



Politeness and offering in Libyan Arabic hospitality

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Politeness and Offering in Libyan Arabic Hospitality

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my deceased father for his endless love, encouragement, inspiration, and support, which were a candle in my life in spite of his death. To my mother, whose never-tiring love and generous support and prayers made this work possible. To my husband, Abdulsalam, whose infinite patience and encouragement throughout my studies made it possible for me to complete this work. And to our children, Ali, Ilaf, Ibrahim, Sulaf and Zuhair, who are indeed a treasure from Allah.

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Abstract

This study examines the nature and sequencing of offering and receiving hospitality in Libyan society and discusses the extent to which offers and refusals are conventionalized in Libyan Arabic language. I investigate the attitudes, beliefs and ideologies behind this conventional Libyan Arabic linguistic practice. The study looks particularly at Libyan Arabic people in relation to their day-to-day hospitality interchanges. Within this, I examine the different types of Libyan Arabic offer sequences and the sociolinguistic factors that account for their form and structure. Several existing studies focus on how offering speech acts are employed to promote or maintain social harmony during interactions; for example: Alaoui (2011) and Emery (2000). However, to my knowledge, no work has analysed longer stretches of Libyan Arabic offering interactions to see how Libyan hospitality interactions are significantly influenced by the cultural beliefs, attitudes and ideologies derived from Islamic teachings and Arabic traditions. My work is also unique in focusing on offering, refusing and insisting interactions. For this study, I analyse the data using a mixed qualitative methods approach: (focus group, interviews, and naturally occurring data). The variety of data examined in Libyan Arabic language makes the results obtained through this study of greater value. However, this is not to argue that a given language or cultural community is homogeneous, nor that generalisations about the behaviour of sequencing, offering and receiving hospitality can be made for all Arab cultures. To analyse the data, I chose a combined approach Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) rapport management model and a discursive approach to politeness. This offers an opportunity to study interpersonal relations, by going beyond linguistic strategies as responses to face threatening/enhancing acts, to study how social relationships are constructed, maintained or threaten rapport during interactions. In my analysis, I suggest that the

degree of intimacy between the interactants, gender, the context of the situation, and religion are important factors in the structuring of offering hospitality, which denote the social competency of their interlocutors to establish identity and affirm solidarity. This thesis shows that the interactional moves of offering hospitality (insisting and refusing) are ritualized and conventionalized behaviour. This may be because at an ideological level there is significant stress on hospitality as a dominant principle of daily life among Libyans. Hence, Libyan Arabic speakers tend to privilege association rights and obligations over equity rights. Although the basic elements appear in hospitality sequences in many offering interactions, the sociality rights and obligations differ according to the contextual factors and the situational circumstances thus the way those sequences are interpreted and considered appropriate differs.

Conventions for the transliteration of Arabic sounds into English

| Arabic Letters | Name in Arabic | IPA Symbols used to transliterate Arabic sounds |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| ا | 'alif | a (consonantal), a: (lengthening) |
| ب | bā' | b |
| ت | tā' | t |
| ث | thā' | θ |
| ج | Jīm | ʒ |
| ح | hā' | h |
| خ | khā' | χ |
| د | dāl | d |
| ذ | <u>dh</u> āl | ð |
| ر | rā' | r |
| ز | zain | z |
| س | Sīn | s |
| ش | Shīn | ʃ |
| ص | ṣād | s ^ʕ |
| ض | ḍād | d ^ʕ |

| | | |
|---|-----|----------------|
| ط | ṭā' | t ^ʕ |
|---|-----|----------------|

| | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| ظ | dā' | ð ^s |
| ع | `ayn | ʕ |
| غ | gayn | ɣ |
| ف | fā' | f |
| ق | Qāf | q |
| ك | Kāf | k |
| ل | Lām | l |
| م | Mīm | m |
| ن | Nūn | n |
| هـ | hā' | h |
| ة | tā' marbūṭah | ɤ |
| و | Wāw | w (consonantal) |
| ي | yā' | j (consonantal), i: (lengthening) |
| ء | hamzah | ʔ |
| ا | alif mamdda | `aa |
| ى | alif maqsura | à |

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The main aim of the present study is to investigate the conventional linguistic practice of offering hospitality within the Libyan Arabic community. My examination focuses on the cultural use of the forms of offering by Libyan Arabic speakers. The analytical framework of the present study takes culture, as well as context, as its central focus. The study also attempts to foreground and challenge stereotypical assumptions, focusing on the way certain practices of offering hospitality forms are conceived as appropriate and thus acceptable in the Libyan speech community and how such ideologies have an impact on conventionalising these linguistic practices (e.g. refusing/insisting/accepting); they are then evaluated as either polite or impolite. Besides the cultural environment, the current study considers other factors and variables that are crucial for ensuring a successful offering interaction. It is the researcher's belief that the rapport management of offering interactions in Libyan culture is strongly inclined and marked by its religious character. This contextual factor and other factors, such as the level of intimacy between the interactants, gender and age of the interlocutors, are important factors in determining the type of strategies used for offering, and either accepting or refusing an offer. More specifically, the research endeavours to investigate the preferences regarding the use of certain rapport management strategies used by Libyan speakers while performing offering in different informal situations.

This thesis is concerned with the relationship between offering hospitality and politeness. It is likely that every culture embraces hospitality and related rituals and considers them essential to social events. Hospitality situations often seem to invite conventionalized and routine politeness formulae. However, I argue that the nature of

these routines, and the extent of conventionalization, will vary within Libyan culture according to the variety of situations, contexts, and participants and their relations.

In contrast to the traditional theories (i.e. Brown and Levinson, 1978; Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983), where the role of culture does not seem to be considered fundamental to politeness, the analytical framework of the present study is a combined methodology, involving Spencer-Oatey's model of rapport management (2000, 2008) and the discursive approach¹ to politeness that maps onto Mills' (2003) account. These models take variability across and within cultures, as their central focus. However, although every cultural community may have culture-specific values and norms² which are built on shared beliefs, attitudes and ideologies, these are not homogeneous (Kadar and Mills, 2011).³ Nevertheless, this thesis aims to describe the ideologies that are responsible for the sense of shared offering language activity among the speakers within the Libyan Arab community.

As one of the main functions of language is to establish and maintain human relationships,⁴ during interactions, the participants' assumptions and expectations about people, events, places, etc., play a significant role in the performance and interpretation of verbal exchanges. The choice of linguistic expressions and strategies to convey certain communicative purposes "is governed by social conventions and the individual's assessment of situations" (Nureddeen, 2008: 279). Accordingly, any research that identifies linguistic and cultural influences on the use of various speech acts and strategies in Libyan Arabic will help us to understand the culture of its speech community. As Wierzbicka (2003) has pointed out, speech acts reflect the fundamental

¹ Discursive approaches to (im)politeness are discussed in Chapter 2.

² However, cultural norms themselves are not static but, rather, dynamic, as we will see in Chapter 3.

³ Thus, "[i]t would be problematic and inadvisable to make any generalisations about all communities" (Grainger et al., 2015).

⁴ Spencer-Oatey (2002: 1) asserts that "several scholars (e.g. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, 1967; Brown and Yule, 1983) have pointed out that an important macro function of language is the effective management of relationships. In linguistics, this perspective on language use has been explored extensively within politeness theory".

cultural values that may be specific to a speech community. However, the focus of many of the previous studies (i.e. Al-Khatib, 2006; Emery, 2000; Alaoui, 2011) has been on speech acts in isolation. Thus, the present study focuses on longer stretches of interaction of offering hospitality as a social activity; it outlines the types of offering strategies in Libyan Arabic and the extent of their use, hence shedding light on the socio-cultural attitudes and values of the Libyan community. The investigation into the interactional behaviour of issuing, accepting and/or declining offers of hospitality in the Libyan cultural context can contribute significantly to our understanding of this offering sequence. To the best of my knowledge, there is no specific study that investigates the features of conventionalized speech acts performed in Libyan Arabic, or more specifically on offering hospitality in social interaction contexts. For instance, in Arab cultures offers are usually declined in the first instance; this is an anticipated response in Libyan Arab culture, since to accept an offer at the outset in certain situations is considered inappropriate. The norms and conventions of hospitality in Libyan culture often drive the host/hostess to use certain expressions and to repeat them in different forms; for example, the host might insist that the guest accepts the drink/food offered, as in the following example:⁵

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| اسماء: خوذي و النبي تاخدي taχðj ʔlnabj wa χuðj have prophet and have |
| 1- A: have it, by prophet L={please} <i>Refusal</i> |
| ليلي: صحتي sʕahatj you healthy |
| 2- L: May god gives you good health = {Thanks} |

⁵ This example is from the recorded data (see Appendix A, example (5), p:7).

In terms of script and word order, I followed the four-step model of transcription suggested by Mills (personal communication: sara.mills4@btinternet.com) as described in the methodological chapter.

Reoffer

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| اسماء: خودي طويسه هالعصير ʕasʕjr tʕ waisa χuðj juice small cup have |
| 3- A: have this small glass of juice. |

Reluctant acceptance

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------|
| ليلى: سلمك صحيتي sʕahatj salmik you healthy you save |
| 4- L: Thank you, may God give you good health. |

Such offers are considered relatively inappropriate in an English context. In Libyan Arabic, by contrast, conventions and formulaic utterances are commonly positively evaluated, being required even in fairly informal situations, and their omission might cause offence. Thus, “whereas various, and probably all, languages use formulaic utterances and conventions, speakers’ awareness of these formulae may vary according to the cultural context; there is a difference in the extent to which these conventions are expected and evaluated as appropriate” (Grainger et al., 2015: 46). For example, although some studies of politeness analyse the existence of offering hospitality in cultural or linguistic communities,⁶ the conventionalised routines which are associated with such linguistic practices seem to vary not only from culture to culture but even within cultures. Grainger et al. (2015) argue that, while there exist similarities in the occurrence of these linguistic practices within different cultural groups, different cultural norms and ideologies exist which impact on the way in which the offers are made in these cultural groups which, in turn, affects the use of offering strategies. According to certain ideological beliefs, traditional theorists (i.e. Levinson 1983; and Brown and Levinson 1978) portray offers and refusals as Face Threatening Acts.⁷ From a western perspective, Levinson (1983) argues that offers and refusals are dispreferred and are both Face Threatening Acts. The speakers risk their own positive

⁶These studies will be discussed in Chapter 4.

⁷ See chapter 3, section 3.4, for further discussion of this claim.

face and the hearer's negative face by making the offer, and the hearer also threatens the speaker's positive face by refusing the offer. However, it can be argued that this may not be the case in Libyan Arab society as in many other communities,⁸ because offers are seen as identity face and sociality rights⁹ enhancement for both the offerer and offeree during an interaction. Making an offer of hospitality enhances the offerer's identity face as being hospitable and generous and his/her right for interactional involvement, so it cannot be seen as an imposition; rather, it is an opportunity to enhance one's reputation, and therefore social face is foregrounded on equity face in Libyan offering practices. In addition, the initial refusal of an offer of hospitality in Libyan society can be seen as a face enhancing act, as it enhances the quality face¹⁰ of the guest by demonstrating that they are not greedy. Ritual refusal can be seen as an important part of a ritual in some offering situations that are oriented towards the participants' sociality rights¹¹ and obligations (Grainger et al., 2015). Thus, the goal of this thesis is to develop an approach which draws on cultural pragmatics for such empirical research, and thus I have adopted a combined approach (Spencer-Oatey's Rapport management; and the Discursive approach to politeness). The rapport management approach (Spencer-Oatey, 2000; 2008) provides a useful set of concepts (e.g., sociality face, sociality rights and obligations), and so helps us to analyse the politeness of offering hospitality whilst a discursive approach to politeness allows us to analyse offering contextually and within its social context.

The conventions related to being hospitable are examined by drawing on Spencer Oatey's (2000, 2008) notions of sociality face/rights and obligations. In Libyan Arabic, the interactional moves of insistence and refusal are conventionalized. The

⁸ See chapter 2 and 3, for more illustrations.

⁹ Sociality rights have "two interrelated aspects: equity rights and Association rights" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 14).

¹⁰ Quality face is concerned with "the value that we claim for ourselves in terms of our personal qualities so it is closely associated with our sense of personal self-esteem" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000:14).

¹¹ Sociality rights have "two interrelated aspects: equity rights and association rights" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 14).

conventions for offering hospitality, which are considered part of the habitus¹² of Libyan Arab culture, are based on assumptions about the respective rights, needs and obligations of the hosts and guests (Bourdieu, 1991). The concept of politeness behaviour being entrenched in a cultural ideology is compatible with Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) work on sociality rights and obligations during interactions. Thus, drawing on Spencer-Oatey's work, I argue that the Libyan Arab emphasis on host generosity as an important aspect of sociality rights tends to mean that the hospitality conventions in Libyan Arabic culture entail the elaboration of offering rituals and responding to offers. To understand better the concepts of this theory of relational work¹³ and how rapport¹⁴ components, such as sociality rights, obligations and face sensitivity, apply to offers as culturally constrained interchange, I have also adopted the discursive approach¹⁵ to politeness proposed by a new generation of politeness researchers. These approaches considered Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) model inadequate even for the analysis of Western politeness, due to a number of problems.¹⁶ As a reaction to the shortcomings of Brown and Levinson's theory, more complex (im)politeness models have been suggested by researchers (such as Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2008; the Linguistic Politeness Research Group (2011)). These approaches, in contrast to Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, take contextual and situational factors into consideration in the analysis process and are well aware of the complexity and diversity of cultures. The overall goal, then, is to develop a more contextual and social approach in order to understand the politeness of hospitality situations in Libyan culture, because this may better account for what might be perceived as appropriate or inappropriate.

¹² Bourdieu (1991: 12) describes habitus as "the disposition [which] generates practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'".

¹³ Relational work refers to the "'work' individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others" (Locher and Watts, 2005:10).

¹⁴ See chapter 2 for a full discussion of the rapport management approach.

¹⁵ Discursive approaches to (im)politeness are discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁶ These problems will be discussed in Chapter 3.

I now discuss the motivations and scope for the study. Following this, I discuss my hypothesis and research questions. Then, I investigate the relationship between politeness and offering hospitality. Finally, I outline the structure of the chapters of the present study.

1.1. Rationale and Scope of the Research

An important reason for carrying out the present study is the importance of offering hospitality in establishing and maintaining social bonds (Feghali, 1997). The sensitivity of the rapport management of offering has been recognised in Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach to politeness as a typical Face Threatening Act. They argue that interactants who engage in communication usually collaborate to maintain each other's face. Accordingly, speakers should be aware of when and how to express offers in order to maintain each other's face as well as their own. This assumption has been proven to be unable to account fully for the politeness phenomenon (Mills 2011) because, for example, their concept of negative Face Threatening Acts appears inadequate for many cultures (Sifianou 1992; Nwoye 1992; Matsumoto, 1988), particularly Libyan Arab culture, where offering hospitality and inviting others are not considered threatening to the hearer's negative face, impeding his/her freedom. Rather, offers and refusal are preferred in an unmodified or unmitigated form, and may even be intensified due to certain ideological motivations related to sincerity and good hospitality. The following illustrative example¹⁷ from my interview data reveals that the refusal of a hospitality offer is expected and not dispreferred (see Appendix C: 15, 18):

" مثل نحن لازم نعاود نعزم اكثر من مره مثلاً "خوذ هذي والله تزيد وهكذا" لازم نصر عليه عشان حتى
كان رفض اكثر من مره الضيف وواجبه في مجتمعا".

¹⁷ The details of this data can be found in Chapter 6.

(15) S: "We should repeat the offer more than once; for example, I say: "Have this, in the name of Allah, have more". Even if he refuses more than once, I must insist because it is the guest's right in our community".

"من الضروري اني نصر علي الضيف يتغدى او يتعشى وبيات أخرى ولازم نصر عشان يقبل عزومتي

او يعطيني سبب مقنع للرفض"

(18) R: "It's important to insist on him/her having lunch or dinner and staying overnight as well, and I'll keep insisting until he gives me a good reason why he can't be delayed, and the reason should be convincing".

According to traditional politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), insisting may be regarded as face-threatening,¹⁸ since it is viewed as a strengthened directive and an attempt to restrict the freedom of action of one's interlocutor. Therefore, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), directives are associated with face-threatening; this association between face threatening and directives has been explored by many researchers working on politeness and the management of interpersonal relations in different languages and cultures such as (Wierzbicka, 1985; Blum-Kulka, 1987; Sifianou, 1992). In such cases, the host may use stronger expressions than those that were used in the first offer to increase the pressure on the guest to accept the offer and, in so doing, to be seen as polite (Sifianou, 1992). In Greece, Sifianou (1992) argues that indirectness might involve some kind of dispreferred distance or degree of ambiguity (as in German, see House, 2012), so indirectness is dispreferred, while directness signals closeness and kindness; it is seen as polite in Greek culture. On the other hand, the refusal of an initial hospitality offer is expected as in the above examples (15, 18) and is preferred, in the sense that it is a culturally accepted norm (to avoid appearing greedy). This may be attributed to the reason cited by Grainger et al. (2015: 51) concerning Arab cultures:

The Arab host tends to believe it is an obligation to offer hospitality and also a right to have that hospitality accepted. The guest has a right to expect generosity from

¹⁸ Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that speech acts are intrinsically positive or negative; assuming that what does/does not constitute a threat to the hearer/speaker's face is universal across cultures.

the host but also an obligation to allow the host to appear generous without herself appearing greedy. In terms of linguistic behaviour, this tends to translate into sequences of offering, refusing and insisting. These rituals are fairly predictable and only moderately negotiable. It could be said, then, that the risk to speaker's quality face of making an offer is reduced for Arabic speakers. Furthermore, refusal of offers in Arabic is not always seen as a dispreferred act. It is perceived as part of a polite sequence of turns which precedes the ultimate acceptance of the offer.

This seems to be valid as far as Arab, or more precisely Libyan, speakers are concerned. Libyans maintain good relationships and place a high value on solidarity and intimacy, with a low emphasis on distance and privacy; thus, they tend to employ directives, which are conventionalized as appropriate, exhibiting informality and closeness in familial contexts. The examples above and many others have led me to conclude that a more complex approach is required, because a simple link between particular linguistic forms and certain functions, that ignores the fact that contextual and cultural factors can lead to different evaluations of contexts, is insufficient. Using Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) Rapport management and a discursive approach together, I can create a helpful framework to investigate and analyse the conventional practice of offering. Moreover, and instead of focusing on portraying the Libyan cultural group as being more or less hospitable, or judging Libyan people according to the sort of group to which they belong (collectivist/individualist), I find it more appropriate to investigate, (using the discursive approach), the ideological motivations that make the usage and interpretation of offering, refusing and insisting behaviours conventional within the Libyan community, which thus may be shared amongst the speakers within this community to different extents.

1.2. Research Hypothesis and Questions

The main hypothesis of my work is that the nature and sequencing of offering and receiving hospitality (offers, insisting and refusing) are conventionalised. They are conventionalized in the Libyan cultural community, and accordingly cannot always be

seen as face threatening behaviour, as they are usually described by the traditional theories of politeness. Levinson (1983), for example, attributes this to the belief that freedom from imposition takes priority. Rather, ostensible offering hospitality events are common in Libyan Arabic “as a manifestation of ritual politeness” (Eslami 2005: 453). The cultural norms and ideologies have an impact on how offers are made in the Libyan cultural community. With respect to religious ideologies, I would suggest that hospitality and offering are foregrounded in Libyan Arab culture, whereby the notions of morality and politeness are strongly connected with hospitality. Thus, the goal of this thesis is to show that it is a matter of how certain ideologies around the use of such forms is conceived as appropriate and thus acceptable in the Libyan community in hospitality situations, and how such ideologies have an impact on conventionalising the sequential linguistic practice (e.g. re-offer, refusal, insistence) so that they are evaluated as either polite or impolite.

In this research, it is hypothesized that the expectations related to social factors such as sociality rights and obligations, the relations between the participants, and the gender, age, and social distance between the interlocutors, all have a fundamental impact on the type of strategies employed by the participants. Based on the aforementioned considerations and arguments, the main research questions are as follows:

- 1- Under what circumstances are offers of hospitality made?*
- 2- How do assumptions about rights and obligations affect the use and interpretation of offering?*
- 3- What is the relationship between the contextual variables (i.e. gender, social distance and rights and obligations) and the type of politeness strategy employed?*
- 4- What are the linguistic characteristics of offering and receiving hospitality used by Libyan Arabic speakers?*

Thus, the main aim of this thesis is to contribute and develop an approach for the better understanding of the politeness involved in offering hospitality by examining this phenomenon in Libyan Arabic. This thesis also aims to analyse some of the cultural stereotypes of Libyan Arab culture, in order better to understand politeness and their use during cultural communications.

1.3. Politeness and Offering Hospitality

Most traditional theories (e.g., Brown and Levinson, 1987) argue for a dispreferred correlation between offers, refusal, insistence, and politeness. I would argue that these conventionalised strategies can be appropriate in situations of offering hospitality and expected by both participants. They should not be treated as something avoided by the speakers, as they are conventionally used due to the fact that the same linguistic repertoire is shared by the interlocutors within the Libyan cultural group. I would also argue that in employing directives as strategies of offer, insistence is seen as appropriate as it is so normalised in offering events in certain situations. More implicit and indirect forms are preferred in certain situations, (for example, in an unexpected visit at a meal time). As such, it would be difficult to classify a whole community as direct or indirect, because we cannot simply make generalisations about, for example, the functions of (in)directness in offering interactions within Libyan culture (Mills and Kadar, 2011). However, it might be possible to describe some of the ideologies of offering in Libyan Arabic language that are shared by many of the speakers within this community. For example, the contextual variable of religion has a fundamental impact on the sequence and the strategies used in offering, particularly during cross-gender offering interactions, where the expectations related to the rights and obligations of the participants during interactions are handled differently due to religious and cultural ideologies. Thus, investigating the linguistic ideologies around offering is of great

importance for understanding more fully this conventional practice. In this research, thus, I have moved away from Brown and Levinson's perspective on offers, refusal and insistence to analyse the politeness of these strategies, taking the contextual and situational factors of every particular event into consideration in a way that enables me to frame an appropriate description of this rapport in Libyan Arabic.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 examines the theories of politeness; it provides an overview of the politeness approaches, by critically examining the traditional theories of politeness. Then, I examine the approaches that I adopted in conducting this study: Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) rapport management approach, which stresses contextual and cultural factors and the discursive approaches (e.g., Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003), which share the same emphasis and additionally stress that acts of (im)politeness "are not achieved within individual utterances but are built up over stretches of talk" (Mills, 2011: 47). Moreover, discursive approaches consider that what should be taken into consideration is the individual's judgment of (im)politeness which is revealed by their utterances. Thus, I aim to review critically the traditional theories, in order to shed light on the importance of adopting more contextual approaches to develop an adequate explanation for the conventional practice of offering hospitality.

In Chapter 3, I examine the relationship between culture and politeness. Certain aspects of culture that influence communication style and politeness strategies are highlighted and the concept of culture and its relationship to identity and face, are critically reviewed, together with certain proposed cultural dimensions (e.g. collectivism/individualism), and a consideration of the main problems related to such distinctions. The primary aim of this chapter is to show that, despite the importance of culture in shaping the participants' strategy choices during interactions, 'culture' should

be viewed as fluid and dynamic rather than static. Thus, Arab cultures in general are not viewed as homogeneous even within a particular culture (e.g., Libyan culture). Then, I discuss politeness within Arab cultures and the notion of social face as a fundamental concept for understanding politeness in Arab cultures. Chapter 4 focuses on Arab hospitality and its relationship to politeness. The chapter investigates a wide range of issues related to these phenomena, including: the background and cultural expectations of Arab hospitality, and the definition and functions of offers, refusals and insistence as an essential part of the sequence of offering interaction and their relationship to politeness. Also, I discuss some studies on hospitality and offering hospitality in certain Arab cultures, and show why my examination of the linguistic practice of offering hospitality is different. I argue that this study assesses offering hospitality differently by taking into consideration the contextual and cultural factors and examining the whole interaction of offering, not simply the speech act itself. Thus, my aim is to show how performing and interpreting offering interactions may differ from one specific hospitality situation to another, taking cultural expectations and contextual factors into consideration.

In Chapter 5, the methodological framework for this study is presented, taking into account the theoretical framework, and the hypothesis discussed in the previous chapters. The data collection procedures are discussed. The methods utilized to gather the data for this study are qualitative ones, (focus group data and naturally occurring data, the recorded and log-book data, and interview data). The variety of data examined from Libyan Arabic language makes the results obtained more adequate and representative.

In Chapter 6, Data Analysis (Interviews and Focus group data Analysis), the emphasis is placed on the performance and interpretation by the speech community of offering hospitality in relation to politeness in Libyan Arabic. The data collected

through the interviews and focus group are thoroughly scrutinized. The focus is on examining how offers of hospitality are perceived by the interactants. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to highlight the main ideological and cultural motivations that influence the interactants' strategic communication choices in terms of offering hospitality in the Libyan speech community. I also examine how people within Libyan Arabic culture feel about using offers/refusal and insistence in relation to politeness which is, in turn, influenced by their ideological beliefs about these linguistic forms. The extent to which these forms may be considered conventionalized is also examined.

In Chapter 7, Data Analysis (Naturalistic-Data Analysis), I investigate, through the analysis of naturalistic data, the extent to which Libyan people conform to the way they feel that they and others should speak or behave, and compare this with how they actually do speak or behave. This might be similar to or different from their ideological beliefs about the practice of offering during interactions.

In chapter 8, the main findings of the data analysis are discussed and the means whereby Libyans use and interpret the speech behaviour of offering in their culture are highlighted, together with the implications of the study. Certain recommendations for further research are also proposed.

1.5. Summary

In brief, this thesis investigates how the conventional practice of offering hospitality reflects the interactional principles (e.g., association and involvement) that are considered important in Libyan Arab society and the ideological beliefs that affect the generation and interpretations of utterances during various offering events. The focus is on the extent to which offering is considered conventionalised and how the types of offering strategies are interpreted and evaluated. With this in mind, the present study seeks to illuminate the impact that culture, norms and conventions have on the

interchange of offering hospitality. This thesis as a whole aims to develop a form of analysis using rapport management (Spencer-Oatey, 2000-2008) and a discursive approach to politeness, which can capture the complexity of the cultural background of offering (historical, social and religious) and the effect of this on the strategies used, as well as the linguistic ideologies and the different cultural expectations related to hospitality situations within Libyan culture.

Chapter 2: Politeness theories

2.1. Introduction:

This chapter outlines the theoretical position of the present study. Section 2.2. reviews the definitions of politeness; section 2.3. outlines the traditional politeness theories, particularly those influenced by Grice's model, such as the work of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1980), Brown and Levinson (1978) and Scollon and Scollon (1995); and it is here that I outline the main weaknesses of each of these theories, showing why they are unable to provide a solid ground on which to develop an explanation of individuals' behaviour in relation to politeness and why I therefore adopt a different theoretical perspective.

The chapter then moves on to examine the models that offer a valuable analytical framework for understanding communicational interaction, such as offering hospitality; I discuss the two approaches that I have combined to effect this. I open section 2.4. by discussing the rapport management approach (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2008) to illustrate how the adoption of such an approach for studies linked with cultural pragmatics is useful, and I set out more clearly the linguistic and social features which can be apprehended when viewed through this prism when examining the behaviour of interactants in Libyan Arabic offers and refusals sequences. Section 2.5. discusses the models of discursive approaches to politeness that have been developed for empirical research. I have adopted the discursive¹⁹ approach to analyse the strategies for offering hospitality interactions and to illustrate how linguistic ideologies about sociality rights and obligations and face sensitivities apply to offers as culturally constrained interchange.

¹⁹ In recent years, a new generation of (im)politeness research has created a paradigm shift towards more complex (im)politeness theorizing, (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; and Watts, 2003; Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011). This approach, as mentioned above, has mainly been established in reaction to a number of different problems with the traditional politeness theories; for more details, see section 2.5.

The main research question that is posed in this chapter is accordingly: how adequate are the rapport management and discursive theoretical approaches to the analysis of politeness in offering and hospitality within the Libyan Arabic speech community? Since these two approaches offer a valuable analytical framework for understanding communicational interactions, I adopt them as the theoretical basis for this study, as will be discussed in section 2.6.

2.2. Discussions of the Definitions of Politeness

Politeness research is an essential part of pragmatics and is concerned with explaining what linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour entails, why it is considered 'polite', and how they vary in context; accordingly, such concerns have become central to politeness studies (Thomas, 1995).

The most frequently cited politeness studies lean towards a pragmatic view of politeness. Essentially, these studies focus on how people use communicative strategies to promote social harmony and agreement (Culpeper, 2011). As Leech (1983: 82) maintains: "The role of the Politeness Principle is to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place". Likewise, Brown and Levinson (1987: 1) state that: "politeness, like formal diplomatic protocol presupposes that potential for aggression as it seeks to disarm it, and makes communication between potentially aggressive parties possible". Thus, as O'Driscoll (1996) argues, both Leech's (1983) conversational-maxim view and Brown and Levinson's (1987) face-saving view analyse politeness as a strategic device used by speakers with the intention of achieving specific goals. Lakoff (1975:53), on the other hand, views politeness from the perspective of social appropriateness: "to be polite is saying the socially correct thing". Nwoye (1992: 310) concurs, stating that, in order to be polite, an individual must conform to the socially

approved norms of good behaviour and accepted demeanour. Though, the matter of appropriate polite behaviour is not always restricted to what is socially appropriate; the issue has another dimension, namely, as Sifianou (1992: 25) argues, it is: “a matter of differing interpretations of the politeness involved in each particular action or utterance” rather than ordering these rules differently within different cultures. Thomas (1995) encapsulates the research of scholars such as Leech, Lakoff, and Brown and Levinson in her summary of pragmatic politeness studies:

All that is really being claimed is that people employ certain strategies (for example: strategies described by Leech, Brown and Levinson, and others) for reasons of expediency – experience has taught us that particular strategies are likely to succeed in given circumstances, so we use them (Thomas 1995: 179).

The socio-cultural view of politeness, on the other hand, emphasises the social context; Culpeper (2011) terms this the “social norms or/and the constructions of participants (i.e. the notions which participants use to understand each other rather than which researchers use to understand participants)”. With regard to social norms, this view of politeness is summarised by Fraser (1990: 220) as follows:

Briefly stated, [the socio-cultural view] assumes that each society has a particular set of social norms consisting of more or less explicit rules that prescribe a certain behaviour, a state of affairs, or a way of thinking in context. A positive evaluation (politeness) arises when an action is in congruence with the norm, a negative evaluation (impoliteness = rudeness) when action is to the contrary (Fraser, 1990: 220).

A general view of politeness is given by Watts (2005: 2), who assumes that it “help[s] us to achieve 'effective social living'”. In his definition of politeness, Spolsky, (1998) considers the hearer's social rights as utterances employed by a speaker that identify the rights of the hearer or other participants in an interaction. Thus, expressions of politeness can be achieved by saying something that makes the addressee feel important and/or by appreciating something they had done or said; also, politeness strategies might not be accomplished if someone says something that might potentially offend the hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983). Sifianou and Tzanne

(2010) argue that politeness is a vague phenomenon that encompasses both verbal and/or non-verbal means of expression and marks itself mainly at a social level. They believe that the “(im)polite is not intrinsic to any particular behaviour and is not subject only to the speaker’s understanding or intention, but is the consequence of negotiation between interactants and their evaluation of the sequence of interaction” (Sifianou and Tzanne, 2010: 663). Culpeper (2008: 29) argues that, even though evaluations are “subjective and relate to local events, they reflect individuals’ expectations that are based on experiential and social norms”. The former draw from ‘each individual’s total experience’, and the latter from ‘the structures of society’, which seems appropriate for evaluations of the politeness associated with offering hospitality, which is subject to the local interchange of offering; evaluations register the social norms of offering hospitality and reflect the expectations related to such an interchange. Accordingly, as Locher (2006: 250) argues, “what is perceived to be (im)polite will thus ultimately rely on the interactants’ assessments of social norms of appropriateness”. Sifianou and Tzanne (2010: 669) state that “there is a general agreement that politeness means considering each other and to a certain extent good behaviour”. Concepts such as “consideration and respect, may take a variety of forms and may be equated with keeping a certain social distance or expressing friendly concern for the well-being of others” (Sifianou and Tzanne, 2010: 669). For example, in the linguistic practice of offering hospitality, consideration and respect take various forms according to the situation, interactants’ familiarity with each other, and other factors such as age and gender, as will be shown in chapters 6 and 7.

According to the descriptions mentioned above, (im)politeness may result from someone being unaware of the socially or culturally accepted politeness behaviour which is expected by others in a particular situation (Mills 2005: 268). Nevertheless, impoliteness and politeness are not simply binary opposites, because utterances cannot

be judged as either polite or impolite. Behaviour and the sequence of interactions on a scale of politeness have values including polite, less polite, impolite, rude and appropriate.

In conclusion, although scholars have not agreed on a definition of politeness, there is agreement that linguistic politeness refers to the principles, choice of linguistic forms and strategies involved in an interaction, in order to keep social interactions harmonious.

2.3. Traditional Theories of Politeness:²⁰

Grainger (2011) observes that there have been three main waves of politeness research: the Gricean approaches, the discursive approaches, and the sociological/interactional approach, which takes a middle ground between the two. The first wave of politeness theories was based on the Gricean model which was adopted and elaborated by many scholars such as Brown and Levinson (1987); Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983), and is associated with second-order politeness²¹.

2.3.1. Lakoff: The conversational-maxim view of Politeness:

Lakoff (1973) adopts Grice's concept of Conversational Principles in exploring politeness. She clearly discusses the concept of politeness in terms of pragmatic rules rather than in terms of strategies, that are created in order to dictate if an utterance is pragmatically well-formed or not (Lakoff, 1973). She proposes two basic rules of Pragmatic Competence: to be clear (essentially Grice's maxims) and to be polite.

Lakoff argues that these rules of Pragmatic Competence are not of equal importance. In other words, in most situations in which politeness and clarity are in conflict, people tend to choose not to offend others rather than to be clear. Lakoff

²⁰ This section reviews some, although not all, of the important theories of politeness.

²¹ Second-order politeness will be illustrated and defined in section (2.5.3).

(1972) is aware that the linguistic devices used to express politeness differ across languages; in other words, what is viewed as polite in one culture may possibly be perceived as rude in another. She assumes that “there is a universal definition of what constitutes linguistic politeness: part of this involves the speaker's acting as though his status were lower than that of the addressee” (Lakoff, 1972: 911). She further considers that the difference in how politeness is viewed across cultures and language is “the question of when it is polite to be polite, to what extent, and how it is shown in terms of superficial linguistic behaviour” (1972: 911). Seeing that speakers do not always follow the maxims and the Cooperative Principle²², and that people use politeness principles to avoid confrontation during interpersonal interactions, Lakoff (1973: 298) divides her second pragmatic rule of ‘to be polite’ into three rules of politeness. These are:

1: Don’t impose.

2: Give options.

3: Make A feel good - be friendly (Lakoff, 1973: 298).

The first rule is associated with formality and distance, but Lakoff (1973: 298) suggests that this rule “can also be taken as meaning, remain aloof, don’t intrude into ‘other people’s business’”. The rule "Give Options" is associated with situations and is intended to show deference by using certain linguistic utterances (e.g. hedges,²³ tag-questions). In Lakoff’s words: “certain particles may be used to give the addressee an option about how...[they are] to react” (1973: 299). The third rule is associated with cases in which the speaker uses certain strategies to make their interactant feel good, as “it produces a sense of equality between Sp and A, and (providing Sp is actually equal

²² The general principle from which conversational implicature is derived is called the ‘Cooperative Principle’ which is presented by Grice as follows: “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1975: 45).

²³ Hedges give the recipient the option of deciding how to take what the speaker is saying. Therefore, "John is sorta short" might be, in particular contexts, a polite way of saying "John is short" (Lakoff, 1975: 66).

or better than A) this makes A feel good” (Lakoff, 1973: 301). In her later work, Lakoff (1975: 65) reformulated her rules of politeness into Formality: (i.e., keep aloof), Deference: (i.e., give options) and Camaraderie: (i.e., show sympathy).

I think that this model is insightful in relation to Libyan offering of hospitality, if camaraderie takes precedence over formality, although this is less explanatory than I would like because, as Félix-Brasdefer (2008) observed, Lakoff’s “conceptualisation of polite behaviour is not clear because what is regarded as appropriate in specific interaction might not be always perceived as polite”. In addition, Lakoff’s model is insufficiently clear regarding how the suggested rules of politeness (i.e. don’t impose; give options; make the hearer feel good) are to be understood, the motivation or rationale for choosing them, and how interactants elect a specific strategy as argued by Watts et al. (1992). Therefore, it lacks satisfactory explanatory power.

Lakoff’s rules of politeness have been criticized for attempting to establish universal rules of politeness, and assuming a perfectly homogeneous language system, (Inagaki, 2007:9, Sifianou, 1992). Sifianou (1992: 24), for example, argues that “the only difference among cultures lies in the order of precedence of these rules”. The problem with Lakoff is not limited to the order of these rules: the issue has another dimension. As Sifianou (1992: 25) states, it is “a matter of differing interpretations of the politeness involved in each particular action or utterance” instead of ordering these rules differently within different cultures”.

2.3.2. Leech: (Politeness as Comity)

Leech is also maxim view (more explicitly than Lakoff, actually Leech (1983) adopts the framework originally set out by Grice in his account of politeness phenomena, despite his criticism of Grice’s (1975) Cooperative Principles’ failure to consider the social factors in language use. Leech (1983) argues that, even though

Grice's Cooperative Principles help to identify how people manage and interpret utterances (namely handling and conveying information), they do not sufficiently explain indirect interactions.

Leech's theory distinguishes between a speaker's illocutionary goals, i.e. what speech acts²⁴ the speaker intends to be conveyed by the utterance and the speaker's social goals, i.e. what position the speaker is taking with regard to being truthful, polite, ironic, etc. In this respect, he suggests two sets of conversational or rhetorical principles. By rhetorical, Leech means "the effective use of language in its most general sense, applying it primarily to everyday conversation and only secondarily to more prepared and public uses of language" (1983: 15). The two main systems of rhetoric are textual rhetoric and impersonal rhetoric. The former consists of the Processability Principle, the Clarity Principle, the Economy Principle and the Expressivity Principle. The latter consists of the Cooperative Principle with its four maxims (quality, quantity, relation and manner); the Politeness Principle, which consists of a set of maxims: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy; and the Irony Principle.

Leech (1983) treats politeness as falling within the domain of Interpersonal Rhetoric. He argues that his Politeness Principle (PP) is a crucial complement of Grice's Cooperative Principles, because it explains why people violate Grice's Principles when interacting. He maintains that, in reality, people tend to be more indirect than Grice's Cooperative Principle proposes. Leech (1983) emphasises that, to foster effective interaction, the cooperative principle alone does not entirely work, since one needs primarily to be polite in order to ensure cooperation. Accordingly, Leech proposes the politeness principle, to keep in balance good relations and social needs (Leech, 1983).

Leech (1983) points out that not all maxims are of equal importance: for example, the Approbation Maxim and the Tact Maxim are more significant and

²⁴ A speech act is an utterance which has a performative function in speech and communication.

powerful than the Generosity and Modesty Maxims, since his notion of politeness is more others-oriented than self-oriented. Leech (1983: 132) also remarks that every maxim consists of two sub-maxims. The tact maxim includes (a) minimize the cost to the other, and (b) maximize benefit to the other, whereas the generosity maxim encompasses the two sub-maxims (a) minimize benefit to the self and (b) maximize cost to the self, and so on. Leech indicates that different cultures have a tendency to place a higher value on certain maxims which shows the possibility of cross-cultural differences. Leech (1983) argues, for example, that some Eastern cultures place a higher value on the modesty maxim than do Western cultures; Mediterranean cultures tend to value the generosity maxim more highly than the tact maxim, which is valued more in English-speaking cultures. As far as Arabic speakers are concerned, this assumption or suggestion appears valid also, as Arab cultures seems to emphasize and value the significance of generosity, thus minimizing the benefit to the self and maximizing the benefit to others. Yet, we must steer clear of making generalizations about politeness across all Arab cultures, as these are not homogenous as I will show in chapters 6 and 7 (see Grainger et al., 2015).

Leech (1983: 83-84) views politeness as:

forms of behaviour that establish and maintain comity as avoiding conflict; thus, positive politeness is maximizing politeness (the expression of beliefs which are favourable to the hearer) and negative politeness is minimizing impoliteness (i.e. the expression of beliefs which are unfavourable to the hearer).

Frequently, the need for politeness collides with the manner maxims of CP (Cooperative Principle) which demand brevity and clarity. The following conversation serves as an example:

A: We'll all miss Bill and Agatha, won't we?

B: Well, we'll all miss Bill. (Leech 1983: 80)

In the above example, in order to follow the quality maxim to make a contribution that is as informative as possible to respond to A's utterance, B should probably answer, "Well, we'll all miss Bill, but we won't all miss Agatha". Yet, B, for politeness's sake, retains only the first clause and omits the second one to imply that they will not miss Agatha. Yu (2003), in his study on compliments, noticed that English speakers tend to conform to the agreement maxim by accepting another's compliment. That is to say, English speakers tend to maximize praise of the self by de-emphasizing the modesty maxim, while Chinese speakers do the opposite and incline towards minimizing praise to the self by upgrading the modesty maxim. For these reasons, the speech act of offering/refusal is anticipated not to completely follow the CP and the PP (Politeness Principle), and the choices of linguistic forms will change with contextual factors, such as the relationship between the interlocutors and the social situation. Accordingly, CP will weakly operate when politeness plays an important role in specific contexts.

Leech also proposes three pragmatic scales associated with his maxims which have "a bearing on the degree of tact appropriate to a given speech situation" (1983: 123). These pragmatic scales are: cost-benefit, optionality, and indirectness. He then suggests two further scales that are related to politeness in addition to these three scales: 'authority' and 'social distance' (1983:123). The cost-benefit scale describes the degree to which an action is regarded by the speakers to be either costly or beneficial to them, or their addressees, in terms of either finance or prestige. The higher the cost to the addressee, the less polite the illocutionary act, whereas the lower the cost, the more polite the act is (Leech, 1983). However, this is not always the case because, in some situations, cost-benefit messages can be seen as (in)appropriate (neither polite nor impolite), as I show in chapters 6 and 7. Thus such a suggestion does not always apply within or across cultures.

For Leech, being polite influences what kind of speech act one decides to use. Thus, in order to be polite, one may choose an indirect speech act, which Leech calls “the metalinguistic use of politeness in speech acts” (1983:139), instead of a direct one. Leech suggests that it is possible to increase the degree of politeness by using more indirect illocutions: “(a) because they increase the degree of optionality, and (b) because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be” (1983: 131-32). But, this is not always the case, because, in some situations (such as offering hospitality), an indirect offer can be seen as ill-mannered or even impolite, because the recipient may perceive themselves to be an unwanted guest, which threatens their face. Offers are not always direct, but rather a direct offer has become conventional in Libyan culture (as I show in chapters 4, 6 and 7).

According to Leech (2005:7), certain maxims, such as the tact maxim and the modesty maxim, represent the goals that people pursue in order to maintain communicative agreement. A sequence of polite utterances such as the following “may occur in certain cultures for example the invitation event tradition in China: Invitation →refusal →invitation →refusal →invitation→ accept” (Leech, 2005:9). It is worth noting that such sequences are common in Arab cultures as well, but not perhaps in other cultures. According to Leech (2005:10), such sequences represent “battles for politeness”, and can be resolved by negotiating politely. Thus, “traditionally, after a third invitation, say, an invitee will ‘reluctantly’ accept the invitation. Or one person will ‘reluctantly’ agree to go first through the doorway before the other” (Leech, 2005:10).

Leech’s politeness principles have been criticized for a number of reasons. Watts et al. (1992) question his concept of politeness, arguing that it is “far too theoretical to apply to actual language usage and too abstract to account for either the commonsense notion of politeness or some notion which fits into a general theory of social

interaction”. His indefinite number of maxims has been questioned by Brown and Levinson (1987) and Thomas (2014). Brown and Levinson (1987), for example, criticize Leech’s maxims on the grounds that “[i]f we are permitted to invent a maxim for every regularity in language use, not only will we have an infinite number of maxims, but pragmatic theory will be too unconstrained to permit the recognition of any counterexamples” (1987: 4). Leech’s classification of illocutionary acts is said to be too intrinsically polite or impolite by many scholars, such as Fraser (1990), Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003), and Watts (2003). Fraser (1990: 227) claims that “[w]hile the performance of an illocutionary act can be so evaluated; the same cannot be said of the act itself”. Though, in his more recent work, Leech (2007) insists that he “never made any claim for the universality of...[his] model of politeness” (2007: 169). Despite this claim, Leech believes that there is a common pragmatic basis for polite behaviour in different societies. This raises the question of whether Leech has truly moved away from the claim of the universality of his principles.

2.3.3. Brown and Levinson 1987 (Politeness as Face)

Brown and Levinson’s (1987) work on politeness has been regarded as the most influential theory in the field, as well as in speech act research. Their theory rests on the notions of rationality²⁵ and face.²⁶ Face and rationality are underpinned by the “...assumptions that all interacting humans know that they will be expected to orient to” (Brown and Levinson, 1987:58). Eelen (2001) argues that the notions of face and rationality are social norms as they are conceptualised as standards which people are expected to meet. These conceptions play a significant role in achieving the social aim of enhancing and maintaining face throughout social interactions.

²⁵ Brown and Levinson define rationality as “a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends” (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p. 63).

²⁶ Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) categorise face as the “public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself” which “can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction”.

Brown and Levinson proposed an innovative re-examination of the concept of face as a model for identifying the strategies adopted to support the face-wants of the interlocutors and also to mitigate those utterances with potential face-damaging effects (1987: 58). Face, for them, means “something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction” (1978: 66). It is a favourable public image consisting of two different kinds of face wants: first, the desire to be unimpeded in one’s actions, and second the desire for approval. During interactions, according to this model, people try to preserve both kinds of face for themselves and those with whom they interact; they cooperate in maintaining face because it is in their best interest to do so.

Brown and Levinson’s face theory contains three basic notions: face, face threatening acts (FTAs) and politeness strategies. They argue that everyone in society has two kinds of face needs. One is negative face, which is defined as one’s desire that nobody impedes one’s actions. The other is positive face, which implies that people expect their needs to be desirable to others. Every utterance is a potential face threatening act, either to the negative face or to the positive face and people need to employ politeness strategies to redress threatening behaviour. To assess the weight of a face threatening act, factors such as social distance, social power, and the degree of imposition must be considered. Thus, Brown and Levinson state that it is not only face demands that are universal, but also the contextual and social variables in terms of which the seriousness of a FTA is judged. Brown and Levinson (1978) construct a “Model Person” [MP], representing two special properties: rationality and face:

By ‘rationality’ we mean something very specific – the availability of our MP of a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends. By ‘face’ we mean something quite specific again: our MP is endowed with two particular wants – roughly, the want to be unimpeded and the want to be approved of in certain respects (Brown and Levinson, 1987:58).

Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that, under normal circumstances, all individuals are motivated to avoid conveying FTAs and are more motivated to minimize the face threat of the acts they use. However, the claim for the 'Model Person' has been challenged. Pan (2011), for example, argues that, within Brown and Levinson's politeness theoretical framework, the degree of politeness can be traced through the analysis of a particular speech act or politeness form within the context of a specific situation. This model, as a presentation of the Model Person, assumes that values and norms that constitute appropriate behaviour are shared by all speakers and hearers (Pan, 2011: 132). Mills (2003: 17) also argues that such an assumption brings with it many difficulties, because it suggests that "the individual can be discussed un-problematically as an autonomous person, who chooses to use certain language items and strategies rather than others". Nevertheless, "this tendency to characterise classes and cultures as homogeneous is not easily sustained when we examine the complexity of politeness in even one culture, or even within one class, and seems to be dependent on stereotypical beliefs about the linguistic behaviour of particular class" (Mills, 2003: 106).

Brown and Levinson (1978) further suggest that some speech acts entail an imposition on the participant's face. That is to say, they are inherently Face Threatening Acts (FTA); namely. "those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker" (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 70). Face threatening acts have been described by Thomas (2014: 169) as follows:

An illocutionary act has the potential to damage the hearer's positive face (by, for example, insulting H or expressing disapproval of something which H holds dear) or H's negative face (an order, for example, will impinge upon H's freedom of action); or the illocutionary act may potentially damage the speaker's own positive face (if S has to admit to having botched a job, for example) or S's negative face (if S is cornered into making an offer of help).

Therefore, such face-threatening acts need to be “counterbalanced by appropriate doses of politeness (Kasper, 1994: 3207).

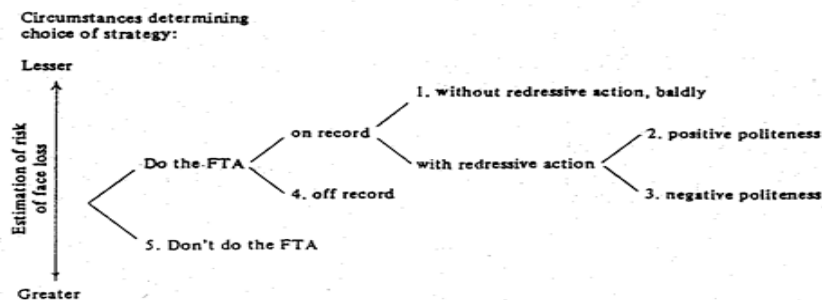


Figure 1: Strategies for FTAs (Source: Brown and Levinson, 1987: 69)

Fukushima (2000) summarises Brown and Levinson's position in the following terms:

“not only ‘face’, but also the strategies of face redress, are universal. They further claim that the underlying rational, motivational, and functional foundations of politeness are assumed to be, to some extent, universal, and are assumed to influence, and be reflected by, speech in many different languages and cultures” (Fukushima, 2000: 41).

It is this aspect of Brown and Levinson’s work, their claim for the universality of politeness strategies, that has, however, been heavily criticized, because what they conceive of as universal has been seen by many politeness researchers (e.g. Wierzbicka; 1985) as culturally specific; this is because their work has a Western bias. Thus, Brown and Levinson’s model cannot be applicable to all cultures or all contexts.

Brown and Levinson claim that any speech act has the potential to threaten the face of either the speaker or the hearer. They believe that interaction is far more concerned with observing politeness expectations designed to ensure the “redress of face than with the exchange of information” (Salmani-Nodoushan, 2007: 4). They proposed a direct relationship between social distance and politeness in such a way as to indicate that an increase in social distance will increase the degree of politeness. In Arab cultures, there exists a direct relationship between social distance and the degree of

politeness. Nevertheless, it is not necessarily the case that increased social distance will bring about an increased degree of politeness. Wierzbicka (1985) raises objections against the ethnocentrically Anglo-Saxon perspective of much pragmatic theorizing, pointing out that, in Polish verbal interactions, involvement and cordiality rather than distance and 'polite pessimism' are reflected in the strategies of linguistic action. These cultural values also demonstrably pertain to Mediterranean societies as well (Sifianou, 1992).

Brown and Levinson maintain that offers are potential Face-Threatening Acts: "there is a risk [the] hearer may not wish to receive such an offer" (1987: 39). They argue that any utterance which could be interpreted as making a demand or imposing on another person's autonomy can be regarded as a potential FTA. Offers, suggestions, advice, and requests can be regarded as FTAs, since they potentially impede the other person's freedom of action. An act that primarily threatens the addressee's negative face is a negative FTA; requests fall into this category because they indicate impeding the hearer's freedom of action. Any future act on the part of the speaker that puts pressure on the hearer, either to accept or reject and possibly incur a debt, such as offers, is a positive FTA. This is not always the case, such as, for example, in Libyan culture due to an assumed emphasis on mutual interdependence (Hofstede, 1984). Offers are perceived as a way of showing cordiality towards others and hence are face-enhancing (Spencer-Oatey, 2000). Therefore, for example, in societies or among individuals where association and involvement are valued positively, a failure to issue an offer or invitation could, in fact, be face-threatening. As I noted in chapter (1) Levinson (1983) suggests that offers should be considered dispreferred and avoided acts, and attributes the motivation for avoiding such speech act to the refusal of the offer itself, because refusals are considered dispreferred acts. People from various cultures, however, differ in their perceptions, and the relative value they place on negative or positive face will

vary due to their diverse cultural values. For example, hosts in many Western cultures usually accept their guests' refusal to eat more or stay longer. In Polish culture, for example, the host does not easily accept refusal but will often insist that the guest should eat more and stay longer (Wierzbicka, 2003), as in Arabic cultures.²⁷ Furthermore, a refusal of an offer in Arabic is not always seen as a dispreferred act. Rather, it is perceived as a polite strategy used by the hearer to ensure that the speaker is sincere in their offer through the latter's insistence (which is a significant strategy for making offers) and thus be certain that she/he will not cause any trouble for the speaker.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 70) maintain that insistence is undesirable since it "implies intrusion on the hearer's territory and limits his freedom of action"; what is preferable is that the offerer should try not to impose on the offeree. Thus, the offerer gives the offeree a chance to decide whether or not to accept the offered drink/food. With respect to Libyan culture, this is not always the case regarding insistence in the context of offering food/drink, including offering to stay on at leave-taking for more hospitality and offers; it is described overall as socially appropriate and even expected behaviour in the sociocultural contexts examined. Furthermore, it is associated with particular politeness orientations (e.g. a preference for involvement, solidarity, respect and camaraderie). Thus, I agree with Eelen's view (2001) that face is threatened not when people's individual wants are not met but, rather, when they fail to live up to the anticipated social standards.

