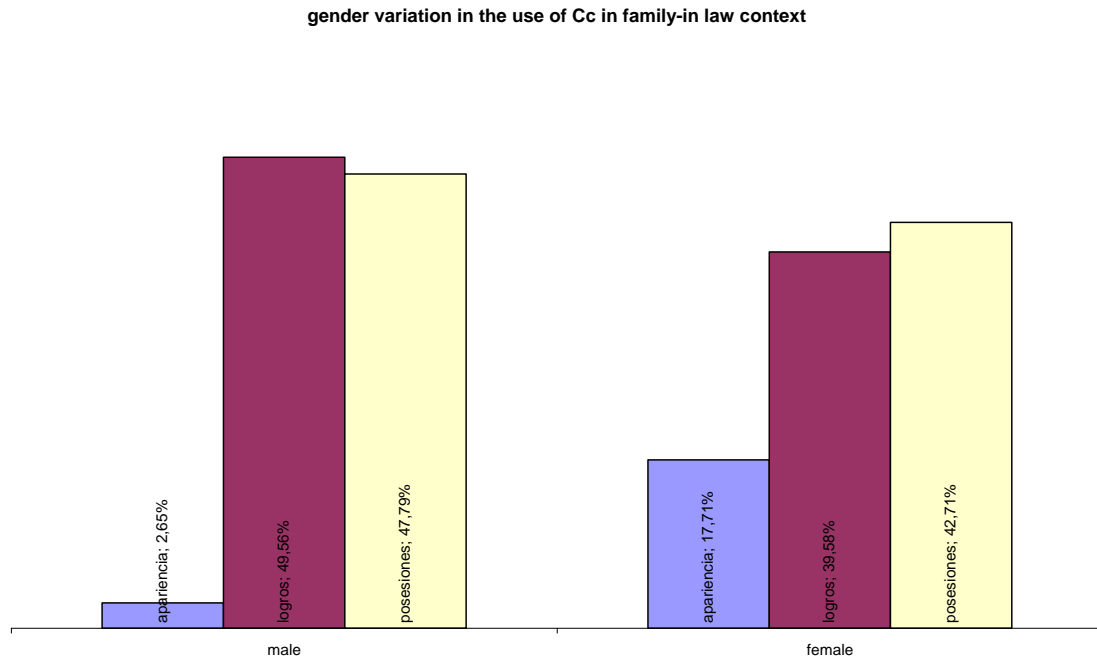
9.4.4.3. Direct-family milieu

gender variation in the use of Cc in direct-family milieu

appearance; 15,44%
achievements; 42,95%
possessions; 41,61%
male

appearance; 27,03%
achievements; 35,14%
possessions; 37,84%
female

Chart nº24

If the superstition about the bad-eye afflict is culturally valid (see. 5.7.2) then *noblesse-oblige* that family members would inevitably protect mutually themselves from the bad-eye malignant upshot by resorting to the use any of the varied speech particles available in MA to bless their addressees. As substantiated in the present chart, the rate variance of frequency of the use of Cc is conspicuously homogenous. This seems to shore up our experience-based hypothesis concerning the indistinct cultural concepts and interpretations of compliments in the culture under study. The scanty percentage differences witnessed amid respondents of the two gender sets props up Moroccan deep-rooted cultural belief about compliments. In fact, it sets this practice apart from the Western established concept about compliments as a social practice to create harmony among members of society. (Wolfson 1983; Wierzbicka 1987; Brown and Levinson 1987; Herbert 1990)

9.4.4.4. Family-in-law context

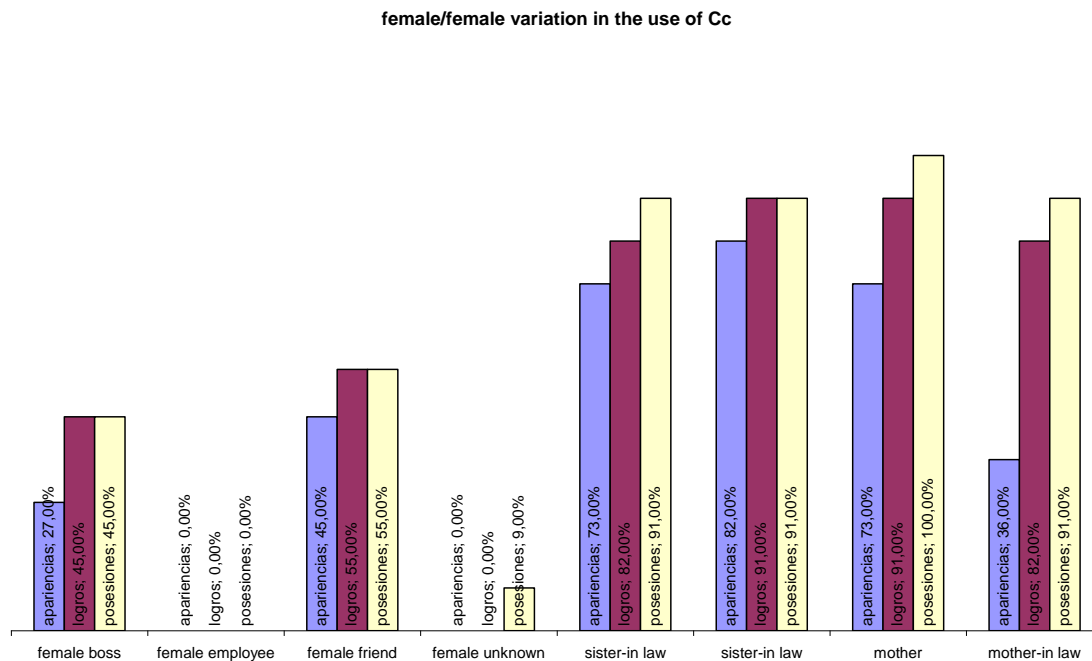**gender variation in the use of Cc in family-in law context**

Chart nº25

With regard to family-in-law, the frequency of use of Cc joint to compliments varies in terms of percentage. The low incidence of use of Cc derives probably from the low use of compliments on one or more of the aspects we have provided for the study of the use of compliments rather than from its absence of use joint to compliments. In what concerns compliments on physical appearance, we should remember Moroccan´s cultural restraint from complimenting members of the family-in-law on physical appearance (see chart on use of thematic areas of compliment in family-in-law contour). The low rate of use of Cc among men for example, is leagued by definition to the low use of compliments on physical appearance to members of the family-in-law in general. Providing that in MA, Cc is normally used joint to a compliment. Accordingly, the pronounced difference in the use of Cc among Moroccan females reflects women´s tendency to use compliments more frequently than males on

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physical appearance with members of their family-in-law. Logically, it is obvious that the frequency of use of Cc should be expected to be then higher and exactly as it is actually reflected in the chart.

9.4.5. Same-gender and cross-gender variations in the use of Cc
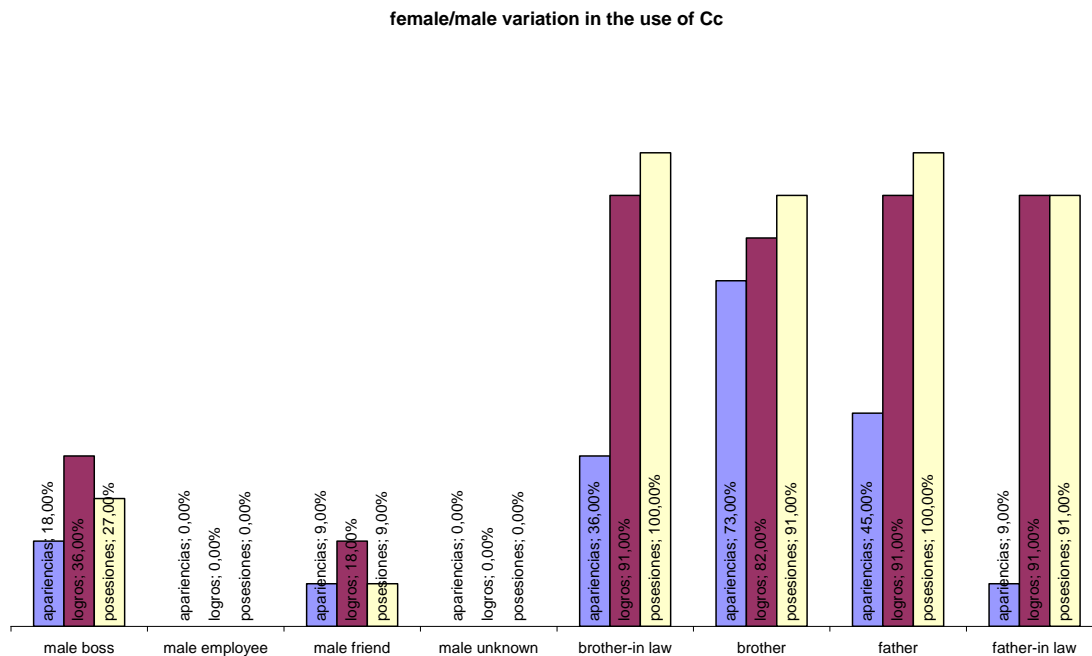
9.4.5.1. Female/female variation in the use of Cc

female/female variation in the use of Cc

Chart nº26

The chart substantiates women´s propensity to use Cc. In female/female interactions, females´ preference for the use of Cc joint to compliments on the physical appearance is the direct-family context. This is seen in the high scores obtained with regard to the sister (82.00%), then with the mother and the sister-in-law (73.00%), with female-friend the average is (45.00%), and to a lower degree with the mother-in-law (36.00%). However, with female-boss, the average is substantially low. A probable explanation to this attitude can be that female respondents are

power-sensitive. In situations where the addressee is of higher rank, the addressers adjudge it inopportune to use the Cc (as a protective tool against the bad-eye); or maybe, because the use of Cc is not expected to be used in workplace context, or in work relationship. Especially if we observe the null (00.00%) result obtained with regard to the female-employee in which power-relation is inverted, i.e., the addresser is of higher rank.

9.4.5.2. Female/male variation in the use of Cc

female/male variation in the use of Cc

Chart nº27

The tendency upheld in chart nº 26, about female use of Cc with female addressees, seems valid also for female/male relationship. As we can observe in the chart, the higher percentage of use of Cc with males is exclusively reserved to members of the family. At top-rank, we find the brother, the father and the brother-in-law, who scored, successively, on the use of Cc with appearance-related compliments (73.00% brother), (45.00%

father), and (36.00% brother-in-law). Whereas the scores obtained on Cc with possession and achievement-related compliments, the tendency is uniform and oscillates between (91.00%) and 100% (on possession-related compliments) and between (82.00%) and 100% (on achievement-related compliments), with a particularity that the father-in-law, with relation to possession and achievements, appears to receive the same treatment as the earlier mentioned male members of the family. Notwithstanding, on physical appearance, only 9.00% of females used Cc with the father-in-law.

With regard to male-friends, the percentages are clearly minimal. Female respondents are not likely to be protective with male-friends. This could probably be understood as a sign distance preserve of females vis-a-vis males. The same interpretation can be considered in what concerns male-boss, though, this time, probably, the reason for the scarce use of Cc with he-boss might be due to the inadequacy of the use of Cc in work-relation context, as we have seen with female addressees in chart nº 26.
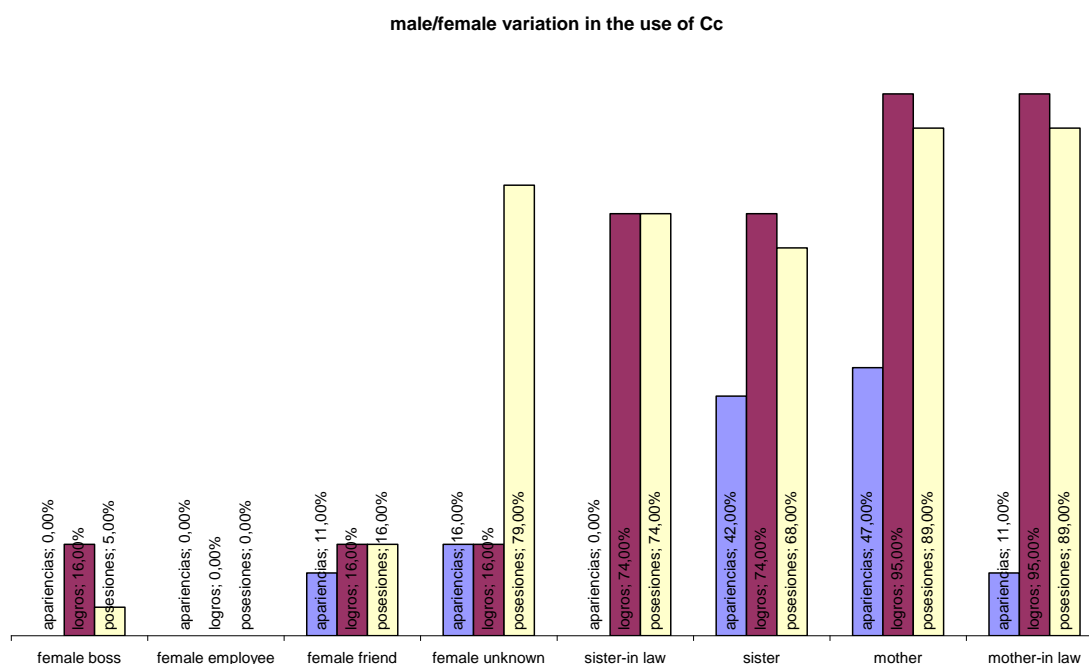
9.4.5.3. Male/male variation in the use of Cc

Chart nº28

Male/male attitude in the use of Cc is imminently different from female/female attitude. As we can observe in the chart, the use of CC with appearance related compliments is almost inexistent except for the father and the brother-in-law though with a low percentage. Only (32.00%) of male respondents used the Cc with compliments on physical appearance with the father, and (5.00%) with the brother-in-law. The father also was the male addressee who most received Ccs on achievements and possessions with a top-rank percentage of (95.00%), followed by the brother who scored (74.00%), with both possessions and achievements-related compliments. Conversely, the least percentage about the use of Cc with compliments on achievements and possessions is found among male-friends (16.00% on achievements, 11.00% on possessions), and male-boss (11.00%) on achievements, 5.00% on possessions). Additionally, no male

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used Cc with compliments on appearance with the brother, the father-in-law, friends, the boss, acquaintance, or the employee who, particularly, received no Cc on none of the thematic areas.
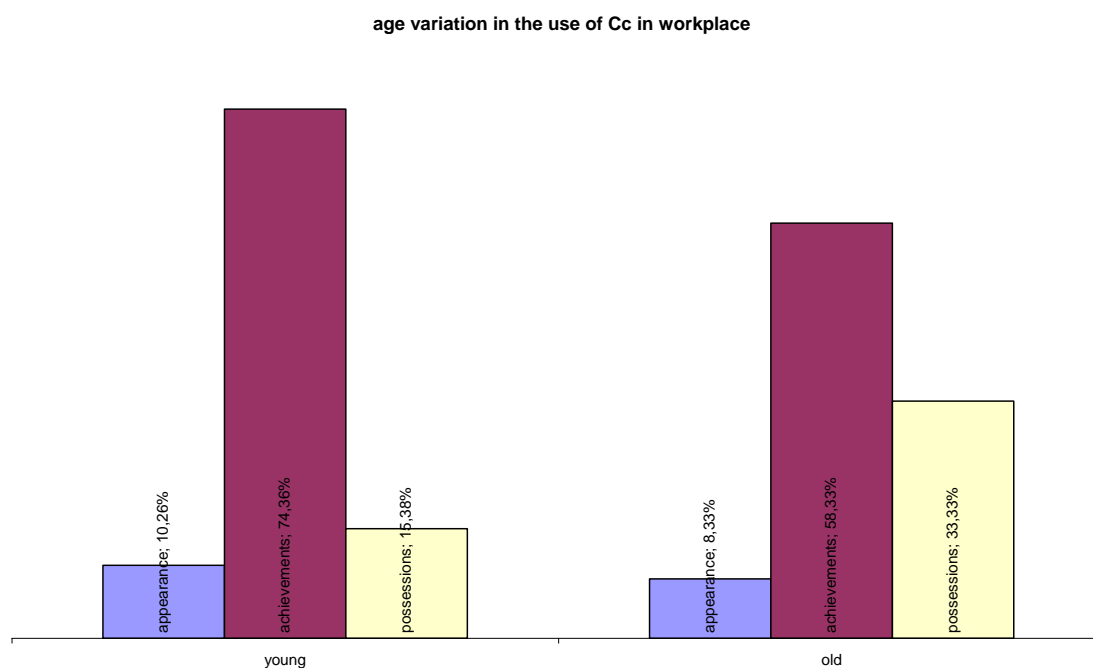
9.4.5.4. Male/female variation in the use of Cc

male/female variation in the use of Cc

Category	apariencias	logros	posesiones
female boss	0,00%	16,00%	5,00%
female employee	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
female friend	11,00%	16,00%	16,00%
female unknown	16,00%	16,00%	79,00%
sister-in law	0,00%	74,00%	74,00%
sister	42,00%	74,00%	68,00%
mother	47,00%	95,00%	89,00%
mother-in law	11,00%	95,00%	89,00%

Chart nº29

The rate variance observed in this chart puts on view male protective attitude in the use of Cc almost exclusively with family female addressees. Apart from compliments on physical appearance where Cc was used utterly with the mother (47.00%), the sister (42.00%), and a lesser degree with acquaintances (16.00%), the mother-in-law and friends (11.00%), the percentage of the use of Cc with achievements and possessions compliments ranked unanimously high for all female family members. However, with regard to the three thematic aspects, unknown female received a higher score in comparison with female-friends and female-boss. This could be comprehensible if we bear in mind that Moroccan males,

(especially young men) normally like to get involved with unknown females with sexual intention. Most of compliment directed to unknown girls are associated with female physical aspect (piropos) and it is normal to use the Cc –at least- to please the female addressee. It is worth remembering (from our discussion on the use of Cc) that some addressees might feel displeased if the addresser extends a compliment without its complement, namely, the Cc.

9.4.6. Age variation in the use of Cc in different social contexts

9.4.6.1. In Workplace

age variation in the use of Cc in workplace

appearance; 10,26%
achievements; 74,36%
possessions; 15,38%
young

appearance; 8,33%
achievements; 58,33%
possessions; 33,33%
old

Chart nº30

The chart reflects unexpectedly a high tendency among young Moroccans to use compliment joint to Cc. with regard to the three thematic aspects of compliments. Logically, many of the compliment exchange between colleagues, independently of their age, is likely to happen more on achievements, or probably on possessions, than on physical aspects

considering that interactants are situated in work context where compliments on achievements are more feasible and opportune. This is –at least- what the chart reflects about respondents´ attitude in the use of Cc between colleagues.

In workplace, the use of Cc by young and old respondents is nearly equitable. The results reflected in this chart substantiate the same frequency use on all the three compliment aspects. On appearance, for instance, the difference is trivial, (10.26%) obtained among young and 8.33% among old. The gap concerning the use of Cc with compliments on achievements opens up among young respondents (74.36%) if we compare with the lower percentage (58.33%) obtained among old respondents about the use of this same aspect of compliment. However, the use of Cc with the compliment on possessions inverts systematically the results in favour of young people with a percentage that pronouncedly doubles that of old people (young: 58.33% against15.38% old).

