



University of Brighton

THE PUBLIC APOLOGY: A LINGUISTIC EXPLORATION OF
POLITENESS IN THE RITUAL INTERACTION OF THE TRIBAL
DISPUTE RESOLUTION IN JORDANIAN CULTURE

ABEER MALKAWI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Brighton
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February, 2023

Abstract

Societies have different strategies to be used by their members in order to resolve a dispute among them. Resolving the dispute takes a ritual and conventional form in Jordanian culture under the title العطوه العشائريه (the 'ṭwah), the context I investigate.

The data which I collected from YouTube are 39 'ṭwah for manslaughter and murder cases, I considered the 'ṭwah as institutional discourse (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 2008). The 'ṭwah includes routinised and standardised speech events which take place in a restorative justice place called مضافه أهل الضحيه (the victim's clan's guesthouse). In this space, the aim is to resolve the dispute between the offender's clan and the victim's clan. In order to achieve this goal, the offender's clan sends الجاهه (the delegation) to the victim clan's guesthouse asking for the 'ṭwah and meeting requirements of the victim's clan.

Methodologically, I used public videos from YouTube, as women are not permitted to attend the 'ṭwah sessions in Jordanian culture, it means I could not video-record data. I chose ten cases to be analysed including different 'ṭwah. This is beneficial to conduct a systematic analysis of similar patterns that can occur in more than one episode and differences that can be attributed to the variety of people involved, or the variety of topics or the variety of regions.

I used the qualitative analysis in order to investigate linguistic features used by the delegation leader representing the offender's clan, and linguistic features used by the victim's clan leader representing the victim's clan. I analysed the data based on politeness theories and speech act theory. Politeness "is the expression of the speakers' intention to mitigate face threats carried by certain face threatening acts toward another" (Mills, 2003: 6).

Results show how performing the request act in the ritual dispute resolution context was generated by male interlocutors who have an equal social status, but they have a different institutionalised power status, and the results also show how a direct request strategy used differently by leaders who have different institutionalised power status is related to politeness in order to save the group and the social face.

Contents

Abstract.....	I
List of figures	V
List of tables.....	VI
Acknowledgment	VII
Declaration.....	VIII
Chapter One: Introducing the thesis.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Rationale for the study.....	6
1.3 Research questions	7
1.4 Positionality section.....	8
1.5 Thesis organisation.....	11
Chapter Two: Jordan and العطوه العشائريه (the ‘ṭwah).....	13
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Aspects of Jordanian culture through Hofstede’s lens.....	13
2.3 The tribal ritual restorative justice in Jordan: العطوه العشائريه (the ‘ṭwah)	13
2.4 Public apology.....	44
2.5 Conclusion.....	46
Chapter Three: Speech act and politeness theories	48
3.1 Introduction	48
3.2 Speech act theory.....	52
3.2.1 Speech act of request.....	52
3.3 Grice's conversational implicatures	60
3.4 Lakoff’s rules of politeness	61
3.5 Leech’s maxims of politeness	63
3.6 Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory.....	66
3.6.1 Anglo-Saxon-centred criticism and critique of Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory.....	76
3.6.2 Non-Western perspectives on politeness theory	82
3.7 Politeness in justice settings.....	86
3.8 Politeness, speech acts and (Jordan) Arabic	103
3.8.1 Politeness in (Jordanian) Arabic.....	103
3.8.2 Speech acts in (Jordanian) Arabic	106
3.8.3 Gender, politeness and speech acts in (Jordanian) Arabic.....	107
3.9 Positive politeness orientation	109
3.10 The social power	112
3.11 Conclusion.....	114
Chapter Four: Methodology	116
4.1 Introduction	116
4.2 Data collection	116
4.3 Data in al-‘ṭwah cases	120

4.4 Institutional discourse.....	123
4.5 Naturally occurring data	126
4.6 Presenting the ‘ṭwah data	129
4.7 Conversation analysis	134
4.8 Data analysis procedure.....	135
4.9 Coding the data	138
4.9.1 Investigation of in -group identity markers	138
4.9.2 Investigation of religious verses	141
4.9.3 Investigation of the pronouns “we” and “you”.....	145
4.9.4 Investigation of the begging act.....	150
4.10 Synergy of politeness theories	152
4.11 Conclusion.....	155
Chapter Five: Analysis of linguistic forms used by the delegation leaders and analysis of particular visual presentations of the delegation leaders in the ‘ṭwah cases	157
5.1 Introduction	157
5.2 Using in-group identity markers.....	158
5.3 Religious verses.....	162
5.4 Use of pronouns نحن (nḥnu) (we) and أنتم (‘antom) in a request act	172
5.5 The begging act.....	181
5.6 Visual presentations.....	186
5.7 Conclusion.....	188
Chapter Six: Analysis of linguistic forms used by the victim’s clan leaders.....	194
6.1 Introduction	194
6.2 Using in- group identity markers.....	194
6.3 Religious verses and stories	196
6.4 Use of pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we) in a speech act of request.....	205
6.5 Returning the cheque	214
6.6 Conclusion.....	216
Chapter Seven: Discussion of the results	220
Chapter Eight: Conclusion.....	233
8.1 Summary of the study	233
8.2 Contributions.....	237
8.3 Further directions	238
9. Bibliography	240
Appendix 1: The basic data of the ‘ṭwah during 2013-2020.....	232
Appendix 2: Distribution of ‘ṭwah cases into three strata during 2013- 2020.....	240
Appendix 3: Case A (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between Muslims belonging to the same province).....	241
Appendix 4: Case B (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between Muslims belonging to different provinces).....	244
Appendix 5: Case C (The ‘ṭwah for the manslaughter case between Muslims).....	247
Appendix 6: Case D (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between Muslims and Christians)	250

Appendix 7: Case E (The ‘ṭwah for the same previous murder case between Muslims and Christians).....	253
Appendix 8: Case F (The ‘ṭwah including الدية (blood compensation) for the murder case) ..	256
Appendix 9: Case G (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims: A Muslim husband and a Muslim wife)	259
Appendix 10: Case H (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims: A Muslim husband and a Muslim wife)	262
Appendix11: Case I (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two close Muslim friends)	269
Appendix 12: Case J (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between Muslims)	273
Appendix 13: Ethical Approval	275
Appendix 14: List of Phonetic Symbols Used in Transliteration is based on the Library of Congress Romanisation scheme	276
Appendix 15: List of abbreviations (including ‘lexicon’ of abbreviated category labels).....	280

List of figures

Figure 1. Seating arrangements at the atwa procedures	35
Figure 2. The social cultural values in Jordanian culture	37
Figure 3. A Jordanian's point of view about the 'ṭwah	40
Figure 4. Uploaded al-'ṭwah case on YouTube by a member of the victim's clan	118
Figure 5. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to address term generated by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders	141
Figure 6. Labelling of codes related to verses used by the delegation leaders	144
Figure 7. Labelling of codes related to the Quranic verses used by the victim's clan leaders	144
Figure 8. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to نحن (nḥnu) (exclusive we) and أنتم (antm) (you all) used by the delegation leaders	148
Figure 9. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to نحن (nḥnu) (inclusive we) used by the victim's clan leaders	150
Figure 10. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to نحن (nhn) (exclusive we) and أنتم (antm) (you) used by the victim's clan leaders	150
Figure 11. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to التوسل (the begging act) used by the delegation leaders	152
Figure 12. Turning his body to the attendants sitting on the south side, and saying: the victim's clan's face was saved.	186
Figure 13. Turning his body to the attendants sitting on the east side, and saying: the victim's clan's face was saved.	187
Figure 14. Turning his body to the attendants sitting on the north side, and saying: the victim's clan's face was saved.	187
Figure 15. Turning his body to the attendants sitting on the west side, and saying: the victim's clan's face was saved.	187

List of tables

Table 1 Request strategies as first represented in Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 202)...	56
Table 2 Positive politeness strategies, adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987: 101-129)	69
Table 3 Negative politeness strategies, adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987: 129- 211)	72
Table 4 Off-record politeness strategies, adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987: 211- 227).....	74
Table 5 The distribution of al-‘twah cases used in the analysis	121

Acknowledgment

First, I would like to extend my deep thanks to God ‘Allah’ for making me finish my PhD. Secondly, I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to my PhD supervisors at the University of Brighton Dr. Federica Formato, Ken Turner and Dr. Dora Carpenter-Latiri for continual mentoring, supporting through the whole stretch of my PhD years, keeping introducing their advice and encouragement. They have been totally patient with me, encouraging me to pursue my research despite of all difficult circumstances facing me when my mother passed away while I was in the second year during my PhD journey, and when my father passed away while I was in the fourth year during PhD journey.

A special thanks goes to my family: my father, my mother (May their souls rest in peace) who stood behind a success of this project, particularly my father. He was my supporter. I send my endless thanks to you where you are being now. Furthermore, a special thanks goes to my brother Dr. Bashar Malkawi. Words cannot express how grateful I am for all sacrifices you have made for me.

Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Dated

Chapter One: Introducing the thesis

1.1 Introduction

“Language is the principle means whereby we conduct our social lives. When it is used in contexts of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways”.

(Kramsch, 1998: 3)

Before all else, language both expresses and generates categories of shared concepts among members of a social group, and that language is in charge of beliefs and attitudes that make up what we refer to as ‘culture’ (ibid). That is, language expresses communicable facts, thoughts, and events, and also implies knowledge that people share in a particular culture. In other words, language reflects attitudes and beliefs of members of a community or a social group who give meaning to utterances in how they choose to communicate with one another.

Speakers use language to identify themselves and others-i.e. they use a language as a representation of their social identity (a family, a clan, a neighbourhood, and a nation) (Kramsch, 1998). Thus, language expresses and represents cultural reality (ibid). Through their interactions with other members of the same social group, persons who identify themselves as members of a social group develop shared ways of understanding their interactions in their culture. For instance, although conflict is a universal human experience, the form of conflicts and strategies used by members of a society for resolving conflicts change from one socio-cultural setting to another (Irani and Funk, 2000) according to the language used by members of a community. That is, Jordanians who identify themselves as members of a social group, share a language for resolving a dispute by a conventional norm called *عطوه عشائريه* (‘*ṭwah*) and which constitutes my data under investigation in this thesis. Shehadeh and Wardat (2017:8) define the ‘*ṭwah* as “the provisional agreement of intent” in Jordanian culture. However, I argue that the definition of the ‘*ṭwah* is a process including a set of predefined stages for settling the dispute among the disputing parties (for a full

description, see section (2.3)). Furthermore, it is a ritual negotiation about reparation to a victim. Hence, I do not give an English translation for the ‘ṭwah as a tribal truce because the English meaning of ‘truce’ is an agreement between enemies to stop a fight. This definition of the truce in English does not refer to a ritual that follows a conventional process for resolving the dispute. I explain the meaning of the ‘ṭwah in Arabic in that it is derived from the Arabic verb يعطي (to give). It means that there is something that should be given in order to obtain something else; therefore, the ‘ṭwah is an exchange among the disputing parties (for a full explanation see section (2.3)).

Jordan belongs to the Arab world and can be a collectivistic community as the majority of Arab countries could be described (Hofstede, 2001). However, I argue that Jordanian culture is both individualistic and collectivistic because the Arab Spring in some Arabic cultures such as Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Syria introduced the individualistic notion to most Arabic cultures (Hanafi, 2012) such as Jordan, as illustrated in this paragraph later. Hofstede (2001: 225) defines “[..] collectivism stands for a society 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”, while Oyserman, Coon and Kimmelmeier (2002: 5) define ‘individualism’ as a construct that “centralises the personal-personal goals, personal uniqueness, and personal control and peripheralizes the social”. For instance, I argue that the majority of Arabs depended on social connections or networks before the Arab Spring; namely, the majority of Arabs in these countries used their social networks in different aspects of a life through what is called واسطه (wasta) (a mediation). In this context, the majority of Arabs resorted to relatives and friends who have a high social power for giving them a job due to their authority in a community. Therefore, واسطه (wasta) is a practice among those who have a high authority and use it in favouring relatives or friends by giving them jobs. Subsequently, this practice achieves in-group’s demands through favouritism rather than merit. After the Arab Spring,

I believe that the practice of الواسطه (wasta) (mediation) in Jordan declined because most Jordanians became aware that if one Jordanian member observes any violations of regulations related to granting a job to an underserving person, his/ her observation could be a spark for a revolution in Jordan, and this is not a desire of the majority of Jordanians. Therefore, most Jordanians became self-dependent focusing on their own goals rather than interdependent on their social networks for achieving aspects of their lives. Referring to a collectivistic notion in Jordanian culture, Gudykunst (1998) illustrates the meaning of the collectivistic community in that every member belongs to a group. For instance, in Jordan every member belongs to a group called العشيره أو الحمولة (the clan/-the tribe). As a result, the 'ṭwah aims to maintain in-group coherence through a restoration of a relationship between the offender's clan and the victim's clan (Watkins, 2014). To achieve this goal, the offender's clan sends the delegation to the victim's clan in order to meet requirements of the victim's clan by asking for the 'ṭwah. The delegation representing the offender's clan and the victim's clan representing the victim include male public figures in Jordan such as a prime minister, a minister, a member of the Jordanian parliament, and شيخ (Shaykh) (a leader of clan).

Some offences not only affect the offended person but also affect the whole group that the offended person belongs to. That is, these offences threaten cohesion within a group such as family members or with a group such as members from different clans. Thus, these kinds of offences require a public apology conducted by public figures in a given society (Ancarno, 2010). The public apology is not a simple act to be achieved because it sometimes takes the form of a conventional norm as in the 'ṭwah process; because it also requires a public person who represents the offender's clan; and because it can make the speaker on behalf of the offender's clan feel embarrassed by virtue of the gravity of the offence. Consequently, the speaker on behalf of the offender and the offended person should make the atmosphere within which the public apology takes place more comfortable, which in

turn makes the communication run smoothly. Overall, the strategies of the public apology in the ‘ṭwah include a request for the ‘ṭwah and for the requirements of the victim’s clan by the delegation leader. Moreover, these strategies include responses to the public apology such as stating the victim’s clan’s demands by the victim’s clan leader.

In light of what has been mentioned above, under the theory of speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) there is one major type of speech act in the ‘ṭwah that is, the request act generated by both leaders. In this study, I also employ politeness theories drawn from Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987) in order to investigate representatives’ politeness in the ‘ṭwah when performing the speech act of request. One of the principles of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory is that the linguistic resources and strategies used to perform speech acts can significantly vary from one culture to another and from one individual to another individual within the same group in a society. In addition, strategies of the request act may depend on the social and contextual variables which determine the strategies to be used, such as the power (if the speaker and the hearer have the same powerful status, or if one of them has a more powerful status over the other), and/or the distance (familiarity and unfamiliarity between interlocutors), and/or the imposition ranking (the degree of difficulty in a situation).

For the success of a communication in the ‘ṭwah, representatives will attempt to resort to contextual politeness strategies in order to maintain their face or public-self-image when they deliver and also receive the public apology. I explain the discussion put forward by Brown and Levinson (1987) in relation to the public-self-image. The positive face is the desire of the speaker or the hearer to be liked, approved of, and appreciated by others. Meanwhile, the negative face of a person is the desire to be free of action and free of imposition (ibid). That is, Brown and Levinson (1987) focus on an individual perspective to investigate saving face in the exchange of the speech acts. In the data I investigate, leaders seem to be able to convey the face required for performing the speech act, taking into

consideration a relationship of the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders to a society and a group that they belong to. For instance, the delegation leaders generate a request for the *ṭwah* and ask for the requirements of the victim's clan by using some polite words; the way this is conducted determines the negative or positive image of the victim's clan leaders. The same is the case between the victim's clan leaders and the delegation leaders.

In light of the above discussion, I investigate an appropriate face given to both representatives of the *ṭwah* in Jordan: the delegation leader representing the offender's clan and the victim's clan leader representing the victim's clan. In other words, they use some particular politeness strategies that could be affected by social values in Jordanian culture (Alkailani, Azzam and Athamneh, 2012). From this perspective, Sifianou (1999:78) states that "performing in a polite way is a complex ability which requires acquisition of a combination of linguistic, non-linguistic and social skills". Socially, the success of 'saving-face' strengthens and restores relations among the disputing parties. Thus, I discuss that there is a deep connection between attitudes of the delegation leader and the victim's clan leader with the actual values of the Jordanian community-i.e. both representatives have to show their roles as loyal supporters for these social values through their using of particular politeness strategies.

Overall, Brown and Levinson (1987) analyse the construction of the message at all levels by claiming that their theory explores universal properties of language used to show redress. That is, they depend on "general social determinants rather than those particularisations of them operative in a specific social context" (1987: 241). Therefore, and because of the current demand for determination of the social context, my study also aims at shedding light on the politeness strategies performed by each representative in the ritual context of the *ṭwah* process. Thus, the results of my study may assist linguists, particularly pragmatists, to learn new knowledge about the politeness strategies for saving face in the

restorative justice setting.

1.2 Rationale for the study

My research explores the pragmatic practices that govern leaders' employment of Jordanian Arabic requests in the 'twah, taking into consideration particular social constraints; these include *social values* such as honour, dignity and peace, and *social variables* such as power, social distance, and imposition ranking in order to investigate politeness strategies used by both leaders when performing the speech act of request.

My research is significant because it seeks to investigate ways in which the pragmatic development of politeness can be improved based on this study. Generally, it has been established that politeness strategies employed in a ritual setting of the public apology could assist in improving the current pragmatic understanding in the development of politeness and the direct speech act of request. Many studies investigate how Arabic speakers employ the notion of politeness in the direct speech act of request, taking into consideration the notion of face; for instance, the study of Al-Fattah (2009) was conducted to investigate the ways in which Yemeni learners realise requests in their English interlanguage with reference to the politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson (1987) to save the positive or the negative face of interlocutors. As another example, Al-Marrani and Sazalie (2010) investigated the notion of politeness in Yemeni male-male interactions. Furthermore, Al-Natour, Maros and Ismail (2015) investigated the pragmatic politeness in the speech act of request used by Jordanian students in an academic setting. The number of such studies is still growing.

These studies confirm that the notion of politeness is culturally relative; namely, what is considered as a polite behaviour in one culture could be an impolite behaviour in other cultures. These cited studies showed that direct requests are likely to be interpreted as polite in Arabic (Al-Marrani and Sazalie, 2010), but could be considered as an impolite behaviour

in other cultures. Furthermore, a non-conventional indirect strategy seems to be extensively used by male-male interactions in Yemeni culture (ibid).

Since the direct request strategy has been empirically proven to be polite based on the results reported in the above studies, my research aims to prove this result by linking politeness in the direct request strategy with social values. That is, my research might assist linguists, particularly pragmatists located in Jordan, and might advance their pragmatic notion related to politeness in direct request strategy through linking politeness with a preservation of shared social values such as asking for peace, forgiveness, reconciliation, honour, dignity, and building relationships. As I mentioned previously, it is significant that advancements in investigating the notion of politeness in requests in different cultures and in different interactions emerge from research.

Accordingly, my research investigates the main linguistic and stylistic differences between the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders in making requests for saving the social face and the group face of leaders. My results, are transferable to the English language, could assist pragmatists in advancing their pragmatic understanding of the notion of 'universality' of 'face' in politeness framework.

1.3 Research questions

Through the research questions below, I aim to investigate the linguistic forms used by the delegation leaders and the victims' clan leaders. The research questions themselves are presented below and re-introduced in Chapters five and six when investigating an in-group-identity marker, religious texts, the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nħnu) (we) and (أنتم،antom) (you), the begging act, and a visual presentation of particular linguistic behaviour.

I divided the research questions into overarching research question and a specific research question for analysing the language phenomenon used by both leaders:

The overarching research question:

Q1. How is العَطْوَه العشائريه (the 'ṭwah) processed linguistically in Jordan?

The study aims to answer the following specific question:

Q2. How are politeness strategies employed by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders in العَطْوَه العشائريه (the 'ṭwah)?

To answer the first research question, the second research question first needs to be addressed. I investigate politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987) used by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders such as on-record politeness, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record politeness when performing the speech act of request taking into consideration the different institutionalised power status of both leaders in the 'ṭwah process. In addition, I investigate Lakoff's (1973) rules of politeness and Leech's (1983) maxims of politeness when generating the request act by the leaders. From this, I expand my arguments on these politeness frameworks to establish that these politeness strategies, rules, and maxims are used as a strategic performance for unintentionally imposing the speech act of request on the other leader when building this request on social and cultural values for achieving the purpose of the 'ṭwah. Thus, these leaders save the social face and the group face of each other as representatives' leaders and as members of a group called a clan/-a tribe in the Jordanian community.

1.4 Positionality section

In this section, I discuss some of the questions I asked myself during my journey through the doctoral process to obtain a deeper understanding of the male roles in the 'ṭwah as a woman is prevented from attending the 'ṭwah sessions. I also informed myself about the powerful structure of these men in the 'ṭwah, and reflected on these questions in order to complete my thesis.

Savin-Baden and Major (2013: 71) describe 'positionality' as a stance that "reflects

the position that the researcher has chosen to adopt within a given research study". That is, I asked myself what made my research study credible, and whether I should declare my positionality as a female linguist researcher born in Jordan who is not allowed to attend or participate in the *ṭwah* sessions. How do I analyse the discourse of men when I did not engage with my research participants?

I gained an understanding of myself as an intrinsic part of the research procedure, as both (i) a data-gathering tool from a ritual practice that does not allow Jordanian women to attend and participate and (ii) how I was positioned with the research area. Simultaneously, I had to acknowledge that reflexivity is an important, albeit complicated notion. It is an obvious self-awareness of the researchers' social and value stances and how they may have influenced the performance, and interpretation of the theory, data, and results (Greenbank, 2003).

This consciousness of myself as the researcher is declared and reviewed in my study design, where I found an alternative way for collecting the *ṭwah* cases, on YouTube. The reason for the collection of these cases via YouTube is to investigate the male discourse in resolving conflicts in complex offences such as murder and manslaughter cases. I recognise the importance of a link between ontological and epistemological positions. Regarding the former, Moon and Blackman (2014) refer to 'ontology' as 'a study of being' by describing it as what actually exists in the world about which humans can acquire knowledge. That is, 'ontology' helps me recognise how certain I can be about the nature and existence of the phenomenon- the *ṭwah*- that I am searching for. Later, Moon and Blackman (2014) refer to 'epistemology' as 'the study of knowledge' by describing it as aspects of validity, scope, and methods of acquiring knowledge. That is, 'epistemology' helps me to address some questions such as what constitutes my knowledge claim about the *ṭwah* and how can this knowledge be acquired or produced? Therefore, epistemology is important because it has an influence on how I framed my research in my attempt to discover knowledge about the

‘ṭwah. Thus, the process of the research methodology did not take place in a vacuum. Instead, it was primarily tied to the way in which I, as a researcher, approached the basic inquiries of ontology and epistemology, as well as the assumptions underlying related research patterns or paradigms. For instance, the ‘ṭwah is a male process which they resolve a dispute among disputing parties; therefore, as a linguist researcher, I discovered the underlying stages for achieving the ‘ṭwah process through the ‘bottom-up data-driven inductive approach’ (Boyatzis, 1998) and through coding my dataset, which in turn helped me to determine my themes (for more details, see section (4.9)). Through an observation of the ‘ṭwah themes, I developed an explanation of theories such as speech act and politeness theories for those patterns.

My perceptions of the ‘ṭwah as a research topic were shaped by my life experiences and understanding of some social variables such as gender, cultural backgrounds, and religion, and social values such as respect, saving face, forgiveness, collectivism, and generosity.

In qualitative research, the pursuit of authenticity necessitates consistency in design and process. Hence, authenticity is unavoidable as a criterion of quality in qualitative research where there are components of sharing life histories. The goal of my study then was to investigate roles of the representatives of the ‘ṭwah in a way that maintains facts about these representatives that were also systematically precise in this complex ritual practice. To achieve this goal required a level awareness to be able to link central ideas about knowledge formation and reality of this ritual practice. Therefore, I was aware that research is a “systematic enquiry with the aim of producing knowledge” (Ernest, 1994: 8). Due to the cultural backgrounds and cultural social values and norms in Jordan, I needed to maintain researcher objectivity and neutrality. As a researcher, I reflected on the quality of relationship that developed between me and the ‘ṭwah’s participants, as well as my responsibility to conduct authentic and reflexive analysis and reporting that included voices

of participants which reflected their desires and actual situations. Furthermore, while presenting and discussing my findings, I have ensured that I refer to the specific context in the data used, rather than generalising to any other external group. Writing up the data analysis to arrive at my findings took over a year and many hours of reading to arrive at a procedure that made sense to me and, I hope, to the reader.

During my research process, new terms expressing the meaning of the ‘ṭwah emerged that I had never come across previously relating to this ritual practice. In other words, the study of this social practice made me realise the role of social values in articulating the ‘ṭwah process which I previously was unaware of its existence in the ‘ṭwah process. Consequently, my thesis writing was similar to weaving a tapestry, where I set the ‘ṭwah, attached the basic textiles related to al-‘ṭwah procedures, and then added the coloured textiles to build arguments that construct a meaningful form from beginning to end.

In conclusion, every experience of working in the ‘ṭwah process is filtered through several lenses and, each time, an experience is shared and filtered through a new set of lenses. According to my experience, I shaped the ‘ṭwah process and what is spoken and experienced within Jordanians’ ways of knowledge. The experience of my study of the ‘ṭwah is not about views of reality but about interpreting and arguing these views through theoretical framework.

1.5 Thesis organisation

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one provided an overview of the research background with a focus on the main research problem. Furthermore, this chapter presented the rationale for the study, consisting of the general aims of the research, and establishing the research questions. Chapter one also included my positionality statement within the ‘ṭwah cases and how I linked the ‘ṭwah process with politeness theories (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987) and speech acts (Austin, 1962;

Searle,1969). Chapter two introduces Jordanian cultural aspects through Hofstede's framework and an illustration of the 'ṭwah and how it links with the public apology. Chapter three gives an account of the theoretical background for this study, which draws from the speech act theory, the speech act of request, Grice's theory of implicatures, and the politeness theories of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987). Furthermore, this chapter introduces important critiques of politeness theories which are introduced by some Western and non-Western scholars. It also focuses on some research on politeness as it occurs in other justice settings (e.g., courts, reconciliation, restorative justice) and from various global contexts in order to contextualise the dynamics of politeness within Jordanian the 'ṭwah. Moreover, this chapter introduces some (Jordanian) Arabic research on politeness and the request act. Chapter four is the methodology chapter and clarifies the tools that assisted me to collect my data. The chapter also discusses in depth the types of data in the 'ṭwah cases and clarifies the analysis procedure. Chapter five analyses linguistic forms employed by the delegation leaders and clarifies the visual presentation of particular linguistic features, while Chapter six analyses the linguistic features generated by the victim's clan leaders. Results of these linguistic features used by both the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders are discussed in Chapter seven. Chapter eight concludes the thesis with a summary of the results, contributions to knowledge, and directions for future research.

Chapter Two: Jordan and العَطْوَة العشائريه (the ‘ṭwah)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate Jordanian cultural aspects through Hofstede’s (1991, 2001, 2005) cultural dimensional model. Next, I illustrate the cultural conventional norm which is used by male Jordanians under the title العَطْوَة العشائريه (the ‘ṭwah) in order to resolve the dispute between the offender’s clan and the victim’s clan. Finally, I link the ‘ṭwah with the public apology.

2.2 Aspects of Jordanian culture through Hofstede’s lens

In this section, I introduce definitions of culture to illustrate the points which these definitions focus on. Next, I discuss Jordanian cultural aspects in terms of values introduced by Hofstede’s (1991, 2001, 2005) dimensional model in order to investigate how behaviour of Jordanian men in the ‘ṭwah could be affected by particular cultural aspects.

Cole and Parker (2011: 135) describe culture as “the medium of human development which [prepares humans] for interaction with the world”. Teras and Steel (2009) also delineate culture as a set of generally stable norms, values, beliefs, and traditions which are shared in a given group of people in a particular culture. Similarly, Geertz (1993:89) defines culture as “an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men [humans] communicate about and attitudes toward life”. However, Kuper (1999: 227) provides a shorter definition of culture as, “a matter of ideas and values, a collective cast of mind”. The definition offered by Hofstede (1980) introduced over 40 years ago is the one that is the most frequently cited (Piepenburg, 2011) and has certainly shaped the basic meaning of culture: “it [...] is the collective programming of the mind that distinguished the members of one human group from another” (Hofstede, 1980: 25). For a clarification of his previous definition, Hofstede (1991) explains what he meant by “collective programming of the

mind” by stating “Mental programming [...] patterns of thinking and feeling and potential acting” (ibid, 4). Hall (1989), Hofstede (1991), and Gesteland (2005) further describe how culture affects values and identities of its members which differentiate them from members in other cultures. All these definitions concur that culture relates to the observable behaviours, rituals, and symbols of a society-i.e. these include the way people dress, the kind of food they eat, etc, and actions such as singing or dancing. Furthermore, these definitions agree that culture is not only related to observable behaviours but is also related to non-observable behaviours-i.e. it is inferred from people’s behaviours in the ways they interact, work, and communicate such as generosity and hospitality by insisting that guests eat or drink with them. These behaviours could be shared with people who have similar backgrounds, while distinguishing them from those in other cultures.

To link behaviour with language, Mills, Grainger, Kerkam and Mansor (2015) argue that speakers of languages create habits and norms that dominant groups construct and judge as correct, and each speaker and cultural group develops a different evaluation of these standards through time. On a reflection of language on behaviour, Asswae (2018) explains this reflection in the language used in greeting and welcoming visitors. For instance, insisting that guests share food and drink reflects generous and hospitality in most Arab societies which could be evaluated as an impolite behaviour in other cultures (ibid). In other words, insisting that guests eat or drink generates cultural identities about the majority of Arabs who share a language that expresses this behaviour. As Ogiermann (2009a) states, a language which is used by members who share cultural assumptions within a particular culture seems to promote ‘intra-cultural communication’. Ogiermann (2009a) defines ‘intra-cultural communication’ as the production of various speech acts reflecting people’s ability to employ linguistic formulae when interacting with groups with similar cultural properties. That is, ‘intra-cultural communication’ describes communication between people who are from the same culture or have culturally similar backgrounds.

When two people who are from the same culture try to communicate through ‘intra-cultural communication’, their similar cultural identities can lead them to evaluate each other as people who share cultural assumptions such as hospitality, faith, and face encounters including a dispute resolution. This does not suggest that all members of a culture share the same behavioural tendencies, as there are many cultural variations. In other words, since individuals of the same culture are usually exposed to common experiences, most members of that culture share certain facets of behaviour to different degrees. For instance, in the majority of Arab societies, a specific way to convey hospitality and generosity could be a normative value that distinguishes this culture from other cultures (Asswae, 2018). However, these Arab people share this behavioural tendency to different degrees-i.e. some of them may only be generous with their families, some may be generous with people other than their families, and some may be only generous towards him/-herself not others. In other words, I mean that all cultures can be generous in their own (different) ways.

For politeness to be taken into account, Haugh (2003) asserts that there must be some level of agreement on social norms and customs, as well as the linguistic forms that reflect behaviour, which members achieve via their interactions with other members of the culture in various contexts throughout their lives. In light of these recommendations, my study investigates politeness in intracultural communication, in order to identify the type of request perspective used in male-male interactions in Jordanian culture. That is, my study investigates politeness strategies used by the male leaders from similar or different religious backgrounds in the tribal ritual dispute resolution in Jordanian culture while referring to Hofstede’s cultural dimensional model. I believe that this model is suitable to investigate Jordanian culture because the cultural dimensions introduced by Hofstede’s model (1991, 2001, 2005) seem to underpin a basic understanding of Jordanian culture’s influence on the behaviour of people.

Hofstede (1991) develops his original model by gathering an extensive database of

116, 000 employees working at IBM from 40 nations. However, arguably, this is problematic because these employees could behave in different ways in their countries of origin. As Baskerville (2003) states, culture allows greater focus on the environment in which people function. Hofstede (1991, 2001) compares and analyses the cultural values of some employees who came from different social backgrounds and different countries. Consequently, he determined the four cultural dimensions of different cultures (e.g., his study of seven Arab cultures: Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) which structure and evaluate the system of these cultures: “power distance index (PDI), individualism (IDV), masculinity (MAS), and uncertainty avoidance index (UAI)” (Hofstede, 1991: 13-14). He also duplicated these values in his 2001 publication. In his 2005 publication, he adds another cultural dimension which is a ‘long-term orientation (LTO)’. Hence, Hofstede (1991, 2001, 2005) conducts one of the most comprehensive studies of how values in the workplace are influenced by culture. Based on his considerable research, the five dimensions of national culture were developed. My study overviews Hofstede’s (1991, 2001, 2005) model as solid background information in order to investigate the type of request perspective used in male-male interactions in the tribal ritual justice institution. Hence, I argue that the ‘ṭwah is similar to the environment of workplaces such as companies, institutions, universities, and schools where people in these environments have specific roles; for instance, an employer (he/- she is the boss/ the leader) and an employee (he/-she is a worker). That is, my study considers the ‘ṭwah as a ritual restorative justice institution because the ‘ṭwah is within the tribal judiciary system in Jordanian culture (Watkins, 2014) where the ‘ṭwah’s representatives (the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders) have specific functional roles and specific aims from their interactions (Watkins, 2014) (for more details, see the next section)

Referring to Hofstede’s (1991, 2001, 2005) original model of cultural values, Baskerville (2003) discusses that the continued use of Hofstede’s cultural indices in

research could include difficulties of associating a nation with a culture, because Hofstede focuses on using mathematical indices and matrices to comprehend a culture. That is, Hofstede's cultural indices could include difficulties and constraints in quantifying culture, which in turn generates difficulties in understanding the status of the observer outside the culture (ibid). Furthermore, Baskerville (2003) claims that Hofstede may not have actually studied culture; instead, he might have studied socio-economic factors. However, Peterson (2004: 128) states that "perhaps, the first edition of *Culture's Consequences* did not create the field of comparative cross-cultural studies, but it certainly has shaped the field's basic themes, structures, and controversies for over 20 years". Furthermore, Orr and Hauser (2008) argue that Hofstede's framework plays an important role in a range of academic research from sociology to international administration. Moreover, Bond (2002) clarifies that Hofstede's intellectual accomplishment has long held his peers "in thrall" (ibid: 73). Hofstede's work also has an effective role in 'facework' as illustrated in the study of Merkin (2006). Merkin (2006) examines how cultural groups differ from each other in their level of power distance which plays a significant role in choosing strategic negotiation responses such as cooperative, indirect, and direct responses in face-threatening situations. Goffman (1967: 12) defines 'facework' as "actions taken by a person to make whatever he [or she] is doing consistent with face" (for more details, see section (3.6)). Although Hofstede does not pay attention to cultural varieties as he restricted his examination of the role of cultural values to a sample of employees' behaviour, I argue that his cultural dimensions constitute solid background information in order to interpret the behaviour of the 'ṭwah's representatives. The 'ṭwah refers to *the necessary actions conducted by the delegation leaders to restore the victim's clan's desired identity*. In other words, the 'ṭwah process refers to the rules that the 'ṭwah's representatives follow in enacting their faces taking into consideration power distance as an example. Therefore, my study uses values of national culture as background information to interpret politeness strategies employed by men when

performing the request act in the context of the tribal ritual justice institution in Jordanian culture. That is, I clarify how Hofstede's (1991, 2001, 2005) cultural dimensions operate on the Jordanian cultural level and on the individual level within the 'ṭwah process, as clarified in the following paragraphs.

First of all, Hofstede (1991) defines the Power Distance Index (PDI) as the extent to which the influence of the representatives of a country's institutions and organisations reaches in such places. Furthermore, he clarifies that institutions such as a family, a school, and a community are the fundamental elements of a society and the latter are the places where individuals work. He later introduced a similar definition of power distance: "The extent to which less powerful members of institutions and organisations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally; where institutions are seen the basic elements of society, such as family, school, and community and organisations are the people's workplaces" (Hofstede, 2010: 61). Mullins (2007: 25) appends that power distance "is used to categorise levels of inequality in organisations, which Hofstede claims depend upon management style, willingness of subordinates to disagree with superiors, and the educational level and status accruing to particular roles". Moreover, power distance reflects the degree of inequality in a society which is acknowledged by leaders and followers. According to an international comparison, it is apparent that all societies are unequal, but some are more unequal than others (Hofstede, 2009). Regarding the 'ṭwah, the circumstances created the inequality between victims and perpetrators. That is, the priority of the 'ṭwah is to restore respect of the victim's clan through meeting their requirements; therefore, there will be no peace without a restoration of the victim's clan's honour and dignity. In other words, the 'ṭwah confers a more powerful role to the victim's clan because of the act of the murderer, as illustrated in section (3.10). Moving on in relation to power, Gudykunst (2003) describes low power distance as restricted to subordinates' reliance on superordinates and a desire for consultation-i.e. boss-subordinate interdependence. That is,

superordinates have power or control over subordinates by accepting a hierarchical order in a particular society, which in turn influences the language used by subordinates when addressing superordinates, and vice versa. Regarding power in the 'ṭwah, it is present in the relationship between the delegation leader and his group members, and the victim's clan leader and his group members. That is, the 'ṭwah's representatives have a more powerful status over their group members in the relationship between superordinates with subordinates. Hence, their group members cannot disrupt their Shaykhs (clan leaders) while talking (Asswae, 2018) (as illustrated in section (2.3)). Furthermore, power in the 'ṭwah relates to the delegation leader and the victim's clan leader; this is reflected in the language used by both leaders when addressing each other. In other words, the delegation leader seems to be more polite than the victim's clan leader because of his less institutionalised power status given by the 'ṭwah, as discussed when answering the second research question.

Despite Hofstede's clarification of this cultural dimension in workplaces, Merkin (2006) criticises Hofstede (1991, 2001) suggesting that an investigation of the Power Distance Index in communicative behaviour is limited, particularly in examining this dimension in the notion of 'facework'. As Ting-Toomey (2005) points out, the power dimension should be taken into consideration in explaining a face negotiation. Hence, Merkin (2006) examines the role of power in the notion of 'facework' and finds that individuals with high power are more likely to use cooperative, indirect, and direct communicative strategies as characteristics to manage face threats than their low-power counterparts are. Unlike sociolinguistic studies (Brown and Levinson, 1987), face negotiation theorists in communicative studies such as (Oetzel and Tiny, 2003; Merkin, 2004, 2005) investigate facework in cultural contexts using the cultural universal approach advocated by Hofstede (1996, 2001). My study contributes to explaining how Hofstede's cultural values/ dimensions are used as solid background information to interpret the choice of politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987) by the 'ṭwah's representatives in the

facework of the 'ṭwah.