I will move on in the next section to focus on Scollon and Scollon's (2011) model of politeness. Instead of focusing on politeness at the utterance level, as do Brown and Levinson, 1987), Scollon and Scollon (2011) focus on politeness in

²⁷ There is an awareness of the overgeneralization and over-simplification of the problematic collectivism cultural concept, but I am certain that it is convenient shorthand in Arabic literature that tends to emphasize interdependence and stress the importance of solidity within social groups.

discourse. Their approach ties Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) notion of face to social and cultural systems.

2.3.4. Scollon and Scollon's Model of Politeness

Scollon and Scollon (2011) focus is on politeness in discourse (communication). Their assumptions about how human communication works differ from those of Brown and Levinson (1987). Brown and Levinson (1987) see it as the production and interpretation of speech acts controlled by face concerns through the use of a set of politeness strategies. For Scollon and Scollon, communication is a process that involves the negotiation of meaning through discourse. Scollon and Scollon (2011: 35) regard the concept of face as "the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by the participants in a communicative event". They use this notion of face to refer to the ways in which cultural groups organise their social relationships and regard politeness strategies as reliant on culture differences. They point out that the idea of the self in Western cultures parallels an individualistic, self-motivated ideology and is open to ongoing negotiation while, in Asian cultures, which are collectivistic in nature, self-orientation is more connected to association in a group. Yet, it is problematic to judge a whole culture, whether Western or Asian, as having an individualistic or collectivistic orientation in its mode of communication because cultures are not homogenous and such orientations vary even within a single culture (as I show in chapter 3). Thus, the concept of culture should not be linked to nations because nations are made up of various cultures including, for example, varied language groups, geographical groups, whose members share, and believe that they generally share, similar cultural assumptions that are held by the majority (Culpeper, 2011a; Zegarac, 2008).

Scollon and Scollon define politeness systems as "general and persistent regularities in face relationships" (2011:42). These encompass three subsystems: the

solidarity politeness system, the deference politeness system, and the hierarchical politeness system. These three systems are, in general, based on the presence of power difference (+P or -P) and social distance (+D or -D) among the speakers.

A solidarity politeness system is marked by its interactants regarding themselves as “being of equal social position (-Power) and with a close relationship (-Distance); in this system, the interlocutors use involvement strategies to assume or express reciprocity or to claim a mutual point of view” (Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010:65). Involvement is used to emphasise “the person’s right and need to be considered a normal, contributing, or supporting member of society” (Scollon and Scollon, 2011: 46). Involvement is recognised by such discourse strategies as consideration for others, claiming in-group affiliation or to indicate familiarity between the speaker and hearer. The concept of independence, on the other hand, is used to stress the participants' individualism and autonomy and may possibly be realised by certain strategies such as using a given term of address and title, giving options to the interactants and making minimal assumptions (Scollon and Scollon, 2011). This approach lacks sufficient empirical research, as categorizing cultures as collectivistic or individualistic is inadequate (Shahrokhi and Bidabadi, 2013).

2.3.5. Critique of the Traditional Theories of Politeness

Many of the theories discussed in this chapter seem to represent a static understanding of politeness which is incapable of accounting for the politeness phenomena in different cultures (Eelen, 2001). Escandell-Vidal (1996: 629) argues that a number of empirical studies do not always accord with these traditional claims of politeness, revealing that “cultures strongly differ not only in forms, but also in the

social meanings associated with various strategies, in the internal structure of speech acts, or in the expectations concerning verbal behaviour”.

Many researchers point out that Brown and Levinson’s theory has contributed to the study of politeness; this cannot be denied, despite its limitations. Leech (2007) points out that “if...[Brown and Levinson's model] did not have the virtue of providing an explicit and detailed model of linguistic politeness, it could not have been attacked so easily” (2007: 168). By the same token, Thomas (2014), for example, maintains that Brown and Levinson’s work has been extremely influential and very extensively discussed. It is for this reason that their model of politeness has been subjected to much criticism. A number of linguists have challenged the universality of the Politeness Principles. This criticism seems to have originated in Wierzbicka (1985), who was later followed by many others: Chen (1993), Kasper (1990), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), Wierzbicka (1991), Watts et al. (1992), Christie (2000), Mills (2003), Watts (2003), Eelen (2001), and Spencer-Oatey (2000), to name but a few. Mills (2003: 79) criticises Brown and Levinson for considering politeness to be simply about the avoidance of FTAs, while neglecting cases where politeness is not a FTA. She elaborates that it is essential to note that politeness, even when associated with FTAs, still allows the FTA to be performed; it does not erase the effect of the FTA. FTAs are more complex than Brown and Levinson allow. Mills (2003) also argues that the main area of debate centres on the fact that Brown and Levinson’s model (and all theoretical works that have been influenced by it) remains at the utterance level and neglects the discourse level. Their model of analysis fails to consider every element that influences interaction in relation to the context. Thus, they are unable to explain the wide range of social and cultural differences between politeness phenomena. Mills (2003) points out that:

Theorists of linguistic politeness need to reorient their work so that they do not make false assumptions about what is going on in conversation when people judge each other as being polite or impolite. What we need are new ways of analysing politeness so that we can see the varying forces that at work in the process of being polite and impolite, and the outcome and effects of these assessments. I argue that we should not focus on, for example, the analysis of indirectness as an instance of polite behaviour, but rather that we should ask fundamental questions about whether all of the participants in the conversation we are analysing consider particular utterances as indirect and whether they themselves consider indirectness to be indicative of politeness or not (2003: 14).

This is oriented towards a more discursive analysis of utterances in a conversation focusing on the whole circumstance of a situation and the participants involved in this interaction. In some situations, utterances such as direct offers might not be judged as either polite or impolite but, rather, as (in)appropriate. Mills explains that her aim is not to try and reject the significance of Brown and Levinson's work, which as an analytical approach works thoroughly within its own terms (2003: 57). Rather, she argues for the abandonment of Brown and Levinson's model and suggests a new, more complex approach to politeness, one which "is concerned with the way that assessments of what politeness consists of are developed by individuals engaging with others in communities of practice, in the process of mapping out identities and positions for themselves and others within hierarchies and affiliative networks" (Mill, (2003: 58). Therefore, and in reaction to the weakness of Brown and Levinson's model, in recent years, a new, more complex politeness model has been developed. This is the discursive approach to (im)politeness, which has focused on the importance of analysing language at the discourse level rather than simply single utterances.

The notion of universality of face is another area of criticism where the disagreement focuses on the concepts of positive and negative face distinction. Scholars such as Gu (1990), Ide (1989), Ide et al. (1992), Matsumoto (1988), Nwoye (1992), Sifianou (1992), and Wierzbicka (1991) disagree with the positive and negative face

dichotomy, arguing that the cultural values embedded in Brown and Levinson's model are not recognized within all communities. According to this argument, the relationship between face wants and the types of politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson is not fundamentally valid in all cultures (O'Driscoll, 1996; Dimitrova-Galaczi, 2005). As argued by Matsumoto (1988:405), the "notion of individuals and their rights... cannot be considered as basic to human relations in Japanese society". Matsumoto argues that, in Japan, the acknowledgement of and maintaining positive regard for others' relative position is more significant than keeping a distance from an individual's territory, and this governs all social interactions. Likewise, Sifianou (1992:164) argues that, in Greek culture, negative FTAs in interactions are fairly irrelevant, while significant attention is paid to positive face wants. She also distinguishes between "in-group" and "out-group" orientations, explaining that Greeks "emphasize involvement and in-group relationships, based on mutual dependence rather than on independence" (Sifianou, 1993:71- 72).

Brown and Levinson's and Leech's theories have also been criticized for the fact that their focus is on the speaker's, rather than the recipient's, perception of politeness. In addition, what one views as polite or impolite behaviour during interactions is subject to immediate and unique contextually-negotiated factors, so my research seeks to contest perceived politeness with intentional, implicit politeness.

The above discussion should not be taken as an argument for refuting the traditional theories of politeness altogether. Regardless of their limitations, they can, to some extent, explain politeness in those speech communities to which they refer. It should be acknowledged that these approaches have played an important role in the development of politeness studies, and have made very important contributions to our understanding of politeness phenomena.

To sum up, the traditional theories have failed to consider cultural and contextual factors accurately (Spencer-Oatey, 2000); thus, Brown and Levinson (1987) did not show any real attempt to analyse politeness and the role of both culture and context during interactions. It is for the reasons detailed above regarding the lack of attention to culture and context that the above frameworks cannot serve as the theoretical basis for my study. Consequently, I consider other politeness models that, combined, provide a better explanation for the politeness behaviour of offering hospitality that is embedded in cultural ideology

It is worth noting that these approaches have also been criticised for a number of reasons (as I will show in section 2.5.4). As I am adopting both the discursive approach to politeness and the rapport management approach as the basis for my study, I will review these criticisms in an attempt to argue that these models, despite these criticisms, supplement each other and thus provide an adequate framework for the analysis of the politeness associated with offering hospitality in a Libyan cultural context. In the following section, I will discuss the rapport management approach to politeness.

2.4. Spencer-Oatey's (2000; 2008) Rapport Management

Spencer-Oatey's (2000; 2008) rapport management²⁸ view regards polite behaviour as reflecting the interlocutors' awareness and judgment of their own and others' behaviour. This approach emerged from the critical dissatisfaction with Brown and Levinson's concepts of negative and positive face (Spencer-Oatey: 2008). Spencer-Oatey argues that a rich combination of both social and contextual factors needs be considered when defining the rules of appropriate language use. The success or lack of success of a human interaction depends on people's behavioural expectations, "what

²⁸ The notion "rapport" refers to harmonious relationships within groups and "rapport management" includes the behaviour which enhances or maintains good relationships and any other conduct which may affect the rapport, positive, negative, or even neutral (Spencer-Oatey, 2000)

they believe is prescribed, permitted or proscribed behaviour” (Spencer-Oatey 2005: 97), face sensitivities as well as interactional wants. This assessment is rooted in contextually-based conventions, norms and protocols which vary according to “the communicative activity and setting and the type of relationship subjects have” (2005: 99). The key motivation behind Spencer-Oatey’s (2002, 2008) proposed framework for analysing interaction in language was profound dissatisfaction with the insufficiency of the ‘face-management only’ models for describing the phenomenon. Spencer-Oatey (2000) argues that the notion of face addressed in Brown and Levinson’s (1987) model of politeness only addresses the desires or wants of the self, i.e. the individual’s desire to be supported and independent. She therefore adopts the concept of ‘rapport’ to involve both the self and the other in investigating how language is used. She argues that what Brown and Levinson classify as negative face wants might not be face concerns at all. Spencer-Oatey (2000) offers an alternative and more effective way of examining the management of harmony/disharmony among people by developing a framework that entails three main interconnected components (see Figure 2 below): the management of face (i.e. face needs), the management of sociality (i.e. social expectations) rights and obligations, and the management of interactional goals (Spencer-Oatey, 2008:13) which considered by Spencer-Oatey as the bases of rapport between interlocutors.

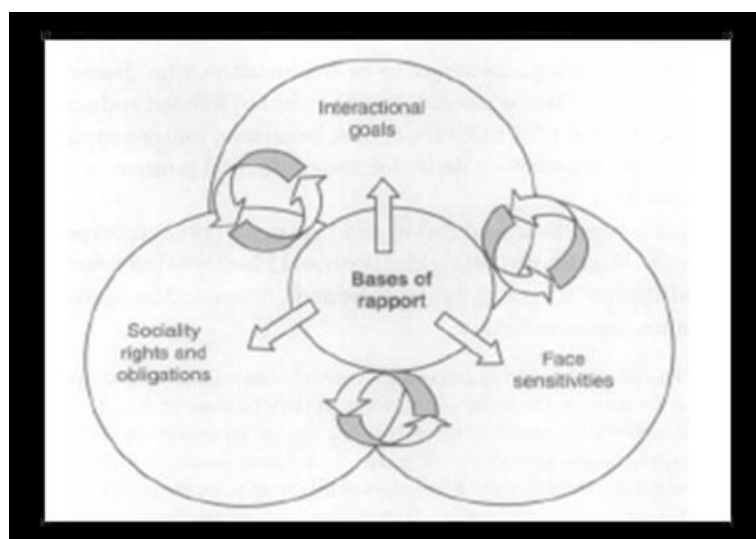


Figure 2: The bases of rapport, Source: Spencer-Oatey (2008:14)

Spencer-Oatey (2008:13) defines the notion of face in line with Goffman (1967), arguing that “Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of positive face has been underspecified” (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 13). She distinguishes between three types of face to explain people's basic desire for approval: quality face which is related to the individual's desire to be evaluated positively by others based on personal characteristics such as confidence; relational face which is related to the individual's desire to be evaluated in relation to others, such as being a kind-hearted teacher; and social identity face, which is related to the individual's desire to be evaluated as a group member, for example as a member of a family. For the purposes of this study, face involves opinions and/or sensitivities related to the interlocutor's personal behaviour, their association with a larger group or community, and their relationship with others during the interaction. With respect to the ways in which face is used, this method has been described as one of three types of interest that interlocutors can affect or attack during an exchange in order to define, affirm or change a relationship (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Spencer-Oatey's model of rapport management is particularly appropriate for this study; first, due to its ability to address the complexity of the consequences of face affecting the behaviour of offering hospitality in Libyan culture. Second, it can be argued that the majority of the definitions presented earlier conceptualize face as no more than the mere possession of the individual, which is not always the case. For example, during some interactions, an interactant may be unable to assign a value to his face, because it is the social group to which one belongs which gives an evaluative judgment regarding a person's face.

As mentioned above, Spencer-Oatey rejects the use of negative face as personal desire, proposing instead sociality rights; and further draws a distinction between face

and sociality rights, arguing that, whereas ‘face’ is largely concerned with self-esteem and social value, ‘sociality’ is concerned with the management of social expectations. She points out that “sometimes, people’s treatment of us may not simply irritate or annoy us: it may go a step further and make us feel as though we have lost credibility or have been personally devalued in some way” (2000: 16). Thus, contrary to the traditional models, which account only for FTAs, our sociality rights can be threatened, too. For example, in Libyan culture, the Libyan Arabic emphasis on being hospitable entails sociality rights for both the offerer and the oferee. If the host fails to carry out his hospitality duty, as expected by the guest, this might be perceived by the latter as threatening their or her sociality rights and the guest is likely to feel annoyed and uncomfortable. This behaviour might also threaten the identity face of the guest, where the host has an obligation to follow the rituals and conventions of offering hospitality. Spencer-Oatey (2000: 17) states that “when people threaten our rights, they infringe our sense of social entitlements, and thus, we feel offended, annoyed or angry”. In a similar way, in some situations of offering, if the host fails to perform the rituals of offering (e.g., reoffer or/and insist that his/her offer is accepted by the guest in a way that is unacceptable or not to the guest’s liking), then the guests may feel that their rights to association have been threatened.

Spencer-Oatey (2000:14) identifies sociality rights as “fundamental personal/social entitlements that individuals effectively claim for themselves in their interactions with others”. There are equity rights (i.e. personal consideration from others, being treated fairly, and not overly imposed on or exploited) and also association rights (i.e. the social entitlement to have an appropriate association with others and maintain relationships). Murata (2008) argues that, by introducing the notion of sociality rights, Spencer-Oatey extends the focus of politeness from individual to social concerns. The other component determining the rapport of interaction in Spencer-

Oatey's framework is the interactional goal of the conversations, which may be transactional and/or relational, which means that the purpose of the interaction is important since, if the conditions of the interaction are not satisfied, then the interactional purpose may fail.

Culpeper (2011: 25) points out that, although threats to harmony between people are related to the three components identified above, and “Spencer-Oatey’s rapport management is not confined, as in Brown and Levinson’s work, to counterbalancing the threat”, rather, as Spencer-Oatey (2008) suggests, rapport could be oriented to enhance, maintain, or even challenge the harmonious relationship between the interlocutors.

Rapport management comprises (im)politeness in that it encompasses social relationship management through language use (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). In other words, according to Spencer-Oatey, the fundamental contextual factors that influence the strategic use of rapport management can be the interactants’ relations, social/interactional roles and message content. Although the interlocutors’ relations are conceptualised in terms of power and distance, similar to Brown and Levinson (1987), in rapport management theory, these are defined in more detail; for example, it addresses different sources of power (e.g. expert, reward, coercive, referent, and legitimate power) and different components of distance (e.g. frequency of contact, social similarity/difference, familiarity, length of acquaintance). The interlocutors’ social and interactional roles encompass the perceived rights and obligations, whereas the message content is associated with the perceived costs or benefits. Spencer-Oatey argues that these contextual variables may be considered as dynamic, expecting that:

In the course of an interaction people’s initial conceptions interact with the dynamics of the interchange, both influencing and being influenced by the emerging discourse. If the interaction is to be ‘successful’ in terms

of rapport management, participants need to be very sensitive to these complex processes. (2008: 39-40).

Spencer-Oatey (2000) indicates that utterances cannot be evaluated as inherently polite or impolite, because determining this does not involve a social judgement; therefore, she views politeness as “a question of appropriateness” (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 3) which, in turn, depends on the ways in which different cultures manage rapport (Spencer-Oatey, 2000).

An issue that Spencer-Oatey (2000) regards as important, and which was not considered in depth by Brown and Levinson, is what she calls ‘contextual variables’. Grainger et al. describe how “She argues that social judgements are made in interaction based on these expectations and that a rich combination of both social and contextual factors should be taken into consideration when defining the rules of appropriate language use” (Grainger et al., 2015: 47). The contextual factors are considered to be power and distance relations. Spencer-Oatey sees these as key variables relating to participant relations and analyses them in terms of how they influence rapport-management strategies, and not just when conveying messages, as suggested by Brown and Levinson. Power involves social power, status, and authority. Spencer-Oatey considers the variable of distance, associating it with social distance, solidarity, closeness, familiarity and relational intimacy. Her rapport management model proposes that face is not subject to certain linguistic strategies; she investigates politeness behaviour in general and face, in particular, in relation to the sociality rights of both interactants as they produce polite and impolite utterances. Spencer-Oatey argues that any contextual variable, including power and distance, can influence rapport management. Crucial to my argument is the issue of the contextual assessment of politeness which involves what influences interaction. Contextual assessment supports the argument that the interactants’ capacity to distinguish what is meant with respect to

what is said is vital. This view is important in relation to this thesis's argument, that politeness is a matter of understanding between all interactants and not arbitrated by the meaning of linguistic choices and adopted strategies in isolation from the context.

Spencer-Oatey's framework meets the needs of this thesis's endeavour, because it incorporates crucial elements from politeness research (i.e., face, social norms and expectations, sociality rights, obligations and interactional goals) into a coherent framework - rapport management - that can be applied, in order to interpret interpersonal interaction. The way in which face is managed, the observance of social norms, and the orientation to an interaction in terms of goals are all aspects that affect linguistic choices.

In conclusion, Spencer-Oatey's rapport management model has been chosen as the theoretical framework for this study for two main reasons. First, the model argues that a rich combination of both social and contextual factors should be considered when defining the rules for the appropriate use of language. Spencer-Oatey's framework enables me to set out more clearly the linguistic and social elements which come into play in polite management by interactants in Libyan Arabic offers and refusals. Second, as Grainger et al. (2015: 47) state:

The purpose of an offer may involve displaying a sense that you are abiding by social norms and conventions and thus establishing a position for yourself within a culture or community of practice, as well as establishing or maintaining good relations with your addressees.

Therefore, this model has the potential to analyse the way in which language is used to manage complicated and multifaceted relations and politeness use in the offering interchanges data gathered for this study. Haugh et al. (2011: 4) confirm this: "Rapport Management Theory includes one of the most comprehensive frameworks of context for politeness researchers developed to date, and indeed in its breadth anticipates much of the current discussion of politeness as situated". Culpeper (2011)

points to how Spencer-Oatey (2008) explains how the face, rights, and goals components are related to pragmatic, contextual and linguistic characteristics, adding that “This elaboration goes well beyond simple lexically and grammatically defined output strategies or simple social variables. The important point for the model is that Spencer-Oatey provides a detailed analytical framework which we can apply to language data” (2011: 25). Nevertheless, Spencer-Oatey’s approach has been criticised for being not at all “concerned with plotting notions such as ‘polite’ or ‘impolite’ in her scheme” (Culpeper, 2011: 26). Spencer-Oatey’s framework takes rapport as its crucial focus and, as (im)politeness is naturally associated in some way with harmonious/conflictual interpersonal relations, rapport clearly refers to the relative harmony and smoothness of relations between people. As Spencer-Oatey (2005:95) explains:

Linguists have been debating the nature of politeness for a very long time and are still not agreed on exactly what it is. Despite all of these differences, everyone seems to agree that it is associated in some way with harmonious/conflictual interpersonal relations, which I label rapport management.

In addition, the rapport management concepts of face, face-enhancement and face-threatening explain clearly the polite behaviours that we find in interaction; for example, in their investigation of the conventional linguistic practice of offering hospitality, Grainger et al. indicate that the notion of politeness behaviour of offering “being embedded in a cultural ideology” fits well with Spencer-Oatey’s (2000; 2008) work on sociality and equity rights during interactions. Thus, this model of rapport management provides useful tools for analysing politeness, even if plotting notions such as “polite” or “impolite” are not clearly displayed throughout her approach.

Spencer-Oatey is also criticised for simply proposing a second-order framework of interpersonal relationships. This critique maintains that Spencer-Oatey’s work lacks any empirical analysis of extended speech which is primarily based on real data, rather

than isolated, invented examples. I acknowledge such a critique and because of this my data for analysis are naturally occurring data which sometimes contain longer stretches of discourse. Thus, discursive approach enables the analysis of a wide range of data and longer stretches of interactions which are judged and viewed differently by different interactants. It also allows the analysis of extended speech which is primarily based on real data, rather than single and invented examples; my aim is to solve the limitations of the rapport management model by modifying it with the discursive approach. Therefore, both the rapport management and discursive approaches (see the next section) form the theoretical basis for my study.

2.5. Discursive approaches to (Im)politeness

In recent years, there have been several attempts to construct a framework for politeness to account for confrontational interactions. Some researchers have adopted Brown and Levinson's (1987) model and they attempt to deal with the shortcomings of this traditional model, modifying certain aspects of these models to include additional rules or principles, but fundamentally adhering to their basic assumptions (for example, Culpeper 1996, 2005; Watts 1989, 2003).

Other researchers of (im)politeness, however, have triggered a paradigm shift by moving away from a theoretically motivated understanding (the traditional theories) towards a more discursive and complex (im)politeness theorizing (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003, 2011; Watts, 2003; Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011). These approaches have mainly been generated in response to a number of different problems with the traditional politeness theories; these new approaches challenge the traditional views of politeness by focusing on contextual and situational factors, and taking into consideration the participants' evaluation of the situations in which they find themselves, regarding these as essential to the process of (im)politeness analysis. These

discursive approaches²⁹ to politeness were initiated by Eelen (2001), who attempted to identify the common problems and shortcomings associated with traditional politeness theories. Eelen (2001) criticises the traditional theories for their static understanding of politeness, their dependence on Speech Act Theory, and their assumption that politeness is strategic and can be simply recognised by the interlocutors involved. He argues that the mainstream politeness theories are biased “towards the polite side of the polite-impolite distinction, towards the speaker in the interactional dyad and towards the production of behaviour rather than its evaluation” (Eelen, 2001: 119). Accordingly, he proposes a more complex and dynamic model of (im)politeness which, as indicated above, takes contextual and situational factors into consideration and sees the participants’ evaluation of the situations as fundamental to the (im)politeness analysis process. His critique of the politeness theories is highly valued by researchers, as it challenges the traditional views of politeness and heralds a new generation of politeness studies (Locher and Watts, 2005; Arundale, 2006; 2010; Haugh, 2010; Culpeper 2011a; Mills, 2011). For example, Watts (2005) suggests “giving up the idea of a Theory of Politeness altogether” (Watts 2005; cited in Haugh, 2007: 297), advocating instead a focus only on the assessments made by the participants during interactions, or paying less attention to the notion of ‘politeness’ itself and attending more to the broader types of what Locher and Watts (2005) label ‘relational work’. Watts (2003), similar to Mills (2003), concentrates on the fact that evaluating behaviour as polite is not simply a matter of analysing the expressions used but of reflecting on the interpretation of the behaviour in that particular cultural and social context. Discursive approaches emphasise the contested nature of politeness norms across and within cultures; thus, several discursive theorists (for example, Mills, 2003; Mills and Kadar, 2011; Locher

²⁹ Kádár (2011: 249) argues that “discursive is a vague definition and its basic virtue is that it presupposes diversity: this approach includes various insightful conceptualisation of linguistic politeness that often have not much in common. Nevertheless...the discursive approach is a ‘field’, because discursive research shares some related basic concepts”.

and Watts, 2005; Locher, 2006) are interested in contextual analysis rather than generalisations informed by stereotypical thinking.

Kádár and Mills (2011) hold that it is possible to make generalisations about tendencies within language groups (hedged by discussing other non-dominant norms within that group). Nevertheless, in general, discursive theorists recognise that stereotypes for how individuals should behave have a significant influence on the interlocutors' judgment of whether an utterance is polite or impolite (Mills, 2011). For example, Okamoto (2004) provides an example of normative behaviour in Japan, where Japanese women are expected to use more honorific or more polite language than men; a failure to conform to this norm could result in them being judged as impolite or unfeminine. The fact that cultures differ regarding their judgments about politeness has bestowed paramount importance on the mutually constructed view of politeness of both the speaker and the addressee.

Discursive theorists aim to develop approaches that embrace contextual utterances and expressions of both politeness and impoliteness. Therefore, they focus on what interactants exhibit in their speech to others; for example, such speech can convey to the other interlocutors what the speaker considers to be his or her own position in the group (Mills 2011: 35). These theorists also contest the stereotypes of politeness and linguistic ideologies, and examine how these inform the judgements that people make about what is acceptable linguistic behaviour (Agha 2007). Grainger et al. contend that “[s]peakers of languages develop habits and conventions which tend to be constructed and evaluated as ‘correct’ by dominant groups” (2015: 45). Agha argues for “a framework relative to which the interactional appropriateness of a particular usage as well as its consequences or entailment...are understood in any given culture” (2007: 63). Whereas insistence and offering hospitality using directive expressions might be

seen to be dispreferred in English, the use of such expressions is preferred or even required in Libyan society.

Discursive approaches generally stress how interactions inform what the interactants think it is possible to say, how they view their relationship with others including with their community, and how power influences these relationships. Instead of setting out from the analyst's sense of what politeness comprises, discursive analysis has a propensity to be local, context-focused, and qualitative in nature. The focus is on misunderstanding, ambiguity and the possibility of interpreting an utterance as polite or impolite, which is completely different from assuming that politeness is inherent in the words themselves (Mills, 2011).

Mills (2011) stresses that it is important to analyse whole sequences of naturally occurring interactions rather than single, decontextualized utterances. Furthermore, the interactants' evaluations of interchanges are taken into consideration, rather than assuming that certain linguistic forms are inherently polite.

Mills (2003, 2011) pointing out that Brown and Levinson's method perceives communication amongst the participants as perfect (i.e. people are always cooperative) and, therefore, misunderstandings cannot arise. Their model relies on the notion that people generally support rather than contest their interlocutors during interactions, but this is not always the case. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson's politeness analysis relies on counting given politeness elements in particular data; it is presumed that a simple relationship exists between linguistic forms and their functions. This type of analysis is problematic because, as Mills (2011) observes, it cannot help us to make assertions about the usage of that element in all utterances. That is because, as Locher and Watts (2005) contend, linguistic expression cannot be taken as intrinsically either polite or impolite. Thus, politeness expressions, according to discursive theories, are

seen as arbitrated and employed differently by different groups in different contexts (Mills, 2011).

This approach also focuses on the interlocutors' evaluation of what they conceive to be polite or impolite. Locher and Watts (2005: 16), for instance, point out that they "consider it important to take native speaker assessments of politeness seriously and to make them the basis of a discursive approach to politeness". However, it is not necessarily the individuals involved who are responsible for such evaluations; rather, these judgements "are the product of negotiations within communities of practice and wider groups" (Grainger et al., 2015: 46). Thus, a discursive approach aims to move away from the stereotypical judgments of what counts as polite or impolite towards investigating linguistic ideologies that lead individuals to make such judgements.

Another key criticism of Brown and Levinson's method, as mentioned above, has been aimed at the claim of the universality of their politeness approach, based on face mitigation; politeness, is expressed differently across and within cultures. Therefore, there is no one culture that is more polite than others and all cultures are equally polite (Sifianou, 1992). According to Mills (2011), many discursive theorists are doubtful about generalisations and more concerned with contextual analysis. Though, there are two contrasting views in terms of generalisations about politeness: one view argues that "what is appropriate cannot be predicted universally and must be addressed at the local level" (Locher, 2006:253). The other view (e.g. Mills, 2011) considers that it is still conceivable to generalize about the tendencies towards politeness in language groups if we consider the "other styles and norms which are perhaps not dominant in the language" (Mills, 2011: 49). For example, among Libyan Arabs, it is believed that there is a general tendency to show association and involvement in hospitality encounters, which seems true, to some extent; nevertheless, if we consider the contextual factor of gender, we may see more tendency towards

equity rights between the participants when cross-gender offering interactions take place in Libyan culture, because the cultural expectations and ideologies about what is assumed to be appropriate in cross-gender offering interactions may differ from same gender offering interactions (as we will see in chapters 6 and 7).

Since the discursive approach, as Grainger et al. contend, “is concerned to develop forms of analysis which can capture the complexity of the way linguistic ideologies of appropriate behaviour and politeness are drawn on and evaluated in interaction” (2015: 45), it has developed methods which distinguish it from other previous frameworks (e.g. Leech 1983 and Brown and Levinson, 1987). For example, Locher and Watts “see little point in maintaining a universal theoretical notion of politeness” (Locher and Watts 2005: 16) and advocate its abandonment. In a different way, Mills (2011) believes that it is still conceivable to generalize about tendencies of politeness in any language group, if we consider the “other styles and norms which are perhaps not dominant in the language” (Mills 2011: 49); thus, she avers, “it is possible to talk about politeness and impoliteness in a universalistic way” if we consider the different meanings of these terms within different societies, and the nature of politeness norms within and across cultures (Mills, 2011: 26).

Discursive approaches to politeness share some common features. Mills (2011) refers to these as follows: “firstly, discursive theorists share a view of what constitutes politeness; secondly, discursive theorists try to describe the relation between individuals and society in relation to the analysis of politeness; thirdly, discursive theorists tend to use a similar form of analysis” (2011: 35). As Mills (2011) makes clear, these elements are tendencies rather than rules, and theorists may focus on one aspect more than others. Thus, this view sees discursive approaches as distinguished from traditional theories, in that they analyse language primarily based on real data at the discursive level, in order to investigate how politeness is evaluated over time. Another feature shared by the

theorists of this model is that meaning should be perceived as related to the socio-cultural contexts of the interlocutors rather than as static; this is the main claim of this model.

Beside these shared elements, discursive theorists have their own distinctive features, too. Thus, it is worth noting that not all discursive theorists completely reject Grice's model; some (e.g. Culpeper, 2011; Grainger 2011) seek to modify this analytical framework and retain certain elements of it in their approach. For example, the range of data that has been analysed by Grainger (2011) has enabled her, as she claims, to conclude that the concept of politeness in Brown and Levinson's approach is somewhat useful in the analysis of verbal practices. That is, "[i]t is not only possible, but desirable, to analyse naturally occurring interaction for the linguistic management of face and social relations without necessarily having recourse to participants evaluations of 'polite' behaviour" (Grainger, 2011: 84). On the other hand, other politeness researchers support the emphasis on the participants' evaluations through exchanges, or concentrate on broader matters, beyond the notion of politeness, what Locher and Watts (2005) call 'relational work'³⁰.

Despite her emphasis on the importance of context when analysing data, Terkourafi (2005) offers a frame-based approach to develop a complex type of analysis that takes context into consideration and enables generalisations about (im)politeness³¹ to be made in a way that fits the views of both the traditional and the discursive approaches. A frame is defined by Terkourafi (2005: 253) as "psychologically real implementations of habitus"; by Geyer (2008: 38) as "a set of expectations which rests

³⁰ Locher and Watts (2008: 96) claim that "[r]elational work refers to all aspects of the work invested by individuals in the construction, maintenance, reproduction and transformation of interpersonal relationships among those engaged in social practice."

³¹ Culpeper (2010: 3232) indicates that Terkourafi's model is not entirely suited to representing the conventionalised impoliteness formulae, claiming that "indirect experience of impoliteness, especially via metadiscourse, does much to shape what counts as impolite and thus what may be conventionalised as impolite. Such impoliteness metadiscourse is driven not only by the salience of impoliteness, but by the social dynamics of impoliteness itself".

on previous experience”; and by (Mills 2011) as the experience of people’s past ways of interaction that set up a frame for the way they are expected to interact in the present.

Terkourafi (2005) claims that, although discursive approaches to politeness have rejected the assumptions of the traditional frameworks of politeness, they still share two basic elements: both are conceptual frameworks and both are based on actual theoretical preoccupations which affect how they approach the gathering and analysis of data; (i.e. speech-act theory and the co-operative principle in the case of traditional theories and the notions of politeness³² and discursive struggle over politeness in the discursive theories). This theoretical emphasis is clearly demonstrated by their attitude to the concept of norm. As the traditional theories assume that a norm is *a priori*, they consequently involve a quantitative analysis of data. The post-modern models, by contrast, challenge the existence of norms and pre-empt the value of quantitative analysis (Terkourafi, 2005).³³

Terkourafi’s frame-based principles are rationality and face-constituting. She retains Brown and Levinson’s speech act analysis but modifies it thus: “the participants’ own observable responses that guide the classification of any particular utterance as realising a particular type of act, and moreover as a polite realization of that act” (2005: 248). She has adopted a quantitative methodology which makes a minimal *a priori* supposition about the interpretation of the data. Her frame-based approach to politeness is data-driven. It is based on the analysis of a large corpus of spontaneous interactional exchanges between native speakers of Cypriot Greek, using both speech-act theoretic and conversation-analytic criteria (Terkourafi, 2001). She analyses both offer and request utterances by identifying them, and then classifies these utterances on the basis

³² The distinction between politeness 1 and politeness 2 will be discussed in section 2.5.3.

³³ Some scholars (e.g. Mills, 2003) have identified problems with the quantitative method which make it less suitable for linguistic politeness data analysis. For example, Mills (2003) argues that it is difficult to assume that the experimental environments into which the informants are placed are representative of real situations; thus, their behaviour cannot be generalised to their actual behaviour in real life or to that of their whole community.

of whether the act was presented as desirable to the hearer or to the speaker respectively. This frame-based view also examines norms empirically and analyses them quantitatively in order to establish “regularities of co-occurrence of linguistic expressions and their extra-linguistic contexts of use” (Terkourafi, 2005: 247). It is difficult to assume that for example the regularities of co-occurrence of linguistic expressions in offering hospitality as desirable in all offering encounters because (as I will show in chapter 7) the conventional expressions used in refusing and insisting are preferred and conventionalised in offering hospitality encounters however in other offering exchanges are dispreferred for contextual reasons thus interactants' behaviour cannot be generalised to their whole society. In the following section, I will discuss some of the terms which are concerned with the analysis of (im)politeness and related to the discursive approach.

2.5.1. Linguistic Ideologies

Linguistic ideologies can be defined as “sets of interested positions about language that present themselves as forms of common sense, that rationalise and justify the forms and functions of text and talk” (Hill, 2008: 34). Values and beliefs form the basis of the linguistic ideologies that a given society stereotypically holds about language use (Hill, 2008). Therefore, as politeness researchers point out, close links can be detected between the interlocutors' strategies and the social norms that are perceived in their society (Fraser and Nolen, 1981; Gu, 1990; Watts et al., 2005; Chen, 1993). This can be interpreted as meaning that the members of society tend to follow certain rules in order to maintain their affiliation to the group. For example, politeness conventions are a clear example of ideologies of ‘correct behaviour’ on display in interactional behaviour. Therefore, it can be argued that speakers' relevant ways of interaction in general and in an interchange of offering hospitality in particular are

linked to their pragmatic knowledge and to some extent to the social identity and pre-existing ideologies concerning politeness. That is not to say that everyone adheres to these ideologies', however there seem to be a significant influence of cultural ideologies on the way people offer and receive hospitality in Libya.

Eelen (1999) differentiates three types of politeness ideology: common-sense ideology, scientific ideology and social ideology.³⁴ Common-sense ideology (i.e. culture-specific: Eastern/Western) signifies "the set of stipulations or norms which determine what is 'polite' and what is 'impolite' in everyday ordinary interaction" (Eelen, 1999: 163). This refers to speakers' interpretations and assessments of social behaviour and the rules that appraise such evaluations. Within the common-sense ideology of politeness, Eelen distinguishes between "what ordinary speakers actually do (the actual evaluations they make) and what they say they do (their metapragmatic beliefs and discourse about politeness)" (Eelen, 1999: 163). Thus, how people feel they should speak or behave does not necessarily reflect what they actually say or do. Eelen argues that such ideologies, in the form of rules of politeness, are accountable for presenting a simple version of reality, in that they highlight certain cultural ordinary values (e.g. the direct socio-structural indexicality of politeness in the case of Japanese).

Mills (2011: 1048) cautions against "referring to politeness norms within or across cultures, because statements about linguistic cultural norms often appear to be conservative, profoundly ideological and based on stereotypes". She gives the example of Arabs who are judged as too direct when speaking English to show that the ideological judgement of (im)politeness norms might signal negative feelings towards particular nations. Mills argues that researchers should focus less on what they think are

³⁴ The scientific and social ideologies will not be discussed here because this lies beyond the scope of this research. The scientific ideology of politeness refers to "the different ways in which science has tried to make sense of –or capture or explain– politeness phenomena. Social ideologies are not ideologies of politeness, both types (e.g. 'individualistic' Western social ideologies vis-à-vis Eastern 'collectivistic' ideologies) are closely related, in the sense that social worldviews are often used as explanatory factors in scientific accounts of politeness" (Eelen, 1999: 164).

the norms of a culture, as these will certainly be hypothesised stereotypes. However, she does not claim that such norms need to be disregarded, but merely verified, suggesting that “...preconceptions and ideological beliefs about the linguistic behaviour of certain groups can be described objectively and perhaps can form part of our analysis of politeness stereotypes” (2011: 44).

Like many other communicative interactions, offering hospitality can be greatly influenced by ideologies pertaining to what is meant to be 'polite' or 'impolite', with an emphasis on linguistic ideology or beliefs regarding language use. These linguistic ideologies have substantial effects; they are not merely ideas, but formulate the resources from which the interactants may construct or select their particular contributions (Agha, 2007). Conventions of hospitality tend to be evaluated as appropriate by the Libyan social group (e.g., the initial ritual refusal of an offer of hospitality, using assertive insistence). Thus, Libyans Arabs are considered high on the obligatory conventions and formulaic utterances of hospitality, which are seen as appropriate and required in everyday offering contexts, and their omission would cause offence (Grainger et al., 2015). Libyan Arabic, like many cultures, uses conventions and formulaic utterances. For example, swearing (the invocation of God) prefaces communicative acts of offering hospitality in Libyan contexts to emphasise sincerity and politeness, while it is clearly associated with incivility in English culture³⁵. Linguistic ideologies, thus, are beliefs about language which people hold to be true and beyond controversy. People deal with these ideologies as normal facts which they feel reflect real life. In this study, however, I differentiate between what appears to the participants as 'common sense', and their actual behaviour.

³⁵ Swearing has a range of usage and meanings in English, ranging from rudeness to camaraderie.

2.5.2. The Rituals, Conventions and Routines of Linguistic Groups

Routines, conventions and rituals are the core elements that constitute the social norms of linguistic groups, because they can be said to be built up over time through the sharing of what is seen as appropriate by individuals in a given culture. Even though no clear distinction can be drawn between these three factors, they each seem to involve some emotional aspects that are significant for social relations. Ritual comprises a series of regular repeated actions; Kadar and Bax (2013:75) maintain that “it concerns relatively formalised, even stereotyped forms of (language) behaviour that serve emotional as well as relational functions” and “communal emotive activities that regulate human life” (2013:75). For example, as in Persian culture (Koutlaki 2002), in Arabic cultures the practice of the offer, the guest refusing the offer, and the refusal followed by at least one further insistence of the offer has become a ritual that is often employed in hospitality situations (Alaoui 2011); such insistence is seen by Libyans as a mark of respect towards guests and of consideration for the guests’ rights. In addition, the ritual refusals of the offer are expected, to establish that the offerer is sincere in their offer (Koutlaki, 2002). However, Muir (2005) argues that ritual has lost most of its effectiveness, particularly in modern societies, becoming “mere ritual” (Muir, 2005 cited in Kadar and Bax, 2013: 75). Many factors might explain this deterioration of the impact of ritual, according to Kadar and Bax (2013), including globalisation, modernisation, and the decline in religious belief,³⁶ all of which have brought about significant changes in communicative behaviour. However, this might not be the case in Libyan Arabic, where rituals of offering remain strongly motivated by Islamic moral teaching and cultural expectations (see chapter 4, section 4.2.1.3).

³⁶ Certainly, religion and religious belief are not declining and deteriorating everywhere; in some communities, such as certain Arab countries, religion seems to dominate social life.

The second constitutive element in the social norms of the linguistic group's conventions can likewise be recognized through "regularity in the behaviour of members of a community on the expectation that others will conform to the pattern" (Griffin and Mehan, 1981: 199). Griffin and Mehan point out that the first important stage in establishing a convention is negotiation. Once initiated, certain patterns of behaviour gradually become automatized and routinized: "Once a convention is established, then people conduct a course of action automatically, without need for negotiation. It is at such times, Goffman (1967) would say, that a ritual has been established" (Griffin and Mehan, 1981: 199). For example, Griffin and Mehan point out that classroom behaviour seems to conform to the view of automatic convention: teachers usually spend the first few weeks establishing certain patterns of behaviour (e.g. correcting mistakes, explaining the rules, and so on), then the teachers and students seem to perform the learning conventions far more smoothly as the year progresses. Another example is the conventions of offering hospitality in Arab cultures (Al-Khatib, 2006; Al-Khatib, 2001; Alauoi, 2002), where the host is expected to insist on the guest to accept the hospitality and the guest is expected to reject this offer several times, before accepting it. These conventions are developed over time where the level of linguistic ideology, the notion of morality and politeness is strongly connected with hospitality and generosity (Feghali, 1997).

Coulmas (1981: 4) describes conversational routines as "tacit agreements, which the members of a community presume to be shared by every reasonable co-member" and normally employ in order to interact with others. For Coulmas, these routines are created by using similar expressions in similar repeated situations. Consequently, certain consistent interactional situations, where the members of a given society communicate in a particular way, are reproduced (e.g. farewell routines), and negotiation is not required. So, "whenever repetition leads to automatization, we could

call a performance a routine” (Coulmas, 1981: 3). Thus, to understand and interpret the meaning of such routines, we need to focus on their interactive meaning rather than their literal function.

As mentioned above, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between the concepts of routines, conventions and rituals because they are all established through the regular recurrence of a particular behaviour. Nevertheless, they do seem to vary in the sense that, while it is necessary for routines to be shared and approved of by large groups within society, conventions and rituals can be established within relatively small groups (e.g. in-group members such as friends). Furthermore, while routines do not necessarily involve emotions, rituals appear to be seen as phenomena that include emotive significance. However, Agha (2007) argues that any regular acts within a social community should not be treated as static, because:

Every cultural phenomenon has a social domain at any moment of its history, susceptible to dialectical variation (and sometimes also ‘dialectal’ variation) through processes of communicative transmission that expand or narrow its scale. Talk of variation in ‘scale’ in this sense is talk of changes in the social domain of cultural formations through semiotic activity itself. When a cultural construct has a recognizable reality only for a sub-group within a society, processes of communicative transmission can readily bring the construct to the attention of other members of society making it more widely known and thus presupposable in use by larger segments of the population (Agha, 2007: 78).

That is to say, the social norms of a certain group (e.g. elites) within a culture are usually generalised to the whole culture. For example, in terms of using directives, some of the performatives which are used in offering hospitality by Arabic speakers in Libya differ from those used within the ‘social domain’ of English speakers. For example, direct performatives (such as: ‘have more’ or ‘you're not eating a thing. Eat more’) might be seen as inappropriate in English, whereas in Libyan Arabic the use of such performatives is acceptable (or even appropriate), especially in family settings.

This style of speech seems to be evaluated positively in many other social and cultural groups, which have a tendency to view direct forms as the norm when making requests or offers. These direct forms may attract such positive evaluations because they are associated with closeness between the individuals in such communities.

2.5.3. First and Second Order Politeness

To develop a concept of politeness that extends beyond that of appropriateness, some researchers have distinguished between the traditional 'folk' notion of politeness and a more theoretical, linguistic notion (Watts, 1992). Watts (2005) differentiates between two types of politeness; first-order politeness (politeness1) and second-order politeness (politeness2), respectively.

Kasper (1992: 206) understands first-order politeness to be the social notion of “proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others”. It refers to the common-sense notion of politeness, “the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups”, and an understanding of what establishes politeness from the participants’ perspectives during interactions. Second order politeness, on the other hand, is “a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage” (Watts et al., 1992: 3). Eelen (2001) argues that a theory of politeness should be an investigation of politeness1 (i.e. an examination of the everyday notion of politeness/understanding the linguistic and social world). Therefore, the relationship between politeness1 and politeness2 “should be carefully monitored throughout the entire analytical process-not only at the input stage” (Eelen, 2001:31). Eelen advocates an awareness of the distinction between politeness1 and politeness2 to prevent the direct and thoughtless transposition of the scientist’s concepts onto their analysis of interaction without questioning the everyday reality of the interactants (Eelen, 2001). However, Eelen (2001:253) further asserts that both notions of politeness

“must not simply be different and separate systems of thought without any real interface, but rather must interlock to form a coherent picture”. He suggests that using the notion of ‘habitus’³⁷ to explain politeness should be clearly manifested in social reality, and in relation to the commonsense notion of shared norms. As regards second order politeness, Locher and Watts (2005) suggest that it should be excluded from politeness research; the focus should only be on the hearer’s evaluations and interpretations of what is polite and impolite during naturally-occurring interactions. Grainger (2011), however, suggests that first and second order politeness are closely related to each other, so the second type should not be excluded from analysis. Such views raise several questions related to whether the discursive approach can usefully inform politeness research, as will be discussed in the following section.

2.5.4. Criticism of the Discursive Position

Discursive approaches have been criticised for seeking to account for psychological concepts such as ‘intention’, ‘perception’ and evaluation’. Arundale (2006) and Haugh (2007) argue that discursive approaches like Gricean pragmatics assume an encoding-decoding model of communication. Yet, their claim seems inadequate because, as mentioned above, there is a considerable difference between the Gricean and the discursive approaches: in the Gricean models, meaning is seen as static and unchanging in all situations, “transmitted in a linear fashion from an idealised speaker...to an idealised hearer” (Grainger, 2013: 29). In the discursive approaches, by contrast, meaning is perceived as fluid and dynamic according to the context, situation and familiarity between the participants; furthermore, the participants’ interpretations

³⁷ Bourdieu (1991: 12) describes habitus as “the disposition [which] generates practices, perceptions and attitudes which are ‘regular’ without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any ‘rule’”.

are typically accessed by asking them for evaluations after the interchange. Thus, as Haugh (2007: 303) indicates the interactants become

“the analysts of their own interactions, a critical approach which conflates the roles of participant and analyst, and reduces the role of the analyst to merely representing participant understanding of the interaction”.

However, the analyst can play an important role in the analysis process, along with interactional data, to interpret the overall context, as suggested by Mullany (2011).

The discursive approach theorists have also been said to be incapable of shaping a theoretical framework (Terkourafi, 2005). However, this can be attributed to the dynamic nature of this approach, which is better suited to contextual and situational analysis. Hence, it can be difficult to form a framework without falling into generalizations. The discursive approach is also criticised for privileging the hearer, by focusing on their evaluations, above those of the speaker, and their intention (Terkourafi, 2005; Grainger, 2013). Terkourafi (2005: 245) points out that “[p]ost-modern theorists are...hearer oriented, in that they locate politeness in hearers’ evaluations rather than speakers’ intentions”. This claim is not entirely accurate, because the discursive approach emphasizes the analysis of extended parts of speech; interpretation is established over several encounters, during which both speakers and hearers are involved in exchange. However, the main criticism directed at the analysis within this type of model is that the role of the analyst seems to be limited, as the crucial element in judging politeness is the participants’ self-evaluation. Thus, the role of the analyst appears to be minimal (Terkourafi, 2005; Haugh, 2007). Haugh (2007: 303), for example, questions “whether the postmodern emphasis on the understandings and perceptions of participants leaves the analyst with precious little to do”. Mills (2011) counters this by arguing that the role of the analyst is to “assess what as a whole the norms of appropriateness might be within a particular community and to suggest that perhaps certain utterances might be considered to be polite, but that does not guarantee

that they are viewed in that way by participants” (2011: 46). Mullany (2011) also suggests that the analyst can play a role in the analysis process by using the participants’ assessments and evaluations as a source, in addition to interactional data, to interpret the overall context. Thus, the analyst’s role can be seen, not as limited, but rather as extended.

Having countered these criticisms, it is now possible to move on to note the advantages offered by the discursive approach. It provides a useful framework for investigating different aspects of social interactions in different contexts. For example, Kadar and Pan (2011) point out that the discursive approach is very useful in providing insights into (im)politeness behaviour because “by accepting diversity and the potential appropriateness and acceptability of seemingly ‘atypical’ behaviour, rather than assuming that there are uniform rules of behaviour and hence excluding certain ways of behaviour from our analysis, we are able to explain some anomalies of...(im)politeness” (2011: 128-29). Thus, in contrast to the traditional models of politeness, where it is supposed that a simple relationship exists between linguistic forms and their functions, the discursive approach argues that expressions are seen differently and thus evaluated differently by individual interactants. Accordingly, the discursive approach to (im)politeness enables the recognition of the complexity and diversity of the contextual judgements within and across cultures.

The discussion in this chapter has addressed the reasons for adopting the rapport management model alongside the discursive approach to (im)politeness. As I have shown in this chapter, it is clear that a model is needed to examine the conventional linguistic practices involved in everyday hospitality situations; to analyse the nature and sequencing of offering and receiving hospitality in the Libyan cultural community; and to discuss the extent to which offers and refusals are conventionalized in Arabic, as well

as the cultural norms and ideologies which influence how offers are made in the Libyan cultural group. I have argued that, by using Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) notion of rapport management combined with the discursive approach to politeness, I hope to develop a more contextual discursive approach in order to capture the complexity of contextual judgements within Libyan culture. This will draw on Spencer-Oatey's concepts of sociality face and sociality/equity rights and obligations, all of which are fundamental to Libyan offering hospitality interactions. I will draw on these notions to frame the sequence of offering and examine the conventions, norms and cultural expectations alongside deploying a discursive approach to examine and analyse naturally occurring sequences and the perceived linguistic ideologies of offering hospitality

2.6. The Theoretical Basis of the Study

For the purpose of the present study, and in view of the preceding theoretical review, rapport management (Spencer-Oatey, 2000-2008) and discursive approaches form the foundation on which I build my theoretical approach. My design combines the theoretical perspectives of rapport management and discursive approaches to polite behaviour, as these take situational and contextual factors into consideration, and acknowledge the complexity and diversity of cultures, which are not homogeneous. The traditional approaches have been rejected as they presuppose a universal theory of politeness which cannot be applied to different data from different cultures. In my view, the combination of Spencer-Oatey's rapport management (2000, 2008) with the discursive approach provides the solid foundation required for such an empirical study.

2.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed the main approaches to politeness, particularly the traditional models, which were based on the Gricean model, I have also examined

Spencer-Oatey's approach of rapport management (2000; 2008) and discursive approaches to (im)politeness. The traditional theories of politeness, such as Brown and Levinson's (1987), have been heavily criticised for their bias towards a Western view of politeness and their claim regarding the universality of politeness. It is this aspect that prevents the traditional models from serving as the theoretical basis for this thesis. By examining the politeness approaches, I have concluded that the discursive approach combined with rapport management constitutes the most appropriate methodology for this study; both crucially focus on the context-specific nature of the utterance. This study requires a methodology with the potential to analyse the way in which an offer may involve displaying a sense that one is abiding by the social norms and conventions and thus establishing a position for oneself within a culture or community of practice. The suggested combination of approaches offers an opportunity to analyse how language is used to manage complicated and multifaceted relations and politeness use. The approaches chosen are the most applicable to the type of interpersonal and cultural study which constitutes the focus of my work.