9.4.6.2. With friends

appearance; 26,67% achievements; 36,67% possessions; 36,67%

young

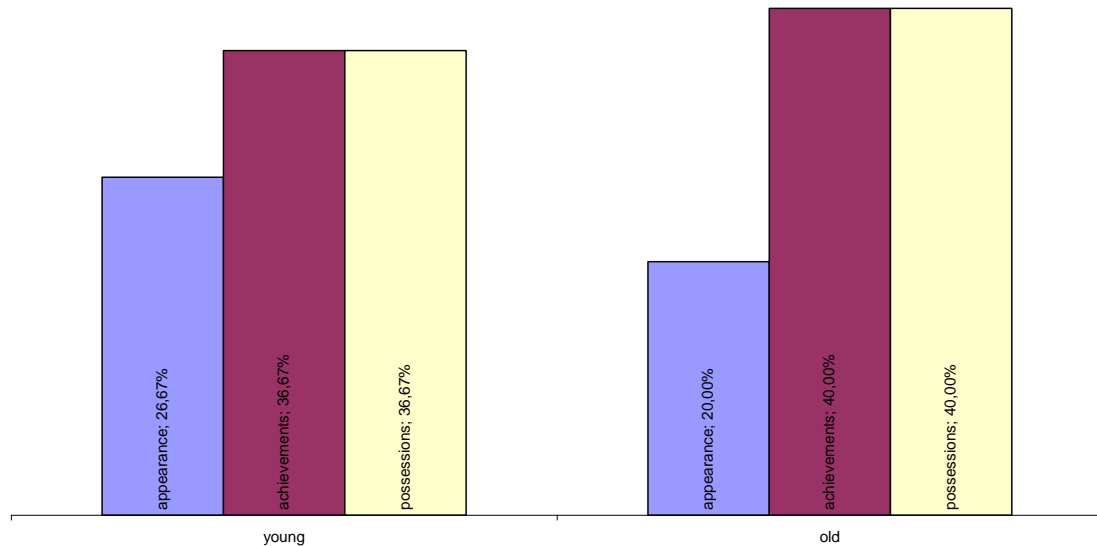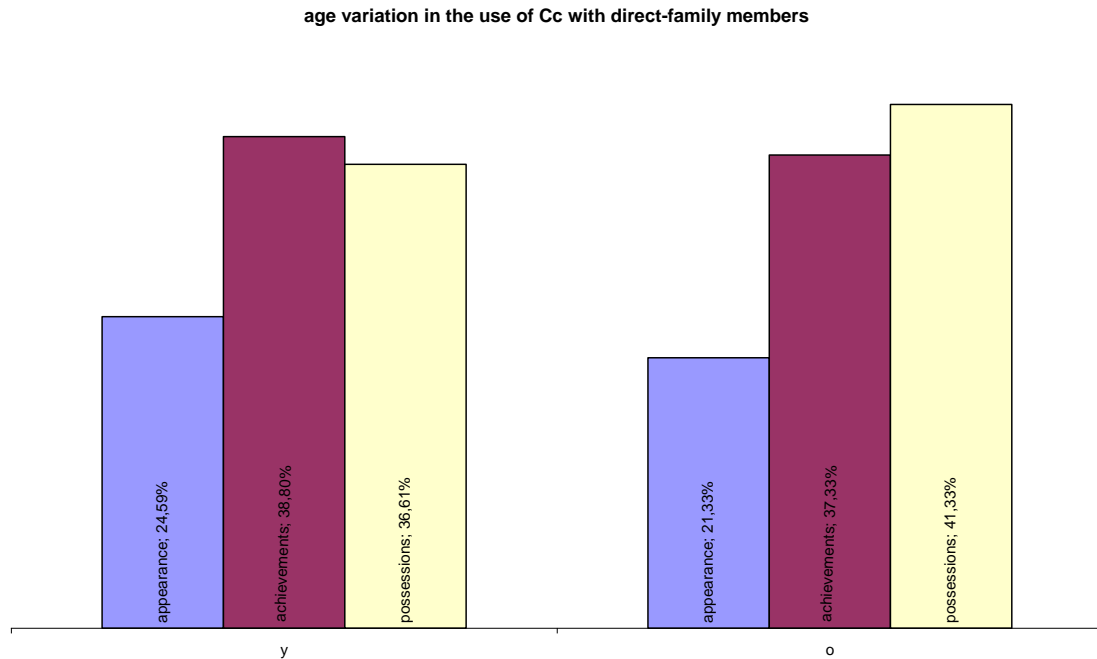appearance; 20,00% achievements; 40,00% possessions; 40,00%

old

Chart nº31

The use of Cc among friends appears to be commonplace among old and young Moroccans. Subsequently, there is no reason to think that the use of Cc (to bless the complimentee) derives from generational stereotyping where superstition is normally attributed to old people and illiterate persons. The rate variance reflected in this chart displays the frequency of use of Cc by young Moroccans as analogous to that of old men or rather surpassing if we take into consideration the percentage concerning Cc joint to compliments on physical traits (young males 26.67%; old males 20.00%).

9.4.6.3. Direct-family milieu

age variation in the use of Cc with direct-family members

appearance; 24,59%

achievements; 38,80%

possessions; 36,61%

y

appearance; 21,33%

achievements; 37,33%

possessions; 41,33%

o

Chart nº32

In direct-family context, the frequency of use of Cc is not altered by the factor "age". The difference observed between in the attitude of young and old respondents (in this chart) is accurately insignificant. Young respondents scored slightly higher in their use of Cc, than older ones particularly, in what concerns appearance and achievement-related compliments (on physical appearance, young: 24.59%, old 21.33%) and (on achievements, young: 38.80%, old: 37.33%). However, the frequency of use of Cc with compliments on possessions among old respondents discloses a higher percentage vis-à-vis young respondents. Briefly, we can resume the tendency in this chart by ascertaining that respondents, independently if their age, seem to watch over their direct-family members and tend to use Cc to avoid "who knows?" the malignant effect of the bad-eye and at the same time to comply with the local traditional politeness norms.

9.4.6.4. Family-in-law context

appearancea; 10,53%
achievementss; 45,39%
possessions; 44,08%
appearancea; 6,90%
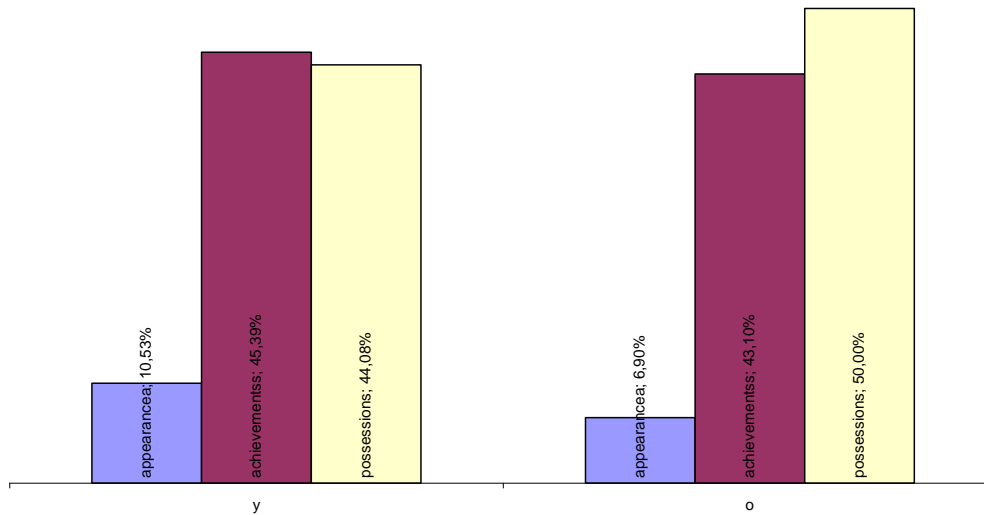achievementss; 43,10%
possessions; 50,00%

y

o

Chart nº33

As is the case with direct family (see chart 33) the attitude of young and old respondents with family-in-law members is analogous. The use -at least- for half of our respondents, independently of their age, is a "must" particularly, if adherence to the local social norms of politeness is pretended. The insignificant differences we can observe in the percentage obtained on the use of Cc with compliments leagued to the three topical areas with respect to old and young age groups, are not sufficient surmise to allege that the factor age impinges on complimenting attitude of respondents.

CHAPTER TEN

Chapter 10: Quantitative analysis of invitations

Introduction

The invitation speech act considered for the purposes of the present study finds occasion in the context of politeness and face. Invitation could be classified among positive politeness devices via which speakers signal positive evaluation and solicitude to their addressees. An imminent definition is provided in Wolfson, 1989 who claim that ` According to popular wisdom, arrangements are usually arrived at through unambiguous invitations.

Our intention in the present chapter is to survey invitation as a common practice in MA. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is dedicated to the analysis of the mechanisms inherent to inviting in MA. A schematic representation will be provided with the aim to put on view invitation system and how it relates to the relationship between interactants in its codification and decodification.

In the second part, statistical data is provided to display the existing variations in the use of invitation when variables such as gender and cross-gender and education are incorporated within specified contexts such as workplace, between friends, and in direct family/family-in-law milieu mainly to test how (P) (D) (P) influences inviters and invitees behaviour.

Our preliminary description of ostensible invitation is borrowed to set the basis for our analysis of invitation extending in MA as mainly composed of what we have labeled "genuine" invitations as opposed to

"ostensible" one. A special attention was paid to "swearing" as a strategy inviters use to convert ostensible invitations into genuine ones.

10.1. Form meaning and function of invitation

Austin and Searle theorized speech acts as composed of locution (langue) and illocution (parole). What seems fundamental for these scholars is the illocutionary force of utterance mainly because it represents/is the performance of the speech act as for instance, an invitation. In Searle´s view, invitations range among directives whereby the speaker gets the addressee to do something. Invitation can be classified as a form of persuasive speech acts for which the addressee is expected to give a response (accept). Invitation as an illocutionary action, targets the creation of social ties between inviters and invitees. The performance of invitation necessitates the provision of adequate or "felicitous" conditions. These felicitous conditions are bound to cultural variations and involve rhetorical (in Aristotle sense) and politeness strategies not necessarily valid across cultures. The performance of invitation requires the use of appropriate language forms and polite strategies. According to Leech, polite illocutions involve the contemplation of reducing "minimize" the cost and increasing "maximize" benefit to the addressee, and vice-versa with regard to the speaker. Notwithstanding, the instrumentation of this cost/benefit relationship is culture-specific and appeals to the use of culturally established norms. In view of that, in Western culture, felicity conditions may imply for instance, not to impose, and to grant the addressee the possibility to, deliberately, decline the invitation or the offer of hospitality. Conversely, in other cultures such as the Moroccan, to oblige the addressee and impose on him/her is culturally regarded as a sign of

compliance and exceptional politeness. Hence, the least liberty is left to the invitee to refuse the invitation, the most solicited s/he feels.

10.2. Invitation in MA

Invitation extending is culturally governed by established pragmatic rules that make an account for the relationship between the act and the context in which the act is used, crucial. In Moroccan culture, invitation can be classified as falling within three rhetorical levels/patterns. Every pattern is coded relying on the established socio-cultural clues which enable the addressee to decode the performance of the addresser as "bona fide" and hence, the invitation as genuine, or, conversely, as mere social "brush" and the invitation then is "ostensible". The guiding tool invitees have at hand to reach such an interpretation is the level of markedness inviters use to show evidence of the intended meaning.

As we can see from the chart bellow, invitation in MA can be classified in three types, namely, "genuine" as opposed to "ostensible" and "ostensible reinforced". By genuine I labeled a sort of invitation that is performed within some particular context such as direct family milieu and between intimate friends.

Makedness levels	Types	Forms	Meaning	Context	Second Turn
Level 1	Genuine	Form 1	Meaning 1	Context 1	Accept / Decline
Level 2	Ostensible	Form 2	Meaning 2	Context 2	Decline
Level 3	Ostensible reinforced	Form 2	Meaning 1	Context 2	Accept/decline R

This type of invitation is extended by inviters to signify exactly what might be denominated "veritable intention" and meant to be perceived (by invitees) as "authentic". Accordingly, no further persuasive strategies are needed to induce invitees to accept the invitation. This sort of invitation is normally extended (by inviters) with the intention to be accepted. However, invitees can decline it if they prefer to.

In view of that, I can establish that genuine invitations refer to any act of offer of hospitality that occurs between interactants endowed with particularly intimate relationship, where status and power are least, as is the case with invitation exchange between direct family members and intimate friends.

Ostensible invitations, however, designate exactly the contrary of what I have denominated "genuine". Initially, this type of invitations is extended to individuals not belonging to direct family or intimate-friends context. Ostensible invitations are originally worded as genuine, but with a hidden "fake intention" with the expectancy to be declined by invitees who, unquestionably, perceive them "as such" and normally reject them.

Our third category of invitation, labeled "ostensible reinforced" refers to any invitation extended with similar linguistic and pragmatic patterns as an ostensible invitation to individuals not pertaining to direct family or intimate-friends context (being) a socio-cultural perquisite for the decoding of this sort of invitation as such (as ostensible). However, and for particular (personal) reasons, inviters resort to the use of persuasive devices such as "swearing" primarily to guide the invitee to decode the invitation as genuine and correspondingly to obligate the invitee to accept the invitation. Even so, invitees can decline this type of invitation but again resorting to the same persuasive device inviters used in the trial to take the invitation to

term, namely, "swearing" to convince the inviter to desist from realization of the act.
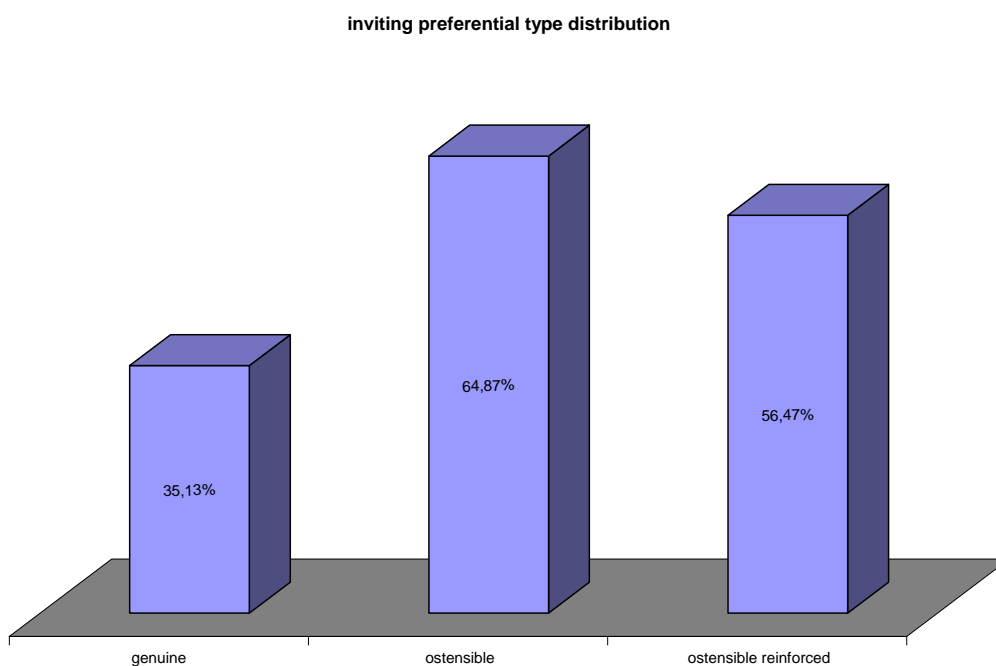
The three different types of invitation discussed in this paragraph suggest that the preferred rhetorical orientations are crucial for the reinforcement of adequate illocutionary performance. A possible explanation could be at hand if we consider Aristotle seminal theory about rhetoric as a technique for persuasion. According to this Greek philosopher, the relationship of speakers with their audience (addressees) is mainly based on three concepts, namely, "ethos" "pathos", and "logos". Ethos refers to the appeal to trustworthiness (among other aspects, such as the status and the image of persuaders) to persuade the audience. Pathos, however, is the appeal to emotions to persuade the audience, and logos, is the appeal to reason as a persuasive instrument. In what follows, we pretend to discuss invitation paradigm in MA in the light of these concepts.

With respect to "genuine" invitations, the appeal to ethos emphasizes the persuader´s (inviter) image and status or any other social norms that might oblige the "persuadee" (invitee) to comply with the act. The "veritable intention" amalgamated in "genuine" invitations is authenticated through the existing intimate relationship between the inviter and the invitee, namely, family ties. Accordingly, this family affiliation (tights) is, in turn, the warrant for the appeal (to ethos) to "trust" the persuader (inviter) by the persuadee (invitee) who, in turn, as a family member, believes in persuader´s (inviter) trustworthiness.

Decidedly, the idea could be resumed by assuming that if the audience trusts you, then they expect that what you are telling them is true.

However, in what concerns "ostensible reinforced" invitations, the persuasive instrument is contained in the appeal to "pathos", that is, the appeal to emotions represented in the use of "swearing". The invocation (by persuaders) of God for "believers" (invitees), is a call for the sacred, to stimulate emotions/faith of persuadees (invitees) and ultimately, to induce the desired response (acceptance).

10.3. Inviting preferential type and attitude of respondents

inviting preferential type distribution

35,13% 64,87% 56,47%

genuine   ostensible   ostensible reinforced

Chart nº 34

The chart reflects respondents´ attitude in extending invitations. The higher percentage is obtained on ostensible invitation (64.87%). This tendency is coherent with Moroccan socio-cultural profile as "inviters" par excellence, as a politeness strategy to hint to addressees that their company is solicited. The use of ostensible reinforced invitation seems also a common practice for respondents. The considerable percentage about the frequency of use of this sort of invitation shows that (56.47%) of

respondent used "swearing" to persuade their potential invitees who are theoretically not members of direct family /relatives. However, 35.13% of respondents considered feasible the use of genuine invitations.

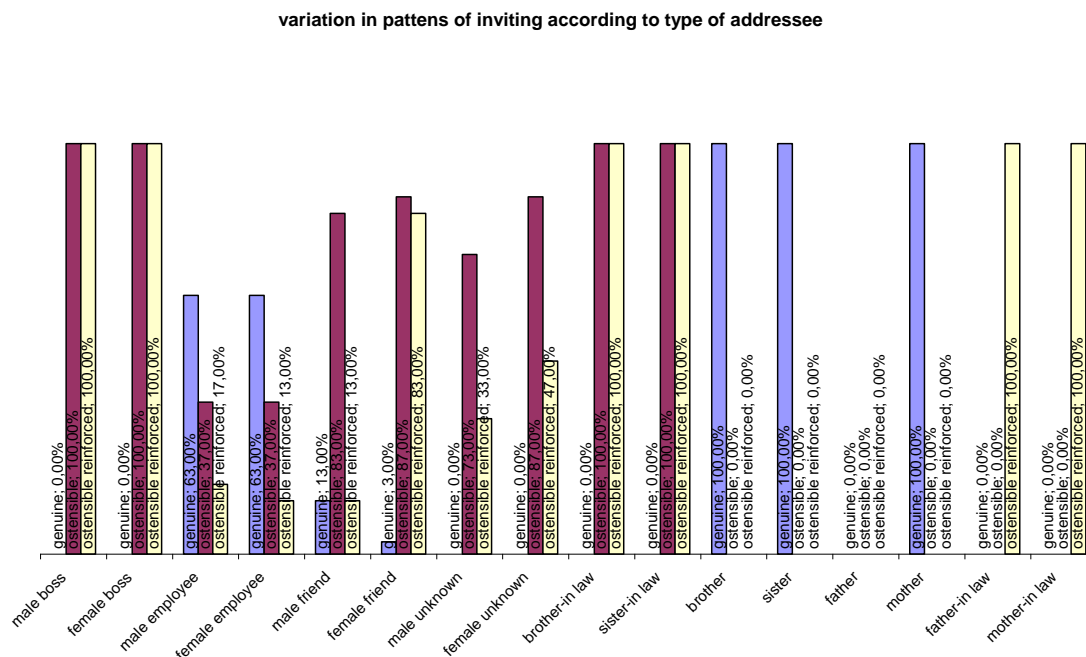## 10.4. Variation in patterns of inviting according to the type of addressee
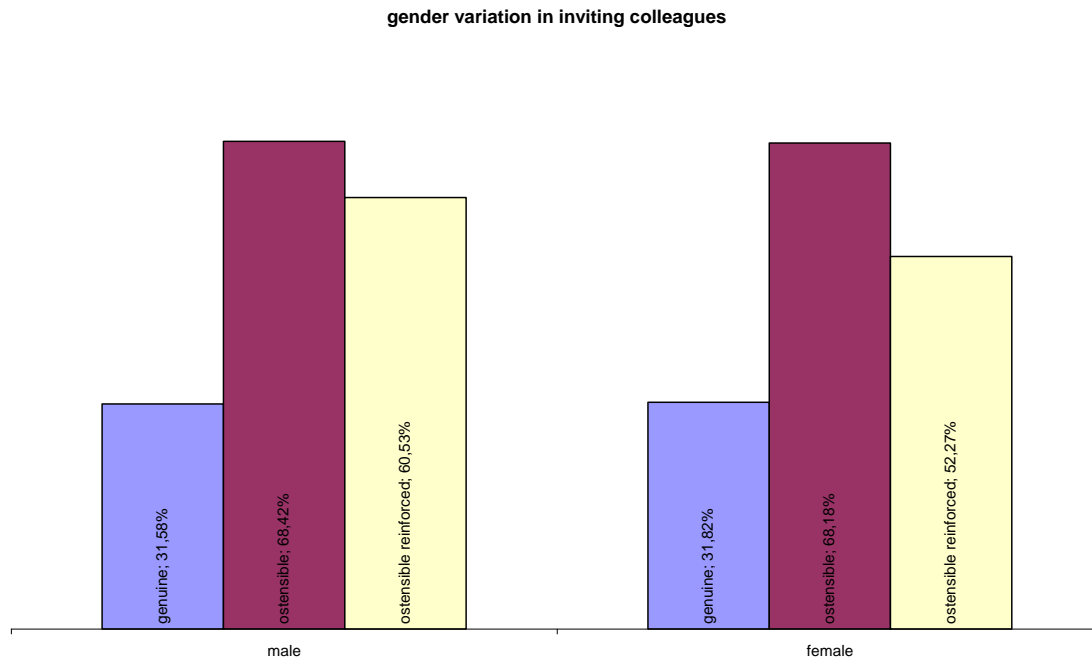
Chart nº 35

The rate variance in this chart is leagued to invitees who belong to the different social circles of our respondents. In workplace, we see that invitations are 100.00% ostensible or 100.00% ostensible-reinforced, depending on the extent of persuasiveness and willingness of respondents to invite their (s/he) boss. Granting that according to the social norms, the boss is supposedly expected to decline "any" invitation extended by employees mainly because employees´ invitations are decoded in status-unequal relations as ostensible and need thus to be reinforced by inviters (employees) if what is pretended is to obtain an acceptance from the invitee, (the boss). However, with regard to employees, the results are inverted, 63.00% of respondents resorted to genuine invitations. This

tendency displays that in status-unequal relations (especially when the inviter is of higher rank than the invitee) invitations are decoded as genuine. It seems that respondents envision invitations coming from the boss as "true" invitations.