On investigation of this cultural dimension in Jordan, Sulieman (2017) assesses attitudes of management students at Alzaytoonah University in Jordan toward managers' leadership styles. Sulieman (2017) finds that a manager expects to accept/ hold greater power distance than their organisation's members because of their role. Thus, this result shows that there is high-power distance between subordinates and superordinates among Jordanians in the workplace. This means that the majority of Jordanians seems to acknowledge and accept a hierarchical order in which Jordanian members hold a particular status in organisations and institutions. As Sabri (2004) describes, Jordanian culture is known to respect authority-i.e. subordinates orient their respectful behaviours towards superordinates. Therefore, there are institutionalised power differences between a person in a high social position and a person in a low social position in institutions such as the justice institution. Sulieman (2017) further finds that his results of the power distance index give support to Hofstede's study of the Arab group. That is, this result agrees with Hofstede's description of the Arab group in the IBM company as a high-power group. This important illustration of power distance among Jordanians in a workplace might have a high effect on politeness; for instance, the employee could address his/-her boss with his/-her title, such as Dr, engineer, and manager; this would be correct and acceptable in the workplace. In the same line of politeness perspective, Merkin (2006) illustrates that politeness in a low-power group refers to employing verbal expressions such as indirect utterances by depending on hints (as those discussed in the work of Hofstede (2001)) in order to show respect and to mitigate face-threatening events when addressing people with high power. In the context of the 'ṭwah as a ritual restorative justice institution, the delegation leaders could use religious verses for requesting peace, forgiveness, and reconciliation; namely, they show more concern for politeness and use less confrontational communicative styles because they have less institutionalised power status than the victim's clan leaders. In another example from

the ‘ṭwah context, the ‘ṭwah’s representatives have different institutionalised power; however, the speaker might use الاخوة (al-ikhwah) (the brothers) as an addressing term to minimise the social distance and to show solidarity among them. The rationale behind using this address term in the ‘ṭwah context is that the most important feature in the ‘ṭwah process is to restore justice among the disputing parties and to respect the traditional values and rituals of Jordan through rebuilding a friend relationship. Therefore, a restoration of peace through a restoration of the victim’s clan’s respect is the most important parameter in the ‘ṭwah process as a facework in managing conflicts.

In light of the above discussion, I argue that Hofstede’s (1991, 2001, 2005) clarification of this dimension applies to the ‘ṭwah as a ritual restorative justice institution. For instance, the victim’ clan leaders have more powerful role than the delegation leaders in the ‘ṭwah; which could enable the victim’s clan leaders to employ direct utterances when asking for retribution as an example. In contrast, the delegation leaders could employ indirect utterances when asking for reconciliation as an example due to their less institutionalised power role than that of the victim’s clan leaders. Following, I discuss another cultural dimension introduced by Hofstede.

In his second cultural dimension, Hofstede (2001: 225) suggests that “individualism stands for a society in which everyone is expected to look after him/-herself and his/-her immediate family only”. Furthermore, Hofstede (2001: 225) suggests that “collectivism stands for a society 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”. That is, individualism indicates that individuals are more likely to prioritise their own-being over the group’s interest. In contrast, collectivism focuses on group’s goals. In other words, collectivism refers to the individual’s commitments to their group’s goals (Walker, 2014). De Mooij and Hofstede (2010) confirm these arguments by duplicating Hofstede’s (2001) definition of individualism and collectivism; they describe it

as “people looking after themselves and their immediate family only, versus people belonging to in-group that look after them in exchange for loyalty” (ibid: 88-89). Moving on to individualism and collectivism in the ‘ṭwah, collectivism refers to how the victim’s clan leaders obey their group’s interests over their self-interests; they follow their group’s instructions such as asking for punishment for the offender even if they could be forced to participate, as clarified in section (2.3). In other words, the *desire* of the victim’s clan leaders is to restore their group’s respect by pursuing what is imposed on them by the ritual restorative justice institution (the ‘ṭwah). Similarly, collectivism in the ‘ṭwah refers to how the delegation leaders prioritise their group’s interests over their own interests. Thus, the delegation leaders aim to save their faces as members belonging to a group and not exclusively as individuals. Hence, both representatives’ leaders focus on maintaining their group’s *desire* by fulfilling their group’s *wants* rather than their own *desire* even if they are not involved in the damage caused by the perpetrator in order to be within the ‘ṭwah as a conventional norm to solve the dispute. Furthermore, collectivism in the ‘ṭwah might indicate how the delegation leaders build group harmony based on asking for peace to maintain shared social values through application of this conventional norm. Simultaneously, collectivism in the ‘ṭwah could indicate how the victim’s clan leaders build ‘collectivism’ by restoring respect of their clan through retribution.

De Mooij and Hofstede (2010) also claim that individualistic cultures might be low-communicative cultures due to their use of explicit verbal communication; individuals could use explicit utterances which directly reflect their own interest without taking into consideration other interests. In contrast, the identity of an individual in collectivistic cultures is based on the society and maintaining face is important (ibid). Moreover, individuals in collectivistic societies could use indirect utterances such as hints; therefore, the collectivistic culture could be a high-context communicative culture (Merkin, 2006). Representatives of the ‘ṭwah might use an indirect request act based on employing religious verses as an

example. In other words, by using implicit utterances (indirect utterances such as hints) the speakers could focus on maintaining the face of others over their own faces; they focus on achieving others' face by maintaining the group's respect over their own respect through non-imposition of their own goal on others in order to rebuild group harmony. Thus, the 'ṭwah's representatives do not only orient towards goals of their group as a powerful or dominant group but also, as a group, maintains a conventional norm by upholding social values such as peace and respect, as shown in section (2.3).

Ivancevich and Konopaske (2004) further characterise individualistic people as self-concept, self-ego, and self-interest, whereas collectivistic people are more group oriented and conscious of the group's interest rather than their own interests. Triandis (1995) views collectivism as a social feature; individuals see themselves as a part of an in-group such as a family or a clan. Therefore, collectivistic people could have a sense of security and protection within the group to which they belong. In other words, collectivistic society members could protect each other because they see themselves as complementary to each other in a group, which in turn maintains in-group cohesion.

In light of the above discussion, Hofstede (2001) confirms that this cultural dimension is comprised of contrasting classifications-i.e. individualism is viewed as the opposite of collectivism in that characteristics of collectivistic society members are opposite to those characteristics of individualistic society members. However, society members could sometimes be collectivistic members or individualistic members depending on the situation. Triandis (1995) discusses that the two poles of this dimension can coexist and vary depending on the situation in the culture. For instance, I argue that society members sometimes depend on themselves not on others to solve a problem such as solving a dispute with a friend without resorting to their own group to solve. In this case, the situation does not require their group members to interfere. In contrast, I discuss that society members sometimes depend on their group to solve complex cases such as murder cases because this kind of case might threaten

in-group cohesion due to the victim clan's revenge; therefore, this situation requires the members' group to interfere to solve the dispute in order to prevent further conflicts.

Regarding investigation of collectivistic and individualistic dimension in Jordanian culture, Khattab, Manasra, Abo-Zaid and Qutaishat (2012) find that the notion of 'individualism' among Jordanian students at Al-Balqa' Applied University is the dominant feature among these students. Khattab et al. (2012) explain this result by observing that most Jordanian students chose the option "I do not like to rely on others" (ibid: 89). Thus, these students prefer the notion of 'individualism' over the notion of 'collectivism' through independence in order to achieve their own interest rather than their group's interest. Based on this result, I think that collectivism is not for every member in this culture; women and men could be more aware of their children's needs in particular situations, and they could sometimes focus more on how they secure a higher position in their job as an example than focusing on their in-group aims. As another example, middle-class members could give more priority to their groups more than high-class members do because the middle class may consider the family as central in achieving many matters in their lives such as helping each other in agricultural and financial matters, among others. Simultaneously, people from higher classes could take actions to protect their powerful status such as resorting to their group to protect them against any social protest (Van Zomeren, Postmes and Spears, 2008). These categories could have different religious perspectives; for instance, in the 'ṭwah process, Muslims and Christians could maintain 'belief in God' as a social value through following God's instructions set out in the Quran and the Bible to solve the dispute in order to maintain in-group harmony. This in turn could maintain a sort of community cohesion; this agrees with Hofstede (1991, 2001) who confirms that in-group harmony is fundamentally connected with group members and their communities. Far away from the 'ṭwah context, I argue that, generally, some people could behave religiously in different ways; for instance, the Islamic religion imposes صوم رمضان (fasting in Ramadan) for Muslims. However, many Muslims

breach this religious norm covertly because if they do so in a public, they could be judged by other members of a society as a transgressor of religious norms. Thus, maintaining their social appearances is the priority in this society.

Referring to another study about Jordanian culture, applying Hofstede's work, Alkailani, Azzam and Athamneh (2012) find that individualism is not the dominant feature among Master's students in different Jordanian universities. According to the results of their study, Alkailani et al. (2012) describe how collectivistic students are connected to the in-group's norms and responsibilities. As Hofstede (1991) illustrates, the "we group (or in-group)" (ibid: 91) is a distinctive feature that characterises people referring to the in-group's *desire*, whereas "they" (ibid) is a typical feature that characterises people in an individualistic culture. Thus, Hofstede's (1991) discussion of collectivism seems to affect the interpretation of the 'ṭwah context. For instance, leaders of clans show their loyalty to their groups by giving priority to their groups' *desire* rather than their own *desire* such as their collective request for paying an amount of money as a compensation which reflects the desire of everyone in the group to restore their damaged honour and dignity. That is, the 'ṭwah could impose collectivism on leaders by implementing specific requirements as a part of this conventional norm rather than the decision of leaders in order to maintain shared social values. In other words, leaders do not have choices in the 'ṭwah. As a result, these leaders focus on their group's aim reflecting justice based on the 'ṭwah over their own aims. In other words, these leaders focus more on restoring the damaged honour, respect, and dignity of their clans by following the 'ṭwah rather than fulfilling their own purposes; therefore, they could prefer to build in-group harmony by achieving their groups' collectivistic requirements are imposed by the 'ṭwah.

Alkailani, et al. (2012) also point out that cooperation, relationship building, trustworthiness, and solidarity with others could be valued in Jordan as a collectivistic society. They further add that members of Jordanian collectivistic society could share

characteristics such as respect and forgiveness as a direct effect of religion which calls for maintaining group harmony when preventing murder cases as an example. However, I posit that a religion is a reflection of social values such as respect, generosity, peace, forgiveness, and retribution which are found to differing degrees in each society. My study highlights the religion as a set of shared social values to understand how Jordanian men reconstruct religious values for shared social values to be preserved when addressing other men in the ‘*ṭwah* as an institutional context.

Further on collectivism, Gudykunst (2003: 78) describes the majority of members of the collectivistic cultures as “interdependent, and as a result, they work, play, and live in close proximity to one another” in order to feel more secure within a group. This indicates that members of collectivistic cultures are likely to be committed to the group they belong to. Thus, the concepts of collectivism and individualism could play a significant role in demonstrating how people behave in social interactions. Ogiemann (2009a: 2) confirms that “Hofstede’s dimensions of collectivism and individualism [are] closely related to Brown and Levinson’s distinction between positive and negative politeness, in that collectivistic cultures seem to be more positive oriented and individualistic cultures seem to be more negative oriented” (as positive and negative politeness explained in section (3.6)). That is, members of a collectivistic culture could employ positive politeness strategies which reflect solidarity by minimising the social distance among interlocutors through showing that the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of people who share a common ground, such as using the ‘we’ plural pronoun when addressing one person. In contrast, members of individualistic cultures could employ negative politeness strategies which reflect respect to the hearer such as using ‘hedges’ to mitigate the direct request when addressing the hearer. Therefore, in the context of the ‘*ṭwah* data which I investigate, Jordanian members in this ritual restorative justice institution could focus on positive politeness strategies and other politeness strategies in order to build ‘collectivism’ for

shared social values to be preserved such as respect, peace, dignity, forgiveness, face, retribution, and respect.

In light of the above discussion, I posit that Hofstede's (1991, 2001, 2005) clarification of collectivism and individualism applies to the 'ṭwah. That is, the 'ṭwah's representatives show their obedience to their group by achieving their group's requirements which are predefined by the 'ṭwah. Therefore, these leaders could resort to asking for retribution to achieve their group's *desire*, which in turn maintains their role as representatives of their groups and, as representatives, follow the 'ṭwah's rules as a conventional norm. Hence, the notion of 'collectivism' could be the dominant feature in the 'ṭwah. Despite Hofstede's (1991) classification of seven Arab countries (Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) as collectivistic cultures, I criticise his classification that collectivism is not for everyone in the society because of cultural variations within the same culture. Furthermore, individuals could sometimes be collectivistic and individualistic depending on the situation, as explained above. In the following paragraph, I discuss Hofstede's third cultural dimension.

In his third cultural dimensional model, Hofstede (2001) makes a distinction between the masculine and feminine cultural dimensions, where the masculine dimension is being created by the importance of earnings, recognition, and challenge. On the other hand, the feminine dimension is created by co-operation, comfortable living environment, and employment security (ibid). Arguably, Hofstede (2001) establishes this cultural dimension on the masculine and feminine values according to fixed ideas around gender; for instance, he valued friendly atmosphere as one of the feminine values by depending on a stereotypical description of femininity as being communicative and emotive. In contrast, he valued advancement and earnings as masculine values according to a stereotypical description of masculinity as being leaders and independent. Hofstede (2001) defines Masculinity-Femininity as "the degree to which such masculine values as advancement, earnings, and

training, up [verses] such feminine values as the friendly atmosphere, position security, and cooperation are valued” (ibid: 281). Similarly, Teras, Steel and Stackhouse (2023) state that masculine cultures focus on material success and assertiveness, whereas feminine cultures stress interpersonal relationships and the quality of life. Hofstede (1994: 6) also states that “the degree to which values like assertiveness, performance, success, and competition [in masculine cultures] prevail over values like the quality of life, maintaining warm personal relationships, service, care for the weak, and solidarity [pervade in feminine cultures]”. De Mooij and Hofstede (2010) add that a differentiation of gender roles is a crucial component in this cultural dimension; for instance, femininity is related to domestic duties or roles while masculinity is related to powerful roles such as leadership. On a discussion of this cultural dimension in Jordanian culture, Alkailani et al. (2012) find that Jordanian society puts a high emphasis on a separation of things according to gender; for instance, things are for boys/-men such as cars and things are for girls/-women such as dolls. In terms of a distribution of social conventional roles, Jordanian culture distributes these roles according to fixed conceptions of gender; for example, men can attend a dispute resolution in the tribal ritual justice institution while women are not allowed, as clarified in section (2.3)).

Based on descriptions of masculinity and femininity, Al-Marrani and Sazalie (2010) suggest that masculine attributes suggested by Hofstede (1991, 2001, 2005) are linked to how masculinity reflects powerful role by employing direct strategies in performing a request without the fear of losing face- as the notion of face is explained in section (3.6). My study sheds light on an investigation of the language used by the male representatives of the ‘ṭwah such as using the masculine-in group identity marker الاخوه (al-ikhwah) (the brothers) in the ritual restorative justice institution.

On this dimension, Fougère and Moulettes (2007) criticise Hofstede’s (1991) work in that he did not give a clear meaning of this dimension and a clear differentiation of its gender roles. In fact, Hofstede (2001) claims that many scholars have misunderstood this

dimension and do not understand the intersection in social gender roles. Every society, every ethnic group, and every culture has gender role expectations; however, they can be very different from group to group. For instance, girls and women might be polite in general but, in a particular situation, they could be bolder and more aggressive than men. I argue that communicative attributes are not only related to the femininity dimension but may also be attributed to masculinity which could be reflected in the language used such as using the begging act as an emotional aspect in the ritual restorative justice institution in Jordanian culture, as clarified in Chapter Five.

In light of the above discussion, I criticise Hofstede's (1991, 2001, 2005) description of this dimension in how he based it on a distribution of masculinity and femininity values according to stable ideas around gender. Furthermore, I argue that particular situations in the 'ṭwah require focusing on what values are considered more important than others such as building a relationship balance which could be reflected in the male leaders in the 'ṭwah, choosing request strategies as clarified when addressing the second research question. In the following paragraphs, I briefly introduce the last two cultural dimensions suggested by Hofstede (1991, 2001, 2005).

Beside the previous cultural dimensions, Hofstede (2001) introduces another cultural dimension which is Uncertainty Avoidance (UA). Hofstede (2005: 167) defines this cultural dimension as "the degree to which the members of a culture feel endangered by unclear or unknown circumstances". That is, it is a measurement of the degree of the individuals' sense of fear in unfamiliar situations. In other words, people seem to be constrained by particular (familiar) routines. Thus, people could be restricted to specific traditions, rules, and regulations and it could find them difficult to change in order to avoid unexpected results. To minimise the level of uncertainty, society could implement rules, laws, and regulations, as Hofstede (1991: 113) claims that there is "a need for written rules" to minimise a sense of risk. Regarding the conventional restorative justice institution in Jordanian culture, the

roles of the 'ṭwah's representatives are predefined and determined by judiciary law as fixed procedures in most 'ṭwah cases such as asking for punishment for the offender; therefore, Jordanian members follow these procedures as constant main components in the 'ṭwah as a conventional norm, as described in the next section.

The last cultural dimension is a Long-Short Term Orientation (LTO). It refers to the extent to which a society invests for the future and the extent to which a society is patient for results. Hofstede (2005: 210) defines this cultural dimension as “the degree to which employees encourage long-run planning or short-run planning”. That is, short-term-oriented cultures tend to look for quick results in the near future. In the 'ṭwah context, by following predefined the 'ṭwah's procedures, the 'ṭwah's representatives will achieve quick results within a short time because the problem is solved during one session in most 'ṭwah cases. This differentiates the ritual restorative justice from other justice settings such as courtrooms (for more details, see section (2.3)). I think this dimension is unclear in clarifying what type of investment; is it financial or agricultural or industrial or relational investment?

In conclusion, Hofstede's (1991, 2001, 2005) cultural dimensional model is important in my study because this model can help to build background information to interpret particular behaviours of the 'ṭwah's representatives. In other words, Hofstede's cultural dimensional model appears to encapsulate the fundamental knowledge of how Jordanian culture affects behaviour of the 'ṭwah's representatives. For instance, according to Hofstede's (2001) discussion of 'power', it is related to a hierarchy order of the 'ṭwah's representatives in the tribal ritual restorative justice institution. That is, the victim's clan leaders have more institutionalised power status than the delegation leaders. Therefore, this powerful role reflects in the language used by the 'ṭwah's representatives when addressing each other; for example, the victim's clan leaders employ direct utterances when asking for retribution. Regarding the second cultural dimensional model, that is 'collectivism and

individualism' (Hofstede, 2001). Hofstede (2001) clarifies collectivism as how members of society show loyalty to their group by giving priority to their group's interests/aims over their personal aims. Therefore, I agree with Hofstede (2001) that collectivism in the 'ṭwah refers to where the male representatives belong to the same set of people who share a common ground such as asking for retribution as a part of the ritual. However, I criticise this cultural dimensional model that individuals could be collectivistic and individualistic according to the situation as clarified when I discussed this dimension above. Regarding the notions of 'masculinity and femininity', Hofstede (2001) introduces masculine and feminine values which play important roles in interpreting gender-specific behaviour. However, I criticise Hofstede's (2001) assertion that the stereotypical characteristics of this dimension could differ from one situation to another, as illustrated when I clarified this cultural dimension. In the next section, I investigate العطوه العشائريه (the 'ṭwah) as a social conventional norm used by male Jordanians in order to settle the dispute between the offender's clan and the victim's clan.

2.3 The tribal ritual restorative justice in Jordan: العطوه العشائريه (the 'ṭwah)

Before an illustration of the 'ṭwah in Jordan, I introduce the ethnographic structure in Jordan, where 98% of the population are Arabs and 2% are Chechens, Circassians, and Armenians (Gharaybeh, 2014). Arabs hold the cultural identity which is bounded with a common history. The Arab community can be described as a tribal community depending on a region and a history; also, the Arab identity may sometimes have a religious identity. I also argue that Arab identity can sometimes have a linguistic identity; for instance, some Arabs depend on sacred texts when performing the request act. Regarding Chechens, they belong to the Chechen Republic which is located in the north Caucasus. They came to Jordan through the Ottoman authorities as a result of the Caucasian war. They have their own folklore, they speak Chechen, and they are Muslims. Circassians belong to the Northwest Caucasian ethnic group who natively come from Circassia, and they came to

Jordan through the Ottoman authorities. Armenians belong to Armenia which was a part of the Soviet republic in the Caucasus region, and also came to Jordan through the Ottoman authorities. They are Christians and they speak the Armenian language. Gharaybeh (2014) adds that-according to the religious structure in Jordan-Muslims comprise about 94% of the population, while Christians comprise about 6%. That is, Muslims are the majority religious group in Jordanian culture, while Christians are the minority.

In this section, I demonstrate the meaning and the aim of the 'ṭwah process in Jordanian culture and comparing it with the civil law. Formal legal systems typically concentrate on infractions, but they may fail to restore the damaged relationship caused by the perpetrator (Pely and Luzon, 2018). In Jordan, a failure of formal legal systems in restoring the damaged relationship could affect the lives of the disputants' extended families/-tribes (ibid). Pely and Luzon (2018) describe Jordanian extended families/-tribes as a dependant entity that finds itself inside the context of its extended group called العشيره (a tribe or a clan) forming a social group. According to Stets and Burke (2000), the tribe or the clan is a social group that includes a collection of people who share a common social identity or who regard themselves as members of the same social category such as a family and a clan/-a tribe. Watkins (2014: 33) also describes the tribe/-the clan in Jordan as "acting in accordance with extended [men] kinship links, and [being] recognised by Jordanians as a prevailing feature of their culture". Therefore, the dispute resolution in Jordan is related to groups rather than individuals (Watkins, 2014) as a restorative justice between the victim's clan and the offender's clan, and the community.

On restorative justice, Pely and Luzon (2018) determine the aim of restorative justice (henceforth, RJ) as a process based on a collaboration between the parties: the victim, the offender, and the community to solve a conflict. Pely (2016) defines conflict as a social incident that reflects the offender's behaviour and effects negatively on the offended party. Referring to RJ, it focuses on a victim in the conflict resolution (ibid). Moreover, RJ

concentrates on taking responsibility which mitigates the offender's sense of shame and the victim's sense of damaged honour and dignity caused by the offender's harm and "extends support to the victims by meeting their needs" (ibid: 290). Generally, taking responsibility entails relieving the offender's sense of shame and encouraging future support for the offender's reintegration into a society (Pely and Luzon, 2018).

On restorative justice in Jordan, nomadic people and their traditions have left a strong mark on Jordanian culture. Despite the rapid social and cultural changes brought about modernisation and state structures in Jordan, Jordanian society still differs from Western societies (Pely,2016). That is, despite the fact that pastoral nomadism has diminished rapidly in village and city modes of a social life, the tribal ritual dispute resolution is still applied in Jordanian culture. The Jordanian dispute resolution follows a customary process which is known as the 'ṭwah. As I argued in the first chapter, I did not translate the 'ṭwah into the English language as (the tribal truce) because it is a strategic process including a set of predefined stages conducted by well-known personalities in Jordan for negotiating reparation among the disputing parties. The 'ṭwah process consists of the *restorative justice* by restoring the damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan and *the public apology* by ensuring the delegation is equipped to achieve the victim's clan's requirements. Irani and Funk (2000: 53) define the 'ṭwah as a "process [that] has been used to refer both to a ritualised process of restorative justice and peace-making". Local political and/or religious leaders administer public justice and decide the outcome of clan feuds or individual conflicts in Jordan. In the 'ṭwah process, prime ministers, ministers, members of the Jordanian parliament, and شيوخ القبائل (Shaykhs) (leaders of clans) representing the offender's clans and the victim's clans regulate the 'ṭwah process in order to restore peace among the disputing parties through meeting their requirements, which in turn restores the damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan and mitigates the offender's sense of shame. This confirms that group solidarity, traditional precepts, and norms relating to

honour and shame retain their place despite the social change (Irani and Funk, 2000). Thus, the ‘ṭwah largely depends on maintaining essential social values which is significant in resolving a conflict, as explained when answering the first research question.

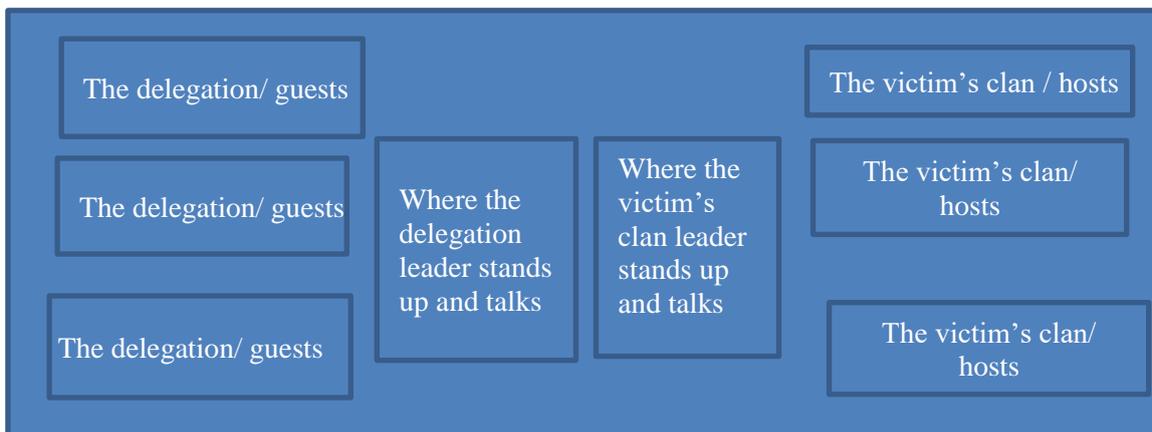
In light of the discussion above, Pely and Luzon (2018: 295) state that

“[A]n individual who resorts to the courts does not solve the problem of the group. Whatever the result of the court action, the need for mediation persists because [negotiation] with disputants continues to be considered important in maintaining the solidarity of the group”.

Regarding a mediation, a mediator is usually a well-known figure such as a prime minister, or a minister, or a member of the Jordanian parliament or, Shaykh (a leader of the clan) in Jordan. Assawae (2018: 190) describes the leader of the clan (Shaykh) as “ha[ving] rights over others, such as to be obeyed, highly respected, appreciated, and dignified by both elders and younger. Also, no one should interrupt him when speaking, either internally among his group, or publicly among other groups”. Thus, there could be no interruption in the ‘ṭwah process. In the ‘ṭwah process, there are two mediators: one representing the offender’s clan (the delegation leader) and the other representing the victim’s clan (the victim’s clan leader). The offender and the victim’s clan authorise these leaders to represent them in the ‘ṭwah process because of their political and social roles which enable them to resolve any dispute within the Jordanian community. The delegation gathers with the victim’s clan in a place called *مضافه عشيره الضحيه* (a guesthouse of the victim’s clan). Generally, Jordanians gather in this place to achieve their social activities such as resolving their dispute or celebrating different occasions such as engagements and weddings (Watkins, 2014). I demonstrate seating arrangements in the ‘ṭwah meetings in the guesthouse of the victim’s clan in Figure 1 below, in order to illustrate how the audience watches and listens to the speakers and how the speakers watch and listen to each other. The delegation and the victim’s clan include a number of men, but there are only two leaders who have a right to speak in the ‘ṭwah process. Watkins (2014: 39) emphasises that the delegation leader and the victim’s clan leader must “possess the language of atwa”. This

means that the delegation leader and the victim’s clan leader should be familiar with the linguistic strategies used in a negotiation with each other in the ‘ṭwah. That is, both leaders use different linguistic strategies which distinguish one leader from the other when asking for their requirements, and reflect their social ritual role in the ‘ṭwah.

Figure 1. Seating arrangements at the ‘ṭwah procedures



On the ‘ṭwah, Pely and Luzon (2018: 295-296) illustrate that it is based on a “common Shari’a” rule and they describe it as a traditional restorative justice in order to manage the inter- and intra-clan disputes. Regarding الشريعة الاسلاميه (Shariah), it is a religious law based on the Quran that establishes guidelines for spiritual, mental, and physical behaviour that Muslims must adhere to. It categorises all Muslims’ acts into five categories: obligatory, recommended, permitted, discouraged, and forbidden. For instance, one of the regulations of this conventional practice based on Shariah is *الديه* (diyah) (a blood money compensation)”- (Watkins, 2014: 37). It is an amount of money paid from the offender’s clan to the victim’s clan as a way of expressing their sense of shame due to the offender’s act. This, in turn, restores the damaged honour and dignity of the victim’s clan and mitigates the offender clan’s sense of shame. That is, diyah (a blood money compensation) is an aspect of an ideal restoring a balance in a relationship between disputing parties in a society (Pely, 2016). This regulation is based on the following Quranic verse:

قال الله تعالى: وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ أَنْ يَقتُلَ مُؤْمِنًا إِلَّا خَطَاً وَمَنْ قَتَلَ فَتَحْرِيرُ رَقَبَةٍ مُؤْمِنَةٍ وَدِيَةٌ مُسَلَّمَةٌ

The Almighty says: “No believer should kill another believer, unless it be by mistake.

Anyone who kills a believer should pay blood money to the victim's relatives".

(AL-Nisa' (The Women) :The Quran, 92: 67)

The second regulation of this conventional practice based on Shariah is القصاص (Al-qasas) (a punishment for the offender by applying the law state to him/-her), as the Almighty suggests in the following Quranic verse:

قال الله تعالى: "وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ"

The Almighty says: "in retribution there is a life for you".

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah): The Quran, 179: 19)

In light of the above, the 'ṭwah process is based on these religious regulations: diyah (a blood money compensation) and qasas (retribution) which refer to اطاعه أوامر الله (obeying God's instructions) as He has the highest authority over believers. أطاعه أوامر الله (obeying Allah's instructions) and اطاعه أوامر الملك (obeying the king's instructions) are the main pillars in Jordanian culture as shown in Figure 2 below. This figure shows a picture of King Abdallah Ibn Al-Hussein, the current King of Jordan. In addition, the figure includes the three main values known as shared social values in Jordanian culture: الله (Allah), الوطن (the homeland) and الملك (the king). These main pillars seem to preserve stability in Jordan; the first value represents a commitment to Allah's instructions based on what He mentions in His Holy books such as not killing innocent people in order to preserve in-group harmony. The second value represents a commitment to the King's instructions based on what he states in laws such as a retribution of the offender through an application of law to him/-her in order to maintain in-group harmony, which in turn preserves a sort of social harmony in الوطن (the homeland). This figure is found in every governmental and prominent institution such as a clan's guesthouse which reflects the main cultural values in Jordan, as I discussed above.

Figure 2. The social cultural values in Jordanian culture



The reward in the 'ṭwah is not only related to money but is also a social reward; the victim's clan leader shows a high level of a social reward when maintaining the delegation's reputation by granting the 'ṭwah to the delegation. In contrast, the delegation leaders show a high level of social reward when restoring respect of the victim's clan by achieving their requirements such as the offender's retribution. This, in turn, assists in reintegrating the offender's clan in a society and mitigates their sense of shame. Admittedly, the primary goal of 'ṭwah is to guarantee that the delegation assists the victim's clan in restoring their respect.

On الشرف (honour) and the 'ṭwah, conflicts are mostly seen by disputants, interveners, and the general public as being directly tied to a sense of loss of honour (Pely, 2016). A more acceptable interpretation is that the root of inter-and intra-group conflict is not a struggle over the clan's honour related to an individual perception, but also it is related to the community as a whole. Thus, honour is important to build ties and bonds between groups involved in honour-based cultures. According to Pely (2016), honour is important in the dispute resolution; no dispute will be settled without it. In other words, honour is the heart of 'ṭwah. That is, conflicts arise as a result of a breach in one's honour, and they are resolved by restoring one's honour through meeting the requirements of the offended party in the 'ṭwah process. As a result, Pely and Luzon (2018: 290) illustrate the importance of

the “Reintegrative Shaming Theory” (henceforth, RST) in restorative justice for the creation of a bond between the offender, the victim, and the community. From that, RST aims to mobilise offender clans’ conscience in order to construct relationships of respect between them and the victim’s clan (Pely, 2018). Therefore, the central focus of the tribal dispute resolution in Jordanian culture is on preserving values such as “honour, saving face, wisdom, generosity, respect, dignity, and forgiveness” (Gellman and Vuinovich, 2009: 140). Watkins (2014: 32) also confirms the role of maintaining shared social values in the ‘ṭwah process by stating that it is “a method of conformity with the dominant values” which are known and could be shared in different degrees in Jordanian culture. Pely and Luzon (2018) point out that saving face, wisdom, respect, and dignity are directly related to honour through meeting requirements of the victim’s clan. While generosity and forgiveness are not associated with honour, they are related to mitigation of the offender clan’s sense of shame through giving the ‘ṭwah to the delegation by the victim’s clan. This behaviour of the victim’s clan shows a high level of forgiveness and generosity, despite their pain due to the loss of their son/-daughter.

Referring to honour, Cohen (2001) point out that honour is at the centre of the tribe/-the clan in the majority of Middle Eastern societies or in the Arab world. Cohen (2001: 37) explicates the meaning of honour in the majority of the Arabic societies as: “In this segmented, honour-based society, clan rivalry is endemic. Conflicts may ignite over matters of honour, which can be anything concerning women¹, land, property, and one's good name or that of one's family”.

The role of honour in the ‘ṭwah is more complex because it is mutual cooperation and collaboration between the delegation and the victim’s clan. That is, the delegation wants to maintain their honour which is represented in maintaining their reputation through meeting

¹ Women: honour is related to women by maintaining women’s virginity from childhood until they officially get married in the Arab world. Thus, the notion of “virginity” is precious in the Arab World, the same as preserving land, property, and one’s reputation.

their requirements, which in turn reintegrates the offender and their clan into the community, and the victim's clan wants to restore their honour through meeting their requirements; therefore, there could be different strategies used by each group to achieve their particular goals. As a result-by meeting each group's requirements in the 'ṭwah - the representatives thus 'save' their group-image not only in front of their group members, but in front of a community, as Pely (2016) confirms that both groups' interests lie in preserving and restoring their honour not just in front of themselves but also in front of the community.

In general, inter-group and intra-group conflicts lead to negative relationships which are resolved by the 'ṭwah process through cooperation and collaboration between the delegation and the victim's clan, despite the victim's clan being 'forced' to take place. That is, the victim's clans have to follow and accept the 'ṭwah's procedures as a part of Jordanian customs and traditions. Thus, the victim's clans have to apply the 'ṭwah without question because any breach of the 'ṭwah's procedures could be a violation of customs and traditions (Pely and Luzon, 2018), which in turn affect reputation and the social position of the victim's clan in Jordanian culture.

In the context of the 'ṭwah, the social group is blood-related groups playing a central place in the ritual conflict resolution (Pely, 2016). Therefore, an investigation of conflict would be incomplete without consideration of the group identity rather than personal/-individual identity. For instance, the social group in the 'ṭwah is divided into a) the victim's clan whose leader is a member of this clan and who is responsible for restoring this clan's honour and dignity, and b) the delegation whose leader is responsible for restoring the damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan through meeting their requirements, which in turn restores peace among the disputing parties.

In light of the above, the 'ṭwah is a satisfactory explanation for the requirements of the in-group as a collective requirement. This, in turn, aims to achieve the following goals: restoring the damaged relationships, supporting the victim's clan through meeting their

requirements, and mitigating the offender clan's sense of shame. It is worth mentioning that one of the main requirements of the victim's clan as a collective requirement is الجوى (jalwah) (exile) which means that it is a compulsory moving of the offender's relatives in order "to give [them] the opportunity for settling the dispute and to ensure the security and protection of the defendant and his clan" (Al-Abbadi, 2006: 75).

To ensure an application of the 'ṭwah process in Jordan, the 'ṭwah falls under الحكم القضائي العشائري (the tribal judiciary system) (Watkins, 2014). Therefore, all Jordanians-Muslims and Christians from the East and West Banks, and rural and urban tribes- follow الحكم القضائي العشائري (the tribal judiciary system) (ibid). Watkins (2014) clarifies that القانون العشائري (the tribal law) works in tandem with the state law in Jordan-i.e. the existence of the tribal law in Jordan does not prevent the civil law from be applied to the offender through a punishment for the offender. In other words, it is compulsory for those guilty of a crime go through both systems. However, some Jordanians consider this customary procedure as an outdated one used to solve the dispute (ibid), as I can confirm this point on observing the following interesting comment on the YouTube thread, as shown in Figure 3 below, reflecting some controversies around atwa in the Jordanian society.

Figure 3. A Jordanian's point of view about the 'ṭwah



The comment in this figure is: لكن هذه عادات باليه و لا بد ان يكون القانون هو الحكم بين الجميع which is translated into English as "these traditions are outdated; the law should judge between people".

On comparing both systems, according to the civil law the defendants are often brought to law courts handcuffed and accompanied by police; therefore, the civil court has

strict obligations related to when and how the disputing parties can speak. According to the tribal judiciary system, the disputing parties attend the sessions without being brought to them by the police. Moreover, the tribal judiciary system representing the ‘ṭwah shifts the focus from the individuals (the offender/-the offended) or (the perpetrator/-the victim) to the disputing parties (the victim’s clan and the offender’s clan) (Watkins, 2014). Furthermore, in comparing the civil law to the tribal judiciary system, the former ignores the role of kinship in resolving conflicts among the disputing parties. That is, the civil law is based on penal codes used in civil courts to judge among the disputing parties. The civil law does not pay attention to restoring harmonious ties among the disputing parties whereas, the tribal justice system, which stems from inherited customs and traditions, aims to maintain solidarity and strong ties among people by restoring disputing parties’ relationships (ibid). Pely and Luzon (2018) confirm that the tribal dispute resolution concentrates on a conventional system for restoring a relationship, unlike most cultures that focus on formal legal systems to repair the damaged relationships. Based on this comparison, the procedures of civil law take a longer time than the procedures of the tribal judiciary system. Linguistically, in comparing the civil law to the tribal judiciary system, the former includes using formal address terms such as ‘Your Excellency’ (as explained in section (3.7), whereas the latter includes using informal address terms such as ‘brother’ as an in-group identity marker. However, I argue that the ‘ṭwah process complements the legal system; when the victim’s clan leaders ask for a retribution, they are referring to a court imposing legal sanctions on the offender.

From that, Watkins (2014: 39) defines the ‘ṭwah as “a settlement between the families which does not prevent the civil court from pursuing a public prosecution”. الديوان الملكي (The Royal Diwan)² authorises the ‘ṭwah in Jordan in cases of blood including murder,

² الديوان الملكي (The Royal Diwan) is the administrative link between the King of Jordan and the Jordanian state including governmental, legislation, and judicial authorities which is also mainly responsible for supervising the relationship between the King and the Jordanian people

manslaughter, and honour cases such as rape cases (which are excluded from my study), as well as including cases other than blood cases such as fights and traffic accidents (ibid). I have focused my study on murder and manslaughter cases; therefore, my study is different from Shehadeh and Wardat's (2017) study which investigated the provisional agreements in car accidents. I have excluded قضايا الشرف أو العرض (honour cases) such as rape cases because these are highly sensitive in Jordan; therefore, Jordanians would not upload details of these cases on YouTube or any social media, unlike other cases. Furthermore, this masculine behaviour is not tolerated at all in Jordanian culture. In other words, Jordanians prohibit honour cases from being announced publicly in Jordanian society because they are considered as a scandal for the perpetrators and for the victims; therefore, this kind of case must be solved by both parties without sharing their details on public forums.

It is worth mentioning that although women have rights in Jordan, this conventional process excludes women from participating in this customary process. This exclusion of women in the 'ṭwah is confirmed by Pely's (2016: 128) statement that "[the tribal dispute resolution] process takes place in a strictly patriarchal setting without the formal physical participation (or even presence) of women". This was also confirmed by Shaykh Abu Riad Ali Shtewe who declared that the 'ṭwah process is a work of men; women have no place in it (ibid). Thus, Watkins (2014: 43) states that "women, whose rights and preferences are often trampled on in customary processes, may have a good reason to prefer civil proceedings". That is, I believe that the majority of Jordanian women prefer the civil law because they can attend court sessions that allow them to express their perspectives or defend themselves related to their cases rather than depending on their male relatives in conventional processes (the 'ṭwah) to solve the problem. I think the rationale for preventing women from participating in the 'ṭwah process is because women's language could be a powerless language such as using mitigative devices reflecting uncertainty and a lack of authority, whereas men's speech could be competitive and authoritative (Swann and

Maybin, 2007). In this customary procedure, the victim's clan leader could resort to the use of imperatives to impose on the delegation leader. Furthermore, the delegation leader could resort to a begging act, but he does not often receive any attention from the victim's clan leader who insists on his opinion. Thus, this customary procedure requires a man to be authoritative in order to achieve the 'ṭwah process.