Chapter 3: Politeness and culture

3.1. Introduction

I begin this chapter by reviewing a number of definitions of culture in section 3.2. I then move on to discuss the relationship between culture and identity in section 3.3. Following this, in section 3.4., I discuss the relationship between identity and face. I then review and evaluate some of the suggested cultural classifications, such as positive/negative politeness and collectivism/individualism, in section 3.5. Then, in section 3.6., I examine the notion of politeness in Arab cultures in general and Libyan culture in particular. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a comparison of the general tendencies and stereotypes in relation to preference regarding politeness strategy choices in Libyan Arabic. Spencer-Oatey (2000) argues that rapport management and culture are interrelated; therefore, background cultural knowledge is “manifested at different layers of depth, ranging from inner core basic assumptions and values through outer core attitudes, beliefs and social conventions, to surface-level behavioural manifestations” (2000:4). Thus, this chapter aims to discuss certain aspects of culture which are related to my study with the aim of developing a form of analysis which can represent offering hospitality at a cultural level.

3.2. Definitions of Culture

A critical interpretation of the concept of ‘culture’ is important, because various ‘ideologies’ of politeness are often perceived to emanate from particular cultural settings (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003). Most of the definitions, as Culpeper (2011) argues, present culture as a set of characteristics and rules that are passed down from one generation to another. For instance, Hofstede (1991) describes culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (1991: 5). However, the concept of culture is very broad and can

be seen to have a wide range of meanings. It may be argued that ‘culture’ cannot be seen as a fixed notion. Therefore, the concept of culture adopted in this work is defined by Spencer-Oatey (2000:4) as being “a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member’s behaviour and each member’s interpretations of the ‘meaning of other people’s behaviour’”. She adds that, within that group, the members are unlikely to share “identical sets of attitudes, beliefs and so on, but rather show ‘family resemblances’, with the result that there is no absolute set of features that can distinguish definitively one cultural group from another” (Spencer-Oatey, 2000:4). Mills (2003) states that culture is what individuals assume about their society and, as Mills and Kadar (2011:34) argue, viewing culture as a set of rules inherited by the generations can risk portraying individuals as “passive recipients of cultural values and speech styles”. By the same token, Holliday et al. (2010: 3) view culture as “a fluid, creative social force which binds different groupings and aspects of behaviour in different ways, both constructing and constructed by people in a piecemeal fashion to produce myriad combinations and configuration”. Culpeper (2011) adopts the same standpoint, drawing attention to the fact that cultures should be perceived as “multiple and constantly undergoing change, and people shift in and out of particular cultures” (2011: 12). Yet, Culpeper argues, norms can differ from one culture to another or from one group of people to another, and thus (im)politeness can be interpreted in different ways.

Culture is also subject to ideological challenges and changes; therefore, it is in continuous flux. Culture is not only that which has an impact on individuals’ behaviour; it is also the societal and personal variations between them.

3.3. Culture and Identity

Recently, researchers have focused on the significant relationship between culture and identity. Identity is related to one's sense of self (Culpeper, 2011a) whereas the self is viewed by Fiske and Taylor (1991:181-182) as "the person's mental representation of his or her own personality, attributes, social roles, past experience, future goals, and the like". According to Alexander and Knight (1971, cited in Culpeper 2011a: 13), identities are "selves enacted by behaviours in certain contexts". So, for example, I argue that expressing an offer, refusal and insistence appropriately not only requires knowledge of the frames where different forms can be appropriately employed, but also that the interlocutors adopt certain identities and roles that accompany such usage. Culpeper (2011: 13) clarifies the notion of 'identity' as "connected with one's sense of self". The self can be perceived as a 'self-schema',³⁸ which is defined from various perspectives. Therefore, "identities are selves enacted by behaviours in particular situations, however, it should not be thought that identities are solely determined by situations; they can be strategically enacted to determine situations" (Culpeper, 2011: 13). Therefore, someone's feeling about her/his 'self' relies on others' feelings about this 'self'. Spencer-Oatey (2007:641) indicates that the theories of identity tend to distinguish between personal (individual) and social group (collective) identity. They illustrate that individual identity represents "self-definition as a unique individual, while collective identity signifies self-definition as a group member". That is, 'identity' is subject to an individual's membership of a particular group, which is properly static, whereas identity should be treated as being more contextual and dynamic. In contrast to this perspective, Simon (2008) explains that it depends on how people practise a given identity, giving the example that in many situations religious

³⁸ Self-schema includes different selves, such as the selves that one would like to/should be. Therefore, "identities are selves enacted by behaviours in particular situations...However, it should not be thought that identities are solely determined by situations; they can be strategically enacted to determine situations" (Culpeper, 2011: 13).

value may be only one characteristic of a person's 'individual identity'; however, in other circumstances, it might be the feature that interprets his or her collective identity. He points out that all "self-aspects, no matter whether they are construed in terms of individual, relational or collective identities are both cognitive and social in nature" (Simon, 2008: 54). Yet, not only do people form "cognitive representations of who they are that are relatively stable and enduring" (2008:54), but they also build and negotiate their own identity through social interaction. Therefore, as Mullany (2011:138) states, identity, from a social-constructionist perspective, is something that we perform that we dynamically achieve during interaction. Thus, identity is not seen as absolute, but rather as "a socially constructed category" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 9), where identity is created in discourse of all types. Accordingly, "rather than being *reflected* in discourse, identity is actively, ongoingly, dynamically *constituted* in discourse" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 4). In this study, I adopt the discursive approaches' perspective on identity because they take a more social position, where identity can be realised as more dynamic and interactive within discourse, along with being influenced by cultural norms. In the next section, I will discuss the relationship between identity and face, as the latter is fundamental during Libyan social interactions, particularly in offering hospitality situations.

3.4. Identity and face

Culpeper (2011) argues that identity is associated with the notion of 'face'. That is, "when you lose face you feel bad about how you are seen in other people's eyes" (2011: 13). Thus, as Spencer-Oatey argues, face and identity are similarly related to the idea of self-image, which includes individual, relational and collective considerations of the self, and also both include various self-aspects or attributes. Nevertheless, the notion of face is merely connected with attributes that are sensitive to the speaker. Face is

“associated with positively evaluated attributes that the claimant wants others to acknowledge (explicitly or implicitly), and with negatively evaluated attributes that the claimant wants others not to ascribe to him/her” (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 644).

Additionally, Spencer-Oatey goes to argue that, during interaction, face threat, loss, and gain will merely be perceived when there is a bad fit between a quality that is demanded/rejected, in a situation of negatively considered behaviour, and a quality or an attribute perceived as being ascribed by others. Spencer-Oatey (2007: 644) argues that:

The attributes that are affectively sensitive will vary dynamically in interaction, and will not always conform to the socially sanctioned ones (or non-sanctioned ones, in the case of negatively evaluated traits). In fact, it is possible that people will choose to contest one or more approved attributes, and to claim other attributes that are more important to them in that particular context.

In hospitality situations, the attributes that the offerer claims vary dynamically during the interaction, according to various contextual factors that influence the sequence of the offering. For example, in some situations, the offerer needs to be seen as a generous host and for their offer of hospitality to be seen as sincere. On the other hand, in other offering situations (e.g., some family offering interchanges), showing familial warmth is claimed where generosity might not be an attribute that the offerer claims (it may be implicitly claimed).

3.5. Cultural differences

3.5.1. The Collectivism/Individualism distinction

Individualism and collectivism are key concepts that are used to clarify the differences and similarities between communications across cultures (Hofstede, 1991). In general, Hofstede argues that cultural differences are derived from two tendencies: individualism and collectivism, with the former focusing on an individual's goal, and

the latter emphasizing the goal of a group of people (Hofstede, 1991). Theorists such as Hofstede (1991) and Scollon and Scollon (2001) argue that, some of the global dimensions of cultural differences suggest variability in the concept of the ‘group’ and the ‘individual’, and the dimension of individualism/collectivism is argued to be foremost in this respect. I will discuss collectivism as it is considered the core of Arab cultures, according to Scollon and Scollon’s (1995) classification of cultures. They emphasise that the main concern in collectivistic cultures is the effects of individuals’ actions on their group, as opposed to individualistic cultures, where freedom of activity is more important. Collectivism is defined by Hofstede (1991) as follows:

Collectivism pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (1991: 51).

This means that people care about other in-group members, regard themselves as members of a collective, and give priority to the collective over individuals. Lihui and Jianbin (2010: 46) argue that “in cultures that tend toward collectivism, a ‘we’ consciousness prevails: identity is based on the social system; the individual is emotionally dependent on organizations which invade private life”. Consequently, in the Arab value system, the interests of the collective outweigh those of the individual. Furthermore, the aim of each individual is to contribute to the comfort and prosperity of the group/country. Cooperation and harmony are valued in interpersonal relationships, and people respect authority. As stated above, the definition of collectivism appears to be associated with the notion of the ‘group’ within its culture. In collectivist cultures, “good relationships are important, and interpersonal reality is valued” (Fukushima, 2000: 121-22). For instance, it is argued that Japanese people place low emphasis on distance and privacy. Thus, Japanese culture is usually classified as a collectivist culture (Fukushima, 2000). A greater concern for group face seems to be entailed by collectivist

cultures; thus, it influences the communication styles among collectivists, as Scollon and Scollon (2005: 147) explain:

In a collectivist society, many relationships are established from one's birth into a particular family in a particular segment of society in a particular place. These memberships in particular groups tend to take on a permanent in-group character along with special forms of discourse which carefully preserve the boundaries between those who are inside members of the group and all others who are not members of the group.

In a collectivist society, the members of particular groups tend to take on a permanent in-group character along with special forms of discourse which carefully preserve the boundaries between those who are members of the group and all others who are not.

Nevertheless, such a classification is problematic, because this view suggests that all individuals who are supposed to belong to collectivistic cultures have the same tendency towards an in-group character, which is not always the case. Each culture might have a tendency to adopt a collectivistic orientation to a greater or lesser extent. For example, some theorists characterise the politeness norms of a certain language as reasonably homogeneous, such as describing Arabic politeness norms as collectivist and British politeness norms as individualist (Feghali, 1997). The findings of a cross-cultural study (Grainger et al, 2015) comparing offers in Arabic and English cultures shows that the linguistic conventions related to offering hospitality are not completely different in these cultures as, in both Arabic and English cultures, the host has an obligation to offer hospitality. But, there also exist certain differences, because of the diverse emphases on social expectations. Another major linguistic characteristic that is usually linked to the collectivism/individualism distinction is association/equity strategy choice; that is, it is argued that association expressions correlate with collectivist cultures. For example, in Arab cultures, as a collectivist culture, there is "a strong emphasis on mutual interdependence influences social interaction patterns throughout the life span" that "influences patterns of association among them" (Feghali, 1997: 352).

Making such generalizations about cultures is inaccurate, despite the fact that this may also be as Spencer-Oatey (2008: 16) argues that this may also be

influenced by the interactants' personal values (which in turn may be influenced by the communities that they are members of). Thus, equity can be linked with (but of course is not identical to) individualism and to an independent construal of self, and association can be linked with collectivism and to an interdependent construal of self.

This effect differs between characters in all cultures and is governed by different circumstances, and contextual and goal-related motives, where individuals may place greater weight on equity than association, or vice versa (2008). Just as the theorists of the discursive approaches argue, making such generalizations about cultures is inaccurate because individualism and collectivism exist in all cultures; it is simply the case that one tends to predominate in individual behaviour at specific times in specific situations and one tends to underpin linguistic ideologies.

3.5.2. High-context and low-context cultures

Arab cultures have been considered as high context, a characteristic that tends to be associated with Hall's high vs. low context communication, which is present in the physical context or adopted by the interactants (Hall, 1976). Hall (1976) describes courtesy and face-saving as more important for members of high context cultures than what Westerners consider truthfulness. That is to say, interlocutors may react in friendly or pleasant ways when direct answers may be felt to be uncomfortable or upsetting. By contrast, Western cultures are categorised as having a tendency towards low context communication, in which the interlocutors clearly express their thoughts, even though these utterances may be harsh and gratuitously direct (Hall 1967).

Yet, making generalisations about cultures as we have seen is problematic. One problem is that some results obtained about the individualism/collectivism distinction contradict other empirical studies. For example, Al Batal et al.'s (2002) empirical study

suggests that, overall, the strategies and frequency regarding refusals in Egypt (as a high-context culture) and the US (as a low-context culture) are similar. Thus, such contrasting views cannot be taken as the basis for empirical research. Therefore, although tendencies towards either collectivism or individualism might be recognised within cultures, describing a whole culture according to a stereotypical, static view of this individualism/collectivism distinction is inaccurate, because each culture tends to use both types to a greater or lesser degree.

3.5.3. Positive and negative politeness cultures

Some theorists classify cultures as positive or negative politeness cultures, in accordance with the degree to which they are apt to use either type. Brown and Levinson (1987: 243) point out that:

People's choices of communication style influence interactional ethos, and that there can be significant differences between sociocultural groups in this respect: Every observer in a foreign land knows that societies, or sub-cultures within societies, differ in terms of what might be called 'ethos', the affective quality of interaction characteristic of members of a society. . . . In some [positive- politeness] societies interactional ethos is generally warm, easy-going, friendly; in others [negative-politeness societies] it is stiff, formal, deferential. That is to say, positive politeness cultures tend to value social closeness, while negative politeness cultures have a tendency towards valuing social distance.

One of the criticisms of Brown and Levinson is that their distinction between negative and positive politeness is unconvincing (Meier, 1995). This problem, according to Meier (1995), arises from the fact that Brown and Levinson categorize many Face Threatening Acts as threatening both negative and positive face.

Cultures are also classified as having positive or negative politeness orientations, according to the degree to which they tend to use either type. For example, a culture like Greece is described as having a positive politeness orientation (Sifianou, 1992), while

the British and Japanese are usually described as having a tendency towards negative politeness (Mills and Kadar, 2011). As Kadar and Mills (2011) maintain the interpretations of camaraderie (which is argued to be emphasized in positive politeness cultures) or deference (which is argued to be stressed in negative politeness cultures) may vary and differ from one culture to another. For instance, Mills and Kadar (2011: 27) emphasise that “deference in many Asian cultures is conventionalized just as indirectness is conventionalized in British English”. Therefore, because the function and understanding of each type of politeness might differ from one culture to another, it cannot merely be argued that a certain culture has a tendency towards a specific type of politeness, either positive or negative. Moreover, as in the instance of the distinction between collectivism/individualism, negative and positive politeness may occur in all cultures, but to different extents (Mills and Kadar, 2011). Hence, describing a whole culture as having a tendency towards either positive or negative politeness is not adequate.

3.6. Politeness and face in Arabic cultures

Politeness has been comprehensively studied and widely-explored in Western languages, particularly English (e.g. Searle, 1969, 1975; Lakoff, 1973; Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987; Leech, 1983), and in many Asian cultures, particularly China and Japan (e.g. Ide, 1989; Mao, 1992; Gu, 1990). The politeness studies literature suffers from a shortage of research on Arabic. That said, the number of studies dealing with the different Arabic dialects has fundamentally increased in recent years, which provides a useful insight into Arabic politeness. Studies on the interchanges of offering hospitality in Arabic cultures are few. In this section, therefore, I will discuss the communicational styles of Arab cultures in general. Before exploring this, it is necessary to clarify who is

considered an ‘Arab’ and who a ‘Libyan Arab’, and how Libyan Arabic differs from standard or classical Arabic.

3.6.1. Arabs

The meaning of ‘Arab’ contains many aspects; it can be an individual who considers himself to be an Arab, irrespective of their ethnicity, origin or race, and is recognized as such by others, whose first language is Arabic (including any of its varieties) and who can trace their ancestry back to the original inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula (Belshek 2010). Also, Arabs can be defined as “politically as residents or citizens of a country where Arabic is an official or national language” (Belshek 2010: 10). Few people consider themselves Arabs on the basis of a political definition (for example, some Berbers and Kurds were, in some historical circumstances, classified as Arabs). Therefore, ‘Arab’ “is not a race, religion, or nationality...Throughout the region, people vary in terms of such physical characteristics as hair, eye and skin colour” (Feghali 1997: 349). In my opinion, Arabs can be defined as people who belong to Arab countries. As Touma (1996, cited in Belshek 2010: 10) states:

“An 'Arab', in the contemporary common sense of the word, is the one who is a citizen of an Arab state has command of the Arabic language, and has a major knowledge of Arab traditions (e.g., manners, and culture including the social and political systems”.

Most Arabs are Muslims but not all Muslims are Arabs (Holliday et al., 2004), as only about 85-90% of Arabs are Muslims and the general population of Arab Muslims is about 20%. Thus, Arab countries are principally Muslim; although Lebanon and Egypt have a considerable number of Christian inhabitants (Feghali, 1997: 349). Libyan culture is one of the Arabic cultures where other minorities' cultures play a role in the social and cultural fabric, as will be explained further below.

3.6.2. Libyans

Libya lies in the centre of North Africa, bordered by the Mediterranean Sea. It has a 1,770-km coastline to the North, Egypt to the East, and Tunisia and Algeria to the West, while Niger, Chad and Sudan constitute its Southern boundary (see figure 5 below). There is considerable religious and cultural homogeneity in Libya, as the majority of the local population are Arabs and Muslims. Nevertheless, a Berber native minority exists, which shares the Islamic religion, culture as well as the history of the majority of Arabs, and they use Arabic as a second language. The Berber group has taken on the Arabic writing system in order to express their different tongues in written form (El Gareidi 2015) although there is a specific Berber script. The Arabs in particular “have had profound and lasting influences on the demography of the people of Libya” (El Gareidi 2015: 48). The intermarriage between Arabs settlers and Berbers as well as other native peoples over the centuries has caused the Libyan population to become fairly mixed in nature. The majority of Libyans

(up to 90% of the nation’s population) are those who can be identified as Arabic-speaking Muslims of mixed Arab and Berber ancestry; the remainder is mainly made up from Berbers, other indigenous minority peoples, and black Africans (El Gareidi 2015: 48).

El Gareidi (2015: 47) states that “the vast majority of ‘Sunni Muslims’ gives Libya a unity that provides strengths such as cohesion, lack of tension, empathy”. The total population, 90% at least, are Sunni Muslims (Wallace & Wilkenson, 2004, cited in El Gareidi, 2015: 49). Moreover, the native Berbers and Arabs have become united by their shared religion, which plays a significant role in shaping Libya’s cultural values and demonstrates Libyans’ traditional modes of behaviour and culture (Belshek 2010).

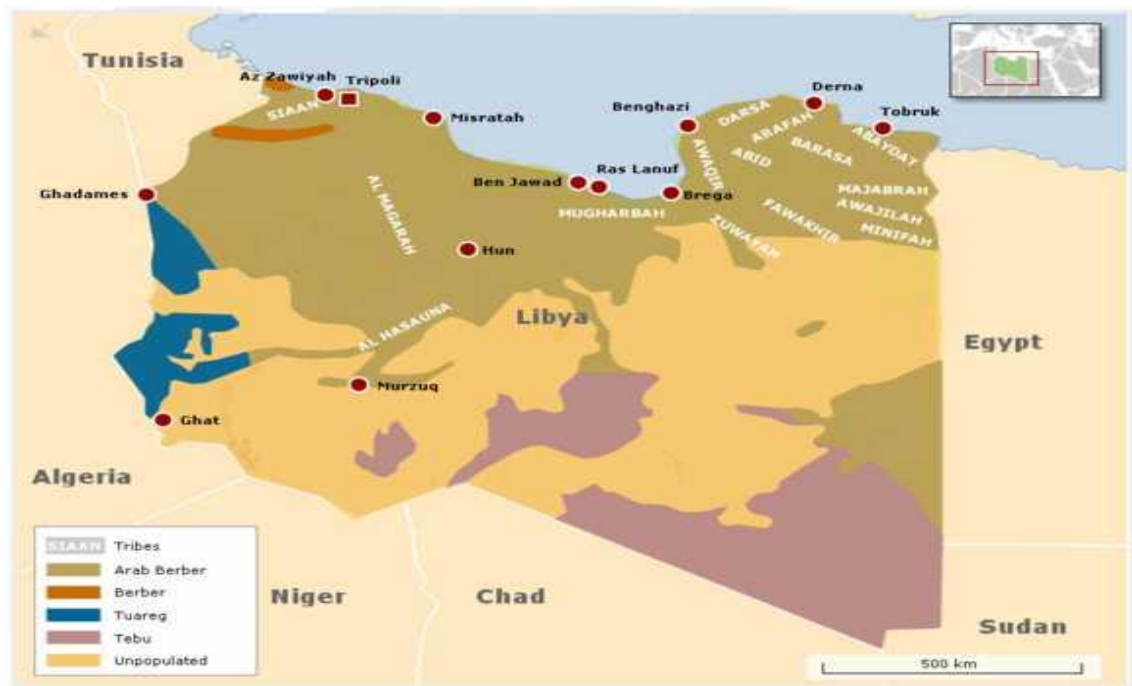


Figure 3: Libyan ethics groups and border: (www.strategic-culture.org).

A study was carried out by Obeidi (2001) to explore the various dimensions of identity bases for Libyans. She found that family is of considerable importance, as social life in Libya focuses traditionally on an individual's loyalty to the family. She also found that the individual's honour and dignity are tied to the good reputation of the kin group, and so the success or failure of an individual becomes the responsibility of the whole family (Obeidi, 2001). These facts might give us a hint of Libya's cultural tendencies.

Libya, as one of the Arab cultures, considers generosity and hospitality to be the main elements that indicate cohesion, group maintenance and politeness towards others in Arab cultures; "The offering and receiving of hospitality has generated its own rituals and accompanying formulas in Arab society to a high degree of elaboration" (Emery, 2000: 205). These values may be more visible in Arab societies than in other societies; but that is not to say that other cultures do not practice these values or do not evaluate them positively. Nevertheless, at an ideological level, there may be more stress on hospitality as a central tenet of daily life in Arabic cultures.

3.6.2.1. Languages of Libya

The majority of Libyan people are native Arabic-speakers and therefore believed to be Arabs, with a small minority, as shown in figure (3), which include the Berbers or the ‘Amazigh’, who speak the Berber language. Other cultural groups include the Tabu and Touareg; nevertheless, the majority of these groups can speak Arabic as a second language because of their shared religious context with Arabs.

Arabic is the mother tongue of almost all of the peoples of North Africa. Three levels of the language are manifest: “Classical - the language of the Quran, modern standard, that meets most of the requirements of classical grammar, but which has a much smaller vocabulary and is the form used in the present-day press; and regional colloquial dialects” (Belshek 2010: 13). Belshek states that, in Libya, classical Arabic Language is used by religious people and that “modern standard Arabic appears in formal and written communication and sometimes in schools. Libya has a wide variety of dialectal forms and a little outside influence in the form of ‘Italian’, so speakers can identify each other by local usage” (Belshek 2010: 13). For instance, in the Eastern part of the country, the dialect differs from those employed in the Southern or Western part.

The differences can be found in vocabulary³⁹ and in the intonation of utterances, but all of the dialects are easily and mutually understood by Libyans. Libyan dialects are not generally written down and do not conform to the classical or standard rules.

3.6.2.2. The Libyan Arabic communication style

As one of the Arab cultures, Libyan culture has a tendency to consider hospitality as an essential requirement for indicating politeness and enhancing social relationships, cohesion and group maintenance. Accordingly, Belshek (2010), in his study of the cultural values manifested in the communication style of Libyan

³⁹ For example, Car = Sayara and carahba سيارة او كرهيه, and Woman = whaliya ولية and mara مرا (Eastern and western dialects of Libya), respectively (Belshek 2010: 14).

postgraduate students in the UK, stresses the importance of generosity in Libyan culture. He explains that, in some hospitality situations (such as inviting someone to a meal in a restaurant), showing generosity among friends appears to be highly appreciated, as it upholds the offerer's social identity. Belshek states that "Libyans looked at this as a direct measure of what kind of persons they are" (2010: 170). His study shows that, in hospitality situations, people conventionally insist on paying for the food offered⁴⁰ to them by their friends; for example, some of the participants in Belshek's (2010: 208) study emphasise: (1) "Lose money and gain myself", (2) "Actually I wouldn't lose anything, because I feel this is my duties to pay their bills and solve the matter". The participants express their group face need and fundamental desire for others to evaluate them as a hospitable and generous person, and so they typically wish their friends to acknowledge, either explicitly or implicitly, their positive qualities. The Libyans in these two examples minimise losing money to the benefit of gaining friendship and good reputation, and consider it their duty to show hospitality to others. This fulfils their duty to enhance their identity face and consequently their reputation. Spencer-Oatey (2000: 14) argues that "in societies or among individuals where association and involvement is valued positively, failure to make an offer or invitation could in fact be face-threatening" and may reflect on one's reputation within one's own culture. For Libyans, showing generosity, which involves invitation or paying for food offered appears to enhance the identity face of the offerer as being generous which is highly appreciated, and they strongly associate this with trust and friendship. This form of behaviour is valued within society at an ideological level.

As mentioned earlier, Arab cultures are also classified as collectivist due to the emphasis on mutual interdependence (Hofstede, 1984); therefore, Libyan culture, like many Arab cultures, values interdependence, and the significance of collectivity in

⁴⁰ Surely, the host don't do this when a guest in the host's house.

terms of religion, family and close group relationships. For example, they place a high value on giving assistance to each other, as can be seen from their adherence to the conventional and moral rules that mandate mutual support (Belshek 2010). This orientation on the part of Libyans may reflect that the solidarity employed within the social group may require the individual to devote his/her time and effort to others. In such situations, sometimes, when a friend or neighbour recognises that someone needs support, s/he blames her/his friend for not asking for help and, in some situations, a failure to express such collectivistic behaviour may be seen as showing distance. Such conventionalised behaviour cannot be seen as an imposition on others' freedom; rather, it is positively accepted and highly appreciated, as Libyans, in general, expect great assistance from one another (Belshek 2010). This can also be seen in their daily use of the saying *people are supported by people and all are supported by Allah*, which emphasises the moral side of the conventionalised behaviour of giving assistance, and the idea that mutual interdependence, is expected among Libyans because it is a religious duty. Thus, politeness is deeply embedded in Libyan Arabic traditions and noticeably shaped by Islamic teachings, which are the foundation of beliefs about the importance of generosity. Therefore, I will discuss the historical meanings of politeness in Arabic cultures and then I will highlight the relation between face and politeness in Arab cultures in general and Libyan in particular.

3.6.3. The Historical meanings of Politeness in Arabic

The concept of politeness can be expressed in Arabic by the word 'adab' 'أدب', which is a translation equivalent of 'politeness'. The same word can also be used to refer to 'literature' in Arabic. It is worth noting that, in pre-Islamic times, 'adab' was used to mean 'invitation' rather than politeness in its broader sense (Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012). Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh (2012) note Idrees' (1985) explanation of

the meaning of ‘adab’ as referring to generosity and hospitality. In my view, this may explain, at least partially, why generosity and hospitality are usually regarded as the main elements of Arabic politeness. For instance,

Arabs used to say (Fulan adaba al-qawm) (فلان أدب القوم إذ دعاهم لمأدبة), meaning that someone invited people to feast; thus, the meaning of the word ‘adab’ (أدب) was concerned with the behavioural aspect of a person’s relationships with others...Then the use of the word (أدب) has expanded in the Islamic era to refer to morality, generosity, tolerance and virtue. All these meanings have been numerous reported by many sayings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012: 86).

Therefore, the meaning of ‘Adab’ has changed throughout many centuries. The history of the meaning of politeness’ meaning may be one factor which influences the evaluation of polite behaviour in Arab cultures.

3.6.4. The Notion of Social Face in Arab Cultures and Politeness

Spencer-Oatey argues that “face entails claim on the evaluations of others, and so it needs to be analysed as an interactional phenomenon” (2007:244). Similarly, Arundale (2006: 193) views the notion of face as “[...] a relational and an interactional, rather than an individual phenomenon, in that social self is interactionally achieved in relationships with others”. Therefore, face plays a significant role in many cultures, where it regulates people’s speech behaviour, as face is not assigned to interlocutors but is consistently negotiated (Geyer, 2008; Mills, 2011). Thus, face needs are not always personal; they can sometimes be group concerns, in addition to individual wants. Spencer-Oatey (2002) notes that, in Arab cultures in general, face is related to politeness; it can be seen to give access to a person’s behaviour and used as a metaphor for shame, positive or negative behaviour towards others as well as honour (Feghali 1997). In Arabic, the concept of face is derived from an expression in classical Arabic

that literally translates as ‘اراقة ماء الوجه’, ‘Iraqat ma? ?lwajh’, “losing the water of one’s face” which is used to mean losing one’s positive face wants (Nureddeen, 2008). As in many other Arab cultures, face in Libyan Arabic is called ‘Wazah’ (face), but it is also used metaphorically to stand for expressions such as respect, shame, honour, and dignity. Further illustration is provided in the next section.

3.6.4.1. Face enhancing and honouring in Libyan culture

People in different cultures use certain expressions to make judgments and assessments of the honourable behaviour they expect to be displayed in the speech community. In Libyan Arabic, certain expressions uphold face and demonstrate a positive image of the person. Farahat (2009:88) points out that some of these expressions are used to describe face and to provide an overall picture about the person being described, while others are used to describe a person who has performed an honourable action or deed. Some of these expressions are commonly used in Libyan culture to enhance face. An illustrative incident happened between my elder sister and her daughter (who was 16 years-old at that time) after she returned from school, (the example is from my log-book data; see Appendix A: Example: 8).

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| روح بينا خالد خو أية يا أمي طول الطريق ما رفع عينونه فينا fjna çjunah rafaç ma ?ltarjg tul ?umj ja ?aja xhu xhalid bjna rauah us in his eyes curry not road the along mother Aya brother Khalid us with go |
| 1- Roa: Mum Aya's brother brought us home, all the way home he never looked at us. |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ما شاء الله عليه خالد من يومه يتحشم في وجهه دم أما عادل صحيح وجهه wazah sahjh çadil ?ma dam wazhah fj jathafam yomah min xhalid çalaih Allah faa ma his face right Aadil like not blood his face in shy his day from Khalid on Allah willing |
| 2- Mum: Allah bless him, that’s Khalid. Always shy= {polite} and blushing= {well 3-3behaved}, but Adil {his brother} who has a strong face= {meaning impolite} |

Utterances that make no reference to the literal meaning but are interpretable through their context, such as utterance (1) above, are not accounted for in the traditional theories. In Spencer-Oatey's terms, Roa indirectly ascribed a personal attribute (shyness) to Khalid in behaving as a polite person, which was implicitly expressed by Roa as: "never looked at us". Her mother's response shows that such behaviour has positive connotations and she describes Khalid as a shy person as he "blushed", which indicates a well-behaved person. At the same time, she attacks his brother's face, which resulted from his personal attribute (strong face), which has a negative connotation, as it is used to refer to people who do not behave according to the approved rules and politeness codes. It is important to point out that these expressions are not used to address the person directly, but to compliment and enhance the person's face in her/his absence.

Another related expression here connected with the concept of politeness is 'انسان يتحشم' 'ʔnsan jthʃam', which literally means "a modest person". In this expression, although the word 'jthʃam' has a negative connotation in other situations, it is considered differently in this situation and seems to be similar in meaning to 'polite'. The concept of "ḥifma" denotes distance and respect in cross-gender situations. Bassiouney (2009) explains modesty in the Arab world as follows: "Modesty is connected to veiling to a great extent... veiling can also be used as a status marker. Veiling constitutes the most visible act of modest deference" (Bassiouney, 2009: 137). Modesty "ḥifma" covers a wide number of concepts in English; it may be translated as modesty, shyness, self-respect, bashfulness, shame, honour, humility, etc.

Spencer-Oatey argues that the attributes that people are face-sensitive about can apply to the person as an individual and also to the group to which the person belongs and/or identifies with, Farahat's (2009) study of the notion of face stresses the important role of identity face enhancement, and the importance of considering the range of

different attributes that can become face-sensitive in particular situations. The personal attribute of being well-known or having a good reputation is used to solve disputes among people. For example, if the members of two families engage in any kind of dispute, which leads to direct conflict, a mediator, who has such attributes ascribed to them, is always summoned. Farahat (2009) cites an example in Palestinian culture, which seems similar to the Libyan situation of solving disputes. The first step a negotiator takes is to prevent any future clashes or confrontation between the members of the two families. This can always be done by using an expression such as 'هذا وجهي' 'haḏa waǧhj', literally meaning 'this is my face', which can be interpreted as 'I stake my reputation on it'. Once the two families agree to show respect to the face of the negotiator, it is considered a commitment by the two families to end all conflict; otherwise, the threat to the mediator's identity face lies to the attribute they were claiming (reputation). Likewise, in Libyan culture, an individual must attend to their social behaviour. That is because face is not an individual property; rather, it is the possession of the social group. Therefore, avoiding engaging in anti-social behaviour is not only preferable but also required, and an individual should think before carrying out any action in order to avoid tarnishing the reputation of the family and putting their own identity face at risk. In some situations, a person should avoid certain behaviour, even though they enjoy it and it fulfills one's ordinary expectations, in order to avoid creating a clash between one's face wants and those of the social group. If a person violates certain social rules, it is not easy to redeem one's face and make a fresh start. In Libyan culture, face enhancing/honouring expressions are frequently used, which are connected directly with actions. They are 'بيض وجهه' 'bajad^f waǧha', which means "he whitens her/his face", and 'بيض وجهنا' 'bajad^f wǧahna', "he whitens our faces". These expressions refer to face enhancement behaviour, regardless of whether they are religious, social, educational or humanitarian in nature. They are used to enhance and

maintain not only the quality of the face of the individual but also the identity/ group face of her/his family.

An illustrative interchange took place when I was in Libya and my son invited his friends for a meal at our home for the first time. After they left, I asked my son if they had enjoyed the food, and he said: “You whitened my face; may Allah whiten yours”. The expression ‘whitened my face’ in this utterance means that his guests enjoyed the hospitality offered, which enhanced his identity face among his group as being a hospitable and generous host. Similarly, Agyekum (2004: 83) shows that, in the Akan culture of Ghana, expressions that upgrade or honour face are used to show respect and elevate the person. Expressions such as “she brightens my face”, “to bring glory” and “she uplifts my face” are used when a person has performed a reputable action that reflects well on his/her family members, friends or community. Thus, in Libyan Arab culture as many other cultures face is strongly underlined as social identity and there are connotation between face and behaviour.

3.6.4.2. The concept of face/social rights threatening behaviour

Interactants also use certain expressions to display negative aspects of behavior. What has been said so far about enhancing and honouring expressions represents the positive side of face. Farahat (2009:89) states that the two face-related expressions are ‘ما فيش في وجهه دم’, ‘ma fjj fj wazha Dam’, literally meaning, “there is no blood on his face”, and ‘ما فيش في وجهه حياء’, ‘ma fjj fj wazha hay?’, literally meaning “there is no shyness on his face”. The Arabic word ‘دم’, ‘dam’ in English means ‘blood’, and is very similar to polite behavior in this expression, whereas the absence of blood is interpreted as an absence of polite behaviour.

In Libyan culture, if a person is described as a light person (انسان خفيف) in terms of weight, s/he is perceived as impolite and inconsiderate. This is similar to Akan

culture in Ghana where the same expression ‘light’ collocates with face, as in the expression “his/her face is light”. Such an expression damages the person’s good self-image and status (Agyekum, 2004: 85).

Similarly, in Tunisian culture, some expressions are offensive or insulting. Elarbi (1997: 16), argues that the expression “s/he fell from my eye” is used when someone’s behaviour is considered impolite. It also shows the interactant’s discontent. In Libyan culture, this expression “s/he fell from my eye” is also used in similar situations. From theoretical perspective Spencer-Oatey suggests that the “positive rapport between people can be threatened in three main ways: through face-threatening behaviour, through rights-threatening/ obligation-omission behaviour and through goal-threatening behaviour” (2008:17). In Libyan culture, face/sociality rights may be lost/threatened because of one’s incapability to meet the social expectations and/or as a result of other people’s failure to do so. For example, in hospitality situations, Libyan people, at the ideological level, are expected to be welcomed generously when visiting friends, relatives or neighbours. If the host for some reason fails to fulfil this duty, such obligation-omission behaviour may result in threatening the face and sociality rights of the guest, and the degree of the severity of the threat depends on many contextual factors (such as social distance, the participants and their relationship (this will be further illustrated in chapters 6 and 7). Moreover, in Libyan culture, face-threatening behaviour can also be caused by the behaviour of an individual or a member of his/her family. As Ho (1976: 867) argues, face can be lost “when the individual, either through his action or through that of people closely related to him, fails to meet the essential requirements placed upon him by virtue of the social position he occupies”. Farahat (2009:93) provides an example from one of the Arab cultures;

a Palestinian woman mentioned a situation where her face was lost as a result of the bad behaviour of her child at one of her friend’s house. The woman commented on the situation, ‘I was very embarrassed when my children started

running from one room to another in a friend's house. They refused to stop when I told them.

Although children are children in all cultures, according to Farahat (2009:93), “sometimes they cause embarrassment to their parents when their behaviour falls below what is thought to be acceptable and as a result the parents lose face”. Since examining the cultural impact of such social behaviour is essential, the hearer's evaluation of it is important as well as understanding how such behaviour is handled. A similar example⁴¹ from Libyan culture occurred when a friend of mine visited her new neighbour. While the host was offering hospitality, her children were taking the chocolates offered to the guests. The host felt very embarrassed and she voiced this as follows:

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| اسماء: كملوها (.) كله Khulaha kamlwha it all it finishes |
| 10- A: They finished them (.) all of them. {They} refers to the host's children |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ليلي: اهو مازال فيه خليهم صحتين sʿahatjn xaljihum fjh mazal aho two health them leave it in still there |
| 11- L: There are still some (..) may Allah give them good health. |

In this example, the offerer notices that her children are taking some of the chocolates that have been offered to the guests, which is considered unfavourable behaviour in such hospitality situations in Libya. She expressed loudly that her children's action threatened her quality face (line 10: “They finished them (.) All of them”). This is also understood as an indirect apology to her guests for such an unexpected and inappropriate act. The guest tried to mitigate the host's face-loss by redressing her own quality face and downgrading the offence of the children's behaviour. This is a conventional identity face redressive response that is usually

⁴¹ See the whole interaction in (Appendix A, recorded data, example 5, P: 7 and 8)

employed by an interactant in such situations, although a failure to interact positively might increase the severity of the host's identity face threat.

3.6.5. Critique of the Stereotypes of Arabic Politeness

Buda and Elsayed (1998) investigate collectivist Arab cultures (Egypt and Gulf states) and US culture during interpersonal encounters. They point out that US culture is often seen as self-oriented and emotionally independent, and emphasise the right to privacy and autonomy. In contrast, Egypt and Gulf states, like all Arab states, are often perceived by certain researchers (e.g. Hofstede, 1984) as having a collectivist orientation and being emotionally dependent on their institutions, with private lives that are invaded by the organizations and clans to which they belong. In their study, Buda and Elsayed (1998) argue that the major characteristic of Middle Eastern managers, based on having a collectivist indirectness value, is their use of more of an integrating and avoiding style when handling interpersonal encounters, whereas U.S. managers, based on their individualist directness orientation, use more of an obliging, dominating, and compromising style. The findings of Buda and Elsayed support the hypothesis that differences exist in individualism-collectivism between Americans who are more oriented to individualism, while collectivism was stressed by Egyptians and residents of the Gulf States. However, and in contrast to this stereotype, their findings also reveal that differences exist even between Arab cultures. For example, according to their findings, people in the Gulf States seem to be more direct during interpersonal encounters than Egyptian managers, who may be more individualistic in orientation; thus, their generalization that all Arab cultures share the same tendency towards collectivism is inaccurate.

In addition, Badawy (1980, cited in Buda and Elsayed 1998: 489) maintains that, in contrast to the U.S, which was categorized by Hofstede as an individualist culture,

Gulf states were classified with other Arabic-speaking cultures because “there was no evidence to the contrary”, as they rely on Hofstede’s classification which classifies all Arab societies, including Egypt and the Gulf states, as collectivist cultures, as if it is simple to make generalisations about them. Buda and Elsayed’s examination of individualism and collectivism is built on previous studies (Trompenaars, 1994; Rahim 1986) rather than on empirical studies. This raises questions regarding the extent to which the findings of their study are accurate. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, this way of explaining the interpersonal encounters of different cultures is inadequate, because collectivist tendencies occur in all societies, albeit to differing extents.

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I first reviewed the notion of culture and its relation to politeness. Due to the diversity of the conceptions about what constitutes culture, reviewing several definitions of culture revealed that identifying a simple definition of this phenomenon is difficult. The notion of identity which was discussed in this chapter and its relationship to culture remains controversial, and thus has attracted considerable attention in recent years from many researchers. The concept of culture adopted in this work is defined within Spencer-Oatey’s (2000) rapport management, which is perceived as dynamic and complex according to this view. Then, I examined the cultural differences and it is clear that, although many studies (e.g. Hofstede, 1991) have widely used cultural classification, describing a whole culture as having a tendency towards collectivism/individualism or positive/negative politeness appears to be insufficient. Categorizing people in this way can lead to generalisations about particular behaviour as being the norm or convention within a group and, accordingly, the stereotype. Although we cannot consider all Arabic speaking cultures as homogeneous, since differences exist across and within these cultures, the ideological values around hospitality and

generosity in Arab cultures in general and Libyan culture in particular seem to be the backbone of the ideologies regarding what is appropriate behaviour. With the aim of understanding the complexity of Libyan Arab culture amongst the other Arab cultures, I have chosen to use both Spencer-Oatey's rapport management for its useful concepts for analysing such cultural manifestations of offering hospitality behaviour and a discursive approach because this seems to provide a sound analytical framework for the data that have been gathered for the purpose of this work.

Chapter 4: Hospitality, generosity and the function of offers

4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the concepts of hospitality and generosity and their close connection with the politeness of offering hospitality. The main research question of the chapter is: what are the linguistic characteristics of Libyan offering and receiving hospitality. I start the chapter by discussing Arab hospitality and cultural expectations of hospitality routines in section 4.2. In section 4.3., I will discuss several definitions of the components which are considered to form the basis of the structure of the conventional offering hospitality interchange (i.e., offer, refusal and insistence) and its relationship to politeness. In section 4.4., I will discuss the contextual factors that influence strategy use and affect the sequence of the interaction of offering. I then present some studies of Arabic which are concerned with hospitality and the practice of offering in different Arab countries in section 4.5. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to show that the relationship between offering hospitality and politeness is multifaceted in Libyan Arabic culture, and that offers, refusal and insistence are normalised and conventionalised in the target culture and thus cannot only be seen as a means whereby imposition can be avoided but also as a means whereby association, involvement and group maintenance can be achieved.

4.2. Arab hospitality background and cultural expectations

Hospitality is a characteristic of the Arab Bedouin heritage (Janardhan, 2002, cited in Sobh, Belk et al. 2013: 446). It is seen as a manifestation of the high value that Arabs place on generosity (“كرم”, “karam”) and Arab hospitality is a traditional asset of which Arabs feel proud (Shryock, 2004, cited in Sobh, Belk et al. 2013: 446). Feghali indicates that hospitality is instilled in children from an early age, reflects a desired personal value and represents status. In Arab societies, hospitality and generosity are considered the key elements that emphasize politeness, cohesion, and group

maintenance towards others; thus, hospitality in Arab cultures demands immediate and extensive welcome or assistance (Feghali, 1997). In addition, as discussed above, the sequence of offering (i.e., offer, refusal, insistence) is seen to be created through its own rituals and associated formulas in the Arab communities to “a high degree of elaboration” (Emery 2000: 205). Various historical, social, and religious forces underlie the importance of offering as polite behaviour in Arab cultures. Arabs tend to consider hospitality as an important requirement for signifying politeness and improving social relationships. In addition, this form of activity is respected and valued within society at an ideological level, where various historical, social, and religious forces lie behind the importance of offering hospitality as conventional and polite behaviour in Arabic cultures. Thus, at the ideological level, Arabs tend to expect offers of hospitality in social situations, and such expectations entail notions of personal and social entitlement. Spencer-Oatey (2008) argues that these entitlements and their associated obligations (e.g., the host has an obligation to insist that the guest accepts the drink/food offered) are "fundamentally connected to the expectations of association and social involvement" (2008: 16).

4.2.1. Historical background

Hospitality is one of the characteristics that describe Arab cultures. It was also prominent among Arab Bedouins before Islam. The Arab, and especially Bedouin Arab, tradition of hospitality formed part of the cultural survival rituals that helped to sustain nomadic Arab people in a desert environment (Torstrick and Faier 2009). Today, many Arabs have become urbanised, and there is no longer any survival imperative underwriting hospitality. Nevertheless, hospitality rituals persist and survive (Sobh, Belk et al. 2013). Conventionally, “a stranger is to be housed and fed for 3 days without expectation of reciprocity or even a question about who he is. Protecting guests, entertaining them, and feeding them properly were and are still considered essential in

many Arab societies” (Sobh, Belk et al. 2013: 447). Such hospitality is necessary in order to create a good reputation for being generous, as mentioned before. Arabs still “proudly mention the tale of the pre-Islamic hero حاتم الطائي, (Hatim ṭl- ʿa aʔj) who slaughtered his horse to honour and feed his guests” (Sobh, Belk et al. 2013: 447). His story is considered by many Arab authors to be an example of how a man can win respect and reputation by using all of his assets to feed his guests.

4.2.2. Social Background

Belshek (2010) indicates that, in Libya, social life traditionally centres on an individual's loyalty to his/her family. Social status often outweighs personal achievement in regulating social relationships, and the individual's dignity and honour are often tied to the good reputation of his/her family, so the success or failure of an individual becomes the responsibility of the whole family. In Arab cultures, there is also a connection between hospitality and the importance of family. Even though the traditional extended family is now less common than in the past, the vast majority of Arabic people still identify themselves by their family; this is because there remains a tradition of the family supporting an individual morally. Therefore, it can be said that ‘traditional family loyalty remains an influential force in Arab society’ (Al-Khatib, 2006: 273). Libyan people tend to express their feelings toward each other by inviting others (friends, neighbours, relatives) to partake in food or drink either at home, which is highly valued (as we will see in Chapters 6 and 7), or outside the home, where the offerer has an obligation to pay for the food offered. Such behaviour cannot be seen as an imposition on the part of the offerer; rather, it is expected and appreciated by the guests and enhances the sociality face of the offerer in his/her public group. Moreover as Al-Khatib (2006: 273) illustrates:

Upon inviting, the inviter has to be a real provider of hospitality. An invitation to dinner, for example, may mean the offering of a wide range

of food. The more diverse of food the host offers the higher he would be ranked on the scale of generosity [sic]. Another mark of hospitality is that when someone is invited for a meal, the host has to keep on offering the invitee to eat just a bit more. That is to say, the invitee would be kindly asked to eat above and beyond his capacity of eating.

However, this way of expressing generosity and good hospitality in some situations (such as family offering hospitality) by employing insistence and refusals may show distance (as I will show in chapter 6 and 7). This is not to say that generosity and hospitality are not stressed in such hospitality situations, rather, they are expressed differently by employing expression other than insisting and refusal because of different sociality rights and social obligations.

4.2.3. Religious Background

As mentioned above, hospitality was prevalent among Arab Bedouins before Islam. Sobh et al. (2013: 447) state that Islamic values are "largely governed by the Holy Qur'an, and the traditions of the Prophet Mohammad emphasize the necessity of politely accepting an invitation or offer a gift". As obviously demonstrated in "the prophet's words, when he says "إذا دعيتم فلبوا" "ʔeḏa duçitum falabu" which means "If you are invited, you should accept", and "تهادوا تحابوا", "tahadu taḥabu", which can be interpreted as "Exchange gifts, exchange love" (Al-Khatib, 2006: 282). Accordingly, there is a common consensus among Arabs that hospitality and generosity towards guests are an integral part of the Islamic faith. Therefore, hospitality and generosity are enshrined in the religious beliefs and practices of Arabic-speaking people. Patai (1983: 86) mentions that the hospitality of Arab Muslims "predates the zakat, the Muslim responsibility of giving 2.5% of one's wealth to the poor, and serves to counterbalance disparity between rich and poor". Certain occasions require elaborate displays of hospitality; for example, during the holy month of Ramadan. Many verses in the Qur'an,

in addition to a noteworthy number of hadiths (Prophet Muhammad's sayings),⁴² convey such evidence. The Qur'an offers evidence of the significance of hospitality and honouring guests in Islam. It also urges Muslims to make the guest feel comfortable by identifying all of his or her possible needs so that these can be met before the guest mentions them. The way in which the Prophet Abraham⁴³ treated his guests is a good example of this and displays an important feature of hospitality.

Showing cordiality and warmth towards guests is seen as a social obligation, as well as an opportunity to earn Allah's pleasure and demonstrate moral excellence in Arab cultures. The Qur'an especially draws attention to the warm and cordial welcome shown to guests. A welcome merely based on providing food, without showing any love, respect, or warm greeting can be face and sociality rights threatening acts in terms of Islamic teaching. For example, in the verse given below, Allah states that he favours spiritual beauty over all else: "When you are greeted with a greeting, return the greeting or improve upon it. Allah takes account of everything" [Al- Nisa'- 86]. These verses indicate that some guests might appear to show حياء, 'Haya'⁴⁴ to mention any need, so it is better to offer a guest something before s/he has a chance to ask for it. A guest might even try to prevent the host from offering any food or drink; for this reason, morality in the Quran entails conventions about the guest's potential needs. Before all, such conduct reveals the host's pleasure at making the guest comfortable. As the above verse mentioned, offering something 'quickly' shows the host's concern to serve the guest.

⁴²Sobh, Belk and Wilson (2013: 446-447) state that the Prophet's hadiths reflect the significance of hospitality in Islamic social life, such as: (1) "He who believes in Allah and the Last Day should honour his guest"; (2) "Hospitality extends for three days; what goes beyond that is Sadqa= [voluntary charity]; and it is not allowable that a guest should stay till he makes himself an encumbrance" (Bukhari, Muslim); and (3) "None of you truly believes (in Islam) until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself" (Bukhari, Muslim).

⁴³ In the Qur'an, LI-Suraht al-Thariat (Verses 24–27) reads: "(24). has the story Reached thee, of the honoured Guests of Abraham? (25). Behold, they entered His presence, and said: 'Peace!' He said, 'Peace' (And thought, 'These seem unusual people' (26). Then he turned quickly to his household, brought out a fatted calf (27). And placed it before them . . . He said, 'Will ye not eat?'; and Chapter XI Surat Hud (Verses 69 and 78) reads: "(69). There came Our Messengers to Abraham with glad tidings. They said, 'Peace!' He answered, 'Peace!' and hastened to entertain them with a roasted calf".

⁴⁴ Haya in Islam is an attribute which encourages Muslims to avoid anything distasteful.

Other good behaviour implied by these verses is that, although Prophet Abraham had never met his guests before, he tried to serve them in the best possible way and thus quickly brought a “fattened calf”, a type of meat that is known to be the most delicious, healthy, and nutritious. Thus, we can deduce that, when catering for a guest, one should do one’s best to prepare and then offer high-quality, fresh food. In addition to this, Allah also draws attention to meat as a favourable offering that can be served to guests.

The Prophet Mohamed teaches us how best to deal with guests. In one of his traditions he states:

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: "من كان يؤمن بالله واليوم الآخر فليكرم ضيفه جائزته. قالوا: وما جائزته يا رسول الله؟ قال: يومه وليلته. والضيافة ثلاثة أيام، فما كان وراء ذلك فهو صدقة عليه". متفق عليه.

He, who believes in Allah and the Last Day, should accommodate his guest according to his right. A man asked: ‘What is the guest’s right?’ He replied: ‘It is to accommodate his guest for a day and a night, and hospitality extends for three days. What is beyond that is charity’.

وفي رواية لمسلم: "لا يخل لمسلم أن يقيم عند أخيه حتى يؤثمه. قالوا: يا رسول الله وكيف يؤثمه؟ قال: يقيم عنده ولا شيء له يقره به

“It is impermissible for a Muslim to stay so long with his brother that he makes him sinful”.

He was asked: ‘How can he make his host sinful?’ He replied: ‘The guest prolongs his stay till nothing is left for the host to offer him’ (Al-Basheer, et al. (2015).

These sources are seen by Libyan Muslims as the essential basis for their religious ideology, which judges the behaviour of people in their different social interactions. Therefore, what is constituted as polite and appropriate may be affected, to some extent, by these ideological beliefs (as we will see in Chapters 6 and 7).

The cultural motivations, including the social, historical and religious knowledge mentioned above are associated with different linguistic and social elements which are in play in politeness management by interactants in Arabic regarding offers and refusals. These are represented below, in figure (3), which is adapted from Spencer-

Oatey (2000: 5). The underlying ideological cultural assumptions in Arab societies are shown in this diagram, which focus on interdependence and constancy to one's extended family and the social 'in-group'.