Contrarily, with friends the tendency is variable. This is comprehensible granting that the degree of intimacy might vary depending on the quality and the length of relationship that individuals have with their friends. We can suppose that genuine invitations are hypothetically extended by respondents to intimate friends, and ostensible reinforced are directed friends engaged in a less intimate relationship where persuasiveness is required to adduce the intended goal. As we can see from this chart, invitation as an action is reveling as to the personal and social expectation between hosts and invitees.

10.5. Gender variation in inviting in different social contexts
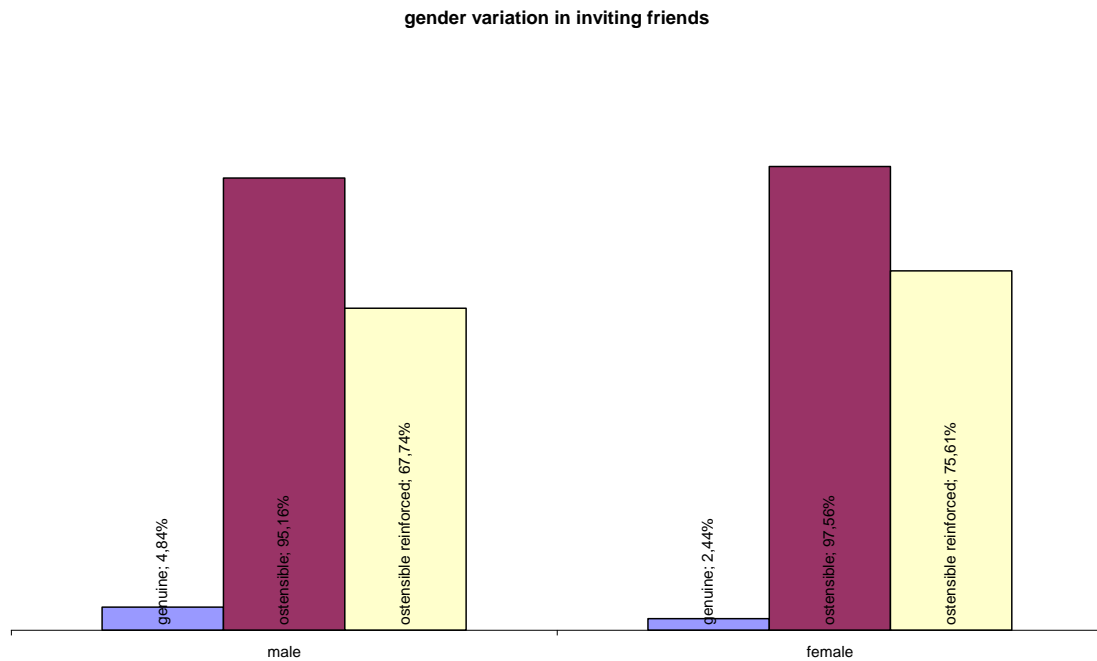
10.5.1. In workplace

gender variation in inviting colleagues

genuine; 31,58%

ostensible; 68,42%

ostensible reinforced; 60,53%

genuine; 31,82%

ostensible; 68,18%

ostensible reinforced; 52,27%

male

female

Chart nº 36

As we can see from this chart, gender in workplace seems not to alter inviters´ attitude. The results reflected about the three inviting models, is visibly analogous. The inviting patterns of males are almost identical to those of females and the difference in rate variance is practically inexistent (males: 31.58% against 31.82% females) with regard to the use of genuine invitations. This same pattern is duplicated in relation to ostensible invitation (males: 68.42% against 68.18% females) furthermore, only a difference of 8.26% is recorded in favour of men in what concerns the frequency of use of ostensible reinforced invitations.

10.5.2. With friends

genuine; 4,84% ostensible; 95,16% ostensible reinforced; 67,74% male

genuine; 2,44% ostensible; 97,56% ostensible reinforced; 75,61% female

Chart nº 37

As we observe from this chart, the relationship between friends requires the use of a high level of markedness in the formulation of invitations to adduce the desired response. From a socio-cultural perspective, we can infer that friends compel inviters to resort to persuasive techniques principally because invitations between friends are hypothetically decoded as ostensible unless inviters reinforces the invitation (ostensible –R)and then converts it in genuine invitations. Nonetheless, we can see that at least 4.84% of males and 2.44% of females perceive invitation between friends as genuine ones. This could possibly be due to the high degree of intimacy and "trust" that exists between inviters and invitees as intimate-friends.

10.5.3. Family-in-law context

genuine; 0,00% ostensible; 100,00% ostensible reinforced; 100,00% male

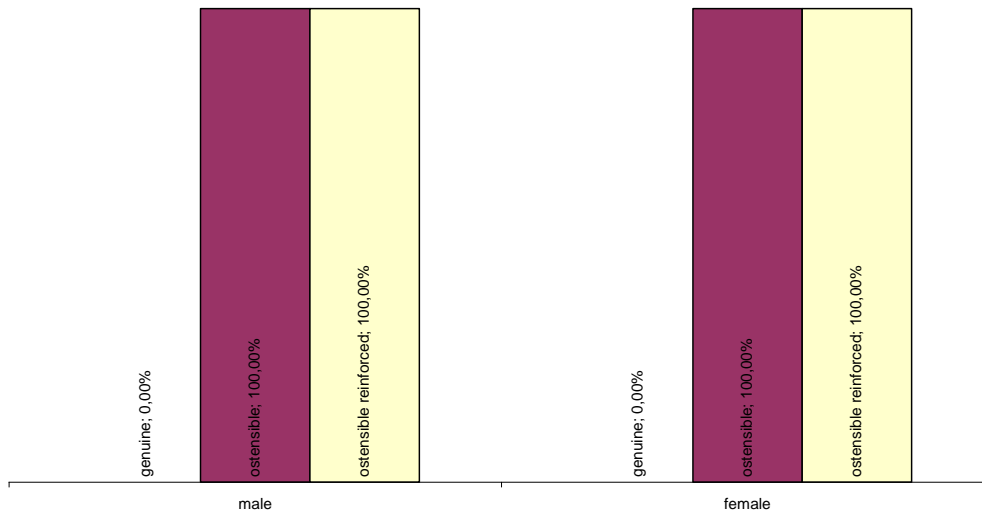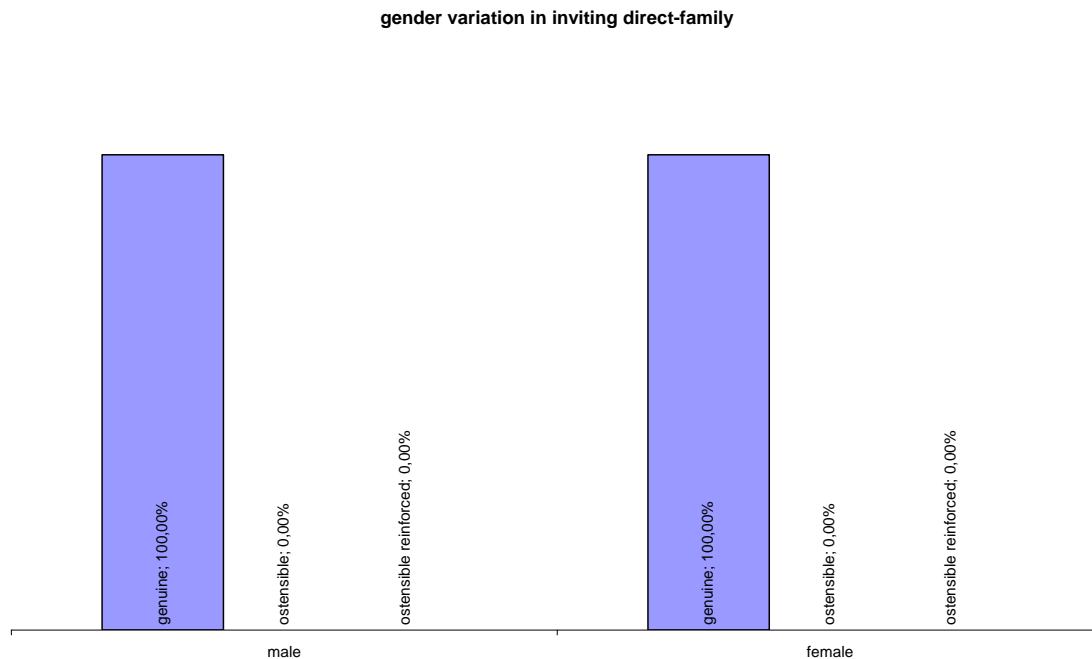genuine; 0,00% ostensible; 100,00% ostensible reinforced; 100,00% female

Chart nº 38

As it was the case with invitations between friends, invitations to family-in-law members are explicitly encoded by inviters and decoded by invitees as ostensible. A probable reason could be that relatives-in-law need psychologically to be insisted on and necessitate that inviters display to what extent they solicit their company. The null result obtained on the frequency of use of genuine invitations between family-in-law members is an apparent proof that in this kind of relationship, inviters are not granted "trust", on the contrary, persuasive methods are needed to hint to invitees that the invitation is genuine.
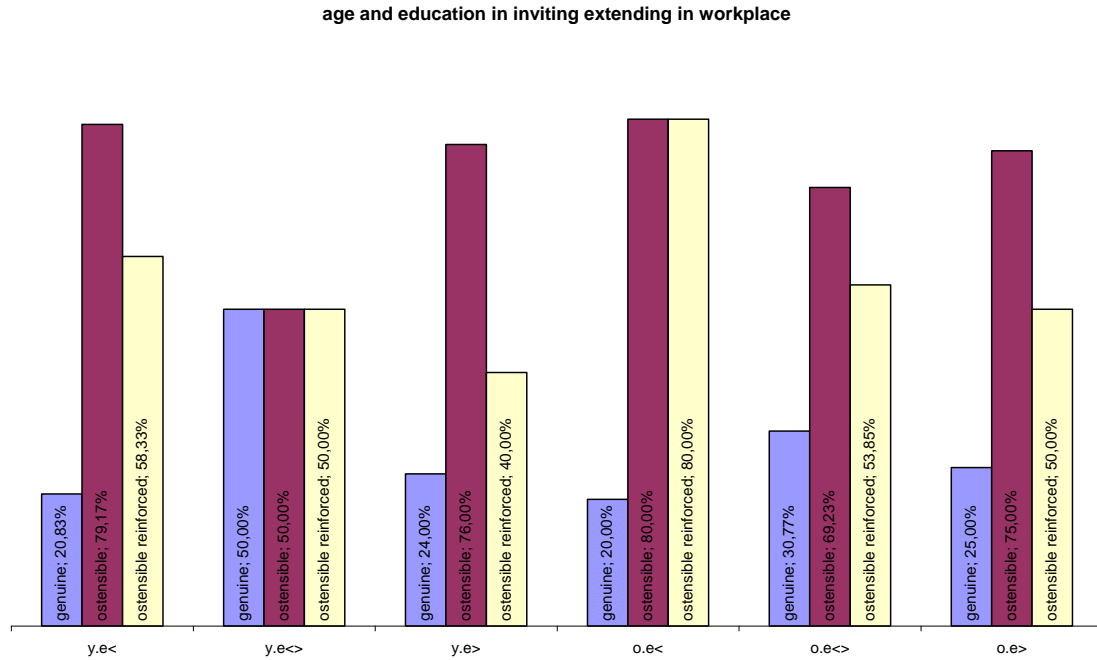
10.5.4. In direct-family milieu

Chart nº 39

Based on Aristotle theory of persuasiveness, the appeal to trustworthiness is here consolidated. In direct-family members´ interactions, invitations are encoded and decoded as 100.00% genuine, and no room for suspicion is left to invitees. This is coherent with the normal course of relationship between direct relatives, probably, in all cultures. Naturally, we can hardly envision a parent-children relationship as based on protocol and sophisticated politeness machinations. The paternal affiliation that children have with their parents guaranties the mutual trust.

10.6. Age and education in inviting behaviour

10.6.1. In workplace

age and education in inviting extending in workplace

Chart nº 40

Respondents are identified as young (y) or old (o) with three different educational levels, i.e., "low" (e<) for respondents with basic education grade, "medium" (e<>), for those with secondary education grade, and "high" (e>) for those with university grade. As we can see from this chart, the insertion of age and education variables alters the inviting attitude of respondents. Young respondents´ pattern of inviting colleagues can be resumed as generally ostensible (79.17%). This is guiding in the understanding of how colleagues conceive invitations coming from other colleagues, (i.e., notably as ostensible) and 58.33% of respondents considered necessary the use of persuasive devices to incite their invited colleagues to accept the invitation. However, 20.83% of total respondents extended genuine invitations. This is possibly due to the good and

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consolidated relationship that (sometimes) exists between colleagues. Seemingly, young respondents with high education display analogous patterns in inviting their colleagues. We should assume that this similitude covers meaning more in terms of the quality of the existing relationship between invitees as mates, rather than from the age or the level of education of respondents. Notwithstanding, young respondents with medium level of education seem to deviate substantially from the patterns of inviting, observed earlier, amid age and education groups. Actually, the frequency of use of genuine, ostensible, and ostensible-R invitations are identical.

Relating to "old" age group, the chart displays an almost analogous tendency among old respondents with high education and young respondents with similar educational level. This same pattern is duplicated in what concerns the attitude of respondents with a low level of education although a considerable difference is observed in favour of old respondents in what concerns the use of ostensible-R invitations (young 58.33% against 80.00% old).

The only blatant difference in inviting patterns is reflected in the attitude of young respondents with medium educational level in comparison with old informants with the same educational profile. The constant percentage (50.00%) obtained on the attitude of respondents with regard to the three categories of invitation seems to be altered in the chart bar of old respondents.

As we can observe from the chart, the preferential option for inviting of old age group is the ostensible invitation (69.23%) and to a

lower extent, ostensible-reinforced (58.85%) and at last, genuine invitation with a percentage of (30.77%) of total informants. Probably, the concept old colleagues have of invitations coming from other colleagues is different from the concept found amid young colleagues. This stems possibly from a lack of solidarity and "camaraderie" in the relationship of mates of old age group.

However, the general tendency in this chart (as a whole) suggests that the variable "age" does not significantly affect respondents´ attitude in invitation extending.

10.6.2. With friends

age and education in invitations to friends

Chart nº 41

In this chart, old respondents -independently of their age- show a uniform attitude in inviting their friends (100.00% in the three categories of invitation). This is revealing as to how invitations are encoded by friends as inviters and decoded by friends as invitees.

The general pattern is that all invitations between friends within this age group are supposedly ostensible and require persuasive tools to convince friends-invitees to accept. Contrarily, young respondents show slight variations if we consider their educational level. Respondents with high education level reflect an almost identical attitude as that observed among respondents with lower educational level in what concerns the frequency of use of genuine and ostensible invitations; while in what relates to ostensible-R, 55.81% of respondents with low education opted for this variety of invitation. Notwithstanding, young respondents with medium education discarded the use of genuine invitation and resorted to ostensible one with a percentage of (100.00%), or to ostensible-R (75.00%).
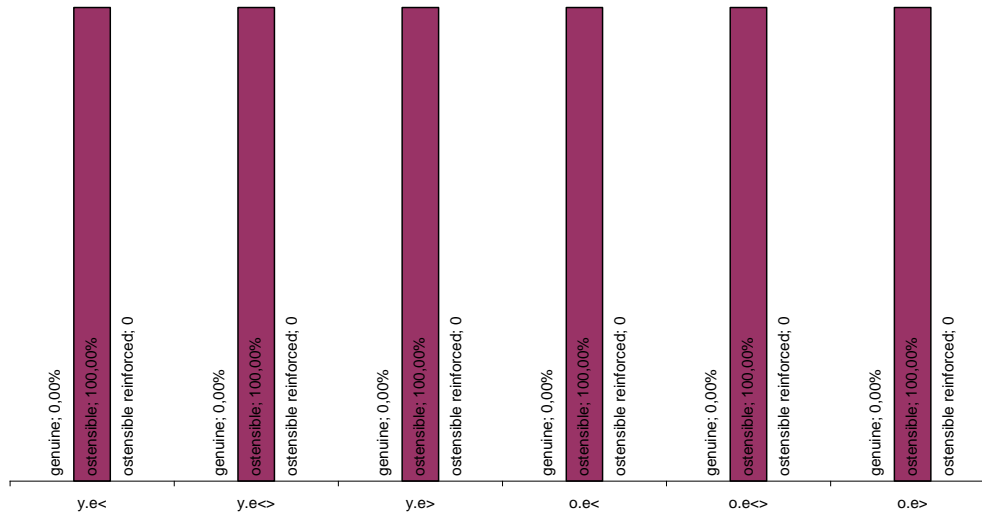
10.6.3. Family-in-law context

Chart nº 42

As we can see from the chart, the general impression is evidently the absolute uniformity in the attitude of respondents from the different age groups and educational levels in opting to use 100.00% of ostensible invitations with members of their family-in-law.

This tendency suggests, regrettably, that members of families-in-law would generally exchange invitations as a mere gesture of courtesy and not as genuine ones. This is deceiving to consider the extent to which relations between supposed family members can be superficial. However, it is worth remembering that our respondents´ attitude is subject to their personal and circumstantial conditions, which (hopefully) should not be extrapolated to a whole nation, that is, to Morocco.

10.6.4. Direct-family context

age and education in invitation to direct-family members

genuine; 100,00%
ostensible; 0,00%
ostensible reinforced; 0,00%

genuine; 100,00%
ostensible; 0,00%
ostensible reinforced; 0,00%

genuine; 100,00%
ostensible; 0,00%
ostensible reinforced; 0,00%

genuine; 100,00%
ostensible; 0,00%
ostensible reinforced; 0,00%

genuine; 100,00%
ostensible; 0,00%
ostensible reinforced; 0,00%

genuine; 100,00%
ostensible; 0,00%
ostensible reinforced; 0,00%

| y.e< | y.e<> | y.e> | o.e< | o.e<> | o.e> |

Chart nº 43

In this chart, the result is exactly the reverse of that observed in chart (40). The totality of respondents used a genuine invitation with their relatives. This is consistent with our discussion concerning the trustworthiness that characterizes relations between family members (see chart 37).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Chapter 11: Quantitative analysis of thanks/apology

11.1. The use of expressions of gratitude in different social contexts and speech events
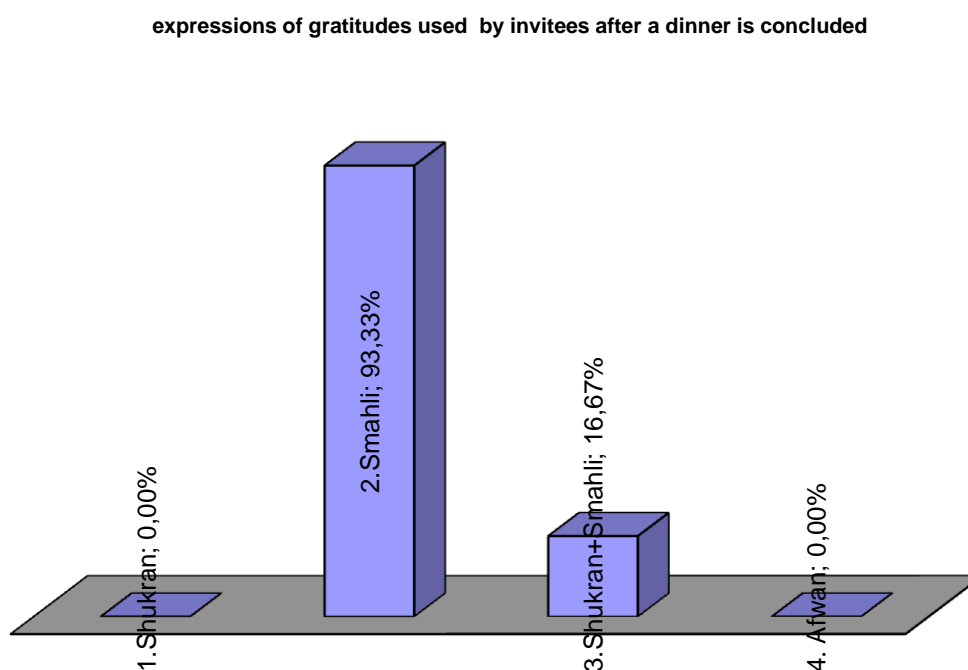
expressions of gratitudes used by invitees after a dinner is concluded

1.Shukran; 0,00% 2.Smahli; 93,33% 3.Shukran+Smahli; 16,67% 4. Afwan; 0,00%

Chart nº 44

The chart illustrates the use of "smahli" (sorry), that is, "apology" as the preferential politeness strategy to compensate the host for the effort s/he made to please the speaker/guest. In the context of invitee/inviter, 93.33% of our respondents resorted to the use of "apology" as an expression of gratitude instead of "thanks", as it is normally the case in western cultures. What is at hand in this particular context is the notion of indebtedness that speakers take into account for the evaluation of the effort that the host invested in satisfying the speaker as a guest.