According to Pely's point of view (2016), Jordanian women could have an informal effect on the 'ṭwah process, although they do not attend personally. A participation of women in the 'ṭwah process can be seen as the pre-deliberation stage; for instance, they could discuss the 'ṭwah's conditions with their families before implementing the 'ṭwah process that requires welcoming and meeting with the delegation. Thus, Pely (2016) confirms this point through conducting multiple interviews with women in the West and East Banks. The author demonstrated that women's participation in the 'ṭwah is an unofficial process. That is, women are often indirectly involved through a discussion with the male family members about the 'ṭwah's conditions. Therefore, women could have an effect on their male relatives to include or exclude or modify some 'ṭwah's conditions such as the 'ṭwah's duration. As a result, men may return the next day with an entirely different point of view about the 'ṭwah's conditions because of women's contribution behind the scenes. However, the male clan member would never confess that it was their female relatives who suggested these conditions (Pely, 2016).

In the final stage of the 'ṭwah process, conditions of the 'ṭwah are documented by الكفيل (kafil) (a guarantor) (Pely and Luzon, 2018). Al-Abbadi (2006) illustrates that there are two types of الكفيل (guarantor) who both are involved in the 'ṭwah:

- كفيل الدفا (kafil al-dafa) (a protecting guarantor): “who is able to maintain the peace between the litigants' kin until a settlement between them” (ibid: 76)
- كفيل الوفا (kafil al-wafa) (a guarantor of an obligation's fulfilment): “who is surety for the payment of compensation for the victim's clan” (ibid: 76).

In conclusion, this conventional method of solving the conflict is a way to promote a social cohesion. That is, the goal of the ‘*ṭwah* process is to maintain a social balance after a crime, and conclude procedures to the satisfaction of all parties in order to maintain community cohesion and restore society’s public order by preventing further conflicts from taking place. As a result, the ‘*ṭwah* process addresses issues that the legal system ignores; namely, the role of the ‘*ṭwah* represents restoring peace among the disputing parties through restoring respect to the victim’s clan, while the role of the legal system is to judge the offender by punishing him/-her due to his/-her criminal act without focusing on restoring a relationship balance. In the next section, I connect the ‘*ṭwah* with the public apology through linking a definition of the public apology with the role of the ‘*ṭwah*.

2.4 Public apology

In this section, I introduce an explanation of public apology in order to link it with the ‘*ṭwah*. Ancarno (2010) points out that a public apology takes the form of a public occurrence rather than a private one, making a definition of public apology more difficult because it takes place in front of people who could have different criteria for considering what the public apology is according to a situation and a culture where it is used. For instance, in Jordan, the ‘*ṭwah* is a public apology because the victim’s clan considers sending the delegation from the side of the offender’s clan for meeting their requirements as a confession or an acknowledgment of the offender’s act. Thus, Ancarno (2010: 7) suggests that scholars should move away from conventional understandings of apologies and instead concentrate on “instances when acts are counted as apologies”. Many studies reflected this pragmatic focus such as Davies, Merison and Goddard (2007) and Jeffries (2007). These studies demonstrate that apologies’ most important aspect is not following a set of rules but what recipients count or consider an apology. Since existing definitions of apologies focus on a private one, these definitions fail to account for public apologies. However, according to Ancarno (2010), Goffman’s (1971: 133) definition of apology seems

to cover the scope of public apologies, in that it is a “remedial exchange and a gesture through which an individual splits himself [herself] into two parts, the part that is guilty of an offence and the part that dissociates itself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule”.

On the previous definition, Goffman (1971) introduces a suitable explanation for the investigation of public apologies that can be due to its emphasis on the ‘social role’ of apology (Ancarno, 2010: 5). Davies et al. (2007: 41) confirm that the role of apology is an “orientation of apologisers towards the rules that have been broken as opposed to the offence alone”. Although Goffman’s definition is suitable for the investigation of public apology, this definition could be challenged in its application to public apologies such as the ‘ṭwah process, when a person apologises on behalf of the offender and the offender’s clan.

There are other definitions introduced by some scholars to define an apology generally, but these definitions are often inadequate for the definition of public apology (Ancarno, 2010). For instance, Holmes (1990: 159) defines apology as “a speech act addressed to B’s (the apologisee) face-needs and intended to remedy an offence for which A (the apologizer) takes responsibility”. However, this definition is suitable to the ‘ṭwah process in that the offender’s clan takes responsibility by sending the delegation to the victim’s clan, which in turn mitigates their sense of shame through meeting requirements of the victim’s clan, as discussed in section (2.3). The public apology in the ‘ṭwah process is related to the victim’s clan leaders and the delegation’s face needs because they are known figures in society such as heads of governments and heads of organised groups or individuals such as شيخ (Shaykh) (a leader of the clan) (as explained in the previous section). As Nobles (2003: 3) suggests, “public apologies are issued by heads of state, governments, religious institutions, organised groups or individuals, non- governmental organisations”.

According to Olshtain (1989), an apology addresses people who have been harmed

by the offence (the offended or the victim). In contrast with Olshtain (1989), Ancarno (2010) suggests that public apologies may be directed to parties other than the offended or the victim. For instance, in the 'ṭwah process, the delegation leaders do not address the victims because they are dead; they address the victim's families and relatives. Ancarno (2010) defines the 'victim' as a person who suffered as a consequence of the offender's act. Despite transparencies in previous definitions for linking them with a definition of public apology, these definitions could share the same purpose of apology to restore the equilibrium of a relationship. However, in the 'ṭwah process, restoring the relationship's balance is less important than other issues such as restoring a social-image of the victim's clan.

Other linguists viewed apologies as "remedies", such as Edmondson (1981: 280) and Leech (1983: 125). This view is suitable to the public apologies' demands because public apologies provide a remedy for an offence that restores the damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan in the 'ṭwah process. Ancarno (2010: 7) states that "public apologies belong to the area of remedial discourse, which is also referred to in academia as a reconciliatory discourse, or restorative discourse" as in the 'ṭwah process (see section (2.3)). In the 'ṭwah process, the public apology relates to restoring the damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan through meeting their requirements by the delegation, which in turn achieves a reconciliation and ends the dispute between the offender's clan and the victim's clan.

In conclusion, as a result of the complexities of public apologies and their differences from private ones, my study aims to find a suitable definition of public apology according to the 'ṭwah in Jordanian culture.

2.5 Conclusion

Hofstede (1991, 2001, and 2005) claims that most Arab cultures are collectivistic ones and positive politeness-oriented. My study aims to prove that Jordanian culture could be

both individualistic and collectivistic through studying a conventional practice called the 'ṭwah. The 'ṭwah process is a strategic performance including specific predefined steps which are conducted by public figures representing both the offender's clan and the victim's clan. Furthermore, the 'ṭwah revolves around preserving social values such as honour, dignity, utility, peace, solidarity, generosity, and forgiveness. The linguistic theories that will be the background for investigation of the cases in my study are covered in the chapter that follow.

Chapter Three: Speech act and politeness theories

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses theories relevant to my study. It begins with an illustration of speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) in order to describe the linguistic analysis of the request speech act conducted by the representatives of the ‘ṭwah, and politeness theory (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987) in order to describe the linguistic analysis of politeness conducted by the leaders when generating the request speech act. This description constitutes the background against which I am going to set the analysis of cases in my study. Then, it moves to discuss some research on ‘politeness’ and ‘request speech act’ in justice settings from different global contexts in order to link these studies with ‘politeness’ and ‘request speech act’ in the ‘ṭwah context. Finally, this chapter ends with a discussion of some research on ‘politeness’ and ‘speech acts’ in Arabic and Jordanian culture in order to demonstrate my contribution to these studies.

3.2 Speech act theory

Austin (1962) was the first scholar who investigated how people perform acts while communicating with words. He stated that “not all sentences are statements” (1962: 1), in that some sentences do not explain anything, and they are not true or false; for example: “welcome to the University of Brighton”. In addition, he explained other types of sentences by pointing out that “the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action” (1962: 5). He termed these utterances as ‘performatives’, and later he termed them as ‘speech acts’. Austin argued that there are three acts in performative utterances: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary. I provide explanations of these as follows:

- A locutionary act: “the performance of an act in saying something” (1962: 94). This act refers to the production of actual utterances and their apparent meaning, including what corresponds to its verbal, syntactic and semantic aspects. For instance, a speaker (S)

addresses a hearer (H): Do you want me to lend you some money?

- An illocutionary act: “the performance of an act of saying something” (1962: 94). This act refers to the semantic force of the utterance; what is the intended meaning and what is the real meaning. The utterance above refers to the force of an offer.
- Perlocutionary act: “the performance of an act by saying something” (1962: 94), which refers to the impact or psychological effects of an utterance on the hearer. That is, the utterance above is meant to respect or admire the hearer.

Austin (1962) mainly focused his work on illocutionary acts such as: offers, requests, apologies, refusals, and invitations, among others, and he classified them into five categories: verdictives (appraising, estimating), exercitives (recommending, ordering, begging), commissives (swearing, promising), behabitives (apologising, congratulating, criticising), and expositives (I deny, I argue, I affirm). In my study, the focus is on the request speech act generated by the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders, with a focus on Searle’s (1969) classification of the function of the request speech act as illustrated below. That is, because Austin’s (1962) classification lacks clarity in terms of his definitions and his overlapping categories, as he (1962: 151) confirms this point by stating, “I am not putting any of this forward as in the very least definitive...It should be clear from the start that there are still wide possibilities of marginal or awkward cases, or of overlaps”. Thus, Searle’s (1969) work has replaced Austin’s (1962) classification with the following categorisation in order to clarify the function of each speech act. Therefore, this classification is useful in my study to clarify how directives are related to what the hearer is required to achieve when performing the request speech act in the ‘ṭwah.

A- Declarations: These are related to immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs.

Examples of these acts are declaring war, christening, marrying, firing from employment, etc.

B- Representatives: These acts are related to how the speaker commits to the truth for

expressing a proposition. Examples of this class are: asserting, concluding, etc.

C- **Expressives:** These are related to the psychological state of the speaker. Examples of this class are: thanking, apologising, welcoming, congratulating, etc.

D- **Commissives:** These focus on how the speaker commits to some future course of action. Examples of these acts are: threatening, offering, promising, etc.

E- **Directives:** These are connected with how the speaker tries to get the hearer to do something. Examples of this class are questioning, begging and requesting.

Searle (1969: 57-71)

Austin's theory was expanded by Searle (1969: 136) who defined speech acts as "the basic minimal units of linguistic communication" (Searle, 1976: 16). According to Wolfson (1981: 123), "speech acts differ cross-culturally not only in the way they are realised but also in their distribution, their frequency of occurrence, and in the functions they serve".

Searle divided speech acts into direct and indirect speech acts. For instance:

A: Please, pass the salt. (direct)

B: Can you pass the salt? (indirect)

Searle (1979: 185)

Both (A) and (B) are common questions used in the English language; both questions have the same function as a request to someone about the salt. However, question (A) is a direct speech act and question (B) is an indirect speech act. Searle (1979) illustrates that there are differences between direct and indirect speech acts by referring to their literal and non-literal meanings. The literal meaning in a question (A) is a request from the speaker to the hearer whereas a question (B) refers to questioning the hearer whether the speaker can ask the hearer about the salt, so the hearer can answer with an affirmative response. Therefore, the function of the question (B) is to ask about the salt indirectly. This distinction is important in my study in order to clarify how a direct speech act and an indirect request speech act are related to politeness. Regarding an indirect speech act, Searle (1975: 64)

confirms how an indirect speech act is related to politeness by stating:

“In the field of indirect illocutionary acts, request is the most useful to study because ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative statements (e.g., leave the room) or explicit performative (e.g., I order you to leave the room), and we therefore seek to find indirect means to our illocutionary ends (e.g., I wonder if you would mind leaving the room). In directives, politeness is the chief motivation for indirectness”.

Both classifications of Austin and Searle have been criticised by Levinson (1983) who argues that neither has clear principles; and Thomas (1995) also argues that both classifications are inconsistent. From a different perspective, Thomas (1995: 93) describes speech act theory as “the first systematic account of language use [which] raises important issues for pragmatic theory”. Also, Ogiermann (2009a) observes that most research in the fields of cross- cultural, interlanguage and intralanguage pragmatics have focused on speech acts.

Understanding speech acts was also the centre of Hymes’ (1974: 5) influential notion of “communicative competence”; which means that an interpretation of the speech acts depends on the communicative events. He describes it as knowing what to say, when and how to say it, and to whom to say it in a socially accepted manner. To make a successful communication, I agree that a speaker requires comprehensive knowledge of the surrounding discourse community’s cultural norms. Furthermore, Hymes (1974) considers three distinct units in any conversation: speech situations, speech events, and speech acts. The speech situations refer to scenarios that occur between interlocutors, such as the interaction between the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders in the ‘ṭwah. The speech events refer to the interaction taking place in a particular time and place; for instance, the ‘ṭwah takes place in a definite time (the evening) and in a definite place (the victim’s clan’s guesthouse) (as described in section (2.2)). Finally, the speech acts refer to how the speaker performs the request speech act within the speech event. For instance, the delegation leaders

perform a request act such as asking for forgiveness in the ‘ṭwah event.

According to Bardovi-Harlig (2001), speech acts have been one of the most thoroughly researched topics in the field of pragmatics³. The rationale of this emphasis is that speech acts could frequently occur in daily communication, and they are the centre for people to communicate with each other (Cohen, 2005). Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003) also illustrate that speech acts describe how a speaker can use a language to achieve specific tasks, and, as Bataineh and Bataineh (2006) state, a successful performance does not only require knowledge of the language but also the appropriate use of that language within a culture.

In my research, I select a request act for an investigation in the ‘ṭwah in Jordanian culture. The rationale for this choice is that this study attempts not only to focus on a request act as a linguistic and pragmatic phenomenon but it also explores the role of social factors such as power (as illustrated in section (3.8)) on the speech act of request among native speakers. For instance, my study investigates the speech act of request used in male-male interactions from similar or different religious backgrounds and from the powerful status of the representatives in the ‘ṭwah context.

This section summarised the speech act theory based on Austin (1962), and what Searle (1969) added to this theory through focusing on how the meaning of the speech act changes according to the culture and the situation where it is used. In the following two sections, I introduce the request speech act followed by a discussion on how Grice (1989) connected speech acts with politeness, with the aim to explain how indirectness in a request act is related to politeness.

3.2.1 Speech act of request

This section describes the linguistic analysis of the request act in order to analyse the

³ Pragmatics: Leech (1983: 13-14) defines it as a “study of meaning and the way to relate that speech with any provided situation”.

cases of my study. Requests are communicative acts in which the speaker asks the hearer to perform an action that benefits the former (Searle, 1976). Searle (1969) identifies the speech act of request to fall under the umbrella term 'directives' and he defines requests as "an attempt to get the hearer to do an act which the speaker wants the hearer to do, and which it is not obvious that the hearer will do in the normal course of events or of the hearer's own accord" (1969: 66). Furthermore, Blum-Kulka (1992) stresses that requests are 'pre-event' acts that have an effect on the hearer, unlike 'post-event' such as apologies that are performed not to affect the hearer. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that the speech act of request threatens the hearer's negative face because the speaker impinges on the hearer's wants or desires (see section (3.6) for a full account of Face Threatening Acts-FTAs). For the successful performance of a request, Searle (1979: 44) suggests the following three conditions:

- Essential condition: it means that the hearer takes the utterance to perform an action.
- Sincerity condition: it means that the speaker wants the hearer to do the act.
- Preparatory condition: it means that the hearer can do what the speaker says.

Furthermore, Searle (1975) classifies requests into *direct* or *indirect*. In the direct request act, the speaker is explicit about what is required from the hearer whereas, in the indirect request act, the speaker is not explicit about the task that they need (Searle, 1975). The direct request act might be used when the speaker has a higher power (+P) than the hearer. In contrast, the speaker might use an indirect request act when they have a lower power (-P) than the hearer in order to minimise the imposition on the hearer (for a full description, see section (3.6)). For instance, the speaker could make a direct request by saying, 'Please give me your book'. The same speaker could indirectly request the book by saying, 'Are you finished writing on this book?'. These two utterances could be interpreted by the hearer as a request, yet the second utterance is a question.

On this matter, Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that there are a number of

linguistic devices that accompany indirect requests for example, using hedges, apologies, impersonalisation, and showing deference. According to Goldschmidt (1993: 40), these strategies aim to “redress a hearer’s negative face of not wanting to be impinged upon”. Generally, the speech act performance is affected by the interlocutors’ roles, their relationships, and their immediate circumstances (Cheng, 2011). Building on this, I aim to expand the investigation of my data in order to contribute to the original work. The literature on the speech act of request differentiates between ‘external contextual factors’ such as social power and social distance and ‘internal contextual factors’ such as the motivation of the speaker and the degree of imposition (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989; Brown and Levinson, 1987) (see section (3.6) for full explanation of these social variables).

Research on requests has focused on the culturally described forms in which the request act is realised in various languages. Schauer (2009) points out that the speech act has stimulated the interest of applied linguists because it happens regularly in daily life and with a range of interlocutors. Furthermore, it can be extremely face-threatening; therefore, language users could find it difficult to develop pragmatic skills to perform it effectively (Uso-Juan, 2010). The effect of directness, power, and social distance on the request act is the main concern of many pragmatic linguistic studies. Also, the main concern of my study is an investigation of the effect of directness and power on the request strategies. For instance, Blum-Kulka (1982) found that the majority of Hebrew speakers are much more direct than American English speakers, whereas House and Kasper (1987) argue that the majority of German speakers are much more direct than Danish ones. Hassall (2003) investigates a sample of Indonesian EFL learners, and he found that these EFL learners prefer to perform more conventional indirect strategies but few use non-conventional indirect strategies. Regarding the power as a variable, speakers with more social power than hearers (+P) were significantly more direct than those with less power (-P). For instance, Felix-Brasdefer (2005) finds that Mexican EFL learners who have more social power than

a hearer extensively use direct strategies for performing request acts, but Mexican EFL learners who have a lower social power than a hearer use largely indirect strategies for performing other request acts. Regarding the study of Blum-Kulka (1982), her early investigation of Hebrew and American English speakers only concentrated on core strategies for performing request acts, but later Blum- Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) and Ogiermann (2009b) investigate non-obligatory modification to the core request. Starting from this multi-language perspective, I explore the Jordanian Arabic request act strategy in a given set of interactions, as explained when answering the research questions.

The work of Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) played a significant role in examining requests for its essential contribution to classify different strategies for making the ‘core’ of the request, as illustrated in Table (1). These strategies are:

- Direct: for instance,

C- Leave me alone.

- conventionally indirect: for instance,

D- Would you mind moving your car, please?

- non-conventionally indirect: for instance,

E- You have left this kitchen in a right mess.

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984:202)

Table 1 Request strategies as first represented in Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 202)

Types of strategy	Coding name	Definition of strategy	Examples
Direct	Mood derivable	The grammatical form of the verb refers to its illocutionary force as a request	Clean you dirty room
	Explicit performative	The speaker specifically names the illocutionary force of the utterance	I am asking you to go the university
	Hedged performative	Utterances include the name of the illocutionary force	I would like you to do your homework tomorrow
	Location derivable	The illocutionary point is directly derived from the semantic meaning of location	Madam, you have to put your test's sample on the desk
	Scoping stating	The utterance expresses intentions and desires of the speaker	I really wish you would stop annoying me
Conventionally indirect	Suggestory formulae	The utterance includes a suggestion for doing something	How about going to Sam's party?

Type of strategy	Coding name	Definition of strategy	Examples
	Preparatory conditions	The utterance includes references to preparatory conditions such as ability as conventionalised in any particular language	Could you pass the salt?
Non-conventionally indirect	Mild hints	The utterance includes a partial referent to objects which require an implementation of the act	You have left your key in John's place
	Strong hints	The utterance does not make a clear reference to the request but it can be viewed as a request through the context	I am a dentist (replying to a patient)

Table 1 shows the type of strategy used in the request act in any interaction. Thus, my study focuses on determining the strategy of the request act, taking into consideration the politeness strategies used when performing the request act in the ‘*tʷah* by depending on social variables such as the power and the social distance.

In CCSARP (Cross-Cultural Speech Act Research Project: Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984), there are particular modifiers used in the request head act such as attention getters (e.g., *hi*) and address terms (e.g., *brother*). In addition, there are syntactic and semantic devices to modify the request head act internally (within the request head act) such as the adverb (a little bit), as clarified in Chapter Five.

In light of what has been mentioned above, my study focuses on determining how the speaker minimises the imposition by using particular mitigative devices, taking into consideration the politeness strategies used when performing the type of the request act in the ‘*tʷah*, as discussed when answering the research questions.

There is another dimension that was added by House and Kasper (1987) to compare different strategies. This dimension represents the speaker’s referential perspective in which emphasis is for the speaker, the hearer, both the speaker and the hearer, or none of them. Blum- Kulka et al. (1989) differentiate between the following categories:

1. Hearer oriented: (could *you* clean your room?)
2. Speaker oriented: (could *I* borrow your book?)
3. Speaker and hearer oriented: (could *we* clean the room together?)
4. Impersonal: using the passive voice or using people as neutral agents: (It would be nice to get involved in this competition)

On social variables, several studies have researched the effects of social power, distance, and imposition ranking on speech acts (e.g., Wolfson, 1989; Spencer-Oatey, 1996). Brown and Levinson (1987) state that power refers to the social status of both the speaker and the hearer. In comparison with the hearer, the speaker can have more power (+P), or

less power (-P), or equal power (=P). The social distance is the level of familiarity between the speaker and the hearer. That is, if interlocutors are unfamiliar with each other; i.e. strangers, there is a distance between them (+D). However, if the interlocutors are familiar; i.e. friends or family, there is no distance (-D) between them. The imposition ranking variable refers to a degree of difficulty in the situation (Brown and Levinson, 1987). For instance, if the speaker asks for a big request, a large rank of imposition would occur. In contrast, a small imposition ranking would exist if the speakers do not ask for a big request. The results of these studies play an essential role in the advance of research on speech acts such as invitations, requests, offers, and suggestions as they show the effective role of social power, social distance, and imposition ranking variables. Thus, my study further contributes to these studies by investigating the role of these social variables in choosing request act strategies in the ritual interaction.

Starting from this, various studies investigated speech acts such as focusing on *requests* (Blum-Kulka, 1982; House and Kasper, 1987; Koike, 1989; Takahashi, 1996), *apologies* (Mulamba, 2009; Eslami-Rusekh and Mardani, 2010), *refusals* (Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss- Welts, 1990; Houk and Grass, 2006), and *complaints* (Boxer, 1996). For an investigation of the production of these speech acts, Rubin (1989: 12) asserts that “a lack of knowledge of speech act realisation patterns and strategies across cultures can lead to breakdowns”. Ogiermann (2009a) also confirms that studying speech acts for reducing communication loss or failure is important, particularly when interacting with other people from two or more different cultures. To avoid communication breaks, the speaker uses a common language for communication that provides cohesion in the message. Moreover, the speaker should be direct and concise in the communication in order to eliminate doubts and misconceptions when performing the request act.

To conclude, speech act studies generally fall under one of the following four categories of learner- *focused* (Thomas, 1995), *methodological* (Yuan, 2001), *cross-*

cultural (Nelson, Carson, Al-Batal and El-Bakary, 2002; Al-Ali and Al-Alwneh, 2010), and *intralingual* (Farghal and Al-Khatib, 2001; Demeter, 2007; Nureddeen, 2008). The learner-focused studies investigate how second language learners develop pragmatic competence (Thomas, 1995). The methodological studies investigate the effect of different means of data collection to investigate speech acts (Yuan, 2001). The cross-cultural studies investigate a comparison between two or more cultures in speech act performance (Nelson et al., 2002; Al-Ali and Al-Alwneh, 2010). Finally, the intralingual studies focus on speech act performance in a single language or culture (Farghal and Al-Khatib, 2001; Demeter, 2007; Nureddeen, 2008). As this study examines a request act in a single language, Jordanian Arabic, it falls within the intralingual research category related to Jordanian ritual interaction. Furthermore, no work so far has paid attention to speech acts in the public apology as a ritual dispute resolution. In the next section, I discuss how Grice (1989) connects indirectness with politeness, with the aim to explain how request strategies relate to politeness.

3.3 Grice's conversational implicatures

Grice (1975, 1989) theorises conversational implicatures to explain the difference between what is said and what is implicated. That is, Grice (1975) refers to a difference between what the sentence means ‘sentence meaning’, and what the speaker intends, ‘speaker meaning’. He argues that people follow the Co-operative Principle (CP) when communicating with each other by stating that they: “make 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 [one is] engaged” (1975: 45). Therefore, the accepted conversational behaviour produced by interlocutors is determined by the conversational maxims, as Grice (1989: 26-27) illustrates:

- quantity
 - a) the speaker should make his/her contribution as informative as required.

- b) his/her contribution should not be more or less informative than is required.
- quality
 - a) the speaker should not say what he/she believes to be false.
 - b) the speaker should not say something that lacks adequate evidence.
- Relation
 - a) be relevant.
- Manner
 - a) the speaker should avoid ambiguity.
 - b) be brief.
 - c) be orderly.
 - d) be clear.

Furthermore, Grice (1975) points out that some people violate these maxims to be “polite” (p.47). My study focuses on a clarification of the indirect request act and how the speaker violates the conversational maxims to show respect to the hearer. Thus, this notion of indirectness, such as using a non-conventional indirectness strategy encourages, linguists and sociolinguists to investigate it through the lens of politeness. For instance, Lakoff (1973: 297-298) states that “when clarity conflicts with politeness, in most cases but not at all, politeness supersedes [since]...it is more important to avoid offence than to achieve clarity”. Based on this argument, therefore, my study illustrates how non-conventional indirectness in performing the request act is more important than clarity in performing this act.

3.4 Lakoff’s rules of politeness

The first scholar who proposed a view of politeness was Robin Lakoff (1973, 1977). Lakoff (1973) was the first who proposed rules based on the view of politeness. Lakoff introduced an influential working hypothesis in politeness, as she clarifies that “what may differ from language to language, or culture to culture or from subculture to subculture

within a language is the question of when it is to be polite, to what extent, and how it is shown in terms of superficial linguistic behaviour” (1972: 911). Later, Lakoff (1975: 64) determines the aim of politeness by stating that “politeness is developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction”. She also argues that “the pillars of our linguistic, as well as non-linguistic interactions with each other, are (1) make yourself clear and (2) be polite” (1977: 86). According to her previous quotation, I criticise Lakoff (1977) in that she did not focus on the importance of the context in politeness which plays an influential role in determining if a person should be polite or not. By neglecting this point, she contradicted herself when she paid attention to this point in her quotation “what may differ from language to language [...] is the question of when [language] is to be polite” (Lakoff, 1972: 911), as shown above. Lakoff (1973) also observes the importance of clarity in conveying a message; therefore, she suggests that the politeness rule “be clear” based on Grice’s maxims, as explained in the previous section (3.3), and she proposes that the politeness rule “be polite”, as shown in the example below.

Be polite

Don’t impose.

Give options.

Be friendly (make others feel good).

In light of the above discussion, Lakoff (1973: 296) confirms that “we would like to have some kind of pragmatic rules, dictating whether an utterance is pragmatically well-formed or not, and the extent to which deviates if it does”. Although Lakoff observes politeness to be universal, she does not support her claim with sufficient empirical evidence, differently from Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory. Lakoff (1973: 303) states that “the rules of politeness may differ dialectically in applicability, but their basic forms remain the same universally”. That is, particular rules will receive more attention or emphasis than others. For instance, she found that Asian cultures have a tendency toward

Rule 1 'don't impose'. However, these rules are not simple as she suggested when we consider cultural variability.

Generally, Lakoff does not provide a fully detailed description of her pragmatic rules of politeness. Therefore, her work does not introduce a clear framework for the politeness theory. Thus, Geoffrey Leech proposes a modern approach to politeness theory in response to Lakoff's failure to address these raised issues, as discussed in the next section.

3.5 Leech's maxims of politeness

Leech (2014) differentiates between politeness in *semantics* and politeness in *pragmatics*. Leech (2014: 88) states that semantic politeness (termed as absolute politeness) "registers degrees of politeness in terms of the lexicogrammatical form and semantic interpretation of the utterance". For instance:

C: Pass the salt.

D: Can you pass the salt?

E: Could you pass the salt?

(Searle, 1979: 185)

According to the examples above, example (D) is to be more polite than example (C) and example (D) seems less polite than example (E). Sentence (E) is more polite than the other examples because it gives options to the hearer, as Leech (2014: 88) confirms the importance of giving options by stating that "the more a request offers to H, the more polite it is". However, I argue that politeness also depends on context (a familiarity of the interlocutors), as illustrated below.

He (2014: 88) also describes pragmatic politeness (termed as relative politeness) as "politeness relative to norms in a given society, group, or situation... it is sensitive to context and is a bi-directional scale. Hence it is possible that a form considered more polite...is judged less polite relative to the norms of situations". That is, according to Leech,

“politeness is appropriate to the situation” (ibid).

Furthermore, he explains politeness as a “strategic conflict avoidance, which can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation, and the establishment and maintenance of comity” (1983: 19). I clarify how politeness is used as a conflict avoidance strategy in the ‘twah context when performing the request act.

Leech (1983:230) introduces “textual rhetoric” and “interpersonal rhetoric” as systems of conversation or interaction between interlocutors. He illustrates that ‘textual rhetoric’ refers to the following principles: the processibility principle, the clarity principle, the economy principle, and the expressivity principle, whereas ‘interpersonal rhetoric’ refers to the following principles: the politeness principle (PP), the irony principle, and Grice’s cooperative principle. Because I am only interested in illustrating what Leech adds to Grice’s cooperative principle, I only explain the politeness principle briefly, in order to give some context when answering the research questions.

Leech (1983: 81) defines the Politeness Principle as to “[m]inimise [...] the expression of impolite beliefs [...] [and] Maximise [...] the expression of polite beliefs”. According to Leech (1983), the politeness principle refers to maintaining feelings of unity within a group, and he illustrates that the politeness principle (PP) focuses on “social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place” (1983: 82). The politeness principle (PP) includes the following maxims: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. These maxims work on a variety of pragmatic scales which identify the type of politeness required in an interaction: cost-benefit, optionality, indirectness, authority, and social distance. *Cost-benefit* refers to how people perceive a ‘threatening’ act within a culture. *Optionality* refers to the degree of choice which the speaker gives the hearer. *Indirectness* refers to the inferential effort of the hearer to determine the force of the utterance. *Authority* refers to the social power differences between the speaker and the hearer. Finally, *social distance* refers

to the degree of familiarity between the speaker and the hearer. Therefore, my study's main concern is to examine how authority and social distance affect the politeness required by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders to perform the request act in order to achieve the aim of the 'ṭwah to restore peace among the disputing parties and to restore the respect of the victim's clan.

Leech (1983) was careful about the application of the concept of universality in his framework. That is, the interlocutors could differently weigh these maxims according to cultures used, as Leech (1983: 150) claims that his framework "can be achieved differently in different cultures". For example, the Generosity Maxim seems to be the dominant one in Mediterranean cultures, more so than in other cultures (Culpeper, 2011), and, as Asswae (2018) confirms, that generosity is an apparent normative value in the majority of Arab societies. In these societies, generosity takes several types, such as greeting and welcoming visitors at any time of day or night, offering sacrificed sheep and serving the best food (Asswae, 2018), and offering money to the victim's clan under what is called *diyāh* (a blood money compensation) in the 'ṭwah process as clarified in section (2.3).

Leech (1983) was aware that there is a problem that arises in connection with politeness and speech acts; some speech acts are impolite by themselves because of their nature, such as orders and commands, whereas other speech acts are polite by themselves, such as offers, apologies, and invitations. However, his clarification has been criticised by Fraser (1990: 233) who states that "sentences are not ipso facto polite, nor are languages more or less polite. It is only speakers who are polite".

The theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) is another theoretical framework and politeness model, besides the previous politeness theories, adopted in my study because they base their theory on specific detailed strategies determining when a person is polite or impolite, taking into consideration these strategies' roles in a given context. In the following section, I clarify this theory by focusing on politeness strategies and social variables such

as power, social distance, and imposition ranking.

3.6 Brown and Levinson's politeness theory

Brown and Levinson first proposed the politeness theory in an article in 1978, which was published in the book "Questions and politeness: strategies in a social interaction" (Goody, 1978). Then, it was later published as a stand-alone book in 1987.

In the previous section, I explained what Leech added to Grice's cooperative principle. Here I discuss what Brown and Levinson added to Leech's types of politeness. I will be starting with a discussion of Goffman's notion of 'face' before illustrating the details of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness. Goffman (1967: 5) defines 'face' as: "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [herself] by the line others assume he [she] has taken during a particular contact". Brown and Levinson (1987:58) develop their model by analysing the speech of a "Model Person (MP)"; a presumed fluent speaker of a natural language with "rationality and face" (ibid). Both the speaker and the hearer are MPs, and they define rationality as "the application of a specific mode of reasoning" (1987: 64). That is, any rational speaker would take into consideration the social power (P), the social distance (D), and imposition ranking (R) in any social interaction.

According to Goffman (1967), the notion of 'face' is the basis that determines a structure and a regulation of the participants' behaviours in any social interaction. Participants are concerned with what others think of them during social interactions, e.g., participants generate utterances based on what one might have expected from these participants, which thus save or satisfy one's face. If these expectations do not fulfil a desire of the hearer, they thus do not save or satisfy one's face. Therefore, it is sufficient to save either the speaker's or the hearer's face by performing a 'face-work' (Goffman, 1967). The interlocutors determine the forms of the face-work through socialisation, which become habitual and standardised practices inheriting social norms and traditions. Goffman (1967: 13) observes that "each person, subculture, and society seems to have its own

characteristics of face-saving practices”. Thus, my study focuses on a clarification of how male speakers in the ‘ṭwah concentrate on politeness strategies based on a common ground between the delegation leader and the victim’s clan leader in order to save the hearer’s face. Drawing on this argument of the notion of ‘face’, I concur that this notion is different from one culture to another and from one group to another in the culture according to the context used, the familiarity of interlocutors, and the social norms in a particular culture. Specifically, an act which an interlocutor considers as face-threatening in one culture, might not be face-threatening in another culture. Furthermore, what is considered as face-threatening in one group, might not be face-threatening in another group within the same culture due to the context, interlocutors’ relationships, and the social norms.

According to Qari (2017), there are some-saving face practices which are specifically existent in a majority of Arabic communities such as blessing a person after having a meal, after cutting the hair, after taking a shower, or during some religious Islamic occasions such as “prayers, fasting, and after performing Umra⁴ and Hajj⁵” (p. 29). Failing to satisfy the social needs in uttering these phrases in particular contexts in most Arabic societies would generally be perceived as disrespectful or impolite (ibid). For instance, the ‘ṭwah is a saving face practice which is existent in Jordanian culture used in order to restore the damaged relationship by the offender’s act through restoring respect of the victim’s clan when meeting their requirements.

As a result of observing Goffman’s notion of ‘face’, Brown and Levinson (1987) were interested in an articulation of this notion as the basis of politeness strategies. In other words, they (1987) confirm concerns about one’s and others’ face to be the main explanation for all cases of politeness. They, as with Goffman, theorise the notion of ‘face’, as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself [herself]” (1987:61). They (1987)

⁴ Umra: is an Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca that can be taken place at any time of the year. In contrast,

⁵ Hajj: is an Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca that can be undertaken at specific dates according to the Islamic lunar calendar.

explain that the notion of ‘face’ is of two types: the positive face is “the want of every member that his [her] wants be desirable to all least some others”, and the negative face is “the want of every competent adult member that his [her] actions be unimpeded by others” (1987: 62).

Positive politeness consists of strategies addressed to saving the positive face of a person; that is, the speaker expresses the desire of the addressed person to be admired, liked, and approved of; and negative politeness consists of strategies addressed to saving the negative face of a person; that is, the desire of the addressed person to be free of imposition. Brown and Levinson (1987: 62) define negative politeness as “the formal politeness that the notion “politeness” conjures up, but positive politeness is [less] obvious”. Based on the previous illustration of these basic concepts of Brown and Levinson’s theory, Fraser (1990: 222) claims that this theory should be termed as “the face-saving view”.

On saving face, Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that interlocutors tend to save face when confronted with a Face-Threatening Act (FTA). They describe politeness as “a complex system for softening face-threatening acts” (1987: 10). According to this framework, FTAs “run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker” (1987:70). For instance, apologies and compliments threaten the speaker’s positive face according to the interlocutors’ relationships; whereas thanking, offering, begging, and excusing threaten the speaker’s negative face; disagreement and criticism threaten the addressee’s positive face, and request, order and advice threaten the addressee’s negative face. Therefore, the interlocutors generate indirect requests to minimise the imposition on the hearer.

Starting from this, Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that there are five strategies performed by interlocutors to save face, and they range them from 1-5, where 1 is the least polite and 5 is the most polite:

Apply the FTA:

- 1- on-record, without redressive action (e.g., give me your notebook).
- 2- off-record, with redressive action by using positive politeness (e.g., Sister, you are known as a generous person, can you give me your notebook, please?).
- 3- off-record, with redressive action by using negative politeness (e.g., Sorry for bothering you, will you give me your notebook?).
- 4- off-record by expressing about it indirectly (e.g., give a hint [I forgot my notebook at home], or use irony [I always forget all necessary things, and always remember silly things]).
- 5- when the speaker refrains from the FTA for any reason (e.g., Although the dress looks ugly, A addresses B: Your dress is fabulous).

Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that the bald on-record strategy works in conformity with Grice's Maxims (Grice 1983). These Maxims as illustrated in section (3.3) above are an intuitive basis of the conversational principle that would constitute guidelines for achieving efficient communication. My study focuses on this politeness strategy, taking into consideration the social variables which are illustrated later in this section. I present the other politeness strategies in Tables 2,3, and 4 with giving examples for these strategies. My study focuses on particular politeness strategies according to the data in order to explain how the speakers use these strategies to show respect and solidarity when generating the request act to save the face of the hearers.

Table 2 Positive politeness strategies, adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987: 101-129)

Positive politeness strategy	Linguistic politeness explanation	Examples
Notice, attend to H	To achieve H's interests, wants and needs	We ate too many beans tonight, didn't we?