These expectations and assumptions form the grounds for the beliefs about the importance of generosity, as mentioned above, that are embedded in the Arabic norms/traditions and shaped by Islam. "These beliefs and attitudes tend to be constructed and evaluated as "correct" by the dominant Arab culture and are played out and perpetuated through various social and religious institutions" (Grainger et al. 2015: 50).

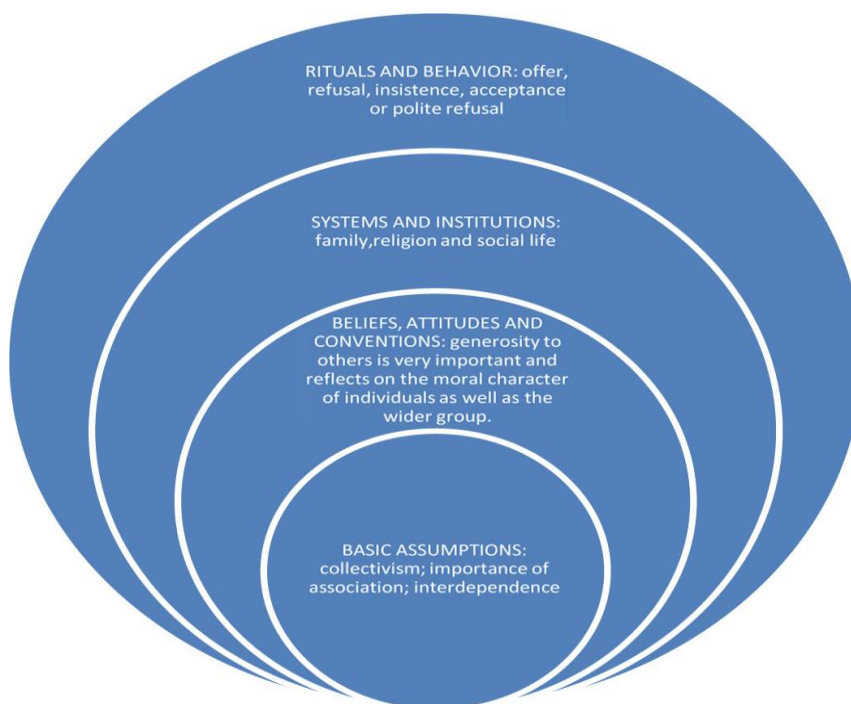


Figure 4 Hospitality in Arabic cultures, adopted from Spencer-Oatey (2000:5).

4.3. The Pragmatics of Offering

According to Searle's (1969) speech act paradigm, offers are commissives, which means that they involve a commitment on the part of the speaker for the benefit of the hearer. Similarly, Bilbow (2002) describes offers as being acts "through which

the speaker places an obligation on his/herself to undertake commitment associated with the action specified in the proposition” (2002: 287).

Theorists of politeness such as Leech (1983) consider offers to be inherently polite speech acts, directed towards the positive face of the hearer. In addition, Brown and Levinson (1987) maintain that any statement which can be understood as making a request or imposing on another person’s autonomy could be considered as a potential Face-Threatening Act. Advice, offers, requests, and suggestions can be viewed as FTAs, since they potentially impede the other person’s freedom of action; therefore, in Brown and Levinson’s model, offers are potential FTAs, because there is “a risk that hearer may not wish to receive such an offer” (1987: 39). Therefore, according to Brown and Levinson, offers can be face threatening to both the speaker and hearer. Offers can threaten the hearer’s negative face and to some extent violate his/her privacy. This occurs both when a hearer receives an offer, and in those cases where a hearer feels constrained to accept an offer. By making the offer, the speaker is imposing an obligation upon the hearer, pressing the hearer not only to accept, but also to announce a decision. This is somewhat intrusive, involving a threat to the receiver’s negative face or a desire to remain unimposed upon. However, many critics find Brown and Levinson’s (1987) FTAs to be inaccurate (Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003). Sifianou (1997) argues that Brown and Levinson (1987) do not offer any instances of activities that they do not regard as face threatening. Gu (1990) indicates that invitations, including insistent ones, are not perceived as FTAs in China; a study on requests and offers in Igbo culture showed they these carry no sense of imposition (Nwoye, 1992); and, in Persian society, Koutlaki (2002) argues that offers and the reactions to them are regarded as essentially face-enhancing acts. She indicates that linguistic conventional expressions of offers in the Persian speech community are best described as enhancing the group face that is employed during informal meetings with friends and family. In

Libyan culture, offers, particularly those of hospitality, cannot be seen as FTAs; rather, offers are culturally expected, and preferred by both the offerer and the offeree. Offers of hospitality are positive rapport strategies that tend to enhance both the offerer and the addressee's identity face and sociality rights. I argue that an offer cannot be judged as an FTA without considering the context and situation in which the offer emerges. In this study, I examine the speech act of offers during interaction, which also involves conventional politeness practices: the refusal, insistence and acceptance of the offer strategies. Therefore, all of these strategies in addition to the situation and circumstances can reveal whether the face and/or sociality rights during such interactions are threatened/enhanced or maintained. In the next section, I will discuss the concept of ritual refusal in the politeness literature, and then in relation to the interchange of offering hospitality.

4.3.1. Ritual refusal

Levinson (1983) assumes that refusals in general are dispreferred strategies. He suggests in refusal: one risks one's own positive face and the hearer's negative face by making the offer, and one risks the other's positive face by refusing the offer. It may be argued this is not always the case in Arab cultures (as in many other cultures), because "the initial refusal of an offer of hospitality can be seen as an important part of a ritual and the whole interchange of offering that orientates to the interactants' sociality rights and obligations" (Grainger et al., 2015: 55).

The concept of ritual refusal is defined by Chen et al. (1995:152) as "polite act(s) to indicate the speaker's consideration of the hearer". In the Anglo-centric model of politeness of Brown and Levinson (1987), refusals are considered to be inherently FTAs, since "a refusal is usually issued to convey the speaker's non-compliance with

the action proposed in the initiating move” (Kasper, 1995: viii). Such refusals are considered by Brown and Levinson as sincere refusals. Nevertheless, Shishavan (2016) argues that in some cultures, refusals are not always genuine, including in Arab cultures (Kleffner Nydell, 2006, 1983), Persian culture (Babai Shishavan and Sharifian, 2013), Chinese culture (Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994; Chen et al., 1995), and Spanish culture (Garcia, 2007). Chen et al. (1995: 152) indicate that in these cultures, refusals are offered ritually as “a polite act to indicate the speaker's consideration of the hearer” when delivered in response to a genuine offer. Indeed, Isaacs and Clark (1990) argue that ritual refusals are in fact ostensible speech acts that appear to be genuine, where the offeree’s intention is often to accept the offer suggested. As Kasper (1995: viii) agreed, the offeree “refuse[s] initially in order not to appear greedy or immodest”. By employing ritual refusal, the speaker also intends to appear polite as well as showing consideration for the offerer. Since, in employing ritual refusal, the offeree is not wholly committed to the refusal, therefore the terms ritual refusal and ostensible refusal) are used in this study interchangeably. Libyans’ ostensible refusals are conventional and expected polite acts, performed in response to genuine offers, through which the speaker intends to manifest his/her consideration for the hearer by issuing an offer of hospitality. Similar to Chinese people, Libyans see that the immediate acceptance of offered food is inappropriate, because it is considered inappropriate behaviour. Thus, regardless of whether the refusal is genuine or ritual, it is necessary for the offeree to state reasons and explanations in order to minimise the negative effect of the refusal. This study intends to investigate the features of ritual refusals extended in response to genuine offers in Libyan society and what strategies the offerer employs to determine whether the refusal is genuine or merely ritual in nature. Insistence strategies are highly conventionalised and wide spread in Libyan Arab culture. In the next section, I discuss this strategy in general and interrogate Libyan use of this conventional practice.

4.3.2. Insistence

Speech act theory classifies insisting as belonging to the class of directives, as it encompasses getting others to do something (Searle, 1979). According to Hundsnurscher (1981: 349) insistence has also been described as “a reactive action in that it occurs after the initial action is rejected or not taken up verbally or nonverbally”, and it is a sign that the offerer does not intend to abandon their goal. Insisting in some cultures may be regarded as an FTA, as it is a reinforced directive and can be taken as an attempt to restrict the interlocutor’s freedom of action. Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) claim that insistence is seen as an FTA, as it “implies intrusion on the hearer’s territory and limits his freedom of action” (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 70). Although the act of insistence comprises benefits to the hearer and costs the speaker in some ways, Leech asserts that insistence threatens the negative face of the addressee and therefore “comprise[s] a category of inherently impolite acts in which negative politeness is essential” (Leech, 1983: 106). For example, Félix-Brasdefer (2003), in his study of Americans’ pragmatic strategies of declining an invitation, found that Americans felt uncomfortable regarding strong insistence. He reports “80 percent of the participants said that they felt uncomfortable, impatient, bad, forced, and even corralled by the insistence” (2003:46). Yet, many researchers working on politeness within various cultures and languages (Wierzbicka, 1985; Blum-Kulka, 1987; Sifianou, 1992), find that insistence is viewed as acceptable, desirable and probably appropriate behaviour in some cultures. It is considered polite and signifies a socio-cultural expectation; thus, it is not regarded as impolite or insincere (Garcia, 2007, cited in Shishavan 2016). Fitch (1998), in his ethnographic study of directives, for instance, demonstrates that in urban Colombia insistence is not inherently face-threatening, as one might expect from Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) approach. In Arab cultures, because people tend to place a high value on generosity and hospitality, which are viewed as the main features

contributing to societal cohesion and politeness towards others, the ritual of insistence appears to have a positive value in the context of solidarity relations and acts as a marker of affiliation and involvement (Al Batal et al 2002; Eshreteh, 2014; 2015). Eshreteh conducted a study to explore the practice of insistence among Palestinians. It showed that insistence is socially acceptable and even desirable. He gives an example of a common incident in every day hospitality situations: “When two people meet each other or engage in an encounter, the one who offers should insist on offering and the one who is being offered should bashfully reject the offer, but in reality intends to accept it later. The offeree is expected to reject an offer several times, before accepting it with a show of reluctance” (Eshreteh, 2015: 3). Insistence in such situations, somewhat similar to Libyan hospitality situations, is conventional and means that the concerned person is serious about his/her offer. It is very interesting that there is a word in common usage for the ritual of insistence in Libya which is 'عزومه' *azuma*⁴⁵ means insistence and the verb is 'يعزم او تعزم' *'yaazem/taazem'* means insist for male and female respectively (as we will see in chapter 7, example 3). The offerer’s main intention is to strengthen the interpersonal bonds among family and friends through the production of insistence where hospitality is conveyed as a marker of association that recreates an interpersonal ideology of solidarity. However, examining the linguistic practice of insistence in this study is different from that in previous studies, where the focus is limited to insistence as a speech act but generalised to various linguistic practices, ignoring the assessment of the whole interaction or circumstances of the interchange from which the insistence speech act emerged. I will focus on insisting in the offer of hospitality, I will also discuss the extent to which insistence in offering interactions may be considered conventionalized. The ways in which these conventions may be influenced by cultural values will be discussed in the next section.

⁴⁵ It has another meaning which is an invitation.

4.4. Offering and contextual factors' influence on strategy use

Researchers such as Feghali (1997), Nydell (1987) and Almaney & Alwan, (1982) suggest that, in general, Arab hospitality involves immediate, warm welcomes. People expect hospitality from others, and an Arab's reputation may be affected by the absence of such behaviour. Eichelman (1989: 121) indicates that "these patterns vary considerably according to whether members of the family are urban or rural, wealthy or poor, concentrated in one particular locality, or widely dispersed". Therefore, certain contextual and situational factors have a significant influence on the structure of offering interactions, as I will demonstrate next.

4.4.1. The contextual variable of Religion

One of the aims of this study is to explain and show how offering sequences may differ from one another in terms of contextual factors, such as age, gender and social distance, in informal and social situations. I argue that religion may be an essential variable that plays an important role in shaping what is considered polite behaviour in offering/refusal/insistence interactions in Libyan Arab culture, as well as that the linguistic ideologies related to religion influence to some extent the interactants' linguistic strategy choices (as I will show in Chapter 6 and 7). As we saw in 4.2.1.3, religious belief is a fundamental motivation for the conventional behaviour of offering, and so clearly affects the structure of this rapport of hospitality. Most Libyans are Muslims, so politeness is influenced by religion as the main basis of Libyan Arab culture. There are different ways in which linguistic behaviour can be understood as polite in Arabic cultures and the most typical way is through a religious formula according to the context of the interaction. I am not claiming here that all polite strategies among Libyan Arabs are based on religious belief,⁴⁶ but rather that

⁴⁶ Islamic religion strongly connects a belief in Allah with people's behaviour as many other religions do.

interactants in Libya are influenced by, and prefer to use, socially agreed religious verbal and nonverbal expressions⁴⁷ in order to appear polite. Although not all Libyans are religious, many would feel it appropriate to use such religious expressions. “They are religiously inspired, and even if violated, the interactants will be reminded from a religious standpoint on how to behave towards others” (Hamza, 2007). For example, to be considered appropriate (as I illustrated in section 4.2.1.3), the host needs to welcome his/her guest/s with a smile and generous manner, according to Islam, which enhances both the speaker and the hearer’s quality face (as we will see in Chapters 6 and 7), thus using verbal and nonverbal behaviour strategies is essential and considered part of Islamic teaching. In addition, the use of religious expressions as a politeness strategy appears to function as a way of minimising threat to both the speaker's and the hearer's quality face. For example, giving religious praise and thanks, such as “God bless you” "بارك الله فيك" and “may Allah save you” "ربي يسلمك", is understood by the offerer as a refusal. In addition, invoking Allah is a conversational insistence strategy that is habitually employed by the Libyan host, in order to be seen as generous, to give credit to his/her offer and to achieve the pragmatic end of offering, which is to convince the guest to accept the offer. Thus, I would argue that religion is an element that affects strategy use in any social behaviour, particularly an offering interaction, besides other contextual factors, such as social distance, gender and age, as will be discussed in the next sections.

4.4.2. The Contextual Variable of Social distance and Familiarity

Libyan culture, like many other, if not all cultures, values social closeness and familiarity during social interactions. Holmes (2013: 12) emphasises that “the relative social distance between the speaker and the addressee(s) is one of the most basic factors

⁴⁷ Nonverbal behaviour, such as avoiding eye contact with an interactant of another gender to show respect and modesty.

determining appropriate levels of politeness behaviour in most, if not all, societies”. In Libyan offers of hospitality, the offerer is expected to display low social distance and express a high degree of familiarity before and while offering hospitality and also be seen to be affected positively by the rapport of offering and the offeree’s response to the offer. Brown and Levinson (1987: 76) categorise social distance as “a symmetric social dimension of similarity or difference, based on assessment of the frequency of interaction and the kind of material or non-material goods (as well as face) between speaker and hearer”. Social distance is associated with notions of mutual closeness and unfamiliarity (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003) and Spencer-Oatey (2008) links it to what she calls sociopragmatic interactional principles [SIPs] equity (i.e., being treated fairly) and association (i.e., the degree of closeness/distance in relationships). Libya is one of the Arab cultures which is considered a positive politeness⁴⁸ culture, tends to value social closeness, with the speaker treating the hearer as “a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked” (Brown and Levinson 1978:75). However, in this study, I argue that showing familiarity and low social distance in offering interaction is not always evaluated positively, when such evaluation is affected by the social expectations of the situation, the relationship between the participants (friends, relatives or strangers) and their gender (a same-gender or cross-gender offering interchange). Thus, I aim to show how all of these contextual factors affect the structure of offering interaction and strategy use.

⁴⁸ There is awareness that overgeneralization and over simplification of the problematic positive and negative cultural concepts. But actually, the researcher knows that it is convenient shorthand in Arabic literature tend to emphasize interdependence and stress the importance of closeness and solidity within social groups.

4.4.3. Age and power

Age and power, as contextual factors, play a crucial role in Libyan politeness behaviour in general and particularly in offering hospitality interactions, and the two seem always to be interrelated. In other words, age differences between the participants influences an offering situation, and usually the legitimate power⁴⁹ is given to the elder participant over the younger one, given that the elder party has the right to make certain demands. This may due to Arab cultures' general stress on 'احترام' 'ʔħtjram', which means 'respect' in English between interactants, particularly when there is an age difference between them (Eshreteh 2014). The youngest interlocutor usually shows 'ʔħtjram', for example, by calling the older person by a term of address to show respect and politeness. In a study on Palestinian Arab culture, Eshreteh (2014: 136) states:

Elderly people are often given the right to decide important things within the family. Besides, the older a person is, the more respect (s) he would receive from the young people. As a result, when talking to older addressees, speech behaviour of Palestinian people is considered to be highly deferent.

The choice of politeness strategy when issuing an offer or refusal in some situations is affected by age in Libyan culture. Normally, the older interlocutor determines the end of the offering sequence (as we will see in chapter 7) and extended offers from younger interactants, always seen by the offeree as a sign of politeness and a well-brought up person, and by the offerer as enhancing his/her face and the sociality face of her/his family. Therefore,

the degree of social distance or solidarity between the interactants in relation to other social factors such as relative age, sex, social roles, whether people work together, or are of the same family were found to be of great effect on the type of strategy being used by the individual

⁴⁹ Spencer-Oatey (2000:33) argues "if a person A, has the right (because of his/her role, status, or situational circumstances) to prescribe or expect certain things of another person, B, then A can be said to have legitimate power".

speaker upon inviting, accepting an invitation or declining it (Al-Khatib 2006).

Thus, social distance should be not seen as static but dynamic in any social interaction, particularly when offering hospitality, where its effect is usually related to other elements which determine the final form of the interaction. Generally, it seems that distance influences the choice of appropriate polite linguistic behaviour in Libyan culture as much as other contextual factors, such as the gender of the participants.

4.4.4. The contextual variable of gender

I will here consider the contextual factor of gender from a different viewpoint, unlike the many studies which examine gender in relation to politeness during interaction. In other words, in this study, I will not compare both genders (male and female) according to their way of issuing or responding to an offer, but instead will examine how stereotypes of politeness and linguistic ideologies gender the manner of both men and women when issuing and responding to an offer from another party. Using Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) model, I will examine same/cross gender offering situations when such behaviour is categorised as a threat/enhancement to face and/or rights, as well as the social expectation related to it. According to the discursive approach, for a form of "interpretive analysis which can capture the complexity of the way linguistic ideologies of appropriate behaviour and politeness are drawn on and evaluated in interaction" (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Thus, discursively I will examine in which way linguistic ideologies about hospitality and generosity in Libya have an influence on the behaviour of offering and its sequencing moves.

In the next section, I will discuss the notion of hospitality and examine its relationship to politeness in Arabic by presenting a range of Arabic studies which examine the politeness of hospitality among Arabic speakers.

4.5. Studies on hospitality and offering in Standard and dialect Arabic

In this section, I will discuss the notions of hospitality and offering and their relationship to politeness in Arabic. Thus, I present a range of Arabic studies, some of which were carried out by Arab researchers, and examine politeness of hospitality among Arabic speakers. In general, few studies exist that deal with Arabic dialects. In addition, there are generally very few studies that have focused primarily on hospitality situations and offering interactions. Moreover, the focus of these studies is not specifically on offering hospitality interchanges, but rather a range of polite speech acts (for example, Alaoui (2011); investigates requests, offers and thanks). Therefore, most of the studies that focus on Arabic hospitality and offering can be categorised into two main types. The first is the kind of research that sheds light on the range of linguistic formulaic forms that are used in a particular Arab community (for example, Al-Khatib, 2006; Emery 2000). The second is the type of study that analyses and compares Arabic linguistic forms of offers, among other linguistic forms, with those existing in other cultures, such as English and German (for example, Alaoui, 2011; Bouchara, 2015). Thus, in this section, I discuss the research on politeness in several Arabic dialects, focusing on Jordanian, Omani, Moroccan, Qatari and Emirati.

4.5.1. Jordanian society

Al-Khatib (2006) carried out a study to explore the nature of invitations in the Jordanian community from a pragmatic perspective. He attempted to systemize the strategies employed for the purpose of inviting in this society and highlighted the socio-pragmatic constraints. The data were collected and analysed following the concepts of speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1967, 1976). In addition he used Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) notions of politeness and FTAs. Al-Khatib investigated three

main aspects of inviting/offering. These are: the invitation/offer, accepting and declining.

The study argued that the process of invitation is patterned, rule-governed and functional. Social distance in relation to the age and sex of a participant is argued to be a key factor in determining the kind of strategies used for either inviting/offering, accepting an invitation/offer or declining an invitation/offer.

4.5.2. Omani Arabic

Emery's (2000) research examined greeting, congratulating and commiserating strategies in Omani Arabic, which is one of the Arabic Gulf regions. The data on the offering hospitality section of his research discuss specifically male hospitality rituals and indicate that these exhibit strong affinity forms with pan-Arabic (and more specifically Gulf Arabic) forms, although they also contain specifically Omani Arabic formulations. Emery (2000: 205-206) explains how Omani people employ offering behaviour strategies, giving the example of 'offering' coffee':

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>تفضل بتقهوى tafadʕal bitatagahwa coffee have will welcome</p> |
| Have some coffee |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فضلك دايم fadʕlak daa'im always your bounty</p> |
| Your bounty is unending |

Emery gives an example of how the host may insist that the guests eat, using expressions like:

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>تفضلوا لاتستحوا البيت بيتكم tafadʕalu, laa tistihu, ʔl-beet beetkum yours house the you shy be no you welcome</p> |
| Help yourselves. Don't be shy. My house is your house= [feel at home]. |

The routine reply is, again, a root-echo response (1) accompanied by a comment addressing the host's 'negative face' (2), such as:

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>زاد فضلك تعبت نفسك zaad fad^llak, ti'ibt nafsak you're tired your bounty increase</p> |
| May your bounty increase (1), you have put yourself to a lot of trouble (2) |

That is, in turn, denied by the host:

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>هذا شي قليل hathaa shi galiil few thing this</p> |
| It's nothing |

Alternatively, if the guest declines to eat, he will address the host's 'positive face', together with some kind of explanation:

| |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| <p>daayim 'izzak ... maa miftahi</p> |
| May your greatness endure. I have no appetite |

This study suggests that hospitality rituals are exhibited with a strong affinity to the pan-Arabic forms, and they also encompass specifically Omani Arabic formulations.

4.5.3. Moroccan

Alaoui (2011) examines many ways in which politeness can be revealed in offers and thanking in Moroccan Arabic. She suggests that, as such acts encompass potential face-damage to the speaker and hearer, Arabic speakers attempt to reduce the imposition of these acts on their own face as well as on that of their interlocutor. It is interesting to note that "[t]raditionally in Moroccan, the offer has to be repeated and declined a number of times before it is accepted. Accepting from the first offer is regarded as bad form, so S/H goes through this ritualized behaviour where each one has a defined role" (Alaoui, 2011: 13). What is noteworthy is that the strategy of refusing an

offer several times before accepting is not restricted to Moroccan Arabic, since this phenomenon can be found in many other Arab speech communities as well.

4.5.4. Qatar and the United Arab Emirates

Sobh et al (2013) conducted an ethnographic study in the United Arab Emirates and Qatar to address a particular Islamic behaviour that is related to the practice of Arab hospitality. This common Arab virtue is studied in three settings: commercial hospitality, home hospitality, and hospitality towards foreign guest workers/visitors. The study found that home hospitality is mainly extended to group members and includes sharing with same-sex close friends and family members during an interchange, whereas issuing hospitality to foreigners is rare. This indicates that within hospitality in general, and specifically in Arab cultures, there are conventional and ritual formulae that allow the gathering of both hosts and guests in a familial context. During these family gatherings, there exists the potential for FTAs if the hosts or guests fail to follow the norms and conventions of hospitality. The study emphasises that this ritual practice, if it is to be appropriate, should be filled with meaningful sharing. The researcher found that, whereas these countries are rapidly changing and modernising, the tradition of hospitality and its accompanying rituals persist: "These rituals are, if anything, stronger today than ever before" (Sobh et al 2013: 444). This study shows that the Gulf culture is a segregated culture and it is not unusual, for instance, for Qatari and Emirati men to receive guests in spaces called "مجلس", "mazlis", which are large, male-only hospitality sitting rooms. On the other hand, Gulf women usually entertain other women, and their hospitality rituals are no less elaborate than those of Gulf men (Sobh et al 2013: 444).

The results of these studies provide a good insight into Arabic hospitality, and demonstrate the strategies used by Arabic speakers in realising and reacting to an offer

speech act. The research does not deal well with Arabic hospitality at a discursive level, because the data collected through the research methods are primarily based on invented examples (e.g. DCT, questionnaire), rather than real situations and interactions. This may lead to generalisations about Arabic cultures, which should not be seen as homogeneous as they are variable and complex, just as all other cultures. In addition, using speech act theory and Brown and Levinson's (1978; 1987) approach to politeness as the theoretical framework cannot explain thoroughly the values and norms for every particular offering interchange because this framework assumes that values and norms that constitute appropriate behaviour that is shared by all speakers and hearers (Pan, 2011: 132). In addition, analysing offering, refusal and insistence strategies without considering the social context, which plays a key role in the process of understanding or evaluating an offering interchange, explains clearly why the interactants use different strategies and formulae in hospitality situations.

According to the above studies, we note the existence of many similarities among Arabic dialects in offering hospitality strategies, although there also exist some differences between the strategy choices preferred in these societies, and there are special formulae in each of the societies mentioned above. Thus, "the dialect is by no means considered a force or an agent itself. Rather, the agent is the culture which is manifested through the dialect" (Jebahi, 2010: 648). The findings of these studies should not be generalised to all other Arabic-speaking societies.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the notions of hospitality and offering practices as related to politeness. By defining the components of the offering sequence (offers, refusal and insistence strategies) at the beginning of this chapter, it becomes apparent that these strategies cannot always be seen as face threatening. It is obvious that what is appropriate in one culture is not necessarily appropriate in another. The main research question that has been addressed throughout this chapter is: what are the linguistic characteristics of offering and receiving hospitality by Libyan Arabic speakers? The discussion of this chapter has clearly illustrated that the offer of hospitality is seen as indexing the cultural values that are motivated by social life and Islamic religious teaching. However, offers and refusals forms may index other values according to the contexts and expectations affected by the contextual factors (e.g. gender or age). Such deference may be preferred in certain contexts, but dispreferred in others, as we will see in the analysis chapter (7). Offers or refusals should not be treated as the default from which speakers deviate because, in the Libyan community, for example, they can simply be considered as face enhancing for both speaker and hearer, particularly in hospitality situations, due to the fact that the same linguistic repertoire is largely shared by the interlocutors. These concepts and interpretations may differ from one culture to another according to the purposes behind using this strategy, which is motivated in some situations by the cultural norms and conventions of that particular community. By examining the notions of linguistic ideologies, rituals and social norms and conventions, I have shown that these notions have an impact on the way that offers are made in any cultural group. In Libyan culture, however, the rituals and conventions about hospitality and offering are evaluated as appropriate.

Several Arabic studies have also been examined in this chapter. The Arab researchers have failed to examine fully the linguistic conventions during interactions. Furthermore, politeness norms which are built on stereotypical and ideological beliefs

do not reflect actual usage. Thus, these need to be examined at a discursive level through the analysis of authentic data derived from real situations rather than invented examples, as I will discuss in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1. Introduction

Based on the discussion outlined in the previous chapters, in this chapter, I present the methodological framework for this study. Based on the literature review outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, I explain why I am using both the rapport management model and the discursive approach to politeness as a framework for this study in section 5.2. Then, in section 5.3., I assess the methods that are often used for linguistic research data, before explaining and justifying the methods I have used for my research. In the final part of this chapter, I will describe the methods I have used to gather the data for this study.

5.2. Analytical Framework

As already discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, most of the previous studies of politeness have been heavily influenced by Brown and Levinson's model; as a consequence, "their approach to politeness reflects basically Anglo-Saxon perceptions of politeness phenomenon in many respects" (Pan, 2011: 73). For example, they conceptualize face as no more than the mere possession of the individual, which is inadequate for analysing the Libyan Arab cultural context, particularly the conventional linguistic practice of offering hospitality, where identity, sociality face and social entitlements (e.g., sociality rights and social obligations) during interactions are fundamental. Thus, since the current study draws on data from Libyan Arab culture, it seems that such a traditional model⁵⁰ cannot serve as a theoretical basis for a cultural study, and thus it would be inappropriate to take their model as a framework for the present work. To this extent, it would be useful to consider another politeness model that might provide a sufficient explanation for the politeness of the conventional

⁵⁰ The criticism of the politeness theories was discussed in Chapter 2.

linguistic practices involved in everyday hospitality situations in Libyan Arab culture. I have adopted ⁵¹ Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) rapport management, which as I mentioned in chapter 2 provides a useful set of concepts (e.g., social face, sociality rights and obligations). These notions will help to analyse the offering hospitality practices in the Libyan context from a discursive politeness perspective. I adopt the discursive approach based on Mills' (2003) account, where (im)politeness is theorised as emerging across stretches of discourse as an alternative to being seen as simply contained within a single utterance (See also Mullany 2011). By doing so, I attempt to develop a comprehensive analytical framework that accounts for everyday offering interactions by applying a combination of these theoretical frameworks.

Mullany (2011) uses Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) rapport management concepts to analyse an interactional interchange which "took place within the British mass media as part of the 2010 General election campaign coverage" (Mullany 2011:133). However, and in contrast to this study, I apply the theoretical concepts of Spencer-Oatey's rapport management to naturalistic social interactions within everyday offering hospitality situations, rather than media examples. Thus, using both approaches is adequate for understanding interpersonal and cultural interactions where the interactants may have different evaluations of the rapport expectations, orientation and pragmatic conventions of the offer, refusal or insistence in a hospitality interchange. My purpose in doing so is to suggest that such a methodology can examine and thus demonstrate the social circumstances and situation whereby the participants conventionally deliver the linguistic practice of offering.

⁵¹ A discussion is provided in Chapter 2.

5.3. Methods of Data Collection: Qualitative Research

One of the most complex issues in the field of linguistics is what can be considered data for analysis (Mills, 2003) because of the "difficulties of assuming that the language behaviour of people in experimental settings can be generalised to their behaviour in 'real life' and to the behaviour of the population as a whole" (Mills, 2003: 43). Therefore, as Mills (2003: 10) argues "it is essential to draw on real data (audio-recorded conversations) in conjunction with other kinds of information about language. Linguists often use either the quantitative or qualitative paradigm (Angouri, 2010). I have used the qualitative research method for the purpose of this study.

Qualitative research aims "to examine people's experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussion..." (Hennink et al., 2011: 8-9). A small number of participants are required, "as the purpose is to achieve depth of information (rather than breadth)" (Hennink et al., 2011: 17). Qualitative research, therefore, is widely used in examining issues which focus on the participants' views, interpretations and experiences about an interchange or behaviour in their natural setting. Denzin and Lincoln (2008), for example, point out that qualitative research "involves an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 4). Qualitative analysis, however, suffers from certain problems. For example, Fukushima (2000) refers to Beebe and Takahashi's (1989) explanation of some of the limitations associated with the qualitative method (e.g. naturally occurring data), such as the data's bias towards the linguists' preference for people with whom they are familiar (e.g. friends and relatives). The same problem was also identified by Mills (2003), who argues that "one of the difficulties [with qualitative

method] is that often the people drawn on belong to the same linguistic community as the linguist, so there are numerous studies of the language of university students, of middle-class white people, and fewer studies of other groups of people” (2003: 44). Despite such a limitation, the qualitative method “is less willing to question the possibility of generalizing from its finding” (Mills, 2003: 44). Therefore, qualitative research is usually recommended for exploring people’s beliefs about complex topics. Since politeness during interaction is a very complicated issue, using this type of research will be useful for improving our evaluation of this phenomenon.

The data presented in this study are based on qualitative sources; the data consist of naturally occurring interactions, including recorded data, log-book, interviews and a focus group interaction, as will be discussed below in section 5.4.

5.3.1. Naturally Occurring Linguistic Data

I agree with Wolfson (1981:9) who argues that data need to be gathered “through direct observation and participation in a great variety of spontaneously occurring speech situations”. The collection of naturally occurring data seems to be the most highly recommended method in linguistic research, due to its advantages, which have been described by Cohen (1996: 391-92) as follows:

The data are spontaneous and reflect what the speakers say rather than what they think they would say, and are reacting to a natural situation rather than to a contrived and possibly unfamiliar one. The communicative event has real-world consequences, and may be a source of rich pragmatic structures.

Nevertheless, Cohen (1996: 392) has acknowledged some problems as well with naturally occurring data, such as the speech act being studied may not occur naturally very often. Variables may be difficult to control. Collecting and analysing the data are time-consuming activities. The data may not yield sufficient or indeed any examples of

the target items. The use of recording equipment may be intrusive on demotic communication. The use of note-taking as a complement to or in lieu of taping relies on the researcher's memory.

I chose to use this method, because seen as a key way of understanding people's beliefs and experiences. I decided to use naturally occurring interactions taking place in the real environment of everyday communication between Libyan people as a data source for this research. I used two core ways to collect naturally occurring data: recorded data and log-book data.

For the presentation of the naturalistic data in this study, I use a simplified transcription scheme for improved readability. Transcription conventions are as follows: underlined words indicate emphatic stress; [indicates overlap; ↑ indicates a rising intonation; ↓ indicates a falling intonation; (.) very brief pause; (.) descriptive symbols that are difficult to describe; (laughter) indicates laughter: indicates the extensions of the sound or syllable.

Since I am transcribing the Libyan Arabic **language in terms of script and word order, I followed four steps model of transcription suggested by Mills:**

Step 1: I represent Libyan Arabic in its own script.

Step 2: I translate the script into a fair equivalent in English using IPA Arabic symbols.

Step 3: I give a literal translation under each word.

Step 4: I give a functional equivalent in English.

5.3.1.1. Recorded Data

As I mentioned in chapter 3, Arabic in Libya is diglossic in nature, similar to Arabic in all Arab countries; Libyans speak the Libyan Arabic dialect in their everyday interactions. As I indicated in Chapter 3, Berbers speak their language within their group and speak Arabic in order to communicate with others. The informants in my study produced responses in their everyday language, ‘Ammiyya’ (Libyan dialect). Although it is not common to use this language in written form, it is closer to naturally occurring communication and more realistic to ask my Libyan informants to respond in their everyday spoken language.

I used an audio-recorder to record 9 casual conversations⁵² in Libyan Arabic. The Libyan Arab participants who were recorded included friends, Libyan family members, and Libyan students. I was present when most of the Libyan Arabic recordings were made, and participated in some of them. The conversations took place at the participants' houses and workplaces. I had assistance from several Libyan males, who agreed to help me to record the research data when the situations were male-only, for cultural and religious reasons. For each interchange, participants were aware prior to and during the interchange that their conversations were being monitored; however, whenever I collected the data, the participants involved in the interactions were not informed about the topic of my research to ensure that their interactions remained natural and spontaneous and more consistent. Prior informed consent to record the data was obtained and all data presented have been anonymised.

⁵² In this study, some of the hospitality situations were recorded in the UK, where people's behaviour may be affected by the native people, but I noticed that, even though invitations to hospitality are less frequent in the UK than in Libya because time is limited, when an offering event takes place, the rituals of offering, refusal and insistence still maintain their Libyan identity and are still practised strongly, although the atmosphere is different. Thus, offers, refusal and insistence arise from the concepts of what constitutes politeness, as motivated by culture, social life and religious teaching in Libya.

5.3.1.2. Log-book Data

I faced some difficulties in trying to obtain naturally occurring data by recording interactions. With the aim of tackling these difficulties and obtaining the advantages of spontaneous interactions, which were not recorded, I used Grainger's (2011) method of data collection. Following Grainger, whenever I realised that an incident might be relevant to my research, I wrote it down straightaway in a log book, "so that accuracy of sequencing and content would be preserved" (Grainger, 2011: 181). Although certain features of the conversations were missed by using this method (e.g. tone of voice, hesitation, and so on), as Grainger notes, incidental interactions can be a useful source of data in the case of my research, because some incidents were unexpected, such as cross gender offering exchanges (see Appendix A example 4, p: 19; and example 7, p: 22), which are unpredictable; therefore, there would be no guarantee that, at any particular time, the individuals, would offer hospitality in the way that I wished to focus on in this study.

For example, during one of my visits to a Libyan family who live in a different city in Libya, I was ready to record the interchange of offering hospitality as it was expected at any time during the visit and I turned my recorder on but the hospitality was not offered for some reason, so I turned my recorder off. Then, at a point during the leave-taking exchange, the offerer remembered that she had not offered hospitality to her guest and felt very embarrassed. Thus, she insisted on her guests having something before they left, (see Appendix A, example 1: p: 16). Thus, the log-book method was beneficial and helpful for my current research, so that I could note down features of such events.

Being simultaneously participant and observer on such occasions did not take place in a vacuum. Since the interactions were recorded from memory, I was unable to

recall every single word uttered. Bearing in mind, such limitations of this method, I used it only for restricted examples which I felt were impossible to record, and they served as a strong sign of the rituals, norms and conventions of offering interchanges used in Libyan Arab culture.

5.3.2. The Focus Group method of research

The focus group is perceived as a significant social research tool (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010) and the “hallmark of focus groups is their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group” (Morgan, 1997: 2). A focus group is defined “as a research technique that collects data through group interaction in a topic determined by the researcher” (Morgan, 1996: 130). Many researchers (for example: Bertrand et al., 1992; Hennink et al., 2010) draw attention to the benefits that can be gained from using this method for data analysis. For instance, Hennink et al. (2010: 158) argue that:

The use of focus groups is highly beneficial, since when there is effective interaction between participants, each participant is essentially probing other participants for more information, explanation, or justification about the topic discussed, simply by entering into a discussion together. This is extremely beneficial for the research as it provides a deeper understanding of the issues and produces richer data as a result.

Another advantage of this technique is that active and dynamic interactions between the participants can “reach parts that other methods cannot reach” (Kitzinger, 1994: 107). Thus, they “often reveal levels of understanding that remain untapped by other data collection techniques” (Doody et al., 2013: 266). However, focus group interactions suffer from certain limitations. For example, Edley and Litosseliti (2010) draw attention to Suchman and Brigitte’s description of the consequences of the misunderstandings that may arise if the interviewer “fails to appreciate the encounter as

a stretch of dialogue” (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010: 159).⁵³ They argue that, when the interviewer uses fixed questions or repeatedly asks the same question, he/she “will usually infer that their previous responses are wrong or inappropriate” (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010: 159).

In consideration of the advantages and shortcomings of the focus group method, I conducted a focus group discussion for Libyan Arab informants. My focus group discussion was conducted with a number of Libyan Arab female informants in the UK (see Appendix B: 25 -39). It was difficult for me to include Libyan Arab males in such discussions for cultural reasons; however, male informants took part in other research data (interview discussion). My interest in conducting the focus group was to highlight and examine the linguistic ideologies, beliefs and attitudes behind the behaviour of offers, refusal and insistence in both same- and cross-gender offering interactions. The spark of such an interest was a cross-gender offering exchange that took place between myself and a colleague⁵⁴. In fact, to avoid subjectivity in my analysis, I preferred to arrange a focus group to get more insight using this rapport sensitive incident to explore and discuss the potential motivations behind the offer and the expected respond from the offeree. My hope was to find whether the cultural values and linguistic ideologies effect Libyan people's assessment of the sociality rights and social obligations related to offering hospitality behaviour in both same- and cross-gender interactions.

My friend **F** generously offered me an opportunity to conduct the focus group at her house. She invited ten of her friends, three of whom are my colleagues. Only nine females came to the discussion. It was recorded after obtaining permission from the participants and the data presented were anonymised. The participants in this discussion

⁵³ Above all, the interactions between the focus group participants, as Hennink *et al.* (2011) point out, is the best way to obtain various points of view, which provide a deep understanding of the topic of my study.

⁵⁴ See the whole event and the analysis in chapter 7, section 7.3.4., and example 15.

were all randomly chosen. The female informants came to the UK from different parts of Libya, and their residence in the UK ranged from one to four years. I excluded those who had been living in the UK for a long time, so the answers were more likely to be particular to Libyan Arab culture. I recorded 49:23 minutes of interaction. The participants who took part in my discussion included friends and Libyan postgraduate students who accepted the invitation to participate in the focus group, with ages ranging from 28 to 49 years-old. They were well-educated participants. I labelled the participants who were present at the discussion as follows: Antisar: 45Y; Eman: 28Y; Farah: 35Y; Gada: 33Y; Siham: 39Y; Karima: 45Y; Huda: 49Y; Halima: 33Y; Wasan: 31Y; and myself.

Because of the importance of such questions for my study, and because it was difficult to conduct a focus group with male informants, as I mentioned earlier, I also opted for an interview which provided sufficient time for the participants to reflect on their perceptions regarding how they understand the social activity of offering.

5.3.3. In-depth Interviews

Creswell (2003) points out that interviews involve examining and reflecting on perceptions in order to gain an understanding of social and human activities. Moreover, a qualitative interview data can “facilitate more in-depth understanding of the participant manners, ‘thoughts, and actions’, thus interviewing is a significant qualitative data collection method that can be used for describing linguistic problems and practice” (Harris and Brown 2010: 1).

Cohen et al. (2007: 351) defined interviewing as ‘a two-person conversation’ in which the interviewer seeks to elicit information that provides answers to his/her research questions. Burns (2000: 423) defines interviews as “a verbal interchange, often face to face, in which an interviewer tries to elicit information, beliefs, or opinions from

another person”. Since interviews allow the “participants to express their thoughts and understanding, and they provide a positive way of understanding others” (Cohen et al 2007: 349). Gay and Airasian (2003: 209) defined an interview as “a purposeful interaction between two or more people that focused on one person trying to get information from the other person”.

Furthermore, Harris and Brown (2010) highlight the democratic dimension that interviews can offer to interviewees by providing an opportunity to ask for explanations, and to clarify the interviewees’ views in their own words. The findings from the recordings of naturally occurring data informed the interview questions, particularly questions relating to:

a- How Libyans perceive offers of hospitality.

b- Linguistic ideologies related to the use of insistence strategy in offering hospitality.

c- The expectations related to offering hospitality in same and cross gender hospitality situations.

The semi-structured interviews allowed the interviewee some kind of autonomy over the interview (Wilkinson and Birmingham 2003; Berg, 2009). They also allowed me to ask for explanations and illustrations, as well as to ask new questions prompted by the interviewee's responses.

I conducted an interview in Libyan Arabic in order to examine the concepts of hospitality and generosity in offering situations and their relationship to politeness in Arabic. The idea behind this interview was to investigate the attitudes, beliefs and ideologies that Libyans tend to access in order to indicate hospitality and generosity. This information was completed by a number of informants of both sexes, from different educational backgrounds and of various ages.

The participants were asked to provide their preferred date, time and location for the interview. These arrangements were flexible and changes were made as required due to individual unexpected circumstances. At this stage, I tried to establish trust and a friendly relationship with the research participants; I respected them and communicated with them in a collaborative atmosphere, to ensure that the democratic principles of equity and respect were followed. The participants were told a second time that the data would be anonymous and confidential, and that they had the right to withdraw or stop the interview at any time (Berg, 2009).

Although such interviews may not be rich in contextual detail, they can provide insights; firstly, on the linguistic ideologies that Libyans stereotypically hold about the use of offering/refusal interactions, rituals, norms and conventions. Secondly, they can provide hints regarding which politeness conventions are appropriate in the interactional behaviour of offering as, often, beliefs about appropriate behaviour are reflected in people's evaluation of politeness; they have opinions about the way they or others should speak, compared with how they actually do speak (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Thirdly, interviews offer insights into what the respondents consider to be relevant to themselves in such situations.

The informants of my interviews were both males and females who spoke Libyan Arabic. I decided not to restrict myself to a specific cultural group (e.g., undergraduates), but used a random selection of informants of different ages and educational backgrounds in order to avoid my study being centred on a specific cultural group. Some of my friends helped me to collect the data by inviting their friends, relatives and colleagues of both sexes, with different social and educational backgrounds, ages, and so on, to attend the interviews. Thus, the data were not restricted to my own community alone (e.g. my relatives, friends, and so on).

The informants were asked to supply information about their age, gender, and the Libyan city from where they came (Table 5.1 quantifies this information).

It is worth bearing in mind that the Libyan informants for this study came from different parts of Libya. Although some of them live in England now, the interviews were conducted only with individuals whose residence was temporary (2 years or less) and excluded those who had been living in the UK for a long time (more than 2 years). Hence, their answers were more likely to be particular to Libyan Arabic culture. All of the Libyan respondents speak Libyan Arabic as the mother tongue, and Modern Standard Arabic, which they learnt at school.

Table 5. 1: The social profile of the interview data.

| Libyan | Female | male |
|------------|--------|------|
| Age: 25-35 | 3 | 3 |
| 36-56 | 3 | 3 |

The interview consisted of five questions. The interviewer asked the informants how they established their hospitality offer, as well as whether they liked to insist when hospitality is being offered to a guest, and why. There was also a question about whether the informants invoke God's name, and why. Finally, the informants were asked whether offering and responding to an offer of hospitality differed between same- and cross-gender situations, and why. It is worth noting that the questions were designed to give the informants an opportunity to provide answers which reflected their perspectives about the appropriateness of offering/responding to an offer in their own culture (see the interviews in Appendix C, p: 40-57).

The wide range of data collected means that this study is more likely to reflect the diversity and variability within Libyan culture and present various perspectives of

the different cultural groups. This allows me to suggest what might be considered polite/impolite or appropriate/inappropriate in relation to offering hospitality in Libyan culture. Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that:

[B]y analysing a wide range of data, for example, analysing working-class and middle-class people, young and old, it may be possible to make generalisations about the resources available to these particular groups and their tendencies to use particular forms to indicate politeness or impoliteness. Furthermore, we will be able to discuss the way that, in the process of being polite or impolite, individuals construct their identities in relation to what are perceived to be group and social norms (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 43).

5.4. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are an integral part of research methodology. According to Saunders et al (2007: 178), an ethical consideration in research “refers to the appropriateness of your behaviour in relation to the rights of those who become the subject of your work, or are affected by it”. (Saunders et al. 2007: 178) define ethics as the “moral principles, norms, or standards of behaviour that guide moral choices about our behaviour and our relationships with others”. Prior to the data collection, approval for this study was gained from the Research Ethics Committee of Sheffield Hallam University. There were no foreseeable risks identified in this study. Data were collected by the researcher and the confidentiality of participants was protected by means of pseudonyms which were used to protect their identity. Participants were informed that their involvement in this study was entirely voluntarily and that they had the right to withdraw at any time. Also, they were informed that all data relating to them would be destroyed if they withdrew from this study. They were made aware of the purpose of the research and were given a brief description about what their participation involved. Ethical questions were considered in relation to the collection of data.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a methodological basis for this study and shed light on the issues that will be discussed in the next chapters. I reviewed the qualitative methods for the data collection. I have also explained some aspects of this research procedure: such as the participants, the procedures for data gathering and the methods of analysis. Using the data I collected, I conducted analyses that will be described in the following chapters.

Chapter 6: Analysis of the data: Linguistic ideologies, beliefs, and attitudes related to offering hospitality

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate the attitudes, beliefs and ideologies behind the conventional Libyan Arabic linguistic practices of offering hospitality involved in everyday situations by examining data collected via the interviews and focus group discussion. The main research question that is posed in this chapter is: how do assumptions about sociality rights and obligations in Libyan hospitality situations affect the use and interpretation of offering hospitality?

Spencer-Oatey argues that “the degree of appropriateness is-+ informed by interactant’s expectations based on behaviours that they believe are suggested (polite), accepted (politic/neutral), or disallowed (impolite) in their given culture or community” (Spencer-Oatey, 2005:97). Thus, the aim of this chapter is to examine the relationship between the behaviour of offering hospitality and the attitudes and values behind it, which tend to be constructed and evaluated by Libyan culture. I start the chapter by analysing the interview data through discussing the answers provided by the Libyan informants. In section 6.2.1., I investigate the speakers’ perceptions of how to establish an offer of hospitality by discussing their responses provided regarding this practice. I then move on, in section 6.2.2., to discuss the Libyan speakers’ concept of appropriate insistence, through examining the informants’ linguistic ideologies about this concept in relation to offering hospitality and examining the informants’ preferences either for using or not using insistence. In addition, in this section, I examine ‘invoking Allah’,⁵⁵ which is used as an insistence strategy in the Libyan speech community, with the aim of

55. The Arabic word ‘Allah’ means ‘God’ in English, and ‘invoking Allah’s name’ means ‘invoking God’ or swearing by God, which in Arabic is: ‘?lhalif bj?llah’. Abdel-Jawad (2000: 219) states: “It was quite a common and deep-rooted habit among the Arabs before Islam. However, when Islam came, it tried to put some constraints on this ‘ill-favoured or dispraised’ phenomenon. First, Muslims are warned against frequent swearing as it is clear from this verse in the Holy Qura’an: *wala taj’alu illaha ‘urDatan li? aymaanikum* “don’t make Allah the frequent object of your oaths”.

investigating its various functions. I have chosen to highlight this widely and culturally transparent strategy⁵⁶ used in Libyan offering interchanges, because it might not always be seen as a Face Threatening Act (FTA) because it is generally not seen as impolite by Libyans. Following this, in section 6.2.3., I discuss the interviewees' expectations regarding the refusal of offered hospitality. Then, in section 6.2.4., considering several variables (e.g., social distance, kinship), I will analyse cross- and same-gender offering hospitality interactions, and further examine the relevant values, beliefs and attitudes that constitute the linguistic ideologies related to hospitality and offering. However, the scope of this study is not primarily to investigate linguistic gender differences or to compare how females or males act as individuals during offering situations; rather, I aim to examine these as part of the ideologies, stereotypes and expectations related to sociality rights and obligations of cross- and same- gender hospitality interchanges in Libyan Arabic society. In section 6.2.5, I provide a summary of the interview analyses. Then, in section 6.3., I analyse the focus group data of Libyan Arabic females by organising them, according to the informants' responses, into three categories, which are: the informants' perceptions of an offer in same and cross-gender offering interactions (section 6.3.1.); the perception of insistence strategies and gender role (section 6.3.2.), and the factors that influence strategy use when offering hospitality (section 6.3.3.). In section 6.4, I provide concluding remarks about the focus group discussion, and sum up the chapter as a whole.

6.2. Interview Analysis

6.2.1. Libyans' Perception of an offer of hospitality

In the interviews (see Appendix C, p: 40- 57 for the Libyan Arabic interviews), the responses to the first question concerning the perception of an offer (1- How do you

⁵⁶ According to the study by (Abdel-Jawad 2000: 218), swearing in Arab cultures "has evolved into a mechanical routine formula used intentionally or unintentionally by speakers to preface some speech acts they perform".

establish your hospitality offer?; see Appendix C, p: 42-45), show that there exist a range of beliefs and attitudes about offering and hospitality. In Libyan culture, these are very strong, more formulated, and predictable. Thus, Libyans' judgments about the appropriateness of offering are based primarily on their desire to abide by the social norms and conventions of hospitality, which in turn are derived from their beliefs about the value of offering hospitality.

As I will show in the analysis below, the informants expressed concern about their guests' identity face and their sociality rights in hospitality situations. Furthermore, there was a consensus among the informants about the social entitlements that both the host and guest may claim for themselves when establishing an offer of hospitality (e.g. association rights), which reflect the ideological cultural assumptions (interdependence and importance of association) related to hospitality and generosity in Libyan culture. According to the data, face-work in offering situations is aimed at building the participants' relationship, so offers cannot be seen as inherently face-threatening, as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

The informants offered broad answers regarding how they offered hospitality. I suggest that this is because of their concern for the guest's identity face and their sociality rights requirements; they stress an affective association with their guest and provide a variety of face enhancement strategies which, according to the participants, are essential and thus conventional when offering hospitality to guests. For example (see Appendix C, p: 42-45):

"اولا تعتمد علي اشياء مرتبطه ببعضه, طريقه استقبالك للضيف اصلا لما يجي يعني البشاشه اللي في وجهك, فلما يجي وانت مش فاضيه والا حاجه تعابيرها يتغيرن, حتي لو قدمتي اي شي بعدها مش حيشعر الضيف بالراحه وانك انتي جاده"

(1) Fatima (female): It depends on many things connected to each other, the way you welcome your guest when s/he first arrives. I mean, the cheerfulness that appears on

your face when s/he comes, and you aren't ready to receive her/him. For example, your facial expression changes because you're busy, then, whatever you offer your guest later, she won't feel comfortable, and your offer isn't sincere.

" في البدايه نخلي روعي طبيعیه جدا ونحسس الشخص اللي قدامي كأنه هو في حوشه مش كأنه غريب حتي لو انه اول زياره ليا, لو حسيت شخصيته اصلا منغلقة نحاول نلح ونلح وفي حاله لو حسيت انه الشخص انه هو مازال نخليه علي اختياره هو نخليه علي راحته في الاخير "

(5) Burnia (female): At the beginning, I should appear quite normal, so I make my guest feel at home, not like a stranger. Even if it's her first visit and she looks shy, I'll try to insist on her accepting my offer, but, if she rejects my offer more than once, there's no point in insisting. Finally, I'll do as she wishes.