What seems to be of prior relevance for respondents is the evaluation of the amount of effort the host invested to satisfy the guest and as a matter of fact, the guest "apologises" to compensate the host/benefactor. The politeness strategy chosen for this context is calculated from the hearer´s perspective and not from the speaker´s perspective as it is the case, for example, in Spanish or English where speakers thank the host as an expression of gratitude for the degree of satisfaction that the speaker as a guest obtains from the invitation transaction.

However, the second expression of gratitude preferred by 16.67% of our respondents, as displayed in this chart, might seem identical to some extent to the predictable "thanks" as a common politeness expression normally used in western cultures in this context. Nonetheless, the choice of the use of "thanks" by our respondent seems to be (as if it is) not sufficient as a politeness strategy. A*pology*, then, is biding to lessen the weight of indebtedness of the speaker, and to complete the compensatory function of the expressions of gratitude (for the hearer).
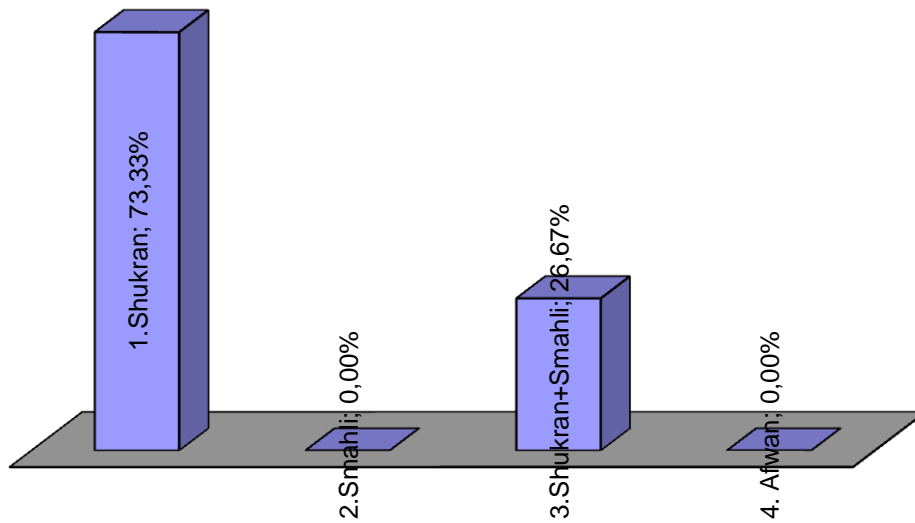
Chart nº 45

Unlike with the context handled in (chart I), the preferred gratitude expression chosen by the respondents in this context is "shukran" (thanks). The transaction illustrated in this chart is a public service, where the "favour" done to the speaker is not perceived as an act of generosity towards the speaker but rather as part of the obligations conferred to the hearer as an employee. Here, the speaker does not feel in debt towards the "benefactor". This is why s/he does not use "smahli" (sorry) as a politeness strategy to compensate the hearer but rather "shukran" (thank you).
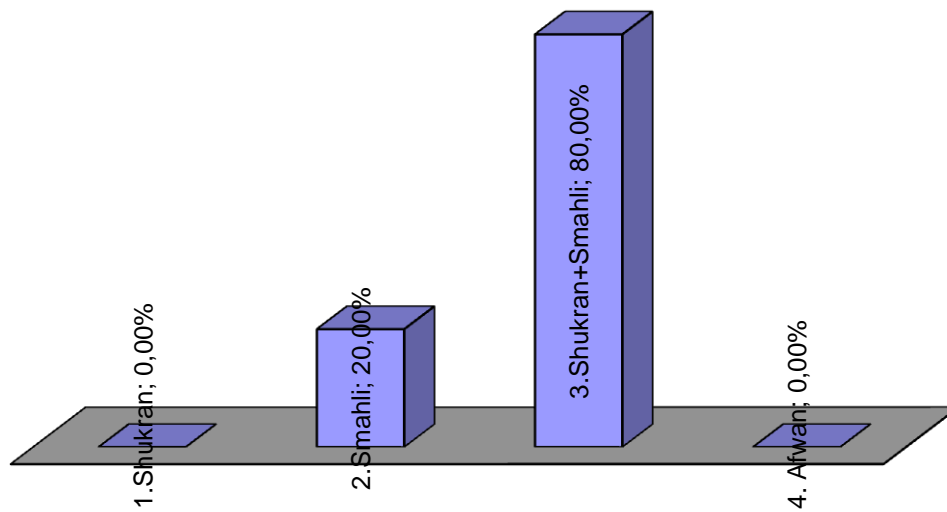
Chart nº 46

The chart reflects how respondents express their gratitude after obtaining a favour they have previously solicited from their interactants. 80% of respondents have resorted to the use of "shukran" (thanks) + "smahli" (apology). The use of this double strategy is justified by the highly compromising nature of requests [granting that requests are face threatening acts (Cf. Blum Kulka 1989)]. In this context, speakers have to use several politeness strategies to redress both their face and their interlocutor´s. This remedial process is elaborated through the use of two – in-one politeness strategy, that is, "shukran" (thanks) to express gratitude to the hearer for complying with the act requested by the hearer, on the one hand, and "smahli" (apology) to compensate the hearer for the effort s/he invested in complying with the requested act, on the other hand.

However, 20% of respondents used only "smahly" (apology) as a remedial strategy, relying more on the evaluation the cost caused to the hearer in satisfying the speaker.

11.2. The use of expressions of gratitude according to the role-relationship of the respondents with their interactants

expression of gratitude used between colleagues

Chart nº 47

The chart illustrates that the dominating expression of gratitude of 93.33% of respondents in interactions with their colleagues is "shukran", and only 6.67% of respondents resorted to the use of "shukran"+ "smahli".

This tendency come close to Brown & Levinson (1987) ´s theory that different groups may treat the factor of power, distance, and the weight of imposition depending on the value they attribute to the distance between individuals. Accordingly, some individuals would hold common ground to create solidarity either for social, individual, or context conveniences, while, others would maintain distance to create deference, where the imposition is assumed to be high. The former group is classified as "symmetric" whereas the latter as "asymmetric". Granting this hypothesis, we can suggest that the results displayed in this chart give evidence to the

fact that the respondents treat their mates as equals and only 6.67% needed to reinforce the use of "Shukran" with "smahli".

PART V
Conclusions and pedagogical implications

CHAPTER TWELVE

Chapter 12: Summary of the findings in the light of the research questions

In this chapter, I will present a summary of the findings of the study in the light of the following research questions, which guided the present dissertation:

1. How immigrants native speakers of Moroccan Arabic use thanks/apology, invitations, and compliments as politeness strategies?

2. Are there dissimilitudes between the speech behaviour of Moroccan Migrants settled in Spain and the speech behaviour of members of the host culture, which prelude a potential liability of the members of this community to misunderstanding in their interactions with members from the host culture?

3. Do speech acts stand for a universal concept of the performance of the communicative action?

4. Do all cultures exercise politeness under universal patterns, or, are there some other cultural components such as "superstition", the fear of the bad-eye, the "public image" and the tension between the "individual" and "society", which are more salient in some particular contexts of communication?, and if there are some, which of these cultural components surface within this tension? Are they the social aspects, the particular aspects or the universal aspects?

12.1. Summary of the findings

❖ **Research question 1**

To answer the first research question of how native speakers of Moroccan Arabic use thanks/apology, invitations, and compliments as politeness strategies, we have observed that the use of these speech acts, is conditionned by particular cultural beliefs and concepts[54].

With regard to thanks/apology, the most outstanding findings arrived at is the use of *apology* instead of *thanks* to express gratitude.This phenomenon of the extrapolation of *apology* to express gratitude instead of regret for a prior action, is based on the concept of cost/benefit. As we have observed, Moroccans resort to an inverted process of evaluation of the object of gratitude. Instead of taking into account the personal benefit and the satisfaction obtained from the object of gratitude, they evaluate the effort the hearer invests in the provision of the object of gratitude, and in the satisfaction of the speaker. This is why they feel regret and indebtedness towards the hearer as a benefactor.

Concerning invitations, the findings revealed that Moroccans identify three types of invitations, on the basis, of their level of markedness, and that the contextual variables, social status, and familiarity, play an important role in the interpretation of invitations. The findings also show that the use of *swearing* as a politeness strategy is a crucial cue for both the

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[54] To avoid unnecessary repetitions, I content to mention only those aspects I consider as particularly important and relevant to answer my research questions.

inviter and the invitee to interpret the invitation as *genuine*, or on the contrary, as *ostensible*, i.e. as a mere social brush, particularly with interactants not belonging to the direct-family circle. In this context, we have observed that *swearing* seems to be optional and not necessary to validate the invitation.

In relation to compliments, we have observed that the belief in the effects of the *evil-eye* conditions the complimenting behaviour of Moroccans to the extent that complimenters are culturally bound to *bless* their complimentees to signal their good feeling about the compliment.

Cross-gender findings highlight Moroccan males´ proneness to avoid complimenting in general, and to females in particular. This attitude is justified by men ´s concept of manhood in Morocco, where males consider virility as excluding the use of praise. Contrarily, young men displayed an excess of use of compliments to unknown females. This attitude can be understood more as *piropo*, where the intention is the courtship, rather than praise.

❖ **Research question 2**

To answer my second research question on whether there are aspects of politeness in the speech behaviour of Moroccans, which differ from those of the host culture, and to what extent they can affect the course of communication between the members of these communities, I can assume that the anticipated assumptions are verified in the findings.

Granting my experience and my quasi-total acculturation in the host country as a long-term resident in Spain, and considering the findings displayed in the study of these speech acts, I can maintain that some differences surface the performance of politeness in the speech of Moroccans with regard to the host culture.

The pragmatic force assigned to the three speech acts under consideration, along with the socio-cultural parameters, which interfere in the formulation and the performance of thanks/apology, invitations, and compliments seem, indeed, different from those I observed in my host culture.

Obviously, in Spain, inviters would not *swear t*o convince their invitees to accept the invitation, or *apologise* instead of using *thanks* as an expression of gratitude, or *bless* their complimentees to avoid interpersonal conflicts derived from the fear of the *evil eye.*

This is one reason why I, unfortunately, cannot sustain that the politeness exchange between the members of the targeted culture in this study, and the members of the host culture, will be exempt of communicative breaks, intrinsic to cultural mismatch, and inadequate interpretations of the concept of politeness.

Let us take for example the speech behaviour of Moroccans in invitation exchanges, where the use of *swearing*, and the excess of insistence to convince the invitees to accept the invitation is considered polite. In Spain, this attitude would certainly be regarded as too impositive, and possibly irritating.

❖ **Research question 3**

The formulation of this research question is set on my belief that there are sufficient evidences to sustain that speech acts in Moroccan Arabic are not performative in themselves but rather "speech mediated-acts".

To substantiate this hypothesis, I would refer the reader to my discussion on how the use of religious lexicons (plea for blessing) shapes the action and the framework of participants (See II. 3. 6).

In what concerns the participants, we have seen that the use of RL introduces to an individual speaker and hearer, a third participant (God, or what we have denominated, the supra-individual).

With regard to the action - remember that it was a *request* (See II. 3. 6) - we have seen that the fulfillment of the request depends no longer on the performance of the speaker and the hearer, but on the mediation of the supra-individual as well.

The appeal to the supra-individual endows the speaker with credibility vis-à-vis the hearer, and serves as a warrant for the former to obtain the solicited act, and for the hearer as well, inasmuch as s/he believes that if s/he satisfies the requested act, s/he would get her/his recompense from the supra-individual.

Possibly, a down-to-earth example would be helpful to materialize the concept. Let´s borrow, then, the context of a petition for a loan of

money from a bank. The petitioner ought to provide guaranties (a property or the salary, for example) to the bank to get a chance to obtain the money. The guaranties the client offers are used to bid credibility, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it serves as a mediator (material, in this case), which interferes in the persuasion of the bank to lend the money to the client. To conclude then we can say that if the client has no mediator, he has no credibility and he would not get the money from the bank.

In my opinion, something similar happens with regard to the speech acts in MA. In order to perform the act, both the speaker and the hearer need to have a valid intermediary, which serves as a guaranty for the speaker to get the solicited act executed, and for the hearer to get the recompense if he carries out the solicited act.

I also sustain that there are enough clues to consider this hypothesis valid in the context of western culture.

Austin claims that there are types of utterances, which constitute an act even if its form is declarative. The famous example Austin provided to illustrate his theory of speech acts "I pronounce you husband and wife" would supposedly be pronounced by a person, who perceives himself, and is perceived by others (at least by Austin), *as an authority.* However, I consider that the speaker of this sentence is not an authority but rather *has authority* that a *"higher authority"* conferred to him and it is in the name of this authority that the person who says "Austin´s sentence" can perform the act. In my opinion, Austin underestimated the importance of the second part of his example in the distribution of participants´ role and the attribution of authorship.

To my knowledge, the original sentence is "I pronounce you husband and wife, <u>in the name of God</u>" and such an utterance is normally pronounced by a priest to celebrate the union of a couple in marriage.

The author of the act of changing (by uttering this sentence) the *state of being* of the couple from bachelors into married is not the priest himself, as Austin suggests, but God does as well. The performance of the act of marrying is then *performed* through two authors. The first and original author is God inasmuch as the celebration of the marriage is held in his name, and the second one is the priest, who is just a mediator between God and the couple, that is, the priest does not perform the act, he solely co-participates in the performance of the act.

In this line of argument, another example can be provided. Think of a judge who can declare a defendant innocent, guilty, or even sentence him to death. Regrettably, the sentence is not pronounced in the name of the judge, but rather in the name of law.

To conclude we can say that in both instances, both of the authors of the completion of the acts are just mediators, and their act would not be viable without the guarantee of the authority in the name of which they act.

Presumably, there is always some kind of mediation in the performance of speech acts, but there are also differences in the way cultures take account of this factor. In the Moroccan culture, this factor acquires the perceptual condition of a foreground and it is present in both of the institutional and the interpersonal communication. However, in the Western culture this factor represents only a perceptual background. An

explicit reference to it is discarded for interpersonal communication and – to some extent- it is also neglected in institutional communication, as Austin´s formulation reveals.

❖ **Research question 4**

The general patterns of politeness in the speech behaviour of Moroccans, suggest that politeness is not based on the same notion of face as (Brown and Levinson, 1987) where acts are considered face-threatening acts, which require the use of face-reddressive strategies, such as the use of modal verbs and other politeness strategies to reduce the threat.

As we can observe from the findings, this concept is not culturally taken into account to display politeness. In the speech of Moroccans the most outstanding strategy to perform politeness is the prevalent use of *religious lexicons.*

In the case of compliments, we have observed that politeness requires the use of *blessing*, and with regard to invitations, the use of *swearing*. We have also observed that to express gratitude requires the use of apology instead of thanks.

The aspects of politeness observed in the attitude of the Moroccan Migrants in Spain might be regarded as sophisticated or complex to a non – native speaker. However, we can say that they are simply different from the strategies used in other languages/cultures merely because what might seem crucial to a Moroccan speaker, as for instance, the importance granted

to the interlocutor, or the exaggeration attached to a speech event or situation, could probably be seen as unimportant or futile in other cultures.

This tendency in the speech of Moroccans to display politeness suggests that the patterns of politeness are valid only in the cultural context where they exist, and could hardly be transferable across cultures.

12.2. Implication of the study and suggestions for further research

12.2.1. Implications and contributions

This study has several implications pertaining to the investigation of linguistic politeness in general and Moroccan Arabic pragmatics in particular. This study considered the possibility that Brown and Levinson's theory can retain its universality if their concept of face is revised. The data analysis has shown that it is not the linguistic expression itself but rather the local interpretation of the utterance that determines the use and the interpretation of politeness strategies.

By focusing on performance, the traditional pragmatic approach has under-estimated not only the role of participants, for example, as frames of reference for interpreting speech, but also the role of local beliefs in shaping the talk.

In the broad field of pragmatics, this study has explored aspects of the pragmatics of Moroccan Arabic that, to my knowledge, have not been studied before. To my knowledge, this is the first study to investigate the use of religious lexicons, and the role they play in Moroccan Arabic politeness.

This is also probably the first research on the speech acts of thanks/apology, invitations, and compliments in Moroccan Arabic.

This study also contributed to a revision of the theory of speech acts by launching the hypothesis that speech acts are speech-mediated-acts, at least in the context of Moroccan Arabic.

12.2.2. Suggestions for further research

Manes´ (1983) claim that speech acts mirror social values and, hence, constitute an invaluable source of information with respect to the culture of which they are part is supported by the present study.

The analysis of thanks/apology, invitations and compliments as speech acts in the cultural group under consideration has provided insight into some of the socio-cultural values, which could be profitable for cross-cultural/cross-linguistic contrastive studies of speech acts and politeness. A contrastive study, for example, of the speech behaviour of Spanish and Moroccan migrants' speech behaviour in what regards the three speech acts selected for this study will be helpful in detecting and informing on potential politeness aspects, which may generate conflicts and break the course of communication between these two communities.

A scientific study of the religious lexicons and their speech function in Moroccan Arabic will also be guiding in determining to what extent aspects of belief can shape the meaning of utterances.

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QUESTIONNAIRES

ENCUESTA

❖ Información sobre la encuesta

Me llamo Saida Anssari Naim.

Soy doctorando del Departamento de Teorías del Lenguaje en la Universidad de Valencia. Estoy llevando a cabo una investigación sobre la cortesía lingüística bajo la Dirección del profesor Carlos Hernández Sacristán y la profesora Rosa Ana Dolón del Departamento de Filología Inglesa. El estudio está destinado a analizar la percepción del fenómeno de la cortesía en la cultura Marroquí.

Garantizamos el anonimato de los datos de los encuestados y aseguramos que el contenido de esta encuesta estará explotado exclusivamente para fines académicos.

Rogamos a los encuestados que diesen las respuestas lo más sincero y natural posible. Muchas gracias.

    ❖ Datos personales

        Nombre:

        Apellidos:

        Edad:

        Nivel de estudios:

        Profesión:

        Sexo: Mujer [ ] Hombre [ ]

        Lengua nativa: Árabe Marroquí [ ] Berebere [ ]

        Tel:

        e-mail

Por favor, lea las siguientes preguntas y responda individualmente.

1- ¿Qué es la cortesía para ti?

2- ¿Podría dar ejemplos de comportamiento cortés?

3- ¿Crees que hay que ser siempre cortés o en algunos casos o crees que no hace falta serlo?

4- ¿Crees que los mayores son más corteses que los jóvenes? ¿Porqué?

5- ¿crees que la cortesía ya no es necesaria en nuestros tiempos y que es cosa de los mayores?

6- ¿Te han dicho alguna vez que los Marroquí son mal educados?

7- ¿Crees que la forma de ser cortés de los Marroquís es diferente de la de los Españoles?

8- ¿Crees que los españoles son más educados que los Marroquíes, Podría decir porqué.

En una escala de 3 podría decir con que personas utilizaría (1) "mucha", (2) "un poco" o (3) "nada" de cortesía.