Positive politeness strategy	Linguistic politeness explanation	Examples
Exaggerate interest with H	Exaggerated intonation, stress, and other aspects of prosodic, as well as with intensifying modifiers	John lives in a big big family
Intensify interest to H	S exaggerates facts	There were a million people in the co-op tonight
Use in-group identity markers	These include address forms used to convey such in-group membership including terms of address	Brother, can I borrow your book?
Seek agreement	Safe topics Repetition	A: John went to London this weekend. B: To London
Avoid disagreement	Token agreement Pseudo-agreement White lies Hedging opinions	A: That's where you live. Florida? B: That's where I was born
	Presupposition	
Jokes	Stress that fact by mutual knowledge and values that S and H share them	Okay if I tackle those cookies now?
Assert S's knowledge of and concerns for H's wants	S and H are co-operators whereby S	Well, I was watching Friends last night

Positive politeness strategy	Linguistic politeness explanation	Examples
	wants to assert and imply knowledge of H wants to fit one's own wants	
Offers or promises	S and H share some goals	I will visit you next week
Be optimistic	H wants S's wants for S and will help to obtain them	Look, I am sure you won't mind if I borrow your book
Include both S and H in the activity	S uses an inclusive 'we' when S actually means you and me	We (inclusive) will shut the door. The storm is coming
Give reasons	S uses H as the reason why S wants something	Why don't I help you with that assignment?
Assume or assert reciprocity	Giving evidence of reciprocal rights	I went to buy you stuff last week, so you buy mine this week
Give gifts	S satisfies H's positive face want by giving gifts, not only tangible gifts	Give flowers as a way of apology

The positive politeness focuses on strategies indicating that the speaker and the hearer both belong to the same set of people who share specific wants or social values. Furthermore, it concentrates on how the speaker may convey that some wants of the hearers are admirable and interesting to the speaker too. Finally, it pays attention to how the speaker stresses common membership in a group; therefore, this point confirms the first one referring to the positive politeness which emphasises that both speaker and hearer belong to the same set of

people who share a common ground that shows solidarity and closeness between the speaker and the hearer. Thus, my study focuses on particular positive politeness strategies according to the ‘ṭwah data, emphasising the role of a reconstruction of a particular value when generating the request act in the ‘ṭwah context. In Table 2, I show the negative politeness strategies.

Table 3 Negative politeness strategies, adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987: 129-211)

Negative politeness strategy	Linguistic politeness explanation	Examples
Be conventionally indirect	Indirect speech act	Can you pass the salt, please?
Question/ hedge	S uses a particle, a word, and a phrase that modify the degree of membership of a predicated or noun phrase in a set	John is a true friend
Be pessimistic	Give H option not to do an act	Could you jump over that five-foot fence?
Minimise the imposition	The desire of H to be free of imposition	I just want to ask you if I can borrow your book
Give deference	The use of the plural pronoun ‘you’ when addressing a singular addressee	I would like to ask you (plural) if I can borrow your notebook
Apologise	Admit the impingement Indicate reluctance	I hope this is not going to bother you too much, but I need your book for taking some notes
Impersonalise S and H	Avoid imperatives	It appears that the weather

Negative politeness strategy	Linguistic politeness explanation	Examples
		will be bad tomorrow
State the FTA as a general rule	Dissociating S and H from the particular imposition in the FTA	Passengers will please refrain from flushing toilets on the train
Nominalise	A transformation from a verb through an adjective to a noun	<p>You performed well in the examinations and we were favourably impressed</p> <p>Your performing well in the examinations impressed us favourably</p> <p>Your good performance in the examinations impressed us favourably</p>
Go on record as incurring a debt or as not indebting H	S can redress an FTA by explicitly claiming his indebtedness to H	I would be eternally grateful if you would help me

The negative politeness and off-record politeness (see Table 4 below) focus on strategies indicating how the speaker shows respect to the hearer by minimising the imposition on the hearer through using hints as an example. That is, they focus on how these strategies achieve the desire of the hearer to be free of imposition, taking into consideration the interlocutors' relationships. In Table 3, I show off-record politeness strategies.

Table 4 Off-record politeness strategies, adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987: 211-227)

Off-record politeness strategy	Linguistic politeness explanation	Examples
Give hints	If S says something that is explicitly irrelevant, S invites H to look for an interpretation of the relevance	It is cold in here. (Shut the window)
Give association clues	S uses this kind of implicature triggered by relevance violations which is provided by mentioning something associated with the required act	Oh God, I have got a headache again
Presuppose	S uses an utterance that can be almost wholly relevant in context and yet violate the relevance maxim just at the level of its presuppositions	I washed the car again today
Understate	S invites to make inferences by the S's violation of the Quantity Maxim. Furthermore, the necessity for background knowledge to interpret such	The car needs a touch of paint (i.e., a lot of work).
	utterances	
Overstate	S says more than is necessary,	I tried to call a hundred

Off-record politeness strategy	Linguistic politeness explanation	Examples
	but S may also convey implicatures	times, but there is no answer (as an excuse for being late)
Use tautologies	S says the same utterance twice or more	War is war
Use contradictions	S states two things that contradict each other. That is, S makes it appear that S cannot be telling the truth	A: Are you upset about that? B: Well, I am and I am not
Be ironic	S says the opposite of what S means	Mary is a real genius (after Mary has just done twenty stupid things)
Use metaphors	S uses metaphors as category of quality violations	Linda is a real fish (she swims/-drinks like a fish)
Be ambiguous	S achieves ambiguity through a metaphor	Mary is a pretty sharp cookie
Use rhetorical questions	S asks a question with no intention of obtaining an answer. In other words, questions that leave their answers hanging in the air	How was I to know about your sickness?

The choice of appropriate politeness strategies shown in the previous tables depends on unconsciously calculating the weight of the FTA based on an assessment of three social factors: power (P) (for full description, see section (3.9)), social distance (D), and imposition

ranking (R) (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Overtly, this weight refers to the degree of face threat in performing the FT. This argument is clarified by using the following formula to calculate the degree:

$$W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$$

Regarding this formula, Brown and Levinson explain it by stating that “ W_x is the numerical value that measures the weightiness of the FT $_x$, $D(S, H)$ is the value that measures the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, $P(H, S)$ is a measure of the power that the hearer has over the speaker, and R_x , is a value that measures culture” (1987: 76).

Regarding the concept of universality, Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that their framework operates universally in referring to politeness as conflict avoidance and face mitigation. In other words, the authors state that politeness strategies may differ from one culture to another, but they believe that the rationale behind using these strategies for saving the positive face and the negative face of the hearer is universal. That is, they presume that persons from different cultures and linguistic backgrounds have the same intrinsic linguistic and social capacities. As a result, it is considered that people from all cultures behave similarly in similar situations (Antovic, 2007). For instance, Hilbig (2009) undertook a cross-cultural comparison of politeness strategies in requests between Lithuanian and British speakers. He found that Lithuanian respondents have a tendency to use more on-record politeness strategies and off-record politeness strategies to save the negative face of the hearer than positive politeness ones.

Despite the considerable work of Brown and Levinson, many scholars criticised Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory of politeness as illustrated in the following sub-sections.

3.6.1 Anglo-Saxon-centred criticism and critique of Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory

Generally, politeness aims to maintain a balance in a relationship. As Kasper (1990: 194) explains, “communication is seen as a fundamentally dangerous and antagonistic

endeavour, politeness is therefore a term to refer to the strategies available to interactants to defuse the danger and to maintain [a balance in a relationship]”.

According to Watts, Ide and Ehlich (1992) and Eelen (2001), the notion of politeness is controversial and vague, since, although different cultures share similar underlying values, they have different interpretations of what constitutes polite behaviour. Watts et al. (1992: 281) also state that “politeness itself is a neutral concept, which we use as the label for a scale ranging from plus-through zero-to minus politeness”. Similarly, Mey (1993: 23) defines politeness as a “pragmatic mechanism in which a variety of structures work together according to the speaker’s intention of achieving smooth communication”.

Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987) point out that the phenomenon of politeness is worth investigating in pragmatics, and their work is affected by Gricean Maxims and speech act theory. Lakoff (1973) and Leech’s (1983) politeness theories give priority to the intentions of speakers and ignore the role of the actual person to model the individual face (Brown and Levinson, 1987). As a reaction to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) description of the notion of ‘face’ as universal individualistic psychological wants, Culpeper (2011) focuses on providing a more precise definition of ‘face’.

As I clarified in section (3.6), Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) derive their ‘notion of face’ from the work of Goffman (1967). Goffman’s definition of face focuses on the positive values that a person wants for themselves. Culpeper (2011: 11) argues that Goffman’s definition is related to “what you can claim about yourself from what others assume about you. How you feel about yourself is dependent on how others feel about you, and so when you lose face you feel bad about how you are seen in other people’s eyes”.

In light of the above, Culpeper (2011) draws from the previous Goffman’s definition that this social interdependence is not found in Brown and Levinson’s notion of face, which defined positive face as “how you as a person to be liked and approved” (Brown and Levinson, 1987:62), as demonstrated in section (3.6); and negative face as “how you as a

person not to be imposed upon” (ibid), as clarified in section (3.6). That is, Brown and Levinson’s definition of face only focuses on individualism, particularly in Anglo-Saxon culture. Furthermore, they do not deal with how the positive face and the negative face are applied to a person belonging to a group such as a football team (Culpeper, 2011). In other words, their framework of face does not deal with how you are in relation to a group (Wierzbicka, 1985; Ide, 1989; Gu , 1990; Nwoye, 1992; Mao, 1994: for a full explanation, see section (3.6.2)). Therefore, my study further contributes to these studies that the notion of ‘face’ in Brown and Levinson’ s framework may not only be related to individualism but may also be related to a person belonging to a group and maintaining social values such as dignity, honour, peace, and reconciliation. Thus, the facework is not a universal notion as Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed.

Culpeper (2011) points out that an ‘interruption’ refers to a negative face threat when it is understood as imposing on the other. However, the interruption can be seen whereby this person does not care to hear what the speaker was saying. That is, this demonstrates that the hearer shows a little value for the speaker-this is seen as a threat of a positive face. Hence, Culpeper (2011) argues that while many of the acts primarily threaten the face of the hearer, at the same time they can have ramifications for threatening the speaker’s face. Coupland and Giles (1988) investigate politeness phenomena in the ways that nurse talk to elderly patients. The results of their study show that a facework clearly addresses the positive face of the patients when generating the request act to the patients to take their medicine by using the sub-strategy “in-group identity markers such as my darling, Edith, love” (Coupland and Giles, 1988: 259). Those scholars have described this politeness strategy as “mere verbalisation” (1988: 260). They also illustrate that a minimisation of the imposition of a drink is by using the adverb “little” to refer to it (1988: 261). However, politeness is “more rather than less likely to impose and threaten face” (1988: 261), and imposition could be redressed by patients by considering the nurse “[..] as a caring individual and as a competent

professional” (Coupland and Giles, 1988: 260-261). My study sheds light on this matter in order to prove that imposition may not only be related to threatening a face but that face could be redressed by the interlocutors through using the imposition, particularly when this imposition is based on asking shared social values to be maintained in the ‘*ṭwah*’ context.

On critiquing Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory, Culpeper (2011: 12) argues that the importance of self-interest in the notion of ‘the mutual vulnerability of face’ is not mentioned in the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987). That is, cooperation is not only related to the mutual interest of the interlocutors to save their faces, but the self-interest of the speaker also motivates this cooperative behaviour for a number of reasons such as showing a high level of forgiveness. My study focuses more on this matter in order to clarify how the group interest motivates the cooperative behaviour between the speaker and the hearer to achieve the purpose of the ‘*ṭwah*’.

These previous discussions of politeness agree that politeness is a form of behaviour performed to maintain the interlocutors’ relationships. However, I argue that politeness should not be assigned a particular meaning because a behaviour of any member of a society is evaluated according to how their society, culture, and context interpret this polite behaviour in a particular interaction. In other words, every member of a society embodies specific social and cultural values related to politeness from their childhood onwards. Therefore, social conventions could govern the choice of linguistic expressions to convey certain communicative purposes.

Some researchers distinguish between types of politeness. For instance, Watts (2003) distinguishes between ‘first-order politeness’ and ‘second-order politeness’. The former is the ‘commonsense’ (Watts, 1992) that refers to how politeness is interpreted by members of socio-cultural groups in their social interactions whereas the latter refers to a scientific form of politeness that is conceptualised at an abstract level according to the theoretical framework of language theories (*ibid*). Thus, my study focuses on how politeness is interpreted by the

male interlocutors in the ‘*ṭwah*’ context according to the politeness frameworks of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987).

On critiquing the framework of Brown and Levinson (1987), Spencer-Oatey (2008) introduces her ‘framework of rapport management’ which refers to politeness as ‘interactional goals’ that people often aim to achieve when they participate in an interaction. For instance, in the ‘*ṭwah*’ process, the delegation leaders could have an interactional goal when they engage in this conventional practice; that is how, when performing a specific speech act, the delegation leader encourages the victim’s clan to achieve his request in order to build a bridge between the victim’s clan and the offender’s clan. In contrast, the interactional goal of the victim’s clan leaders when they engage in the ‘*ṭwah*’ process is to restore their clan’s damaged honour and dignity. Spencer-Oatey (2008) argues that these goals are ‘relational’ ones, since they refer to establishing a relationship with someone. Furthermore, she suggests that these goals can be ‘transactional’ such as achieving the ‘*ṭwah*’ process representing building a relationship among the disputing parties.

To link the framework of rapport management with pragmatic and contextual features, Spencer-Oatey (2008) clarifies that achieving ‘goals’ in an interaction saves the positive rapport among people. She also suggests that her framework is related to “rapport maintenance orientation” (ibid: 32), which refers to a desire of interlocutors to maintain harmonious relationships among themselves.

On the critiquing context, Culpeper (2011) criticises Brown and Levinson’s theoretical framework in that they do not refer to the complex of context in an interpretation of politeness. That is, the context is not only interpreted by the interlocutor’s relations in single utterances; it is also related to interpreting how power, social distance, and imposition ranking are interpreted in a dynamic discourse (a full speech act) context. However, Culpeper (2011) argues that we cannot ignore that Brown and Levinson (1987) are aware of the importance of context in politeness by introducing full details of the role of social variables

such as power, social distance, and imposition ranking, in choosing appropriate politeness strategies. Here, I introduce some definitions of context generated by some politeness scholars because we cannot ignore their roles in referring to the role of context, since it is a significant element in pragmatics. For instance, Levinson (1983: 24) defines pragmatics as “...the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with the contexts in which they would appropriate”. I criticise Levinson’s (1983) definition where he refers to the importance of context without providing us with a clear definition of its content. On defining pragmatics, Leech (1983: 13) also defines it as “any background knowledge assumed to be shared by S and H and which contributes to H’s interpretation of what S means by giving utterances”. I criticise Leech’s (1983) definition in that it focuses on an interpretation of a language use among interlocutors on the utterance level without taking into consideration the role of contextual factors in interpreting the utterance meaning. Thus, the context articulates the way we speak and behave in relation to one another. In the ‘twah process, an interpretation of politeness strategies used by the leaders when performing the request act is determined by the context in the institutional restorative justice.

I think that Akman and Bazzanella (2003) introduce a comprehensive definition of context, because they clarify through their definition of context that there are interactional independent features and sociolinguistic parameters such as the speaker’s and the hearer’s social roles in an interaction, govern the language used by the interlocutors. My study focuses on an interpretation of politeness strategies used by the leaders by depending on the institutional role of the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan’s role in the restorative justice institution. Referring to Akman and Bazzanella’s (2003) comprehensive definition, they state that:

“The global level corresponds to a priori features and to sociolinguistic parameters such as age, status, the social roles of participants, the type of interaction, time, and space localisation. This information is dependent of the ongoing conversational interaction” (2003: 324).

Regardless of these criticisms, I argue that Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness remains a very useful analytical framework for conducting a speech act investigation in order to understand how politeness operates while performing the speech act taking into consideration the context. Similarly, Ogiermann (2009b: 210) confirms the importance of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory by stating obviously that "no alternative has been offered so far". For instance,

Example (1)

قال الله تعالى: "وَأَلْكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ"

The Almighty says: "In retribution there is a life for you".

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah): The Quran, 179:19)

In the previous extract, the speaker minimises the imposition on the hearer when generating the request for retribution indirectly by using a verse from the Quran, an act that I consider as a strategy of an 'off-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

In the following section, I view a non-western critique of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory.

3.6.2 Non-Western perspectives on politeness theory

As I discussed above, Lakoff (1973), and Brown and Levinson (1987) agree on what politeness is as a notion that leads to universal rules, principles, and strategies of politeness. This assumption also encourages some scholars to test Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory in various studies in cultures other than the Anglo- Saxon culture, such as Japanese and Chinese cultures. For instance, Gu (1990) claims that *mianzi* referring to 'face' in Chinese culture is not related to an individual property but is related to a social perspective. My study focuses on how face in the 'twah process could be both an individual and a social perspective, as discussed when answering the research questions. Some scholars such as Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (2002) have not supported Brown and Levinson's claims related

to the notion of face. For example, Matsumoto (1988) claims that the concept of face, especially the negative face, is 'alien' to Japanese culture, and that Brown and Levinson's definition of face, which is focused on Anglo-Saxon individualism, is insufficient to explain polite linguistic behaviour in Japanese collectivism, by stating:

“What is of paramount concern to a Japanese is not his/her own territory, but the position in relation to others in the group and his/her acceptance of others. Loss of face is associated with the perception by others that one has not comprehended and acknowledged the structure and hierarchy of the group” (1988:405).

Nwoye (1992: 313) adds that the notion of face should be divided into an “individual face” and a “group face”. The first one, an individual face “refers to the individual's desire to attend to his personal needs and to place his public-self-image above those of others” (ibid). While the second one a group face “refers to the individual's desire to behave in conformity with culturally expected norms of behaviour that are institutionalised and sanctioned by society” (ibid). My study focuses on how the 'ṭwah's representatives use politeness strategies when performing the request that could be related to each person's 'individual face' and 'group face', as argued when answering the research questions. According to this classification of face in Nigerian culture, Nwoye (1992) concludes that some speech acts in particular cultures, such as requests, offers, thanks, and criticisms, are not considered face-threatening acts. Thus, my study focuses on this matter in order to prove that a request speech act performed by the 'ṭwah's representatives could not be a face-threatening act.

According to Ide (1989), linguistic politeness is of two types. The 'volitional' type refers to the personal intention of people to meet the goal of politeness to save one's face by realising verbal strategies of politeness, whereas the 'discernment' type is a social obligation determined by a society and members of a society that can recognise it by the linguistic form used in particular situations. Ide (1989) claims that politeness theorists, particularly Brown and Levinson (1987), neglect the importance of the discernment type in the Japanese

politeness. Thus, my study focuses on particular politeness strategies when performing the request act, taking into consideration that some of these strategies aim to maintain shared social values in the 'twah process such as peace, reconciliation, respect, and forgiveness.

Regarding differences between personal and social perceptions of politeness, Mao (1994) distinguishes between two types of faces: 'an individual face and a social face'. The first type is related to Brown and Levinson's individualistic approach to the notion of 'face', in which an individual is the centre of a social interaction. The 'social face', on the other hand, is connected to an individual's views of a society and its members. While both forms of 'face' can be seen in every culture, one might be more common than the other. Mao (1994) claims that 'face' relates more to group harmony than it does to individual freedom in Chinese culture. This means that the individual value or respect does not reside in his/-her individualistic self but resides in the group, as it is called a 'communal face' (ibid).

Arndt and Janney (1985) distinguish between 'social' and 'interpersonal' politeness: 'social politeness' includes "rules regulating appropriate and inappropriate ways of speaking [and]...the locus of these rules is society, not language itself, and 'interpersonal politeness' refers to the mutual concern of interlocutors to maintain faces of each other during a social interaction" (ibid: 28). That is, it concentrates on maintaining the interpersonal relationship between members of a society by focusing on social values which determine socially appropriate ways of speaking.

In light of the above, Asian researchers have mainly criticised the notion of 'face' in that it cannot be applied to cultures which are characterised as collectivist ones. In other words, members of these cultures determine themselves according to the social group they belong to (Matsumoto, 1988; Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994). This conclusion leads to 'face' being culturally specific; for instance, Matsumoto (1988) argues that Europeans are unlike Japanese. That is, Japanese people are defined as a group which is based on a rank of relationships instead of defining people individually. My study further contributes to these

studies which espouses that ‘face’ in the ‘ṭwah process is based on saving a face of a member belonging to a group and maintaining shared social values.

In Jordanian culture, the interlocutors in the ‘ṭwah could be more concerned with conforming to or obeying norms of expected behaviour related to maintaining shared social values rather than maximising advantages to self. That is, the interactants’ polite expressions used in the ‘ṭwah could be based on social customs, norms, and values rather than on the interactional strategy. To put it in other way, this study aims to prove that a polite behaviour seems to be a reaction to one’s understanding of social expectations that are acceptable to one’s position in a group.

Any rational speaker would take into consideration the social power (P), the social distance (D), and the imposition ranking (R) in any social interaction (Brown and Levinson, 1987). However, there are other factors relating to the idiosyncrasies of interactants that could be taken into account such as gender and religion which, arguably, play significant roles in the way individuals speak in a social interaction (Alabdali, 2019). For instance, the gender of the addressee was found effective in many Middle Eastern communities but not in Western ones (Al-Qahtani, 2009; Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily, 2012). Moreover, religious beliefs have been shown to be important in the application of politeness by many Arab speakers (Al-Adaileh, 2007; Al-Khatib, 2006). Therefore, I think that religious expressions that are employed for Arabic politeness can also be presented in Jordanian culture, as illustrated when answering the research questions. Thus, my study sheds more light on religion as an effective factor in politeness in the ‘ṭwah.

Despite the above criticisms, I have depended on Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness in my thesis because they make a significant distinction between on-record, positive, negative, and off-record strategies. Such distinction seems to be helpful in revealing how the interlocutors choose an appropriate politeness strategy according to the social variables in the interaction in order to save the face of the interlocutors, as addressed in

the second research question. However, regarding the universal notion of saving face, I critique Brown and Levinson's claim, by adapting and adopting the data through a bottom-up approach. That is, Jordanian male interlocutors appear to prefer saving the group and the social face rather than the individualistic one. This rationale is that Jordanian culture seems to be a group- dominant culture, as discussed in section (2.2).

In conclusion, my study takes the Jordanian perspective to politeness theory with an emphasis on the group face and the social face over the individual face in the context of the 'ṭwah. Thus, politeness in the 'ṭwah could be a collection of behavioural conventional rules that are deeply knitted into the social fabric and aimed toward the smooth operation of the whole society. In other words, this does not mean that the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) is not suitable for Jordanian culture; expanding this theory to include particular effective features for the presentation of politeness in Jordanian culture would likely contribute to the theory. In the following section, I introduce a clarification of politeness features in justice settings in order to illustrate politeness strategies used in court and restorative justice settings within a global context in order to clarify the position of the 'ṭwah within these studies.

3.7 Politeness in justice settings

In this section, I clarify some of the important features of linguistic politeness discourse in court, reconciliation, and restorative justice settings from various global contexts in order to illustrate how features of these settings are related to the politeness context of the ritual restorative justice in Jordanian culture under what is called العطوه العشائريه (the 'ṭwah). In other words, this section clarifies how many scholars such as (Penman, 1987; Lakoff, 1989; Sanderson, 1995; Shuy, 2005; Kuntsi, 2012; Yuxiu and Le, 2014; Ado and Biden, 2017; Shehadeh and Wardat, 2017; Liao, 2019) focused on the discourse of interlocutors in justice settings as an interactive form of language.

Lakoff (1989) argues that politeness is an important factor in courtroom discourse. Furthermore, Lakoff (1989) considers that courtroom discourse is an extension of ordinary conversation; for instance, when the judge is questioning a witness. Thus, Lakoff (1989) discusses a linguistic politeness feature for the courtroom discourse as a ‘non-reciprocal question-and-answer format’-i.e. lawyers are only asking questions in order to know the witnesses’ answers. Therefore, the lawyers do not provide information but try to obtain the information needed from the witnesses. Similarly, Sanderson (1995) discusses that the format of courtroom conversation in Vancouver (Canada) is generally the question-answer adjacency pair. Sanderson also argues that the roles of the institutional representatives in courts are fixed; that is, only the judge and the lawyer have the right to ask questions. Hence, Penman (1987: 16) states that “the freedom to negotiate the right to speak, to qualify what is said, to demand respect [and] to distance or withdraw, if necessary, to save face” are not allowed in courtrooms. Regarding the politeness discourse of the ‘*ṭwah*, it is not ‘a non-reciprocal question-and an answer format’; rather, the ‘*ṭwah*’s representatives try to obtain the information needed when generating recurrent request acts. For instance, the delegation leaders generate specific utterances which are fixed in most ‘*ṭwah* cases for achieving the purpose of the ‘*ṭwah* process, as illustrated in Chapter Five. The victim’s clan leaders also generate specific utterances which are fixed in most ‘*ṭwah* cases for achieving the purpose of the ‘*ṭwah* process too, as illustrated in Chapter Six.

Lakoff (1989) further discusses another linguistic feature of politeness in the courtroom discourse that politeness in the courtroom is “formal politeness” (ibid: 110). Formal politeness shows distance, as Lakoff (1975) describes it in her first politeness rule as “Formality: keep aloof” (ibid: 87), and this is shown in section (3.4). My study differs from Lakoff’s (1989) framework in court settings by investigating how politeness strategies generated by the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders in the ritual restorative justice context (the ‘*ṭwah*) could show a minimisation of distance in order to save an

‘individual face’ or a ‘group face’ and a ‘social face’ of the hearer, as explained when answering the second research question.

Further discussion of the politeness framework in the courtroom discourse includes Penman (1987) who suggests that an application of Brown and Levinson’s politeness model to courtroom discourse appears logical; however, little research has been published on this model’s applicability to courtroom discourse (ibid). Similarly, Liao (2019) states that the important theories of politeness such as Lakoff’s (1973) politeness rules, Leech’s (1983) politeness principle, and Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness strategies are based on ordinary or everyday conversation; therefore, such focus generates or causes a lack of adequate research on politeness in courtroom discourses in a particular culture. Liao (2019) investigates politeness in the Chinese courtroom discourse, as clarified in the next paragraph. Similarly, employing Brown and Levinson’s (1987) model, Sanderson (1995) investigates the courtroom in Vancouver (Canada) as a workplace in order to investigate politeness strategies employed by representatives of the court. Thus, Sanderson (1995) argues that Brown and Levinson’s (1987) model is a valuable tool for analysing institutional and organisational environments in general, and the justice settings particularly because these settings include characteristics that call for a more comprehensive contextual analysis. My study focuses on the pragmatic functions of politeness rules (Lakoff, 1973), politeness maxims (Leech, 1983), and politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (see sections (3.4), (3.5), and (3.6)). These politeness maxims, rules, and strategies are used by men in the context of the ‘*tawah*’ as a ritual restorative justice institution in Jordanian culture.

Regarding an investigation of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) framework in courtroom discourse, Liao (2019) examines the linguistic politeness strategies in the Chinese courtroom by posing the following research question: “what politeness strategies, if there are any, are used in courtroom discourse in different interactional relationship?” (ibid: 45). To answer this research question, Liao (2019) investigates politeness theory in terms of

face and face wants (Brown and Levinson, 1987) and in terms of Gu's (1990) notion of face (see sections (3.6) and (3.6.2)). Liao (2019) finds that using an address term in traditional Chinese culture is one of the important cultural and linguistic devices which can reflect degrees of politeness. That is, there are specific legal terms for referring to different participants in courtroom trials prescribed in Chinese criminal or civil law, which are described as neutral politeness (*ibid*). Thus, these legal address terms are defined by the law in this culture and used in the same way when addressing different people in different cases, as shown in example (2) below. From a similar perspective, Kuntsi (2012) finds that addressing the hearer with the use of his/-her title in the Dover Trial (Pennsylvania) is a sub-strategy termed 'giving deference' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (for full details, see section (3.6) referring to negative politeness strategy towards the judge, as clarified in example (3)).

Example (2): the judge addresses the defendant

- (A) The defendant's name?
- (B) Haw Wei
- (C) Defendant LI Guimei
- (D) Here I am

(Liao, 2019: 53)

Example (3): the lawyer addresses the witness

(31) Sir, you testified in your deposition that the first time you were introduced to that term was at the meeting.

(Kuntsi, 2012: 37)

In example (2), Liao (2019) suggests that the judge maintains the social distance between him/-her and the hearer by using the legal term (defendant) and using the legal term with the name of the criminal. The rationale behind this is minimisation of the social distance to show that friendly relationship is not the main aim of a courtroom trial (Liao, 2019). By doing this, the speaker saves the 'negative face' of the hearer by showing respect to the

hearer through maintaining the social distance. Similarly, Kuntsi (2012) also points out that addressing the hearer with his/-her title 'sir' as an example shows deference when preserving the social distance between them. My study is also concerned about how the address terms could be used by the 'ṭwah's representatives in the tribal ritual justice institution to maintain the distance between the speaker and the hearer such as using the address term شيخ (shaykh) (a leader of his clan). However, my study differs from Liao's (2019) and Kuntsi's (2012) research, in that it investigates a possibility of minimisation of the social distance between the speaker and the hearer by using the address term الاخوه (the brothers) as a positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The purpose of this is to save 'the positive face' or the 'social' face or the 'group' face of the hearer, as discussed when answering the second research question.

Kuntsi (2012) further investigates other politeness strategies used by lawyers when communicating with their colleagues, witnesses, and judges in the Dover Trial. The 'Dover Trial' took place in the United States (Pennsylvania). Some students' parents issued a lawsuit against the Dover school district which had decided to include intelligent design in their biological curriculum (ibid). Intelligent design is "a theory that claims that the origin of life comes from a master intellect or an intelligent, supernatural designer" (ibid: 1). The rationale behind these parents' rejection of intelligent design in public school science classrooms is linked to promoting religious beliefs to their children under the guise of science education, thus violating their religious liberty (ibid). Through an investigation of politeness strategies in this lawsuit, Kuntsi (2012) finds that hedges as conveying of a negative politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (see section (3.6)) minimise the threat of the lawyers' requests or questions in a courtroom, as demonstrated in the following example.

Example (4): the lawyer states:

(21) If I may, Dr. Bebe, just interrupt you here briefly that might help you in your testimony as well,

if you go to the exhibit book that you have been provided, and if you look under Table 8 I believe, there is an exhibit marked Defendant's Exhibit 203-A, as in Alpha.

(22) If you will look down, I think it's the fifth paragraph, it starts with, A recommendation.

(Kuntsi, 2012: 36)

In the extracts (21) and (22), Kuntsi (2012) proposes that the utterances 'I believe' and 'I think', respectively, are used as hedges for saving the negative face of the hearers by a minimisation of imposition on the hearer (ibid). This result agrees with Liao's (2015) and Kuntsi's (2015) studies that respect is the main concern in a courtroom discourse. In other words, saving 'the negative face' of the hearer is the priority over saving 'the positive face' in courtroom. Moreover, Yuxiu and Le (2014) argue that hedges such as hypothetical conditionals and tag questions are used by legal practitioners in both American and Chinese trial courts in order to show respect to the hearer by minimisation of direct utterances. In further discussion of respect in the courtroom discourse, Martinovski (2006) investigates the discourse analysis of mitigation for argumentation lines, or communicative acts, or defensive moves in Swedish and Bulgarian courtrooms; for instance, the defendant used the Swedish modal particle 'nog' as a mitigative device which was translated as "probably" (Martinovski, 2016: 2072) to indicate uncertainty. Defining 'mitigation', Martinovski (2006:1) states that it is "a pragmatic, cognitive and linguistic behaviour that the main purpose of which is reduction of vulnerability". This study is helpful in that it guides my investigation of how the 'twah's representatives minimise imposition on the hearer by using particular mitigative devices reflecting religious or cultural belief such as مشان ربنا (mishān rabnā) (for God's sake). It is used to mitigate the direct request in order to save the 'negative face' or the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the hearer.

Although maintaining the social distance is the main concern in courtrooms, Kuntsi (2012) argues that minimisation of the social distance could be another politeness feature in courtroom settings. For instance, the lawyer uses the plural pronoun (inclusive we) as a

positive politeness strategy in order to minimise the social distance between interlocutors (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (see section (3.6)), as shown in the example below.

Example (5): the lawyer addresses the witness

(37) We are going to come back to that in just a minute.

(Kuntsi, 2012: 39)

In this extract, Kuntsi (2012) suggests that the speaker uses the plural pronoun (inclusive we) as a strategy of positive politeness to save the positive face of the hearer by a minimisation of the social distance between the speaker and the hearer. According to Kuntsi (2012), this kind of a strategy is used to make the atmosphere of the courtroom more relaxed. My study also proves how the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nhnu) (inclusive we) is used as a positive strategy by the ‘ṭwah’s representatives in order to show how the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders belong to the same set of people who share ‘asking for the ‘ṭwah’ as a common ground. By doing this, the ‘ṭwah’s representatives minimise the social distance between them and hearers, which in turn could save the ‘positive face’ of the hearers. However, my study differs from Kuntsi’s (2012) study in that the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nhnu) (exclusive we) is also used by the ‘ṭwah’s representatives include themselves and their group members in the act; therefore, it is used to minimise the social distance between the delegation leaders and their group members, and between the victim’s clan leaders and their group members. On doing this, the speaker could save the ‘positive face’ or the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the hearer.

In further discussion of minimisation of distance in the courtroom, Kuntsi (2012) finds that lawyers sometimes use ‘seek agreement’ as a strategy of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (see section (3.6) for more details about this positive strategy). Brown and Levinson (1987) explain the meaning of ‘seek agreement’ wherein the speaker tries to find outcomes which agree with the hearer’s wants. Kuntsi (2012) demonstrates this strategy in the following example.

Example (6): the lawyer addresses the witness

(49) Now I think I understand it but let me confirm it.

(Kuntsi, 2012: 41)

In this extract, Kuntsi (2012) suggests that the speaker shows his/-her agreement with the hearer by uttering 'let me confirm'. That is, the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of people who share a common ground. However, my study proves how the speaker seeks an agreement with the hearer by repeating the same utterances which were generated previously by another leader in the same case as a positive politeness strategy. As Sanderson (1995) confirms, repetition in the courtroom is one of the strategies of positive politeness in order to claim a common ground between the speaker and the hearer. Sanderson (1995) adds that repetition can be used to draw attention to the hearer by confirming that the speaker understood what the hearer said in the court setting. In contrast, my study contributes to Sanderson's (1995) study that the repetition in the 'ṭwah process refers to an agreement between the speaker and the hearer as long as the 'ṭwah's representatives use fixed linguistic utterances in most 'ṭwah cases as a strategic performance in order to accomplish the purpose of the 'ṭwah, as discussed in analysis chapters.

Moving on to the notion of face in the courtroom discourse, Lakoff (1989) demonstrates that there is a possibility of a face attack since the aim of the courtroom discourse is to reveal the truth. Fraser (1990) presumes that a violation of politeness is apparent in such a context for multiple reasons such as differences of institutionalised power status of interlocutors or cultural variations. For instance, Kurzon (2001) finds that American courts' judges do not mitigate utterances in some cases because of the cultural differences between the British and American judiciaries, despite the same language (English) being employed, as clarified in the example below. Furthermore, through her work on courtroom discourse in Vancouver, Canada, Sanderson (1995) finds that face can be threatened in a trial setting; for instance, if the lawyer challenges or contradicts a

witness's testimony. In other words, the act of compelling a witness to appear in court or, equally, compelling them to give their testimony, might threaten their faces (ibid). My study proves how there is the possibility of a face attack too in the 'ṭwah process, since the purpose of the 'ṭwah is to restore the respect of the victim's clan damaged by the offender's act, as explained when answering the second research question. In addition, face of the victim's clan can be threatened in the 'ṭwah process when the victim's clan could be forced to participate in the 'ṭwah process, as explained in section (2.3).

Example (7): The American judge states:

(39) ... the majority in effect adopts a presumption that prohibitions on write-in voting are permissible if the State's ballot access laws meet constitutional standards. I dissent because I disagree with the presumption, as well as the majority's specific conclusion that Hawaii's ban on write-in voting is constitutional (Case 12).

(Kurzon, 2001: 76-77)

In the extract, Kurzon (2001) suggests that the American judge is much more aggressive in their disagreement; using expressions the likes of which are not found among English judges such as 'I dissent' and 'I disagree'. That is, the American judge directly expresses his disagreement with the lawyer which differs from disagreement expressions used by English judge. Despite this disagreement, the speaker does not threaten the face of the hearer because he/-she has more powerful status than the hearer. My study differs from Kurzon's (2001) study in that disagreement expressions could not be found in most 'ṭwah cases, even if the 'ṭwah's representatives do not totally agree with each other. In other words, the delegation leaders have to show their agreement on the victim's clan leaders' requirements because the 'ṭwah's representatives follow stipulated conventional procedures (Watkins, 2014), which are a part of the 'ṭwah as a conventional norm in Jordanian culture; therefore, these procedures are used as strategic performance, as explained when answering the first research question.

Regarding the institutionalised power in American courtrooms, Shuy (2005) states

that the judge and the lawyer are the powerful actors in the courtroom setting, since they are the only ones who have the right to ask all questions, which reflects the immensity of the court's power. Penman (1987) also argues that extreme power differentiations are created between judges/-lawyers and witnesses/-perpetrators in the courtroom, which have a paramount effect on the linguistic exchange in the courtroom. Thus, the institutional power that exists uniquely or exclusively in legal contexts demands a special consideration, as pinpointed by Sanderson (1995). My study investigates the institutionalised power of representatives of both the offender's clan and the victim's clan who are the only ones in this restorative justice setting with the institutional power (as explained in section (3.10)), since they are the only people who have the right to negotiate a reparation in the 'ṭwah.

Moreover, Shuy (2005) explains how the institutional power relates to the lawyers' use of different conversational strategies. He states that these strategies can include "being ambiguous to targets, causing them to misunderstand and, therefore give the appearance of guilt, blocking, interrupting, overlapping with speech and changing the topic before the addressee has got the chance to answer" (ibid: 36). This is why I argue that my study contributes to Shuy's (2005) study in that the institutionalised power of the 'ṭwah's representatives could not be affected by some conversational strategies such as overlapping or interrupting or changing the topic, because the 'ṭwah's procedures are fixed ones used again and again in most 'ṭwah cases in multiple situations (for a full explanation, see sections (4.6) and (4.7)).

Furthermore, Sanderson (1995) states that the person holding the most power, such as the judge, will choose the *least* 'politeness' strategies when addressing people who have lower institutionalised power than him/-her in the Vancouver courtroom, Canada, as further discussed in the work of Yu (2010) and Wang (2014). In contrast, the person holding the least power, such as the witness/-perpetrator, will opt for the *most* politeness strategies when addressing people who have more institutionalised power than him/-her such as the

judge/-the lawyer (ibid). Sanderson (1995) argues that the lawyer's restrictive questioning techniques and the witness's incapacity to exert control at the expense of the lawyer have a low weighted power factor for the lawyer while, in speaking to the judge, the ability to exercise control in the other direction results in a heavily weighted power factor. Through the analysis of her study, Sanderson (1995) finds that the judge would use 'bald on-record without redress' (Brown and Levinson, 1987)-i.e. he/-she would use the utterance which agrees with Grice's Maxims: being clear, direct, unambiguous, and concise (see section (3.3)), as shown in the examples below. Meanwhile, the witness would choose 'off-record' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which deviates from Grice's Cooperative Principle, as explained in section (3.6). In line with this, Khoyi and Behnam (2014) examine how the violation of Gricean Maxims-i.e. a deviation from Grice's Cooperative Principle relates to indirect speech acts employed by interrogators in Iranian criminal courts. Hence, an employment of utterances varies between differing levels of politeness strategies according to the institutionalised power of the addressee in these courtrooms. My study also considers the role of the institutionalised power of the 'ṭwah's representatives in choosing the linguistic politeness strategies. In other words, the 'ṭwah's representatives have different institutionalised power status, which enables them to choose particular politeness strategies that serve their institutional role in the 'ṭwah process. Despite the similar social status of the 'ṭwah's representatives, one has more institutionalised power status than the other, as illustrated in section (3.10).