"عندنا مثل في ليبيا يقول (شد خبزتك وأطلق عبستك) قابل الضيف بأبتسامه ولا تقابله بأكل او شئ هكي "

(8) Abdullah (male): There's a Libyan proverb: 'Keep your bread to yourself, and smile at me'. As we say {in our society}, 'Welcome your guest with a smile on your face, not with food'.

The informants above believe that employing non-verbal polite behaviour, such as smiling and issuing a warm greeting, enhances the guest's face. Thus, it is prioritised over providing food and foregrounded by Libyans when they seek to establish a rapport of offering. The informants stressed that offering their guest a generous welcome was considered an essential part of hospitality. From a rapport management perspective, this can be interpreted as enhancing harmonious relations. For instance, in examples (1) and (2), the informants emphasised the importance of enhancing the guest's identity face by showing 'familial warmth'. Additionally, they asserted the importance of making the guest feel wanted and considering their wants and feelings by showing cordiality towards them. Such politeness is deep-rooted in Islamic teaching (see section 4.2.1.3.). Thus, it becomes a social obligation and an indication that you are a polite, generous and sociable person as well as providing an opportunity to earn Allah's satisfaction and demonstrate your moral worth. A lack of the given conventionalised verbal and non-verbal behaviour may be perceived as a rapport threatening behaviour. Spencer-Oatey

argues that “these non-verbal aspects need to be handled appropriately if harmonious relations are to be created and/or maintained”. Otherwise, it may threaten the guest’s identity face and/or sociality rights, and lead to a negative response on the part of the guest. For example, informant (1) states: “When a guest arrives, and you aren’t ready to receive him, and your facial expression shows this, because you’re busy, whatever you offer your guest later, he won’t feel comfortable”. This is reflected in an old Libyan proverb provided by participant (Abdullah) example (8): " شد خبزتك وأطلق عبستك ", the English equivalent for which is “Welcome me with a smile on your face; that is more important than displaying generosity”. The formulaic proverb stresses the positive rapport of hospitality between host and guest, and means that a welcome simply based on providing food, without showing any love or respect, would be rights-threatening (the guest’s right to be positively welcomed) and obligation-omission behaviour (the host’s obligation to enhance the guest’s quality face). In fact, an idiom such as this echoes the frequent occurrence of offering linguistic routines in Libya, where involvement takes precedence over offering food. Thus, positive non-verbal behaviour during such social exchanges seems to have a rapport enhancement orientation in Libyan society.

Informant (5) emphasised the association rights of the guest by enhancing the harmony of their mutual relationship. Although this can be achieved at the beginning of the rapport of offering, still the host holds an enhancement orientation towards the guest throughout the event, where sometimes the host conventionally reminds the guest to feel at home (as we will see in the next chapter, 7.3.3., example: 13). The informants prioritise their guest’s association rights as well as theirs over their own equity rights. In other words, whatever the host’s circumstances (e.g., the host might be busy or not ready to receive a guest), holding a rapport enhancement orientation is the appropriate way to receive guests and enhance the harmonious relationship between host and guest.

Thus, such an orientation can build the participants' relationship at the beginning of a hospitality interchange. As we saw above, such a manifestation is oriented towards the ideal hospitable person, who considers the guest's identity face and sociality rights needs by showing the guest that his/her visit is welcomed.

In the examples below, there is another way of indicating association and involvement between the interactants. Establishing rapport through small talk or 'openers' makes the guest feel more comfortable before the hospitality is offered. Levinson (1983) suggests that some speech acts are unavoidable, as they recur in certain everyday interactions. To resolve a problematic situation, Levinson suggests that speakers can use preface speech acts called 'pre-sequences'. He indicates that speakers expect to use 'pre-requests' to avoid rejection because "it allows the producer to check out whether a request is likely to succeed, and if not one to avoid its subsequent dispreferred response" (Levinson, 1983: 357). Therefore, to achieve such goals when making offers, for example, people tend to establish rapport by asking general questions about topics such as family and health (see example (3) below). Such openers enhance both the interlocutors' identity face as well as mitigate the face threat which might be provoked when food or drink are directly offered. Thus, to avoid being accused of being ill-mannered, my interviewees say that Libyan people may use small talk or openers before making a direct offer. Consider the following examples:

"بالنسبة ليا انا ضروري طبعا اول حاجه نقعز معاها اول مره كيف حالك هكي ونبدا معاها بحديث بشكل عام في اي موضوع بعدين نقدمله الضيافه هذياهي ولازم نصر عليها بعدها".

(3) Suad (female): First of all, I keep her company, of course. First, after welcoming the guest, we chat for a while about any general subject, then I offer him/her hospitality. It's important for me to insist then on her having something.

اول حاجه مثلا اني نهى للضيف بأن نطرحله كذا موضوع ونخليه اكثر طبيعي يعني مافيش رسميات بيني وبينه ونفس الشي نحاول اني نكون علي طبيعتي اكثر مماانا عليها فيحس انه هو كومفورتبل اكثر نحاول انلح ونصر انه عشان يكون بينا خبز وملح

(4) Muna (female): The very first thing is I try to talk about different subjects to make my guest feel relaxed. I mean, we eliminate the distance between us and, at the same time, try to appear as natural as possible, so she will feel at home. I'll try then to insist on my guest having something at least, to feel close to each other.

Informants Suad and Muna above indicate that it is essential, after welcoming the guest, to involve them in general small talk, after which hospitality can be offered. Thus, showing involvement and association builds common ground with the guest and aims to enhance the identity face of the guest at the beginning of the rapport of offering. This may be the host's short-term goals that she wishes to achieve by using 'openers', whereas the guest accepting the hospitality offered can be considered the long-term goal.

Interestingly, when expecting guests, the host sometimes invites a relative or close friend who is usually expected to arrive before the guest in order to join the host in receiving and welcoming the guest. Such conventional behaviour is positively evaluated in Libyan culture and aims to enhance the harmony. The motives for holding such an orientation could be to show genuine hospitality and generosity. Consider the example below:

" ضروري نجيب اقربائنا عشان ما نحسساش انه هو غريب و ما نحسساش بالملل ونحسس الشخص اللي قدامي كانه هو في حوشه مش كانه غريب يحس الضيف بجو لازم نجيب حد من قريباتي او جاره لي عشان يقعد مع الضيف لما نجهز الضيافه"

(6) Najwa (female): It's important to invite my relatives to enable the guest to feel at home. It's necessary to summon one of my neighbours or relatives to make the guest feel that they are in a family environment and to stay with my guest while I'm preparing the food.

The informant explains that the invited third party is usually a close friend, neighbour or relative; it is a conventional type of invitation when guests are expected,

particularly between close neighbours. The purpose of such invitations is to enrich the familial environment and harmonious relationship, as well as to enhance the guest's identity face to show that they are welcome, as well as the host's identity face as being a hospitable and friendly host. Such invitations show warmth and solidarity towards the guest, and also affiliate associative rights towards friends or relatives by inviting them as honoured guests which strengthens the family and friendship relationships. Thus, consideration for others' feelings is an important aspect of the rapport of offering in Libyan society. In the next example, the informant expected the guest initially to refuse the hospitality. Therefore, the informant preferred to establish rapport by hinting rather than being explicit. This hint is "an utterance that makes no reference to the offer but is interpretable as offer by context" (Blum-Kulka et al, 1989: 18, cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 25). Such an opener entails an expectation of a cost-benefit consideration accompanied by face-saving strategies. See the example below:

بیش مانحسسهاش انه انا دايره حاجه زياده يعني بحيث انها ماتحسش انها تعبتني نقوللها انا بنعدي ندير لروحي
دايره دايره حنديرك نشاركها يعني مشاركه عشان ماتحسش أني مدايره حاجه عشانها هي ومتعبه روحي

(2) Iman (female): In order to avoid her feeling that she's causing me any trouble, I'll say: 'I'll prepare something for myself and for you too'. I have to share with her so that she doesn't feel that her visit is costly and that I'm preparing the food only because of her visit.

Leech (1983) argues that Mediterranean cultures tend to value the generosity maxim more highly than the tact maxim. This suggestion appears to be valid, as Libyan culture seems to value the importance of generosity, thus minimizing the benefit to self and maximizing the benefit to others. For example, informant (I) above emphasised the importance of minimising the cost of her effort and time (as host), and maximising the benefit of sharing food with her guest. The informant expected her guest to refuse her initial offer, as such a refusal is conventional in such situations, so the host (informant I) oriented her pre-offer (the hint) towards the benefit of sharing food together with the

guest. In such situations, the host's enhancement orientation behaviour is highly evaluated or even required in Libyan offering, as we will see in chapter 7, because the association rights of both host and guest in Libyan hospitality situations are more important than their equity rights. As a result, Libyan hosts, for example, in the case of unexpected visits, rather than orient towards their own rights not being imposed on, conventionally orient towards their and the guest's sociality rights. Employing the duty of hospitality can sometimes be at the expense of the host's equity rights. Nevertheless, due to ideologies about hospitality and interdependence, the associative rights of both guest and host are prioritised over equity rights. In the following examples, I will discuss these ideological values and stereotypes related to generosity:

ضيافة البيت أول حاجة طبعاً تكرميه بتنوع الوجبات والحلوات تلاته اربعة اصناف والوجبة الرئيسية طبعاً للضيف تحاولي تنوعي له من الحاجات والمشروبات عشان تبدي كريمة أكثر

(6) Najwa (female): As for offering hospitality at home, the first thing is to be generous, to offer a variety of dishes with the main dish, three or four kinds of dessert. I try to offer various drinks and types of food to show generosity.

عندنا مثل في ليبيا يقول " شد خبزتك وأطلق عبستك" قابل الضيف بأبتسامه ولاتقابله بأكل او شئ هكي بالنسبة ليا انا نشد فيه أكثر واكثر بيش يقبل العزومه او بيش يقعد عندي ثاني حابه نقدمله افضل ما عندي (..) الحابه اللي يفضلها او نعرف انه هو يفضلها يعني اذ كان يحب القهوة نجيب له قهوة اللي هو يبيها واذا كان مايشر بش في القهوة نجيبه عصير مايشر بش في العصير ندير له حليب وتمر او اي حابه هذا بالنسبة لوقت العشاء اما بالنسبة لوقت الضهر او الليل ضروري نمسكه للغدا او العشا وبالنسبة للصباح الفطور نقدمله افضل شي واحنا العادات والتقاليد الضيافة لازم تكون باللحم وتكون لحم حولي بالذات الضيف اللي يقعد براني اما الضيف القريب عادي الجود بالموجود.

(8) Abdullah (male): " there is a Libyan proverb saying : " you should welcome your guest with a smile on your face; that is more important than offering him hospitality". As for me, I prefer to insist on him accepting my invitation or even staying longer. I offer him the best food I have; things which I know he likes. For example, if he loves coffee, I'll offer him some; moreover, I offer the best kind of coffee he likes or anything else. This hospitality should be offered at around 3-6 pm. If the guest arrives at lunch or dinner time, it's important to insist on him staying to share a meal with us. We should

offer the best we have since the duty of hospitality and its norms require that. The meal should be cooked with lamb for a guest who is a stranger but, if the guest's a near relative or close friend, it doesn't matter, since 'generosity can be shown from what you already have at home' {Arabic proverb}.

بالنسبة ليا انا علي حسب الضيف كانه جاي من منطقه ثانيه والامن مدينتك طبعاً بتختلف طريقه ضيافتك له يعني مثلاً من مدينه اخري اكيد ما عنداش حد يعني نصر عليه انه هو ضروري يقبل عزومتي حسب الاصول قريبي حتى هو نعزمه عاد كيف لكن مش بدرجه الضيف اللي بعيد يعني الضيف نعزمه من قلبي بجديت

(7) Rabi (male): For me, I consider the distance the guest has travelled, whether he's come from another city or from my home town. Of course, the way you offer hospitality differs since the guest (the stranger) may not know anybody, so I insist that he accepts my offer of a meal. For a relative, I'll offer him hospitality, of course, and insist on it, but there will be less concern than when the guest's a stranger. I sincerely insist on my guest accepting the offer from the bottom of my heart.

The informants above stressed generosity as a way of honouring and entertaining guests by offering a variety of food when establishing the rapport of offering and during the hospitality encounter to ensure that their guests are satisfied by his/her service, which is called in Arabic *واجب الضيافة* 'wazib ʔldʕjafa', 'the duty of hospitality'. However, in terms of the discursive approach, such behaviour reflects some ideal views concerning Arab generosity and how they think they should behave. Thus, "The more diverse food the host offers the higher he would be ranked on the scale of generosity" (Al-Khatib, 2006: 273). According to informants' Rabi and Abdullah above, in some situations, the host has an obligation to offer generous hospitality to a guest, while less obligation exists in other situations. For example, according to the informants, when a guest is 'baranj', which literally means an 'outsider', and its English equivalent is 'stranger or foreigner', the host usually has an additional social obligation to entertain the guest at whatever time he arrives, and whether the host was expecting him or not. As informant Rabi confirms: "We should offer the best we have, since our traditions and norms require that". However, the expectations related to hospitality and generosity in some

situations can be evaluated differently. The impact of the contextual factors of social distance and kinship have an influence on the expectations related to sociality rights and obligations in a hospitality situation. When the guest is a close relative, friend, or neighbour, there will be slightly less obligation to employ the rituals of offering and less concern about potential face/sociality rights threat consequences for both host and guest. That is because they often meet each other on different social occasions which involve offers of hospitality, whether in their houses or outside. The informant supports the answer with the frequently used Libyan proverb: when the guest is one of the host's relatives and arrives at a meal time, الجود بالموجود “ʔlʒud blmaʒud”, which in English means “generosity can be shown from what you have already got at home”. This proverb does not imply that the host should pay less attention to close relatives and friends; rather, it indexes the strong associative rationale towards them. In other words, the proverb signifies that there are in-group rituals to perform between those who enjoy a very close relationship and these are frequently used in hospitality situations when they visit each other. This means that there is less need to employ rituals of offering. Thus, the ideal of Arab generosity (that a host who offers more will be ranked as more generous) cannot be generalised across or even within Arab cultures. As Mills and Kadar (2011) argue, linguistic norms are usually discussed at the stereotypical level and are assumed to be recognised as appropriate by all speakers, while these judgements are often based on investigating the norms of certain dominant groups. Thus, as the informants show, generosity and hospitality behaviour is affected by different expectations related to hospitality situations which, as we have seen, may differ from one situation to another.

In brief, the informants consider association and involvement to be the norm in social offering interactions in Libya. Thus, they employ the rapport of offers as face enhancing acts rather than FTAs, through which the interlocutors express their recognition of the

social norms and conventions. It can be argued, accordingly, that, in Libya, offers function contrary to Brown and Levinson's claim, and confirm Spencer-Oatey's (2008:20) argument that rapport threat and rapport enhancement are 'subjective evaluations'. Thus, it depends on how people interpret and evaluate the rapport of offering. The informants in general provide detailed answers about their perceptions of the initial offer. Their answers reflect, to some extent, the same values and cultural beliefs about how generosity and hospitality should be manifested in offering situations. Such attitudes and beliefs may exist in all cultures, but in Libyan culture these are more explicit, formulaic and strongly expected. The informants above have an interactional goal, which is to prepare the guest for the offer of hospitality by displaying familial warmth sharing the view that enhancing the guest's face and sociality rights is essential and prioritized both before and during the interchange of offering hospitality.

6.2.2. Libyans' Perceptions of Insistence in Offering Hospitality

I aim, in this section, to show how cultural beliefs and ideologies about insistence as an offer of hospitality are perceived and evaluated by Libyans. I argue that this pattern of behaviour partially mirrors the interactional principle of association (involvement) that is important in Libyan society and contrasts with common Western concerns about imposition (an aspect of the interactional principle of equity) when making offers of hospitality.

The informants in their responses believe that establishing the rapport of an insistence sequence is not an individual choice, but a social obligation and essential part of an offering situation. Some go further to describe insistence in terms of inter-group orientation, considering it a part of their ethnic identity, as it is an Arab in-group convention. Among the interviewees, there was a general agreement that insistence can index positive values (e.g. social closeness, affiliation) in Libyan culture. In their

responses to the question of whether insistence is preferred or not (Do you think insisting when offering hospitality is preferable in Libyan culture, and why?), insistence appears to have a positive value in the context of offering. See the examples below (see Appendix C, p: 45-47):

" كعرب وكاعادات عرب يعني نعم. كاني نتعامل مع واحد اجنبي صح نديرها اول مره كان مايبيش خلاص لكن كعرب بعضنا في بعض نزر عليها مره مرتين ماتبيش خلاص اما في العزومه لما تقعد مجهزه اكل وكذا وتقولي ماعنديش نيه وهني نقوللها لا لا خليه جنبك توا كان انتي ماتبيش عادي يعني نزر عليها مرتين ثلاثه بعدين خلاص معناها هي ماتبيش".

(14) Iman (female): I, As an Arab and according to the Arab norms, prefer insistence. If the guest is a foreigner (not an Arabic speaker) I will make an offer only once. If s/he refuses the offer, that is it. However, for an Arab guest, I will insist once and, if she refuses, I will insist, but if she refuses, that is it. If it is an invitation to a meal and the food is already prepared, but the guest refuses to eat, then I will tell her, 'OK. If you are not hungry now, you can leave it for later, and I will insist once, twice or even three times, but if she refuses, this means a real refusal.

" من البديهي او من المتعود عليه بين الناس ان بعد مانعزم أي شخص نفضل اني نصر او نكرر اكثر من مره هذا الواجب ونحلفله يعني تقليد العزومه العادي".

(20) Dalil (male): It is common and it is what people are used to doing when providing a guest with hospitality, I prefer to insist and offering it to him more than once and swearing by Allah. This is the duty of hospitality. I mean the common and normal convention of an offer.

" انا من طبيعتي بالذات لازم نصر عليه حتي علي الصفره مثل نحن لازم نعاود نعزم اكثر من مره مثلا" خوذ هذي والله تزيد وهكذا" لازم نصر عليه عشان الضيف وواجبه في مجتمعنا".

(15) Suad (female): I must insist to the guest at the table; it is part of my behaviour in such situations. We should repeat the offer more than once; for example, I'll say: 'Have this; in the name of Allah, have more'. I must insist on my offer because it is the guest's right in our community.

" افضل التكرار حتي يعرف الضيف اني جاد في العزومه".

(21) **Khalid (male)**: I prefer to repeat my offer to express my sincerity to the guest.

"نصر ونحلفله عشان يعرف اني بجد نعزم. يعني تقليد العزومه العادي".

(22) **Elias (male)**: The common rituals of the offering, I insist and do invoke Allah, so he knows {the guest} that I'm sincere in my offer.

Informant Iman above believes that insistence when offering hospitality is a convention in all Arab cultures. This view reflects the stereotypes about the preference for using insistence in Arab offering hospitality. Although insistence is perceived as FTA in Western communities, as suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987), the informants consider employing insistence as necessary and even preferred when Libyans offer hospitality. Because it is the guest's right to be shown a sincere offer, as in examples (21, 22), and insistence is a way of showing affection, therefore it is oriented towards positive face wants and, accordingly, the informants show adherence to the norms and conventions of hospitality. Thus, insistence is usually aimed, according to the informants, towards highlighting in-group solidarity and revealing affiliation and hospitality, so the informants imply that this aim lies within a range of insistence strategies, as shown in the following examples:

"تشارك في ضيفك في الاكل طبعا فيه ناس طبعا للأسف لما يجيهم ضيف يصروا عليه لكن هم ماياكلوش معاه".

(13) **Fatima (female)**: Share the food with your guest. Some people insist that their guests eat something, but they don't share with them the food, which is inappropriate.

"نحن لازم نمدله اكثر من مره (. لا كولي هذي حتي كان استكتفت بالاكل نقوللها: " لا والله تاكلي" لو انه هو اكل شويه وتحشم تواكلية".

(15) **Suad (female)**: We should repeat the offer more than once: 'Have this; in the name of Allah, have more'. Even is she feels full, no: 'In the name of Allah, have more'.

نشدد فيه اكثر من مره ونقوللها " تفضلي كولي نلح ونخليها تذوق كل الاصناف اللي قدامها نحاول انلح ونصر انه
عشان يكون بينا خبز وملح

(16) Burnia (female): " I'll try to insist that she accepts my offer; at least for there to be comradeship between us I prefer to insist that she eats more than once. If she eats a little bit and looks embarrassed, I should share her food. I'll insist and try my best to make her taste all of the various dishes on the table".

The basis for the informants' judgments in the examples above are the conventions for handling offers. As I discussed in chapter 4, section 4.3.3, in Libyan culture, it is conventionally expected that the host should exhibit insistence, by wording her offer strongly and repeating it several times. I found that, generally, the informants emphasise the dynamic nature of this ritual, as it is used habitually and routinely during offering interchanges. This pattern seems to be informally prescribed behaviour and has become very common and expected in Libya. That is because, according to the informants, insistence demonstrates genuine generosity and hospitality, and thus it appears that a significant aspect of identity face that the informants are claiming in this insistence is conformity and conventions.

Insistence is oriented towards positive identity face wants because it constitutes a face-enhancing act in Libya rather than an FTA, as Brown and Levinson (1978:70) claimed, because the informants describe the rapport of insistence sequence as a way of showing involvement and addressing the sociality rights derived from the social expectancies of both host and guest. Therefore, the informants prioritise the association rights of both the guest and themselves, in their responses.

According to the informants, involvement can be demonstrated, as we have seen, by sharing food with the guest, insisting more than once, and using, for example, formulaic expressions such as invoking Allah (as in examples 15, 20 and 22), so that the guest has little choice but to accept. In addition, tempting the guest with a variety of dishes is

another insistence strategy used to show that an offer is sincere (as in examples 8 and 16). Another insistence strategy is also evaluating the guest's way of eating (as in 15 and 16). This is a ritual evaluation to show that the guest is not seen as greedy by asserting that he only ate a small amount of food in order to encourage him to eat more. All of these strategies are oriented towards the associative rights of the guest and show that the offer is sincere. This conventional linguistic practice of insisting seems to arise out of a desire to demonstrate generosity which is related to cultural beliefs about associate, affiliative face, example (16):

"نحاول انلح ونصر انه عشان يكون بينا خبز وملح"

(16) Burnia (female): I'll try to insist that she accepts my offer; at least for there to be comradeship between us.

There are occasions when people become newly-acquainted, which motivate an exchange of offers of hospitality. Hence, this statement is frequently used to establish rapport between new colleagues, friends and neighbours, and applies to groups or families as well. Food is symbolised by the use of the expression "خبز وملح" which literally means 'bread and salt'. It is in itself an offer which means something like 'a good relationship', so when a person wants to admonish someone for not accepting his/her offer of hospitality, they can say "ماتبيش تمالحنا", 'matibif tmalihna', literally: "you do not want our salt", which may be interpreted in English as: 'you don't want to have a good relationship with us?', which is another type of insistence.

Insistence, therefore, is oriented towards in-group involvement and harmony. The implicit motivation for employing insistence is to show that the offer is sincere as the informant Eman response emphasises. He believes that employing insistence strategy is essential when offering food, so that the guest realises that the offer is sincere.

As I discussed in chapter 4 section 4.4.1., the invocation of Allah's name is a conversational and conventional insistence strategy that is usually and habitually employed by Libyan hosts, in order to be seen as generous and to convince the guest to accept the offer. Swearing by 'Allah's name', interestingly, represents a strict restriction on the freedom of action of the guest because, according to Islamic teaching, if one swears something by God and it is not done, then the one who swore the oath must fast for three days or feed ten poor people. To avoid the consequences of a refusal for the host in such cases, therefore, the guest is obliged to accept the offered food or at least a small amount of it. Restricting the guest's freedom of action may damage the guest's negative face in other cultures, but in Arab culture, it is a conventional way of showing politeness, not necessarily aimed at threatening an other's face but, rather, to appear sincerer. I will discuss the examples below of the interviewees' evaluations of the invocation of Allah's name as an insistence strategy, which appear to vary from it being a preferred and quality face enhancing act to a dispreferred and quality FTA. Some of the informants adhere to the belief that swearing by Allah's name is preferred and a speech act that should be employed by all Libyans. Other informants acknowledge that it has become conventionalised in everyday speech interactions, particularly when a person insists on offering hospitality to show sincerity. See the next examples for more illustration (see Appendix C, p: 48-51):

لا هذي حاجه زي ماتقولي عاده وحلف بالله و النبي هذا حرام عندنا لكن الحاجه مش مرتبطه بالدين بكل حاجه مثلا
 اااا اصبحت عاده ومرات مالهاش معني مرات تقولك والله تقعدني مش قصدي نحلفك بالله تقعدني مرتبطه بالعادات
 والتقاليد زي لما تقولي والنبي صح؟ مش مكذبتك انا

(23) Fatima (female): Invoking Allah or the prophet's name's forbidden in our society, but using it when insisting on an offer is unrelated to religion. It's become a habit; if I say, for example, 'Stay, in the name of Allah', I'm not really swearing an oath, but it's a convention expression for insisting. For example, when I ask, 'Is it true, in the name of the prophet?', it doesn't mean that you aren't telling the truth; it means 'Are you sure?'

ايوه فيه بس هي حاستها مسأله تعود بس مشت فيهم مش مثلا يعني يقصد يستعمل الاكسبرشن هذ اضروري عشان تبين للضيف انك راغب في ضيافته.. عندنا ايه عندنا بشكل مش طبيعي.

(25) Suad (female): Yes, it exists, but it's like a habit; for example, we use it to show a guest that his visit is desired and that I'm happy to offer hospitality to him. Yes, we use this strategy too much.

ايه ديمنا والله والله مثلا والله الا ماتاكلي والله الا ماتذوقي والله الا ماتكلمي ايه انا عندي الوالده نفس الطريقه متعوده تكرم في الناس بالتاكيد حتي اني بنكون نفس الشيء.

(27) Najwa (female): We often invoke Allah's name. For example, I say, 'In the name of Allah, eat this', 'In the name of Allah, you have to taste it', and 'In the name of Allah, you have to finish your dish'. My mother used to honour guests in the same manner. Certainly, I'll behave the same as my mother.

طبعا الشيء هذا متعودين عليه اغلب الناس في بلادنا وبالنسبه ليا انا يعني متعود نسمع فيه الحلف لأن بيش تبين للضيف انه انت جاد في العزومه مثلا تقوله زيد من الاكل والله لازم تاخذ من هذا والله تزيد عادي يعني واغلب الناس يستخدموا فيها وانا من ضمن الناس

(32) Dalil (male): People in Libya use these traditions in many situations. As for me, I'm used to hearing such swearing, so it shows the guest that you're sincere in your offer. For example, you tell the guest, 'Have more, in the name of Allah; you should have this (orienting the guest to the food)'. Most people are used to that, and I'm one of them.

" اصبحت عاده من العادات ممكن يقصد منها انك جاد: الجديه توضحه انك جاد تحلفه

(34) Elias (male): It's become a convention used to demonstrate sincerity; to show the guest that you're sincere, you make an oath.

The informants above believe that invoking Allah is frequently used in different social situations in Libya. They clarify that the aim of this is to show the sincerity of their offer of hospitality. Informant Fatima explains that invocation of Allah or the Prophet is involved in their daily speech ostensibly, and is not always considered a real oath as it is used routinely and conventionally. Thus, it has other interpretations than being a real oath. Informant Fatima, in example (23), gives an example, saying, "When I say: 'Is it

true in the name of the Prophet?', the invocation of the Prophet's name means in this sentence 'Really?'".

It is noticeable that most the informants above use the pronoun 'we' instead of 'I'. This shows the assumption of the homogenous usage of this strategy among Libyans. At the ideological level, this strategy is assumed by some informants to be recognised as appropriate by all speakers, and thus is considered an in-group strategy and seen as preferred by the informants. Nevertheless, the informants are aware that employing such an insistence strategy may vary due to personal attitude and the influence of in-group cultural norms and conventions. Although some of the informants, as we will see in the examples below, confirm the above view personally, they prefer not to use the invocation of Allah, and criticise the way people employ this. They believe that oaths are ostensibly uttered and widely used. It leaves the guest with no option, which is seen by the informant to be rapport threatening behaviour, inappropriate, and morally damaging.

نلقانه نسمع فيه بس الحلف في العزومات انا شخصيا مانحباش لأن بالذات لما تعزميني انت علي حاجه مرات مانشر بش فيها وانت تحلف عليا والله تشرب القهوه مرات انا عندي منها حساسيه مانشر بش فيه شن اندير (..) نشر بها ونمرض؟ والا مانشر بها وانت تصيم ثلاث ايام؟ والا كيف يصير؟ لهذا ماتحاولش الحلف علي العزومه (..) انا شخصيا ما نفضلاش يعني تقدمله الحاجه وال تسأله قبل ماتجيبه

(29) Rabi (male): In fact, I hear people invoking Allah's name, but personally I don't like this method of insistence, especially when the host, for example, offers me a drink, and I don't like it, and he insists by invoking Allah's name to drink the cup of coffee, I'm allergic to coffee. I can't drink it, so what should I do in this case? Should I drink it and become ill? Or refuse the offer and feel guilty because the host must fast for three days afterwards? Or what? For this reason, I don't invoke Allah's name when offering food; personally, I don't like it. The host should ask the guest, before offering them something.

اكيد هذي بالذات بالذات عندنا في ليبيا في منطقه الشرق توصل الحلوفات لدرجه الطلاق يحلفك بالطلاق عشان تقبل العزومه ومرات حتي بدون مايسمع العذر متاعك يعني يطلقها لك طول يقولك علي اليمين والا عليا الطلاق

غداك اليوم عندي والاعشاك اليوم عندي انا شخصيا مانحبش نحلف بالله نصر اكثر من مره لاني مش عارف الشخص اللي قدامي شن ضرفه".

(30) Abdullah (male): Definitely, invoking Allah's name is a habit in Libya particularly, in the East. For example: making oaths of divorce to oblige the guest to accept the offer without even listening to the guest's excuse. For example, the host says, 'I swear by divorce, you'll have lunch or dinner with me'. I prefer to insist more than once, and I dislike invoking Allah's name, because I don't know the circumstances of the guest.

فيه ليبين خاصه هذيم اللي بدو بدو بس مانحبهاش لكن فيه وحديين صح يقولوا لا والله حلفتاك حلفتاك ممكن جديه وممكن تكون دارجه لكن الاغلبيه تميل للدارجه كعاده يعني مش مذكوره كعاده ممكن تطلع من لساني بس لكن مش قاصده اني نحلف

(24) Iman (female): There are some Libyans, particularly Bedouins, who frequently invoke Allah, but I don't like to do so. Some people say, 'In the name of Allah, you should have something'. It may be a real oath, but often habitually invoked. I can't remember using it but I may say it. I don't mean it as real swearing.

As mentioned in the previous chapters (2, 3, 4), in terms of the discursive approach as Mills and Kadar (2011) argue,

what we need to be aware of when we analyse the speech norms stereotypically associated with particular cultures is that not all members of that culture will speak according to the stereotype, and that whilst useful sometimes as an indication of tendencies within the culture as a whole, these stereotypical qualities are generally associated only with particular groups within that society" (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 42).

I would argue, then, that there is some evidence in the above examples that invoking Allah is not always preferred. For example, the informants express their reluctance to invoke Allah particularly, when offering hospitality. Informant Rabi, in his response, comments as a guest to illustrate his dispreference. He explains the consequences of such rapport threatening behaviour, as when he was obliged by a host (who invoked Allah's name) to drink something he disliked or to which he was allergic. If he (the guest) accepted the offer, he would become ill but, if he refused the offer, then the host

would have to fast for three days due to the invocation of Allah. Thus, it is considered by the informant as a serious face threat to both the host and guest. He suggests asking the guest before offering him/her food or drink. Participants Abdullah and Iman above are from the same area as informant Rabi, where the in-group rituals and hospitality and generosity conventions are stronger than in many other areas of Libya. There are stereotypes about people who live in such rural areas. They are known for being very strict about the norms and conventions of the duty of hospitality because of the nomadic cultural impact of these Libyan groups. They are believed to be very hospitable and generous people, and to demonstrate hospitality through very assertive language, which might even be seen as aggressive among the rest of the Libyan cultural group. Participant Abdullah gives an example of an aggressive type of oath-taking used by hosts particularly in these rural areas in the East of Libya, which is taking an oath of divorce if the guest does not accept their offer of hospitality or refuses to stay longer. However, some people, like the informants above, prefer not to employ this, because of the religious consequences illustrated above. Thus, according to the informants, it is quality face threatening behaviour. Similarly, the informants below confirm the conventional type of invocation of Allah, even though they prefer not to use it:

انا مانحبش ابدأ فيه ناس تستخدم في طريقه الحلف من قديم واني الطريقه هذي مانحبهاش ابد يعني اسلوب الالحاح
يعني العرض الالحاح اما كوني نلحف لا بعدين

(28) Burnia (female): I personally don't like to use it, but some people do. I don't like this way of insisting either. I mean, I prefer to offer something first, and then insist on them having it but not to invoke Allah's name; I wouldn't do that.

In the next example, the informant attempts to stress the moral side and justifies using such a strategy, even though he would prefer not to use it:

زي ماتقولي اهم شي الضيف فتحسي انه مرات الناس كيف اني أني نخليه يغادر حوشي بلاماني نضيفه يعني
ماهيش اخلاقيه عندنا فيستخدموا في الحلف ايه لا انا انحاول نستخدم اسلوب الالحاح اكثر مانحبش الحلفان

(26) Muna (female): Yes, it's frequently used. The most important thing for us, as Libyans, is offering hospitality to the guest. People are concerned about their guests; they won't allow them to leave without offering them something to eat or drink. It has nothing to do with politeness, but, yes, people swear by God. No, I try to insist on them having something rather than invoking Allah's name. I don't like it.

Such evaluations of employing the insistence strategy of oath-taking reflect, at least partly, the ideological beliefs about this strategy in Libyan society. Invoking Allah's name seems to be evaluated somewhat positively, as an in-group convention and manifestation of a sincere offer. Therefore, it enhances the hosts' quality face, as they are demonstrating generosity and hospitality. However, some informants evaluate it negatively because it is religiously forbidden, so employing it may damage the host's quality face, if the guest refuses the offer, and it also damage the guests face because it puts a burden on them that they do not want.

6.2.3. Libyans' perceptions of the refusal of offers

The interviewees' assertions about employing insistence reveal that there is a potential for refusal and such an expectation is normalised in Libyan culture, motivated by the guest's concern for their quality face and the sincerity of the offer, so accepting an offer at the outset in certain situations is considered inappropriate. According to the informants' responses outlined above regarding their perception of insistence, it seems that refusing an offer is not seen as an FTA because they insist more than once, using a variety of types of strategy, as the informants illustrate above (see examples 14, 15 and 16). In example (14), the informant anticipates the refusal of the offer: "for an Arabic guest, I'll insist once and, if she refuses, I'll insist again, but if she refuses again, that's it". Also, in example (16), the informant expects that the guests may feel 'shy' which prevents them from eating, so the host should insist: "I prefer to insist that she eats more

than once. If she eats a little bit and looks embarrassed, I should share her food. I'll insist and try my best to make her taste all of the various dishes on the table". In Spencer-Oatey's (2005:111) view, it seems that important aspects of identity face that both host and guest are claiming during these insisting /refusals interactions are conformity and tradition. Mao (1994) explains that "the host and the guest each attempt to maintain their own and the other person's face, and that accepting an offer too quickly would be face threatening to both the host and the guest". He additionally clarifies that this face threat would be a direct consequence of the breach of expectations (Mao, 1994, cited in Spencer-Oatey 2005:111). The informants above attach great importance to these values, as adherence to the conventional behaviour is very important, and any breach of it is thus probably an FTA. Therefore, in Libyan culture, the host's behaviour typically conveys generosity and warmth, whilst the guest's response shows humility and self-restraint. However, the host's insistence, which often grows stronger, can sound to cultural outsiders as overly imposing, and the guest's repeated refusal behaviour can sound ungrateful and/or indicate a lack of willingness to accept the offer of hospitality.

6.2.4. Cultural beliefs and ideologies about same- and cross-gender offering interactions

In section 6.2.1., the informants highlighted certain ideological and cultural beliefs about the significant influence of social variables, such as social distance and kinship relations, on the preserved sociality rights and obligations during offering interactions. In this section, the informants' responses (male and female) show that the religious ideologies and cultural attitudes underpinning the perception of same- and cross-gender offering hospitality have a strong influence, as differences exist regarding the perception of the offer of hospitality. In Spencer-Oatey's (2008: 15) terms, "perceived sociality rights and obligations can influence the interpersonal rapport where people

regard themselves as having a range of sociality rights and obligations in relation to other people, and they typically base these on many factors” such as behavioural conventions, where the behavioural expectations are associated with these conventions that people are used to encountering. Thus, the informants in the examples above perceive offering hospitality to the same-gender as positive interpersonal rapport, that is oriented at enhancing/maintaining the guest's quality face as being wanted and welcomed, as well as the host's identity face as being a good, generous host. Extending or receiving offers of hospitality cross-gender is perceived as negative interpersonal rapport, and thus oriented towards threatening the quality face, according to the female interviewees (see Appendix C, p: 51-54), as follows:

Offering hospitality to same- and cross-gender by Libyan female informants

اكيد فيه فرق من ناحيه الدين في فرق كثقافه كعرب نحنا مثلا لما نقعد مع مرءه نقعد واخذہ راحتہ اكثر مثلا اني نضغط عليها ممكن اني نعرض اكثر استضافه صديقتي تعتمد علي العلاقات كن كرجل احنا السترينجر كعرب ومسلمين نصيفه لكن نقعد متحفزه شوي الرجل لما يقعد او قريبي لالا عادي مافيش فرق بينه لكن لما يقعد سترينجر حتي كان يقعد ماي كوليق هنا لازم فيه مسافه وتحفظ في الكلام

(36) Iman (female): Of course, there is a difference, because of religion and culture. As part of Arab culture, women feel more comfortable when they sit down and communicate with another woman. For example, I can insist repeatedly. To provide hospitality to a female friend depends on our relationship. I'll be slightly cautious if the other party is a man, a stranger, but still I offer him hospitality. If the other party's my relative, it's OK. However, when there's a stranger, there'll be a distance, and one has to take proper care of one's language even if the stranger is a colleague.

لا عندي تعتمد علي الشخص نفسه في بعض الحالات اصلا من كثر ما هو يلح عليك الشخص انك انتي تتحرجي فلانم حتي لو كان الحاجه ماتحبيهاش نحاول اني بنجامل فيعني نلبي الطلب علي طول بالنسبه للرجل تعتمد علي درجه القرابه فاذا كان رجل غريب لا اعتقد مانقدرش لكن عند درجه القرابه عادي نتقبل اتس او كي

(38) Muna (female): I think that depends on the person him/herself. Yes, in some cases, and because the one who makes the offer repeatedly insists that you accept it, you may

feel embarrassed and accept the offer, even if you don't like it. Thus, I try to be nice and polite and accept the offer. As for men, it depends on the degree of kinship. If he's a stranger, I don't think I'd accept anything but, if he's a close relative, it's OK.

بالنسبة للرجل بيصير فيها يعني شويه حشم يعني واستحياء مش زي المراه والمراه تاخذي راحتك من ناحيه الحديث ومن ناحيه الاكل الرجل مش مشكله بس صعبه شوي لو انه قريبك مثال عم او خال من العائله مافيش مشكله تجلسي او تاكلي معاه بس لو انه من خارج العيله يكون فيها شوي استحياء وخجل

(39) Najwa (female): For a man, there'll be a feeling of shyness and embarrassment. It isn't the same situation with a female; I'll feel comfortable, free to communicate and to eat. However, it's slightly difficult if the other party's a man. It's OK if the guest's a relative, such as an uncle or a cousin. Then I can sit and eat.

انا بالصراحه اي شخص غريب(..) اي يعني بالتحديد رجل غريب لا مانقبش منه الضيافه بالنسبه للنساء اذ كان فيه اي حد عندي علاقه بيه نقبلها علي طول بالذات الصديقات

(40) Burnia (female): Frankly speaking, I don't accept offers of hospitality from strange men. As for women, I accept an offer if there is familiarity, especially friends.

Responding to an offer of hospitality from same- and cross-gender by Libyan female informants

لو انها مرآه ممكن مش حتقبل الاوفر متاعها حتقوللها بارك الله فيك لكن اذا اصرت عليا وهكياهي تقبل وبالنسبه لتربيتي انا محافظه يعني العلاقه حتكون علي اساس احترام متبادل لما يضيف الرجل المرآه يكون العلاقه فيها علاقه سترونق يعني انفورمل لكن لما يقعد مابيني وبينه اي علاقه حنستغربها بحكم تربيتي بحكم كيف تعودت وكيف تربيتا حتي الكلشر ممكن الدين حاكمتنا الكلشر والتربيه

(49) Suad (female): If the person who issues the invitation is a woman, I might not accept her offer and will thank her but, if she insists, I'll accept it. I was brought up in a conservative family, which means that the relationship will be based on the principle of mutual respect. When a man offers hospitality to a woman, this means that they have a strong relationship, I mean an informal one, but I wonder what type of relationship it is if there is no social distance between us. That's determined by the normative behaviour in our culture.

" لما يكون رجل غريب لا مانقبش بس مرءه ممكن حسب طريقته في العرض لو انها مرءه ممكن مش حنقبل الاوفر متاعها حنقوللها بارك الله فيك لكن اذا اصرت عليا وهكياهي نقبل وبالنسبه " .

(50) Muna (female): I don't accept an invitation to a meal from a stranger, but from a woman, I might accept. It depends on her way of offering it.

Spencer-Oatey (2008: 15) argues that "People develop conceptions as to what frequently or typically happens in a given context and come to expect that. As a result, people start perceiving rights and obligations in relation to them". The responses of the informants show that there exists a mutual agreement among females that offering hospitality to another woman is common and expected as part of everyday social hospitality situations in Libyan culture, and there are certain expectations regarding the sociality rights and obligations of both interactants during such same-gender interactions. For example, in same-gender offering interactions, the female informants declare that they feel comfortable with other female guests during the offering interchange (e.g. when eating and chatting) which form part of their sociality rights in hospitality situations. Moreover, during such interactions, the female informants believe that they have a social obligation to practice the rituals of offering. For example, they offer more than once and also increase the pressure on the guest to accept the offer, to demonstrate hospitality and generosity, and fulfil the duty of hospitality.

However, the female informants believe that offers of hospitality from males can be seen as 'embarrassing', and 'face-threatening', because of the impact of the restricted religious ideological and cultural beliefs about cross-gender social interactions, where females should demonstrate formality towards males. Thus, as Spencer-Oatey (2008: 16) indicates, sometimes "people typically hold value-laden beliefs about the principles that should underpin interaction". Accordingly, this may be clearly illustrated by the informants' (36, 39) responses. They realise the dynamic nature of offering, where the

host can insist and increase the pressure on the guest to accept the food offered by using different insistence strategies; nevertheless, such behaviour is not expected, because the informants hold different views regarding the nature of their sociality rights and obligations during cross-gender offering interactions.

This may explain the female informants' use of the expression "ضيف غريب" 'strange male guest' which seems to be restricted to those who have no kinship relationship with the female offerer. Females see offering hospitality to male family members, such as very close 'relatives', is preferable and expected, with a positive rapport orientation. That is because, according to the informants, strong association rights exist between in-group family members, so they can employ the rituals of offering (e.g. re-offer and insistence).

Issuing and responding to an offer of hospitality to same- and cross-gender by Libyan male informants

" اكد فيه اختلاف بالنسبة لعزومه الرجل شئ عادي ويحدث تقريبا كل يوم وفي كل مكان. اما بالنسبة للمراءه في نطاق ضيق جد العزومه. مافيش صديقه. زميله في العمل بنقولها عندنا مناسبه فرح يا ريت تشرفينا حتي نقدمها كرت عزومه رسمي بحيث تقعد لزوجها ولاهله تقعد حاجه رسميه حاجه تدل انه فيه مناسبه ماشيتلها".

(41) Rabi (male): Indeed, there is a difference. Offering hospitality 'azuma' to a man usually happens frequently, but to women, it's limited to very few occasions. There is no friendship with women in our culture. I invited my (female) colleague; by saying 'We would be pleased and honoured if you would come to our wedding'. I gave her an invitation card, which is a formal way, so that she could show it to her husband and family. It proves that she has been invited.

"هو في الغالب ان الرجل يعزم الرجل والمرءاه تعزم المرءاه ولكم احيانا تضطر انك تعزم قريبتك بحكم انها اتت لزيارتكم برضوا رح تكرر لها العزومه كيفها كيف الرجل لازم تكرر لها وتبينلها انك جاد في العزومه بحضور الزوجه او الوالده او الاخت".

(45) Abdullah (male): "the man often invites a man and woman invites a woman for a meal, but sometimes you are obliged to offer hospitality to your relative (a woman) who

come on a visit. Again, you need to insist on inviting her for a meal; the same as you do when you invite a man. You have to insist 'azuma' on inviting her showing your sincerity in your offer in the presence of your wife, mum or sister".

"المراءه اذ كانت قريبه من صله الرحم اكيد حتكون عزومتها كبيره وحتاخذ قدرها مثلها مثل اي راجل من حيث القرابه اما اذ كانت صديقه مش متعودين عليه."

(46) Elias (male): If the woman's a close relative, I'd be so generous when I invite her. She would be honoured in the same manner as a man who's at the same level of kinship. We don't have female friends; it isn't part of our culture. It's something between a husband and a wife.

لاشك ان عزومه للرجل تختلف عن العزومه للمراءه من العاده نعزم الرجال ونجلس معاهم ونحكما وتقدر الراجل تاخذ معاه وتعطي بس النساء لا نعزمهن النساء

(43) Hilal (male): Indeed, offering hospitality to men is different from that to women. Normally, for men, I can offer, sit, and chat with them at such an exchange. I can insist=[naazem] with male guests, but I cannot do 'azuma'=[insist] with females. They're usually invited by females for hospitality.

نحن من عاداتنا وتقاليدينا في ليبيا ومتعودين عليه بحكم العرف وبحكم الدين نحنا متعودين مثلا لوقرييتي عادي نعزم في بيتنا بحضور زوجتي او امي وحذا خواتي مثلا لكن مراءه ماتقربليش صعب من عاداتنا وحسب ماتعودنا مانقدروش. اللي نقصده ان ثقافتنا تختلف عن الاخرين

(44) Dalil (male): This is part of our norms and conventions in Libya, and we're used to them. According to our religion and traditions, we usually offer hospitality to female relatives at our house in Libya in the presence of my wife, mother and sisters. It's inappropriate to offer hospitality to a woman in the absence of a close kinship relationship between us, according to our norms and conventions. I mean, our culture is different from other cultures.

تختلف بالنسبه للمراءه شن درجه قرابتها ليا كمجتمع اسلامي. خلينا من قصه مجتمع متحضر ومتخلف. احنا عندنا ديننا وعاداتنا وتقاليدينا يعني الراجل مايعزمش المراءه الاجنبيه عزومه عادي. اذ كان عزمها كزميله في العمل او

حاجه يعني ضروري فيه اوكيجنن معينه تقعد فيه مناسبه معينه مثلا كيف الفرح حفلات الزفاف هذي. والافضل تكون عزومه عن طريق الزوجه او طريق الام او الاخت اما عزومه غدا او عشا بيني وبينها هذي لا نحنا بحكم ديننا وعاداتنا وتقاليدينا مافيش.

(42) Abdullah (male): It's different and, as for a woman, it depends on the degree of kinship relationship. As an Islamic community...and regardless of the stereotype of whether it's a civilized or underdeveloped society, we've our own religion, traditions and norms. I mean, a man doesn't issue an ordinary invitation to a strange female to eat food, unless there is reason for that, such as a wedding, and it's preferable if the invitation is offered by my wife, mother or sister; an invitation to have dinner or lunch together is impossible. According to our religion, norms and traditions, that's impossible. If she's our relative, my wife will invite her certainly.

According to the examples above, the informants' perceived sociality rights and obligations are based on cultural and religious requirements; they are derived from the normative behaviour of offering hospitality in Libyan culture. As Spencer-Oatey (2008:16) indicates,

People develop conceptions (e.g., insistence, ritual refusal) as to what frequently or typically happen in a given context (e.g., offering context) and come to expect that. They may then develop a sense that others should or should not perform that behaviour (as in same- and cross-gender offering interactions).

This argument may illustrate the mutual agreement among both males and females that offers or responses to them are conventional and expected during same-gender offering exchanges in Libyan culture, while issuing an offer to a member of a different sex has a negative rapport orientation unless a kinship relationship exists between the male and female interactants. Because of the strong associative relationships among relatives and family members, where there exists a balanced power relationship between speaker and hearer, the social distance is low. Both male and female informants call the other party who is not a relative a 'stranger' or 'foreigner', and use such expressions to indicate social distance. Cross-gender family offering interactions, on the other hand, seem to be

excluded from the traditional gender-segregation interactions, according to the participants. Showing distance when extending an offer of hospitality to females is likely to be positively accepted behaviour, even if there exists familiarity with the female offeree (e.g., she is a work colleague).

Some of the participants, particularly males, overlap consciously the notions of 'insistence' and 'invitation'. In Libyan Arabic, the same word عزومه 'czuma' means both 'invitation' and 'insistence' but, as we saw above, it seems that the male participants use the notion of a formal invitation عزومه 'czuma' to a woman, suggesting that the relationship between the two genders should be formal in nature. In addition, the male informants see offering to a strange woman as possible, only if certain conditions are met (e.g., the existence of a female relative as a third party). This can be seen by the informants as adhering to the cultural and religious rules related to the restricted cross-gender social interaction, where an offer of hospitality means employing the rituals of offering, with expectations of showing a high degree of involvement and association and expressing familiarity. However, the male informants use the expression عزومه 'czuma' to female relatives, and make it explicit that they could be informally invited for a meal and employ insistence; the rituals of insistence can be employed by her male relative at home in the presence of other family members. It could be argued that a sociocultural variable, such as gender, has caused noticeable differences in the expectations related to offering hospitality interchanges. Most of the informants adhere to the cultural values of their segregated society, where sociality rights and association are defined according to the role of these values. Thus, the cultural principles form the resources of their linguistic ideologies, as speakers may frame or choose their own contributions regarding what is an appropriate choice of variation of the politeness strategies.

Although investigating the differences between males and females during such social interaction is not my research focus here, as I mentioned in 6.1., nevertheless, I noticed that, while analysing the interviewees' responses to the question about issuing or responding to cross-gender offers, the males and females had different concerns about such situations. For example, the females are concerned about their face and equity rights when they express embarrassment and discomfort about receiving an offer of hospitality from a male. Thus, they feel 'obliged' to respond to the offer which is considered a quality FTA. On the other hand, the male informants' responses to the questions suggest that their concern is about their identity face, which is closely associated with their public worth. Thus, they may offer hospitality to females but in public only, and formally and firmly show their adherence to the cultural and religious norms and conventions. Therefore, such behaviour would suggest some gender variation.

6.3. Summary

Although the number of my interviewees is limited, I believe that their responses to the interview questions have provided several insights into the ideologies and beliefs about the politeness of offering interchanges in Libyan Arabic. There seems to exist strong agreement among the informants about what constitutes a polite offer of hospitality, and they define it in broader terms, verbally and non-verbally, assigning great significance to the guest's sociality rights, which entail social obligations on the part of the host and guest. The Libyan informants, in general, agreed that the rituals of offering hospitality (i.e., offering/insisting) are a conventionalised form of speech. From my discussion of the responses provided by the informants, it can be seen that offering hospitality not only entails a response but furthermore can constitute a solidarity-building act. This activity can also enhance the intimate relationship between the interlocutors and narrow

the social distance between them. As I have shown, consideration for others' feelings is the most important aspect of offering hospitality in the Libyan speech community.

Libyans lay emphasis on non-verbal strategies, such as cheerfulness, smiling, and showing a warm welcome to the guest, in order to expose their generosity and enhance the guest's identity face. They believe that such strategies are a high priority when offering hospitality and thus are formalised. The strategies discussed in (6.2.1, 6.2.2 and 6.2.3) are required forms of the duty of hospitality, as the informants illustrate, and are appreciated by Libyans, particularly in a familial context. Offers, refusals and insistence arise from the concepts of what constitutes politeness, motivated by culture, social life and religious teaching in Libya.

The participants frequently say 'we in Libya' or 'as Arabs and Muslims' rather than 'I believe' or 'I think'. the prevalence of the use of 'we Arabs', 'we Libyans' etc may partly be explained by the fact that the informants were outside Libya at the time. This is demonstrated in many of the interviewees' responses, and reflects their strong belief in their collectivist and ethnic identity, as well as reflecting their in-group stereotypical assumptions about what constitutes (in)appropriate linguistic behaviour during hospitality situations.