→ Estas hablando con un desconocido
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Estas hablando con un amigo
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Estas hablando con tu jefe
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Estas hablando con alguien que trabaja para ti
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Eres hombre y estás hablando con una mujer mas mayor que tu
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Eres hombre y estás hablando con una mujer de tu edad
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Eres hombre y estás hablando con un hombre más mayor que tu
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Eres hombre y estás hablando con un hombre de tu edad
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—

- Español: 1—2—3—
→ Eres mujer y estás hablando con un hombre más mayor que tu
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Eres mujer y estás hablando con un hombre de tu edad
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Eres mujer y estás hablando con una mujer más mayor que tu
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—
→ Eres mujer y estás hablando con una mujer de tu edad
  - Marroquí: 1—2—3—
  - Español: 1—2—3—

Gracias por tu colaboración, si crees que el tema es interesante, me gustaría que me mandaras tus comentarios a este e-mail s.anssari@gmail.com. Y si lo prefieres, me gustaría que me dieras un mail o un número de teléfono y contactaré contigo.

Questionnaire on invitations

CUESTIONARIO

La invitación en el Arabe Marroqui

Responda a las preguntas sobre la invitación en Marruecos:

1) ¿Cuando invitan los marroquís?

2) ¿Porque invitan mucho los Marroquís ?

3) ¿Que es la invitación para ti?

4) ¿Cuantas variedades de invitación puedes nombrar?

5) ¿Cómo haces saber a una persona Marroquí que la invitas de verdad?

6) ¿Cómo puedes saber si una persona Marroquí te invita de verdad?

7) ¿Cómo puedes saber que una persona Marroquí no te invita de verdad?

8) ¿Porqué juran los marroquís cuando invitan?

9) ¿Qué diferencias ves en la forma de invitar de los Españoles y la de los Marroquís?

10) ¿Que piensas de la visita sorpresa que los Marroquís hacen a sus amigos y familiares

A. ¿Cómo sabes que un Español te invita de verdad?

B. ¿Cómo le dices a un Español que le invitas de verdad?

C. ¿Cómo le haces una invitación falsa a un Español?

D. ¿Quién de estas personas necesitaría jurar para que aceptes la invitación?

1. Tu madre ( )
2. Tu padre ( )
3. Tu hermana ( )
4. Tu hermano ( )
5. Tu cuñado ( )
6. Tu cuñada ( )
7. Tus suegros ( )
8. Tu amigo ( )
9. Tu amiga ( )
10. Tu jefe ( )
11. Tu jefa ( )
12. Un compañero/a de trabajo ( )
13. Unos conocidos ( )
14. Unos desconocidos ( )

I. No quieres que se quede la persona y quieres solo invitar por protocolo. ¿Qué le dirías?

    a. Hshuma 3lik, Mazal ma skhina bik, gless t3esha.
    b. Mazal lʹhal, ghir t3esha wʹsir.
    c. Wa gless t3esha mʹ3ana, malek zerban?
    d. Wellah asidi hetta tegles w, t3esha m3ana
    e. Wellah ma temshi hetta tʹ 3esha
    f. Otra cosa:

II. Quieres invitar de verdad e insistes a que se quede la persona ¿qué le dirías?
    a. Mazal ma skhina bik, gless t3esha.
    b. Mazal lʹhal, ghir t3esha wʹsir.
    c. Wa gless t3esha mʹ3ana, malek zerban?
    d. Wellah asidi hetta tegles wʹ t3esha m3ana
    e. Wellah ma temshi hetta tʹ 3esha
    f. Otra cosa :

III. Te invitan a quedarte a cenar, pero no quieres quedarte. ¿Que les dirías?

    a. La. Maneglesh, ma fiya ma yet3esha.
    b. Meshghul, hkasni nʹkemel shi khadma had lila hadi.
    c. Ghir semhuli had lʹmerra, 3endi shi shghal. Merra khra nʹshaa Lah.
    d. Wash hmaqiti, La walou manʹqedsh, madam at tʹqeleq.
    e. 3adatan ma kant3eshash
    f. Nʹte3esha lium?
    g. otra cosa:

IV. Te convencen a que te quedes a cenar, ¿Cómo les dirías que aceptas la invitación?
    a- yalah a sidi/ lala 3la hlufek, man henteksh
    b- Asidi ma3endi man ʹqol
    c- Rhir brhiti d3edeb rasek
    d- La, ghir hkellini nemshi, mat3eddebush rasekun
    e- Otra cosa:

V. La cena que te han servido era deliciosa y esplendida y te sientes agasajado y quieres agradecerlo a tus anfitriones. ¿Qué les dirias?

<ol type="a" start="1">
Sukran 3el le3sha
Barac lahu fikum
Semhuna, 3edebnakum
Otra cosa:

VI. Y si los anfitriones fuesen Españoles, ¿ cómo le darías las gracias por la cena?

<ol type="a" start="1">
Gracias
Perdonen la molestia
Otra cosa:

Questionnaire on thanks/apology

CUESTIONARIO

El agradecimiento en el Arabe Marroquí (Shukran /smahli)

1- Kunti ghadi fe zenqa w dkulti f´shi wahed, kifash te t leblu smah

Estas andando por la calle y tropiezas con una persona y crees que le has hecho daño y para reparar la situación, ¿Qué le dirías?

 a-……………………………………………………………………………

b- walu –Nada

2-wila Kant bent jeune?……………………………………………….

Y ¿Si la persona es mujer joven?

3- wila Kant mra kbira? ?……………………………………………

¿Y Si la persona es mujer mayor

4- wila Kant Weld jeune? …………………….....................................

¿Y Si la persona es hombre joven?

5- wila Kant rajel kbir?……………………………………………………

¿Y Si la persona es hombre mayor?

6- Wila kunti n´ta huwa li zetmu 3lik, shnu tjawbhum?

¿Y si tú fueras la persona dañada, ¿qué le contestarías?

a-………………………………………………………………………..

b- walu – Nada

7- kunti fel khedma w tlabti shi wraq men wahed coleg dialek. Mnin y´jibhumlek, shnu ghad t gul lu?

Estas trabajando y una/un compañero te trae unos papeles que le pediste. ¿Qué le dirías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

8- wila telbuhum lik n´ta, shnu t´ jawebhum?

¿Y si fueras el empleado, ¿qué le contestarías?

a- ……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

9- 3erdo 3lik l´e3sha, w´m´nin bghity temshi f´halek, shnu ghad tgul lhum?

 Estas invitado a cenar y cuando la cena está concluida piensas que te han atendido bien y te han agasajado. Cuando te prestas a marcharte, ¿Qué le dirías a tu anfitrión?

a- ……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

10- wila kunti n´ta huwa mul dar, shnu t´jaweb hum ?

¿Y si fueras el anfitrión, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a- ……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu-Nada

11- m´shiti tseweb shi wraq, w´wahed s´seyyed sowbhumlek b´zerba. Shnu ghad t´gul lu bash t´shekru ?

Estas en una oficina para la gestión de unos papeles que sabias de ante mano que va ser tarea difícil y con muchas trabas administrativas. Sin embargo cuando llegaste a la oficina, el empleado que te atendió se ofreció amablemente a resolver tu problema y brevemente. Como símbolo de satisfacción/agradecimiento le dices:

a- ……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

12- wila kunti n´ta huwa l´kheddam, shnu t´jawbu?

¿Y si fueras el empleado, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a- ……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

13- n´ti mra kbira, w´ ghadia f´tobis w´ hdak wahed l´weld jeun w´bghiti telbi menú bash y´kheli d´duzi, kifash t´gulilu?

Eres una señora joven y estas en el autobús y cuando llegas a tu parada, le pides permiso a un señor joven para dejarte pasar para poder bajar del autobús, ¿Qué le dirías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

14- w´m´nin ye khalik d´duzi, shnu t´ gulilu?

¿Y cuando te concede el paso ¿Qué le dices?

a- …………………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

15- wila kunti f´blast hadak l´weld, shnu t´jawbih

¿Y si fueras el señor joven, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu-Nada

16- n´ti mra jeun, w´ ghadia f´tobis w´ hdak wahed l´bent jeun w´bghiti telbi menú bash y´kheli d´duzi, kifash t´gulilu

Eres una señora joven y estas en el autobús y cuando llegas a tu parada, le pides permiso a una señora joven para dejarte pasar para poder bajar del autobús, ¿Qué le dirías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu-Nada

17- w´m´nin t´khalik t´duzi, shnu t´guli l´ha ?

Y cuando te concede el paso ¿Qué le dices?

a- …………………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu-Nada

18- wila kunti f´blast hadik l´mra, shnu t´jawbih?

Y si fueras la señora joven, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………

b- walu-Nada

19- n´ta rajel jeun, w´ ghadi f´tobis w´ hdak wahed l´bent jeun w´bghiti t´ tleb men ha bash t´´kheli d´duz, kifash t´gul´lha?

Eres un señor joven y estas en el autobús y cuando llegas a tu parada, le pides permiso a una señora joven de dejarte pasar para poder bajar del autobús, ¿Qué le dirías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

20- w´m´nin t´khalik t´duz, shnu t´gul l´ha ?

¿Y cuando te concede el paso ¿Qué le dices?

a- …………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

21- wila kunti f´blast hadik l´mra, shnu t´jawbha?

¿Y si fueras la señora joven, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

22- n´ta rajel jeun, w´ ghadi f´tobis w´ hdak wahed r´rajel kbir w´bghiti tleb menú bash y´kheli d´duz, kifash t´gul lu?

Eres un señor joven y estas en el autobús y cuando llegas a tu parada, le pides permiso a un señor joven para dejarte pasar para poder bajar del autobús, ¿Qué le dirías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

23- w´m´nin t´khalik t´duz, shnu t´gul l´ha ?

¿Y cuando te concede el paso ¿Qué le dices?

a- …………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

24- wila kunti f´blast hadak r´rajel jeun, shnu t´jawbu?

¿Y si fueras el señor joven, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

25- n´ti m´ra k´bira w´bghiti t´tel3i f´tobis, w´bghiti bash wahed l´weld y´3awnek besh t´tel3i, shnu t´guli lu?

Eres una señora mayor y quieres pedirle a un señor joven que te ayude a subir al autobús. ¿Cómo se lo pedirías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

26- W´m´nin y´3awnek bash tel3i, shnu t´gulilu?

¿Y cuando te haya ayudado a subir, ¿Cómo se lo agradecerías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

27- wila kunti f´blast hadak r´rajel jeun, shnu t´jawbu?

¿Y si fueras el señor joven, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

28- n´ti m´ra k´bira w´bghiti t´tel3i f´tobis, w´bghiti bash wahed l´bent t´3awnek besh t´tel3i, shnu t´guli lha?

Eres una señora mayor y quieres pedirle a una señora joven que te ayude a subir al autobús. ¿Cómo se lo pedirías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

29- W´m´nin t´3awnek bash tel3i, shnu t´gulilha?

¿Y cuando te haya ayudado a subir, ¿Cómo se lo agradecerías?

a-……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

30- wila kunti f´blast hadik l´bent jeun, shnu t´jawbiha?

¿Y si fueras la señora joven, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a-……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

31- n´ta rajel k´bir w´bghiti t´tel3i f´tobis, w´bghiti bash wahed l´bent t´3awnek besh t´tel3i, shnu t´guli lha?

Eres un señor mayor y quieres pedirle a una señora joven que te ayude a subir al autobús. ¿Cómo se lo pedirías?

a-……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

32- W´m´nin t´3awnek bash tle3, shnu t´gulha?

¿Y cuando te haya ayudado a subir, ¿Cómo se lo agradecerías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………………….

b- walu- Nada

33- wila kunti f´blast hadik l´bent jeun, shnu t´jawbha?

¿Y si fueras la señora joven, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a-……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

34- n´ta rajel k´bir w´bghiti t´tel3i f´tobis, w´bghiti bash wahed l´weld y´3awnek bash t´tle3, shnu t´gul´lu?

Eres un señor mayor y quieres pedirle a un señor joven que te ayude a subir al autobús. ¿Cómo se lo pedirías?

a-………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

35- W´m´nin y´3awnek bash tle3, shnu t´gul´lu?

Y cuando te haya ayudado a subir, ¿Cómo se lo agradecerías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

36- wila kunti f´blast hadik l´bent jeun, shnu t´jawbha?

¿Y si fueras el señor joven, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

37- m´sha 3lik tobis, w´shefti wahed jarek ghadi yetle3 f´tonobilto, w´bghiti tet leb menu bash y´weslek, kifash t´gul´lu?

Acabas de perder el autobús y ves que un vecino tuyo esta subiendo a su coche y le quieres pedir que te acerque a tu trabajo, ¿Qué le dirías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

38- Wila qbel jarek bash y´weslek, shnu t gul´lu?

Si el vecino acepta de llevarte, ¿Qué le dirías?

a-…………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

39- w´m´nin y´weslek w´tebghi t´n´zel, shnu ghad t´gul´lu?

Y cuando te deja en tu lugar de trabajo, ¿Qué le dirías?

a- …………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nad

40- ja l´faktur, w´jablek wahed l´bra, m´nin ye3teha lek, shnu ghad t´gul´lu?

Eres una señor(a) y acaba de traerte el cartero una carta, ¿Qué le dirías?

a- ……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- Nada

41- wila kunti n´ta huwa l´factur, shnu t´jawbu?

¿Y si fueras el cartero, ¿Qué le contestarías?

a- ……………………………………………………………………………………

b- walu- *Nada*

Questionnaire on compliments

CUESTIONARIO

Como hacer el cumplido en el Árabe Marroquí

A continuación hemos descrito unas situaciones. Por favor, lea cada situación con mucha atención y conteste con lo que le diría a su interlocutor en cada situación como si fuese en la vida real.

No importa si las respuestas se repiten. El más importante es que sean lo más natural posible.

Cualquier tipo de comentario o aclaración relacionados con las situaciones o/y sus respuestas serán bienvenidas y de gran valor para nuestra investigación.

La encuesta está compuesta por dos cuestionarios, uno dedicado al cumplido y el otro a la invitación ambos en la cultura Marroquí.

1. Trabajas para **una señora** y esta mañana llegas a tu lugar de trabajo y ves que **tu jefa** se ha cambiado de gafas.
    I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
        a. "Jawek ghzlan had n´dader"
        b. "Jawek ghzlan had n´dader tbarek´llah"
        c. "Wa n´dader hadu shriti ¡"
        d. "Elles sont belles vos lunettes"
        e. "Mashaa Lah 3la n´dadrek"
        f. Otra cosa

    II. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
    III. Y si fuese Española, ¿qué le dirías en Española?

    IV. ¿Cual de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?
    V. ¿Qué les contestarías?
        a. En Árabe Marroquí:
        b. En Español:

2. Trabajas para un señor y esta mañana ves que **tu jefe** llevaba un traje muy elegante.
    I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
        a. "Jak ghzal had´l costim".

b. "Jak ghzal had l´costim tabark´llah".

c. "Wa costim hada 3endek".

d. "Ça vous va très bien le costume"

e. "Masha allah 3lik"

f. Otra cosa

II. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)

III.   Y si fuese Español, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

IV. ¿Cual de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

V. ¿Qué les contestarías?

    a. En Árabe Marroquí:

    b. En Español:

2. **<u>Una amiga</u>** te cuenta que había tenido un accidente y que le habían operado varias veces para repararle los daños que le había causado el accidente tanto en la cara como en las piernas, pero tú ves que tu amiga estaba muy bien y muy guapa y se lo quieres decir:

    I.   ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?

       a. "La, la, ma bayn 3lik walu. raki ghzala m3a rasek"

       b. "Mazala ghzal tbark lah."

       c. "Tu es toujours très belle"

       d. "Masha allah 3lik"

       e. Otra cosa:

    II. Y si fuese Española, ¿qué le dirías en Española?

    III. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)

    IV. ¿Cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

    V. ¿Qué les contestarías?

       a. En Árabe Marroquí:

       b. En Español:

3. Un **<u>amigo</u>** tuyo se ofrece para llevarte a tu casa en su coche y de repente casi ibais a tener un accidente pero gracias a la habilidad de tu amigo os salvasteis. Como agradecimiento, quieres decirle lo bien que conduce.

    I.   ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?

       a. "katsug mezyan"

       b. "Katsug mezyan tbarke´llah 3lik ¡"

c. "Ma3endi man gul a lalla, rak qad."
d. "Tu conduit très bien"
e. "Masha allah 3lik"
f. Otra cosa:

II. Y si fuese Español, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

III. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
IV. ¿Cual de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?
V. ¿Que les contestarías?
   a. En Árabe Marroquí:
   b. En Español:

4. Estas andando por la calle y ves **un señor** que va s subir a su coche. El modelo te gusta mucho y quieres decírselo.
   I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
      a. "Gzala tomobilteq"
      b. "Tomobilteq kathemmeq tabark´llah"
      c. "Elle est belle votre voiture"
      d. "Wa tamobile hadi 3endek"
      e. Otra cosa:

   II. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
   III. Y si fuese Español, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

   IV. ¿Cual de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

   V. ¿Qué les contestarías?

   a. En Árabe Marroquí:
   b. En Español:

5. Estas andando por la calle y ves **una señora** (**desconocida**) que llevaba un bolso de los que te gustan mucho y quieres decírselo.

   I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
      a. "Gzal sakek"
      b. "sakek kay hemmeq t´bark´llah¡"
      c. "Wa sac hada 3endek ¡"
      d. "Il est beau votre sac "

e. "Masha allah 3la sac 3endek

f. Otra cosa:

II.   no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)

III. Y si fuese Española, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

IV. ¿Cual de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

V. ¿Qué les contestarías?

a.   En Árabe Marroquí:

b.   En Español:

6.   Eres el **<u>jefe</u>** y acaba de incorporarse una **<u>empleada</u>** nueva en tu empresa que tiene unos ojos muy bonitos.

I.   ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?

a.   "Ghzalin 3enik"

b.   "3enik fennin tabark´llah"

c.   "Wa 3enin 3endek ¡"

d.   "Tu as de très beaux yeux »

e.   "Masha allah 3lik"

f.   Otra cosa:

II. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)

III. Y si fuese Española, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿Cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

V.   ¿Qué les contestarías?

a.   En Árabe Marroquí:

b.   En Español:

7.   Eres la **<u>jefa</u>** y acaba de incorporarse en tu empresa un **<u>empleado</u>** muy guapo.

I.   ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?

a.   "rak ghzal"

b.   "rak ghzal tabark´llah ¡"

c.   "Tu es beau, tbark lah 3lik"

d.   "Masha allah 3lik"

e.   Otra cosa:

II. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)

III. Y si fuese Español, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿Cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

V. ¿Qué les contestarías?

   a. En Árabe Marroquí:

   b. En Español:

8. Llegas a casa y encuentras tu **hermana** toda arreglada: bien maquillada y bien vestida.

   I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?

      a. "ghzala jiti"

      b. "jiti ghzala tabark´llah ¡"

      c. "Wa raki ghzala m3a rasek ¡"

      d. "Tu es belle"

      e. "Masha allah 3lik"

      f. Otra cosa:

   II. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)

   III. Y si fuese Española, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

   IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿Cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

   V. ¿Qué les contestarías?

      a. En Árabe Marroquí:

      b. En Español:

9. Tu **hermano** acaba de salir de la peluquería

   I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?

      a. "bessaha la coupe"

      b. "jiti ghzal tabark´llah ¡"

      c. "Wa rak ghzal m3a rasek ¡"

      d. "Ça te va bien la coupe"

      e. "Masha allah 3lik"

      f. Otra cosa:

   II. no le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)

   III. Y si fuese Español, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

V. ¿Qué les contestarías?
   a. En Árabe Marroquí
   b. En Español.

10. Tu hermano te ha invitado a cenar y cuando te presentas en su casa, **<u>tu cuñada</u>** te abre la puerta y ves que se ha cambiado de look y que le favorece mucho.

   I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
      a. "bessaha la coupe"
      b. "jiti ghzal tabark´llah "
      c. "Wa raki ghzala m3a rasek "
      d. "Quel changement, ça te va bien le nouveau look"
      e. "Masha allah 3lik"
      f. Otra cosa:

   II. No le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
   III. Y si fuese Española, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

   IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?
   V. ¿Qué les contestarías?
      a. En Árabe Marroquí
      b. En Español.

11. Tu hermana te ha invitado a cenar y cuando te presentas en su casa, **<u>tu cuñado</u>** te abre la puerta y ves que se ha cambiado de look y que le favorece mucho.

   I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
      a. "bessaha la coupe"
      b. "jiti ghzal tabark´llah ¡"
      c. "Wa rak ghzal m3a rasek ¡"
      d. "Ça te va bien la coupe"
      e. "Masha allah 3lik"
      f. Otra cosa:

   II. No le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
   III. Y si fuese Español, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

   IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?