Example (8): the exchange is between the judge and various of witnesses in the course of the Canadian trial. Sanderson (1995) refers to the judge as 'THE COURT'. She also refers to 'A' as the answer provided by the witness, and she refers to 'Q' as questions directed to witness.

Excerpt 1

Q: Perhaps you could come down and point it out to the

jurors closer to the jury so they can see that.

A: Right here, right in here.

THE COURT: Constable, could you speak up, please.

A: It's located where the white piece of paper is, yes.

Excerpt 2

MR. WILSON [Counsel for the defendant]:

All right. Thank you, constable, I have nothing further.

THE COURT: Miss Tomasson.

MS. TOMASSON [Counsel for the prosecution]:

Nothing arising, my lady.

THE COURT: Thank you, constable, you may be excused.

Excerpt 3

A: It wasn't all the way down to his shoulders, it was maybe like down here.

THE COURT: Mr. Martinez, I didn't hear your answer. Could you repeat he answer?

A: I say it wasn't all the way down to his shoulders, the hair is there.

(Sanderson, 1995: 9-11)

As observed from the previous extracts, Sanderson (1995) proposes that the judge uses 'negative politeness strategy' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) showing respect to the witness when interacting with him/-her; therefore, this result contrasts with what is predicted to be used in courtroom discourse. That is, the judge is predicted to use 'bald on-record politeness strategy' according to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness framework (Sanderson, 1995), because the judge has more powerful status than the witness. However, the negative politeness used by the judge in these excerpts are: 'Be conventionally indirect' (strategy 1), 'Questions' or 'Hedge' (strategy 2), and 'Give deference' (strategy 5). The first strategy infers that a speaker mitigates his or her action by using indirectness as shown in the extracts ('could you speak up'? and 'Could you repeat the answer'?). Regarding strategy 5, the judge employs a specific form of deferential address such as 'Mr. Martine' in extract 3; 'sir' in

extract 4, as well as polite expressions ‘please’ and ‘Thank you’, which tends to soften or mitigate the face threat. Thus, the judge’s linguistic strategy is to exhibit respect behaviour towards the witness while maintaining the social distance. In the previous extracts, the judge used negative politeness, taking into account the needs of the witness’s face while simultaneously allowing the judge to perform his/-her job (Sanderson, 1995). Hence, the role of the judge and his/-her politeness strategy seem to have cross-purposes (ibid). That is, the choice of the negative politeness achieves the judge’s goal of getting the witness’s information and collaboration in order to sustain the court’s efficient operation. My study also considers how the delegation leaders use specific politeness strategies when talking at cross-purposes, as illustrated in Chapter Five. In addition, my study considers how the victim’s clan leaders employ specific politeness strategies which contradict Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness framework claimed for the institutionalised power, as explained in Chapter Six.

Moving on to linguistic features within the reconciliation context, Ado and Biden (2017) state that attention has not paid at these features in this setting. Therefore, my study fills this knowledge gap by investigating politeness strategies used by the men when generating particular request acts in the ‘*ṭwah*’ as a tribal ritual reconciliation. Thus, my study is unique because it investigates the ‘*ṭwah*’ as a courtroom setting in asking for punishment for the offender, as well as a reconciliation setting through asking for the rebuilding of a relationship bridge among the disputing parties and as a restorative justice.

Ado and Bidin (2017) examine the linguistic role of religious quotations as declarative speech act in order to assert a common ground or a hint during الشريعة (Shariah) (as defined in section (2.3)) by investigating reconciliation case proceedings for resolving family disputes on marital issues in Nigerian culture, as demonstrated in the example below. Searle (1969) defines “declarations” (ibid: 57) as these are related to immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs. Examples of these acts are declaring war, christening,

marrying, and firing from employment (as explained in section (3.2)). My study aims to investigate linguistic politeness features of religious quotations for resolving family and non-family disputes. Hence, my study differs from Ado and Bidin's (2017) study in that it investigates linguistic features of religious quotes from the Quran, the Bible, and Prophets' sayings as hints used by the men for resolving disputes not only between family members, but also among strangers in Jordanian culture.

Example (9) the speaker gives hints for the hearer through narratives of the following Prophet Muhammad's sayings:

Prophet Muhammad says: 'Allah has disconnected His favours on anyone who disregard kinship ties.'

(Ado and Bidin, 2017: 64)

In the extract, Ado and Biden (2017) suggest that the speaker uses this saying of the Prophet Muhammad in order to establish facts or decisions relating to dispute from the Islamic perspective. That is, the utterance of this religious quote refers to an indirect request for rebuilding a relationship among family members to be within God's mercy. As a result, the performative utterance of the "illocutionary act" (Austin, 1962: 94) (as illustrated in section (3.2)) is a request for rebuilding the relationship balance in this religious saying. That is, Ado and Biden (2017) argue that the function of this religious quotation is a request act reflecting Austin's (1962) classification of this speech act without linking it with the politeness framework of Brown and Levinson (1987). Thus, my study differs from Ado and Bidin's (2017) study in that it connects between an indirect request act based on using religious texts and an 'off-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which may show respect to the hearer by minimising imposition on him/-her. I discuss this in Chapter Five when I explain the politeness strategies employed by the delegation leaders when generating their requests for reconciliation, peace, and forgiveness. I also address this in Chapter Six when I explain politeness strategies used by the victim's clan leaders when generating their requests for punishment for the offender.

Furthermore, Ado and Biden (2017) discuss that understanding reasonable appreciation of religious discourse is extremely scarce, although people are expected to understand and submit to religious interpretation. My study aims to investigate how religious quotes are used as hints for accomplishing the purposes of the 'ṭwah such as restoring the respect of the victim's clan and restoring peace among the disputing parties. According to Anshori (2016), religious practices derived from religious quotations might be in the form of authority forms that people ought to obey and follow. That is, by using religious quotes the speaker moves responsibility from him/-her to God who has the highest authority over people; therefore, the hearer should obey God's instructions devoted in sacred texts to be within His mercy. My study also proves how the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders could impose retribution, forgiveness, peace, and respect on the other when generating particular religious quotations in the 'ṭwah process, because they shift responsibility to God and the Prophets who have authority over people, as explained when answering the first research question where I discuss how the 'ṭwah is conducted linguistically through first referring to the politeness strategies employed by both the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders when generating the request act.

Concerning the investigation of linguistic politeness strategies within the context of the restorative justice, Shehadeh and Wardat (2017) investigate politeness strategies in the 'ṭwah in Jordan. They define the 'ṭwah as "the provisional agreement of intent" in Jordanian culture (2017: 8). They investigated the provisional agreements in car accidents and collected their data by video recording. They analysed linguistic features of this provisional agreement interaction by investigating honorifics, apology, request, compliment, and thanking, taking into consideration the following social variables: age, level of education, social rank, religion, and socio-economic status. They found that the request of the delegation is polite because the speaker asks indirectly for his request. My study contributes to this knowledge in that I investigate positive, negative, off-record, and

on-record politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987) used by men in the ‘ṭwah for manslaughter and murder cases when generating the request act in order to save the ‘individual’ face or the ‘social’ face and the ‘group’ face of the hearer. I also take into consideration that both leaders have the same social status as prime ministers, ministers, members in the Jordanian parliament, and شيخ (Shaykhs) (leaders of their clans). However, they have different institutionalised power status which means that one of them has power over the other, as explained in the analysis chapters when answering the research questions. Furthermore, my study is original because I collected my data from YouTube (for a full description, see section (4.2)).

The results of their study showed that the request act is performed by two parties: the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders. The delegation leader asks to reach a provisional agreement and for the driver to be freed, as shown in the example below, whereas the victim’s family asks for payment for hospital or treatment costs for the injury which occurred.

Example (10): the delegation leader addresses the victim’s clan leader

الجاهه الكريمه جاءت الى ديوانكم العامر في اثر الحادث المؤسف الذي اصيب ابنكم فيه و نسال الله الشفاء العاجل

adʒ--dʒa:hah ?al-kari:mah dʒa:ʔat ?ila: di:wa:nikom ?al-ʕa:mir fi: ?aəar ?al-ħa:diə ?al-muʔsif al-laði ?uʕSiba ?abnikom fi:h wanasʔal al-lah ?af-ʒifa:ʔ ?al-ʕa:dʒil

The esteemed gentry paid a visit to your flourishing guesthouse in the aftermath of the woeful accident which resulted in the injury of your son, to whom we wish immediate recovery.

Shehadeh and Wardat (2017: 11)

In the extract, Shehadeh and Wardat (2017) suggest that the act of request is not directly found. That is, the speaker implicitly asks the victim’s family to set free the offender when he says that ‘gentry paid a visit to your flourishing guesthouse in the aftermath of the woeful accident’. The victim’s clan leader replies to the previous indirect request of the delegation leader as follows:

بدنا الشفاء الولد احنا بدنا شك تأمين مع اي ناس في الجاهه

badna: ʃi:fa:? ?al-walad ?ihna: badna: ʃak ta?mi:n maʃ ?ay na:s fi: adʒ-dʒa:hah

We want the boy to get recovered; we also want a guarantee cheque kept with any member of the gentry.

Shehadeh and Wardat (2017: 11)

In the extract, Shehadeh and Wardat (2017) propose that the request act generated by the side of the victim's family is explicit, whereas the request act generated by the side of the delegation leader is implicit. They attributed this behaviour to the role of each party in the process of reconciliation. Thus, they urged that the delegation leader does not have the right to perform an explicit request, whereas the victim's clan leader performs an explicit request by asking for hospital treatment costs as an example. In other words, the request act generated by the side of the victim is explicit because their rights are already guaranteed by both the civil law and the tribal jurisdiction (Shehadeh and Wardat, 2017). Furthermore, they also attributed a generation of direct request acts by the side of the victim's clan leader because he has more powerful status than the delegation leader. My study differs from Shehadeh and Wardat's (2017) study in that it investigates how the direct act generated by the delegation leaders for a restoration of respect and peace refers to a direct request act despite their lower institutionalised power status, as discussed when answering the second research question. However, the delegation leaders could not threaten the face of the victim's clan leader because these requests are used as a tactic behaviour in order to achieve the 'ṭwah's purposes as demonstrated when answering the first research question.

In sum, the previous studies confirm that the negative politeness could be the dominant strategy in justice settings because showing deference or respect is expected in these settings. However, my study proves that rebuilding the relationship balance among the disputing parties through a restoration of respect of the victim's clan, maintaining reputation of the delegation leaders, and reintegrating the offender's clan into society are the main aims of the 'ṭwah process. Therefore, positive politeness could be the dominant strategy used by the 'ṭwah's representatives in the tribal ritual restorative justice institution.

In the following sections, I manifest the notion of ‘politeness’ and ‘speech act’ in the (Jordanian) Arabic context.

3.8 Politeness, speech acts and (Jordan) Arabic

In this section, I clarify the meaning of politeness in (Jordan) Arabic. Furthermore, this section demonstrates some research on the request act in (Jordanian) Arabic, as well as the role of gender in politeness and request act research on (Jordanian) Arabic, in order to establish a solid ground for the investigation of my data presented in Chapter Four.

3.8.1 Politeness in (Jordanian) Arabic

The term *الادب* (al-‘adab) (politeness) in Jordanian culture concerns the formal features of members’ social behaviour, which are controlled by social norms of Arabic culture such as *العادات و التقاليد* (habits and traditions) and *الدين* (religion) (Qari, 2017). Furthermore, al-‘adab (politeness) in Jordanian culture could be related to maintaining shared social values which control members’ social behaviour.

On socially agreed codes of good conduct, habits and traditions together comprise a complex term that refers to formal and conventional characteristics of social behaviour unique to a specific culture, taking into consideration a language used in this conventional social behaviour which could be different from the language used in other conventional social behaviours. The conventional social behaviour which is related to ending the dispute under the title ‘the ‘*ṭwah*’ in Jordanian culture (see section (2.3)) refers to specific norms of behaviour and language that could always be evaluated positively by Jordanian members. However, some members see these formal traditional aspects of this social behaviour as constraints imposed on them. Referring to the conventional dispute resolution, it includes meeting with the offended party to obtain peace and meet this party’s requirements; therefore, the delegation refrains from drinking an Arabic coffee until the offended party

grants them the 'ṭwah. Thus, habits and traditions seem extremely hard to change, because they could be considered by the majority of members of the Jordanian society as the main pillar that manages Jordanians' social behaviour (Pely and Luzon, 2018). If a Jordanian member fails to meet these special requirements, this person would usually be judged by the majority of Jordanian members as rude or impolite.

On religiously agreed codes of conduct, a religion is the distinctive aspect of Jordanian culture (Obeidat, 2008). According to Kalling and Gentry (2007) and Shahin and Wright (2004), a religion is a dominant variable that has an influential role in most aspects of Arab culture. However, although the impact of a religion on the daily life of each Arab member is significant, the Arab members' behaviour may not entirely represent their belief in a specific religion (Al-Shaikh, 2003). That is, not all members of Arab society behave in the same way by reflecting what religion calls for. As a result of this violation, in the Islamic religion, these members should be punished by members of the Jordanian society under the religious term *qasas* (a punishment) due to their failure to reflect on religion-ethical matters related to prohibiting killing people as an example; therefore, the legal aspect is applied to this category of people in order to prevent further murder cases.

Moreover, a religion refers to religious aspects of social behaviour proper to Islam and Christianity such as respect, peace, forgiveness, solidarity, reconciliation, and cooperation. Therefore, the Jordanian society is based on religion as a cultural aspect (Obeidat, 2008) which, in turn, calls for good manners and a reconstruction of these manners in a reality such as showing respect to each other, forgiving each other, restoring the peace among the disputing parties, and restoring the respect of the offended person. These religious norms of behaviour could be evaluated positively by members of Jordanian society, who would always see them as religious constraints being imposed on them. The position of these religious constraints is an imposition on or encouragement to the other party to achieve a particular request. The terms of Islam and Christianity are largely used

by parents to show their children an appropriate way of behaviour and they apply it in almost every aspect of the Jordanians' lives. For instance, parents teach their sons and daughters to respect and help old people, and restore the peace to obtain God's blessings, but they will not obtain God's blessings if they do not respect and help the old people, and restore the peace. Thus, social values could be defined within a religious framework in Jordanian culture based on what religion calls for such as respect, utility, forgiveness, solidarity, restoring the peace among disputing parties, prohibiting killing innocent people, and punishing the offender. For instance, if a Jordanian member addresses another one to end a dispute, the speaker sometimes uses the Quranic verse to ask for peace.

These religious aspects of social behaviour are extremely hard to change or to replace because they are bounded within the Quran and the Bible texts which regulate Jordanians' lives. If an individual, who is a native Jordanian, fails to meet these religious requirements dictated by the religious texts from the Quran and the Bible, this person would always be viewed as rude or impolite. However, although some Jordanians show social behaviour such as respect for other people, they could act differently in a private fashion such as drinking alcohol which is prohibited by the Islamic religion yet still be judged by other members as polite if they do not disrupt the social order through these actions.

Drawing from previous arguments, social norms in Jordanian culture are strongly related to Ide's 'discernment' type of politeness, where the individual has to follow the accepted social norms in a specific culture. Furthermore, the individual's behaviour depends on maintaining shared social values which make this person acceptable within Jordanian culture. The 'ṭwah process, which is both a cultural norm and a conventional norm, includes predefined ritual specific strategies and aims to maintain shared social values for saving the face of the 'ṭwah representatives.

In the next section of this chapter, I discuss some (Jordanian) Arabic research on the request act used to analyse my data explained in greater detail in Chapter Four, in order to

answer the research questions.

3.8.2 Speech acts in (Jordanian) Arabic

Speech act research has mainly investigated Western and Far Eastern cultures and languages, with a narrow focus on the Middle East. Al-Momani (2009) believes that the study of Arabic speech acts is still in its early stages.

Many Arabic researchers have investigated speech acts such as *compliments* (Nelson et al., 1993; Migdadi, 2003; Farghal, and Haggan, 2006), and *apologies* (Ghawi, 1993; Hussein and Hammouri, 1998; Al- Zumor, 2003) by making a comparison between Arabic native speakers and non-native Arab speakers. Some studies have also focused on the speech act performance in a single Arabic culture such as the study of Abdel- Jawad (2000), which investigated oath-taking by Egyptians, and the study of Al-Marrani and Sazakie (2010), which examined request strategies performed by Yemenis. Results of these studies show that politeness strategies differ from one culture to another and from one group within a culture. For instance, the study of Al-Marrani and Sazalie (2010) argues that direct speech acts used by male speakers in Yemeni culture refers to politeness, which could be considered as impoliteness in other cultures. Therefore, their result confirms that the notion of face is not universal.

Al-Momani (2009) extensively criticises the study of Umar (2004) for neglecting a focus on analysing modifications in the core request and focusing on many heterogeneous groups of Arabic speakers consisting of Jordanians, Saudis, Sudanese, and many other Arabic nationalities. That is, he neglected the importance of sociocultural and regional differences between speakers (ibid). My study focuses on investigating modifications used by Arabic Jordanian speakers in the 'twah process.

Moreover, Al-Momani (2009) finds that Jordanian speakers preferred using more direct strategies in a request when the speaker had a higher social power. Another example is the study of Al-Fattah (2009). This scholar investigated Yemeni EFL learners'

performance in a request act and found that these learners extensively used politeness markers and conventionally indirect strategies. In my study, I focus on the request act's performance by the Arabic Jordanian men whose institutional roles are leaders of their groups in the tribal ritual resolution setting. Thus, my study is different from those reviewed as it focuses on the institutional power, which could be different from these leaders' social status, and the effects of such power on choosing the request act strategies.

As this literature review shows, there have been a few investigations of the speech act of request in a single Arabic culture, but none has investigated an Arabic request within an ancient tradition. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the request act's performance in such conventional interaction in Arabic Jordanian culture. This study aims to fill this gap in the existing body of speech act literature by examining request among Arabic Jordanian men in the 'ṭwah as a conventional process.

3.8.3 Gender, politeness and speech acts in (Jordanian) Arabic

As I stated above, my study investigates the politeness strategies used by the male-to-male interaction when performing the request act in the 'ṭwah context. Most of (Jordanian) Arabic research focused on a comparison between male and female language used in (Jordanian) Arabic culture such as the studies of Al-Khatib (2006) and Al-Harabsheh (2014) on Jordanian culture, which is not the domain of my study. Al-Harabsheh (2014) analyses twelve dyadic conversations between male and female students at Yarmouk University in Jordan, and he found that male students use fewer politeness strategies than their female counterparts. The findings of his study show essential differences between Jordanian female and male students in linguistic style.

On reviewing the literature, I only found limited research that focuses on an investigation of male-to-male language used in (Jordanian) Arabic culture; for instance, the studies of Al-Khawaldeh and Zegarac (2013), Al-Marrani and Sazalle (2010), and Amer et al (2020). Thus, my study aims to fill this gap by investigating politeness strategies used in

male-male interaction when performing the request speech act in a conventional practice. Amer et al, (2020) found that the male speaker avoids using the singular ‘I’ and ‘you’ when addressing another male counterpart in Jordanian culture. The speaker uses ‘we’ instead of ‘I’ indicated by the prefix [ni] (we) + present as shown in the verb [niʃʃarraʃ] (we will know) referring to both the speaker and the hearer belonging to the same set of people who share a common ground in order to minimise the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, as illustrated in the examples below. My study sheds more light on this matter to illustrate how the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nħnu) (we) is used by the male leaders when performing the request act in the ‘twah process.

Example (11): (a male customer addresses a male employee)

ECCCS: ʔalla:y ʃa :fr:k ya: rab (.) niʃʃarraʃ bil ʔism

Hello. May Allah bless you. May we (plural) know your name

(Amer et al., 2020: 78)

In Al-Marrani and Sazalle’s (2010) study of request strategies used by male speakers of Yemeni Arabic in male-male interaction, they found that male speakers tend to use direct strategies when addressing other men, as shown in the example below. My study sheds more light on this matter to demonstrate how the direct request is performed by the male leader when addressing other male leaders, taking into consideration power as a social value, as discussed when answering the research questions.

Example (12):

ja:-mħamad si:r ila lbaqa:lah w-tari ʒħrawa:t

hey Mohammed go to the grocery and buy vegetables

Mohammed, go to the grocery and buy vegetables

(Al-Marrani and Sazalle, 2010: 70)

Furthermore, Al-Marrani and Sazalle (2010) found that male speakers of Yemeni

Arabic in a male-male interaction prefer using non-conventionally indirect strategies, as shown in the example below. That is, the male speaker shows deference to the male hearer by minimising the imposition on the male hearer. My study focuses on this matter to investigate how non-conventionally indirect request strategies are employed by the male leaders in the ‘ṭwah context for saving the hearer’s face.

Example (13):

ta-i ma-i la-su:q nitari fawakh

Come with-me to-market to-buy fruit

Join me to go to the market to buy fruits

(Al-Marrani and Sazalle, 2010: 76)

In the previous example, Al-Marrani and Sazalle (2010) propose that the speaker implicitly asks the hearer to help him to carry the goods by joining him to go to the market.

Considering what has been mentioned above, to the best of my knowledge, no study such as this one has been conducted on Arabic culture in general, and on Jordanian culture in particular. Therefore, my study aims to enrich the politeness and request act literature on male-male interaction in the (Jordanian) Arabic context. In the next section, I explain politeness strategies in the speech act performance through the two phenomena of Hofstede’s (1991, 2001, and 2005) cultural dimensions-*collectivism* and *power distance index*-as illustrated in the two sections below.

3.9 Positive politeness orientation

Positive politeness could be used to avoid causing offense by highlighting friendliness which makes the hearers feel good about themselves and their interests (Brown and Levinson, 1987). That is, the speaker focuses on solidarity between him/-her and the hearer by minimising the social distance between them.

According to Scollon and Scollon (1983, 2001), positive politeness, which they

termed ‘solidarity’, was the dominant strategy used in most politeness research conducted on Arabic subjects. This result is in alignment with what I argued in section (2.2) about Jordanian culture by depending on Hofstede’s (1991, 2001, and 2005) Cultural Dimensional Theory that this culture seems to be collectivist, and its members are more likely to prefer greater group harmony than an individual autonomy. Ogiermann (2009a) illustrates that collectivistic societies are mainly positive politeness-oriented.

The majority of interlocutors in positive politeness cultures might feel comfortable when talking to each other with a small spatial distance between them. Walker (2014) confirms this point by stating that members of these cultures are comfortable with little personal space-i.e. these members might feel more comfortable when minimising the social distance between them. For instance, restoring the peace within a conventional aspect (The ‘ṭwah) takes place when the leaders of each group minimise the social distance among them in order to maintain the social value ‘solidarity’. Thus, this cultural ritual aspect distinguishes Jordanian culture from other Arabian cultures.

Furthermore, Alaoui (2011) observes that the majority of Arabs overemphasise in their welcoming behaviour, and the scholar commented that this behaviour could be considered as ‘impolite’ in other cultures because the speaker does not keep his/-her distance. Ogiermann (2009a) states that this behaviour is an aspect of positive politeness cultures. For instance, in Jordanian culture, the majority of Jordanians pay a high amount of money to the offended party in the ‘ṭwah, in order to seek approval (as demonstrated in section (2.3)) and in order to minimise the social distance between the speaker and the hearer. After this illustration, this cultural aspect the ‘ṭwah process refers to “exaggerate interest, approval, sympathy with H” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 102) as a strategy of positive politeness.

Several linguists such as Al-Hamzi (1999), Aba-Alalaa (2009), and Al-Marrani and Sazalie (2010) demonstrate that using direct language is a dominant feature of politeness in

particular Arab cultures. The findings of these studies indicate that most Arabs used ‘imposition’ imperatives in their requests (Al-Zumor, 2003; Al-Marrani and Sazalie, 2010). The rationale for the preference of Yemenis and Saudis in these cultures for directness in the request act performance can be interpreted in terms of two levels: a *cultural level* and a *linguistic level*. On a cultural level, Tawalbeh and AL-Oqaily (2012) argue that the directness strategy was the dominant behaviour in contexts where the speaker has equal power with the hearer. They confirmed that directness is not an impolite behaviour, rather, it is “a way of expressing connectedness, closeness, camaraderie, and affiliation” (2012: 94). My study contributes to their research in its focus on how the direct request act could not threaten the face of the hearer regardless of the social power of the hearer when the direct request aims to maintain shared social values.

In the same vein, Soliman (2003) finds that directness and positive politeness strategies are used in the Egyptian Arabic context by interlocutors when they have power (+P) or no power (-P). Meanwhile, in their studies of Saudi Arabic context, Al-Qahtani (2009) and Jebahi (2011) find that the speaker employs negative politeness strategies when the hearer has more power than the speaker (-P). My study contributes to their research which finds that the social power could not play an important role in performing the direct request act when it is based on asking for shared social values to be maintained. That is, the speaker who has a lower institutionalised status could employ the direct request act when addressing a person who has a higher institutionalised status without threatening the hearer’s face because he built his direct request on a common ground, as demonstrated in the first research question.

On a linguistic level, according to Atawneh (1991) and Atawneh and Sridhar (1993), the English language has a rich modal structure (would, could, may, etc.) which provides a higher mitigation by giving an option to the hearer rather than imposing on him-/her. In contrast, Jordanian Arabic dialect could not use this kind of mitigation as a hedge for

making indirect requests. However, Arabic Jordanian dialect includes other types of mitigative devices which are used for mitigating the direct requests such as the colloquial adverb شوي (shwai) (a little bit). Furthermore, in the Jordanian context, the religious mitigating device or the religious expression مشان ربنا (for Allah's sake) is used to mitigate the direct imperative, as demonstrated in Chapter Five.

Based on the above discussion, in most Arabic politeness studies, researchers such as El-Shazly (1993), Bajri (2005) and AL-Marrani and Sazalie, (2010) find that Arab participants used a religious modifying device such as يخليك الله (May Allah keep you safe from any harm) as a significant aspect of positive politeness. According to Bajri (2005), this religious expression, mainly used in requests, could be considered as a positive politeness strategy referring to a shared common ground with the hearer. That is, she found that this religious expression is used to strengthen the FTA positively. These research studies support Ogiermann's (2009b) argument that positive politeness societies could save positive face more than the negative face whether on the speaker's face or on the hearer's face. Based on the previously mentioned research, Jordanians could save their positive face more than their negative face. According to my data, I explain this in the 'analysis and discussion' chapters, taking into consideration that the 'twah is a strategic performance based on asking for shared social values to be preserved. In the next section, I investigate the role of social power in choosing the request act among Jordanians and Arabic societies.

3.10 The social power

Social power is a fundamental component of intragroup, intergroup, and interpersonal relationships (Haslam, 2001). Furthermore, Vine (2004) explains that it is a characteristic feature of human interaction. Brown and Levinson (1987: 77) define 'power' as "the degree to which H can impose his [her] own plans and his [her] self-evaluation (face) at the expense of S's plans and self-evaluation". Kelly, Dobbs, Lucas and Lovaglia (2017: 58) differentiate between 'power' and 'status', where 'power' is "the ability to get what one wants even

when others resist, but 'status' is "a position in a group based on esteem or respect". My study sheds more light on this matter to illustrate how both male interlocutors have the same social status-as a prime minister, a minister, a member in the Jordanian parliament, and shaykh (a leader of his clan)- to use politeness when performing the speech act of request. The choice of representatives with this high status is very important for the restoration of balance. The higher the delegation leader's status, the more the victim's clan gains in their institutionalised power. That is, one of these male interlocutors has a higher institutional powerful status over the other because his situated power in the 'ṭwah grants him this powerful status over the other leader.

The previous definitions of 'power' (also known as 'authority': Leech 1983) and 'dominance': Trosberg 1987) cause asymmetrical relationships in which the hearer is being the high-power person whereas the speaker is being the less-powerful one according to their position in a particular situation. According to Austin (1962), 'power' is a variable that allows the speaker to threaten the hearer's face. From this perspective, Brown and Gilman (1960: 255) determine the power sources which are "physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalised role in the church, the state, the army or within the family". For instance, the relationship between worker and boss denotes an asymmetrical relationship in which the boss is more powerful according to his/-her position than the worker. Thus, the boss's saving face is expected and depends on a communicated style. According to my study, the power of the leader is associated with the institutionalised power status of the leaders not their social status. Since politeness is associated with power among individuals, it is necessary to understand how this variable works in a conventional interaction and how it is related to the politeness framework.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, (see section (2.2)), cultures that have a great distance between high-power and low- power members of society (e.g., Jordan) are called high power distance (HPD), according to Hofstede's (2001) cultural dimensional model.

However, all societies have a distance between high -power and low- power members, not just specific cultures. In these societies, subordinates depend on their bosses to provide a better life for themselves and their families. They thus show deference in their behaviour to their superiors.

According to Hofstede's (1991, 2001, 2005) framework, most Arabic countries are high power distance (HPD) communities. Also, the data from Arabic research studies confirm this claim. For instance, if the hearer had more power than the speaker, the speaker used an indirect strategy. In contrast, the speaker used a direct strategy if he/-she had more or equal power with the hearer (El-Shazly 1993; Al-Qahtani 2009; Jebahi, 2011). In my study, one of the male interlocutors in the tribal ritual resolution setting has a higher institutional power status over the other although both the male interlocutors have the same social status. Thus, the leader with a low-power institutionalised role in this setting could use indirect strategies in performing the request act while the leader with a high-power institutionalised role in this setting sometimes tends to use direct strategies in performing the request act. However, the leader with a high institutionalised power role in this setting sometimes tends to use indirect strategies in performing the request act, as illustrated when answering the research questions.

3.11 Conclusion

As this literature review shows, none of (Jordanian) Arabic speech act of request research has investigated the speech act of request within the public apology as a tribal conventional social practice. Therefore, my study is novel because it investigates the politeness framework when performing the request act in the public apology as a ritual practice. Furthermore, my study focuses on how performing the request act in the context of the ritual reconciliation among male interlocutors who have equal social status but different institutionalised power status.

By examining the speech act of request among Jordanian men in the tribal ritual

resolution setting, this study hopes to contribute to the existing speech act and politeness literature by filling in these gaps, although my results would be applicable to the specific context I am searching.

The following chapters illustrate how I collected my data. Then, they clarify the data analysis procedure used in investigating the linguistic forms used by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders, and present discussion of the results and conclusion.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I clarify how I collected my data, with an explanation of the rationale for the approach I took. Furthermore, I describe the data in the ‘ṭwah cases. Then, I move to demonstrate types of data in the ‘ṭwah cases. Finally, I introduce the methodology used when analysing my data in the ‘ṭwah cases.

4.2 Data collection

In order to address the research questions, I collected videos of the ‘ṭwah via YouTube. Therefore, my study is distinguished from Shehadeh and Wardat’s (2017) study who collected their data by video recording. I was not able to video-record data on my own because women are not permitted to attend the ‘ṭwah sessions in Jordanian culture (as demonstrated in section (2.3)). Thus, I found that watching videos of the ‘ṭwah cases on YouTube is the best way to investigate what happened in these cases. Furthermore, watching these videos helped me to investigate a discourse between two representatives (the delegation leader and the victim’s clan leader) within settling disputes. I was able to observe that there are predefined and regular procedures generated by these two representatives; therefore, YouTube helped me to collect the data in order coding (Gibbs, 2007) (for a full description see section (4.8)) to categorise these predefined the ‘ṭwah’s procedures using a typology of the types of linguistic phenomena, which in turn helped me analyse the data according to an appropriate politeness framework.

Using YouTube, I found 61 the ‘ṭwah cases for fights, murders, and manslaughters from 2013 to 2020. I then constructed a table comprising four columns to classify the ‘ṭwah cases according to their types, their years, periods of the the ‘ṭwah cases, and their regions by dividing Jordanian regions into north, middle, and south provinces, as shown in Appendix 1. This classification was significant because it helped me to recognise whether

there were any similarities and differences in the ‘ṭwah cases that took place in different regions in Jordan across various years. In my view, the rationale for uploading them on YouTube is that Jordanians are interested in publicising the ritual of the ‘ṭwah in order to show their powerful role in settling the dispute, which in turn restores peace among the disputing parties. Therefore, these uploaded cases only include the ‘ṭwah of agreement which ends with the purpose of the ‘ṭwah, rather than uploading the ‘ṭwah cases of disagreement. This is because these cases of disagreement may inform the Jordanian members of other clans about points of disagreement, and they may start thinking of their application in their ‘ṭwah cases, resulting in further breakdown of relations among these clans and which in turn could have a negative effect on the society through continuing conflicts due to a failure of the ‘ṭwah.

In my study, I watched videos about the ‘ṭwah cases again and again on YouTube to fully inform myself. Then, I classified the cases into murder, manslaughter, and fight cases, as explained in this section. Next, I introduced the cases under investigation by writing an introduction on each case including a clarification of the relation of the murderer to the victim and the reason for the delegation going to the victim’s clan’s guesthouse (see Appendices 3 to 12).

I have focused on particular ‘ṭwah cases: the ‘ṭwah for القتل العمد (murder cases) and the ‘ṭwah for القتل الغير عمد (manslaughter cases). There are 39 such cases; however, I chose 10 cases for analysis, as discussed in the next section. The reason for focusing on murder and manslaughter cases is because I am as a Jordanian woman prevented from participating in and attending the ‘ṭwah sessions; therefore, I was curious about the role of male interlocutors in resolving the damaged relationship, as well as their role in restoring the victim’s clan’s sense of damaged honour and dignity and in mitigating the offender clan’s sense of shame in such complex cases.

It is worth mentioning that these murder and manslaughter cases were recorded and

uploaded to YouTube by the victims' clans as shown under each 'ṭwah video on YouTube. For instance, in 2013 the delegation and the victim's clan gathered as a result of a manslaughter case between two Muslims (عواد الدوايمه (Awad Al-Dwaymh) (the offender) and طارق المقوسي (Tareq Al-Maqousi) (the victim), as shown in the video on YouTube which was uploaded by Muhammad Al-Maqousi (a member of the victim's clan). I knew that this person was a member of the victim's clan because his surname is identical to the victim's clan, as seen in the figure below.

Figure 4. Uploaded the 'ṭwah case on YouTube by a member of the victim's clan



In light of the above discussion, the videos uploaded by members of the victim's clan refer to power reversal of the victim's clan when their requirements from the 'ṭwah were met, which helped them to restore their sense of damaged honour and dignity.

I observed that there are written and signed documents by particular members of the delegation and the victim's clan in the end of each 'ṭwah case. Therefore, I asked my father about them and he went to the police where such documents are kept in Irbid, Jordan, to collect them (he collected the documents on my behalf as I was in the UK at the time). My father scanned the collected documents and sent them to me. I found that these written documents do not include any linguistic phenomena to be investigated; they only included periods and conditions of the 'ṭwah cases.

Legewie and Nassauer (2018) refer to any study that uses videos or other visual data

as the primary data material under the umbrella term of ‘video research’. Researchers examine video data in relation to various analytic approaches, such as analysing situational dynamics (Legewie and Nassauer, 2018), or analysing communication as in an interactional analysis (Norris,2004).

Some researchers who are interested in interpreting interactions and capturing individuals’ habits from various cultures and places can use online videos as possible data sources (Berger, 2012). Legewie and Nassauer (2018) highlight the importance of online video in that it helps social scientists to investigate various human interactions and behaviours. In addition, online videos can play an essential role for researchers since they may only have a limited time to collect their data; therefore, they may benefit from YouTube as a data source (Berger, 2012) to save time and effort. Regarding YouTube, Burgess and Green (2009) point out that a person can use it for investigating a particular topic in a specific year, or in a specific platform belonging to a particular person.

On naturally occurring data and YouTube, I used YouTube because it assisted me to investigate a collection of samples of spontaneous speech in the ‘ṭwah settings where representatives of the ‘ṭwah gathered to solve disputes and prevent further conflicts without my intervention. As Silverman (2007) states, YouTube contains many ‘naturally occurring materials’ (for a full explanation, see section (4.5)) that qualitative researchers can use to achieve the purposes of their study.

The question comes to mind about how to collect quantities of information from the large volume of materials available on YouTube. I followed the procedure ‘pursuing topics’ (Laurier, 2016) by first identifying a topic of the ‘ṭwah case. That is, I typed in a search engine on YouTube in Arabic the following: (i) العطوه العشائريه في القتل العمد (the ‘ṭwah for the murder case) and (ii) العطوه العشائريه في القتل غير العمد (the ‘ṭwah for manslaughter case). By pursuing the topic of the ‘ṭwah on YouTube, I started watching the ‘ṭwah cases as they appeared on the YouTube search engine, and then classified them chronologically and

geographically, as mentioned at the beginning of this section. Smith and McDonald's (2011) research on the US military in Iraq is another study that also collected materials from YouTube by 'pursuing topics'.

There could be a disadvantage of using videos on YouTube in that researchers, like me, who depend on such video data do not directly contact their research subjects. Thus, those researchers are not dealing with research participants (Legewie and Nassauer, 2018).

In conclusion, watching the 'ṭwah cases on YouTube provided me with a full understanding of the interaction: how the speaker initiates a talk (the delegation leader, coded as S1) and how the other speaker responds to him (the victim's clan leader, coded as S2) within a fixed systematic procedure across different types of the 'ṭwah. Therefore, I took the decision not to skip or delete any video sections of the 'ṭwah because it could negatively affect my understanding of the interaction; for instance, skipping sections could cause difficulty in recognising one politeness strategy or in capturing the response to one action because of skipping or deleting the second action. Similarly, Laurier (2016) confirms a preference for non-elimination of any parts of the video because they reflect a real experience. In the next section, I describe the data in the 'ṭwah cases from YouTube.

4.3 Data in the 'ṭwah cases

In this section, I provide a detailed description of the 'ṭwah cases used in the analysis and the systematic choice of the types of case that were investigated in this study. The content of the 'ṭwah for murder and manslaughter cases focuses on the request for the 'ṭwah from the victim's clan and the request for requirements of the victim's clan by the delegation leader. Furthermore, the content of the 'ṭwah cases focuses on how recipients respond to these requests. I chose the following ten cases for analysis, as shown in Table 4.

Table 5 The distribution of the ‘tawah cases used in the analysis

Atwa cases	Year	Type	Participants
Case A ⁶	2014	Murder case	Muslims from the same province
Case B ⁷	2014	Murder case	Muslims from different provinces
Case C ⁸	2013	Manslaughter case	Muslims
Case D ⁹	2013	Murder case	A Muslim and Christian
Case E ¹⁰	2013	Murder case	A Muslim and Christian
Case F ¹¹	2014	diyah (a blood compensation)	Muslims
Case G ¹²	2018	Murder case	A Muslim husband was killed by his Muslim wife
Case H ¹³	2019	Murder case	A Muslim husband killed his Muslim wife
Case I ¹⁴	2019	Murder case	Muslims
Case J ¹⁵	2020	Murder case	Muslims

⁶Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oO9hasTr0Zw&spfreload=10>. Accessed 28.2/2021.

⁷Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQnrqSaRcuc>. Accessed 28/3/2021.

⁸ Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_dl5bM-bxic. Accessed 29/03/2021.

⁹Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XeY63EflmFg&feature=youtu.be>. Accessed 30/03/2021.

Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d4p0cWrpqxqk>. Accessed 30/03/2021.

Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sxFr68G4vo0&feature=youtu.be>. Accessed 30/03/2021.

¹⁰Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jz2ZWMCTpBc>. Accessed 01/04/2021.

¹¹Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0w5IehGxmuA>. Accessed 05/04/2021.

¹² Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UJWSDozdI2I>. Accessed 28/3/2021.

¹³Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G0CDcjPKc1M>. Accessed 10/04/2021.