I examined the value of offering due to the presence or absence of insistence during such social interactions in Libyan culture. The interviewees assert that it is expected and necessary rather than face-threatening. They believe that assertive insistence during offering hospitality interactions is socially appropriate and even expected behaviour in the sociocultural contexts of offering and indexing the sincerity of the offer. Furthermore, it is associated with particular politeness orientations (e.g. a preference for in-group involvement and solidarity). Insistence, an essential aspect of the duty of hospitality, is not only seen as a social right for the guest which should be respected, but

also enhances the public face of the host and consequently his/her reputation, because they are shown to be, as the Libyan proverb states "كريم و صاحب واجب", 'a generous host whose duty of hospitality is always perfectly carried out'. This may reflect how meaningful such rituals are in Libyan social life.

I have explored the insistence strategies, and shed light on invoking Allah's name, because this is an assertive religious strategy which forces the hearer to accept the offer. The guest cannot refuse the offer, if the host swears by Allah; otherwise, as I have argued, the host has to fast for three days according to Islamic teaching. Interestingly, I found that different interpretations of this exist. It is routinized, so it is completely unconnected, during many offering interchanges, with a real oath. The informants agreed that it is frequently used by Libyans, but they have a different attitude towards its use.

During cross-gender offering interchanges, sociality rights, obligations and expectations are articulated differently and so are, consequently, their manifestations. This may show how religion and culture have a strong effect on Libyans' choices during everyday social interactions. Thus, the cultural and religious principles inform the discussion of their linguistic ideologies, from which speakers may choose their own contributions about what are appropriate choices of politeness strategies.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that there is a tendency for the interviewees to describe Libyan people as following the norms and conventions of hospitality. These answers are largely affected by the linguistic ideologies which influence the informants' choices according to their beliefs about their language. Such ideologies, according to Hill (2008), as I discussed in Chapter 2, enable the members of a given community to acquire and share certain beliefs that, along with other functions of linguistic ideologies, can "rationalize and justify what people understand to be the structures of their

language...and the ways that language should be used” (Hill, 2008: 34). As a result, such ideologies are usually understood as ‘common sense’. This might explain one of my informant’s comments, that ‘cross-gender offering doesn’t exist in our culture’. However, other informants chose to answer this differently. This provides evidence of the difficulty of making generalizations about preferences or arguing that all Libyan people disprefer cross-gender offering interactions, while ignoring the diversity that exists within that culture.

6.4. Focus Group Analysis

As I mentioned in the methodology chapter, section 5.4.2, I conducted a focus group discussion with Libyan Arab female informants to discuss their perceptions of offering hospitality during same- and cross-gender interactions. As I illustrated earlier in the methodology chapter, the focus group participants discuss a log-book cross-gender offering exchange example (4) (which is from log-book data, see appendix A 2). While we discuss this offering event, I have asked the participants questions to give me more explanations for their expected response for such an offer. I discuss the participants’ various ideological and cultural views with regard to the nature of sociality rights and obligations during such cross-gender hospitality interactions. Therefore, I organise the focus group responses into three categories, determined according to the answers of my informants during the focus group discussion. In section 6.3.1., I examine the participants’ perceptions of the rapport of the hospitality offer during such cross-gender interactions. Then, in section 6.3.2., I discuss their views on employing insistence during both same- and cross-gender interactions and, finally, in section 6.3.3., I discuss the factors that influence strategy use during same- and cross-gender offering interactions according to the participants’ responses.

6.4.1. Perception of an offer and gender role

The female Libyan informants provided varied, rich answers regarding cross-gender offering exchanges. Most of the participants accepted the initial offer of hospitality issued by a male colleague. The participants' behavioural expectations, associated with the conventions of offering, appear to be less strict than indicated by the interviewees' responses regarding the initial offer of hospitality during cross-gender interactions. However, others refused the offer because of the effect of distance between the interactants. Thus, a rich combination of both social and contextual factors is considered by the participants when discussing the (in)appropriateness of an offering sequence (see Appendix B, P: 27-30, lines: 1-27), as follows:

Female responses to the offer of hospitality issued by a male offerer

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>نقوله شكرا و ناخذها و نعطها علي جنب zanb řala nht^řha wa nařđha wa řu:kran nqu:lah a side on it put and it take and thanks him say</p> |
| <p>1- Antisar: I'll say thank you and put the offered thing away.</p> |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>لا لا انا عادي řadj Ana la la normal Me no no</p> |
| <p>2- Eman: No, no, for me its fine {she means she will accept it}.</p> |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>قصدي من الاول řlřwal min qas^řdi</p> |
| <p>3- Fathia: I meant from the beginning [</p> |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>من اول ما يقولي تفضلي نقوله شكرا] řu:kran nqu:lah tafad^řalj jqu:lj ma řwal min thanks him say I have me say first from</p> |
| <p>4- Karima: I'll say thank you as soon as he says, 'Have one' [</p> |

Role of familiarity

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>حسب كانه واخذه عليه عادي řadj řaljh wařđah křnha řasab it on used if as according on</p> |
| <p>5- Farah: It depends (.) if I'm familiar with him [</p> |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فيه اللي يمدلك حاجه و Wa řaza řmdljk řlj řjh And something you hand who it in</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

6- Antisar: Some people when they give you something [

انتى تخيلي روحك
ru:hjk tʃajalʒ ʔntj
your soul imagines you

7- Halima: imagine yourself [

Immediate acceptance of the offer when it is issued to avoid insistence

انا بالنسبه ليا كشخص كانتصار بمجرد م ايمدلي حاجه ويقولى تفضلى
tafadʕalʒ jqu:lʒ ʔaʒa ʔjmdlj bmu:ʒarad kaʔntjʕar kaʔaʒʕʕʕ lʒa belnspa ʔna
have you me say something me hand soon as Antisar as person as I me for I

8- Antisar: For me, as soon as he gives me something

Refusal to participate in the ritual of insistence

ناخذها و نقوله شكرا و خلاص
ʒalasʕ wa fu:kran nqu:lah wa naʒðah
finish and thanks him say and it take

9- I'll take it and thank him and that's it.

ننهى القصة من البدايه لا عزومه و لا شي
ʃaj la wa ʕzu:ma la lbjdaja min ʔlqisʕ ninhj
thing no and offer no beginning from story
finish I

10- I finish the 'story' from the beginning without insisting.

علي حسب الحاجه كانها حاجه فخمه ناخذها
Naʒðha faʒma ʔaʒa kanha ʔlhaza ʔasab ʕala
It takes I deluxe thing it if thing the according on

11- Wasn: It depends on what's being offered; if it's delicious, I'll take it

ضحك
dʕhk
laugh

[12- All: laughter]

قصدي شخص ما نعرفاش فهمتي
Fhmtj nʕrafaf ma ʃaʒʕʕ qasʕdj
You understand know do not person me mean

13- Antisar: A male who I don't know. Do you understand?

و حطى في بالك
Balak fʒ hu:tʕj wa
mind your in you put and

14- bearing in mind [

Giving reasons for not taking part in the ritual of insistence

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>كريمه: حتي كان ما عنديش فيه ثقه وما نقدرش ناكلها Nakilha nagdariḥ ma wa ṯiqa fjh ḥndjḥ ma kan ḥata It eats I cannot and confidence it of have not if even</p> |
| 15- Karima: Even if I can't eat it, because I don't trust him |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>نقوله شكرا و ناخذها علي جنب zanb ḥala naḥḏha wa fu:kran nqu:lah a side on it take I and thanks him say I</p> |
| 16- I'll thank him (formally) and take it {the offered thing} and leave it |
| 17- {'it' refers to the thing offered} |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>غاده: حتي انا نفس الشي lfaj nafs ana ḥata thing same me also</p> |
| 18- Gada: I'd do the same |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ف: اي ما نعرفاش nḥrfaf ma ʔj know I not yes</p> |
| 19- Halima: yaah, I don't know him |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>عادي من الاول نقبل خلاص ḥalas^f naqbal ʔlʔwal min ḥadj finish accept first from normal</p> |
| 20- It's OK. I accept it at the beginning and that's it |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>وسن: كانه انا (.) انقوله شكرا fu:kran nqu:lah (.) ana kanah thanks him say I (.) me if</p> |
| 21- Wasan: If it were me (.) I'd thank him (formally) |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ولو الح على ناخذها و بعد ما يعدي ناكلها Nakilha jḥadj ma baḥd wa naḥḏha ḥalaj alah lau: wa It eat I go after and it take on insist if and</p> |
| 22- If he insists (.) I'd take it and eat it after he has left |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------|
| <p>الكل: ضحك d^fhk laugh</p> |
| [23- All: laugh] |

Refusal of the offer

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>سهام: واحد مانعرفاش؟ ماناخذ منه شي faj minah naḥḏ ma nḥrfaf ma? wahd thing him from not know I not one</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

24- Siham: If I don't know him, I'll never accept his offer

ايمان: باهي كيف تقويله كيف يكون الرد متاعك؟
 mtaʕk ʔrad jku:n ki:f tqu:ljlah ki:f bahj
 your response will how him say you how ok

25- Eman: OK, how will you respond to his offer?

سها م: No thank you:

26- Siham: No, thank you

انتصار: كان ما تعرفيش بكل
 bu:kal taʕraf ma kan
 Never know you not if

27- Antisar: If you didn't know him [

Such responses may be considered as violating the cultural stereotypes about strict cross- gender social interactions, as explained by the interviewees in 6.2.4., who show an adherence to the cultural norms and conventions of such social interactions. The participants (Iman, line: 2; Halima, line: 19-20) respond positively to the rapport of offering. One participant, Farah (line: 5), stressed the importance of familiarity for the acceptance of such an offer. Other participants (Antisar, line: 1; Karima, line: 4; Gada, line: 18) accept the initial offer using formal acceptance strategies. For example, Antisar employs a classical Arabic word 'شكرا' 'fukran', 'thank you'. In Arab culture, this is usually used during formal exchanges or when a social distance exists between the interlocutors. Nevertheless, it might be employed during informal exchanges, but is followed by other informal expressions of thanks to minimise its formal implications, such as 'ربي يعطيك الصحة' 'may Allah give you good health' and 'ربي يحفظك' 'may Allah save you'. By employing this formal expression of thanks, 'شكرا' 'fukran', the participants imply formality at the very beginning of the rapport of offering interaction, as a polite response to the offerer; sending an indirect message to head off the anticipated following sequence (i.e., insistence/refusal) interaction from the beginning. This strategy is shown in lines (8, 9 and 10), where the participant states that she accepts the

offer immediately to avoid the sequence of the ritual (e.g. reoffer and insistence). Similarly, other participants initially accept the offer but indicate that they may not eat the food offered, signifying formality and distance (lines: 15-16, 17, and 21-22). This behaviour can threaten the offerer's sociality rights, if it is used during same-gender offering hospitality interactions, because the host believes that s/he is entitled to engage in affective involvement and informality with the guest during such interactions. Though, formal strategies are used during cross-gender interactions in Libyan culture to show the normative distance, where informality during such social interactions means closeness and solidarity. One of the participants (Siham, line: 24) stated that she would respond negatively to an offer. The motives for refusing seem to be the same as the interviewees' reasons stated in their responses in section 6.2.4.

During the above discussion, the participants offer various views according to the initial offer of hospitality which run contrary to the cultural stereotype that offers of hospitality are restricted in cross-gender interactions in Libya. It may be that the elaboration of the offer is inappropriate, as we discussed above, for contextual reasons (e.g., culture, religion), where some of the participants place greater weight on equity than association, showing that refusing to engage in that ritual of offering, refusal and insistence is socially and culturally motivated. Thus, the rapport of an insistence sequence seems to be inappropriate in cross-gender situations, so most of the participants accept the initial offer in order to avoid the insistence stage. Further illustration of insistence during same- and cross-gender interactions follows in the next section.

6.4.2. Insistence during same- and cross-gender offering interactions

As we saw above, the positive rapport of offering hospitality should be handled appropriately, particularly during cross-gender interactions. Therefore, the discussion

below shows that the most important aspects of identity face, that both the offerer and offeree are claiming during these cross-gender offering interactions, are conformity and tradition, so most of the female participants perceived insistence during the discussed interaction as “break[ing] the normative social distance that should be kept with strangers” (Bonvillain, 2016: 113), since insistence would be a breach of the behavioural expectations and quality face-threat would be a direct consequence of this breach of expectations. However, some of the participants (Iman, line: 32; Farah, line: 34) accept insistence as positive rapport because of the familiarity existing between themselves and the offerer, as colleagues. Thus, insistence is not always evaluated negatively as some participants believe in this discussion and in section 6.2.4. Thus, rituals of offering and refusal exist between men and women, but these tend to be less elaborate, (see Appendix B, p: 30- 33, lines: 28- 53), as shown by the following examples:

Female responses to insistence issued by a male offerer

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|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتحيه: باهي كان قالك مثلا ما تقوليش لا؟ La tqul:ljf ma maθalan galik kan bahj No say not for example you told if ok |
| 28- Fathia: OK, if he said, ‘Don’t say no’? { don't refuse my offer} |

Insistence as positive rapport

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| انتصار: مش واحد من الشارع (..) (..) ʔlfarʕ min wahd mʃ (..) street from one not |
| 29-Iman: He’s not from the street {meaning that the host is not a stranger} |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| هذا زميل عمل زميل دراسه قاعد معاك في القاعه ʔlqaʕa fj mʕak qaʕid dirasa zamjl ʕamal zamjl haða Hall in you with stay study colleague work colleague this |
| 30- He’s a colleague who you’re studying in the same workplace as |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فرح: لكن لما يحلفاك خلاص ماتقديش تحملي الشخص ذنب ⁵⁷] ðanb ʔlfaxsʕ tħamlaj tagdariʃ ma xalasʕ jħliflik lamma lakin |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

⁵⁷ ‘Guilt’ in this sentence means that the host must fast for three days if his offer is not accepted, for having invoked Allah's name.

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| guilt the person you loading can you not finish you for swear when but |
| 31- Farah: But, when he invoked the name of God↑, that's it ↓{means you have 32- to accept}, you can't cause him guilt⁵⁸ |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتحيه: لا هو ما حلف لكن قال لها ما تقوليش لا La tqu:ljf ma laha gal lakin ḥalaf ma hu:a la No say not her for said but swear not he no |
| 33- Fathia: No, he didn't invoke God, but he told her not to refuse |

| |
|------------------------------|
| ي: اصر As'ar insist |
| 34- Eman: He insisted |

Culture and religion as influential factors

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|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتومه: تعتمد على الكلشر kalʃar ʕala taʕtamid culture on depend |
| 35- Wasan: It depends on the culture |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فرح: ايوه تعتمد على الكلشر والرجن (.) كل شي يخش فيها Fjha jxof ʃaj ku:l (.) relizn wa ʔlkalʃar ʕala taʕtamid ʔjwah It in inter thing every (.) religion and culture on depend yes |
| 36- Farah: Yes, it depends on the culture and religion, many factors are involved |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتحيه: قصدي انا يقولك لا ماتقولي لا كان مابتاخذيها حطبيها علي جنب zanib ʕala ḥotʕjha btaɣɔɗjha ma kan la tqu:lj ma la jqu:lik ana qasʕdj a side on it put it take not if no say not no say I mean |
| 37- Fathia: If he told you, 'Don't say no. Keep it for later, if you don't want to eat 38- it now'? |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| كيف تكون رده فعلك] ʔʕlik radat tku:n kaif your rection is how |
| 39- What's your response? |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فرح: معناها انا اصرريت ʔsʕarait ana mʕnaha Insist I it mean |
| 40- Farah: It means I insist |

Insistence has a negative rapport orientation

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>سھام: اصلا ھذي مايدير ھاش حد حضاري</p> <p><u>ħad</u>^ʕarj <u>ħad</u> jɗjrħaʕ ma haɗj ʔs^ʕlan</p> <p>civilian someone it act not this originally</p> |
| <p>41- Siham: This's inappropriate.</p> |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>هدی: کان واحد بعقله 100% مایدیر هاش</p> <p>jdjrhaḥ ma100% biṣḡlah waḥd can do not 100% mind somebody if</p> <p>42- Huda: A sensible person doesn't behave like that</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|---------|-------|-------|----------------|
| | تفضلني | يخلي | روحه | راقى | حتى | في | العزومه |
| | ʔɪʕazuma | fj | hata | ragj | rohah | jɣalj | tafaddlj |
| | Offering | in | even | elegant | him | self | leave you have |
| 43- | Have some, {playing the role of the offerer}, should behave politely even | | | | | | |
| 44- | in offering. | | | | | | |

Reasons for refusing in the face of insistence

1. Inappropriateness

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|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>لما يبدي يصر عليه معناها انت معندكش ذوق]</p> <p>ðog ʕindak ma ʔnta maʕnah ʕalaih tsʕor jabda lama</p> <p>Politeness have not you it mean it on you insist start when</p> <p>45- When he insists that she do it, it means...know nothing about...traditions</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

| | |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------|
| | فتحيه: اهااااا |
| 46- Fathia: aha::::::a {a sound} | |

2. A social FTA

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>سهام: يعني نخط روعي في الستويشن متاعت المراه</p> <p>ʕlmara mtaʕt {situation} fʃ ruħj nħt^ʕ jaʕnj</p> <p>woman belong situation in my soul put mean</p> | <p>47- Huda: I mean, he should put himself in the woman's shoes.</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>بالك ماتحبش بالك راجلها مايحبهاش تحكي مع حد Had maʕa tiħkj jħbhah ma raʒlha balik tħbiʃ ma balik Person with she talk like not her husband maybe like not maybe</p> |
| <p>48- Huda: Maybe she doesn't like it, or her husband doesn't want her to speak to strangers</p> |

| | |
|------------------------------------------|---------------|
| | فتحیه : ااااا |
| 49- Fathia : a::::::a { a sound } | |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>سهم: باهي لما يقولك حطيهما علي جنب اعرفيه هذا مطرشق] mit^farfig haða ʔʕrfih ʒanib ʕala hoṭ^ʕjha jgulik lama bahj crazy this you know a side on it put you for say when ok</p> |
| 50- Siham: OK, when he told you to put it aside, then you should know he's crazy |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>قوليله شكرا وعدي وسيبيه Saibjh wa ʕadj wa ʕukran gulilah Him leave and go and thanks him to say</p> |
| 51- Tell him 'Thank you' (.) go(.) and leave him alone [|

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ايمان: مطرشق] mit^farfig crazy</p> |
| 52- Eman: Crazy [|

| |
|--------------------------------|
| <p>الكل: ضحك laughter</p> |
| 53- All: laughter |

Insistence was discussed by the participants in terms of rights and obligations. Equity rights were either referred to explicitly, such as (lines: 45, 47, 48), or else reference was made to what the offerer should not do, such as (lines: 41, 42, 43, 45, 50, 51). The incident is regarded as an FTA as well as an infringement of equity rights. Most of the participants seem to agree that insistence in such cross-gender situations is inappropriate behaviour, and thus there is something slightly odd about the discussed cross-gender interaction. Cultural and religious concerns seem to underpin such an aggressive reaction to the offerer's behaviour. In Spencer-Oatey's view, the participants have expectancy reactions to insistence behaviour that they discuss and perceive as a negative interchange. The participants' assessments can often result in significant emotional reactions; these reactions reflect the underlying cultural religious ideologies, since they adopt a moral stance regarding the behaviour.

Criticising the offerer's personality

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>سهام: اصلاك====يف يقولك حطيتها علي جنب تنقال هذي ؟ Haðj tingal ʒanib ʕala hut^ʕjha jgulik khaif ʔs^ʕlan This said beside on you put you to say how original</p> |
| <p>54- Karima: actually, H:::OW↑ he could tell you to leave it for later{the 55- offered thing}? Couldn't he?</p> |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>بدوي هو؟ (..) و الا ايش؟ ʔish ʔla wa Hua badwi what or and he bedouin</p> |
| <p>56- Is he Bedouin? (..) or what?</p> |

Seeking reasons for the offerer's behaviour

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فتحيه: اهااا هو من منطقته ريفيه Rjfia mant^ʕga min hua ahaa Countryside from he ahaa</p> |
| <p>57- Farah: ahaaa, he's from a rural area[</p> |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>عندنا عيب↑ لما حد يمدلك حاجه تقولي لا la tgulj haʒa jmidlik hað lama ʕaib ʕndana no you say thing you for give someone when shame us have</p> |
| <p>58- He said 'It's impolite↑to say "no", when somebody offers you something= 59- {food/drink}'.</p> |

| |
|---------------------------------------|
| <p>ي:ل:ا:] L:::a N:::o</p> |
| <p>60- Iman: N:::O</p> |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>وسن: لا اول حاجه البدوي وحق الله الاصاله اللي يعرفوها] jʕrfuha ʔlj ʔlʔs^ʕala Allah hað wa ʔlbadawe haʒa ʔwal la it know those the tradition God by and Bedouin thing first no</p> |
| <p>61- Wasan: No(..) first of all, the Bedouins know very well the norms and 62- traditions [</p> |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فتحيه: التصرفات] ʔltas^ʕarufat behaviours</p> |
| <p>63- Fathia: so behaviour [</p> |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>وسن: تعتمد علي نفس الشخص] ʔlʔaxs^ʕ nafs ʕala taʕtimid Person same on depend</p> |
| <p>64- Wasan: It depends on the person himself [</p> |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>سهم : حتي انا بدويه لكن البدوي مش بدوي في قبيلته البدوي بدوي في تصرفاته tas^frfath fj badwj ʔlbadwj gibailtah fj badwj miʃ ʔlbadwj lakhin badwja ana ħata his behaviour in Bedouin Bedouin his tripe in Bedouin not Bedouin the but Bedouin I even</p> |
| <p>65- Siham: no, I'm a Bedouin as well, but I meant Bedouin behaviour and it's 66- nothing to do with his tribe</p> |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>الواحد يكون راقى شوي] ʃwaj ragj jkhon ʔlwaħid little polite be someone</p> |
| <p>67- One should be polite to some extent</p> |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>وسن : متخلف قصدك؟ gas^fdik mutaxlif you mean Behind the times</p> |
| <p>68- Wasan: Behind the times, you mean?</p> |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>س: ا==يوه , متخلف اه] Ah mutaxlif Ah Behind the times yes</p> |
| <p>69- Siham: Tha:::::ts it, behind the times, ah [</p> |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>وسن : الحاجه هذي مش نورمل مش نورمل Normal miʃ normal miʃ haðj ʔlhaza Normal not normal not this thing</p> |
| <p>70- Wasan: This is inappropriate (.) inappropriate. {meaning the discussed 71- offering event}.</p> |

The absence of insistence in such situations need not, therefore, affect the positive rapport between the interactants. Cutting off any possibility of insistence does not show that the rapport of offering is inappropriate; in fact, the presence of insistence in this situation seems to be dispreferred. It shows that different social expectations play an important role in framing and determining the way in which the sequence of the interaction should proceed during cross-gender offering interactions. Besides, insistence does not happen in every situation. It has to be appropriate to the relationship between friends; people who are assumed have some connection. However, as I mentioned above, some participants accept insistence as positive rapport because of the familiarity between both interactants. Thus, although the cultural and religious beliefs are strict in

Libyan culture and the perceived rights and obligations related to offering are expected, not everybody in Libyan culture can be expected to confirm to these beliefs and cultural ideologies because different rules apply in different social situations and because cultures are not homogeneous.

In the next part of the focus group discussion, the participants discussed their views about same-gender offering hospitality. This discussion was provoked when they were asked whether they would accept the insistence if the offerer were female (see appendix B, p: 35-36, lines: 72-78) was as follows:

If the offerer is female, is there any difference regarding the same interchange?

Mutual agreement among the participants

| |
|-----------------------------|
| الكل: اكيد ?khid sure |
| 72- All: absolutely. |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فرح: زميلتك ونفس الموقف يعني وحده منا Mina wahda jaʕnj ?lmawgif nafis wa zamjltik Us from someone means situation the same and your colleague |
| 73- Farah: your colleague {female} and one of us. |
| <i>Impact of Islamic society</i> |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ماتنسش انه مجتمع اسلامي اكيد ?khjd ?slamj mu ʒ tamaʕ ?nah tansaiʕ ma Sure Islamic society it is forget not |
| 74- of course, don't forget its Islamic community. |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| سهام: اصلا المراءه اسلاميا تاخذ راحتها من المراءه اللي زيها اكثر من الرجل ?lrazil min ?khθr zajha ?lj ?lmar?a min rahatha taχð Islamjan ?lmar?a ?sʕlan Man from more her like that woman from her relax take Islamic woman original |
| 75- Siham: actually, in Islam woman feel more comfortable with a woman 86- than 76- a man. |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| وبتزيد بها حتي اكثر ثقته θiga ?khθr hata bitzjdjha wa confidence more even it increases and |
| 77- In addition, more confidence. |

Factors affect the behaviour of offering

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>لكن بطبيعته الحشمة والاسلام انك هو راجل براني بالنسبة لك رح تختلف رده فعلك] fiʃlik radat taɣtalif rah lik bilnisba biranj razil hua ʔnik ʔlʔslam wa ʔlhifma btʔabiʃat lakhin your reaction different will you for stranger man he is Islam and shyness nature but</p> |
| 78- Your response will be different because of the nature of shyness and Islam. |

The participants above consider the same-sex offering interaction as positive rapport. They attributed this positive orientation to the impact of culture and religion expectations. The participants above believe that females feel more comfortable when exchanging same-gender offers while during cross-gender offering interactions, males and females are expected to show modesty ‘hifma’, as I discussed in section 3.6.5.1. As I mentioned earlier in 4.2.1., ‘Haya’ is a religious characteristic, which encourages Muslims to avoid inappropriate or dispreferred behaviour. Thus, according to the participants, such religious values have a significant influence on the expected polite behaviour during offering interactions. Thus, the cultural and religious principles form the resources of their linguistic ideologies, from which speakers may frame or choose their own contributions about what is appropriate. Such responses are similar to the interviewees’ views about same-gender offering hospitality.

In the next part of the focus group discussion, the participants discussed in general how the strategies and rapport orientation might have a significant impact on the response to an offer of hospitality (see Appendix B, P: 36, lines: 79-83), as follows:

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فرح: الحياء ʔlhjaʔ Shyness</p> |
| 79- Farah: Shyness. |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>وسن: الموقف فيه عوامل مالا حد تاثر] taʔθar malahad ʃawamil fjh ʔlmaogif effect many factors it in situation</p> |
| 80- Wasan: there are many factors influence this event. |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فرح: ايه فيه عده عوامل] ʕawamil ʕida fjh ʔjh factors many it in yes</p> |
| 81- Farah: yes, there are many factors |

Other factors are important in responding to an offer

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>وسن: طريقه الخشه طريقه الشخص طريقه tʕarjga ʔlfaxsʕ tʕarjga ʔlɣafʕa tʕarjga way person way iterance way</p> |
| 82- Wasan: the way he/she inter, the way he/she [|

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فرح: وطريقه العزومه ʔlʕazuma tʕariga wa offering the way and</p> |
| 83- Farah: and the way she/he offer {the act of offering}. |

One participant described the positive rapport of offering according to the expectations of what she believes to be an appropriate offering interchange in the workplace, where the Libyan PhD students used to study and have their lunch (see appendix B, P:36, lines: 84-90), as follows:

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>مثلا هو ماشي زي مثلا احنا عندنا في المكتب ʔlmakhtab fj ʕndana ʔhna maθalan office in us have we example like walking he for example</p> |
| 84- like us in the office {area of study for PhD students}. |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>وحده ماشيه لوجبتها ljwazbatha maʕʕia wahda her meal to walking</p> |
| 85- Some one who is going to have her lunch. |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>من الذوق الواحد اللي مقعمر قريب من المكان اللي حطت فيه اكلها تقوله تفضلي tafadʕalj tgo lah ʔklaha fjh hatʕt ʔlj ʔlmakan min graib mgaɕmiz ʔlj ʔlwaħid ʔlðog min you have her say her food it in she put that place from near sitting that one elegant from</p> |
| 86- It is politeness to say [have some please] = [taffadali] to the one who sits near to |
| 87- the place where she stored her lunch |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>انا من الذوق لانها هي وجبتها عارقتها بنقولها لا بارك الله فيك صحتين saʕhtain fjk Allah barak la bingullilha ɕarfatha wagbatha hja lʔnha alðug min ana healthy you in God bless no her say will her know her meal she because elegant from I</p> |
| 88- So because I knew that it's her meal and because it's a matter of politeness, I |
| 89- will say no thanks. |

Offering/invitation overlap

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتختلف عن راهو درت حسابك من الصبح و] morning from your account made about different so |
| 90- So its differ from that food is already prepared for you as a guest. |

She describes how there exists an expectation for students ritually to offer to share their food with other students; line 78: 'It's polite to say 'tafaddal' = [have some please], to the person next to you'. The offeree is expected to refuse politely and express appreciation and thankfulness; see line 88-89: 'So because I knew that it's her meal and because it's a matter of politeness, I will say no thanks.'. Then she compares the expectations related to such offering interactions when the offeree is being invited at home (line 90): 'So the case differs from that when the food is already prepared for you as a guest'. It is clear that the purpose of making such a comparison is to clarify that the expectations related to offering hospitality in the workplace are often ritually delivered to show positive rapport towards colleagues, so insistence might not be expected while, in invitation situations, there is a commitment on the part of the host and an obligation to offer hospitality according to the perceived sociality rights and obligations associated with certain hospitality situations. Thus, the linguistic characteristics of offering, refusal and insistence are not static but, rather, contextual and dynamic. In addition, there are many influential factors, as we have seen in the focus group discussion, which need to be handled appropriately if harmonious relations are to be maintained. It is worth noting here that, during cross-gender offering interactions, it could be said that it does not matter so much in terms of sociality rights whether the offer is sincere or not. The interactants placed less importance on the sincerity of the offer, in favour of the cultural norms and conventions related to cross-gender situations management. In other words, according to the participants, in such cross-gender offering situation, insistence and repeated offers are seen to affect quality face and equity rights threatening acts and are

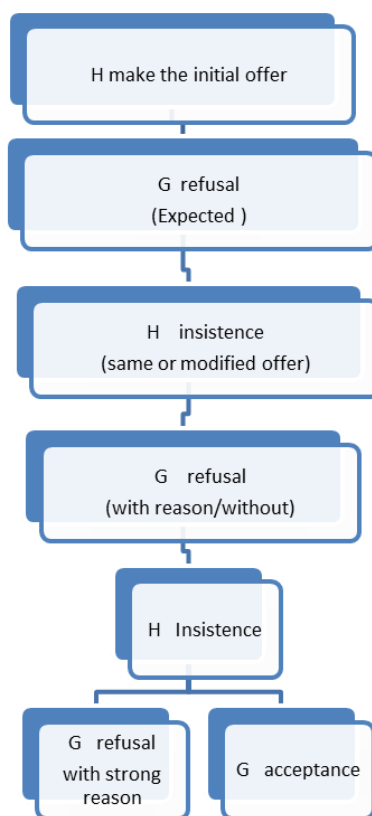
thus seen as inappropriate, where the offeree is under little obligation to follow the rituals of offering hospitality (i.e., insistence and refusal).

6.5. Concluding Remarks

The descriptions of offering hospitality, which have been discussed in this chapter, clearly reflect Spencer-Oatey's (2000:5) diagrammatic representation discussed earlier (in chapter 4 section 4.2). The basic assumptions and social values about interdependence and association in Libyan culture are manifested through attitudes and beliefs that influence behaviour in hospitality situations and the values attributed to other people's behaviour. Consequently, people hold these stereotypical attitudes and ideologies about offering behaviour. The main research question that has been addressed throughout this chapter is whether the assumptions about rights and obligations affect the utilisation and interpretation of offering. The informants' responses during the interviews and focus group discussion appear to substantiate certain cultural and ideological values around hospitality and offering that have an impact on how the expectations about sociality rights and the social obligation rapport of offering are managed. For example, in general, there is an agreement between both groups about the general linguistic characteristics of an offering sequence what constitute an offer of hospitality. I represent their assumptions about the typical structure of the rapport of offering in the following flow chart (figure 5), where the interviewees and focus group participants expected the manifestation of the same elements during offering interactions.

We can see from their assumptions about the structure of Libyan Arabic hospitality situations that the initial offer, which is expected to be generously delivered, may be refused by the guest. Such refusal is preferred and often not seen as an FTA in the sense that it is the culturally accepted norm to behave in this way (as it shows modesty (Haya)

and self-restraint) in Libyan culture. Then, it is conventionally expected that the host should exhibit insistence, by wording the offer strongly and insisting several times. If the repeated offer is also refused, it is preferred if the guest finds good reasons for the refusal, which may be accepted and the encounter brought to a close.



H: host; G: guest

Figure 5: Typical and Conventional interaction sequence for offering hospitality

The informants emphasise the prioritization of association, whereby the host in general has an obligation to offer hospitality and the right for his/her hospitality to be accepted. In different situations (e.g., cross-gender offering interactions) and with regard to cultural and religious beliefs, both male and female participants show more concern about equity rights than providing hospitality and practising the rituals of offering. Thus, equity and association are both in play in Libyan Arabic offering situations. What I have found, then, is that the politeness strategies of offering and refusing have become ritualized according to these expectations of sociality rights and obligations.

Although such beliefs provide valuable insights into how offering hospitality and associated rituals are conceived of and evaluated by this group, they do not necessarily reflect the actual usage of these forms. Thus, in the following chapter, which analyses naturalistic data, I investigate the extent to which individuals from the Libyan Arabic community conform to their beliefs about how they and others should speak, which they provided through their answers and discussion in the interviews and focus group data.

Chapter 7: Data Analysis: the linguistic practice of offering hospitality

7.1. Introduction:

My naturalistic data are based on several resources, as I discussed in the methodology chapter, including recorded data, log-book data and some examples of offering that the participants provided during the focus group discussion and interviews. The main aim of this chapter is to examine how the Libyan Arabic speakers in my data actually speak or behave in comparison to their expressed beliefs and ideologies regarding offering hospitality. The research questions that this chapter addresses are: under what circumstances are offers made, and what are the linguistic characteristics of offering and receiving hospitality by Libyan Arabic speakers? I divided this part of the data analysis into two main sections: in section 7.2., I discuss the structure of offering hospitality interactions and how Libyans generate hospitality interchanges in everyday situations. Then, in section 7.3, I investigate the factors influencing rapport and strategy use when offering hospitality. Finally, I discuss the main findings of the data analysis.

7.2. Managing the rapport of offering hospitality

This section is divided into two parts: the first part focuses on how the positive interactional rapport of an offer/refusal/insistence affects the participants' face and sociality rights. It aims to show how the ideologies of initiating an offer of hospitality, refusal, and insistence, through enhancing face and sociality rights, are affected by the importance of association and the expectations of hospitality and generosity. It also aims to show the Libyan Arab preference for certain linguistic forms in such situations. In the second part, I show that there are contextual factors that have an essential effect on the linguistic strategies used by the participants in certain situations, due to ideological motivations. By doing so, I aim to illustrate through the examples below that,

in general, Libyan Arabs prioritise and evaluate hospitality and generosity, which are considered to be the main features indicating social group solidarity and politeness towards others.

7.2.1. Face and sociality rights enhancement during offering interactions

In this section, I consider some examples of offering interchanges in different situations (e.g. invitations, unexpected visits) to examine the practice of making appropriate offers through enhancing face and sociality rights using direct strategies such as imperatives and orders. I analyse offering and focus on how people construct offers of hospitality in situations such as invitations and unexpected visits, that involve these processes. The first example is an invitation situation, which took place between the host, Hanan (38 years old), who invited her neighbour Genan (40 years old), to receive and welcome her expected guests with her and to have coffee with them. In such an invitation, the neighbour Genan must arrive before the other guests, because she is expected to welcome the other invited guests alongside the host. This is a conventional invitation, as illustrated by some of the interviewees and discussed in chapter 6, section 6.2.1. It shows the affiliation of associative rights towards neighbours or relatives by inviting them as honoured guests, as well as warmth and solidarity towards the invited guests. The interchange begins by offering a cup of coffee and cakes. This example is from my recorded data (see Appendix A, p: 5):

Example (1):

Initial offer

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | تفضلني Tafaddalj You have |
| 1-Hanan: Have some {a cup of coffee and a piece of cake} | |

Acceptance

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| | صحتي Sahatj Your health |
|--|-------------------------------|

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 2- Genan: Allah give you good health= {Thank you} |
|----------------------------------------------------------|

Reoffering

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | زيدي zedj You more |
| 3-Hanan: Have some more↓.{oriented towards the guest eating another type of cake} | |

Initial refusal

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | لا ياسر صحبتي حنان Hanan sʕahatj jasir la Hanan you healthy plenty no |
| 4- Genan: No, it's enough, May god give you good health= [thanks] | |

Insistence

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | غير زيدي اليوم درتها عشانك ʕʕanik Dertaha ʔloum zeadj yair Make it today more you just |
| 5- Hanan: Just have some more; I baked it today for you | |

Acceptance

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | اوكي (...) حلوه تسلم يدك ʔedik tasslam helwa ok Hand your save ok |
| 6- Genan: OK, nice, thank you | |

In this example, the rapport of offering begins with the initial offer ‘tafdʕali’, meaning ‘Here you are’, a commonly-used expression. It can be described as an expression used by Libyans as an immediate welcome combined with an offer. The guest establishes the rapport by accepting the offer and expressing thanks in a conventional formulaic way in line 2: ‘May Allah give you good health’, to enhance the offerer’s quality face. Then, the host Hanan offers the guest another type of cake, in the form of an imperative (line 3: ‘Have some more↓’), in a low tone. The guest Genen ritually refuses the offer (line 4: ‘No, it’s enough). Such refusal cannot be seen as causing damage to the host’s face because it was combined with a formulaic face enhancing strategy (line 4: ‘May god give you good health’=[thanks]). Thus, the host establishes rapport through insistence which enhances the guest's identity face and sociality rights.

Alternative /Temptation strategy

The host Hanan insisted on her offer and tried to convince her close friend Genan by addressing her own identity face and sociality rights to tempt her to accept her offer, in line 5: 'Have one; I baked it today for you', which was seen as positive rapport orientation towards the guest. Thus, she immediately accepted the offer in order to avoid offending her friend. The host tends to hold a type of maintenance rapport orientation to minimize the impact of the imperatives (line 5: 'Have one') on the guest by selecting appropriate rapport management strategies, as in line 5: 'I baked it today for you'. Insistence, therefore, can be seen as appropriate behaviour, as it enhances the host's quality face as being hospitable and generous as well as her guest's identity face by upholding her social identity as a close friend in front of the other guests.

It is worth noting here that the response to the initial offer is immediate acceptance despite Alaoui's claim (2011:13) that "the offer has to be repeated and declined a number of times before it is accepted. Accepting from the first offer is regarded as bad form". In some situations, however, when the guest has already accepted an invitation to a meal, it is preferred initially to accept the food offered. Refusing the food/drink offered is inappropriate and has a negative rapport orientation, as it may threaten the host's sociality rights.

In an invitation to a meal, food is usually offered at the beginning and during the visit. Sometimes, even when the guest wishes to leave, the host expresses his/her desire for the guest to stay longer, using imperative strategies oriented towards associative rights. In a similar way, imperatives are used as insistence strategies in middle-class Quiteño Spanish society and considered as culturally appropriate behaviour (Placencia, 2008). For example, using imperatives as insistence to stay longer for more offers of hospitality

seems to be employed “to display interest, sincerity and affection and hence, the assurance that the person really cares” (Placencia, 2008: 93). It also seen as a common in family invitations and “It shows how primacy can be given not to individuals’ wishes but to the opportunity for sociability that has arisen, which is an opportunity to show how much host cares for their guests” (Placencia, 2008:100). In Libyan culture, extending insistence is not limited to certain social groups, as in Quiteño Spanish society; rather, as we discussed with regard to the interview data, at the ideological level, insistence can be employed between friends, neighbours, and newly-acquainted interactants. Thus, I will consider some examples which illustrate how the ideologies about what is considered appropriate insistence can be shown by intensifying the force of direct rapport strategies, which are seen as positive rapport-oriented through showing a sincere offer. Thus, it is preferred, if not required, when managing the rapport of offering. To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example which relates to the same situation as above. After about an hour, when Hanan sees her neighbour Genan preparing to leave, she starts the conversation by expressing disagreement as a reaction to her leaving (see Appendix A, p: 5-7), as follows:

Example (2)

Insisting the guest stays longer through questioning leave-taking

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| وين ماشيه؟ Mafīa wain? Walking where? |
| 1- Hanan: Where are you going?={where do you think you’re going?} |

Giving reasons for leave taking

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| زوجي كلمني(..) الببي يعيط jʕajat ʔlbabj(..) khalamnj zawʒj crying baby, the(..) me call me husband |
| 2- Genan: My husband phoned me (...)the baby is crying |

Refusal: imperative type

| |
|-------------------------------------------|
| غير قعمزي qaʕmizj ʔair just sit you |
|-------------------------------------------|

3-Hanan: Just sit down↓

Refusal: promise of further acceptance and expressions of thanks

صحييتي مره اخري انشاءالله

?allah ?nfa? ?xrah mara sahatj

God willing if another once you healthy

4-Genan: May God give you good health. Another time (Enshaa Allah) = {promise}

Insistence: offer made with imperative

مانك ماشيه لين تشربي معنا الشاهي الاخضر

?l?ad?ar ?l?ahj ma?ana ta?rabj lain ma?ia manjk

5-Hanan: You aren't going until you've had some green tea with us

Insistence: minimising the reason for leaving

مابيصر اله شي(..) ↓ مع بوه

bu:h ma?a (..)fa? beas?ralah ma

his father with (..)thing him happen will not

6- Hanan: Nothing'll happen to him. He's with his father ↓ [low tone]

Refusal: a plea and expressing appreciation

خليني نمشي حنونه (.) كاني شربتته بارك الله فيك

fiek Allah barak fribtah kha?anj (.) ft?uma nimfj xalinj

You in God bless me as (.) Ftuma me go me leave

7- Genan: Let me go Hnuna {diminutive} as if I've had it { it refer to the expected

8- hospitality} thanks

Insistence: imperative and invoking Allah's name

والله مانك ماشيه (.) بسرعه ياسمين

Yassmin bisur?a (.) ma?ia manik wallah

Yassmin hurry (.) go you not Allah and

9- Hanan: By Allah's name↑, you will not go↑, hurry up Yasmeen {host's daughter

10- who is preparing tea}.

Insistence: Non-verbal refusal strategy {used by the host}

لغه غير منطوقه [وضع اليد علي كتف الضيف]

11- Nonverbal gesture {putting her hand on the guest's shoulder}.

Insistence: giving face

والله ناديتها من دون الجارات والله ليها معزه في وسط قلبي

qalbj wassat? fj ma?aza ljha wallah ?lzarat dun meen nadaitha wallah

heart my middle in cordiality for her and Allah neighbours out of call her and Allah

12- [to her guests:] In the name of Allah, I invited her out of all my neighbours

13- (Libyan ones), she has a special place in my heart.

Acceptance

سلمك حنان ,نفس الشعور

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ʔlʃuʃur naffs, Fat^sima salmik feeling same Fatima save you</p> |
| <p>14- Genan: Thanks Hanan, I feel the same about you (...)</p> |

Hanan, the host, establishes rapport by asking the guest (line: 1): ‘Where’re you going?’ while in fact she is asking why she is leaving. This request for a reason appears to be real;⁵⁹ to determine whether the guest had a sufficiently strong excuse. The reason provided by the guest did not convince her, as the host knew that the baby was already being cared for by his father (line 6: ‘nothing’ll happen to him. He’s with his father ↓ [low tone]’).

1. Commands

The offerer Genan establishes the rapport of offering in the form of orders and uses an emphatic intonation when she asks her guest to stay (line 3: just sit down [I insist] = [you won’t go home]; and line 5: you aren’t going until you’ve had some green tea with us’). In offers, using commands to insist and a rising intonation appear to be acceptable. They reflect the offerer’s sincerity about their offer. Thus, orders are not always seen as inherently FTAs because, in such situations, they show that the offerer is sincere about their offer. In Brown and Levinson’s (1987) terms, the host’s behaviour during an FTA threatens the guest’s negative face; however, in Spencer-Oatey’s (2000) view, not all orders and requests threaten our sense of equity rights. If we perceive a directive as lying within the scope of our obligations, we are less likely to regard it as an infringement of our rights. The guest refuses this offer, using thanking expressions, and mitigates her refusal by promising to make another visit (line 4: ‘May God give you good health= [thanks], another time’). Thus, as part of her duty of hospitality, the host had the right strongly to reject this excuse and be assertive about the refusal (line 5: ‘you aren’t going until you’ve had some green tea with us = [I insist] you don’t go’),

⁵⁹ However, it is conventional in leave-taking situations in Arabic cultures to hear the host requesting a reason for his/her guest's leaving and he “may conventionally ‘deny’ the guest’s request to leave” (Emery 2000: 207).

and she went even further, declaring that her guest's reason for leaving was unconvincing, and minimising her concern about her baby (line 6: 'Nothing'll happen to him. He's with his father↓[low tone]'). The guest refused to stay by asking the host to let her leave, showing appreciation of the host's offer of green tea (line 7, 'let me go Hnuna {diminutive} as if I have had it, thanks'). The expression 'as if I've had it' is conventionalised in Libyan offering/refusal sequences. It is usually used by the guest as a refusal strategy, to protect the host's quality face because of frequent refusals and to indicate an appreciation that the host has done her/his duty of hospitality towards the guest. Thus, the expression 'Thanks as if I've had it' is further evidence that orders and commands are not necessarily oriented at negative rapport. Spencer-Oatey (2008: 17) argues that "we may feel pleased or even honoured if we are ordered to do something feeling that it shows acceptance as a close friend".

2. Invoking Allah's name

Hanan, the host, refuses to allow the guest to leave and increases the pressure on the guest to accept her offer by invoking Allah's name (lines: 9, 10), in a high tone: 'In the name of Allah↑, you won't go↑'. This form of swearing in such a high tone allows the hearer no option but to accept, as we saw in section (6.2.2). Thus, the guest usually accepts the offer in order to avoid the consequences of a refusal for the offerer in such cases.

3. Implied insistence through nonverbal strategies

The force of such directives is mitigated through using certain strategies to manage positive rapport with the guest. Thus, invoking Allah's name was accompanied by a nonverbal gesture of 'putting the host's hand on her guest's arm' (line 11). When the guest saw that the host held a rapport enhancement orientation by being assertive about her offer to show that it was sincere, she had no choice but to agree to stay and accept

her host's hospitality. Thus, it is part of the function of refusing and insisting to work out how 'genuine' the offer is.

In Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, the host's behaviour is an FTA, that threatens the guest's negative face, but in Spencer-Oatey's (2000: 19) terms, not all "orders and requests threaten our sense of equity rights. If we perceive a directive as being within the scope of our obligations, we are less likely to regard it as an infringement of our rights". Because, the guest (as we saw above) feels that it shows sincerity towards her or acceptance as a close friend, she agrees to stay for a little longer and demonstrates her valuing of her relationship with the host. Accordingly, commands and a rising intonation are strategies used to achieve this goal (proving that the offer is sincere).

4. Giving face (modifying the force of directives)

Moreover, contrary to Brown and Levinson's (1987) designation of orders and requests as inherently FTAs, they are not necessarily so from a rapport management perspective: they may be face-threatening, but need not always be. Thus, using aggressive language when offering hospitality, such as insistence and minimising the choices of the offeree, according to ideological beliefs, might be seen as impeding the individual's freedom of action, and thus be evaluated as impolite in other cultures. As Spencer-Oatey (2008: 23) states:

In Greek and Chinese, for example, direct strategies are used more frequently than in English, and are often used in situations where a conventionally indirect form would be likely in English. However, such utterance is not usually interpreted as 'rude' in Greek and Chinese, because they are normally softened with particles, affixes and/or tone of voice.

Similarly, in the example above, the closing utterance of the above offering/refusal interaction (lines 11, 12: 'In the name of God, I invited her out of all my neighbours; she has a special place in my heart') can be seen as minimising the impact of the assertive strategies by claiming common ground, and in doing so, she engages the guest

in affective involvement, thereby addressing the rights that she claims, within the context of rapport, as one enjoying a close association with her guest.

Spencer-Oatey (2008: 16) points out that people start perceiving rights and obligations in relation to normative behaviour, with the result that, if the expected behaviour is not forthcoming, those people may then feel annoyed. Thus, failing to meet the expectations may threaten the host's sociality rights, and hence the rapport between the interlocutors. It is highly dispreferred to insist on refusing this kind of offer. The positive rapport orientation obliges the guest to comply with the host's desires, so if the guest in the above example insists on leaving, despite the host's insistence, that would be evaluated as a threat to the host's sociality rights because, as I mentioned above, the guest was conventionally expected to stay longer due to having been invited as an honoured guest. Yet, hosts do not always easily give up their right for association and for their offer to be accepted, even when their guests' desire to leave is genuine, as they sometimes resort to even more aggressive methods for the rapport to be managed and for the guests to accept the offer.

It should be noted that the sequence of turns of insisting on offers and refusals in the above conversation lasts about 67 seconds. This shows that the process of insistence can be fairly lengthy and yet still be seen as acceptable, or even required, in Libyan Arabic. This sheds light on the important fact that language is neither inherently polite or impolite (Mills, 2011) but, rather, it is more about the situation and what is seen as appropriate and thus conventionalised within the Libyan linguistic group. As Spencer-Oatey (2002: 4) points out, "If we are to understand how relations are managed, including the role of language in this process, we need to have insights into the social expectancies and judgements of the people involved". However, I am not arguing that the above strategies are the only ways open to interlocutors. There are different rapport strategies that can be used to manage the rapport of offering in many situations. During

Libyan offering interactions, the force of the directives is mitigated through the use of certain strategies, due to the cultural norms and ideologies, to enhance the social identity face and sociality rights of both the host and guest, as I will demonstrate by the following Libyan Arabic example, which is from the log-book data.

Repaying an invitation

Many occasions in Libyan society elicit invitations. People may invite one another in accordance with the social traditions and habits. Thus, as we discussed in relation to the interview data, offering hospitality is generally seen as a social obligation rather than a personal preference. Maram (41 years-old), is a friend of Amira's sister and they studied together in the past in the UK. Amira (30 years-old), came to the UK with her family, and stayed with Maram for a few days until they rented a property. After settling down in her house for a fortnight, Amira, extended an invitation to Maram and her family to show her gratitude for Maram's hospitality and generosity. This invitation is seen as a hospitality convention and appropriate normative behaviour, reflecting the participants, acknowledgement of and adherence to the hospitality norms and conventions of their culture (see Appendix A, p: 18-19), as follows:

Amira was busy preparing the table for her husband and his guest (who is Maram's husband) in different room. Thus, she asked her guest Maram to eat and that she will join her soon as soon as she finishes:

Example (3)

Initial offer

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>اميره : تفضللي ميرا ابدى تو نجي (.) شويه ʃwaja nɜj tawa ʔbdj Mira tafadʕali little me come now you start Mira dig in</p> |
| <p>1- Amira: Dig in 'Mira' {diminutive for Maram}, I'll be back (.) shortly</p> |

Refusal: focus switch

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| مرام: بالك تبي نعاونك في حابه. ħaza fĵ nʕawnik tibj balik thing in you help you want maybe |
| 2- Maram: Do you need any help? |

Insistence: evaluating the guest's manner of eating

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| خيرك تنقشي ميرا؟ (.) كولي↓. kholj (.) Mira tnagfĵ ħairik you eat Mira you pick you why |
| 4- Amira: Mira, you're eating like a bird (.) Eat ↓ |

Acceptance: confirmation of eating

| |
|----------------------------------------|
| مرام: أنى ناكل. nakhil anj eat I |
| 5- Maram: I'm eating |

Insistence: Disagreement and imperative

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| اميره : هذا مش اوكال!↓ (..) ارفعي من المبطن Mubatʕan min arfaʕj (..) ↓awkhal muʕħaða Mubattan from you pick eating not this |
| 6- Amira: This isn't the way to eat↓(..) Pick one of the Mubattan {a traditional Libyan dish} |

Acceptance: Thanking and confirmation of eating

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| مرام: سلمك خذيت منها minha ħaðait salmik it from me take you save |
| 7- Maram: Thanks, I've already had one. |

Insistence: imperative, questioning and diminutive

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| اميره : زيدي (..) معقوله بنعزم عليك ميرا؟↓ Mira ʕaik bnaʕzim maʕqula Mira you on offer will possible |
| 8- Amira: Have more (..) Should I insist Mira?↓{meaning you aren't a stranger} |

Acceptance: thanking, complimenting

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| مرام: سلمك والله ناكل تسلم ايديك] ʔedik taslam nakhil Allah wa salmik you hand save eat God and you save |
| 9- 'Thanks, in the name of Allah = [really] I do, may Allah save your hands= 10- [Thanks]'.) |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| اميرة: مافي شي من واجبك, خيرك سابق sabig ħairak, waʕbak min ʕaj fĵ ma first your wealth your duty from thing in not |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

11- Amira: You deserve more, your generosity is more

مرام: شوفي هذوله كملت العصير وماكلت شي من صحنها]
 s^ʕaħnha min faj khlat ma wa ?lʕas^ʕjr khmalat Hadula juʕj
 her dish from thing eat not and juice she finish Hadula you look

12- Maram: Look at Hadula. She finished her juice and ate nothing [

ضحك
 Laughter

13- All: laughter

The host establishes rapport by expressing informality with her guest at the beginning of this interaction, as in (1): ‘Dig in Mira {diminutive for Maram}; I’ll join you (.) shortly’. She uses the diminutive ‘Mira’, which tends to soften the potential rapport threat of using the imperative and trying to increase the degree of intimacy with the guest. The guest in turn ignores the offer to start eating (line 2); on the other hand, she offers to give a hand (‘Do you need any help?’), demonstrating informality as well as self-restraint, in order to avoid appearing greedy. The guest refused to eat until the host joined her, because in invitation situations, everyone needs to follow the conventional expectations associated with sitting around a table. These conventions are very respectful in Libya as well as in many other cultures. As Al-Khatib (2006: 273) states:

A guest has to be fed before the host feeds himself. At smaller events, it is common to wait to take a bite until everyone at the table has received a serving. The host may urge guests to eat immediately upon receiving the food, and they should wait until everyone at the table has begun eating.