V. ¿Qué les contestarías?
   a. En Árabe Marroquí
   b. En Español.

12. Tienes que llevar a tus padres a una boda y como es de costumbre **tu madre** se había arreglado para la ocasión.
   I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
      a. "jiti ghzala tabark´llah "
      b. "Wa raki ghzala m3a rasek "
      c. "Tu es belle"
      d. "masha lah 3lik"
      e. Otra cosa:

   II. No le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
   III. Y si fuese Española, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

   IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?
   V. ¿Qué les contestarías?
      a. En Árabe Marroquí
      b. En Español.

13. **Tu padre** también se había arreglado para acompañar tu madre a esta boda y llevaba inusualmente un traje de chaqueta que le quedaba muy bien.
   I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
      a. "ja m3ak had l´kostim"
      b. "jiti ghzal tabark´llah ¡"
      c. "Wa rak ghzal m3a rasek ¡"
      d. "Il te va bien l´kustim"
      e. "Masha allah 3lik"
      f. Otra cosa:
   II. No le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
   III. Y si fuese Español, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

   IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?
   V. ¿Qué les contestarías?
      a. En Árabe Marroquí
      b. En Español.

14. Y cuando llegasteis a lugar de la boda te cruzaste con **tus suegra** que estaba también invitada a esta ceremonia y ves que está muy guapa.
    I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
        a. "bessaha lebsa"
        b. "jiti ghzala tabark´llah ¡"
        c. "Wa raki ghzala m3a rasek ¡"
        d. "Masha allah elik"
        e. "elle te va bien lebsa"
        f. Otra cosa:

    II. No le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
    III. Y si fuese Española, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

    IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?
    V. ¿Qué les contestarías?
        a. En Árabe Marroquí
        b. En Español.

15. Más tarde se acera **tu suegro** a saludarte y ves que llevaba inusualmente una Djelaba que le quedaba muy bien.
    I. ¿Qué le dirías en Árabe Marroquí?
        a. "ghzala djelabtek"
        b. "jiti ghzal tabark´llah ¡"
        c. "Wa rak ghzal m3a rasek ¡"
        d. "Elle te va bien djelaba"
        e. "Masha allah 3lik"
        f. Otra cosa:

    II. No le dices nada. (O le dices algo que no tiene que ver con el tema.)
    III. Y si fuese Español, ¿qué le dirías en Español?

    IV. Si estuvieses en el lugar de tu interlocutor, ¿cuál de estas posibilidades te gustaría que te digan?
    V. ¿Qué les contestarías?
        a. En Árabe Marroquí
        b. En Español.

Resumen en Español

RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL

TESIS DOCTORAL:

Actos de habla en el árabe marroquí. Una aproximación intercultural

Presentada por Saida Anssari Naim

Dirigida por el Dr. Carlos Hernández Sacristán y

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Universitat de València, 2011

1. Introducción

En esta investigación nos proponemos reflexionar desde una perspectiva pragmática sobre algunos rasgos que caracterizan el concepto de la cortesía en la cultura marroquí. Las experiencias adquiridas a través de mis contactos como marroquí residente en España con miembros de la cultura anfitriona nos hacen pensar que existen diferencias en el ejercicio de la cortesía entre estas dos culturas que pueden dar lugar a fallos pragmáticos y conflictos en el propósito comunicativo. Con el fin de explorar nuestras sospechas hemos seleccionado tres actos de habla que integran aspectos que, a pesar de ser corteses en la cultura marroquí, podrían aparecer anómalos y quizás (des)corteses si los trasladamos a la cultura española. La cultura española representa, a los efectos comparativos que aquí nos interesan, la posición propia de una cultura occidental globalmente considerada (sin que ignoremos, por ello, diferencias de matiz dentro de este marco cultural occidental, cuya evaluación puede ser de interés a otros efectos).

Los actos de habla a los que nos referimos son el *agradecimiento/ disculpa*, la *invitación*, y el *cumplido*, tal como son realizados en la comunidad de habla árabe marroquí. La elección de estos tres actos de habla estaría justificada por algunas singularidades de su manifestación en árabe marroquí, que motivan la reflexión intercultural. Observamos, en lo que se refiere al primer acto de habla mencionado, el uso que denominamos 'extrapolado' de la 'disculpa' como expresión de 'agradecimiento'. Se trata aquí de un fenómeno de neutralización entre dos esquemas de conducta cortés claramente diferenciables desde la perspectiva occidental, o de un tipo particular de uso indirecto de la disculpa como agradecimiento poco

común en la cultura occidental, aunque referenciado para otros ámbitos culturales como el japonés (Coulmas, 1981). Destacamos en el caso de la invitación el carácter abiertamente impositivo que presenta: en la cultura marroquí los hablantes obligan literalmente a sus potenciales invitados a aceptar la invitación haciendo uso del *juramento* como estrategia de cortesía, hecho que contradice uno de los cánones de cortesía en el contexto occidental, donde la no interferencia en el espacio y la voluntad de los demás es altamente apreciada: "do not impose", "give options" and "make your receiver feel good" (Lakoff 1973, p: 199). Finalmente, en lo que se refiere al cumplido, destacamos la asociación que presenta en la cultura marroquí con la amenaza propia del *mal de ojo,* lo que –como contrapartida- obliga a los usuarios del cumplido a *bendecir* a los destinatarios del mismo como fórmula cortés.

2. Objetivos básicos del estudio

Los objetivos básicos de esta tesis doctoral se establecen en dos niveles que podemos caracterizar como empírico-descriptivo y teórico-explicativo:

NIVEL EMPÍRICO-DESCRIPTIVO

El análisis descriptivo de los hechos trata de combinar el análisis de las singularidades del árabe marroquí en la expresión de los actos de habla sometidos a estudio, con su valoración contrastiva respecto al uso de los mismos en la cultura española, así como con las implicaciones que presentan las diferencias constatadas en el plano de la comunicación intercultural. Las preguntas a las que en este nivel descriptivo tratamos de responder pueden formularse sintéticamente en los siguientes términos:

1) ¿Cómo manifiestan los marroquíes la cortesía, y que parámetros socioculturales intervienen en la codificación y la decodificación de la cortesía?

2) ¿Existen diferencias entre la cultura marroquí y la española en el uso de la invitación, el cumplido y el agradecimiento? ¿Qué diferencias culturales se pueden destacar como posibles agentes en la creación de conflictos en la comunicación entre estas dos comunidades?

NIVEL TEÓRICO-EXPLICATIVO

El estudio se presta también a reconsiderar las teorías generales establecidas en relación con los actos de habla y la cortesía. La interpretación de los resultados obtenidos en nuestra investigación nos hace pensar que la teoría general de los actos de habla necesita ser complementada para la explicación de la conducta comunicativa propia del contexto cultural marroquí, y sospechamos que este complemento pueda ser de utilidad para la intepretación de pautas comunicativas en otros contextos culturales no occidentales. Consideramos, en particular, que la noción de acto performativo debe ser revisada para integrar las características propias de los actos de habla sometidos a estudio en árabe marroquí. Fundamos este tipo de exigencia teórica en las implicaciones que presenta el uso prevalente de *léxicos religiosos* como fórmulas de cortesía. El uso de estos léxicos redistribuye el rol de los agentes como participante en el acto. De hecho, la autoridad (autoría o responsabilidad) de los individuos participantes en la acción comunicativa se ve desplazada hacia lo que hemos denominado agente *supra-individual*, mediador sin cuya participación, evocada por el hablante y asumida por el oyente, la ejecución

real del acto del habla no se haría efectiva. En este contexto, el estudio se ve obligado también a reconsiderar la teoría de la cortesía como fenómeno universal. Consideramos que los parámetros socioculturales que marcan las pautas de cortesía de una cultura son válidos exclusivamente dentro del marco de la cultura donde existen. Así pues, nos preguntamos si los aspectos corteses inherentes a la cultura marroquí son transferibles, por ejemplo, a la cultura española. Sintéticamente, las preguntas a las que tratamos de responder en este nivel teórico-explicativo pueden formularse en los siguientes términos:

¿Hasta qué punto o en qué sentido se pueden considerar los actos del habla como performativos por sí mismos?

¿Qué nos aportan nuestros datos para el debate general sobre universalismo o particularismo cultural en la expresión de la cortesía?

3. Métodos de investigación

Con el fin de alcanzar los propósitos de este trabajo, he recurrido a dos métodos de investigación que considero complementarios, uno de carácter cualitativo y otro de carácter cuantitativo.

En la primera fase del estudio someto a examen los actos de habla seleccionados con criterios cualitativos que se basan en mis experiencias como hablante nativa de árabe marroquí y como sujeto bicultural capacitado para la valoración de las diferencias respecto a los hábitos comunicativos propias de la cultura española. Esta práctica investigadora, basada en el análisis de una experiencia subjetiva, trata de ser con todo

objetivada por medio de escenarios-esquema que guíen de manera lógica mis reflexiones. Sugerimos que este método, muy común en la investigación de los hechos sintácticos, puede hacerse extensible a la pragmática y, más en concreto, al análisis de la lógica propia de la acción comunicativa.

En la segunda fase del estudio, y a fin de corregir posibles sesgos subjetivos, he preferido obtener datos cuantitativos de informantes externos, nativos de árabe marroquí, pero que fueran especialmente sensibles a las diferencias interculturales respecto al español en la expresión de los actos de habla sometidos a estudio. Una muestra de población árabe marroquí inmigrante en la ciudad de Valencia me ha servido de ayuda a este efecto. Para la obtención del dato he optado por un método de validez contrastada en otros estudios de pragmática intercultural, como es el basado en cuestionario. Lo más indicado parecía, a nuestro juicio, el uso de un cuestionario que sigue las pautas del conocido como *Discourse Completion Test* (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989), como herramienta de investigación utilizada por otros muchos investigadores. Los cuestionarios se confeccionaron en árabe marroquí seleccionando para ello un modo simple y coloquial de expresión que fuera fácilmente asequible a nuestros informadores como marroquíes inmigrantes con distintos niveles educativos. Ofrecemos seguidamente algunas características general que definen el perfil de los encuestados.

Perfil de los encuestados

En nuestro estudio hemos contado con la participación de 30 inmigrantes marroquíes de los cuales, (63%) eran hombres y (37%) eran mujeres.

g.002: sexo de los encuestados (chart.02)

El (73%) de los participantes pertenecían al grupo de edad joven (entre 18 y 35 años), mientras el (27%) eran del grupo de los mayores (entre 35 y 55 años).

g.001: edad de los encuestados (chart.01)

En lo que se refiere al nivel de educación, el (43,33%) tenían un nivel bajo (con la educación primaria completada) y el (26.67%) tenían un nivel medio (con la educación secundaria completada). El tercer grupo de inmigrantes tenían educación superior. Este último pertenece a los grupos de jóvenes marroquíes que se desplazan más para estudiar en universidades europeas en busca de titulaciones de prestigio que como inmigrantes por razones económicas.

g.003: educación de los encuestados (chart.03)

Puesto que nuestro estudio está dirigido a investigar la conducta de los marroquíes exclusivamente de habla árabe en el uso de la invitación, el cumplido y el agradecimiento, era imperativo seleccionar informantes estrictamente nativos de habla árabe para evitar alteraciones en los resultados teniendo en cuenta la existencia de marroquíes bereberes para los que el árabe marroquí sería una segunda lengua.

4. Organización del estudio

El estudio, tras una introducción general, está estructurado en 5 partes, con diferentes capítulos para los que hemos optado por una numeración seguida.

PRIMERA PARTE

La primera parte está destinada a situar el lector en el contexto del ámbito lingüístico-cultural sometido a estudio. Esta parte se compone de los capítulos 1 y 2. En el primer capítulo, ofrecemos una revisión de los

aspectos socio-culturales y sociolingüísticos más destacados de la cultura marroquí. El segundo capítulo ofrece una breve visión de la historia reciente de Marruecos en general y de la emigración marroquí como fenómeno sociocultural y socioeconómico.

SEGUNDA PARTE

La segunda parte aborda cuestiones generales relativas al marco teórico y metodológico en el que se sitúa nuestro estudio y en los objetivos básicos de investigación que se fijan. Esta parte se compone de los capítulos 3 y 4. En el capítulo tercero se presenta un estado de la cuestión relativa al marco teórico y metodológico de nuestro trabajo, que incluye diferentes aproximaciones a la problemática de la comunicación intercultural, de la teoría de los actos de habla desde una perspectiva general y contrastiva, y a los estudios sobre cortesía verbal, también desde la perspectivas general y contrastiva. En el capítulo cuarto se establecen los objetivos básicos del estudio, tal como han sido definidos en una sección previa de este resumen.

TERCERA PARTE

La tercera parte contiene el análisis de los actos de habla sometidos a estudio con el método cualitativo, anteriormente referido. Se compone de los capítulos 5, 6 y 7, en los que se somete a examen en este orden: agradecimientos/disculpas, invitaciones y cumplidos.

El capítulo quinto se dedica al análisis del agradecimiento. Se propone dar respuesta en el mismo a las siguientes preguntas:

¿Hasta qué punto los marroquíes hacen uso de la disculpa (smahli/disculpa) y el agradecimiento (shukran/gracias) de la misma

manera que se usan en el castellano ó en inglés, y en qué contexto de habla?

¿Por qué los marroquíes utilizan la disculpa (smahli) en contextos donde en el castellano ó en el inglés, por ejemplo, se espera un agradecimiento (shukran)?

¿Por qué la disculpa (smahli) se usa conjuntamente con el agradecimiento (shukran)?

¿Por qué se hace uso de la disculpa (smahli) como respuesta al agradecimiento (shukran)?

El capítulo sexto trata del análisis de la invitación en la comunidad de habla marroquí. Cabe señalar que en el árabe marroquí se distinguen tres tipos de invitaciones dependiendo de su nivel de marcaje y de refuerzo lingüístico. Los tres modelos de invitaciones son los siguientes: las *genuinas* (autenticas), las *ostensibles* (no genuinas) siguiendo la taxonomía de Clark & Isaac (1990) y el tercer tipo lo hemos denominado *ostensibles-reforzadas*. Con este último nos referimos a las invitaciones reforzadas con el *juramento* como estrategia de cortesía para convencer al invitado de aceptar la invitación.

El capítulo séptimo se centra en el análisis del cumplido. En lo referente a este acto de habla, tratamos de explicar, por una parte, las razones socioculturales que subyacen a su asociación con la amenaza del mal del ojo y, por otra parte, cómo se explica en este contexto el uso de las *bendiciones* como estrategia compensatoria de cortesía.

CUARTA PARTE

La cuarta parte de este trabajo contiene los resultados que derivan del método cuantitativo basado en el uso de un cuestionario confeccionado con el criterio propio del *Discourse Completion Test* y dirigido a una muestra de población marroquí inmigrante en la ciudad de Valencia. La cuarta parte se compone de los capítulos 8, 9, 10 y 11.

En el capítulo octavo se fundamenta y justifica la elección del método basado en cuestionario que sigue esencialmente la pauta del modelo conocido como *Discourse Completion Test*. Se analizan las características generales de este modelo y se defiende su aplicabilidad al objeto de estudio de esta tesis doctoral. Seguidamente se presentan las variables que se tienen en cuenta, como edad, sexo, nivel educativo y otras características de la muestra sometida a examen, a las que nos hemos referido previamente.

Los capítulos noveno, décimo y undécimo presentan los resultados cuantitativos que ofrece el cuestionario para los tres actos de habla sometidos a estudio, así como el análisis de estos resultados, que se valoran en términos meramente descriptivos, sin que se haya considerado aquí necesario el uso de técnicas adicionales de estadística inferencial.

Una serie de representaciones gráficas permiten ilustrar los resultados cuantitativos. Por conveniencia expositiva, se reflejan estos resultados, y los comentarios que merecen, en un orden inverso al correspondiente a la parte III de este estudio: esto es, el capítulo noveno se dedica a los cumplidos, el capítulo décimo a las invitaciones y el capítulo undécimo a los agradecimientos/disculpas. Este criterio expositivo se justifica por el orden decreciente de variables que merecen tratamiento cuantitativo o comentario. Los resultados y los comentarios que merecen se

especifican en la siguiente sección de este resumen, dedicada a la presentación analítica de los resultados del estudio.

QUINTA PARTE

La quinta parte de este trabajo se reserva a las conclusiones que hemos obtenido a la luz de los objetivos de investigación que han guiado el presente estudio. Ofrecemos en la sección 6 de este resumen una versión abreviada de las conclusiones generales.

5. Resultados del estudio (presentación analítica)

Tratándose de un resumen, resaltaremos aquí algunos de los puntos fuertes de este trabajo, trayendo al caso aquellos aspectos que consideramos importantes para justificar nuestras sospechas de que el comportamiento sociolingüístico de los inmigrantes marroquíes en el uso de los actos de habla tratados aquí presentan ciertas 'anomalías' en comparación con el uso y la interpretación que se le da en los países occidentales, tales como España ó Inglaterra, por ejemplo. Trataremos igualmente de dar respuesta a nuestra hipótesis de que existen razones para pensar en posibles conflictos pragmáticos en la interacción entre los inmigrantes marroquíes residentes en España y los miembros de su cultura anfitriona.

Basándonos en los resultados obtenidos a través de nuestra encuesta, diremos que nuestras sospechas, fundadas inicialmente sobre mis experiencias comunicativas como nativa de árabe marroquí y como inmigrante cultural en España, se vieron respaldadas en este trabajo. De hecho, y como se anuncia en la introducción del estudio, el uso de los actos de habla entre sujetos de la comunidad de habla marroquí presenta

desviaciones respecto al patrón comunicativo de sujetos españoles, en cuanto al concepto y a la interpretación sociocultural. En lo siguiente, resaltaremos las particularidades observadas en el comportamiento de nuestros informadores en cada uno de los actos de habla sometidos a examen.

Algunas variables de especial interés

Pero antes de pasar a una exposición analítica de resultados, queremos prestar atención a algunas variables especialmente significativas que se tienen en cuenta, sobre todo en el examen de cumplidos e invitaciones. Nos gustaría destacar el interés que, también para nuestro estudio, tienen los parámetros socioculturales tales como poder (P), distancia (D) y rango de imposición (R) que hemos utilizado como instrumento para evaluar el comportamiento de nuestros encuestados. A estos parámetros, hemos añadido unos contextos específicos pertenecientes al ámbito social normal de todo individuo, es decir, el ámbito familiar directo y político, el círculo de amistades y conocidos y el contexto laboral. Nuestra intención es comparar, si se da el caso, las variaciones en la formulación particularmente del cumplido y la invitación que puedan surgir a raíz de los cambios de un contexto a otro.

Particular atención se prestó también a las nociones de *uchi* (el de dentro) y *soto* (el ajeno/forastero) del japonés, que delimitan dos espacios claramente delimitados en la retórica comunicativa, el que caracteriza a las relaciones con miembros del círculo familiar (*uchi*) y el que caracteriza a las relaciones con miembros ajenos a este círculo (*soto*) (Barnick 1994). Al igual que los japoneses, en la cultura marroquí, los familiares directos disfrutan de un estatus de *uchi* (los de dentro). Este parámetro se ha

incluido porque consideramos que tiene particular influencia en el establecimiento de los niveles de cortesía en el lenguaje a la hora de formular cumplidos o invitaciones. El uso de la cortesía no es necesario para formular cumplidos con miembros de la familia, entendida en términos de relación consanguínea, al contrario de lo que normalmente ocurre con miembros de otros ámbitos sociales tal como amigos, conocidos o, incluso, miembros de la familia política.

COMPORTAMIENTO DE LOS ENCUESTADOS EN EL USO DEL CUMPLIDO

Según los resultados obtenidos en lo referente al uso del cumplido en general, nos sorprende que el (33%) de nuestros encuestados se declare no usuario del cumplido. Nos sorprende también el escaso porcentaje, de un (12%), observado en el uso del cumplido sobre las apariencias físicas y vestimenta. Esta tendencia se ve contrarrestada en cuanto al uso de cumplido sobre logros, con un porcentaje del (29.57%), y sobre posesiones, con un porcentaje del (26.44%).

Actitud por sexo

Según nuestros datos, no se han observado variaciones importantes en el uso del cumplido entre mujeres y hombres.

g.039: uso del cumplido según sexo en general (chart.06)

apariencia; 16,39%

logros; 44,65%

posesiones; 38,96%

hombre

apariencia; 23,75%

logros; 39,05%

posesiones; 37,20%

mujer

Las diferencias observadas en la frecuencia del uso del cumplido sobre aspectos físicos son insignificantes (38.96%) entre los hombres contra (37.20%) entre las mujeres. Algo diferente ocurre con el uso del cumplido sobre logros, que parece ser el objeto de cumplido más preferido de los hombres con un porcentaje de (5,6%) más que en las mujeres (44,65% - 39,05%). De igual forma, aunque en términos inversos, se observa que las mujeres utilizaron el cumplido sobre apariencias físicas con un porcentaje (7.36%), (23,75% - 16,39%) superior al de los hombres.