¹⁴Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I8RNB2jgEUk>. Accessed 12/10/2020.

¹⁵Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S_g8eVcp3to. Accessed 10/02/2021.

The data contain different cases for the ‘ṭwah. This is beneficial to conduct a systematic analysis of similar patterns that can occur in more than one episode and differences that can be attributed to variety of people, topics, years, or regions involved in order to answer the research questions. For instance, I chose cases (A), (B), (I), and (J) to investigate the politeness strategies used by male speakers when generating the request act in the murder case between Muslims from the same region and between Muslims from different regions. I chose case (C) to investigate the politeness strategies used by male speakers when generating the request act in the manslaughter case, where this ‘ṭwah case took place in the north province of Jordan. I also chose case (D) to investigate the politeness strategies used by male individuals having different religious backgrounds such as a Muslim and a Christian when performing the request speech act in the murder case, where this ‘ṭwah case took place in the middle province of Jordan. In addition, I chose case (E) to investigate the politeness strategies used by male speakers in the same case (C) for the second time. I chose case (F) to investigate the politeness strategies used by male speakers when asking for diyah (a blood money compensation), as explained in section (2.3) that took place in the south province of Jordan. Furthermore, I chose case (G) to investigate the politeness strategies used by male speakers when performing the request act in the murder case between family members such as a Muslim husband who was killed by his Muslim wife, where this ‘ṭwah case took place in the middle province of Jordan. On this point, I chose the murder case (H) to investigate the politeness strategies used by male speakers when performing the request act in the murder case between family members such as a Muslim husband who killed his Muslim wife, where this ‘ṭwah case took place in the middle province of Jordan.

These are original and novel data; to date, and to the best of my knowledge, no scholar has examined the murder and manslaughter cases in the domain of the ritual dispute resolution from a linguistic perspective through an application of politeness frameworks

(Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987: for more explanation, see section (4.9)) in a generation of the request act. Thus, this study tries to fill this knowledge gap by examining the ritual dispute resolution through a linguistic lens. In the following two sections, I demonstrate the types of data in the ‘ṭwah cases.

4.4 Institutional discourse

I considered the data collected as ‘institutional discourse’. Draw and Heritage (1992: 3-4) define ‘institutional discourse’ as being “institutional insofar as participants’ institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged”. Regarding the ‘ṭwah, the delegation leader and the victim’s clan leader’s identities are relevant to achieve the purpose of the ‘ṭwah which is determined by the restorative justice institution. Furthermore, the ‘ṭwah includes a routinised and standardised speech event that takes place in the victim’s clan’s guesthouse. In order to restore the peace among the disputing parties, the offender’s clan sends the delegation to the victim’s clan to ask for the ‘ṭwah and to meet the requirements of the victim’s clan, as discussed in section (2.3). As Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2008) point out that an institutional discourse usually occurs in fixed locations within the institution which helps in the data collection process. Furthermore, they argue that a researcher can predict the topics and characteristics of talk in advance of data collection. In addition, the researcher can predict specific speech acts during the speech event due to goal-oriented nature of institutional discourse (ibid).

The importance of the ‘institutional discourse’ in the ‘ṭwah is that I can precisely access the conversation between the ‘ṭwah’s representatives in any ‘ṭwah case in order to investigate how the discourses of the ‘ṭwah’s representatives are influenced by the restorative justice institution which determines a response to each other to be a systematic response in most ‘ṭwah cases in order to achieve the ‘ṭwah’s aim. That is, the importance

of 'institutional discourse' is that researchers can have access to precisely the types of conversational and interpersonal phenomena that focus on linguistic developments which appear in the full context of the speech event. Therefore, this importance distinguishes 'institutional discourse' from datasets obtained from other research methods; for example, a questionnaire, or a role-play (Kasper and Dahl, 1991).

There are two categories of 'institutional discourse': 1) interactions between institutional representatives and a client (Bardovi-Harlig, 2008), and 2) interactions between members of the same institution. Sarangi and Roberts (1999:20) refer to the former as "frontstage". In my study, 'frontstage' appears when the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders interact with their group members. Furthermore, it appears when Jordanian women have an informal effect on the 'ṭwah process, although they do not attend in person. That is, women are often indirectly involved in a discussion with their male relatives about conditions of the 'ṭwah.

Sarangi and Roberts (1999: 20) termed the second category "backstage" this; appears in my study when the same institutional representatives, the delegation leader and the victim's clan leader, negotiate the dispute to rebuild the bridge among disputing parties and to restore respect to the victim's clan. On this category, Bardovi-Harlig and Harford (2008: 8) point out that it "has less been widely studied" in pragmatic research. Therefore, the current study tries to fill this knowledge gap through an investigation of the two representatives' discourse within the restorative justice institution.

The main features of the institutional discourse in the 'ṭwah are: 1) the delegation leader and the victim's clan leader have an orientation with the central purpose and the central task which are conventionally related to the restorative justice institution of the 'ṭwah: Draw and Heritage (1992: 22) refer to this feature in 'institutional discourse' as "goal-oriented". 2) There are special and particular restrictions on both representatives of the offender's clan and the victim's clan, this feature is termed "constraints" (ibid). 3) In

the ‘ṭwah process there are specific institutional contexts; this feature is called the “framework” (ibid). That is, the role of the delegation leader is to ask for the ‘ṭwah and to ask for the victim’s clan’s requirements. In contrast, the role of the victim’s clan leader is to ask for his clan’s requirements to be met. This role enables the victim’s clan to restore their respect which was damaged by the offender’s act. Hence, both leaders have traditional goals and conventional predicted outcomes in the the ‘ṭwah process. These features made the data of the ‘ṭwah suitable for pragmatic research. Thus, these features made me investigate politeness strategies employed by the male representatives in the ‘ṭwah for the murder and manslaughter cases in the ritual restorative justice institution, as illustrated in the following chapters.

Furthermore, the institutional discourse in the ‘ṭwah has interactional norms such as turn-taking and constant social roles. That is, roles of both the delegation leader and the victim’s clan leader are stable in most ‘ṭwah cases-i.e. the leaders’ roles are fixed; therefore, I quickly identified leaders of the delegation and leaders of the victim’s clan in the restorative justice institution. In other words, participants’ functions are institutionally defined; therefore, the relationships between participants are fixed in general (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 2008). As a result, researchers can quickly identify participants in an institution and categorise speakers based on variables and roles specific to a given study (ibid).

One of these leaders has a situated power status over the other despite having the same powerful standing as a shaykh (a leader of clan), a prime minister, or a member of the Jordanian parliament. As Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2008: 9) confirm, institutional interactions have “turn-taking, constant social roles, and asymmetrical power relation”.

In light of the above discussion, institutional discourse of the ‘ṭwah offers a definable context that helped me to choose labels to categorise my data in order to understand how speech acts are realised, how these speech acts are negotiated and elaborated by the ‘ṭwah’s

representatives, and how these speech acts reach the representatives to an agreement on the dispute.

In conclusion, my dataset is important because it can provide a rich background for investigation. Furthermore, my dataset represents an excellent site to investigate the notion of face when generating politeness strategies. That is, politeness theory provides a useful framework for investigating institutional linguistic behaviour in the ‘*ṭwah*’ by focusing on the role of maintaining shared social values. Harris (2003: 31) confirms the importance of politeness theory in the institutional discourse by stating: “[...] politeness theory provides a useful alternative framework for interpreting institutional linguistic behaviour and defining norms”. In the next section, I demonstrate another type of data in the ‘*ṭwah*’ cases.

4.5 Naturally occurring data

I considered the data collected as ‘naturally occurring data’. I begin this section with a definition of this term and a justification for considering such data found in the ‘*ṭwah*’ cases. This section concludes with some disadvantages of this type of data.

Potter (2002: 541) provides a useful definition of naturally occurring data by posing the question: “Would the data be the same, or be there at all, if the researcher got run over on the way to work? An interview would not take place without the researcher there to ask the questions; a counselling session would take place whether the researcher turns up to collect the recording or not”. That is, ‘naturally occurring data’ in the ‘*ṭwah*’ cases are data that are not explicitly elicited by me; rather, they are data that are observed and presented without my intervention. Bardovi- Harlig and Hartford (2008: 13) define conversational data as “spontaneous authentic language use by speakers in genuine situations. Also, conversations exhibit a variety of speech acts and attributes in a single encounter”. In my study, every aspect of interactions is talked into being by the representatives of the ‘*ṭwah*’. That is, in this ritual conversation, the ‘*ṭwah*’s representatives negotiate face to face, they

take turns, and they pay attention to the topic and main points in the conversation in a routinised way determined by the restorative justice institution.

One important argument on observing naturally occurring data in the ‘*ṭwah* cases is that different situations may result in different realisations of a speech event; for instance, in the ‘*ṭwah* situation, the request act performed by the delegation leader in murder cases could be different from the request act employed in manslaughter cases. Furthermore, the request act generated by the delegation leader at the beginning of the ‘*ṭwah* process could be different from the request act at the end of the ‘*ṭwah* process according to a response of the victim’s clan leader to the first request of the delegation leader. Atkinson and Heritage (1984: 3) confirm: “The experimenter is unlikely to anticipate the range, scope, and variety of behavioural variation that might be responsive to experimental manipulation”. This could generate unexpected further requests and responses; therefore, experiments may not be able to foresee all scenarios in which a specific speech event may be produced (Kasper, 2000). That is, naturally occurring data assisted me to analyse actual language used in the ‘*ṭwah* cases.

Golato (2017) points out that the method of collecting naturally occurring data is recording them which provides other researchers with an opportunity to obtain exact and repeated analysis of linguistic materials. That is, whenever interactions are video-recorded, researchers have the same access to utterances, gaze, gestures, and other linguistic patterns of utterances. However, I explained in section (4.2) why and how I used YouTube for collecting the ‘*ṭwah* cases rather than recording them by myself.

Wolfson (1983: 85) states that “we must have access to data taken from real speech samples across a range of speech situations” when using the method of observing natural speech for the collection of speech acts in order to investigate native speakers’ patterns of conversation. However, several linguists recognise the drawbacks of employing this method in the speech act research. For instance, Ogiermann (2009a: 71) criticises this

method by stating: “recording longer stretches of data in the hope that a particular speech act will materialise at some point [that takes a long time]”. Ogiermann’s criticism is confirmed by Kampf and Blum-Kulka (2007: 1), through their three-year longitudinal study, in which they recorded speech acts of Israeli children to trace the development of their apology behaviour. These scholars found that “only 57 (taped and transcribed) apology events [were] identified in natural peer interactions”. However, I did not face this challenge when working with naturally occurring data in the ‘ṭwah cases because the ‘ṭwah process is a strategic performance including different stages, but these stages are predefined in most of ‘ṭwah cases, as discussed in the previous section.

On the point of disadvantage of observing natural speech, Kasper and Dahl (1991) observe that this method consumes time when transcribing naturally occurring speech acts as it might take up to ten hours for the transcription of a one-hour audio tape in an interaction. Furthermore, data derived from naturally occurring speech cannot be systematic due to the difficulty of controlling contextual variables (Al-Shboul, Maros and Yasin 2012: 12). Ogiermann (2009a: 72) also criticises this method and says that results “cannot be replicated” because it is extremely improbable that the same situation will occur twice in the same precise way in real life (Nuroni, 2009). However, I could prove the opposite; that the results obtained by investigating naturally occurring data in the ‘ṭwah could be replicated since the ‘ṭwah’s procedures for the murder and manslaughter cases may occur and be systematic more than twice in the same way in most tribal dispute resolution settings. Yuan (2001) argues that a key difficulty for researchers working with naturally occurring data is the absence of control over speaker and context variables such as age and social backgrounds of the speakers. However, I could also prove the opposite in that I as a linguist researcher working with naturally occurring data in the ‘ṭwah cases have some control over a speaker and context variables such as gender and social status of the speakers. That is, in the ‘ṭwah cases, all the participants are men, and the representatives of the two parties have

the same social status in a Jordanian society as discussed in section (2.3). Thus, my study is distinguished by examining naturally occurring data and the institutional discourse in the domain of a routinised negotiation for settling the dispute through a linguistic lens.

In conclusion, my dataset includes routinised naturally occurring data and routinised institutional discourse used as a strategic performance for achieving the ‘*ṭwah*’s purpose; therefore, this is original and novel data type. To date, no scholar has examined a naturally occurring data and institutional discourse in a conventional interaction from a linguistic perspective through the application of politeness frameworks (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987) in a generation of the request act with control over gender and the social status of representatives. In the next section, I demonstrate how I introduced my data while excluding the features of conversation analysis.

4.6 Presenting the ‘*ṭwah* data

In this section, I explain how I presented my dataset in the analysis chapters from oral interactional sound and video materials in the ‘*ṭwah* cases into a written form (scripts). Ayab (2015: 508) describes transcription as “[...] a constitutive part of the research process. It is in this process that data available so far in sound and video material are transformed into texts, which in their turn become the subject of analysis”.

The data which I use in my study are originally in Arabic (standard Arabic and Jordanian spoken dialect). Because of this, in the analysis chapters, I decided to present my data as the following: the first line is the original line in Arabic. The second line is the Roman script. For this, I used the phonetic symbols in the Arabic transliteration based on the Library of Congress Romanisation scheme, as shown in Appendix 14. The third line is a morpheme-by- morpheme English gloss associated with the original one. I used the ‘lexicon’ of abbreviated category labels developed by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Comire and Haspelmath, 2015) and

by the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig (Balthasar, 2015). These glosses are clarified in the list of standard abbreviations such as ADJ (adjective) and ADV (adverb), as shown in the example below (for more details, see Appendix 15). I argue that it is essential to achieve this point to investigate politeness strategies in the original context. The fourth line is an idiomatic English translation which assists English readers in understanding the original context. I transferred the same meaning when I translated from Arabic to English, as presented in the example below. I took into consideration the definition of translation introduced by Crystal (1991:346) as “a process where the meaning and expression in one language (source) is tuned with the meaning of another (target) whether the medium is spoken, written or signed”. On presenting the data in English language, Hepburn and Bolden (2013) explain it as a multi-linear presentation that is typically used by researchers when presenting transcripts of talk in languages other than English to English-speaking audiences such as presenting the Arabic language to English speakers. I explain this in the example that follows:

Example 14

S1: 3. جننا من أجل العطوه العشائريه للمده يلي ترضيكوا

C: S1: 3. j'inā men ajel al-ʔwah al-ʔshāryah lil-mudah yalī t-rđīk-ū
PST-SBJ PRE PRE DEF-OBJ DEF-ADJ PRE-OBJ DET SBJ-AGR-OBJ
came-we for for the- ʔwah the-tribal with-period which it-suit-s-you

S1: 3. We came for requesting the tribal ʔwah with a duration that suits you.

As it can be seen, I have a multi-linear presentation for my data. The first line is the original talk in Arabic. The second line is the Roman script for Arabic transliteration. The third line is morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss. The final line is translation to English language.

I agree with Hepburn and Bolden (2013) where they discuss the benefit of a multi-linear presentation, as this gives an English speaker some understanding of talk as it progresses, such as providing information when overlaps occur. I excluded presenting

overlapping and other features of conversation analysis when presenting my data for reasons clarified in this section.

Furthermore, I included some pictures of particular behaviour of the ‘ṭwah’s representatives which I screenshot from the ‘ṭwah videos on YouTube in order to interpret that the public apology in the ‘ṭwah is not only related to linguistic aspects but also refers to non-verbal actions which distinguish the meaning of ‘saving face’ in the ‘ṭwah process. In other words, in case (F) presented in Table (4), pictures show how the delegation leader saves the face of the victim’s clan leader as a leader representative and, as a member of a group, restores respect of his clan by following the ‘ṭwah’s procedures, as clarified in Chapter Five. This agrees with Hepburn and Bolden (2013) who state that a visual representation such as video frames accompanying a transcript of a vocal conduct, could be an advantage, by providing further insights into what happened.

This is to say, I presented my data in the way as shown in the example above for specific analytic aims for coding linguistic phenomena used by the speakers; therefore, I focused on presentation of my data without including features of conversation analysis, as argued in the following paragraphs. I demonstrate conversation analysis as a theoretical framework rather than data-based in section (4.7).

I excluded presenting pauses, fillers, interruption, overlapping, self-repair, and other-repair because their existence does not affect the interpretation of politeness strategies used in the ‘ṭwah process. The ‘ṭwah ’s representatives use utterances that are always ritualised because the ‘ṭwah has “customary procedures” (Watkins, 2014: 37) as “stipulated in this convention and are observed by much of population (ibid: 37); “the regulations of the convention [have] certain tribal customs, such as [الديه] diyah [a blood money compensation]” (ibid: 37). In other words, linguistic features which express the ‘ṭwah’s procedures are specified and determined and are never omitted in most ‘ṭwah cases. These procedures include (i) using the same in-group identity marker الاخوه (the brothers) or using

the addressing term شيخ (Shaykh) (a leader of his clan), (ii) using the same religious verses when asking for peace, forgiveness, reconciliation, and retribution, (iii) using نحن (nhnu) (inclusive we) to include the speaker and the hearer in asking for الدية (diyah) (blood money compensation) in the 'ṭwah, and (iv) using the begging act, as demonstrated in this chapter where I coded the 'ṭwah's procedures (see section (4.9)). In other words, the 'ṭwah's representatives are chosen for "their experience, knowledge of religion, and cultural strictures" (Watkins, 2014: 40) which are determined by the 'ṭwah protocol (ibid). Hence, the 'ṭwah's representatives have already established their 'face' in the interaction by following and applying the 'ṭwah protocol for blood crimes. The 'ṭwah process is a goal-oriented process in naturally occurring data-i.e. the 'ṭwah's representatives know the result of their interaction as the 'ṭwah has ritualised specified procedures which aim to restore dignity and honour of the victim's clan, and to minimise the offender clan's sense of shame when meeting the requirements of the victim's clan, as clarified in section (2.3).

On this argument, the existence of pauses in the 'ṭwah indicates that the speaker stops for a few seconds while talking in the 'ṭwah process. It does not mean that he can think about whether what is going to be said will affect the other group of people listening because both representatives have a background and experience of exactly what is going on in most 'ṭwah cases as pursuing the 'ṭwah's procedures is a ritualised practice of Jordanian customs and traditions. Regarding the self-repair, speakers tend to repair their errors in a problematic talk by repeating words in a correct way and using fillers in order to accomplish their communication. Sparks (1994) views self-repair as a self-interruption: the speaker of the current turn interrupts or cuts off his/-her speech and then he/-she turns back to repair what has been said in the prior utterances. Meanwhile other-repair refers to how the hearer interrupts the speaker to repair what the speaker has said in the prior utterance (ibid). I found an example of self-repair and the other-repair in case D, as shown in the example below.

Example 15

S2: 5. قال الله تعالى: "وَجَعَلْنَا مِنَ الْقَصَا ... الْقَصَا حَيَاه يَا اُولِي الْاَلْبَاب

[وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ]

S2: 5. The Almighty said: and we made from [the retrib..the retribution]

The attendants: [و لكم في القصاص حياه]

The attendants: ["in retribution there is a life for you all].

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah): The Quran,179:19)

In this extract, the Christian victim's clan leader is speaking about his clan's requirements by using this Quranic verse. He says (The Almighty said: we made from الْقَصَا (the retribution). He repeated the word الْقَصَا (the retribution) in a correct way. Simultaneously, the audience overlaps him to correct his mistake by replacing it with a correct Quranic verse: (in retribution there is a life for you all). I did not take this correction into consideration as long as it did not influence the analysis of politeness strategies. That is, the self-repair, the other-repair, and overlapping in this example did not threaten the positive face of the speaker because he is a Christian using a verse from the Quran. Furthermore, both the speaker and the attendants know what he meant by saying this Quranic verse, as long as this Quranic verse was used as a recurrent strategic performance in the 'ṭwah cases when asking for الْقَصَا (the retribution) as a customary procedure in this practice.

In light of the above discussion, the same utterances are repeated by the 'ṭwah's representatives in a ritual systematic procedure in most 'ṭwah cases, as clarified in sections (4.4) and (4.5). Therefore, when they start talking, the speakers know what they are talking about, when they finish the speech, and to whom they are talking as long as they have background knowledge about this conventional practice. Furthermore, the responders know what they will talk about, when they will talk, and when they will finish the speech as long as they have background experience about the 'ṭwah as a conventional norm in Jordanian culture. Thus, both speakers have a full knowledge about what they must talk about before

starting to resolve the dispute through following what is a ritual commonly known about the ‘ṭwah process.

Regarding the translation of religious verses, I translated the data including Quranic verses from Arabic into English based on Khan’s (2012) book which is called “The Quran”. I chose this book without taking a look at other translations of the Quran because his translations were clear in capturing the meaning of these verses in order to investigate politeness strategies, as clarified in Chapters Five and Six. Regarding a translation of the verse from the Bible, I depended on Gospel Bible (the Old Testament) for a translation of the verse used by the leader in the ‘ṭwah case for the same purpose of using the book of Khan.

In the next section, I demonstrate why I did not choose conversation analysis as a theoretical framework for interpretation of politeness strategies in the ‘ṭwah cases.

4.7 Conversation analysis

In this section, I explain the reason for excluding conversation analysis as a theoretical framework in the ‘ṭwah as naturally occurring data. Ten Have (1990: 23) explains that conversation analysis focuses on “the social organization of ‘conversation’, or ‘talk-in-interaction’, by a detailed inspection of tape recordings and transcriptions made from such recordings”. That is, conversation analysis focuses on how talk is structured as a series of mutually oriented actions (Wooffitt, 2005). Furthermore, Markee (2007:1021) states that “CA is context free in the sense that culture is not viewed as a priori, exogenous variable that predisposes participants to act in particular ways”. Simultaneously, Markee (2007) argues that CA focuses on interpretations of interlocutors’ talk based on what is said immediately before and immediately after a current turn. Therefore, I decided not to analyse the features of conversation analysis because the aim of the ‘ṭwah is to satisfy representatives’ needs which are determined and specified procedures (Watkins, 2014),

focusing on a powerful reversal of the victim's clan and the religious backgrounds of the representatives by using particular religious verses for asking for retribution as an example. In other words, the 'ṭwah's representatives focus on achieving what is imposed on them to be accomplished rather than focusing on achieving their personal needs. Therefore, the main concern of the 'ṭwah is not related to the emic perspective of the 'ṭwah's representatives but is related to solving the dispute by pursuing its stipulated procedures (Watkins, 2014) in a practice or as performing on a stage. As a result, I did not choose to theoretically analyse conversation for an interpretation of politeness strategies in the 'ṭwah because the purpose of the 'ṭwah's representatives is to save their 'group face' and their 'social face' as members who represent the 'ṭwah as a part of Jordanian customs and traditions, not as members who save their individual interests. I could not find any occurrence of breaking ritual which means that maintaining the 'ṭwah's procedures as a conventional norm is the main purpose of this social conventional interaction.

In conclusion, illustrations of what happens in the 'ṭwah process (see section (2.3) refer to 'fixed' givens such as identities of the 'ṭwah's representatives, their functions, and their fixed utterances. These could not be affected by interpretation features of conversation analysis because the 'ṭwah is both priori and posteriori knowledge. That is, what happens in most 'ṭwah cases is based on the conventional rules of the 'ṭwah, and these rules should be found in the 'ṭwah protocol as customary procedures (Watkins, 2014). Furthermore, an observation of these procedures in most 'ṭwah cases can confirm this conclusion on the 'ṭwah as a strategic performance in order to accomplish its purpose.

In the next section, I demonstrate the analysis method I used when investigating politeness strategies employed by the representatives in the 'ṭwah cases.

4.8 Data analysis procedure

This section clarifies the methodology used for analysing my data. I used qualitative

analysis to gather in-depth insights on the ‘*t*wah process by investigating why and how politeness strategies are performed by the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders in the context of the ‘*t*wah, taking into consideration ‘power’ and ‘social distance’ as social variables. Philipsen and Vernooij-Dassen (2007: 5) define qualitative research as “the study of the nature of phenomena, including their quality, different manifestations, the context in which they appear or the perspectives from which they can be perceived, but excluding their range, frequency and place in an objectively determined chain of cause and effect”. According to Patton (2002: 3), qualitative researchers use qualitative analysis to understand “real world settings [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest”, this method makes the “phenomenon of interest unfold naturally” (ibid). I restricted my research to investigate linguistic features that express the social behaviour displayed during the ‘*t*wah process. That is, I interpreted the meaning of these linguistic features according to a given context in the ‘*t*wah through the politeness lenses of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson, (1987) as a *united politeness framework* because they are complementary, as explicated in section (4.9). Besides linguistic feature, I also included the visual presentation in my analysis such as images which reflect a reconstructed relationship through minimising the distance between the speaker and the hearer, which in turn achieves the ‘*t*wah’s purpose, as illustrated in Chapter Five.

To maintain validity in the qualitative analysis, Taft (1997) states that there should be the criterion of truth that is adopted by implementing codes and themes in the qualitative data, as illustrated in the following subsections. Taft (1997: 61) determines validity as “the quality of conclusions and processes through which were reached”.

I employed ‘coding’ that is “how you define what the data you are analysing are about” (Gibbs, 2007: 38)-for my qualitative research. Thus, coding is the process of determining and identifying patterns in the data in order to find relations between them. In other words, coding includes identifying one or more passages of the text to exemplify the

same category or label. This type of coding allows for a particular type of analysis (ibid): a researcher can combine passages that are all examples of the same phenomenon, idea, or explanation by retrieving all the text coded with the same label. Thus, this form of retrieval is a very beneficial means for organising the data. Furthermore, it allows the researcher to investigate the data in a structured way. For the qualitative analysis in my study, I investigated the raw introduced data line by line in order to identify linguistic features used by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders. I then coded these linguistic features used by the 'ṭwah's representatives as patterns. In my study, the list of codes allowed me to investigate linguistic forms used by the leaders in murder and manslaughter cases, and linguistic forms used by the leaders who have similar or different religious background in order to answer the research questions. I gathered similar patterns together and gave them a similar theme which can explain the phenomenon of interest. I named these themes in terms of standardised labels taken from the research literature (for a full description about codes and themes in my data, see sub-sections (4.8.1)- (4.8.6)). Thus, coding "is a way of indexing or categorising the text in order to establish a framework of thematic ideas about it" (Gibbs, 2007: 38).

One of the most difficulties in a coding process is to recognise sections of the text and figure out what codes they represent in a way that is theoretical and analytical rather than descriptive. Therefore, Gibbs (2007) argues for the necessity of a careful reading of the text and deciding what this text is about. This approach is termed as "intensive seeing and reading" (ibid, 41). As a result, Gibbs (2007: 41) defines coding as "the way that we can pay close attention to all things we can see [and read]" (ibid: 41). I started coding a script in each case following what Gibbs (2007: 42) calls "a descriptive analysis" by starting to look for common points in these cases. As a result, I found that these cases share some points such as using religious verses. The codes that I used to code the 'ṭwah are summarised below:

A) Descriptive codes: For instance:

قال الله تعالى: "وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ"

The Almighty says: "in retribution there is a life for you".

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah): The Quran,179:19)

B) Analytic codes: by referring to the previous Quranic verse as off-record politeness strategy according to the politeness framework, as explained in section (3.6).

It is worth mentioning that I developed my code manually, as demonstrated in the sub-sections below, because it assists in management and organisation of segments in order to analyse data (Crabtree and Miller, 1999).

In conclusion, I coded the text of the ‘ṭwah in order to create a framework of related thematic ideas to investigate politeness strategies in this social ritual practice. That is, the thematic framework made me think about the politeness employed by the leaders when performing the request act. From this, the thematic framework assisted me to expand on politeness and the request act used in the ‘ṭwah process to argue that they are used as a strategic performance to achieve the aim of the ‘ṭwah. In the following sub-sections, I demonstrate how I coded my data. In the last section, I explain how the politeness frameworks of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987) are related to each other.

4.9 Coding the data

Below, I demonstrate how I coded my data in order to investigate linguistic features such as الاخوه (the brothers), religious verses, نحن (we), نتوسل (we beg), مشان ربنا (for God’s sake) and مشان الملك (for the king’s sake) used by the ‘ṭwah’s representatives and how these linguistic features are related to politeness strategies.

4.9.1 Investigation of in -group identity markers

In this section, I explain how I coded الاخوه (al-ikhwah) (the brothers) in al-‘ṭwah cases as a recurring in-group marker. I looked at each the ‘ṭwah case separately and I found الاخوه

(al-ikhwah) (the brothers) mentioned in the following cases, as shown below.

In case (A) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims from the same province, the delegation leader (S1) initiates his speech by using:

S1 :1 أيها الاخوه

D: S1: 1. ayuhā al-ikhwah
VOC DEF-M-PL
O’ the-brother-s

S1:1. O’ the brothers

I named the code in this utterance as الاخوه (al-ikhwah) (the brothers). Then, I looked at case (C) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the manslaughter case between two Muslims, I found that the delegation leader (S1) utters:

S1 :1.أيها الاخوه

D: S1: 1. ayuhā al-ikhwah
VOC DEF-M-PL
O’ the-brother-s

S1:1. O’ the brothers

I also named the code in this utterance as الاخوه (al-ikhwah) (the brothers). In the same case, the victim’s clan leader (S2) initiates his utterance with:

S2 :4.الاخوه الاعزاء

D: S1: 1. al-ikhwah al-‘azā’
DEF-M-PL DEF-ADJ-PL
the-brother-s the-dear-s

S1: 1. Dear the brothers

I named the code in this utterance as الاخوه (al-ikhwah) (the brothers). Also, in case (D) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between a Christian man and a Muslim man,

the delegation leader (S1) states:

S1: 1. اخواني الاعزاء: مسلمين و مسيحين

S1: 1. ikhwanī	al-‘azā’:	Muslīmīn	wa	mashīn
M-PL-POSS	DEF-ADJ-PL:	M-PL	CONJ	M-PL
brother-s-my	the-dear-s	: Muslim-s	and	Christian-s

S1: 1. Dear my brothers: Muslims and Christian

I also named the code in this utterance as الاخوه (al-ikhwah) (brothers). The same applied to case (I) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two close friends, where the delegation leader (S1) says:

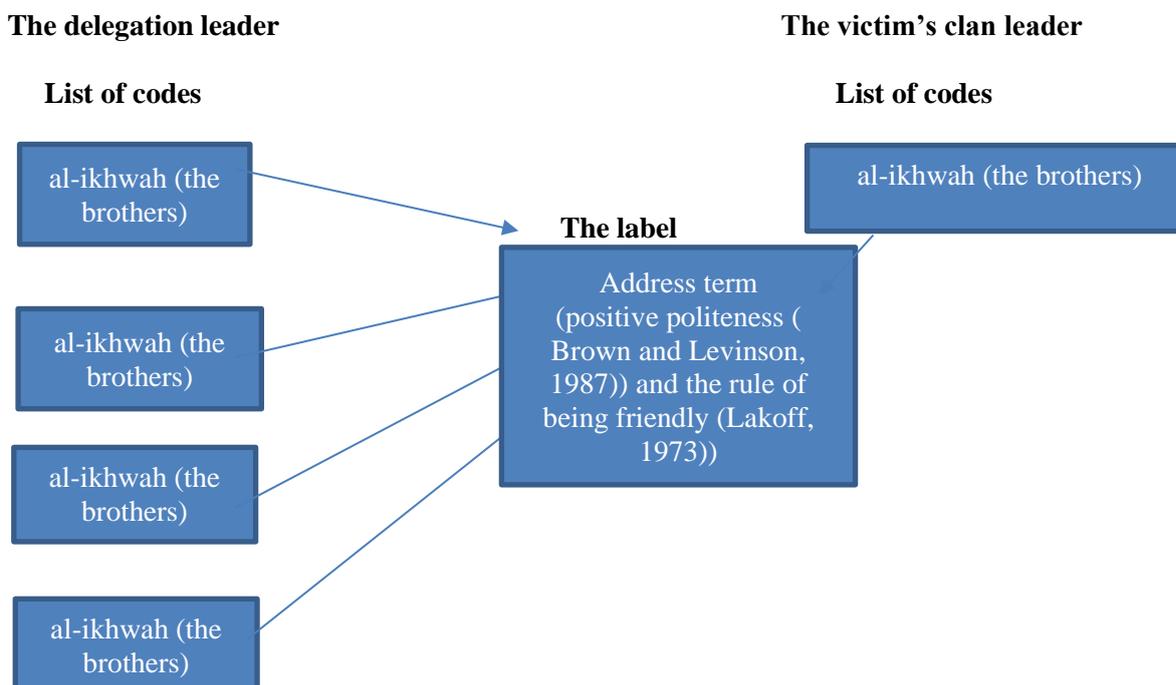
S1: 1. أيها الاخوه

D: S1: 1. ayuhā	al-ikhwah
VOC	DEF-M-PL
O’	the-brother-s

S1:1. O’ the brothers

In light of the above, I collected these codes together in order to generate a label for them and I separated the code of the utterance generated by the victim’s clan leader, as shown in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to address term generated by the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders



I clarify here that, in this context, al-ikhwah (the brothers) are not actual brothers, but this symbolic brotherhood in the term of address allows the building of a bridge of communication with connotations of equality and understanding the importance of “brotherhood” in achieving the ‘ṭwah’s purpose.

4.9.2 Investigation of religious verses

In this section, I explain how I coded religious verses in the ‘ṭwah cases based on a relation of these verses with the ‘ṭwah’s purpose. In case (B) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims from different provinces, the delegation leader (S1) initiates his speech by saying the following verse.

S1: 2: قال الله تعالى: وَالْعَصْرُ (1) إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ (2) إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَّصَوْا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَّصَوْا بِالصَّبْرِ

S1: 2. The Almighty says: “By time indeed mankind [humankind] is in loss except for those who believe and done righteous deeds and advised each other to truth and advised each other to patience”.

(Al-Asr (the passage of time): The Quran, 1: 472)

In case (G) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims, the delegation leader (S1) says the following Quranic verse. Furthermore, the same Quranic verse was used by another delegation leader in case (H).

S1: 2. بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ: " اتقوا الله و أصلحوا ذات بينكم و أطيعوا الله و رسوله ان كنتم مؤمنين "

S1: 2. In the name of Allah the Merciful: “So fear God, and set things right among yourselves, and obey-God and His Messenger, if you are true believers”.

(Al-Anfal (The Spoils of War): The Quran, 1: 129)

I named the code in this Quranic verse as ‘set things right among yourselves and obey God’ according to the aim of this Quranic verse in the ‘ṭwah process. The same verse is used by the delegation leader (S1) in case (H); therefore, I allocated the same code name to the same Quranic verse used by the delegation leaders in case (H). Hence, this Quranic verse has the same code name twice.

In case (D) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the manslaughter case, the delegation leader initiates his speech by saying the following Quranic verse:

S1: 2. قال الله تعالى: وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ مَّاذَا تَكْسِبُ غَدًا وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ بِأَيِّ أَرْضٍ تَمُوتُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

S1: 2. The Almighty said: ‘ No soul known what it will earn tomorrow, and no soul knows in what land it will die. Surely, God is all knowing, all aware”

(Luqman: The Quran, 34: 313)

I name the code in this Quranic verse as ‘God’s destiny’ according to its role in achieving the ‘ṭwah’s purpose. The same verse was used by the victim’s clan leader (S2) in the same ‘ṭwah case. Therefore, I give the same code name in this Quranic verse referring to the speaker who is the victim’s clan leader.

In case (E) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the delegation leader (S1) initiates his speech with the following verse from the Quran as shown below.

قال الله تعالى: " أنما المؤمنون اخوه فأصلحوا بين أخويكم و اتقوا الله لعلكم ترحمون "

The Almighty said: “Surely all believers are brothers. So make peace between your brothers, and fear God, so that mercy be shown to you”

(Al Hujurat (the apartments): The Quran, 10: 395)

I name the code in this Quranic verse as ‘make a peace between your brothers and fear God’. In the same case (E), the delegation leader (S1) uses the following Bible verse.

قال سيدنا عيسى: و على الارض السلام و بالناس المسره

The prophet Issa (Jesus) said: “love for people and peace for earth”

(Old Testament: The Bible, 1: 14-2)

I name this code from the Bible ‘love and peace’, according to its role in the ‘ṭwah process. In case (A), referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims from the same province, the victim’s clan leader uses the following verse from the Quran:

قال الله تعالى: "وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ"

The Almighty says: “in retribution there is a life for you”.

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah): The Quran, 179:19)

The same Quranic verse was used by the victim’s clan leader in case (D). Therefore, I name the code in this Quranic verse as ‘punishment for the offender’. Then, I collected the codes together in order to generate a label for them and I separated the codes for labelling the utterance generated by the victim’s clan leader, as shown in Figure 6 and 7 below.