Thus, mitigating the force of directives in the host's insistence in the examples above seems also to be linked to certain ideologies in Libyan-Arabic. In the example above, Amira used two strategies: the first was a certain intonation (Dig in Mira↓) in a way that shows familial warmth; and the second is what Sifianou (1992) labels ‘diminutives’. The host followed the expression of ‘Tafad^ʕali’ by using a diminutive form, whereby she changed the name of the guest (‘Maram’ to ‘Mira’) to indicate closeness and familiarity,

which tends to soften the potential rapport threat of using the informal but imperative ‘dig in’. However, this is not to say that failing to use diminutives or prefixes with directives has a negative rapport impact, as the speakers used a certain intonation pattern that was required for a successful and positive initial offer, and thus no offence was taken because, as we have seen, the guest offers to help the host which show a high degree of informality towards the host. This example involved the following insistence strategies:

1. Evaluating the guest’s manner of eating and imperative type strategies

The offerer evaluated the guest’s manner of eating on two occasions: in line 4: ‘({Mira} you’re eating like a bird (.) eats ↓) and in line 6: ‘this isn’t how to eat↓ (.) = [you ate nothing]’. The host preceded her evaluation by establishing rapport by expressing cordiality by using a diminutive form. However, this is not a real criticism of how the guest eats but, rather, more a ritual evaluation to enhance the guest’s quality face so that she is not seen as greedy, by asserting that she only ate a small amount of food in order to encourage her to eat more. Moreover, such evaluations made the offeree agree to eat more to show that she liked the offered food and enjoyed her meal, and also to confirm that she was not shy, thus satisfying the host’s desire to be seen as a good host.

2. Alternatives

Similar to example (1), instead of insisting on the same offer, the offerer provided alternatives. For example, after an assertion by the offeree that she was eating (line 5: ‘I’m eating’), the offerer suggested that the offeree should try a different dish (line 6: ‘pick one of the Mubattan {a traditional Libyan dish}’). This alternative offer was rejected by the guest’s confirmation that she had already tried it.

3. Orders

The offerer resorted to a more assertive strategy (line 8: 'Have more, (.) are you expecting me to perform rituals on you Mira?↓'). This implied that she should not perform rituals on her guest, which signifies closeness and familiarity with her guest. It is interesting to note that even this utterance is a conventionalised strategy usually used in the Libyan offering context, when the guest is seen to be shy or does not eat the food offered. In this context, the word ⁶⁰'نعزم' means 'to perform the ritual of insistence' regarding food or drink and to insist repeatedly using a variety of insisting strategies. In section 6.2.2., for example, the hostess wished to emphasize closeness and reinforce the feeling of being at home on the part of her guest. This strategy is usually used to express cordiality and informality towards a guest. Using this utterance ('should I perform rituals on you?') is another way of insisting. As Spencer-Oatey (2005:110) emphasise, "to cultural outsiders the host's repeated offers (which often get stronger) can sound very imposing, and the guest's repeated declining behaviour can sound ungrateful and/or indicate a lack of willingness to accept". Nevertheless, in Libyan culture, the host's behaviour expresses generosity and warmth, whilst the guest's response displays modesty and self-restraint.

The example above illustrates the ideologies related to the duty of hospitality that the interviewees explain in their responses. The Libyan offerer must ensure that the guest is satisfied by his/her service, which is called in Libyan Arabic 'the duty of hospitality', ⁶¹'واجب الضيافة', whereby the offerer tries his/her best to serve his/her guests through frequent insistence, as in this example. Accordingly, offering, refusal and insistence may not have developed by chance, but may partly reflect the interactional

⁶⁰ The verb 'نعزم' has a different meaning in Arabic, as I show in chapter 6 section (6.2.4.4). For example, it may mean to invite, or insist in other contexts

⁶¹ Although the phrase 'duty of hospitality' is understood as referring to the host's obligations towards his/her guests, this duty is usually respected by the guests, who should allow their host to show generosity and hospitality.

principles that are significant in Libyan society. For example, the host's insistence on the guest accepting the offer illustrates the interactional principle of association (involvement) when offering hospitality (Spencer-Oatey, 2008).

4. The cost/benefit consideration strategy

Furthermore, at the end of the offering interaction, the guest attempts to enhance the host's quality face by confirming that she has enjoyed her meal and that the host has performed her duty of hospitality perfectly, which denotes a compliment (see line 9: 'may Allah save your hands= [Thank you for the nice food]'). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), compliments are inherently FTAs but, as Spencer-Oatey (2008) argues, they can also be considered as face-enhancing speech acts, since they are usually intended to have a positive effect on interpersonal relations. Thus, such compliments normally enhance the host's face by conveying approval of being hospitable and generous, which are positive attributes.

The offerer, in turn, downgraded the cost of her efforts and generosity and upgraded her guest's generosity and hospitality when she first welcomed her into her home in order to strengthen the positive impact associated with her offer of hospitality (line 11: 'It's nothing worthy; your generosity and hospitality is more'. This formulaic expression is usually used by hosts in such situations when they are repaying a good deed (such as the reason for this invitation) to maintain a good relationship with each other. This behaviour shows the hostess' acknowledgement of the hospitality norms and conventions about what is appropriate within her culture on such occasions. At the end of the offering and insisting sequence, the guest employs another politeness strategy in the last part of this interchange, which is not part of the offer of hospitality (since that has already been accepted) but reinforces the degree of closeness between herself and the host by establishing common ground between them: 'Look at Hadula. She finished her

juice and ate nothing' (line 12), which enables the offering sequence to be brought to an end, and for the interlocutors to move on to other topics of exchange.

So far, I have shown that offering and insistence interactions can be rapport enhancing behaviour. The guest, according to the above examples, does not express any discomfort with the frequent offers and insistence, and the host does not respond to frequent and reluctant refusals with annoyance because offers, refusals and insistence are oriented towards enhancing the host and guest's identity face and sociality rights as well as the harmonious relationship between them. Furthermore, through insistence, the hosts demonstrate their associative rights with the guest as being hospitable and generous. The basis for these judgments is that, at the ideological level, as we have seen in the interview and focus group data, the convention for handling a positive offering interaction is for the host to show insistence, by wording the offer strongly and repeating it several times, and for the guest to display reluctance by declining the offer of hospitality several times. Thus, the pattern of offering has become so common and expected in Libya that it has come to be regarded to some extent as socially obligatory and described as appropriate behaviour in hospitality situations. Also, the data, (chapter 6) show that violating these expectations may result in threats to face and/or sociality rights (equity or association rights). As Spencer Oatey (2008:15) puts it, "If these expectations are not fulfilled, interpersonal rapport can be affected". This results in face and/or sociality rights threatening behaviour, unless the host provides the reasons which prevent him/her from performing the duty of hospitality for the guest as expected.

7.2.2. Threats to Face and sociality rights during offering

In the next examples (4, 5, 6), I analyse how the ideologies about violating expectations are related to sociality rights and obligations, and what can be seen as rapport threatening behaviour. I analyse the face negotiation strategies' impact on the rapport

between both the guest and host. Before analysing the example, it is worth outlining the conventions of neighbours' visits in Libyan culture. This is another social occasion that involves the offering of hospitality. Visits among neighbours, particularly females, usually occur between 10am and 12pm or between 4pm and 6pm, to exchange social talk and have a cup of tea or coffee together. These visits among neighbours can be characterised by generosity, cordiality and conviviality. Visits among neighbours follow the norms of hospitality, which include the expected forms of behaviour, as we have seen earlier. Then, the neighbours leave to prepare lunch or dinner for their family. The behaviour of receiving neighbours with a generous and hospitable welcome is valued at the ideological level and expected by both the guest and host in Libyan culture, as discussed in Chapter 6 section 6.2.1. Neighbour relationships entail sociality rights and obligations, and the rapport between neighbours tends to be oriented towards maintaining and enhancing the relationship. Neighbour relationships in the Libyan community convey concerns about association issues, and there is a saying which may reflect one of the motives behind the neighbourhood relationship "الجار بالجار والجار بالله", 'Every neighbour should support his neighbour and all are supported by Allah'. In fact, cultural beliefs and ideologies about keeping and maintaining good relations with one's neighbours is implied in this saying, because it conveys social expectations over association issues within neighbour relationships, rather than independence. However, "for people who attach great importance to these value constructs, adherence to the traditional pattern is very important, and any breach is thus likely to be particularly face-threatening" (Spencer-Oatey, 2005:111), which results in face negotiation strategies between both the host and guest, as we will see in the following example (which is taken from log-book data):

The participant, Layla (35 years-old), knocked on her neighbour Asma's door (31 years-old) to see her and have a quick chat. Balqis (17 years- old), Asma's daughter, opened

the door and kept the neighbour waiting for Balqis' mother on the doorstep (see Appendix A, p: 17-18), as follows:

Example (4)

Apology for not receiving the guest

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>اسما: قاعده بره؟ تقضلي سامحيني كنت اندور في وشاحي wafahj fj ʔndawir kont samhijnj tafadʕli barah gaʕda? my scarf in look for was me forgive welcome outside you sit?</p> |
| <p>1- Asma: Still outside? Come in. Please forgive me. I was looking for my headscarf</p> |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>بلقيس ليش ما دخلتها للمربوعة؟ lilmarboʕa daɣaltjha ma laif Balqees? Dining room to her let not why?</p> |
| <p>2- Balqis↑ {A calling her daughter} Why didn't you let her in?</p> |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ليلى: سلمك يا اسماعادي اني نهدرز مع بلقيس mistaʕzla benimʃj Asma ya salmik in a harry me go will Asma you save</p> |
| <p>3- Layla: Thanks, Asma, it is fine. I'm chatting with Balqis. It's a long time since 4- I've seen her.</p> |

Inviting the guest to come in

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>هيا خشي (..) خشي txuʃj xuʃj haja you come God and come in just</p> |
| <p>5- Asma: Come in, please, come in. offer</p> |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>خلينا نشربوا قهيوه مع بعض ونشوفوك nʃufuk wa baʕð maʕa gahaiwa naʃrbw ɣaljna you see will and together with coffee we dring us let</p> |
| <p>6- Let's see you, and have a cup of coffee together</p> |

Acceptance

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ليلى: باهي باهي. امشي بلقيس جيبني القهوه وماتحطيش سكر (...) مش تنسي بيسو</p> |
| <p>7- Layla: OK, OK, go and fetch the coffee, Balqis, and don't add any sugar don't 8- forget Beso {diminutive for Balqis}</p> |

1. Implicit apology for threats to face and sociality rights

The hostess found that her neighbour was still on the front doorstep, which damages the host's social face because she expected her daughter to welcome the visitor and let her in, (as we discussed in relation to the interview data in chapter 6, where the participants assert the guest's right to be welcomed, immediately and generously). A voices her concern about the face damage to her guest at being kept waiting outside, and gave an implicit apology by giving a reason for being late to welcome her in (line 1), in order to save her quality face. Thus, she criticises her daughter for talking with their neighbour outside the door instead of letting her in (line 2). In Spencer-Oatey's (2008:19) terms:

Apologies are typically post-event speech acts, in the sense that some kind of offence or violation of social norms has taken place. In other words, people's sociality rights have been infringed in some way; for example, if they have been kept waiting for an hour, their equity rights have been infringed through the 'cost' of wasting their time.

Thus, the host's implicit apology reflects a major concern for appropriateness and the norms and conventions of the politeness of hospitality. The strategies she employed are intended both to save her own social face, which has been damaged by her daughter's behaviour, and avoid threatening the guest's potential sociality rights.

2. Face-saving strategies

The guest tries to downgrade her concern in an attempt to maintain the host's face by taking responsibility for being kept waiting on the doorstep (line 3: 'Thanks Asma, it's fine. I'm chatting with Balqis here. It's a long time since I've seen her'). This response shows both that the guest was not offended and acceptance of the excuse offered by the host. Then, the host invited the guest to come in, to have coffee together, and 'to see her', which implies quality face enhancement by showing cordiality towards the guest and acceptance as a valued neighbour in this case. Therefore, Layla accepted the offer immediately. The guest, although her sociality rights might be offended, is aware of the host's need to have her identity face protected from loss, and she (the guest), therefore,

was considerate of such face-want. In other words, because the guest might know that the refusal of the offer has a negative rapport orientation and the potential to threaten the host's identity face, the guest tried to employ different positive rapport strategies, aimed at mitigating the host's potential identity face-loss.

3. Claiming common ground with the host

The guest's statement in line 3 ('Thanks Asma. It's fine. I'm chatting with Balqis here. It's been a long time since I've seen her') and establishment of common ground with the host by asking Balqis to bring the coffee (Line 7: 'OK, OK, go and fetch the coffee, Balqis, and don't add sugar. Don't forget, Beso') could be used strategically to lessen the degree of the host's expected identity face-loss. The impetrative strategies used by the guest in line 7 cannot be seen as rapport threatening behaviour; rather, her statement affected rapport by defining a degree of interactional involvement appropriate to a relationship of familiarity and closeness.

Based on the host's major concern about appropriateness and social face, I would argue that, to the host, the essential meaning of politeness is related to the norms and conventions of appropriate polite behaviour when receiving guests, as discussed in section (6.2.1). Further, it seems that the offerers usually (as argued in the interview data) position themselves as observers of others' behaviour. They are not concerned about their own needs and entitlements but express their concern about expectations in relation to others in such situations. As Spencer Oatey (2008) points out, "people's judgments about social appropriateness are based primarily on their expectations, which in turn are derived from their beliefs about behaviour: what is prescribed, what is permitted, and what is proscribed". The host judged her daughter's behaviour as violating the expectations about what is prescribed behaviour when receiving guests. Therefore, whether the guest's face/sociality rights in this situation were damaged or not, still the host must confirm to the norms and conventions of offering hospitality by

employing implicit saving face strategies, as we saw above, or explicit ones, as in the next example, where an interaction of face negotiations takes place:

A friend's visit

Amina, invited her friend, who was looking for a house to rent, to see her house because she is moving to another property. Hajer, accepted the invitation. At leave-taking time, the host remembered that she had not offered hospitality to her guest (this example is from the log-book data; see Appendix A, p: 16-17):

Example (5)

At the door

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|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>هاجر: خلاص ما في مشكله. صحيتي امينه مع السلامة تو tawa ʔlsalama maʕa ʔmina sʕaħatj. muʃkhila fʃ ma ɣalasʕ now safety with Amina you healthy. problem in not finish</p> |
| 1- Hajer: OK, no problem, may God give you good health, bye for now |

Leave-taking

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>امينه: مع السلامة. سلمى على الصغار sʕyar ʕala salmj. ʔlsalama maʕa children on you regards safety with</p> |
| 2- Amina: Bye, give my regards to the children |

| |
|---------------------------------------------|
| <p>هاجر: سلمك salmik You save</p> |
| 3- Hajer: Thank you |

| |
|--------------------------------------------|
| <p>امينه: هاجر ↑ Hajer Hajer</p> |
| 4- Amina: Hajer [calling her guest] |

Apology and an offer

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>امينه: حي عليك حشمه بالله عليك تسامحيني ماضيفتك شي تعالى نشربوا طاسه قهوه بالله عليك ʔalaik ballahj gahwa tʕasa naʃrabo taʕalj faj dʕjaftik ma samħjnʃ ʕalaik billahj ħifma You on coffee cup we drink come nothing you host not me forgive you on God shame</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

**5- Amina: Oh, what a shame, for Allah's sake forgive me, I haven't offered you
6- anything, Come, let's have cup of coffee together, for God's sake**

Refusal: giving a reason

هاجر: سلمك امينه بارك الله فيك وقت علي الصغار
al s'yar ʕala wagit fijk Allah barak Amina salmik
children on time you in God bless Amina you save

7- Hajer: Thanks Amina, God bless you, it's time to collect children from school

Insistence: begging and expressing embarrassment

امينه: والله تجي الله يربحك عليك حشمه
hiʕma ʕalaik jrabhik Allah tʕj Allah wa
shame you on you win God and

8- Amina: Come, in the name of Allah, for Allah's sake, what a shame!

Refusal: promise for a visit

هاجر: صحيتي امينه والله ماعاش فيه وقت لازم بنروح بيهم نجيك مره ثانيه
Tanij marra nzjk bjhum benrawah lazim wagit fjh ʕaf ma Allah wa Amina s'ahatj
another once you come them with important time in no God and Amina you healthy

**9: Hajer: Thanks Amina, by God, there isn't enough time; I have to collect them.
10- Another time.**

Insistence

امينه: بس كان غير تقعدني شوي علي الاقل نشربواشاهي والا قهوه.
Gahwa ʔla wa jahj najrbw ʔlʔgal ʕala ʕwaj tugʕadj ʕair khan bas
Coffee or and tea we drink least on little you sit just if only

11: Amina: Forgive me, if you just stay for a while ↓, at least to drink tea or coffee

Refusal and promise

هاجر: بارك الله فيك نتلاقوا مره ثانيه.
Tanij marra ntlagw fijk Allah barak
another once we meet you on God bless

12: Hajer: God bless you, see you another time.

Accepting the refusal

امينه: خلاص نشوفوك.. بالسلامه.
Bilsalama nʕufuk ʕalasʕ
Safety with you see we finish

13- Amina: OK, I will see you, bye

1. Explicit apology for face and sociality rights threat combined with an offer

In this situation, as soon as Amina remembered that she had failed to offer hospitality to her guest who had just left her house, she opened the door and called to her guest, who was still outside the house, to come back inside. She focused her rapport management efforts on expressing her embarrassment and offering hospitality to save her face loss (lines (5, 6): ‘Oh, what a shame, please forgive me, I haven't offered you anything. Come, let's have a cup of coffee together, for God's sake’).

2. Refusal with reason

The guest refuses the offer, using expressions of thanks, and gives a reason for her refusal (‘Thanks Amina, it's time to collect the children from school’), so Amina insisted again, as she expected her guest's ritual refusal.

3. Insistence: invocation of Allah, begging, and expressing apology

Thus, Amina expresses her face damage by apologizing again to her guest. She invites her guest again to have a cup of tea, using strong insistence strategies, such as invoking God and begging (‘Come in the name of Allah= [please], for Allah's sake= [I beg you], I'm so embarrassed’, to show that her offer is genuine. The guest thanks her, repeats the reason why she must leave, and promises to visit another time, to express her genuine refusal. The offerer does not give up, and tries one last time to insist in a different way, by showing regret at her offer being refused (line 11), telling her guest in a low tone that she wishes she would stay and have a drink together. The host showed her sincere desire for her guest to stay so that she might offer her hospitality.

4. Refusal with a promise

The guest refuses and states a good reason why she must leave (lines 9, 10), which brings the insistence/refusal interaction to a close. Thus, association rights were

impacted through the use of the politeness strategy of 'claim common ground', by promising to visit another time.

It is worth noting that the length of this example indicates the importance of face negotiation between the participants. Face sensitivities were addressed by the host through the use of several strategies (e.g. apologising, begging, offering, and expressing embarrassment). I assume that one reasons for using all of these face saving strategies is the host's acknowledgement of the expectations related to offering hospitality, and her attempt to confirm them. While the guest in her refusal strategies was claiming her quality face and her sense of personal self-esteem.

Spencer-Oatey (2008: 37) argues that, "People have the right to expect certain things of the other member and an obligation to carry out certain other things". As we saw in the examples above and the interview data, Libyans expect hospitality from others, and one's personal status and reputation may be affected by the absence of such behaviour. The interviewees (sections 6.2.1., 6.2.2) show that Libyans tend to work hard to maintain good relationships and place a high value on solidarity and intimacy. In other words, they place a low emphasis on distance and privacy, and thus tend to employ informality, as do many other cultures. In the above examples (4, 5), we saw how the positive rapport (harmony) between people can be threatened through obligation-omission behaviour. In the next example, the guest expresses concern over his sociality rights due to not being treated as expected by his neighbour. Bashair, (a Libyan male), visited his friend Hassan (male) to welcome him back after the 'Hajj' (pilgrimage). Hassan, received his guest cordially at the front door. They chatted for about twenty minutes, then Bashair went home. Bashair was surprised that his friend did not act as expected; this example is from the Log-book Data (see Appendix A, p: 22):

Example (6)

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>جاري جي من الحج مشيت نقوله الحمد لله علي السلامه ومقبوله حجك</p> <p>hiʒtak maghbula wa ʔlsalama ʕala alḥamdulliAllah ngulah mʕajt alhaʒ min ʒj ʒarj</p> <p>your Hajj accepted and safety on thank God him say me go Hajj from come</p> |
| <p>1- Bashair: I visited my neighbour who had returned from pilgrimage to say</p> <p>2- ‘Welcome back and may your pilgrimage be accepted’</p> |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>دقيت الباب وطلعتي برا وسلم عليا</p> <p>ʕalja salm wa bara tʕlaʕlj wa albab dagait</p> <p>me on shake hands and out me for go and door me nocked</p> |
| <p>4- I knocked on his door. He welcomed me on the doorstep of his house</p> |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>قعدنا نهدرزوا قريب عشرين دقيقه برا وبعدها روقت لحوشي</p> <p>lihʁwʕj rawaḥt baʕdha wa bara digigah ʕiʕrain grjb nhadrzu gaʕadna</p> <p>me house for I go it after and out mint twenty nearly we talk we sit</p> |
| <p>5- We chatted for about twenty minutes, then I left</p> |
| <p>اللي استغربتها انه ماقالش حتي تفصل</p> <p>tafadʕal ḥata galif ma ʔnah ʔstayrabtha ʔlj</p> <p>welcome even say not he it astonish that</p> |
| <p>6- He didn’t even say ‘Taffadle’ {meaning ‘Come in’}</p> |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>مش معناها اني نبيه يدخلني لحوشه لكن من باب الذوق راه قال تفصل</p> <p>tafadʕal gal rah ʔlðog bab min lakhin ḥoʕah jdaʕilnj nibjh ʔnj maʕnaha muʕ</p> <p>welcome said politeness door from but his house to me inter want I mean not</p> |
| <p>7- I didn’t really want to, but he should at least have said ‘Tafaddl’</p> |

People in Libya, as in many other Arab and Islamic communities, celebrate the pilgrimage, and are expected to issue invitations to commemorate such special occasions. Nevertheless, in Libya, relatives are expected to visit without an invitation. Invitations are usually extended to colleagues, friends and possibly neighbours. The host invites people to a banquet and distributes gifts as a symbolic souvenir from Mecca. Those who are unable to attend this interchange for some reason are expected to

visit after the event to say "حج مبرور وذنب مغفور", 'May Allah accept your pilgrimage and forgive your sins', in which situation, hospitality is normally expected.

Bashair (the guest) expresses to his wife the damage to his identity face and association rights that he claims for himself with his neighbour. That is because his neighbour did not welcome him in, as expected in such situations, by displaying the expected normative expressions associated with welcoming guests. This is considered, in this example, a ritual welcome (Tafaddal); thus, in terms of expectations related to receiving guests in Libyan culture, this can be seen as infringing the guest's sociality rights and violating the norms and conventions related to receiving a guest. The guest, however, considers the host as neglecting rapport and showing a lack of concern for the quality of the relationship between them during this social event (line (5) 'We talked for about twenty minutes then I left, (line (6) He didn't even say 'Taffad'le' {meaning 'Come in'}}, line (7) 'I didn't really want to, but he should at least have said 'Tafad'l'. The guest in this statement stresses the rituals of receiving guests related to the interchange of offering, but illustrates that his disappointment at the host's behaviour should not be understood as greed.⁶² Rather, he was concerned about his sociality rights and the appropriateness of hospitality behaviour in such situations, which were not achieved. Nevertheless, the host seems to approach the rapport management of hospitality differently by choosing not to follow the rituals of hospitality.

In this example, some types of behaviour in Libyan culture (e.g. the routine expression 'Tafad'al') "may pass unperceived as an interchange when they are performed, but give rise to negative relational outcomes when they are not" (Spencer-Oatey, 2008:43) In this case, from the host's side, he may have had not intention to threaten the rapport because, according to the guest, he received him at the door warmly and engaged in interaction with him. Thus, Hassan's behaviour may be interpreted as personal preference, which

⁶² Because receiving guests is usually associated with offering hospitality in Libyan Arabic culture, as in many other cultures, regardless of whether the guest is expected or not.

confirms Mills and Kadar's (2011) view that, within every culture, there exist variations regarding what is regarded as polite or impolite behaviour and as we discussed in relation to the interview data, "individuals have the choice as to whether they go along with this linguistic ideology and establish and maintain their social position through conformity to the norm, or whether they establish and maintain their social position through the use of individualistic utterances" (Grainger et al, 2015).

So far, I have discussed the demonstration of cultural beliefs and ideologies related to the hospitality norms and conventions regarding the appropriateness of receiving guests and displaying the duty of hospitality. Thus, the rapport management strategies are manifestations of the cultural ideologies and attitudes discussed in (chapter 6), that interactants employ in order to enhance and maintain face and sociality rights, and rapport. We have seen that the offering sequence (offer/refusal/insistence followed by acceptance or refusal) is affected by the perceived rights and obligations, as well as the expectations related to the situation that involves the rapport of offering hospitality. Thus, so far, we can see from the analysis of the examples above that similarity exists between the representations of the structure of these encounters and the designed template (figure 2, in chapter 6) in hospitality situations. In Libyan offering situations, the convention is that it is appropriate to refuse the first offer because of the cultural ideologies surrounding hospitality and generosity. In some situations, it is more appropriate and expected to accept the initial offer, and refusal may come later when the offerer is expected to offer again. For example, when a guest has been invited for a meal or drink, face and sociality rights damage might occur if the guest refuses the food offered. The cultural beliefs and religious and social ideologies about the hospitality norms and conventions are very strict, as we have seen from the examples. However, according to the data, it is not always the case that people follow these, for many reasons, most of which are contextual and situational. They may influence the sequence

of offering situations and still the offering interaction is seen as appropriate. These examples will be analysed below while discussing the factors that have a significant impact on the perceived sociality rights and obligations related to strategy use in offering hospitality situations.

7.3. Factors influencing strategy use

7.3.1. Participants and their relationships (Age factor and legitimate power)

In this section, I will examine how the participants' relationship influences their usage of rapport management strategies. In the next example, I examine how the age of the speakers affects the preference regarding politeness strategies (refusal/insistence) used by both the guest and host.

Ferial (43 years-old), knocked on her friend's door to say goodbye to Nadin (Yasmin's mother) who was going to Mecca on a pilgrimage. Yasmin (16 years-old), opened the door and welcomed her mother's friend in, inviting her to join them for breakfast (this example is from recorded data; see Appendix A, p: 4).

(Unexpected) neighbour's visit

Example (7)

Greeting

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فريال: السلام عليكم, كيف حالك ياسمين Yasmeen haljk ka:f , ?likhum ?lsalam Yasmeen you condition how you on peace</p> |
| <p>1-Ferial: Peace be upon you, how are you, Yasmeen?</p> |

Return the greeting back

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ياسمين: و عليكم السلام كيف حالك ابله فتحبه Fathia ?bla haljk kajf ,?lsalam ?likhum wa fathia mrs you are how peace be upon you and</p> |
| <p>2- Yasmin: Peace be upon you too, Ms Fathia, how are you?</p> |

| |
|------------------------------------------------|
| <p>فريال: أمك قاعده؟، معلش جيت من غير موعد</p> |
|------------------------------------------------|

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| maoʃd ɣair mʃn zait Maʃlajf ʔga:da umjk an appointment without i came sorry is here?your mum |
| 3- Ferial: Where's your mother? Sorry to come without letting you know |

Initial offer

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ياسمين: لا عادي مرحبتين بيك, ماما مش قاعده, هيا تقضلي تقضلي tafadʕali tafadʕali haja qaʕda muʃ mama bi:k Marhabta:n ʕadj Laʔ: welcome, welcome come in set not mum you with hello normal no |
| 4- Yasmin: No, it's OK, you're very welcome. My mother isn't her come in, come in |

Refusal

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فريال: لا سومة مره ثانيه انشا الله لما ترجع امك انشوفها قبل تسافر tsafir qabl enʃufaha umik tarɣaʕ lama ʔllah ʔnshaa tahnja mara suma la travel before her see mum your when Allah willing if again once Suma no |
| 5- Ferial: No Suma, another time. I'll see her when she gets back |

Initial offer

The host Yasmin, establishes the rapport with her initial offer 'taffadʕali', which orients the guest towards the table. The offer is both repeated and refused once, and then the guest closes the offering and refusal interaction by sending regards to Yasmin's mother and promising to return later. The age factor has a great impact on the sequence of this interchange and how genuine the offer is. The offerer is about 27 years younger than the offeree. Usually, offers of food from a very young person to an older one are highly appreciated as appropriate polite behaviour and conform to the rituals of offering hospitality, but are not considered sincere, even if they are.

Refusal (direct refusal with a diminutive and a promise to return)

As we discussed in section (4.4.3.), age gives the guest the social legitimate power over the offerer to the degree that she could manage to bring this rapport interaction to an end politely (line 5: 'No, Suma, another time, I'll see her when she returns'. In Spencer-Oatey's (2000: 33) terms, the guest can be said to have legitimate power: because she has the right (being older) to prescribe or expect respect from the host (who is younger). In her closing statement, the guest uses the diminutive form of the offerer's name,

‘Soma’, to manage the rapport, soften the impact of her direct refusal, and show cordiality towards her. We suggest that there exist certain expectations about sociality rights and obligations that affect the offering sequence and whether the host should insist further or give up insisting in such situations. There is a social obligation for Yasmin to offer hospitality in order to show adherence to the social norms and conventions of hospitality, but the guest, Ferial seems under less of an obligation to accept the offer because of the age difference between them.

As I showed earlier (in chapter 6), offering hospitality is a social obligation during everyday interactions. It is interesting how early these habits are instilled in children in the Libyan speech community, as in many other cultures, such as the Igbo culture in Nigeria (Nwoye, 1992). Children are taught to share their food with others, even if only as a ritual. This is designed to teach adult forms of behaviour, when food must be shared with all present. The absence of such an offer is equivalent to a serious breach of convention and adversely reflects on the person who failed to issue it. Nevertheless, going further in repeating offers/refusals depends on many factors, such as closeness, the social distance between the interlocutors, and age. How and when these rituals are performed by this child may reflect the way she behaved in the ‘speech economy’ (Hymes, 1974:447) of a community. “It is natural that children should acquire sequencing routines such as e.g., summons-answer (Schegloff, 1968); greeting-greeting (Firth, 1972; Goody, 1972) at a developmentally early stage” (Coulmas, 1981). Thus, contextual variables such as age are influential in structuring the sequence of offering/refusal interaction. In the next example, the host is older than the guest, and so the sociality rights and obligations are different from those in the example above. The age difference gives the host the legitimate social power to convince the guest to accept the offer. I examine the strategies used by both parties to help to identify whether the offer and refusal are ritually or genuinely employed.

An unexpected visit by a relative at lunch-time

It was an unexpected visit. One of the interactants Abdulaziz (30 years-old), visits his cousin Bader (49 years-old) house while he is having his meal with the family. The host invites the guest and insists that he join the family for the meal (see Appendix A, p: 3-4).

Example (8)

Greeting

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| أ: السلام عليكم ʕalajkum ʔassala:m you upon the Peace |
| 1- Abdulaziz: Hello |

Invitation

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ب: عبد العزيز؟ اهلا، مرحبا، تفضل tafadʕal marhaban ʔahlan ʕabd ʔalʕazi:z. come in welcome hello Abdul-Aziz |
| 2- Bader: Abdul-Aziz? Welcome, come in |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| أ: صحيت، بارك الله فيك fi:k ʔallah barak sʕahajt you God bless be healthy |
| 3- Abdulaziz: No, thanks |

Initial offer: formulaic expressions

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ب: هيا تفضل ... حصانك جراي zarraj hisʕa:nik ʕabd ʔalʕazi:z tafadʕal haja fast your horse Abdul-Aziz, come in come on |
| 4- Bader: Please, come in. You are just in time (you're very welcome to join us for dinner) |

Insistence: formulaic expression

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ب: غير هيا .. لا سلام علي طعام tʕaʕa:m ʕala sala:m la haja ʔir food on greeting no come on just |
| 5- Please, come on (you'll have enough time for the children later) |

Initial refusal

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| أ: لا بارك الله فيك كيف متغدي mitʔaddj ki:f fi:k ʔallah barak la |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| dinner had I just you God bless no |
| 6- Abdulaziz: No, Allah bless you={thanks}, I've just had my dinner |

Insistence

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ب: هيا يا راجل.. بسم الله ?allah bism ra:zil ja haja God name with man oh come on |
| 7- Bader: Come on, man (...) In the name of Allah |

After acceptance of the offer the host is addressing the guest's quality face

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ب: شن اخبارك, عاش من شافك fa:fik min ʕa:f ?axba:rik fin you saw who lived your news What |
| 8- How are things? I'm happy to see you |

In Libyan culture, family relations are valued and very strong, as I discussed earlier in section (4.2.1.2). Relatives usually visit each other whether by invitation or spontaneously. These visits are considered positive, encouraged and rewarded because they show concern and care among relatives, hence strengthening the family ties. As shown by the example above, the age of the interactants affects the strategies used. Younger people must show respect towards their older elder relatives, and older people should display cordiality and warmth towards their younger family members.

Implicit formulaic offer

The host, in this example, as soon as he realizes that his relative Abdulaziz is the guest, immediately establishes rapport by greeting him and inviting him to join them for the meal indirectly (line 4: 'zarraj hisʕa:nik'). This expression is, in fact, a conventional strategy used when an unexpected guest arrives while someone else is eating. It means that you are lucky to be just in time to have some food. It functions as saving the guest's identity face for arriving at a meal time. One reason for choosing indirectness to manage the rapport between them is because, for such an unexpected visit at a meal time, this is politer than a direct offer because the former raises the level of 'optionality' and consequently reduces the force of the illocution on the hearer (Leech, 1983). In other

words, the formulaic indirect strategy used by the host above is seen to have more than one possible illocutionary force, and thus the interlocutor has a choice to respond to the force that suits him. This saves identity face for both the speaker and hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

Implied refusal through nonverbal strategies

The guest reluctantly refuses the offer by greeting and busies himself with the host's children.

Insistence (employing the formulaic imperative strategy)

Then, the host employs the imperative, formulaic expression (line 5 'la Sala:m ʕla tʔaʕa', 'you'll have enough time for the children later') in an attempt to orient the guest towards a positive reply. The addressee, in situations like this, does not take into account the literal meaning of the expression, which means 'don't greet the audience while food is being served' but, rather, it is interpreted as an expression of solidarity and a request for association rights. The host's motive in holding such an enhancement orientation could be to mitigate the guest's potential face threat, as he had arrived unexpectedly at a meal time. The host is aware that, if he explicitly invites the guest to join in the meal, then he may be viewed by the guest as suggesting that he is in need of it. So, for his offer to be accepted, the host has to "phrase the offer in such a way that guest feels easy and comfortable in accepting it" (Hua et al, 2000: 100).

Refusal with reason

The guest refuses, giving the reason that he had already had his dinner, which does not appear convincing, so the host uses a more assertive strategy.

Insistence (employing orders)

The host orders him to join them (line 7: 'Come on, man (.) In the name of Allah'), which is a conventional strategy implies sincerity and usually used by older people to

start eating and put an end to any conversation unless an elder starts it. As in the previous example, such strategies restrict the options of the hearer, which is not necessarily considered impolite.

Acceptance

Thus, the guest respects the host's order and accepts the offer to join his relatives for the meal. Although the host has legitimate power over the guest in terms of age, the guest frequently refuses the offer in order to identify whether it is ritual or genuine. On the other hand, the host continues insisting in order to identify whether the refusal is genuine or merely ritually employed. In Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, acts that involve imposing on the participant's face are inherently 'Face Threatening Acts' (FTAs). However, in Spencer-Oatey's (2008: 19) terms, orders need not always be seen as FTAs because they depend on a range of circumstantial and personal factors. Thus, these strategies are conventionalised in such unexpected situations, and imperative forms of speech do not appear to be seen as a face/sociality rights threatening acts in themselves in Libyan Arabic, provided that they are used with certain acceptable strategies and according to the cultural expectations related to particular situations.

Claiming common ground by the host

The host, in turn, tries to mitigate the force of direct offers by claiming common ground with his guest (line 10: "شن اخبارك, عاش من شافك", 'How are things? I'm happy to see you'). Establishing a positive rapport helps to alleviate the strain of the repeated offers and continues to enhance and reinforce the degree of closeness between the host and his guest.

The sequence of offers/refusal in certain situations has the function of phatic communion, which Malinowski (2006 [1926], cited in Coupland, 2003: 2) defines as "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words", so it

facilitates interpersonal relationships and the rapport between interlocutors. Despite its low content and propositional meaning, it helps the interactants to find common ground during conversation and ensures that the offering interaction proceeds smoothly.

7.3.2. Familiarity and the interactional role

In this section, I consider several examples which illustrate how the ideologies about what is considered appropriate are affected by closeness, familiarity and the interactional role of the participants, which have a crucial influence on people's choice of rapport management strategies. As we saw during the interviews and focus group discussion, social distance and familiarity elements are taken into account in Libyan offering hospitality, and so influence the choice of appropriate polite linguistic behaviour in Libyan culture. In the examples below, the notion of appropriateness is interpreted and affected by familiarity, the participants' relationship and the interactional role, which "help specify the rights and obligations of each role member" in a situation that involves an offering exchange (see Appendix A, P).

The example below happened at lunch time between three females who took part in the conversation. I label these: Manar (37 years-old); Eman (35 years-old); and Farida (42 years-old). Manar, who had just arrived from Libya after a short visit to her family, was having lunch with Eman in a small space at their office, when Farida joined them. It has become their daily routine to meet in the same place to eat together and share their food. Farida had already had her lunch, and joined her friends, who were still eating (see Appendix A, p: 9-11):

Lunch time in a work-place

Example (9)

Initial offer: formulaic expression

| |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| منار: هيا تفصلي tafad'alj haja have you |
| 1- Manar: Here you are |

Initial refusal: thanks expression

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فريده: صحيتي و الله كيف كليت سلمك Salmik khlait khaif Allah wa s'ahaitj Healthy you eat I just God and you healthy |
| 2- Farida: No, thanks, in the name of God, I've just had my dinner, thank you |

Insistence: alternative offer

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| منار: غير هيا شاركيننا حتي في هذا Haða fj hata šarkhjna haia xir This in even us share just |
| 3- Manar: Come on, please, at least share this with us (orienting the guest to the rice dish) |

Refusal: confirming that she had already had her meal

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فريده: لا والله ما عندي نية والله توا كليت Khlait tawa Allah wa nja řndj ma Allah wa la I eat now God and a patite me have not God and no |
| 4- Farida: No, in the name of Allah, I'm full, I've just had my dinner |

Insistence: alternative offer

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| منار: باهي غمسي في هذا طبيخه ʿabiḡah haða fj řamsj bahj Small soup this in you () ok |
| 5- Manar: OK, have a little soup {orienting the hearer towards the soup} |

Refusal: direct refusal

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فريده: لا لا و الله غير اسمعيني، asmařanj xir Allah wa la la me listen just God and no no |
| 6- Farida: No, no, in the name of Allah=[please] (.), just listen to me |

Insistence: alternative offer

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فاطمة: غير خودي هالخبيزه والله Allah wa řbaiza hal řuðj xir God and small bread have just |
| 7- Manar: Have a little piece of bread, in the name of Allah= [I insist] |

Offer: initial offer from another participant

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ايمان: خودي هذي Haðj řuðj This you have |
| 8- Eman: Have this {orienting the guest towards the dish of strawberries} |

Insistence:

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فاطمة: حركات خير لك من الفاكهة المسقعة almsagʕa alfakaha min lik ɣair harakhat cold fruits from you for better |
| 9- Manar: Have this, better than the cold fruit |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| الكل: (ضحكه) Laughter |
| 10- All: (Laughter) <i>Refusal: direct refusal and reason</i> |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتحيه: لا والله ما عندي نيه nja ʕndj ma Allah wa la apatite me have not God and no |
| 11- Farida: No, in the name of Allah, I'm full <i>Refusal: Thanks and appreciation</i> |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| صحييتي بارك الله فيك sʕahaitj barak Allah Fjk You in God bless you healthy |
| 12- May Allah give you good health |

After four minutes and thirteen seconds of conversation

Insistence: reproach

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| منار: و الله ما هنييتني (.) Hanaitanj ma Allah wa me relax not God and |
| 13- Manar: In the name of God, you don't allow me to feel good (.) |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| قاعده ناكل قدامكن] gdamkhin nakhil gaʕda you in front eat sit |
| 14- I'm eating in your presence [|

Refusal:

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ايمان: كولي صحتين sʕahtain khulj two health you eat |
| 15- Eman and Farida: Eat. May God give you good health |

Insistence: reproach

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| منار : انا جايا من ليبيا مافيش حد ياكل Wahadah jakhil had fif ma Libya min zaja ana Alone eat one there not Libya from come I |
| 16- Manar: I've just arrived from Libya (.) Nobody eats alone in the presence of 17- others there |

After five minutes of conversation

Insistence: imperative

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>منار: خوذن يا بنات Banat ya xuḏan Girls you have</p> |
| <p>18- Manar: Have some, girls</p> |

It is worth noting here that the whole conversation time took more than 35 minutes. As I mentioned above, the participants usually meet in the same place to eat their meal and talk, where an offering interaction usually takes place between the participants. As we discussed in relation to the interview data, such offering interchanges are highly expected among Libyans in the work place. According to the interview informants (see example 10 below), it seems that the normative behaviour in such situations is to offer hospitality which is conventional and appropriate; however, a genuine polite refusal is favoured. Manar establishes rapport by offering to share her meal with Farida, who has just joined them. The offerer makes her conventional offer, ‘tafaddali’, ‘have some’, which is immediately refused by using an expression of thanks and invoking Allah's name to show sincere refusal, giving the reason that she has already had her lunch (line 2).

1. Alternatives

The offerer provides some alternatives. She enthusiastically and repeatedly offers different types of food every single time using diminutives stressing her association rights line 3" come on, please, share us at least on this {orienting the guest to another type of food}". The offeree refuses telling her friend that she has already had her lunch, line 4 ‘No, by God = [really] it is enough (.) I am really full’) I've just had my dinner" which is ignored by the offerer who insists by giving alternatives such as in lines 6: "Ok, have some (a little↓ soup) {orienting hearer to soup dish}". And 8: " Just eat this small ↓piece of bread, {in the name of Allah↑} = {it means please in this utterance}". Trying to persuade Farida to accept sharing her food by using two strategies: the first was a certain intonation (a little↓ soup) in a way that shows cordiality; and the second is

what Sifianou (1992) labels 'internal modifications', which was the phrase 'a little', used to soften the impact of the direct offers.

2. Another offer challenge

While Farida was trying to convince her with a reason Manar refused (line 7). The other participant Eman, interestingly, challenged Manar's offer by offering Farida another type of food (line 9): "have this {orienting the guest towards her strawberry dish}". This offer humorously, was downgraded by Manar, and upgrading hers to be accepted, line (10) " have this, better than the cold fruits".

The offerer repeated her offer from time to time while she is talking with her friends and ignored her friend's refusal every time, until the end of conversation and it is clear to the interlocutors that the offerer is practicing the rituals of offering. It also shows that assertive language used by the offerer is not always limiting option to the interactants. Therefore, the offer had a phatic function despite practical and social constraints; in other words, what may seem as insincere at an instrumental level, is a genuine expression of cordiality and warmth at a social level. Thus, the length of this offering-refusal interaction reflects mostly the importance of social involvement with others where people may give greater weight to association than equity. Moreover, it seems that M's motivation for holding such rapport orientation in such interaction is showing genuine friendliness which is demonstrated through reoffering and insistence.

3. Reproach strategy

As we saw in the above examples, the offerers do not always easily give up their right for their offer to be accepted, even when the offerees' refusal is genuine, and sometimes resort to another method in order to persuade the offeree to accept their offer. This

method is called in Arabic ‘malama’, ملامة, ‘blame’ or ‘reproach’.⁶³ It is usually used to criticise people who are behaving inappropriately, and here it is used to reproach the offerees both Eman and Farida, for resisting her offer. She articulates explicitly the benefits to her own identity face-needs, ‘you don’t make me feel good’ (line 14), drawing attention to the ideological nature of hospitality here (‘I’m eating in your presence’ (line 15)), where sharing food with others is the offerer’s sociality right that needs to be considered by those involved in a hospitality encounter. Farida and Eman respond to Manar’s reproach strategy by thanking and encouraging her to eat (line 16: ‘Eat. May God give you good health’), which can be considered a refusal.

4. Imperatives

After a further five minutes of conversation between the friends, Manar establishes rapport by insistence, using an imperative with a low intonation (line 18: ‘Have some, girls↓’). This can be attributed to the degree of closeness and familiarity between the interlocutors, that has an effect both on the sequence of the offering encounter and also on the expectations related to hospitality situations in the work place. In Spencer-Oatey’s (2008: 39) terms, “in any interaction, we typically have pre-existing conceptions of these various contextual components, based on our relevant previous experience. For example, we have conceptions of the scope of the rights and obligations of the people we are interacting with; and we have an understanding of the costs and benefits, face considerations and so on associated with certain speech acts”. It is, however, clear to the interlocutors in the above example, who do not seem to feel the repeated actions an imposition that they are not necessarily obliged to respond positively to the speaker. Similarly, a repeated refusal by the offeree seems to entail no damage to the offerer’s face and sociality rights, and there was probably no intention to

⁶³ ‘Reproach’ can be positive or negative, direct or indirect, and is used to send a message to the hearer that they are not doing what is expected of them.

offend their friend. As I mentioned earlier, at the ideological level, such a sequence of repeated offers and refusals is common in workplace offering situations (see Appendix B, p: 41), as the following extract from focus group data (see appendix B, p:36-37) shows:

Example (10)

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| مثلا هو ماشي زي مثلا احنا عندنا في المكتب ʔlmakhtab fʔ ʕndana ʔhna maθalan office in us have we example like walking he for example |
| 76- Like us in the office {area of study for PhD students} |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| وحده ماشيه لوجبتها ljwazbatha maʕia waħda her meal to walkin |
| 77- Someone who's going to have her lunch |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| من الذوق الواحد اللي مقعمر قريب من المكان اللي حطت فيه اكلها تقوله تفضلي tafad ^ʕ alj tgolah ʔklaha fʔh hat ^ʕ t ʔlj ʔlmakan min graib mgaʕmiz ʔlj ʔlwaħid ʔlðog min you have her say her food it in she put that place from near sitting that one elegant from |
| 78- It is polite to say [have some please] = [taffadali] to the person sitting next to her |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| انا من الذوق لانها هي وجبتها عارفتها بنقوللها لا بارك الله فيك صحتين sa ^ʕ htain fʔk Allah barak la bingullilha ʕarfatha wagbatha hja lʔnha alðug min ana healthy you in God bless no her say will her know her meal she because elegant from I |
| 79- So, because I knew that it was her meal and because it's a matter of politeness, I will say 'No thanks' |

The participant in the example above illustrates the expectations related to offers in the work place at lunch time. She draws attention to the obligation to issue an offer as conventional polite behaviour as well as the refusal of the offer as showing politeness and expressing thanks to show appreciation. Thus, this may illustrate the reason for the repeated refusal of the offer in example (9), where the familiarity and degree of intimacy between the participants are demonstrated during a lengthy offering/refusal interaction. In terms of rapport management in the course of an interaction, the

assessment of these variables (e.g., familiarity, the degree of intimacy between the participants) “often change dynamically; for example, a person may have differing conceptions of the role related rights and obligations. This will affect how the interaction proceeds. If the interaction is to be ‘successful’ in terms of rapport management, we need to incorporate effectively these ‘dynamic’ assessments of context in making our linguistic strategy choices and in co-constructing the interaction”. Thus, in the next example, the participants show different conceptions of the role related to sociality rights and social obligations, which is affected by the degree of intimacy between the interlocutors, and thus has a positive rapport management effect.

Friendly invitation

While Najwa (35 years-old), was walking back home after work with her close friend Maisa (36 years-old), she invited Maisa to have dinner with her at her house. Maisa accepted the invitation. After they had had dinner, the following offering encounter took place (this example is from the log-book data, see Appendix A, p: 12-13):

Example (11)

Initial offer

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| نجوى: تشربي Miso gahwa mʔaja taʃrabj Miso coffee me with you drink |
| 1- Najwa: Would you like to have some coffee with me? |

| |
|---------------------------------------|
| ميسا: عربيه؟ çrabja? Arabic |
| 2- Maisa: Is it Arabic coffee? |

| |
|-----------------------------------------|
| لا نسكافي Nasscafj la Nasscafi no |
| 3- Najwa: No, Nescafe Refusal |

| |
|--------------|
| مانشربش فيها |
|--------------|

| |
|-----------------|
| nafrabiʃ ma |
| it in drink not |

4- Maisa: I don't like it

Alternative offer

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| نجوى: خلاص تو ندير لك قهوة عربيه çrabja gahwa lik ndjr tawa xalas ^f Arabic coffee you for make now finish |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

5- Najwa: OK, I'll make Arabic coffee for you

Guest offer to make her own coffee

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ميسا: غير قعمزي ان اتو انديرها بروحي brohʃ ʔndjrha tawa ʔana gaçmizj xir |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|

6- Maisa: Just sit down, I'll make it myself

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| نجوى: تلقى القهوة على الرف الابيض والكيكه في الحافضه في التلاجه البيت بيتك Miso baitil ʔlbait thalaja fʃ alhafadʕa fʃ alkika wa alabiadʕ alraf ala algahwa talgʃ your house the house fridge in container in cake and white shelf on coffee you find |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

7- Najwa: The coffee's on the white shelf and the cake's in a small container in the fridge

8- Make yourself at home

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------|
| ميسا: نحسبك معاى؟ Maaʃj nhsabik me with you count |
|---------------------------------------------------------|

9- Maisa: Would you like some?

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| نجوى: انا لا لكن احسبي الياس Elyas ehsibj lakin la ana Elyas you count but no I |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

10- Najwa: I don't want any, but give Elyas one with milk.

Initial offer (question and diminutive)

Najwa establishes the rapport of offering by using negative politeness strategy asking her guest, 'Would you like some coffee, Miso?', which is not common in Libyan conventional offering practice but it seem to be common between close friends.

I suggest that employing the diminutive 'Miso' rather than using her real name in intended to address the hearer's face, as an indication of positive rapport. In return, the guest refuses the offer when she knows that it is a type of coffee that she dislikes, after which the host offers to make the guest her preferred type of coffee (Line 5: 'OK, I'll

make Arabic coffee for you'). This time, Maisa refuses her friend's offer by using the imperative strategy with a low tone, which is usually employed to soften the impact of directness, and the guest offers to make the Arabic coffee herself (Line 6: 'Just sit down, I'll make it myself'). Such a response may not be seen as an imposition, even with the use of an imperative; rather, it might be more appropriate, if we consider the degree of intimacy between these two friends. Also, the host's response to her guest's offer shows that no face damage has occurred. The host accepts her guest's offer to make coffee, telling her where she keeps the coffee and cake, which is performed directly without modifying strategies (line 7). The guest interprets this utterance as 'help yourself', so in response asks her host if she would like some Arabic coffee. Thus, she agrees to prepare the coffee and no face damage seems to have occurred towards the guest. This switch in roles does not usually happen in such interactions; thus, in different hospitality contexts, it may be considered a face and sociality rights threat. However, this may show that the appropriateness of an offer of hospitality might be perceived differently because of the participants' relationship and closeness, that may influence the use of rapport management strategies, and take priority over the rituals of offering hospitality. Thus, we cannot generalise that all Libyans follow the norms and conventions of offering hospitality. Consequently, the examples above confirm Mills' (2011) insistence that we should not ignore the variability within and across cultures, and thus cannot merely characterise cultures and societies as homogeneous and static.