Actitud en el ámbito laboral

En el ámbito laboral, destaca el escaso uso del cumplido sobre aspectos físicos por parte de los hombres a sus compañero/as de trabajo con un porcentaje tan insignificante como el (6.60%). El porcentaje obtenido

sobre la frecuencia del uso del cumplido sobre el aspecto físico triplica casi en las mujeres al observado entre los hombres. De hecho, el (17.28%) de las mujeres utilizaron este tipo de cumplido con sus compañero/as.

**g.040: uso del cumplido en el trabajo según sexo
(chart 07)**

Esta tendencia respalda nuestra hipótesis de que los hombres son menos usuarios de cumplido por motivos de imagen y concepto de virilidad. Entre los hombres el uso del cumplido se considera una actitud afeminada y por consiguiente exclusivamente reservada a las mujeres.

g.064: uso del cumplido en el trabajo según sexo y edad (chart08)

La inclusión del factor edad distorsiona los datos comentados previamente sobre la actitud de los hombres en el uso del cumplido sobre apariencias físicas. La diferencia en la frecuencia del uso del cumplido sobre el aspecto físico por el grupo joven en comparación con el grupo mayor es flagrante.

g.064: uso del cumplido en el trabajo según sexo y edad (chart08)

En realidad, el (7.95%) de los jóvenes no mostró reparo alguno en hacer cumplidos a sus compañeros/as de trabajo sobre su belleza o vestimenta. En contrapartida, ninguno (00.00%) de los hombres mayores optó por usar el cumplido sobre este aspecto. Esta tendencia cobra sentido en la cultura marroquí donde los jóvenes se manifiestan como modernos y emancipados al revés que los mayores que, siendo conservadores, mantienen normalmente una cierta distancia psicológica, particularmente con las mujeres. Cuando nos referimos, sin embargo, al cumplido sobre los logros, la cosa cambia sustancialmente, ya que este tipo de conducta la observamos en el (83.33%) de los hombres mayores, frente a un porcentaje menor del (60.23%) entre los jóvenes. En el cumplido sobre posesiones, el porcentaje entre hombres jóvenes vuelve a dominar sobre el porcentaje entre hombres mayores, con valores de (31,82%) y (16,67%), respectivamente.

Frente a lo dicho para los hombres, el factor edad no resulta tan discriminante entre las mujeres, al menos para cumplidos referidos a

apariencia física y logros. Como hemos dicho, las mujeres tienden a usar el cumplido sobre apariencias físicas notablemente más que los hombres, pero sucede además aquí que la diferencia por grupos de edad no es tan significativa. El 18% de las mujeres jóvenes se inclina a hacer cumplidos a sus compañero/as de trabajo, algo solo ligeramente superior que lo observado en las mayores, que usan este tipo de cumplido con un porcentaje del (13.89%). A propósito de los cumplidos sobre logros, los resultados también reflejan el menor valor discriminante del factor edad entre mujeres, respecto al valor de este factor entre los hombres. El 52% de las mujeres jóvenes utilizó el cumplido sobre logros con sus compañero/as, cuando entre las mayores el porcentaje ascendía al 44%. Y en cuanto al cumplido sobre posesiones, el resultado obtenido para los hombres se invierte a favor de las mujeres mayores, con un porcentaje del (41.67%), contra el (30%), entre las mujeres jóvenes.

Actitud en el círculo de amistades

Los resultados nos revelan que los marroquíes se encuentran cómodos entre sus amigos, y ello puede referirse en igual medida a mujeres y hombres. La diferencia en la frecuencia de uso del cumplido sobre los apariencias físicas parece, en este tipo de contexto, prácticamente nula (26.28%) entre los hombres y (29.59%) entre las mujeres. Una idéntica actitud se refleja también en lo que se refiere al uso del cumplido sobre logros y posesiones

g.041: uso del cumplido con los amigos según sexo (chart09)

- hombre: apariencia; 26,28% — logros; 35,77% — posesiones; 37,96%
- mujer: apariencia; 29,51% — logros; 31,15% — posesiones; 39,34%

Pero una vez más la introducción del factor edad distorsiona manifiestamente los resultados del comportamiento de los encuestados, particularmente cuando nos referimos a los hombres.

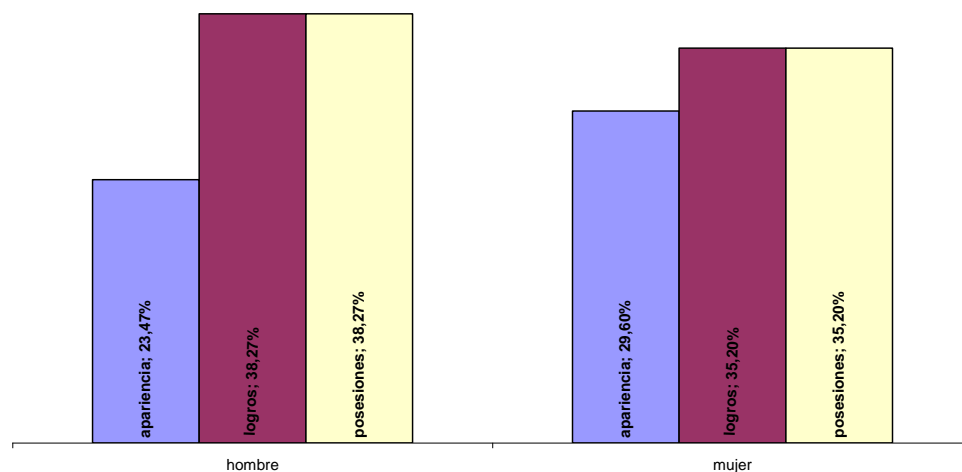**g.065:uso del cumplido con los amigos según sexo y edad (chart10)**

- hombre joven: apariencia; 27,91% — logros; 34,88% — posesiones; 37,21%
- hombre mayor: apariencia; 0,00% — logros; 50,00% — posesiones; 50,00%
- mujer joven: apariencia; 26,32% — logros; 31,58% — posesiones; 42,11%
- mujer mayor: apariencia; 33,33% — logros; 33,33% — posesiones; 33,33%

Entre jóvenes, las diferencias en el uso de cumplidos sobre apariencias físicas son insignificantes, con un porcentaje del (27.91 %) entre los hombres y un porcentaje del (26.32 %) en las mujeres. El porcentaje de uso se incrementa aquí ligeramente entre mujeres mayores hasta el (33.33%), pero lo más significativo es que el porcentaje, nuevamente, es nulo para hombres mayores. Esta tendencia confirma la reticencia absoluta por parte de los hombres mayores en hacer uso del cumplido sobre apariencias físicas. Esta reticencia no existe, sin embargo, cuando el cumplido se refiere a logros y posesiones, de manera que el (50 %) de los hombres mayores usarían el cumplido sobre estos dos aspectos sin reparo alguno.

Actitud en el contexto de familia directa

La actitud de los marroquíes con sus familiares directos es uniforme en lo que se refiere al uso cumplido sobre apariencias.

g.042: uso del cumplido con la familia según sexo (chart 11)

apariencia: 23,47% logros; 38,27% posesiones; 38,27% apariencia; 29,60% logros; 35,20% posesiones; 35,20%

hombre   mujer

Un ligero incremento en la frecuencia de uso del cumplido se observa entre las mujeres (29.60 %) frente a los hombres (23.47 %). Este resultado se invierte en cuanto al uso del cumplido sobre logros. Esta vez, son los hombre los que muestran un mayor uso del cumplido sobre este aspecto (38.27 %) frente a las mujeres (35.20 %). Esta misma tendencia se mantiene también en relación con el cumplido sobre posesiones, tal como se ve reflejado en los porcentajes entre los hombres (38.27%) y las mujeres (35.20%).

En este contexto, el factor *edad* parece afectar también la distribución de la actitud de los marroquíes en el uso del cumplido.

g.066: uso del cumplido con la familia directa, según sexo y edad (chart12)

Pero interesa destacar el hecho de que el uso del cumplido por hombres mayores sobre apariencias físicas no es nulo, lo que resulta al menos una novedad significativa. Esta tendencia nos revela hasta qué punto los hombres mayores se sienten cómodos en su entorno familiar. Podemos presumiblemente concluir que los hombres mayores perciben el cumplido

sobre las apariencias físicas como altamente comprometedor en contextos foráneos al ámbito familiar y podremos suponer que el factor de la distancia psicológica afecta el comportamiento de los hombres mayores en el uso del cumplido independientemente del estatus de sus interlocutores. Esta situación es consistente la oposición entre "insider" y "outsider", y nos confirma el prestigioso estatus que se les asigna a los miembros de la familia como "insiders" y merecedores de intimidad y complicidad.

Actitud en el contexto de familia política

La tendencia del uso del cumplido sobre posesiones y logros en el contexto de la familia política es análoga a la observada en los otros contextos tratados previamente. El uso del cumplido sobre estos aspectos parece ser favorito entre nuestros informadores, particularmente, los hombres.

g.043: uso del cumplido con la familia política según sexo (chart13)

Sin embargo, en lo referente al uso del cumplido sobre apariencias físicas y vestimenta se confirma una vez más la reticencia de nuestros informadores a extender cumplidos sobre este aspecto a sus cuñados/cuñadas, yernos/nueras y a sus suegros/suegras. En Marruecos, tradicionalmente, la familia política se trata con una deferencia marcada, una apreciable toma de distancia social y, consecuentemente, un uso también destacable de la cortesía verbal. Esta actitud se ve reflejada en los porcentajes escasos obtenidos de nuestra encuesta, particularmente entre los hombres (5.66 %), pero también hasta cierto punto entre las mujeres (19.63 %).

g.067: uso del cumplido con la familia política, según sexo y edad (chart1.4)

	hombre joven	hombre mayor	mujer joven	mujer mayor
apariencia	6,35%	0,00%	20,00%	18,92%
logros	46,83%	50,00%	40,00%	40,54%
posesiones	46,83%	50,00%	40,00%	40,54%

Según nuestra encuesta, la actitud de la mujeres, tanto jóvenes como mayores, es uniforme. La diferencia que separa nuestras informadoras jóvenes de las mayores en el uso de cumplido sobre apariencias es corta, (20.00 % entre jóvenes y 18.92 % entre mayores). Sin embargo, se confirma la reticencia de los hombres mayores a hacer uso del cumplido

sobre apariencias físicas en contextos ajenos a su entorno familiar directo, tal como se refleja en los resultados (00.00 %).

USO DEL COMPLEMENTO DEL CUMPLIDO

Nuestra elección del estudio del acto de habla del *cumplido* en la lengua/cultura árabe marroquí se fundamentó en la singularidad que presenta su uso, habitualmente acompañado de un acto de habla complementario que facilita o hace viable su puesta en juego, esto es la *bendición* al destinatario del cumplido, y que caracterizamos técnicamente como *complemento del cumplido*. El uso de este complemento entre los encuestados merece una atención especial. Tal como esperábamos, en este uso se ven implicadas muchas de las variables anteriormente consideradas en la caracterización del uso general del cumplido.

El uso del complemento del cumplido en general en el árabe marroquí.

Según nuestra encuesta, el uso del complemento del cumplido se refleja, como pauta común, entre casi el (50 %) de nuestros informadores. Este hecho corrobora nuestras sospechas como nativa sobre el uso del complemento del cumplido como fenómeno sociolingüístico asociado con la creencia en el efecto maligno del mal de ojo que los usuarios del cumplido pueden transmitir a los destinatarios de este ultimo. Sin embargo, esta creencia esta probablemente regulada por conceptos que posiblemente no son válidos para el otro (50 %) de nuestros informadores, esto es, los que no hicieron uso del complemento del cumplido.

g.112: uso global del complemento del cumplido(chart.19)

Una posible explicación a esta conducta de falta de uso del complemento del cumplido deriva probablemente de que algunos informadores jóvenes pueden considerar esta práctica como fuera de moda y no necesaria para gente joven y moderna como ellos.

Variaciones en el uso del complemento del cumplido según sexo

La mayor frecuencia de uso de este fenómeno se observa entre nuestros informadores de sexo femenino con un porcentaje ligeramente superior al de los hombres: esto es (47,73 %) entre las mujeres frente a (31,80 %) entre los hombres. Aun así, esta tendencia nos permite constatar que el (15, 93 %) de las mujeres creen más que los hombres en el mal de ojo y sus efectos.

g.113: uso del complemento del cumplido general según sexo (chart.20)

hombre; 31,80%

mujer; 47,73%

1

Variaciones en el uso del complemento del cumplido según sexo y objeto del cumplido

Contrariamente a mis expectativas como nativa, la frecuencia de uso del complemento de cumplido según nuestra encuesta parece, sin embargo, más elevada entre los hombres que entre las mujeres en lo que se refiere a cumplidos destinados a logros y posesiones, lo que refleja aquí una tendencia previamente apuntada.

**g.114: uso del complemento del cumplido según sexo
(chart.21)**

Frente a ello, y confirmando también lo ya considerado, las mujeres utilizaron el complemento del cumplido con los cumplidos sobre apariencias físicas en una medida significativamente mayor que los hombres.

Actitud en el ámbito laboral

El uso del complemento del cumplido está estrechamente ligado al uso del cumplido y se espera a que refleje las mismas pautas de conducta de los informadores en el cumplido. Esta circunstancia resulta particularmente clara entre los hombres.

**g.131:uso del complemento del cumplido en el trabajo
según sexo (chart.22)**

El nulo porcentaje (00.00 %) obtenido sobre el uso de esta herramienta de cortesía por los hombres en el caso de los cumplidos sobre apariencias físicas se debe más bien a la negativa de los hombres a usar este tipo de cumplido (Es decir, si no se usa el cumplido, no se usará tampoco el complemento del cumplido). Sin embargo, en cuanto al uso del cumplido sobre logros, la tendencia se invierte y observamos, según nuestros datos, que el (77.43 %) recurrieron al uso del complemento del cumplido con sus compañero/as de trabajo, y solo el (28.57 %) de nuestros encuestados utilizó el complemento del cumplido con cumplidos sobre posesiones.

Actitud en el círculo de amistades

Merece la pena aquí comentar tan solo la incidencia entre los hombres, para este tipo de contexto, del complemento del cumplido referido a apariencias físicas.

g.132: uso del complemento del cumplido en el ámbito social según sexo (chart.23)

La frecuencia del uso del complemento del cumplido con cumplidos sobre apariencias físicas destinados a los amigo/as, tal como se refleja en nuestros datos, es muy baja (13.51 %). Aún así, esta actitud valida la existencia de la creencia en el mal de ojo entre los hombres, particularmente en lo que se refiere a cumplidos sobre las apariencias físicas de los amigo/as.

Actitud en el contexto de familia directa

Salvo una ligera menor incidencia entre hombres en el uso de complemento de cumplido referido a apariencias físicas, nuestros datos revelan aquí un reparto bastante equilibrado por sexos y objetos de cumplido.

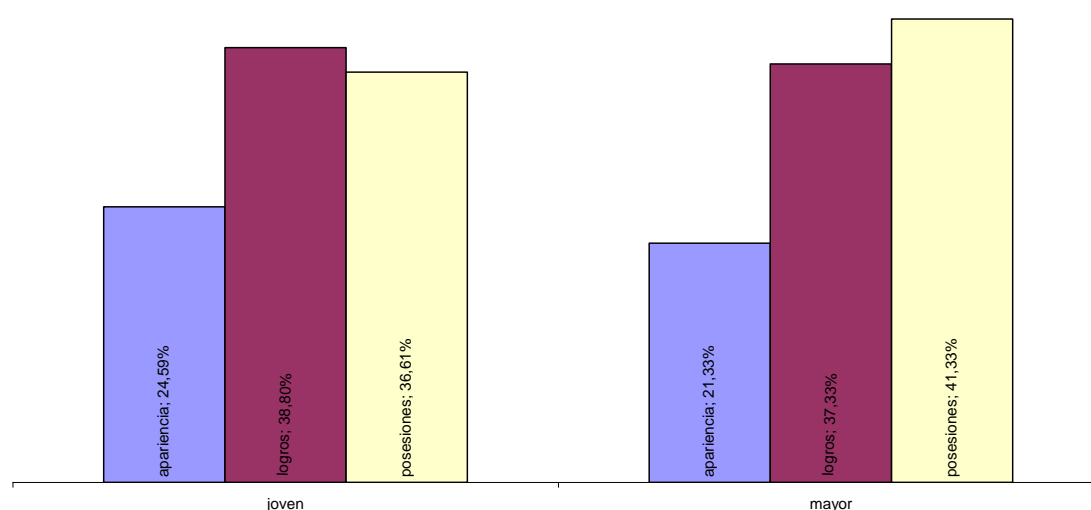**g.133: uso del complemento del cumplido en el ámbito familiar según sexo (chart.24)**

Tampoco resulta significativa la diferencia por grupos de edad. Esta tendencia nos revela la actitud protectora y cuidadosa de los informadores en usar el complemento del cumplido a la hora de hacer cumplidos a sus familiares para evitarles "por si a caso" el efecto del mal de ojo.

Actitud en el contexto de la familia política

La actitud de los informadores en el uso del complemento del cumplido con los miembros de sus familias políticas es uniforme por lo menos para la mitad de nuestros informadores tanto jóvenes como mayores.

g.157: uso del complemento del cumplido en el ámbito familiar político según edad (chart.32)

El uso de esta estrategia de cortesía se manifiesta como obligatoria y como una respuesta a los cánones de cortesía, independientemente de la edad de los encuestados.

COMPORTAMIENTO DE LOS ENCUESTADOS EN EL USO DE LA INVITACIÓN

La invitación en la cultura marroquí se rige por unas reglas pragmáticas culturalmente establecidas. En la práctica, se distinguen tres tipos de invitaciones dependiendo de su nivel retorico. El nivel retórico

viene determinado por las herramientas lingüísticas que utiliza el sujeto que formula la invitación para manifestar su intención y, al mismo tiempo, para guiar a los invitados en la interpretación de este acto de habla.

El tipo básico de invitación se encuentra representado por las invitaciones que denominamos *genuinas*, que suelen ser las más comunes en el contexto familiar o con amigos íntimos. Tal y como indica su nombre, las invitaciones *genuinas* muestran al invitado que la intención del invitador es auténtica. Este tipo de invitación no requiere el uso de estrategias de persuasión para ser aceptadas. En realidad, las invitaciones genuinas se hacen para ser aceptadas, pero los invitados pueden rechazarlas si así lo desean.

El segundo tipo de invitación viene representado por las llamadas *ostensibles*, que se formulan para ser interpretadas por los potenciales invitados como mero acto de cortesía, que debe, en principio, ser seguido por un acto de rechazo de la invitación. Este tipo de invitación se usa normalmente con individuos ajenos al contexto familiar y al círculo de las amistades íntimas.

El tercer tipo de invitaciones se refiere a las denominadas *ostensibles reforzadas*. Este tipo de invitación está confeccionado lingüísticamente a semejanza de las invitaciones ostensibles para ser usado con miembros ajenos al contexto familiar y al círculo de las amistades íntimas. Sin embargo, y por razones personales o circunstanciales, el invitador recurre al uso del *juramento* como estrategia de cortesía para indicarle al invitado la autenticidad, tanto de sus intenciones como de la invitación en sí. Los medios retóricos propios de este tipo de invitaciones reclaman una actitud cooperativa del invitado para que tome la invitación como genuina y, consecuentemente, para que la acepte.