Figure 6. Labelling of codes related to verses used by the delegation leaders

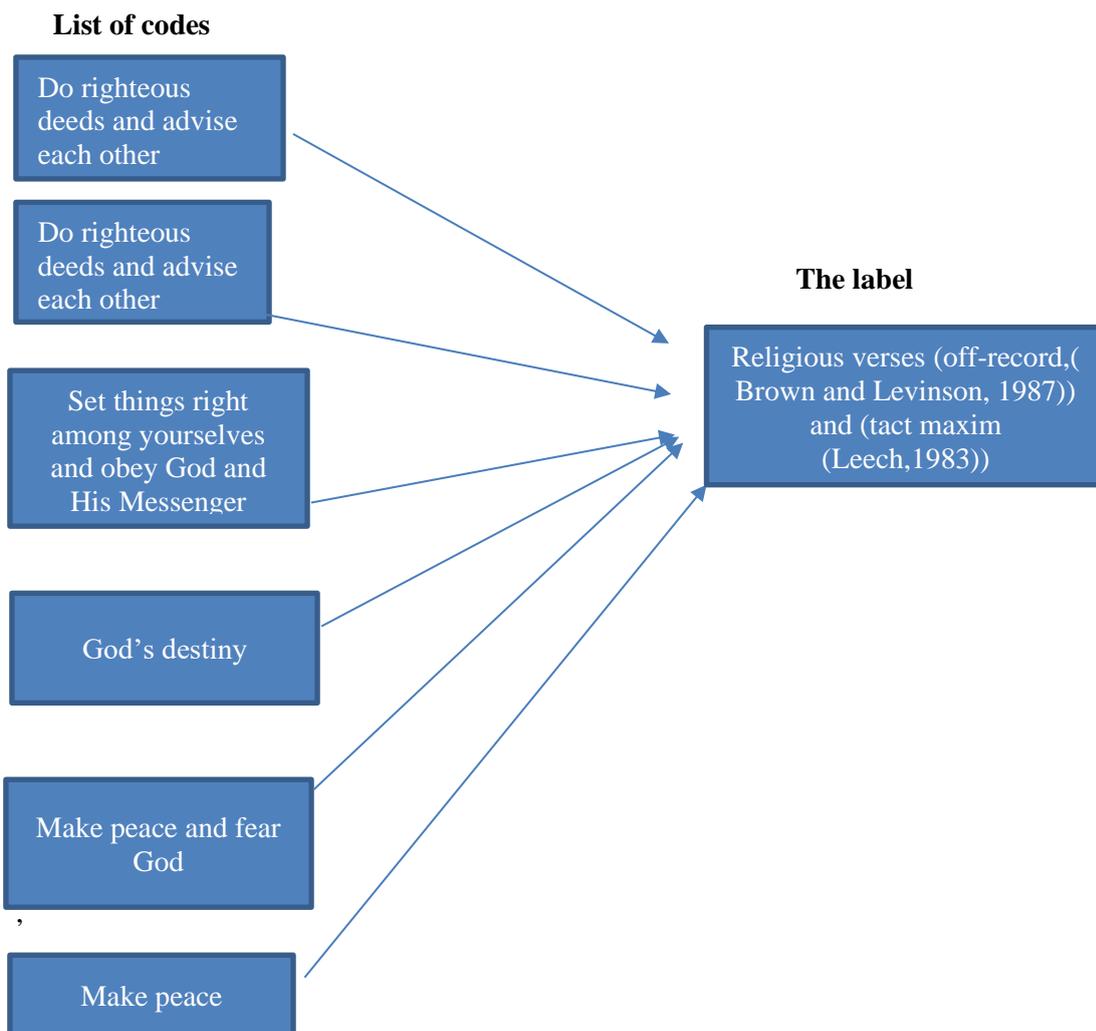
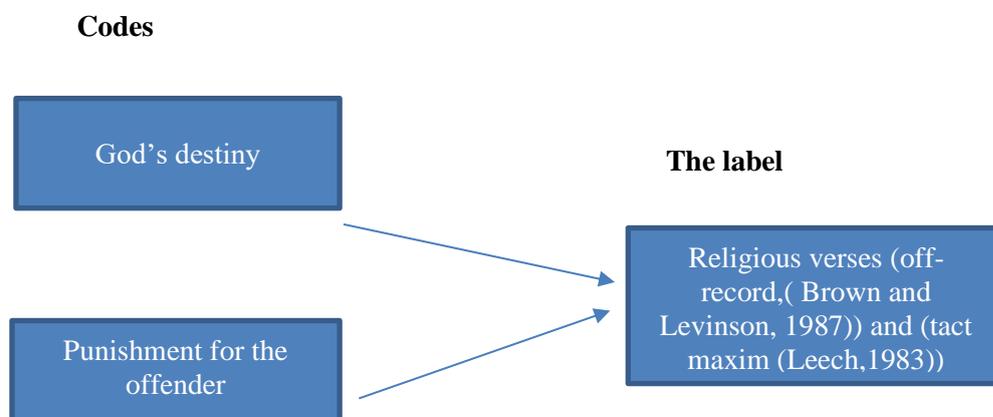


Figure 7. Labelling of codes related to the Quranic verses used by the victim's clan leaders

The Quranic verse generated by the victim's clan leaders



4.9.3 Investigation of the pronouns “we” and “you”

In this section, I explain how I coded the pronouns نحن (nḥnu) (we), and أنتم (antom) in statements generated by the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan. In case (A) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the delegation leader states:

S1: 3. جننا من أجل العطوه العشائريه للمده يلي ترضيكوا

C: S1: 3. j‘inā men ajal al-‘ṭwah al-‘shāryah lil-mudah yal na-ṭlub na-ṭlub
PST-SBJ PRE PRE DEF-OBJ DEF-ADJ PRE-OBJ DET SBJ-PRS-AGR-
OBJ

came-we for for the- ‘ṭwah the-tribal with-period which it-suit-s-you

S1: 3. We came to request the tribal ‘ṭwah with a duration which suits you.

I name the code in this statement as جننا (j‘inā) (we came). In the same case, I name another code in the following statement as نطلب (na-ṭlub) (we ask) generated by the delegation leader.

S1: 4. نطلب منكوا انكوا ترجعوا قرايبكوا الى القرية

D: S1: 4. na-ṭlub mn-kū in-kū t-raj‘ū qarayib-kū Ilá al-karayah
SBJ-PRS PRE-OBJ DEM-SBJ SBJ-PRS-AGR OBJ-DEM PRE DEF-OBJ

We-ask from-you that-you you-return relatives-your to the-village

S1: 4. We ask you to return your relatives to the village.

Furthermore, I name another code in the same statement as منكوا (mn-kū) (you). In case (B) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the delegation leader states:

S1: 3. جننا من أجل عطوه عشائريه

B: S1: 3. j‘inā men ajal ‘ṭwah ‘shāryah
PST-SBJ PRE PRE OBJ ADJ
came-we for for ‘ṭwah tribal

S1: 3. We came for the tribal ‘ṭwah.

I name the code in this statement as جننا (j‘inā) (we came). In the same case, the

delegation leader states:

S1: 7. نطلب انكوا تزيدوا لنا العطوه شويه

F: S1: 7.	na-ṭlub	in-kū	it-zīd-ū	l-nā	al-‘ṭwah	shwai
	SBJ-PST	PRE-OBJ	INF-PRS-OBJ	PRE-OBJ	DEF-OBJ	ADV
	we-ask	to-you	to-increase-you	for-us	the-‘ṭwah	little

S1: 7. We ask you to increase the period of the ‘ṭwah a little bit for us.

I name the code in this statement as نطلب (na-ṭlub) (we ask) and منكوا (mn-kū) (you).

In case (J) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the delegation leader generates:

S1: 5. جئنا نطلب عطوه عشائريه

B: S1:5.	j‘inā	na-ṭlub	‘ṭwah	‘shāryah
	PST-SBJ	SBJ-PRS	OBJ	ADJ
	came-we	we-ask	‘ṭwah	tribal

S1: 3. We ask for the tribal ‘ṭwah.

I name the code in this statement as جئنا (j‘inā) (we came) and نطلب (na-ṭlub) (we ask).

Moreover, in case (D) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the delegation leader states:

S1: 2. نطلب العطوه العشائريه للحادث الاليم للشباب جوني

B: S1: 2.	na-ṭlub	al-‘ṭwah	al-‘shāryah	lil-ḥādith	al-alīm	lil-shāb	Jūnī
	SBJ-PRS	DEF-OBJ	DEF-ADJ	PRE-OBJ	DEF-ADJ	PRE-OBJ	Jūnī
	we-ask	the-‘ṭwah	the-tribal	for-accident	the-terrible	for-young	Jūnī

S1: 2. We ask for the ‘ṭwah because of the terrible incident that caused the death of Joney.

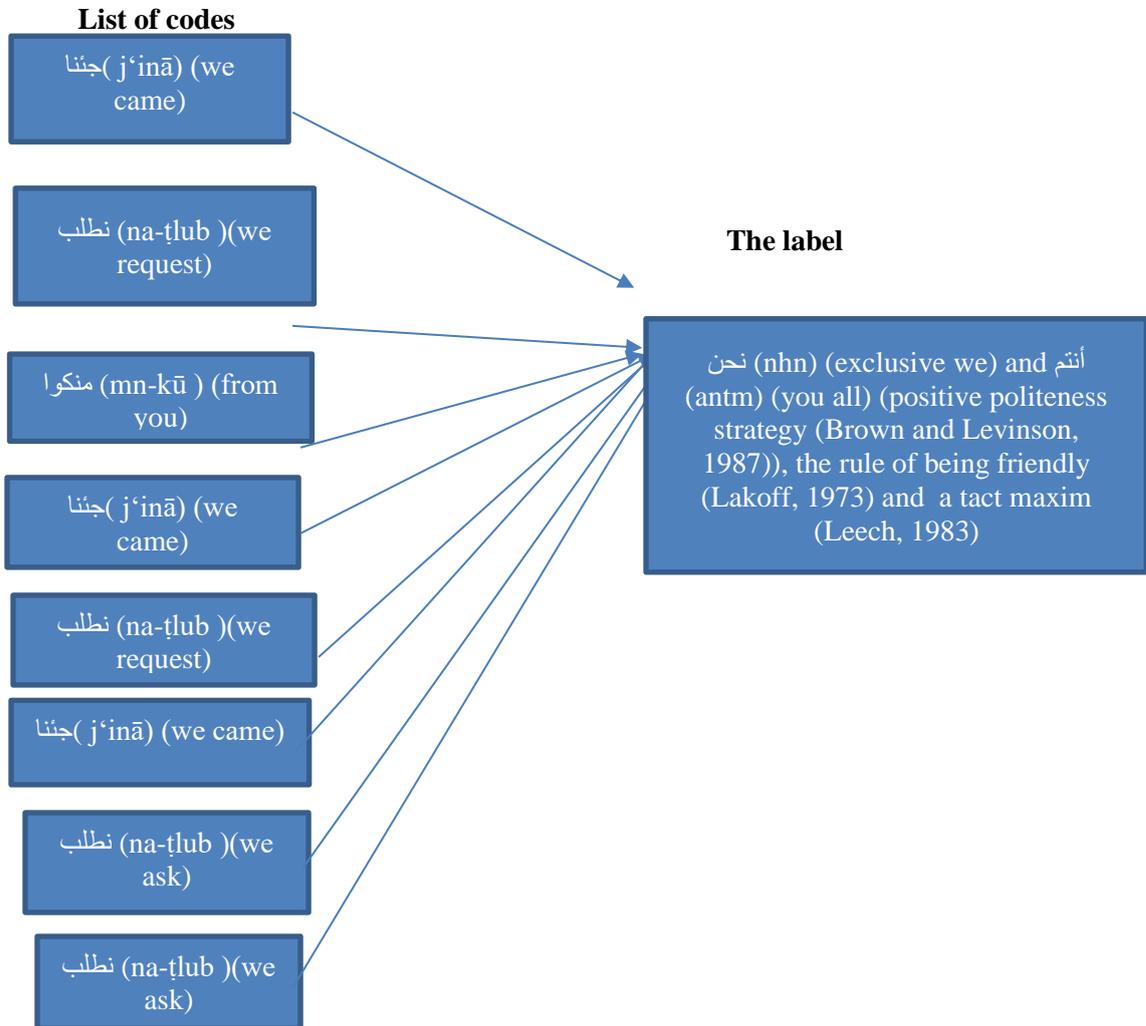
I name the code in this statement as نطلب (na-ṭlub) (we ask). In addition, in case (H) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the delegation leader generates:

S1: 4. نحن نطالب بالاعدام له

D: S1: 4.	nḥnu	nu-ṭālib	bil-‘dām	l-hū
	SBJ	AGR-PRS	PRE-OBJ	PRE-OBJ
	we	we-ask	for-execution	for-him

Figure 8. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to نحن (nhnu) (exclusive we) and أنتم (antm) (you all) used by the delegation leaders

The delegation leaders



G: S2: 7. an nu-'allim-ha anna riḍá Allāh men riḍá al-zawj
 DEF SBJ-PRS-OBJ DEM SBJ OBJ PRE OBJ DEF-OBJ
 to we-teach-her that satisfaction Allāh from satisfaction the-husband

S2: 7. We must teach her that the husband's satisfaction is a part of Allāh's satisfaction.

I name the code in this statement as نعلمها (nu-'allim-ha) (we must teach her).

Furthermore, in case (I) referring to the 'ṭwah for the murder case, the victim's clan leader states:

M: S2: 11. na-ṭlub jalwah l-ab-ūh wa ikhw-an-ih kharij al-‘ṣimah

SBJ-PRS OBJ PRE-OBJ-POSS CONJ OBJ-PL-POSS ADV DEF-OBJ

we-ask jalwah for-father-his and brother-s-his out the-capital

S2: 12. We ask for the exile for his father and his brothers out of the capital.

I name the code in this statement as نطلب (na-ṭlub) (we ask). Moreover, in case (J) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the victim’s clan leader generates:

12: S2 احنا بدنا عشر الالاف

K: S2: 12. ḥnu bid-na ‘ashr alāf

SBJ PRS-SBJ DET ADJ

we want-we ten thousand

S2: 12. We want ten thousand.

I name the code in this statement as (bid-na) (we want). Finally, in case (F) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the victim’s clan leader generates:

4: S2 نحن نأمر و ليس طلب فتييض وجه السحيلات مليون

D: S2: 4. ḥnu n-‘amr w laysa ṭalab fa-tabīd wajh al-Suḥaylat milyūn

SBJ SBJ-PRS CONJ NEG OBJ DEF-PRS OBJ DEF-OBJ OBJ

we we-order and not request to-whiten-face al-Suḥaylat million

S2: 4. We order you to pay one million to whiten a face of al- Suḥaylat.

I name the code in this statement as نأمر (n-‘amr) (we order). I then collected all these codes in order to provide them a label, the labels for نعلم (nu-‘allim) (we teach) and نعلمها (nu-‘allim-ha) (we teach her) as an ‘inclusive we’ because the victim’s clan leader includes himself, and his group members, the delegation leader and the delegation leader’s group members in a request act. Then, I coded نطلب (na-ṭlub) (we ask) and بدنا (bid-na)(we want) as an ‘exclusive we’ because the victim’s clan leaders include themselves and their group members in the activity, as shown in Figures 9 and 10, respectively.

Figure 9. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to نحن (nhnu) (inclusive we) used by the victim's clan leaders

The victim's clan leaders

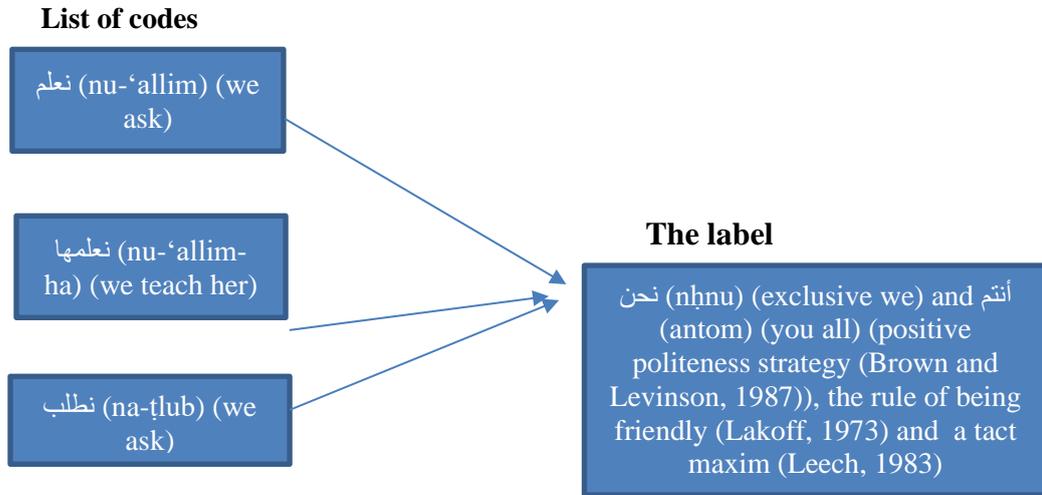
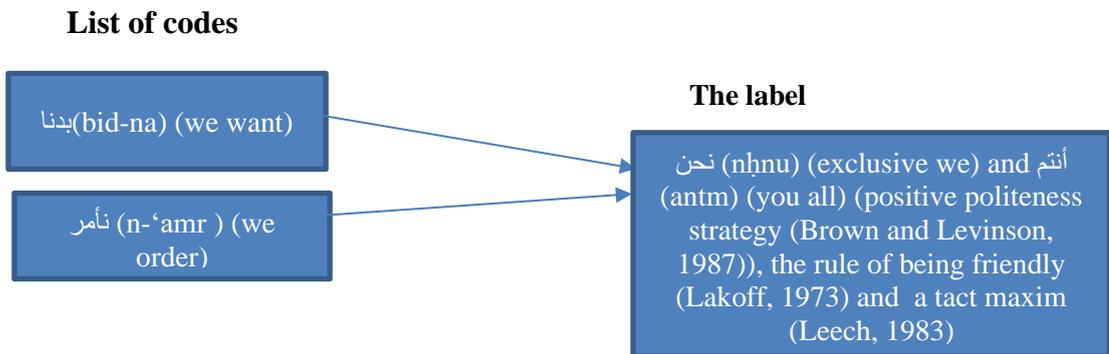


Figure 10. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to نحن (nhn) (exclusive we) and أنتم (antm) (you) used by the victim's clan leaders

The victim's clan leaders



4.9.4 Investigation of the begging act

In this section, I explain how I coded the begging act in statements generated by the delegation leaders. Before doing this, I define the Arabic begging act نتوسل (na-tawasal) (we beg) as how the speaker tries to get the hearer to do something (Searle, 1969). Other begging acts in the ‘ṭwah cases are مشان ربنا (mishān rab-nā) (for God's sake) and مشان الملك (mishān al-malik) (for the king's sake), respectively. These two begging acts are cultural expressions used as mitigative devices to ask the hearer to do something by connecting the begging act

with God and the king as they have the most powerful status in Jordanian culture. In case (A) referring to ‘ṭwah for the murder case, the delegation leader generates the begging act by stating:

S1: 8. احنا نتوسل لكو

H: S1: 8.	nḥnu	na-tawsal	la-ka-ū
	SBJ	SBJ-PRS	PRE-OBJ-PL
	we	we-beg	for-you-all

S1: 8. We beg you all.

I name the code in this statement as نتوسل (na-tawsal) (we beg). Furthermore, in case (I) referring to asking for the ‘ṭwah for the second time, the delegation leader generates:

S1: 6. نرجوا انكوا تزيدونا لمدة أطول

D. S1: 6.	na-rjū	in-k-ū	it-zīd-ū-na	la-mudah	aṭwal
	SBJ-PRS	PRE-OBJ- PL	INF-PRS-OBJ-OBJ	PRE-OBJ	ADJ
	we-beg	from-you-all	to-increase-you-us	for-period	longer

S1: 6. We beg you all to increase the duration of the ‘ṭwah for a longer period.

I name the code in this statement as أرجو (a-rjū) (I beg). Moreover, in case (F) referring to asking for diyah (a blood compensation) due to the murder case, the delegation leader states:

S1: 6. نزل المبلغ الى 300000 دينار أردني مشان ربنا

F: S1: 6.	nazzil	al-mablagh	ila	300000	dīnār	mishān	rab-nā
	IMP	DEF-OBJ	PRE	OBJ	OBJ	PRE	OBJ-POSS
	reduce	the-amount	to	300000	dīna	for	God-our

S1: 6. Reduce the amount to be 300000 Jordanian dinars for our God’s sake.

I name the code in this statement as مشان ربنا (mishān rab-nā) (for our God’s sake). In the same case, the delegation leader states:

S1:8. nazzil	al-mablagh	mishān	al-malik
IMP	DEF-OBJ	PRE	DEF-OBJ
reduce	the-amount	for	the-king

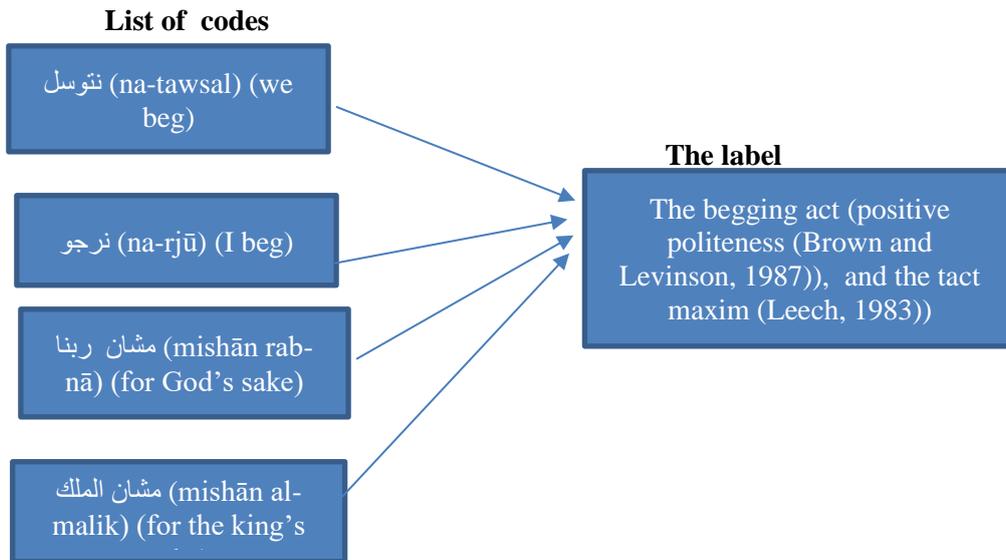
S1: 8. Reduce this amount for the king’s sake.

I name the code in this statement as مشان الملك (mishān al-malik) (for the king’s sake).

I then collected all these codes in order to provide them with a label, as shown in Figure 11 below. In light of the above, I discuss these themes related to these codes theoretically according to the politeness theories of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987), as demonstrated in Chapters Five and Six.

Figure 11. Labelling of a linguistic feature related to التوسل (the begging act) used by the delegation leaders

The delegation leader



4.10 Synergy of politeness theories

In this section, I pose the question: *What are the mechanisms that underpin linguistic politeness in my study of the ‘tawah process?* Different theoretical viewpoints have argued that politeness has different strategic considerations. To answer this question, I view politeness theories as complementary elements in which interlocutors’ strategic choices and

collective cohesiveness of social requirements regulate each other.

In the following paragraphs, I summarise the most important notions related to the politeness theories of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987), which I clarified them in detail in Chapter Three. Then, I demonstrate how these theories are related to each other.

Lakoff (1973) observes the importance of clarity in conveying a message; therefore, she suggests that the politeness rule should 'be clear' based on Grice's maxims, and she proposes that the politeness rule should 'be polite' including: don't impose, give options and, be friendly. Leech (1983) confirms Lakoff's (1973) rule 'be polite' by being friendly through focusing his politeness principle (PP) on "social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (ibid: 82). Moreover, Leech (1983) states that politeness principle (PP) includes the following maxims: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. To determine the type of politeness required within a discourse, these maxims work on a range of pragmatic scales such as cost-benefit. Later, Leech (1983) adds other pragmatic scales on the tact maxim, including optionality, indirectness, authority, and social distance. By adding optionality and indirectness, Leech (1983) confirms Lakoff's (1973) rule 'be polite' by giving options rather than imposing on the hearer. Brown and Levinson (1987) expand on these pragmatic scales by explaining the role of social variables such as power, social distance, and imposition ranking on choosing an appropriate politeness strategy. Brown and Levinson (1987) classify politeness strategies into the following: 1) *on-record* which agrees with Lakoff's (1973) rule 'be direct' and which conforms with Grice's conversational maxims; 2) *positive politeness* (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which agrees with Lakoff (1973) and Leech's (1983) politeness framework that focuses on maintaining friendship relations; 3) *negative politeness* (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which agrees with Lakoff's (1973) politeness rule 'be polite' by giving options and agrees with Leech's (1983)

politeness maxim a ‘tact maxim’ by giving options; and 4) *off-record* (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which agrees with Leech’s (1983) politeness maxim a ‘tact maxim’ by indirectness. The distinguishing feature which differentiates Brown and Levinson’s (1987) work from the politeness frameworks of Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983) is that Brown and Levinson (1987) demonstrated the relation of the notion of face with these politeness strategies; namely, saving the positive or the negative face of the speaker and the hearer when using these strategies. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness is integrally tied to the concept of ‘face’ (Goffman, 1967) which is the formation of social expectations by and toward the individual, as illustrated in section (3.6)).

On one hand, this long history of linguistic politeness research has been characterised by a theoretical debate regarding the underlying cultural factors. On the other hand, some researchers have proposed that politeness is based on individual strategic behaviour. As a result, linguistic politeness is an individual tendency for a face management and aims to maximise a personal utility (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Opposing viewpoints claim that linguistic politeness is a manifestation of ‘discernment’ (Ide, 1989) or the recognition and application of cultural norms or values. From this, individuals use linguistic politeness to conform to their social circumstances and cultural norms. Therefore, politeness, rather than being a strategy to maximise personal benefits, is an expression of social group connection (Janney and Arndt, 1992). In my study, linguistic politeness can be based on maintaining shared social values as a recognition of social norms.

In light of the above discussion, approaching the mechanics of linguistic interaction from different politeness perspectives is intrinsically problematic because identical behaviour is not always generated by the same personal and cultural inclinations. Thus, my study offers research that allowed me to directly alter social dynamics of linguistic politeness from different politeness perspectives.

In conclusion, Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987) look at

the underlying principles that are brought in to control linguistic politeness in different cultures and languages. In this regard, linguistic politeness is part of a group of face-keeping strategies that include unintentional violation of conversational maxims (Grice, 1975) and conflict avoidance (Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983)). That is, these theories emphasise individual strategic behaviour as the basis of linguistic politeness. Almost all these politeness theories are concerned with the dynamic connection between the interlocutors based on social variables such as power, social distance, and imposition ranking. Observations of cultural variations that underly these mechanisms of linguistic politeness in various cultures lead to the emergence of the concepts of ‘wakimae’ and ‘discernment’ (Ide, 1989) (see section (3.6.2)) in order to argue that linguistic politeness is not only a strategic choice but it is also related to cultural norms. In other words, linguistic politeness is a more collective social dynamic than individual strategic components. Thus, these politeness theories could be applied similarly or differently by relying fundamentally on different mechanisms used in different cultural communities. Therefore, studying collective levels of the ‘ṭwah process could reconcile the strategic and discernment approaches to linguistic politeness. That is, my study focuses on how multiple speakers interact with one another through an investigation of politeness strategies that maintain shared social values when asking for a dispute to be settled as a cultural norm in Jordanian culture, as illustrated when answering the first research question.

4.11 Conclusion

In light of the discussion in this chapter, the data on the ‘ṭwah are original and novel. My study is distinctive because the ‘ṭwah links between recurrent natural occurring data and recurrent institutional discourse in this ritual practice; therefore, I excluded an investigation of features of conversation analysis because the ‘ṭwah’s procedures take place in a systematic and fixed way in most ‘ṭwah cases. Thus, both speakers know *what* they speak, *how* they introduce their speech, and to *whom* they speak through following the

protocol of the 'twah process which has systematic and fixed procedures, as shown when I coded the data in the previous sub-sections. If the speaker breaks any of these procedures, he could be judged as a violator of these procedures, which in turn it means he could be judged as a violator of Jordanian customs and traditions. Moreover, my study is distinctive because YouTube was used to help my data collection. In the next chapter, I analyse linguistic features used by the delegation leaders.

Chapter Five: Analysis of linguistic forms used by the delegation leaders and analysis of particular visual presentations of the delegation leaders in the ‘ṭwah cases

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the analysis of the ‘ṭwah cases (see data in section (4.3)) in terms of using in-group identity markers, religious verses, use of pronouns نحن (nhnu) (we) and أنتم (‘antom) (you) in request acts, as well as the begging act which are used by the delegation leaders, and the analysis of particular visual presentations of the delegation leaders in order to achieve the purpose of the study and to answer the following research questions:

Q1. How is العطوه العشائريه (the ‘ṭwah) processed linguistically in Jordan?

Q2: How are politeness strategies employed by the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders in العطوه العشائريه (the ‘ṭwah)?

This chapter’s goal is to provide arguments that will answer the main research question (Q1) by going into more details in addressing the research question (Q2). Furthermore, this chapter investigates different ‘ṭwah cases in order to construct a systematic analysis of similar patterns that can occur in more than one episode and to consider differences that can be attributed to people having different religious backgrounds or variety of issues addressed by the ‘ṭwah. The power variable should be taken into consideration; the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders have similar social status; they could be prime ministers, ministers, members of the Jordanian parliament, and Shaykhs (leaders of their clans). However, the delegation leaders have a specific institutionalised power in the ‘ṭwah cases which is different from their social status, as explained later in this chapter.

As explained in the methodology, I provide telling examples by presenting the original version in Arabic, the roman script, morpheme by morpheme, and the translation into English. In Chapter Six, I present the analysis of the victim’s clan leaders’ discourse.

5.2 Using in-group identity markers

Brown and Levinson (1987: 107) state that “in- group identity markers” are used as a positive politeness strategy. That is, they are a way to convey in-group membership by using address terms such as ‘brother’ in order to show solidarity by minimising the social distance between the speaker and the hearer. By using in-group identity markers, the speaker implicitly claims that the common ground with the hearer is carried by this description (ibid). Below, I present the investigation of الاخوه (the brothers) as an in-group identity marker in the following cases.

In case A (see section (4.3) for a detailed overview), the delegation was sent by the offender’s clan to the victim’s clan because of the murder case between two Muslims from the same province. The delegation leader initiates his speech by using the Arabic plural in-group identity marker الاخوه (al-ikhwah) (the brothers), as shown in the extract below. The same in-group identity marker was used by other delegation leaders in other cases as shown in extracts (2), (3) and (4), respectively.

Extract (1)

S1: 1. أيها الاخوه

S1: 1. ayuhā	al-ikhwah
VOC	DEF-M-PL
O’	the-brother-s

S1:1. O’ the brothers

In case (C), the delegation headed towards the victim’s clan as a result of a manslaughter case.

Extract (2)

S1: 1. أيها الاخوه

S1: 1. ayuhā	al-ikhwah
--------------	-----------

VOC DEF-M-PL

O' the-brother-s

S1:1. O' the brothers

In case (D), the delegation leader went to the guesthouse of the victim's clan as a result of the murder case that caused the death of a Christian man by a Muslim man.

Extract (3)

1: S1 اخواني الاعزاء: مسلمين و مسيحين

S1: 1. ikhwanī al-‘azā’: Muslīmīn wa mashīn

M-PL-POSS DEF-ADJ-PL: M-PL CONJ M-PL

brother-s-my the-dear-s : Muslim-s and Christian-s

S1: 1. Dear my brothers: Muslims and Christians

In case (I), the delegation on behalf of the offender's clan was sent to the victim's clan as a result of the murder case between two close Muslim friends.

Extract (4)

1: S1 أيها الاخوه

S1: 1. ayuhā al-ikhwah

VOC DEF-M-PL

O' the-brother-s

S1:1. O' the brothers

It can be seen in extracts (1)-(4) that the delegation leaders have a preference to use *the masculine plural in-group identity marker* الاخوه (*al-ikhwah*) (*the brothers*); it is used in the 'ṭwah when addressing strangers. That is, different male delegation leaders use this term when addressing different victim's clan leaders from similar or different religious backgrounds. As a result, the speakers minimise the social distance between them and the hearers. Brown and Levinson (1987) demonstrate that this in-group identity marker is used as a positive politeness strategy when minimising the social distance for showing solidarity

between the speaker and the hearer (see section (3.6)) in order to save the positive face of the hearer (this is the answer to the second research question). In other words, this masculine plural in-group identity marker used as a positive politeness strategy shows how the speaker implicitly emphasises a common membership in a group; therefore, it focuses on indicating that the speaker and the hearer are constructed as the same set of people. Put differently, - by using this masculine in-group identity marker-, the male speaker constructs collectivism by implicitly confirming on group harmony based on solidarity as a social value. This result agrees with Alkailani, et al. (2012) who found that for constructing collectivism in Jordan, this value should be based on cooperation, relationship building, trustworthiness, and solidarity as social values, as clarified in section (2.2).

Starting from what I argued previously, and to answer the first research question, I aim to expand on this argument that using this Masculine plural in-group identity marker which shows solidarity and closeness among strangers, is used as a strategic performance in the 'ṭwah process. Hence, it is not used for showing a spontaneous solidarity because this in-group identity marker is used by different delegation leaders addressed to different victim's clan leaders across various types of the 'ṭwah cases. That is, this in-group identity marker is used among individuals (who have similar or different religious backgrounds) of the 'ṭwah cases for unintentionally forcing the victim's clan leaders into constructing a common ground *رابطة الاخوه* (a brotherhood bond) which is based on the religion as shown in the Quranic verse below, in order to maintain the social values such as cooperation, solidarity, and relationship building (Alkailani, et al. (2012)). In turn, it restores the damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan through maintaining the accepted fabric of society. Simultaneously, it could mitigate the offender clan's sense of shame by reintegrating them into society. On this analysis, the speakers save the "group face" (Nwoye, 1992: 313) and the 'social face' (Mao, 1994) of the victim's clan leaders rather than the 'individual face' of the victim's clan leaders (Brown and Levinson, 1987) through

unconsciously encourage them to forge a brotherhood bond for shared social values to be maintained. Nwoye (1992: 313) defines the “group face” as “the individual’s desire to behave in conformity with culturally expected norms of behaviour that are institutionalised and sanctioned by society”, as illustrated in section (3.6.2). Mao (1994) illustrates that ‘the social face’ is connected to an individual’s views of society and members, as clarified in section (3.6.2). That is, the speakers save the face of the victim’s clan leaders as members of groups forming clans in a Jordanian community, as leaders of the group representing the victim’s clan, and as members who preserve shared social values by applying the ‘ṭwah as a social norm. In this analysis, I add this Quranic verse in order to confirm that the ‘ṭwah is a method of conformity with shared social values (Watkin, 2014) and is based on “common Shariah” (Pely and Luzon (2018: 295-296)). The ‘ṭwah aims to maintain shared social values such as building relationships and solidarity through a construction of a common ground, as a brotherhood bond between the offender’s clan and the victim’s clan.

قال الله تعالى: (انما المؤمنون اخوه)

The Almighty said: “Surely all believers are brothers. So make peace between your brothers, and fear God, so that mercy be shown to you”.

(Al-Hujurat (the apartments): The Quran,10: 395)

I believe that this Quranic verse can explain why the in-group identity marker is used. Specifically, it refers to the emphasis to preserve a ‘brotherhood bond’ in the community by restoring peace among the disputing parties in at the ṭwah process. Thus, the delegation leaders unwittingly force the victim’s clan leaders to restore peace through a brotherhood bond as a way of showing they are following God’s instructions who has authority over them.

On this analysis, this in-group identity marker refers to “social politeness” (Arndt and Janney (1985: 283-287)) (see section (3.6.2)) because it reflects a brotherhood bond as a reconstruction of religious value in an effort to establish ties with the victim’s clan and

uphold shared social values. In the next section, I investigate another linguistic phenomenon used by the delegation leaders-*religious verses*.

5.3 Religious verses

Before analysing and arguing for the religious verses used by the delegation leaders in different 'ṭwah cases, it is important to introduce a definition of the holy books, the Quran and the Bible, in order to demonstrate their reflections in people's relationships with God and with each other. Khan (2012: 1) defines the Quran as "a book which brings glad tidings to mankind [humankind] along with divine admonition, stresses the importance of man's [human's] discovery of truth on both spiritual and intellectual plans". He also demonstrates that the main themes of the Quran are "enlightenment, closeness to God, peace and spirituality" (ibid). I concur that closeness to God brings peace in Muslims' lives through obeying God's instructions including forgiveness, truthfulness, peace, and reconciliation (among other religious values) which are a reflection of believing in God and the basis of ethical values in a community. As for the Bible, Suggs, Sakenfeld and Muellen (1992: 12) define it as a book that "can be read from many perspectives. From a historical view, one can read it to learn about the past; from the standpoint of religion, one can read it to clarify or strengthen one's faith; from a literary angle, one can appreciate its poetry, its narrative style, and its use of imaginary". Furthermore, the Bible as a holy book like the Quran, advocates for the preceding themes by illustrating that being close to God offers peace to humankind, as stated in the verse "peace comes from God, or, in other words, the source of peace is God and that peace is given to those who follow His decrees and obey His commands carefully" (Leviticus 26: 5) (Ungaran, Fadzilah and Abdul Salam, 2020: 234).

In this section, I explore how the delegation leaders employ the religious verses as a request act in the formation of collective identities regardless of the representatives' religions; more specifically, it seems that generating request acts for peace, reconciliation, and forgiveness are common grounds on which to maintain a feeling of unity with a group

(Leech, 1983). As Leech (1983) illustrates, the ‘politeness principle’ emphasises a social equilibrium by demonstrating that interlocutors are cooperative. This is examined in greater detail in Chapter Six (more details about this argument are coming in the next chapter when the Quranic verses used by the victim’s clan leaders are analysed).

In case (B), that is the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims from different provinces, the delegation leader (S1) uses:

Extract (5)

S1 . 2: قال الله تعالى: وَالْعَصْرُ (1) إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ (2) إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالصَّبْرِ .

S1: 2. The Almighty says: “By time indeed mankind [humankind] is in loss except for those who believe and done righteous deeds and advised each other to truth and advised each other to patience”.

(Al-Asr (the passage of time): The Quran, 1: 472)

In case (J), the delegation leader (S1) uses the same Quranic verse, as shown below.

Extract (6)

S1 . 2: قال الله تعالى: وَالْعَصْرُ (1) إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ (2) إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالصَّبْرِ .

S1: 2. The Almighty says: “By time indeed mankind [humankind] is in loss except for those who believe and done righteous deeds and advised each other to truth and advised each other to patience”.

(Al-Asr (the passage of time): The Quran, 1: 472)

The meaning of this Quranic verse seems to suggest that God addresses people to *عملوا الصالحات* (“do righteous deeds”) - if they want to receive His blessings, otherwise, they will loss God’s blessings. For instance, God prohibits murder because it damages a relationship among people due to the loss of the victim’s clan of their honour and dignity as a group who wants to live in peace. Thus, if a person obeys God’s commands that prohibit killing others, he/-she will receive God’s blessings, otherwise he/-she will not receive them. The meaning of “do righteous deeds” refers to do any good act that positively reflects on people and aims to satisfy God; therefore, good acts could include helping old people, or helping poor people by giving them money, or restoring peace (among other righteous deeds). According to the ‘ṭwah context, the meaning of “do righteous deeds” is to restore

peace among the disputing parties through resolving the dispute.

Based on the meaning of this Quranic verse, the delegation leader asks the victim's clan leader to resolve the dispute by depending on what God says in His holy book. That is, the speaker prefers to use a religious quote to enhance his request act. While he might violate the "Conversational Maxims" (Grice, 1989, 26-27) (see section (3.3)), the use of this verse represents an act of 'off-record' politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (see section (3.6)) by seemingly showing respect through minimisation of imposition on the hearer in order to save the negative face of the hearer (this is an answer to the second research question). This agrees with what Lakoff (1973) suggests that the speakers show deference to the hearers through a violation of the Gricean Maxims in order to minimise imposition on the hearer (see section (3.4)) (this is another answer to the second research question). This also agrees with Leech's (1983) tacit maxim that the speakers show deference to the hearers by maintaining distance among interlocutors (see section (3.5)) (this is another answer to the second research question). The performance act of this utterance refers to the fact that the speaker intends to ask for 'restoring peace', the intended meaning of which differs from real meaning; therefore, the semantic force of this utterance is a request of restoring peace; as Austin (1962: 94) describes this performative act as an "illocutionary act" (see section (3.1)).

Next, I expand the above analysis, in order to explicate that this religious quote, which is used by different speakers in different 'twah cases, is a strategic performance for unintentionally forcing the victim's clan leaders into constructing a common ground 'restoring peace' in order to resolve the dispute (this is the answer to the first research question). As a result, the victim's clan leader has to resolve the dispute by showing his commitment to God's instruction; this is in light of God being the highest power over the victim's clan leader and the victim's clan. Based on this analysis, the speaker seems to impose resolving the dispute on the hearer by depending on this Quranic quote (this is the

answer to the first question). Despite this possible imposition on the hearer, the speaker still shows respect to the victim's clan leader by unconsciously encouraging him to build 'collectivism' based on 'restoring peace' in order to maintain a social equilibrium through building a relationship among the disputing parties. On this argument, the delegation leaders save the 'social face' (Mao, 1994) and the "group face" Nwoye (1992: 313) of the victim's clan leaders by building collectivism based on a reconstruction of religious value 'restoring peace', which also indicates a reflection of the delegation leader's view of preserving shared social values.

Furthermore, I explain the complexity of the 'ṭwah process from the institutional discourse perspective in order to answer the first research question. In institutional discourse (see section (4.4)), I introduced the definition of "backstage" (Sarangi and Roberts (1999: 20)) as an interaction between representatives in the same institution (ibid). In the 'ṭwah process, I argue that it is an interaction between the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders. The complexity of this stage represents linking the social purpose of the 'ṭwah by using religious verses as a linguistic feature of the 'ṭwah to achieve its goal between the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders. That is, the delegation leaders use the previous Quranic verse for constructing peace as a common ground in order to resolve the dispute between the offender's clan and the victim's clan.