7.3.3. Family relationships and their related social expectations

So far, I have shown that age, social distance and familiarity between the participants during an offering interaction have a fundamental effect on the strategy use and offering structure. In this section, I will examine how the ideologies about appropriate offering hospitality between family members (relatives, cousins) through different politeness

strategies are affected by the cultural norms and expectations related to such relationships. Visits among relatives happen frequently and, as Pitt-Rivers (1968: 16, cited in Bonvillain 2016: 111) states, “Visits among kin follow the norms of hospitality, which include conventions and expected forms of behaviour” and entail social and moral values. Thus, “being hospitable and respectful are constituents of the social and moral values shared by relatives as members of the household” (Bonvillain, 2016: 111). However, showing hospitality among relatives and family members may differ from one interchange to another; thus, the perceived rights and obligations may be viewed differently according to the context and the situation involving the encounter of offering hospitality. In the following example (which is from my log-book data), two related females took part in a conversation; Rima (23 years-old), invited her relative, Mona (23 years-old), who lives in student accommodation, to her house to study together. At midday, Mona wanted to phone a taxi to pick her up. Rima reacted immediately in the following way (see Appendix A, p: 21)

Example (12):

Initial offer

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ر: مني ما تفكر يش تروحي قبل ما تتغدي معانا maʕana titydj ma gabl trawhʃ tfakhriʃ ma Muna us with you dine not before you go think not Muna</p> |
| 1- Rima: Don't think that you'll go home before you dine with us |

Refusal with promise

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>م: مره ثانية ريمة mara ʔanja Rima Rima second once</p> |
| 2- Mona: Another time, Rima |

Insistence

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ر: مادخلنيش فيك امي قالت لي ماتخليهاش تروح قبل الغدا, ماتحاوليش تتهربني Titharabʃ thawli:ʃ ma, ʔlyada gabil trawah tɣalihaʃ ma lʃ galit umj fik daɣalniʃ ma You flee try not, launch before leave let not me for said my mum you in inter not</p> |
| 3- Rima: I don't care, my mother told me to not let you go before the meal, don't |

| |
|--------------|
| try to leave |
|--------------|

Refusal (cost/benefit)

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| م: غير بنتعبكُم معاي maçaja bintaçbkum ʔair Rima second once |
| 4- Mona: I'll put you to a lot of trouble |

Insistence

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ر: بلاش كلام فارغ، عمك كان سمعك و الا امي يزعلوا منك minik jazçalo ʔumj ʔla wa simçik khan çamik faraiç khalam balaf you from they upset me mother or and you hear if your uncle empty talk with out |
| 5- Rima: Don't be silly, your uncle will be upset if he hears you say that |

Acceptance

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| م: باهي خلينا نعاونوا عميمه çmaima nçawno aunty help we you come just |
| 6- Mona: OK, let's help aunty |

Initial offer (imperative)

In this informal situation between family members, the host, Rima, noticed that her relative, Mona, (the guest) is trying to call a taxi, Rima refuses to entertain the idea (in line 1), using the command strategy ('Don't think that you'll go home before you dine with us'). This strategy may be seen as a face threatening strategy to an outsider and in Brown and Levison's (1987) terms but, in such a Libyan context, when there exists closeness and familiarity between the interactants, it shows a sincere offer.

Refusal (Promise to visit another time)

The related guest in the above example expects her departure to be conventionally refused. Notice that in her response, Mona does not give a reason for leaving at that time, so her refusal appears to be ritual (Line 2: 'Another time, Rima').

Insistence (shifting the disagreement)

Then the host insists, shifting her disagreement to her mother (Line 3: 'I don't care, my mother told me to not let you go before you have lunch with us, don't try to leave'). Shifting the disagreement in a such situation does not offend the guest, because it may be interpreted as 'My mother wants you to stay, not me', and so this is a face enhancing strategy oriented towards associative rights. It is common strategy used by the host to say 'Leave, if you can'. Rima uses this strategy to restrict her relative's options, and because she knows that older people in general, and particularly within the family, have legitimate power over younger people, and thus are respected, as we discussed earlier regarding example (7). Respect for older people is valued and can be traced to the Holy Qur'an so, if an older person requests something, a younger person must respond positively.

Cost benefit consideration

In a reluctant acceptance accompanied by a remark addressing the host's equity rights (Line 4: 'I'll put you to a lot of trouble'), interestingly, the polite excuse used by the guest to decline the offer shows unease for the equity rights of the host. For example, the phrase 'I'll put you to a lot of trouble' illustrates concern about the cost to the host. The host's response is to downplay such concerns and conventionally deny this (Line 5: 'Don't be silly, your uncle'll be upset if he hears you say that'). The host, tries to minimise the guest's concerns over the host's equity rights by enhancing the rapport between them and maximising the cost of her refusal, showing that such a refusal might threat her uncle's association rights (Line 5: 'Your uncle will be upset if he hears you say that'), which implies cordiality towards the guest. Although employing such a strategy restricts the options of the guest, which may be seen as an imposition on the part of the hearer, however, in such Libyan offering interchange, it gives face to the guest as being desirable and wanted. The guest finally accepts the offer by claiming common ground with her relative, using an indirect strategy (Line 5: 'OK, let's help

aunty'). The guest implied her acceptance by suggesting offering to help using a diminutive form, whereby she changes the term of address for the host's mother (from 'ʕamtj' to 'ʕmama') to indicate closeness and familiarity. The reason why a guest negotiated in such a case is that, since the invitation to her cousin's house was for other purposes than to have food/drink (although offers are expected), the guest has, ritually, to show self-restraint and demonstrate that she does not wish to cause the host any trouble (Line 4: 'you've gone to a lot of trouble'). Thus, she did not wish to be seen as what is called in Arabic 'ضيف ثقيل الضل', 'a heavy guest shadow/undesirable guest', when the guest wants to stay while the host wishes she would leave. As we have shown, family invitations entail a social obligation both for the host to offer hospitality and for the guest to accept it. In such invitation situations, "the host and the guest each strive to maintain their own and the other person's face, and that accepting an invitation or offer too quickly would be face threatening to both the host and the guest" (Mao (1994), cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 111). However, as we saw in the interview data (examples 7, 8), the rituals of insistence interaction, in certain interchanges, are perceived as inappropriate between relatives because they indicate distance. Thus, there is less of an obligation to perform these rituals of insistence and refusal because the guest is considered a member of the family and because visits between relatives happen frequently, whether planned or unexpected. The next example is an unexpected visit by a relative. This kind of visit is highly conventionalised and common at any time of day in the Libyan community, and so hospitality is expected to be shown accordingly.

Muhammad (31 years-old), and Naji (29 years-old), are relatives. Naji made an unexpected visit at lunch time while Muhammad and his son were having their meal. The offering interaction that occurred in this situation (this example is from recorded data, see Appendix A, p: 13-14) was as follows:

Example (13)

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>محمد: مرحبا ناجي تفضل معنا maçana tafadʕal nagj marhaba us with come on Naji hello</p> |
| 1- Muhammad: Hello Naji, come on, join us |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ناجي: صحة صحه غداكم بدري ɣadakum badrj sʕaha sʕaha your luanch earlier good health good health</p> |
| 2- Naji: Good health, good health, your lunch's early today |

| |
|-----------------|
| اصوات |
| 3- Noise |

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>محمد: وينك ماتبان هالايا halʔiam tban ma wainak days this appear not you where</p> |
| 4- Muhammad: Where've you been these days? |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>محمد: نوض خالد جيب كاشيك لعمك lçamak kha χhalid uncle to spoon bring Khalid get up</p> |
| 5- Khalid, go and fetch (..) a spoon for your uncle |

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ناجي: مشغول في المزرعه maʕsul fj ʔlmazraʔ the farm in busy</p> |
| 6- Naji: Busy (0.5) on the farm |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>محمد: تفضل مانك غريب البيت بيتك Baitak ʔlbait ɣarjb manak tafadʕal your house house the strang you not dig in</p> |
| Muhammad: dig in feel at home you are not a stranger |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ناجي: جيب معاك فلفل يا خلوده Xluda ya filfil maçak gjb Khluda you pepper you with bring</p> |
| 7- N: 'Khluda' ↑{little Khalid} Bring green pepper with you |

Initial offer (formulaic expression)

The host greets his relative, establishes rapport and asks him to join them in the meal. The guest accepts immediately.

Acceptance

Such an immediate response is mitigated by the use of certain strategies (Line 2: 'Good health, good health, your lunch's early today'). In some families, accepting the offered hospitality is seen as appropriate, as such an offering sequence is considered to be between family members, where employing the rituals of refusal and insistence are considered unacceptable, as we saw from the interview data (section 6.2.1). The guest employs indirect strategies rather than direct acceptance. Then, the host uses the reproach strategy, criticising the guest for not visiting him for several days, which is a conventional type of strategy used to show a convivial welcome and oriented at the associative rights of both the guest and host. At the same time, the host asks his son to fetch a spoon for his uncle, reminding his relative that he is not a stranger and to feel at home. These positive rapport strategies are oriented towards maintaining the guest's social face as a family member. In turn, the guest asks him to bring 'green pepper', using the imperative strategy, which is mitigated by using the diminutive form of Khalid's name (Line 6: 'Khluda↑ {diminutive: Khalid}, bring green pepper with you'), showing cordiality towards his relative's son. The guest's response may be considered inappropriate in other situations and in different circumstances (e.g., friend or colleague offering situations) but, in this situation, it indicates strong associative rights between relatives, which is based on ideological beliefs about what constitutes acceptable behaviour between this group. Thus, as mentioned earlier, such interaction signifies that the expectations of sociality rights and obligations during family offering interactions seem to be less strict, and so performing the rituals of offering, refusal, insistence is seen as inappropriate between family members.

The two examples of family offering hospitality show that related interactants perceive their sociality rights and obligation in hospitality situations differently because of the different social situations (invitation/unexpected visit) and personal attitudes. Thus, we cannot make generalisations about the norms and conventions of family offering hospitality situations. In general, we can generalise their tendency to emphasise hospitality, generosity and associative rights among them but in different ways.

In Mills' (2011) view, it is possible to generalize about the tendencies towards politeness in language groups if we consider the "other styles and norms which are perhaps not dominant in the language" (Mills, 2011: 49). Thus, according to the examples discussed above and the data from the interviews and focus group discussion, we can generalise that Libyans in general have a tendency to follow the norms and conventions of offering hospitality because violating these norms and conventions may result in serious damage to face and a threat to sociality rights in Libyan culture. However, "this tendency to characterise classes and cultures as homogeneous is not easily sustained when we examine the complexity of politeness in even one culture, or even within one class, and seems to be dependent on stereotypical beliefs about the linguistic behaviour of particular class" (Mills, 2003: 106). Thus, according to the analysis of the data above, the Libyan community, should not be seen as homogeneous, as it is variable, diverse and complex, just like all other cultures. Thus, it is risky to make generalisations about Libyan Arabic-speaking people simply because they speak the same language.

7.3.4. Gender and face/ sociality rights negotiation in practice

In section 6.2.4., I examined the linguistic ideologies related to what might be seen as appropriate and the motivation for meeting the expectations when offering hospitality

among males and females. In this section, I examine the performance of the behaviour of offering hospitality in practice. I investigate the components of the offering/refusal/insistence strategies and how the interactants perceive the sociality rights and social obligations during cross-gender offering interactions.

The next example shows that sociological factors, such as gender, cause observable differences in the choice and variation of rapport management strategies. It shows that the participants who are involved in such offering sequences have certain expectations of how such interactions should be managed. The next example (from log-book data) takes place between two Libyan students: Fatheh is me (female, 41 years-old) joined the PhD students at the workspace area at the university, and Khalid (male, 40 years-old), who used to sit next to Fatheh's desk. They rarely spoke to each other. At lunch time, Khalid was having his meal in his office, while Fatheh was working on her computer. Khalid offered Fatheh a piece of cake, using the conventional formulaic expression, 'Tafaddali' (see Appendix A, p: 19-20):

Example (15)

Initial offer: formulaic expression with term of address

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| خ: تقضلي يا دكتوره daktura ya tafaddali doctor you have |
| Khalid: Tafaddali {have some}, Dr |

Refusal: direct refusal and thanks expression

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتحيه: لا بارك الله فيك fjk Allah barak la you in God bless no |
| 2- Fatheh: No, thanks |

Reoffer: imperative

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| خالد: خوذني طرف t ^ʃ araf χuðj one you take |
| 3- Khalid: Have one |

Refusal: direct and formal thanks of expression

| |
|------------------------------------------|
| فتحيه: لا شكرا fukran la thanks no |
| 4- Fatheh: No, thank you |

Giving reason for offering (insistence)

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| خالد: زوجتي دارتها الكيكه ?lkaaikha daratha zo3tj cake the it bakes my wife |
| 5- Khalid: My wife baked it |

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| و انا اول مره ناكل بره Barah nakhil mara ?wal ana wa out eat once first I and |
| 6- And it's the first time I've eaten out (.) |

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| مانحبش ناكل بروحي brohj nakhl nhbij ma me soul with eat like not |
| 7- I can't eat alone |

Refusal: thanks expression

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتحيه: بارك الله فيك لكن و الله] Allah wa lakhin fjk Allah barak God and but you in God bless |
| 8- Fatheh: God bless you, but, in the name of God..]Interrupted by K [|

Insistence: orders and suggestion

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| خالد: لا (.) ما تقوليش لا (.) خذوها , كان ما بتاكلوها خليه علي جنب zanib ʕala xalja takliha ma khan, xuðjha la tgulef ma la a side on it leave it eat not if , it take no say not no |
| 9- Khalid: No (.) Don't say no Take it, if you don't want to eat it, save it till later |

Reluctant acceptance: thanks expression

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| فتحيه: ماشي بارك الله فيك Fjk Allah barak mafī you in God bless ok |
| 10- Fatheh: (...)OK↓ (Reluctantly), thanks |

Khalid establishes rapport by offering a piece of cake with a sign of respect to his colleague and formality (Line 1: 'Taffad^ʕali, Dr'), by using the term of address (Dr).

Fatheh refused the offer directly, with an appreciation expression ('No, thanks'). Then Khalid offered again, using an imperative (Line 3: 'Have one'), which was also refused

directly with a thanks expression ('God bless you'). Then, the offerer gives a justification for what is being offered (Line 5: 'It is my wife's homemade cake') and gives reasons why he is offering it (Lines 6, 7: 'it's the first time I've eaten out', 'I don't like to eat alone'. He may feel that he threatened the offeree's quality face by his offer, so he tries to establish common ground with his colleague by showing a type of familiarity with her and claiming his association rights (Lines 4, 5, and 6). On the other hand, the offeree Fatheh tried to give a reason when Khalid interrupted her with assertive insistence, trying to put an end to the offering interaction (Line 9: 'No (.) Don't say no (.) Take it, if you don't want to eat it, save it till later'. He begins his insistence by refusing her attempt to justify her refusal, followed by a command strategy (Line 9: 'Don't say no'), then an imperative strategy ('Take it'), followed by an optional phrase strategy ('If you don't want to eat it, save it till later'). Such a combination of strategies restricts the options of the offeree to refuse the offer, so she reluctantly accepts it and thanks him. The function of grounders (the reasons and explanations for the offer) is of special interest in this context. Notice in lines 5-6-7 the number of reasons provided to justify the offer. Brown and Levinson claim that giving reasons for an FTA can be considered a positive politeness strategy, providing a way for the speaker to include the hearer in the activity, to assume reflexivity and to lead the hearer to see the reasonableness of the speaker's FTA (1987: 128). However, at this stage of offering, grounders should indeed be perceived as a face saving strategy because, in this case specifically, the 'reasonableness' of the FTA needs to be proved. The offerer used this strategy because of the need to mitigate the damage to the offeree's quality face and the threat to her equity rights. I think that, in this situation, this strategy may not necessarily work because it did not help to save Fatheh's face. In fact, it may even have made her feel more embarrassed than ever, (because the offeree was me), meaning that Khalid's offer was a face damaging act.

At the ideological level, insistence on the offer during cross-gender interactions can be seen as inappropriate, as I discussed in chapter 6, since the expectations related to such interactions are perceived differently to same-gender offering interactions because of the different motivations illustrated previously. Therefore, the offeree's association rights in duringh cross-gender interactions are played down in favour of equity rights. The social obligation of showing hospitality and generosity may be seen by the offeree as un-related and inappropriate, since there is no familiarity or closeness. Offering rapport requires an appropriate relationship between the interlocutors, particularly when both sexes are involved in such offering sequence. According to the interviewees, the next example might be seen as appropriate and a conventional cross-gender offering interaction within Libyan culture, where insistence is a dispreferred behaviour.

Colleagues at tea/coffee time

Two colleagues were discussing their PhD topics and, at the end of their conversation, Sadik (male, 29 years-old), was about to go to make some coffee, so he asked his colleague, Mayar (female, 28 years-old), politely if she would like some. See the conversation below (this example is from the log-book data, see Appendix A, p: 22-23):

Example (16)

Initial offer

| |
|------------------------------------------------------|
| صادق: نعطيك قهوة؟ gahwa naʃtjk coffee you give |
| 1- Sadik: Can I get you some coffee? |

Refusal: direct refusal, giving reason for refusal and formal thanks expression

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ميّار: اه..لا..عندي قهوة مازال ما كملتها (.) شكرا fukran kamaltaha ma mazal gahwa ʃindj ..la..ah thanks it finish not yet coffee me have...no...ah |
| 2- Mayar: Ah? No (.) I have my coffee (.) not finished yet (.) thanks |

The offerer, in the example above, starts the rapport by asking his colleague if she would like some coffee, mitigating his offer by using two strategies: the first is a low intonation (Line 1: Can I get you some coffee? ↓) which, in a way, shows respect towards his female colleague. The second was the form of the question. According to the norms and conventions of offering hospitality in Libyan culture in general, asking an offeree/guest what he/she prefers when offering hospitality appears to be ethically inappropriate (as discussed in section 4.2.1.3). That is because giving options to the offeree indicates an insincere offer, and the offerer is seen as uncertain about his offer. Thus, the offer causes face damage and may therefore have a greater potential to be refused than accepted. During this cross-gender interaction, the offerer may expect the refusal, so he formed his offer as a polite question, which gives the hearer the option to respond ‘yes’ or ‘no’, and thus he protects his face from damage because of the expected refusal. The offeree refused the offer by employing combined strategies (‘Ah? No (.) I had my coffee (.) not finished yet (.), thanks’. The offeree seems to refuse to engage in the expected insistence interaction with the offerer; therefore, she makes it explicit that she is performing this ritual. She uses a direct refusal strategy (‘No’), then mitigates the force of her directive by giving a reason for her refusal by stating that she still has some coffee. Thus, she demonstrates that she is putting an end to the expected conventional insistence. At the same time, she thanks him formally, using the formal Arabic word شكر ‘fu:kran’ to show distance and formality. Therefore, according to the two cross-gender examples, insistence can be seen as face damaging and involves an imposition on the participants’ equity rights. The participants’ behaviour shows the significant influence of religious and cultural beliefs and ideologies on their perceived rights and obligations. Consequently, this confirms the interviewees and focus group participants’ views about rights and obligations during cross-gender offering interactions.

However, in different circumstances and situations, insistence can be expected and perceived as appropriate and positive rapport, and, during cross-gender interactions, it does not always threaten the participants' sense of equity rights or cause damage to face. If the interactants perceive insistence as being within the scope of their obligations, they are less likely to regard it as an infringement of their rights. During family cross-gender offering interactions (as shown in the example below), insistence is preferred and even requested, signifying the associative rights between family members during routine family visits.

Unexpected routine family visit

This offering sequence took place between three relatives: Sama (27 years-old), S; her relative, Rami (28 years-old), and Sama's brother, Abdullah (24 years-old). While Sama and her brother were having coffee in the hall⁶⁴ at home, Rami arrived and Sama invited him to enter and join them for a cup of coffee. The offering conversation took place (from my recorded data: see Appendix A, p: 11-12), as follows:

Example (14)

Initial offer

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|---------|--------|
| سما: علي↑ | تعال | اشرب | معانا | قهوة |
| çali | taçal | ?ʃrab | maçana | ahwa |
| çali | come | drink | us with | coffee |
| 1-Sama: Come, have a cup of coffee with us | | | | |

Face enhancing

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---------|------------|
| عبدالله: كيف | حال | رشيد؟ | وينه؟ |
| khaif | ħal | raʃaid | wainah? |
| how | is | Rashaid | him where? |
| 2- Abdullah: How is Rashid? { his brother } Where is he? [| | | |

⁶⁴ It is usually in the centre of the house, where the family tend to meet to watch TV or have their meals. Guests are received in other rooms, prepared particularly for receiving guests.

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| رامي: كويس في الحوش ʔlhawf fj khwais home the in good |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|

3- Rami: He's fine, at home

Request on the part of the guest

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| رامي: جيبني لي حاجة حلوه مع القهوة ʔlgahwa maça hilwa haga lj gebj Coffee with sweet thing me for bring |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

4- Rami: Bring me something sweet

An offer: imperative

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| سما: خوذ غريبه والا .. ʔla waxraiba xuað unless and 'Guraiba' take |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|

5- Sama: Have some guraiba {type of dessert} or [

Refusal: refuse the offer suggested by the host and asking for some thing else

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| رامي: لا فكيني منها الغريبه ما نحبها جيبني حاجة خفيفه xafjfa agaḥ gjbj nḥbaha ma ʔlxrajba minha fekhjnj la it like not the 'Guraiba' the it from me not no |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

6- Rami: No, don't, I don't like guraiba, bring something lighter

Reoffer: imperative

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| سما: باهي خوذ من كيكه الليمون (..) شن رايك Rajak fɪn laimoon kikat min xuað bahj your opinion what lemon cake from take ok |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

7- Sama: OK, have a slice of the lemon cake (0.5) what do you think?

Acceptance and appreciation

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| رامي: صحتي حلوه طعمتها tʃ ɕmatha hilwa sʃ ahaitj it taste nice you healthy |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

8- Rami: Thanks (0.4) it tastes nice

Sama quickly receives her relative Rami, asking him to join them for a cup of coffee. Her guest requests something sweet with the coffee, using an imperative strategy (line 4). Such an imperative strategy seems to be acceptable and it is not face damaging, as S responds immediately to his request in line 5 and asks him if he would like some guraiba (a traditional dessert). This offer is refused by Rami, who requests something lighter by employing the direct type of refusal associated with imperatives, which are

seen as conventional and acceptable between family members (Line 6: 'No, don't, I don't like Alguraiba, bring something lighter'). The guest's requests may be seen as inappropriate, particularly in other Libyan cross-gender or even same-gender offering contexts, because there are expectations that need to be fulfilled (e.g., showing self-restraint, and the moral behaviour of 'haya'). However, this request seems to be accepted by the host, as she responds immediately and offers him an alternative (Line 7: 'OK, have a slice of the lemon cake (0.5) what do you think?'). The guest accepts the offer, thanks his relatives and compliments her cake, which enhances the host's quality face.

It is worth noting here that requesting a particular type of food during family offering interactions in general, such as in the above example, is seen as acceptable behaviour because it indicates familial warmth, although it may cause a threat to the positive rapport in different contexts and situations. Thus, the guest behaves like a member of this network of close ties (family, relatives), paying less concern to the rituals of the duty of hospitality (i.e., ritual refusal, insistence).

In this section, I investigated how the ideologies about what is considered as appropriate are influenced by many factors, such as age, distance, kinship and gender, which thus have an effect on the strategies used during an offering sequence. This shows that these factors are not static, but dynamic during an ongoing offering interaction. They have an influence on the expectations related to sociality rights and obligations. Thus, I have found that the rapport management strategies of offering and refusing have become ritualized according to these expectations of sociality rights and obligations. Individuals have a choice whether to conform to certain linguistic ideologies (as in examples 11 and 15) or not.

It is worth noting here that, while the impact of religion is obviously affirmed by the interviewees and the focus group participants, still, in this chapter, the behaviour of the

interlocutors in general can obviously suggest the essential impact of the Islamic teaching of stressing hospitality and associative rights between individuals. In addition, in some situations, sociality rights and obligations are shown to be impacted by religious beliefs (such as kinship and cross-gender interactions).

7.4. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I examined the research question about under which circumstances offers are made, and what are the linguistic characteristics of offering and receiving hospitality by Libyan Arabic speakers, through analysing a range of naturalistic data, provided by my Libyan informants. According to the findings from my data, offering hospitality is a social practice that is strongly expected during any social interaction in everyday situations. In terms of the discursive approach, the historical and cultural ideologies, and religious beliefs, have a significant effect on the norms and conventions related to the sequence of offers, refusal and insistence during certain offering interactions. In terms of rapport management strategies, as I have argued, the strategies employed when insisting/refusing or accepting an offer can be modified, intensified or even removed according to the expectations related to the rights and obligations of the situation, context and participants and their relations, and yet still be seen as appropriate, due to certain ideologies about what is considered appropriate. These ideologies are responsible for the sense of shared norms and conventions of offering rituals (as shown in template 4) among the speakers within the Libyan community.

Employing the rituals of refusal and insistence during certain offering situations are not always seen as appropriate; rather, it indicates distance. The interactants do not seem to like to employ them. Therefore, how people feel they should behave or speak does not necessarily reflect what they actually say or do in reality. Thus, it would be very

difficult and indeed inadvisable to make any generalisations about all offering interactions that occur within the Libyan Arabic-speaking community.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

In this thesis, I have investigated certain aspects of interpersonal cultural politeness by analysing extended discourse related to the offering of hospitality by Libyan Arabic speakers to discover how the sequence of offering and receiving hospitality was carried out in their approach to rapport management. To this end, a comprehensive analysis of the various elements of rapport management (i.e. face threatening/enhancing behaviour, sociality rights and obligations, the participants and their relationships) was applied to the given data, and offering hospitality interactions were analysed in terms of the discursive approach that maps onto Mills' (2003) account. This analysis has brought to light interesting trends and resulted in a picture of rapport management that appears to account well for offering hospitality undertaken by Libyans.

My main original contribution to knowledge is that the politeness of offering hospitality and, consequently, the preference for specific strategies are influenced by cultural ideologies and conventions surrounding the use of these forms, which are manifest themselves differently according to the context, situation, circumstances, and the participants and their relationships to one another. In this concluding chapter, I will discuss the main findings of the data analysis and highlight the assumptions regarding the perception of offers, refusals and insistence in hospitality situations, before outlining the main contributions of this study. I will then discuss the implications of the thesis. Finally, I will present recommendations for further work.

8.2. Overall Research Findings

This study followed a qualitative approach (using various qualitative methods) to address the research questions. Based on the two preceding chapters, a definite conclusion can be drawn about the linguistic and social nature of offering interactions in

Libyan culture and the extent to which the sequence of offers/refusals and insistence is conventionalized in Libyan Arabic in the following observations:

1. The assumptions and actual use and interpretation of offering hospitality

According to the data I collected, notions of hospitality and generosity behaviour are embedded in the assumptions and social values about interdependence and association, and significantly prioritised over individual needs. Thus, the linguistic practice of offering hospitality is seen as conventional and highly expected in many everyday social situations. Whether the guests are invited or unexpected, they are both verbally and non-verbally welcomed by the host and generously offered hospitality according to the norms and conventions of hospitality in Libyan culture. As Saville-Troike (1990:34) notes, treating visitors and guests cordially is common across most Middle-Eastern cultures.

There seems to be a general agreement among the informants surveyed regarding the conventionality of the linguistic rapport of offering hospitality. They defined the offer of hospitality broadly as of great importance to both the host and guest's entitlements and associated obligations, which are mainly connected to the expectation of social involvement. The data demonstrate that an offering hospitality interaction can be a cordiality-building discourse that thus maintains and/or enhances the intimate relationship between the speakers, but that failing to take into account the identity face and sociality rights of either the host or guest may result in damage to face and/or rights. At both the ideological and practical levels, the participants emphasize the importance and appropriateness of insistence to be favoured behaviour rather than an imposing act. This finding shows that this conventional interaction is the result of the influence of the cultural values of the Libyan speech community. Therefore, insistence is socially appropriate in the sociocultural context of offering and indexing the generosity and

sincerity of the offer. Insistence is not only seen as a sociality right for the guest which should be respected, but also as the host's right to be allowed to offer hospitality and generosity, which consequently enriches their reputation for being a generous, hospitable person. This may reflect how powerful the norms and conventions of hospitality situations are, entrenched as they are within Libyan's social and cultural ideologies. Nevertheless, the finding suggests that insistence may not always be seen as appropriate. Most of the informants showed a negative attitude towards insistence during cross-gender offering interactions, as they generally showed a preference for not participating in the rituals of offering, refusal and insistence, because practising these rituals is motivated by showing closeness and familiarity which, according to the informants, cannot be displayed in cross-gender offering interactions due to religious and cultural beliefs. This shows the significant impact of the interrelated contextual variables of gender and religion, and thus the politeness of offering, refusal and insistence becomes ritualized according to these expectations.

In general, and at the ideological level, the descriptions of offering and insistence concepts provide valuable insights into the significance of the cultural attitudes and beliefs (which are historically, socially and religiously motivated), in constructing conventional and normative behaviour in hospitality situations. However, they do not necessarily reflect the actual use of the offering components in practice in any simple way.

What I have found from the overall interpretation is that there exists a clear adherence to the norms and conventions of hospitality among Libyans, when they practise the behaviour of offering, due to the ideologies regarding what is considered appropriate. However, according to some of the naturalistic data examples, while the refusal and

insistence rituals might be preferred in certain situations in Libya, they can also be seen as signifying distance, and thus impolite, in other situations.

Offers and insistence strategies are generally preferred in unmodified or unmitigated form, and may even be intensified due to different ideological motivations related to sincerity and good hospitality. However, in certain situations, the appropriateness of offering hospitality and the sincerity of the offer are not always confirmed by employing the insistence and refusal sequence; rather, this might indicate distance. How people feel they should behave or speak does not necessarily reflect what they say or do in reality.

2. The relationship between the contextual variables (i.e., gender, power, social distance and religion), sociality rights and obligations and the type of politeness strategy employed

I have found that the cultural ideologies and beliefs about the effect of the contextual variables (e.g., age, gender, familiarity and power) were perceived as a major influence on the sociality rights and obligations of both host and guest, which has a significant effect on the offering, refusal and insistence sequence, as well as on the type of strategies employed. Examining the choice of strategies for offers made by Libyans in terms of the influence of social distance, age and gender revealed that some degree of distance exists in the expectations related to the sociality rights and obligations of both host and guest.

It seems that, in Libyan culture, polite usage permits many direct imperatives. Hence, treating the addressee in a direct way is conventionally acceptable in Libyan Arabic. Great importance is attached to solidarity relations and dependence rather than distance and independence, so most of the participants tend to employ direct strategies when issuing offers of hospitality. Moreover, because offering is an act that brings benefits to the hearer, in Libyan culture, it seems to be more appropriate for a guest to accept an

offer if s/he is obviously being pressed to do so. Therefore, in this case, the imposition is intended to enhance rather than threaten the face of the hearer. Concerning responses to offers of hospitality, the study revealed interesting results that the participants were more rejected an offer rather than accept it. Even though there is a general tendency among Libyans to accept rather than refuse offers, offers were more likely to be ritually declined initially, and more than once, which is seen as a polite response. Nevertheless, my data suggest that such a rejection might be delayed until the second offer in situations where a prior invitation to a meal has previously been accepted.

This finding shows that these communicative interactions are the result of the influence of the cultural values of the Libyan speech community, including their perceptions of the contextual and social variables related to the different types of offering strategy. Furthermore, the above analysis indicates that the use of politeness strategies cannot be attributed to one contextual factor alone. Factors such as gender, age, social relationship all have a bearing on the participants' behaviour. High significance is attached to the contextual variable of the gender of both the speaker and addressee in Libyan society when offering and receiving offers of hospitality. Gender appears to be a crucial and noteworthy parameter in the formulation and acceptance of offers in terms of strategy type and sociality rights and obligations. These findings bring us a better understanding of the culture-specific features of the linguistic interaction of offering. The contextual variables change constantly and interact with each other throughout the interaction. Contextual factors are dynamic rather than static, as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987), but this claim has been criticised for being unrealistic (Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003) and emphasise that politeness is dynamic, then obviously the social factors that affect the interpretation of such a concept are dynamic as well. The findings of this study show that familiarity (social distance), gender, age and power are not static; they are dynamic during an ongoing offering hospitality interaction. For example, the interaction

may start with a high level of social distance, and then the familiarity that results from such an interaction and face negotiation narrows the distance, thus working towards progressively increasing the intimacy and harmony between the interactants. In fact, more natural data in different speech interactions are needed to support this view, using this argument as a starting point for further research.

3- The Role of Religion

One of the themes that has emerged from my analysis of offering hospitality interactions is that religious beliefs and ideologies have a significant influence on the perceived sociality rights, obligations and consequently the strategy use in hospitality situations. Religion plays an important role within Libyan society, where politeness is judged according to conformity to morality and Islamic teachings. Nevertheless, not only is the evaluation of polite behaviour dominated by religious teachings, Islamic belief also seems to be mirrored in the offering, refusal and insistence practices in hospitality situations, mainly in formulaic expressions. For example, they can mitigate a direct offer as follows (from examples 1, 8, 9 and 16):

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------|-----------|--------|
| بشير: | هيا يا | راجل.. | بسم | الله |
| | ra:zil | ja | bism | ?allah |
| | man | oh | name with | God |
| | come on | | | |
| 9- B: Come on, man (...) In the name of Allah | | | | |

Some formulaic religious thanking expressions are used for acceptance of an offer.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|
| ف: ماشي | بارك | الله | فيك |
| mafi | barak | Allah | fjk |
| ok | bless | God | you in |
| 10- F: (...)OK↓ (Reluctantly), thanks | | | |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|----------|
| مرام: سلمك و | الله | ناكل | تسلم | ايديك] |
| wa salmik | Allah | nakhil | taslam | ?edik |
| and you save | God | eat | save | you hand |
| 9- 'Thanks, in the name of Allah = [really] I do, may Allah save your hands= 10- [Thanks]'.) | | | | |

Interestingly, such formulaic thanking expressions are used for a refusal as well:

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|------|------|--------|-------|----|
| أ: لا بارك الله فيك كيف متغدي | mitraddj | ki:f | fi:k | ?allah | barak | la |
| dinner had I just you God bless no | | | | | | |
| 8- A: No, Allah bless you={thanks}, I've just had my dinner | | | | | | |

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| صحيتي بارك الله فيك Fjk Allah barak s ^h aitj You in God bless you healthy |
| 12- May Allah give you good health={refusal} |

The host, by employing insistence, can identify whether such thanking expressions are an acceptance or a refusal. Religious formulaic expressions are used as insistence strategies:

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| والله مانك ماشيه (.) بسرعه ياسمين Yassmin bisurfa (.) mafja manik wallah Yassmin hurry (.) go you not Allah and |
| 8- F: By Allah's name↑, you won't go↑, hurry up Yasmeen {host's daughter who 9- is making tea}. |

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| امينه: حي عليك حشمه بالله عليك تسامحيني ماضيقتك شي تعالى نشربوا طاسه قهوه بالله عليك ?alaik ballahj gahwa t ^h asa nafrabo taʕalj faj d ^h jaftik ma samhjnj ʕalaik billahj hifma You on coffee cup we drink come nothing you host not me forgive you on God shame |
| 5- A: Oh, what a shame, for Allah's sake forgive me, I haven't offered you 6- anything, Come, let's have cup of coffee together, for Allah's sake |

The use of religious expressions and formulae, as ingroup language, expressing positive politeness, characterizes much of the Libyan data. It reveals how the realization of politeness strategies differs across cultures, thereby reflecting the cultural values of a society. Living in an Islamic society, Muslim Libyans rely on religious expressions during their verbal interactions. These include swearing by God's name and some of the Islamic teachings.

The use of these expressions was frequent among the Libyans in this data. This may be due to the fact that the naturalistic data for this study were rich and the participants were chosen from different parts of Libya. Thus, it was likely that these speakers would use these strategies of offers, refusal and insistence because it is known

that the offering of hospitality in Arab culture is generally based on a series of turns (Migdadi, 2003). From this perspective, swearing to Allah and other religious expressions and formulae are strategies of insistence during offering that usually occur after more than one turn. The results from the data also have indicated that most of the speakers invoke Allah's name when the offeree reluctantly accepted the offer. At the ideological level, Libyans recognise that it is not religiously appropriate to invoke Allah's name simply in order to restrict the hearer's options and force people to accept an offer; however, they believe that the invocation of Allah is routinised and tends not to have any religious intention. In Libyan Arabic, there is a tendency to use religious expressions with socially appropriate strategies. The speakers (host and guest) use these expressions to enhance their mutual solidarity and association.

According to these findings, we can conclude that the rituals of offering are conventionalised in a way that makes certain offering behaviour polite and thus appropriate during Libyan hospitality situations. Generally, people in Libyan culture are motivated to meet the expectations of their respective society. Furthermore, the strategies used in hospitality situations may differ from one situation to another, so Libyans may see themselves as generous and hospitable when they adhere to the norms and conventions of offering hospitality, where the host needs to be insistent in order to show the generosity, hospitality and sincerity of their offer. For example, as I showed in the analysis of the Libyan interviews, Libyans ideologically perceive insistence on an offer of hospitality as the norm and essential to show sincerity. They describe insistence as necessary. However, the Libyans, in some examples, do not show any adherence to the conventional rituals and prescribed duties of hospitality, due to the situational and contextual circumstances of the situation, and still are seen as behaving appropriately by both participants.

In other situations, Libyans ideologically stress interdependence and the in-group norms of the interactants in hospitality situations, as shown in the examples where strategies are employed to show informality, familiarity and closeness. In some examples, such as in cross-gender offers of hospitality, association rights are played down in favour of equity rights for cultural reasons. Thus, we cannot make clear generalisations about the nature and sequencing of offering and receiving hospitality in Libyan culture, since the expectations may differ from one situation to another, which have an impact on individuals' behaviour; also, social and personal differences may exist between them.

4. Ritualised Language

The dynamic nature of contextual factors means that identifying particular expressions as inherently polite is inaccurate. Watts (2003) argues that politeness should not be associated with formulaic or semi-formulaic structures that are used as rituals during linguistic interactions. He claims that several highly conventionalized expressions that are repeatedly interpreted as polite expressions do not, in themselves, denote politeness. Rather, they are individually interpreted as polite in ongoing interaction. Watts (2003) states that we wish to know to some degree about the situation in which linguistic behaviour occurs in order to evaluate whether these expressions are open to interpretation by the interactants as polite. To this end, Watts categorises those expressions that go beyond our expectations of the context as polite behaviour and those that are ritualized or socially expected as politic behaviour. There are many examples in this data that support Watts' (2003) argument; for example, in Libyan Arabic offering interactions, لا سلام علي طعام, which literally means 'do not greet people while they are eating' and it is in fact type of insistence used to encourage the guest to join people who already sit down to have their meal. Another ritualised expression usually used by

Libyans and have the same meaning as the earlier 'حصانك جراي', which used as save face strategy and it signify associative orientation towards guests.

tafadʕal(i) تفضل/ي is a prime example of Watts' (2003) categorisation of formulaic politic expressions that are sometimes necessary to make the utterance open to an interpretation of politeness. As a result, it is important to highlight whether تفضل/ي tafadʕal(i) is an inherently polite expression. تفضل/ي tafadʕal(i) may be treated as a directive, in which the speaker asks the addressee to do something for the benefit of the addressee. The expression usually indicates a polite way of offering/inviting the addressee to do something, such as eating or staying longer, for the benefit of the addressee. Thus, it was frequently used in these data when extending offers. The findings of the analysis show that such an expression not only functions as a softened imperative, but it is also used by Libyan speakers frequently during most offering interactions, regardless of the changing features of each context. This shows that the expression might not carry a specific polite function in itself but it is routinely expressed and the interlocutors expect it during the ongoing offering interaction. It seems that this expression is used in this data as a social ritual. Therefore, further research is recommended in this area to confirm these results and focus on the politeness of this expression.

5. The Effect of Culture on the Speakers' Choices

What constitutes offering hospitality and the social values attached to it might differ from one linguistic group to another. What might be perceived as conventional or routine in one linguistic group in certain situations might be perceived the same in other group. For example, using directives or orders may be expected, considered appropriate and evaluated as polite in hospitality situations in Libyan Arabic, as we saw in the analysis chapters, while the same strategy might be seen as inappropriate or even

impolite in other linguistic groups (such as British culture)⁶⁵. In terms of conventionality and rituals, the perceived sociality rights and social obligations in offering hospitality situations may differ significantly from one culture to another. For example, in Libyan Arabic culture, the host is expected to offer hospitality to the guests, whether their visit is expected or not. The offers might be refused by the guest, in which case it is highly expected to be repeated at least once. Such linguistic behaviour has become a ritual during hospitality situations; it is so conventionalised that it has led to the insisting practice in order to show sincerity and generosity. However, in Britain, Grainger et al (2015) maintain that, in terms of sociality rights, there is less importance placed on the host's generosity and sincerity in hospitality situations than in Libyan Arabic ones. The host respects the guest's freedom to choose and tries to avoid imposing on the guest's freedom of action and choice thus socially is not expected to insist and the guest is under little obligation to accept. The rapport between the interactants is not necessarily affected because of the absence of the rituals of insistence and refusal of an offer. Therefore, it is significant to take into consideration any factors that might affect individuals' choices, such as certain conventional elements that become normalised or enregistered over time within linguistic or cultural groups as being appropriate in certain situations within a linguistic group.

8.3. The Original Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis makes the following major contributions to knowledge:

1. Cultural Stereotypes

The analysis of the data clearly demonstrates that there is mutual agreement about what constitutes appropriate offering behaviour in Libyan Arabic culture. However, many

⁶⁵ However, in British culture directives are very common in offering food, for example 'have some more cake' 'Do have some more'. It is the frequency and level of insistence which is different.

studies stereotypically described all Arab cultures as positive politeness cultures does not offer a true demonstration of the actual linguistic practices of Libyan people. Even though there is an element of truth in this stereotype, this should not simply be explained by the generalised view that is usually presented, because such a view does not show whether positive politeness strategies occur in every Arabic culture or in particularly the area of study and, if it does exist, how it functions and is interpreted. Thus, as Mills and Kadar (2011: 44) argue, “we need to distance ourselves from the conservative and ideological nature of this type of analysis”. Thus, in this thesis, I have moved away from this type of ideological stereotype of politeness (as stereotypical views are often very different from actual behaviour). Therefore, through criticising the stereotypical representation of culture, and focusing more on the politeness norms derived from the data analysis without depending on ideological views, this thesis provides a more adequate analysis of the politeness norms in Libyan Arabic culture.

2. Developing an Approach of Interactions

This thesis adopts more adequate approaches to the complexity of understanding the politeness of offering hospitality in a cultural context. The main contribution to knowledge of this thesis is that the combined approaches to politeness I have developed offers an opportunity to understand the indexical meaning of linguistic practice, such as the behaviour of offering hospitality, where the meanings are accompanied by certain social values. As a result, this model contributes to the investigation of certain areas which are often neglected in the field of politeness.

The various elements of the analytical model (rapport management and discursive approach) addressed in this study (e.g. linguistic ideologies, politeness strategies, rapport components, social variables) have proved valuable for understanding the many facets of offering hospitality and how the polite utterances of an interaction impact on

those many facets. For example, a sequence of a polite offer, refusal and insistence can, combined, affect a particular component of rapport, such as sociality rights (particularly association rights); while at the same time define a type of overall orientation (such as enhancement orientation) used by both the host and guest.

The most valuable insight into the main question of this study (What are the linguistic characteristics of offering and receiving hospitality by Libyan Arabic speakers?) was obtained by analysing the linguistic utterances of offering interactions discursively according to Mills (2003), and then identifying them according to the rapport management framework developed by Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2008) component that they affected. This relationship between politeness strategies and the components of rapport highlights some very interesting links between strategy use and the impact on rapport. For example, face management involves the use of a variety of politeness strategies (i.e. diminutives, formulaic expressions, religious expressions of thanks, claiming common ground), through which the associative rights of both the host and guest are demonstrated. These associative rights are central to both interactants as a normative stance. Additionally, the dynamic between politeness strategies and rapport components facilitated the identification of the overall trends in different parts of the discourse that could then be used to explain how the changes to rapport management were realized. For example, in the data, we have seen that the host's primary focus at the beginning of the offer was on transactional and relational concerns in terms of showing a generous welcome, a variety of food and insisting, to ensure that the offered hospitality was accepted. The approach to rapport management is through addressing the guest's own face concerns and establishing a greater degree of involvement between him/her and the guest. The politeness strategies represented by utterances in discourse can highlight potentially significant trends, and the patterns identified when the analysis includes rapport components (as seen above) can create significantly greater insights into the

nature or structure of the rapport management of offering hospitality. Thus, we cannot rely only on linguistic features to understand politeness norms, but instead need to focus on how these features are interpreted within cultures. In addition, to my knowledge, this thesis is the first to investigate the cultural norms and ideologies which have an impact on the way that offers are made in the Libyan cultural group and also analyse linguistic interactions of offering hospitality using various naturalistic data. The results of this thesis have shown that offers, refusal and insistence are not necessarily FTAs, as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Also, this study shows that the conventional sequence of offering hospitality which follows the initial offer is not always seen as appropriate as ideologically believed because of the influence of contextual factors and different situational circumstances; thus, different rituals are expected.

On the whole, this thesis has shown that politeness cannot be analysed through models which are built on certain rules (such as those of speech act theory), nor by analysing the linguistic meaning of utterances alone. A simple link between particular linguistic forms and certain functions, ignoring contextual and cultural factors, that leads to different evaluations of contexts is inaccurate. Thus, a more context-based model is required, in order to capture the complexity and diversity of contextual evaluations across cultures.

3. Developing a Methodology for Cultural Study

Stadler (2011) argues that most cross-cultural studies often make cross-cultural comparisons by relying on Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT), or questionnaires that simply ask the informants to put themselves in imaginary situations to answer certain questions, even if they do not lie within their own experience, rather than on data based on real-life encounters. This raises the question of the validity of such data for

accounting for politeness as a complex phenomenon in these cultures. Thus, the present study, using a range of data drawn from situations that the informants had experienced, presents a more accurate picture of what might influence people's choices in different contexts and accesses not only the participants' performance, but also their beliefs about that performance. It is this examination of ideologies as well as performance that is important.

8.4. Implications and applications of the Study

1. Cultural Generalisations

Many studies have depended on making generalisations about cultures at a stereotypical level (Merkin, 2012; Fukushima, 2000). Arab cultures are classified as collectivist due to their emphasis on mutual interdependence (Hofstede, 1980); therefore, Arab people are said to have a tendency to maintain their social relationships with others in order to stress this interdependence. It is also argued that, because of the collectivist nature of Arab societies, Arab people are assumed to avoid direct forms of speech in favour of indirect forms (Merkin, 2012). Though, as the results of this study show, the stereotype of Arab people as being indirect does not always hold true since, during offering hospitality interactions, the interactants employ direct strategies to indicate hospitality and generosity as well as indirect forms. This way of clarifying the conventions of Arabic culture "is grossly over-simplified and does not take account of the fact that collectivist tendencies occur in all societies, but to different extents in different situations" (Grainger et al, 2015). In addition, Arab people, for example, are often characterised as belonging to a positive politeness culture. However, as the outcomes of this study show, this stereotype is not always accurate, as Libyan Arabs in different offering situations use negative politeness strategies (such as example 11 and 16). Furthermore, such classifications are primarily based on the presupposition about the

concept and functions that positive politeness is assumed to have. This demonstrates the risk of generalising about the concept and functions of different cultural practices in different cultural groups.

2. Intercultural Communication

According to the current language teaching and learning tendencies, which give more consideration to communicative language teaching, including pragmatic competence, the present findings could prove of paramount importance to Arabic learners of other languages, as well as to learners of Arabic. Many researchers have found that concentrating on grammatical and lexical competence alone fails to enable language learners to construct accurate expressions and clearly comprehend articulated utterances. To recognise implicitly conveyed messages, learners need to understand the figurative meaning and contextual knowledge in order to determine the probable interpretations which a particular produced utterance might bear. Besides linguistic knowledge and interactional skills, this necessitates developing socio-cultural competence, as it qualifies language learners to interpret implicitly delivered messages and enables them to generate socially appropriate utterances. Teaching English in Libya has long been oriented towards the grammar and reading-based approach. In real-life situations, Libyan students may often fail to communicate effectively with English people. One of the reasons for cross-cultural communication failure could be the intercultural pragmatic variations of communicative acts in general and the learners' assessment of the target language standards in light of their own socio-cultural norms. That is, most learners tend to express offers and evaluate others' offering expression without considering the pragmatic diversity of the ways in which offers are realised in each culture. Another reason lies in the learners' unawareness of the evaluation and weightiness of the social and contextual variables in the target language. This ignorance about expressing offers

is expected to bring to their intercultural encounters often negative evaluations about the individual's identity and culture, and cause intercultural miscommunication. The findings of this study may be beneficial in broadening learners' knowledge about appropriateness in the target language and thus increase their understanding of their own culture as well as that of others'.

3. Sociolinguistic Implications

Offering hospitality as sociolinguistic behaviour is rarely investigated in the literature, which has resulted in limited information about how different cultures recognise this behaviour. Hence, it is hoped that the findings of this study have shed light on the cultural affiliation in realising polite offering, refusal and insistence, which may contribute to bridging gaps in intercultural communication. The study has focused on areas where pragmatic failure may occur. A Libyan speaker's strategies of insistence, religious thanking and refusal expressions which might be interpreted by cultural outsider as intrusion or interference in one's privacy are now justified and interpreted as expressions of generosity and sincerity in Libyan Arabic.

4. Implications for Gender Research and Politeness

The present study yielded results that might refute some beliefs and stereotypical views shown in the interview and focus group data about segregated offering hospitality interactions. Although some cross-gender offering interactions demonstrate very clearly these beliefs and attitudes where the roles of men and women are defined according to the rules of Islam, however in other cross-gender interactions Libyans sought solidarity and intimacy, especially with family and close relationships.

Although the focus of this research is not on the difference between the language of male and female offering interactions, however the result of the analysis of present data shows that Libyan women avoided unnecessary verbal interaction with men whom they

do not know well. Their linguistic behaviour as discussed, in many parts of the data, was formal and usually direct. Opting out was significantly higher when they interacted with male addressees. This avoidance of interaction cannot be interpreted in terms of powerlessness or inferiority but a careful evaluation of the contextual parameters while responding. This is demonstrated in the use of direct strategies and less opting out when the Libyan female found it compelling to perform an offer to a male addressee as we have seen in family cross-gender interactions. Libyan women in Libyan culture were aware of the demands of the communicative needs of the context.

8.5. Suggestions for Further Research

The topic I have explored in this thesis suggests the need for further research. Thus, a great deal more interpersonal, cross-cultural and politeness-focused empirical research is needed in order to explain a wide variety of linguistic activities in general, and offering hospitality in particular. An investigation of this type is principally useful for languages like Arabic, which are often categorised according to certain stereotypical presuppositions. Thus, the work I have undertaken on Libyan Arabic could be used as a starting point for further research on the difference between how people feel that they or others should speak and the way they actually do speak. Furthermore, a greater focus on the role that religion plays in the preference for polite forms in other speech interactions is needed. Although this thesis has shed light on the importance of face in Libyan Arabic in relation to politeness during interactions, in general, face is a neglected area within Arabic politeness research. Thus, it is worth investigating this concept in Libyan Arabic because, according to the results of this study, its evaluation might differ from that in western cultures. Through exploring how people use language to indicate politeness in different cultures, intercultural communications may be improved, and thus misunderstandings can be reduced among individuals from different cultural

backgrounds. It is for this reason that pursuing further research in this area is very important, as the behaviour of offering and receiving hospitality can give rise to pragmatic failure during intercultural communication.

8.6. Final Concluding Remarks

Overall, this thesis has provided important contributions to the field of cultural pragmatics and politeness research. The success or failure of communication depends on the extent to which people's behaviour meets certain cultural expectations. The findings of the study show that how Libyan people behave when offering and receiving hospitality is strongly influenced by culture and linguistic ideologies. The sociality rights and obligations and their related expectations are dynamic in nature, changeable and contextual. For example, my interest in investigating offers of hospitality and other issues related to this, such as ideologies, culture and religion, stemmed from observing how these activities are often performed in Libyan culture. I realised that the behaviour of offering, refusal, insistence and acceptance are conventional and normalised in everyday situations, and so are highly evaluated as the polite duties of hospitality. Therefore, this should be interpreted as indicative of the cross-cultural variation in evaluating and realising the politeness of offering interactions; thus, one should not evaluate politeness in the target language according to the norms of one's own language. The study was based on the evaluations made by the participants of their interactions, which is both advantageous and required, because politeness and impoliteness should be investigated in light of the interlocutors' judgments, which are constantly negotiated and ultimately change over time across social interaction situations. The study enriches the language under investigation in the field and presents critically-reviewed literature, as well as well-designed and carefully implemented research. These contributions make this study an ideal basis for other research related to interpersonal politeness and

cultural communication as well as a foundation for other cross-cultural pragmatics research on the use of other communicative acts in Libya and other cultures. Although this study constitutes a small step in such a field, particularly within the research on an Arabic-speaking community, it has contributed to the development of a theoretical and analytical framework for politeness research.

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APPENDICES