Tipos preferentes de invitación entre los encuestados

La actitud de los informadores en el uso de los tres tipos de invitaciones mencionados anteriormente es coherente con el perfil sociocultural de los marroquíes como invitadores por excelencia. De hecho, solicitar la presencia y la compañía del interlocutor es una práctica común de cortesía. Esta actitud se ve reflejada en nuestros datos, pues el (64.87 %) de nuestros encuestados optó por el uso de invitaciones del tipo *ostensible*, dentro de las cuales el (56,47 %) resultan ser *ostensibles reforzadas*.

g.371: tipos de invitación usada (chart.34)

El uso relativamente menor de las invitaciones *genuinas* por parte de nuestros informadores se debe más a las limitaciones del ámbito donde se usa este tipo de invitación (es decir, con miembros de familia y con amigos) que -por supuesto- a una falta de autenticidad entre nuestros informadores.
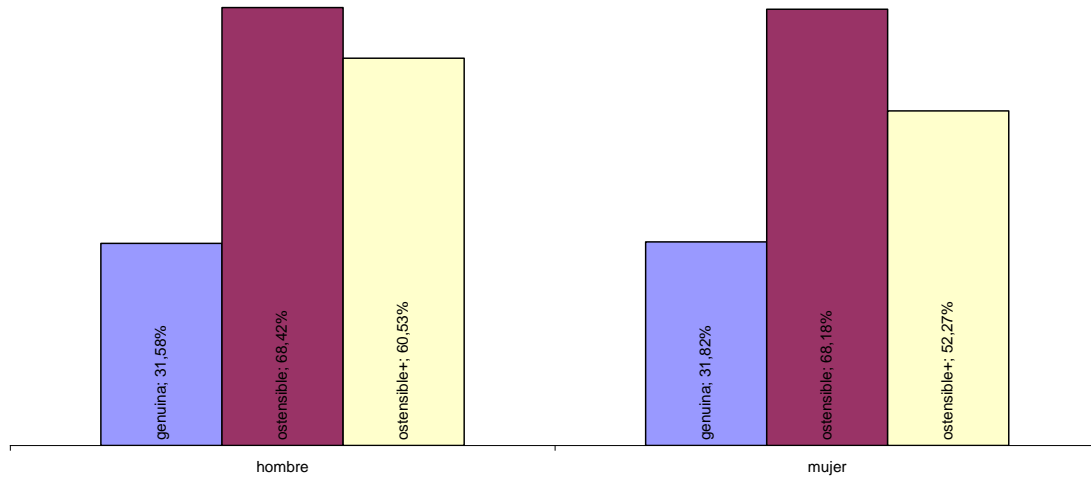
La invitación según el tipo de interlocutor

El tipo de invitación puede ser estrictamente dependiente del tipo de interlocutor y de contexto social. En el contexto laboral, por ejemplo, las invitaciones formuladas por el/la jefe/a se interpretan como invitaciones genuinas, mientras que la invitación de un empleado a su jefe se entiende como ostensible y formulada solo por mera cortesía. Una posible interpretación de esta tendencia es probablemente el factor del poder adquisitivo de los interlocutores. Se entiende que la capacidad económica del jefe para sufragar los gastos de una invitación es mayor que la de un empleado.

Actitud en el ámbito laboral

Según nuestros datos, la variable "sexo" no parece alterar la actitud de nuestros informadores en lo que se refiere a los tres modelos de invitación para el contexto propio de las relaciones laborales.

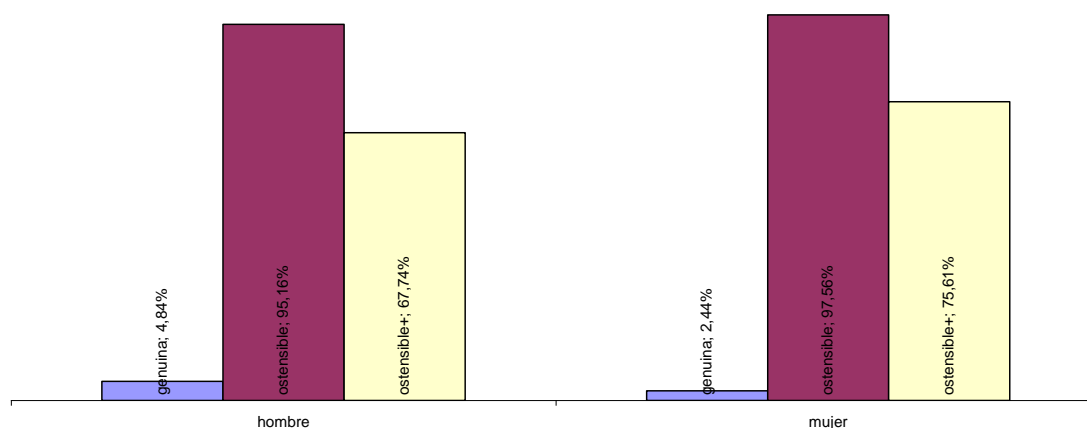**g.222: uso de la invitación en el ámbito laboral según sexo(chart.36)**

Basándonos sobre los resultados obtenidos sobre el uso de las invitaciones *genuinas,* la frecuencia de uso de este modelo entre los hombres es casi idéntica a la de las mujeres (31.58 %) entre hombres y (31.82 %) entre las mujeres. Este mismo patrón se repite con el uso de las invitaciones ostensibles (68.42 %) entre los hombres y (68.18 %) entre las mujeres. Y por último, solo una diferencia de (8.26 %) separa los hombres de las mujeres, a favor de los primeros, en cuanto a la frecuencia de uso de las invitaciones ostensibles reforzadas.

Actitud en el círculo de amistades

Basándonos en nuestros datos, la relación entre amigo/as requiere el uso de un alto nivel de refuerzo para conseguir la aceptación de una invitación. Desde una perspectiva sociocultural se deduce que el uso de la persuasión por parte del invitador es obligatorio para reflejar la autenticidad de la invitación.

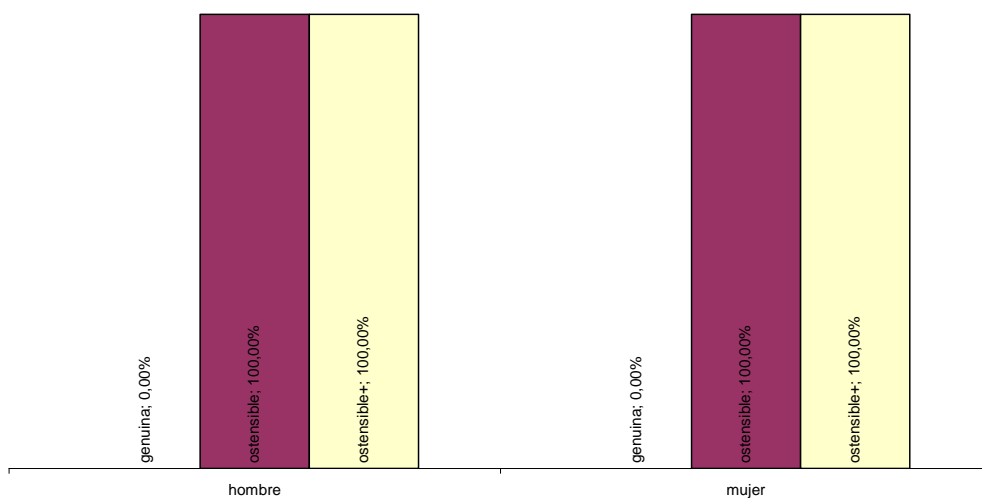**g.223: uso de la invitación en el ámbito social según sexo (chart.37)**

Dominan en este sentido las invitaciones ostensibles reforzadas, con un (67.74 %) entre hombres y un (75.61 %) entre mujeres. Solo el (4.84 %) de los hombres y (2.44 %) de las mujeres utilizaron en este contexto sociocultural invitaciones genuinas.

Actitud en el contexto propio de la familia política

Al igual que entre amigos, la invitación entre los miembros de la familia política parece seguir el patrón propio de la invitación ostensible reforzada, que cubre en este caso todo el espacio de la invitaciones ostensibles y de las invitaciones en general.

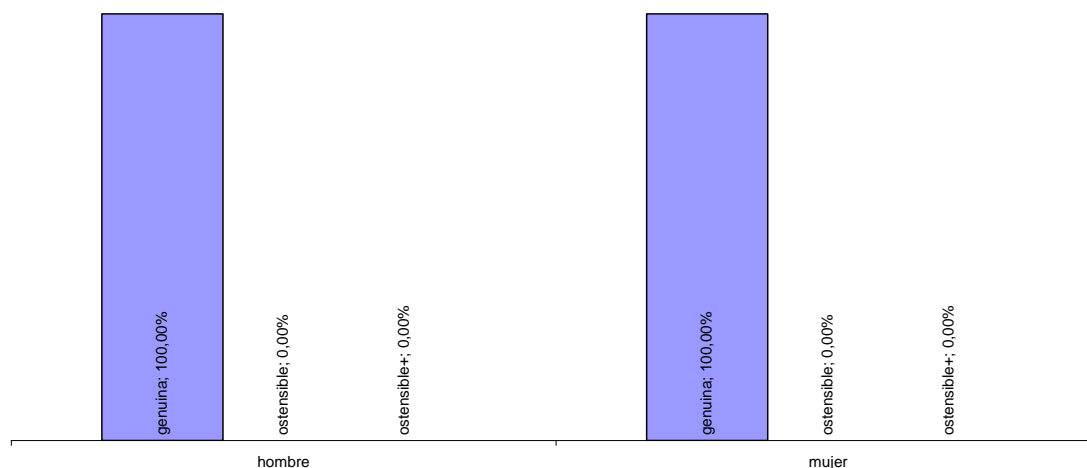**g.224: uso de la invitación en el ámbito familiar político según sexo (chart.38)**

El resultado nulo (00.00 %) obtenido sobre el uso de las invitaciones genuinas entre miembros de la familia política nos deja claro que el intercambio de invitaciones requiere un alto grado de formalidad para señalarle al invitado lo solicitada y deseada que es su compañía.

Actitud en el ámbito de la familia directa

Tomando como punto de partida la teoría de persuasión de Aristóteles, la invitación entre los miembros directos de la familia se percibe al (100%) como genuina.

**g.225: uso de la invitación en el ámbito familiar según sexo
(chart.39)**

Esto parece coherente con el curso normal de las relaciones entre los miembros directos de la familia y probablemente esta tendencia existe en todas la culturas, puesto que se nos resiste imaginar una relación entre padres e hijos o entre hermanos y hermanas fundada sobre protocolo y sofisticación. La afiliación paterno-filial que une los hijos a sus padres sirve de garantía para confiar mutuamente en la autenticidad de las intenciones del sujeto que invita a la hora de formular la invitación.

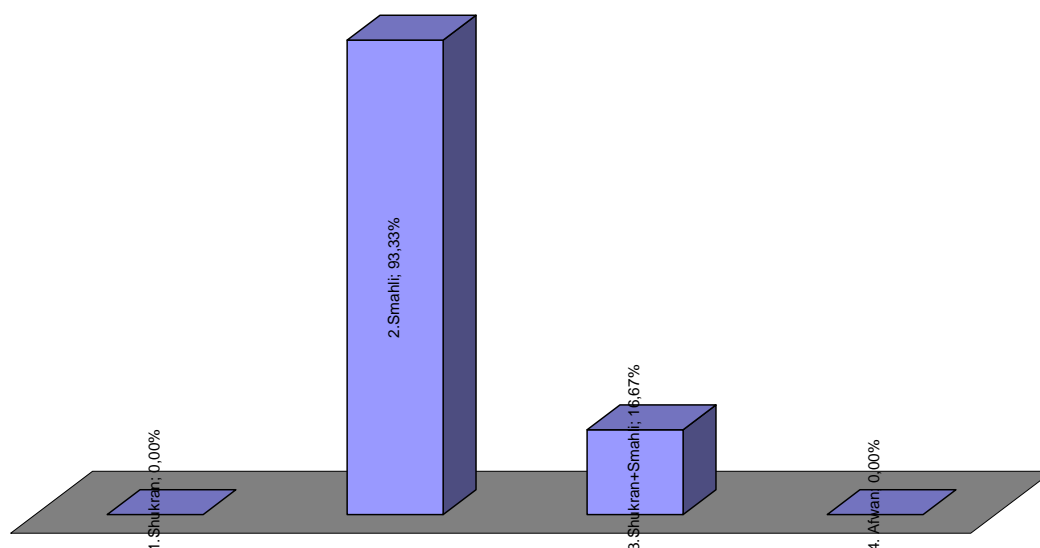## COMPORTAMIENTO DE LOS ENCUESTADOS EN EL USO DEL AGRADECIMIENTO

El uso del agradecimiento en diferentes situaciones interactivas prototípicas para la formulación de este tipo de acto de habla nos permite dar cuenta analítica de los resultados

Agradecimiento de invitado a anfitrión

El primer contexto interactivo escogido para la observación del comportamiento de nuestros encuestados se centra en el uso del agradecimiento dirigido por el invitado al anfitrión después de concluir una cena. Este contexto nos permite ejemplificar el uso extrapolado de la disculpa en la función de agradecimiento, que –según hemos dicho- es fenómeno sociolingüístico especialmente destacado en la lengua/cultura marroquí.

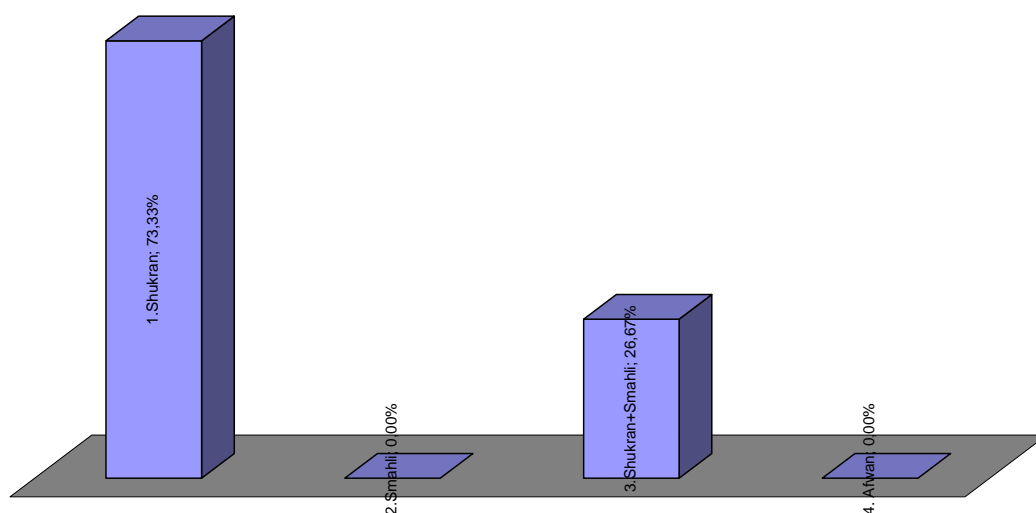**g.373: expresión usada en general después de una cena**

El usuario del agradecimiento no valora el beneficio y la satisfacción obtenidos del acto objeto del agradecimiento (es por eso que no da las gracias como símbolo de satisfacción), sino que valora más bien el esfuerzo y el coste que le supone al benefactor el hecho de llevar a cabo el acto objeto del agradecimiento (y por eso se disculpa).

En lo que se refiere al contexto social "invitado/anfitrión", según nuestros datos, el (93.33 %) de los informadores optó por el uso de

"smahli" <disculpa> como estrategia de cortesía para compensar a su anfitrión. Solo el (16,67 %) de nuestros informadores recurrió al uso de "shukran" <gracias> como es común, por ejemplo, en España en particular o en Occidente en general. Con todo, en el uso de nuestro encuestados este uso del gracias se complementaba o compensaba con el uso de la disculpa, es decir, (shukran+smahli / gracias+disculpa). En definitiva, ninguno de nuestros informadores empleó "shukran" <gracias> a solas en el contexto del invitado/anfitrión.

El uso del agradecimiento en el contexto de los servicios públicos

g.374: expresión usada en general después de que te hayan hecho un favor en servicios públicos

Contrariamente a lo observado en el contexto anterior, en el ámbito de los servicios públicos la expresión de gratitud preferente para el (73.33%) de los informadores era "shukran" <gracias>. La transacción escenificada aquí tiene lugar en un servicio público donde los favores concedidos al usuario del agradecimiento no se consideran actos voluntarios de generosidad por parte del empleado/benefactor, sino más

bien como tarea asignada y parte de sus obligaciones. Por consiguiente, el sentimiento de deuda, que obliga normalmente a los marroquíes a pedir disculpas para compensar a sus benefactores, se ve anulado o neutralizado en este contexto.

El uso del agradecimiento tras la concesión de un favor

En este contexto, los informadores tenían que expresar su gratitud por un favor que ellos mismos han solicitado de sus interlocutores y el (80 %) de nuestros encuestados optaron por el uso de (shukran+smahli / gracias+disculpa).

El uso de esta doble estrategia de cortesía se justifica por el alto grado de amenaza que supone una *petición* [considerando que las peticiones son amenazantes tanto para la imagen social del que pide, como para la imagen social de aquel a quien se le pide un favor. (cf. Blum Kulka 1989)]. En este contexto los hablantes tienen que recurrir al uso de varias estrategias de cortesía para salvaguardar sus imágenes sociales y las de sus interlocutores, de ahí el uso de la doble estrategia de cortesía: el uso de "shukran" <gracias> sirve para expresar la satisfacción del hablante al oyente por haber concedido y cumplido el acto solicitado y, por otro lado, el uso de "smahli" <disculpa> se usa para compensar el oyente por el esfuerzo invertido para satisfacer el hablante. Con todo, el (20%) de los informadores optó por el uso puro y simple de la disculpa, restando así importancia a la satisfacción obtenida del acto y valorando más bien el esfuerzo que sus interlocutores invirtieron en llevar a cabo el acto solicitado.

6. Conclusiones generales

Damos respuesta en lo que sigue a las preguntas con las que se formulaban nuestros objetivos de investigación, teniendo en cuenta valoraciones que resultan de una combinación de nuestras aproximaciones cualitativa y cuantitativa al objeto de estudio

¿Cómo manifiestan los marroquíes la cortesía, y que parámetros socioculturales intervienen en la codificación y la decodificación de la cortesía?

Parece claro, a la vista de los resultados, que al menos por lo que se refiere a los actos de habla sometidos a estudio el árabe marroquí presenta algunas singularidades relativas a los medios retóricos puestos en juego. Destacamos lo siguiente:

El uso extrapolado de la disculpa para expresión de la cortesía, con un reflejo cuantitativo obvio en nuestros resultados.

El uso del acto de habla de la bendición como complemento del cumplido que contrarresta la vinculación de este último a la idea de 'mal de ojo'.

El uso del acto de habla del juramento como mecanismo de refuerzo en las invitaciones.

Destacamos igualmente que el uso de este tipo de actos de habla presenta manifestaciones diferenciales dependiendo de los contextos

socioculturales de uso. Algunos de ellos resultan ser, según los casos, factores altamente discriminantes, como el sexo, la edad y también la oposición entre relaciones sociales en el círculo de las relaciones familiares directas, o fuera de estas relaciones. Los datos cuantitativos confirman esta idea.

¿Existen diferencias entre la cultura marroquí y la española en el uso de la invitación, el cumplido y el agradecimiento? ¿Qué diferencias culturales se pueden destacar como posibles agentes en la creación de conflictos en la comunicación entre estas dos comunidades?

Es constatable la diferencia entre la cultura árabe marroquí y la española en el tipo de recursos expresivos puestos en juego en la realización de los actos de habla seleccionados para este estudio, y también en los factores socioculturales que determinan el uso de los mismos. Potenciales conflictos comunicativos se hacen previsibles, en este sentido, como consecuencia de las diferencias de código. Cabe interpretar también la conducta diferencial del inmigrante árabe marroquí como mecanismo que preserva su identidad grupal dentro de la sociedad receptora, en este caso española.

¿Hasta qué punto o en qué sentido se pueden considerar los actos del habla como performativos por sí mismos?

Las singularidades en el uso propio del árabe marroquí de los actos de habla seleccionados en este estudio nos obligan a matizar el concepto de performatividad, y a repensar la teoría de la acción comunicativa haciendo

intervenir un agente supraindividual, el cual avala o refrenda el acto de habla de los interlocutores individuales. La alusión a este agente, en sus condiciones de hablante u oyente virtual, resulta obligada en muchos casos como parte de las 'felicity conditions' de una acción comunicativa.

¿Qué nos aportan nuestros datos para el debate general sobre universalismo o particularismo cultural en la expresión de la cortesía?

Nuestros resultados son, por supuesto, compatibles con la idea de que un principio general de cortesía preside la interacción comunicativa, pero confirman al mismo tiempo que el tipo de recursos que se ponen en juego para satisfacer ese principio general no son deducibles en términos de una lógica universal, sino que son altamente dependientes de los universos de creencia y de factores socioculturales que caracterizan a una comunidad de hablantes. De entrada, ningún recurso expresivo puede definirse de manera intrínseca o denotativa como cortés (Hernández Sacristán, 1999), sino que el efecto de cortesía asociado al mismo depende en gran medida de estos universos culturales o factores socioculturales que contextualizan y sobredeterminan la acción comunicativa. Expresado de manera sencilla, la fórmula 'gracias' denota sin duda 'agradecimiento', pero formulada sin más en determinado marco cultural, como es el árabe marroquí, podría no generar, esto es, connotar un efecto cortés.

7. Referencias (específicas del resumen)

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