In light of the above, this confirms what I argued in section (5.2) that the 'ṭwah is based on "common Shariah" (Pely and Luzon, 2018: 295-296) (see section (2.2)) through centering around a reconstruction of religious values such as 'restoring peace'.

In two similar cases (G) and (H), both referring to murder cases among family members (between husbands and wives) the same Quranic verse, is used:

Extract (7)

S1: 2. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم: " اتقوا الله و أصلحوا ذات بينكم و أطيعوا الله و رسوله ان كنتم مؤمنين "

S1: 2. In the name of Allah the Merciful: "So fear God, and set things right among yourselves, and

obey-God and His Messenger, if you are true believers”.

(Al-Anfal (The Spoils of War): The Quran, 1: 129)

In case (E) referring to al-‘ṭwah for the murder case between a Muslim and a Christian, the Muslim delegation leader (S1) initiates his speech with the following verse from the Quran as shown in extract (8).

Extract (8)

S1: 1. قال الله تعالى: " أنما المؤمنون اخوه فأصلحوا بين أخويكم و اتقوا الله لعلمكم ترحمون "

S1: 1. The Almighty said: “Surely all believers are brothers. So make peace between your brothers, and fear God, so that mercy be shown to you”

(Al Hujurat (the apartments): The Quran, 10: 395)

These verses suggests that God orders or commands all believers to restore peace or reconciliation by using the Arabic imperative verb *أصلحوا* (reconcile) ending with the Arabic plural pronoun *وا* (you all) in order to maintain ‘the brotherhood bond’ among them. Furthermore, God addresses all believers to fear Him by using the Arabic imperative verb *اتقوا* (fear) ending with the Arabic plural pronoun *وا* (you all) in order to prevent believers from doing any deeds against His will.

Based on the explanation of the meaning of the previous Quranic verses, the victim’s clan leaders could recognise that the suggested meaning of using these Quranic verses is to agree on reconciliation for the wrongdoing. That is, the utterance of these Quranic verses refers to a request based on God’s order for reconciliation. Thus, the performative utterance of the “illocutionary act” (Austin, 1962: 94) (as illustrated in section (3.2)) is a request for peace-making between the victim’s clan and the offender’s clan.

In light of the above discussion, the delegation leaders prefer to employ a religious quote to support their demand for an act of reconciliation. Thus, this request strategy used by the speakers is a “non-conventionally indirect strategy” (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 202) (see section, 3.2.1); the speakers refer partially to the required act which is interpreted by the hearers according to the context used. Hence, the use of these verses represents an act of ‘off-record’

politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987), for seemingly saving the negative face of the hearers by minimising the imposition on them (this is the answer to the second research question). On this argument, although the delegation leader and the victim's clan leader have the same social status, the delegation leader has less institutionalised power status than the victim's clan leader. Therefore, he preferred to use this Quranic verse when generating the request act of reconciliation. That is, the delegation leaders derive their institutionalised authority position from their function in the 'ṭwah, which stands for bringing about peace among the disputing parties. This result agrees with Shehadeh and Wardat (2017) who propose that the request act generated by the side of the delegation leader is implicit in the 'ṭwah. In other words, Shehadeh and Wardat (2017) urge that the delegation leader does not have the right to perform an explicit request (as clarified in section (3.7)).

To answer the first research question, I argue that, by using these Quranic verses, the speakers seem to command reconciliation on the victim's clan leaders; they do not give the victim's clan leaders any option to reject their request. From that, I discuss that, by seemingly imposing reconciliation on the hearers through using these Quranic verses, the speakers force the hearers to be cooperative in building 'collectivism' based on 'reconciliation' in order to restore 'peace' to be within God's mercy. This is embedded in the core aspects of the 'ṭwah; namely, preventing further conflicts from taking place.

By using the Quranic verse shown in extract 7 in two similar cases (murder cases among family members), it confirms that asking for reconciliation is a strategic performance based on a religious belief (this is the answer to the first research question). Thus, this confirmation supports my argument about imposition in that it shows respect to the hearer when it is based on asking for reconciliation as a shared religious value between the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders in the 'ṭwah process. That, in turn, has a positive impact on the whole society by keeping a sort of community balance through maintaining friendly relations (Lakoff, 1973) and through being cooperative (Leech, 1983) in a preservation of social values. This

argument proves that using these Quranic verses refers to “social politeness” (Arndt and Janney (1985: 283-287)) reflecting the role of the delegation leaders in achieving the ‘ṭwah’s purpose by building reconciliation in order to save the ‘social face’ (Mao, 1994) and the “group face” (Nwoye (1992: 313)) of the victim’s clan leader. In other words, this request for reconciliation shows respect to the victim’s clan leaders by saving their ‘social face’ and their ‘group face’ when this request is based on maintaining common grounds.

Similarly to the other cases presented above, another case (case D) uses a Quranic verse. In this case referring to the ‘ṭwah for the manslaughter case between two Muslims, the delegation leader uses:

Extract (9)

S1: 2. قال الله تعالى: وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ مَّاذَا تَكْسِبُ غَدًا وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ بِأَيِّ أَرْضٍ تَمُوتُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

S1: 2. The Almighty said: ‘’ No soul known what it will earn tomorrow, and no soul knows in what land it will die. Surely, God is all knowing, all aware’

(Luqman: The Quran, 34: 313)

The meaning of this Quranic verse suggests that God addresses people to inform them that He is the only one to know when, where, and how a person will die. Thus, believers must have a belief in القدر والقضاء (God’s destiny). Believers understand that God is in charge of their lives. According to May (1981: 89), the concept of destiny is derived from the Latin word ‘destinare’ which means “to ordain, to devote, to consecrate, suggesting that destiny includes both a direction and a plan”. Moreover, Bollas (1983: 32) states that “destiny is linked to actions rather than words. If fate emerges from the word of the gods, then destiny is a preordained path than man [a person] can fulfil”. That is, believers have a faith that, whatever happens to them, it happens because God wishes it or pre-ordains that specific path. This awareness of destiny is an important and a remarkable gift given to believers; they thank God for what happened to them whether good or bad because it is God’s will. Because of this understanding, believers are able to display this perseverance in the face of all life’s difficulties to settle the dispute as an example and then forgive the offender’s party.

Starting from this, in order to answer the second research question, I argue that the delegation leader by considering this incident as a manslaughter case instead of a murder case asks for *السماح* (forgiveness) through a showing of his belief in *القضاء و القدر* (God's destiny) by using this Quranic verse. More specifically, the victim's clan leader realises the intended meaning from what the delegation leader said, that it is an asking for forgiveness based on the belief in God's destiny. In other words, the utterance of this Quranic verse refers to a request for forgiveness. As a result, the performative utterance of the "illocutionary act" (Austin, 1962: 94) (as illustrated in section (3.2)) is a request for forgiveness. This exhibits an 'off-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which may show respect to the hearer by maintaining distance between him and the victim's clan leader (this is the answer to the second research question). It is worth mentioning that the same Quranic verse is used by the victim's clan leader as a response to this delegation leader (for a full explanation, see section (6.3)); therefore, the speaker and the hearer have an agreement on forgiveness through belief in *القضاء و القدر* (God's destiny). On this agreement, the interlocutors unwittingly construct collectivism (Alkailani, et al, 2012) based on 'God's destiny' in order to maintain 'forgiveness' as a social value. Therefore, the *ṭwah* is a process based on a collaboration between the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders to achieve the *ṭwah*'s goal (Pely and Luzon, 2018). That is, the *ṭwah* is based on social values such as forgiveness, peace, and reconciliation (Gellman and Vuinovich, 2009) (see section (2.3)).

From this analysis, this Quranic verse, which is employed by both the delegation leader and the victim's clan leader, refers to 'social interpersonal politeness' reflecting the mutual concern of interlocutors to maintain the 'social face' (Mao, 1994) and the "group face" (Nwoye, 1992: 313) of each other as leaders of their groups and, as members, preserve shared social values by adhering to the *ṭwah* as a social norm.

To answer the first research question, I now discuss the request for forgiveness used as a tactical presentation for asking for reconciliation employed by the representatives of this

‘ṭwah case. The victim’s clan did not want to forgive the offender and his clan, but the ‘ṭwah as a tribal constitution based on a reconstruction of religious values imposes forgiveness in manslaughter cases through a belief in God’s destiny for maintaining a sort of cohesion in a group. Therefore, in-group harmony is the priority in the ‘ṭwah which upholds the clans’ social appearance in the society.

In case (E), this refers to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between a Muslim and a Christian, where the Muslim delegation leader (S1) also initiates his speech with the following Bible verse:

Extract (10)

S1: 2. قال سيدنا عيسى: و على الارض السلام و بالناس المسره

S1: 2. The prophet Issa (Jesus) said: “upon earth peace among men [humankind] of goodwill”

(Old Testament: The Bible, 1: 12-42)

The meaning of this Bible verse is that Jesus addresses believers in Him to do good acts towards each other such as achieving peace among them. Therefore, Jesus links peace with good acts as is shown in the Arabic conjunction و (and), which shows that both are complementary for keeping some sort of utility among people and achieving happiness.

Based on the meaning of this Bible verse, the Muslim delegation leader asks the Christian victim’s clan leader to resolve the dispute by depending on what Jesus says in the Bible. That is, the delegation leader prefers to use a Christian quote to support his request act for peace. Thus, this request strategy derived from using this religious quote is a “non-conventionally indirect strategy” (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 202) (see section, 3.2.1), the speaker seems to engage with ‘off-record’ politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (this is an answer to the second research question). On this explanation, this confirms that a violation of the “Manner Maxim” (Grice, 1989: 26-27) (the speaker is being an indirect) is a tactic method because the delegation leaders depends on this religious verse for achieving the ‘ṭwah’s purpose in different ‘ṭwah cases. To answer the first research question, by using this

religious verse representing ‘off-record politeness strategy’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987), the delegation leader unintentionally supports the victim’s clan leader to create in-group harmony based on peace-making as a religious value in order to forge a bond among the disputing parties. By using this Bible verse, the speaker seems to impose peace on the victim’s clan leader, who is a Christian, but this imposition does not threaten the face of the victim’s clan leader because it is constructed on a shared common ground, saving both the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the victim’s clan leader.

Further, I argue these verses have the role of changing disputants’ mindsets from a desire to avenge to a willingness to forgive, this being a fundamental condition for progress toward the dispute resolution. This is exactly what the ‘ṭwah is meant to accomplish. In fact, the ‘ṭwah contains a number of predefined restorative justice procedures (Watkins, 2014) that are specifically designed to do this: facilitate a shift in the victim side’s perception from a desire for vengeance to a desire for forgiveness. From a psychological and behavioural perspective, through forgiveness the disputants no longer see each other’s clan group as enemies, but as equal members of the community with all privileges and duties preventing continual conflict.

In conclusion, by using religious verses from the Quran and the Bible, the delegation leaders make the victim’s clan accountable in front of God (as a general entity for both Muslims and Christians) to settle the dispute, which gives a more difficult role to the victim’s clan as they counter the divine. This suggests that we all must pay attention to what God is saying to us as revealed in sacred texts, as He decides what is the best for humankind. By using these verses, the speakers minimise the tension between the need of the victim’s clan for justice to restore their damaged respect, and their desire for reconciliation, which in turn minimises the offender clan’s sense of shame. Hence, a restoration of the victim’s clan’s honour and dignity and a mitigation of the offender clan’s sense of shame are related to a re-construction of shared religious values by the delegation leaders. In the next section, I investigate another linguistic phenomenon used by the delegation leader; that is, using pronouns نحن (nħnu) (we) and أنتم

(‘antom) (you) (you all) in a request act.

5.4 Use of pronouns نحن (nħnu) (we) and أنتم (‘antom) in a request act

In this section, I discuss the flexibility in how the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nħnu) (we) and the Arabic plural pronoun أنتم (‘antom) (you plural) can be used by the delegation leaders when generating the request act. Brown and Levinson (1987: 127) state that the “inclusive we” form refers to “when S [the speaker] means ‘you’ and ‘me’, he [the speaker] can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress FTA”; it is then used as a strategy of positive politeness (see section (3.6)) because the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of people who share a common ground or social value (ibid). Scheibman (2004: 378) also defines the “inclusive we” as referring to the speaker and the addressee (s) whereas the “exclusive we” “refers to the speaker and other individuals or groups who are not addressees” (Scheibman, 2004: 378). Regarding the use of the Arabic plural pronoun أنتم (‘antom) (you) when addressing a singular hearer, Brown and Levinson (1987) demonstrate that ‘you’ as a plural pronoun is used as a strategy of negative politeness when addressing a single hearer in order to show deference to the hearer (see section (3.6)).

In case (A) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims from the same province, the delegation leader states:

Extract (11)

S1: 3. جئنا من أجل تجديد العطوه العشائريه للمده يلي بترضيكوا

S1:3. j‘inā	men	ajel	al-‘ṭwah	al-‘shāryah
lil-mudah	yal na-ṭlub	na-ṭlub		
PST-SBJ	PRE	PRE	DEF-OBJ	DEF-ADJ
PRE-OBJ	DET	SBJ-PRS-AGR-OBJ		
came-we	for	for	the- ‘ṭwah	the-tribal
with-period	which	it-suit-s-you		

S1: 3. **We** came to request the tribal ‘ṭwah with a duration which suits you.

In extract (13) below, another delegation leader includes himself and members of his group in asking for the ‘ṭwah from the victim’s clan by using the Arabic first-person plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we). This extract is taken from case (B) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims from different provinces. The delegation leader states:

Extract (12)

3: S1 جئنا من أجل عطوه عشائريه

S1: 3. j‘inā	men	ajel	‘ṭwah	‘shāryah
PST-SBJ	PRE	PRE	OBJ	ADJ
came-we	for	for	‘ṭwah	tribal

S1: 3. We came for the tribal ‘ṭwah.

The same utterance was generated by another delegation leader in case (H) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between family members such as a husband and a wife. As well, this utterance was used in case (J) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims, as shown in the extracts below respectively.

Extract (13)

5: S1 جئنا نطلب عطوه عشائريه

S1: 3. j‘inā	men	ajel	‘ṭwah	‘shāryah
PST-SBJ	PRE	PRE	OBJ	ADJ
came-we	for	for	‘ṭwah	tribal

S1: 3. We came for the tribal ‘ṭwah.

Extract (14)

8: S1 جئنا من أجل عطوه عشائريه

S1: 3. j‘inā	men	ajel	‘ṭwah	‘shāryah
PST-SBJ	PRE	PRE	OBJ	ADJ
came-we	for	for	‘ṭwah	tribal

S1: 3. We came for the tribal ‘ṭwah.

In case (D) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between a Muslim and a

record politeness strategy' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which is in line with Grice's "Conversational Maxims" (Grice, 1989:26-27) (this is the answer to the second research question). One of these Maxims, which is Manner Maxim, focuses on clarity in conveying a message, where 'clarity' refers to the politeness rule (Lakoff, 1973) (see section (3.4)) (this is another answer to the second research question).

By a generation of this request act, the speaker appears to encourage the victim's clan leader to grant him the 'ṭwah because his request is based on asking for the victim's clan's requirements and asking for peace as the main elements in the 'ṭwah process (this is an answer to the first research question). As a result, the speaker implicitly reinforces the victim's clan leader to construct 'collectivism' based on an 'asking for the 'ṭwah' in order to preserve common grounds. On this argument, although the delegation leader has a lower institutional power status than the victim's clan leader, his direct request does not threaten the individual face of the victim's clan leader because he builds his direct request on maintaining shared social values such as honour and peace when he asked for the 'the 'ṭwah'. Hence, he saves the 'social face' (Mao, 1994) and the 'group face' (Nwoye, 1992) of the victim's clan leader (this is the answer to the first research question).

To answer the first research question, I aim to expand this argument through the institutional discourse lens. In institutional discourse (see section (4.4)), I clarified the meaning of "frontstage" (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999: 20) as an interaction between representatives and a client. In the 'ṭwah process, I argue that it is an interaction between the delegation leader and his group members in the ritual restorative justice institution. In other words, the delegation leader constructs collectivism by including himself and his group members in the request act as a group goal by employing the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu)(exclusive we). To be more specific, the delegation leader joins with his group in asking for the 'ṭwah and in asking for the offender's relatives to return to their place in order to re-establish the bridge between the victim's clan and the offender's clan reflecting a

common ground between the speaker and the hearer.

Based on the previous analysis, I argue that the speaker generates this direct request as a tactical manoeuvre for asking for the ‘ṭwah because it is a recurrent request generated in every ‘ṭwah case, as shown in extracts (11)-(15). The speakers in these ‘ṭwah situations affirm their group's accountability for supporting in-group objectives, demonstrating group cohesion for mending the victim's clan's respect and erecting a bridge between the opposing parties, as previously discussed. This result contributes to Shehadeh and Wardat's (2017) study that the request act generated by the side of the delegation leader is not only implicit in the ‘ṭwah, but also is explicit.

The delegation leader generates another request act in case (A), as shown in the following extract:

Extract (16)

S1: 4. بنطلب منكوا انكوا ترجعوا قرايبكوا الى القرية يلي انتوا فيها

S1: 4. na-ṭlub mn-kū in-kū t-raj'ū qarayib-kū Ilá
al-karayah

SBJ-PRS PRE-OBJ DEM-SBJ SBJ-PRS-AGR OBJ-DEM PRE
DEF-OBJ

We-ask from-you that-you you-return relatives-your to
the-village

S1: 4. **We** ask **you** to return your relatives to the village.

In extract (16), by using the first-person plural pronoun نحن (nhnu) (we), the delegation leader also includes himself and the delegation members in asking for returning relatives of the offender to their places. As I argued previously, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) suggest that ‘we’ refers to ‘the speaker and hearer oriented’ (see section (3.2.1)). That is, by using this Arabic plural pronoun, the speaker shows a construction of in-group harmony with his group members through asking the victim's clan leader to allow the offender's relatives to return to their places (This is the answer to the second research question). As I argued in the

previous extract, the speaker builds his request on a social value such as ‘building a relationship with the offender’s relatives’ by returning them to their places. Thus, the speaker unwittingly supports the victim’s clan leader to build in-group harmony based on forging social relations as a basis for an agreement (this is the answer to the first research question) in order to maintain ‘building a relation’ as a shared social value. On this argument, the speaker saves the ‘social face’ (Mao, 1994) and the ‘group face’ (Nwoye, 1992) of the victim’s clan leader.

In light of the above discussion, the ‘exclusive we’ acts as a strategy of ‘positive politeness’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987) in the ‘ṭwah process. That is, the ‘inclusive we’ is not the only pronoun which is used to refer to ‘positive politeness’ as Brown and Levinson (1987) argue; the ‘exclusive we’ also acts the same, when it refers to the speaker and when his group members belong to the same set of people who share the same common ground (this is how I answer the first research question when analysing this linguistic phenomenon). Furthermore, this result shows that the institutional power of the delegation leader expands to the whole his group. Thus, this asking for the ‘ṭwah and for the offender's relatives to return to their place/home is a group-based act referring to unify group members and focusing on achieving a group goal rather than an individual one. In other words, by using the ‘exclusive we’, the speaker confirms their group’s responsibility connecting to the in-group which refers to feelings of unity by showing an “agreement maxim” on the request (Leech, 1983: 82), as explained in section (3.5). This result agrees with Alkailani, et al. (2012) who state that Jordanians are often inspired by an in-group’s norms and responsibilities for constructing ‘collectivism’ as a social value (see section (2.2))

In extract (16) above, the speaker addresses the victim’s clan leader by using the second-person plural pronoun أنتم (‘antom) (you all). I consider this second-person plural pronoun used as a strategy of ‘negative politeness’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987) showing respect to the hearer when addressing a singular victim’s clan leader (this is the answer to

the second research question). It is worth mentioning that the delegation leader uses the ‘exclusive we’ in the subject position, while he uses وا (you all) in the object position. This means that the speaker prioritises saving the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the victim’s clan leader over the individual face of him (this is the answer to the first research question).

On a discussion of the second-plural pronoun أنتم (‘antom) (you all), the speaker shows his deference to the hearer by using this plural pronoun in order to encourage the victim’s clan leader to agree on returning relatives of the offender to their houses, since they left their houses and moved to another area to prevent further conflicts within an application of what is called الجلوه (jalwah) (an exile) as a strategy of the ‘ṭwah process (see section (2.3)). Therefore, encouraging the victim’s clan leader to agree on returning the relatives of the offender to their houses aims to restore the damaged relationship between his clan and the offender’s clan. This leads to re-establishing a unity bond between the victim’s clan and the offender’s clan as blood-related groups (who are relatives). Furthermore, encouraging the victim’s clan to agree on returning the relatives of the offender to their houses mitigates the offender clan’s sense of shame by reintegrating them in the province. This result agrees with the aim of the ‘ṭwah in keeping a blood-related group by confirming that the utility among relatives as a group identity is preserved (Irani and Funk, 1998) (see section (2.3)). That is, the victim’s clan may not desire to make peace with the offender’s clan, but the ‘ṭwah as a cultural and conventional norm requires the victim’s clan to do it in order to sustain in-group utility among relatives. Thus, keeping the group coherence is the propriety in the ‘ṭwah process.

In case (B), the delegation leader states:

Extract (17)

S1: 7. بنطلب انكوا تزيدوا لنا العطوه شويه شوي

S1: 7. na-ṭlub	in-kū	it-zīd-ū	l-nā	al-‘ṭwah	shwai
SBJ-PST	PRE-OBJ	INF-PRS-OBJ	PRE-OBJ	DEF-OBJ	ADV

we-ask to-you to-increase-you for-us the-‘ṭwah little

S1: 7. **We** ask **you** to increase the period of the ‘ṭwah a little bit for us.

In extract (17), the delegation leader includes himself and his group members by using نحن (nhnu) (exclusive we) in asking the victim’s clan leader to increase the duration of the ‘ṭwah . The delegation leader mitigates his collective request by using the Arabic colloquial adverb شوي (shwai) (a little bit). I consider that this Arabic colloquial adverb (shwai) شوي (a little bit) relates to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain’s (1984) description of it as ‘an internal modifier of the head of the act’ (see section (3.1.1)).

To answer the second research question, I also argue that the speaker minimises an imposition on the hearer by using this modifier as a strategy of negative politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) that shows deference to the victim’s clan leader (Lakoff, 1973). On this analysis, the speaker saves the negative individual face of the victim’s clan leader by a minimisation of the imposition on him. However, the speaker unconsciously supports the hearer to build in-group harmony based on asking for an increasing the duration of the ‘ṭwah, which in turn saves the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the hearer.

In case (H) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims: A Muslim husband killed his Muslim wife. The delegation leader states:

Extract (18)

S1: 4. نحن نطالب بالاعدام له

S1: 4. nhnu	nu-ṭālib	bil-‘dām	l-hū
SBJ	AGR-PRS	PRE-OBJ	PRE-OBJ
we	we-ask	for-execution	for-him

S1: 4. **We** ask for the murderer’s execution.

Furthermore, the same utterance was generated by another delegation leader in case (I), referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two close Muslim friends. The delegation leader states:

group” (Hofstede, 1991: 51) (see section (2.2)). Below, I explicate another linguistic phenomenon used by the delegation leaders.

5.5 The begging act

According to Searle’s (1969) classification of speech acts, the begging act belongs to the category of “directives” (ibid: 71) referring to when the speaker attempts to get the addressee to do something (see section (3.1)). Below, I present an investigation of the begging act in the following cases.

In case (A) about the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims from the same province, the delegation leader generates the begging act by stating:

Extract (20)

S1: 8. احنا بنتوسل الكوا

S1: 8. nḥnu	na-tawsal	la-ka-ū
SBJ	SBJ-PRS	PRE-OBJ-PL
we	we-beg	for-you-all

S1: 8. We beg you all.

In extract (20), the delegation leader includes himself and his group members in the begging act representing the Arabic verb توسل (tawsal)(beg) by using the first-person plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (exclusive we). The delegation leader and the delegation members are all working toward the same objective; therefore, the begging act is a group-based act rather than an individual one, as indicated by the use of the exclusive we. In other words, both the speaker and the hearers-who are not the addressees-come from the same group of people who are pleading for the ‘ṭwah in order to end the conflict between the parties involved and return respect to the victim's clan. This argument indicates that the delegation leader’s role as a mediator between the offender’s clan and the victim’s clan requires him to employ the begging act in order to accomplish the ‘ṭwah’s purpose successfully. Thus, this result supports my argument that the delegation leader has a lower institutionalised power status

than the victim's clan leader. However, the delegation leader preserves his social status and his institutionalised power status by extending the begging act to all members of his group; therefore, he avoids appearing weak in front of the victim's clan. Furthermore, the speaker builds his begging act on a request for preserving peace, honour, and dignity as social values when asking for the 'ṭwah. By doing this, he saves his 'individual face' by maintaining his positive face to be admired (Brown and Levinson, 1987). That is, the delegation leader implicitly does not threaten his positive face when linking this begging act with a group's desire (this is the answer to the first research question).

In case (I) asking for the 'ṭwah for the second time due to the murder case between a Muslim and a Christian, the delegation leader utters the begging act by stating:

Extract (21)

S1: 6. نرجوا انكوا تزيدونا لمدة أطول

S1: 6. na-rjū	in-k-ū	it-zīd-ū-na	la-mudah	aṭwal
SBJ-PRS	PRE-OBJ- PL	INF-PRS-OBJ-OBJ	PRE-OBJ	ADJ
we-beg	from-you-all	to-increase-you-us	for-period	longer

S1: 6. We beg you all to increase the duration of the 'ṭwah for a longer period.

In extract (21), by using the first-person plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (exclusive we) the Muslim delegation leader includes himself and his group members in the begging act for asking to increase the duration of the 'ṭwah from the Christian victim's clan leader. That is, the speaker demonstrates the group identity by employing this plural pronoun with the begging act نرجو (na-rjū) (exclusive we beg) to show that they all agree on asking to increase the duration of the 'ṭwah. Therefore, I argue that this begging act accompanied by the exclusive we is used by the delegation leaders as a strategic performance, as shown in extracts (20) and (21) (this is the answer to the first research question). Based on this clarification of using the begging act as a tactic manoeuvre, the speaker unintentionally supports the victim's clan leader to agree on their begging to increase the duration of the 'ṭwah. That is, the speaker reinforces the victim's clan leader to build in-group harmony

based on ‘the ‘ṭwah’ as a basis for maintaining common social values including peace, honour, and dignity.

In some ‘ṭwah cases, the begging act is not only restricted to the Arabic verb نتوسل (na-tawsal) (exclusive we+ beg) but is also related to use specific religious expressions referring to the begging act when generating the request act. Bajri (2005) illustrates that these religious expressions which are mainly used in requests in most Arabic politeness studies, could be considered as a positive politeness strategy referring to a shared common ground with the hearer (see section (3.8)).

In case (F) referring to asking for الدية (diyah) (a blood money compensation) due to a murder case between two Muslims, the delegation leader states:

Extract (22)

S1: 6. نزل المبلغ الى 300000 دينار أردني مشان ربنا

S1: 6. nazzil al-mablagh ila 300000 dīnār mishān
rab-nā

IMP DEF-OBJ PRE OBJ OBJ PRE

OBJ-POSS

reduce the-amount to 300000 dina for

God-our

S1: 6. Reduce the amount to be 300000 Jordanian dinars for our God’s sake.

In extract (22), the delegation leader generates his direct request act (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984) by using the Arabic imperative verb نزل (nazzil) (reduce); therefore, the speaker seems to engage with ‘on-record politeness’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which agrees with Grice’s (1972) “Conversational Maxims” (ibid: 26-27) (this is the answer to the second research question). On this argument, I aim to expand this analysis in order to answer the first research question that the speaker who has a lower institutionalised power status than the victim’s clan leader does not threaten the negative face of the victim’s clan leader, because he mitigates this direct request by using the religious expression referring to the

begging act مشان ربنا (for God's sake). The speaker uses this religious expression to strengthen his request for reducing the amount by 'transferring his responsibility' to 'God' who has the highest value. God's satisfaction is the aim of the most of believers; therefore, they show their closeness to God through construction of their behaviours to satisfy God who has the highest authority. This means that the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of people who consider 'God's sake' as a common ground. On this argument, the speaker unintentionally reinforces the victim's clan leader to build 'collectivism' based on 'God's sake' as a social value. Thus, the religious expression مشان ربنا (mishān rab-nā) (for God's sake) can be a strategy of positive politeness. This result agrees with Bajri's (2005) argument that the religious expression is used as a positive politeness strategy; however, I contend that it is used for saving the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the hearer, because both the speaker and the hearer are members of the group that constructs 'collectivism' based on 'God's sake' in the 'ṭwah as a common ground for upholding peace, honour, and dignity as shared social values. Thus, the speaker does not threaten the hearer's face when generating the direct request act, because the speaker links his direct request with the religious begging expression مشان ربنا (for God's sake).

In the same case, the delegation leader uses another expression referring to the begging act, as shown in the extract below.

Extract (23)

S1: 8. نزل المبلغ مشان الملك عبدالله

S1:8.	nazzil	al-mablagh	mishān	al-malik
	IMP	DEF-OBJ	PRE	DEF-OBJ
	reduce	the-amount	for	the-king

S1: 8. Reduce this amount for the king's sake.

In extract (23), the delegation leader uses the cultural expression مشان الملك (mishān al-malik) (for the king's sake) as the begging act when generating the direct request for reducing the amount of money. That is, the delegation leader begs the victim's clan leader

to reduce the amount by using this cultural expression. The speaker uses this cultural expression to support his request for reducing the amount by ‘transferring’ his responsibility to the ‘king’ who holds the highest authority in the Jordanian community (as clarified in section (2.2)). Thus, I argue that ‘the king’s value’ is a common ground among Jordanians. Based on this argument, this cultural expression could be a strategy of positive politeness, because it shows that both the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of people who share ‘the king’s value’ as a common ground. This cultural expression which seems a strategy of positive politeness, saves the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the victim’s clan as members pursue the ‘ṭwah for constructing ‘in-group-harmony’ in order to keep shared social values (this is the answer to the first research question). In this analysis, I add this Quranic verse in order to confirm that ‘God’s satisfaction’ and ‘king’s satisfaction’ are values based on the religion.

"يا ايها الذين آمنوا أطيعوا الله و أطيعوا الرسول و أولي الامر منكم (59)" سورة النساء

The Almighty says: “Believers, obey God and obey the Messenger and those who have been entrusted with authority among you”.

(The Quran. AL-Nisa’ (The Women), verse.59) (Khan 2012: 63)

This Quranic verse can be read as God orders believers to obey him, the Prophet Muhammad, and those in authority such as the king. Therefore, I argue that the speaker refers to these expressions ‘God’s sake’ and ‘the king’s sake’ as a reconstruction of religious values for supporting his direct request act.

For supporting my previous argument, I aim to expand it through linking it with “backstage” (Sarangi and Roberts, 1992: 20) in the institutional discourse. The complexity of this stage represents linking the purpose of the ‘ṭwah socially with using the begging act as a linguistic feature of the ‘ṭwah for achieving its goal between the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders. That is, the delegation leaders build the begging act on religious and cultural expressions such as *مشان ربنا* (for God’s sake) and *مشان الملك* (for the king’s sake) as a common ground between them and the victim’s clan leaders. From that, the delegation

leaders depend on the highest authorities such as ‘God’ and ‘the king’ for unwittingly imposing their requests on the victim’s clan leaders. That, in turn, forces the victim’s clan leaders to cooperate in achieving the delegation’s request because the begging act is based on a common ground. In the following section, I demonstrate how the visual presentation of the delegation leaders’ behaviour confirms the aim of the ‘ṭwah for building ‘collectivism’ by including the following pictures taken from the ‘ṭwah on YouTube.

5.6 Visual presentations

It is worth mentioning, that ‘saving face’ in the ‘ṭwah as a public apology in Jordanian culture does not only refer to linguistic aspects used by representatives of both parties; it also refers to non-verbal actions which distinguishes the meaning of ‘saving face’ in the ‘ṭwah process. That is, in case (F), after the victim’s clan leader returned the cheque to the delegation leader (for more details, see section (6.5)), the delegation leader held the cheque, he turned his body to all attendants sitting on each side and said to them: يا سليجات وجههكو ابيض (the victim’s clan’s face was saved), which refers to construct collectivism, as shown in Figures 12-15 below.

Figure 12. Turning his body to the attendants sitting on the south side, and saying: the victim’s clan’s face was saved.



Figure 13. Turning his body to the attendants sitting on the east side, and saying: the victim's clan's face was saved.



Figure 14. Turning his body to the attendants sitting on the north side, and saying: the victim's clan's face was saved.



Figure 15. Turning his body to the attendants sitting on the west side, and saying: the victim's clan's face was saved.



Based on these pictures, this visual presentation of the delegation leader's behaviour can

be a strategy of positive politeness. That is, both leaders' representatives belong to the same group who share 'the cheque' as a common ground for achieving the 'ṭwah process. In other words, paying the cheque to the victim's clan and returning this cheque to the delegation means that both representatives are cooperative in achieving the 'ṭwah's purpose as a conventional norm. On this argument, the delegation leader saves the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the victim's clan by showing a power reversal of the victim's clan. This behaviour of the delegation leader confirms restoring the victim's clan's respect as the basic purpose of the 'ṭwah.

5.7 Conclusion

Based on the analysis in the previous sections, the delegation leaders use the Arabic masculine in-group identity marker *الاخوه* (the brothers) as a strategy of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987), in order to save the positive face of the victim's clan leader by a minimisation of the social distance among them. That is, the delegation leaders affirm that they and the victim's clan leaders are members of the same group who have the same interest. Based on this analysis, I expanded my argument to prove that this in-group identity marker is used by the delegation leaders in the 'ṭwah process as a strategic performance for restoring peace between the victim's clans and the offender's clans. In other words, this in-group identity marker is employed among participants (who have similar or different religious backgrounds) in different 'ṭwah cases to encourage the victim's clan leaders to achieve the 'ṭwah process by referring to *رابطة الاخوه* (a brotherhood bond) as a common ground among them. Hence, the male speakers establish collectivism by indirectly reinforcing 'in-group harmony' based on solidarity as a common ground or a shared social value. This result contributes to Brown and Levinson's (1987) study by arguing that an in-group identity marker which is used as a strategy of positive politeness signals how the speakers unconsciously build collectivism in the 'ṭwah process when this in-group identity marker is used as a tactic procedure. Furthermore, this result contributes to Brown and Levinson's

(1987) notion of face in that using this in-group identity marker saves the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the victim’s clan leaders as representatives’ leaders apply the ‘ṭwah’s procedures as a conventional norm; therefore, they follow it without question for preserving shared social values (Watkins, 2014). As Nwoye (1992: 313) defines the group face as “the individual’s desire to behave in conformity with culturally expected norms that are institutionalised and sanctioned by society” (see section (3.6.2)). This means that the ‘group face’ in the ‘ṭwah process refers to how the delegation leaders unconsciously reinforce the victim’s clan leaders to achieve the ‘ṭwah process by building رابطة الاخوه (a brotherhood bond) as a common ground institutionalised by this ritual restorative justice. Generally, this in-group identity marker saves the group face and the social face of the victim’s clan leaders by maintaining them as representatives’ leaders and as members of a group forming a clan in the Jordanian community when they cooperate in constructing in-group harmony to accomplish the ‘ṭwah’s purposes, which in turn maintains al-‘ṭwah as a conventional norm.

Regarding the religious verses, the delegation leaders employ verses from the Quran and the Bible to strengthen their requests for peace, reconciliation, and forgiveness. I consider that this request strategy is a “non-conventionally indirect strategy” (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 202); the delegation leaders refer partially to the required act which is interpreted by the victim’s clan leaders according to the context used. Therefore, the use of these verses represents an act of ‘off-record’ politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) for seemingly saving the negative face of the hearer by showing respect to them.

Moreover, I argue that these verses are used to seemingly impose peace, reconciliation, and forgiveness on the victim’s clan leaders. Hence, the speakers do not give the victim’s clan leaders any option to reject their requests. That is, the speakers by using these religious verses portray ‘God’ as holding the position of the highest authority. Therefore, it is difficult to say ‘no’ to God if a person wants to stay within His mercy. Furthermore, these verses are used strategically by various delegation leaders in various ‘ṭwah situations in order to

achieve the ‘ṭwah process. On this argument, the delegation leaders employ these verses to subtly encourage the victim’s clan leaders to be cooperative in constructing ‘collectivism’ based on reconciliation, forgiveness, and peace. Thus, my study contributes to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) framework that the use of these verses which represents an act of ‘off-record’ politeness is employed to save the social face and the group face of the victim’s clan leaders by constructing in-group harmony based on a reconstruction of religious values to maintain shared social values which are mentioned previously.

There is another result I would like to discuss; it is the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we) used by the delegation leaders when generating the speech act of request. By employing this Arabic plural pronoun, the delegation leaders include themselves and their group members in asking for the ‘ṭwah, in asking the victim’s clan to allow the offender’s relatives to return to their places, and in asking for the offender’s execution. I see this connected to Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) suggestion that ‘we’ refers to the ‘the speaker and hearer oriented’. This ‘exclusive we’ shows that they are all united to achieve the same goal. That is, the speakers and the hearers (who are not the addressees) belong to the same set of people who share asking for the previous demands as common grounds among them in order to restore peace among the disputing parties and restore respect of the victim’s clan. On this argument, I contribute to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) positive politeness strategies that the ‘inclusive we’ is not the only pronoun used as a strategy of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987), the ‘exclusive we’ could be as a strategy of positive politeness when the audience or non-participants of the speaker’s group are significant components in the activity. That is, the delegation leaders signal their roles with their group members in constructing ‘collectivism’ built on common grounds. I consider these request acts are as “explicit performative strategy” (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 202). In other words, the performance of this utterance is “illocutionary act”; the act is an asking for the delegation and the victim’s clan’s requirements. The speakers seem to engage in ‘on-record politeness

strategy' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which is line with Grice's (1972) "Conversational Maxims" (ibid:26-27). On this argument, I discuss that these request acts are used as strategic performative requests in the 'ṭwah process. Thus, the delegation leaders seem to reinforce the victim's clan leaders to give them their requests because their requests are based on preserving shared social values which are the core elements in the 'ṭwah process. As a result, my study contributes to Brown and Levinson' (1987) framework related to 'on-record politeness' that although the delegation leaders have a lower institutional power status than the victim's clan leaders, their direct requests do not threaten the individual face of the victim's clan leaders, because they build their requests on asking for shared social values to be maintained. In other words, direct request acts are not 'FTAs' (Face Threatening Acts) (Brown and Levinson, 1987) when they are constructed on requesting upkeep of shared social values. On this argument, this contrasts with what Brown and Levinson (1987) claimed that FTAs are a universal notion; namely, what is considered as a face threat in one culture and within a group in a culture, it could not be as a face threat in another culture and within another group in a culture.

Finally, the delegation leaders include themselves and their group members in the begging act representing the Arabic verb نتوسل (exclusive we + beg) by using the first-person plural pronoun نحن (nħnu) (exclusive we). This 'exclusive we' refers to the fact that the delegation leaders and the delegation members are all working toward the same goal; therefore, the begging act is a group's goal rather than an individual one. That is, the speakers and the hearers (who are not the addressees) are members of the same group of people who are begging for the 'ṭwah in order to accomplish the 'ṭwah's aim. Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that the 'begging act' threatens the positive face of the speaker. However, my study contributes to Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework in that I argue that the delegation leaders preserve their social status and their situated power status by extending the begging act to all members of their group. Thus, the speakers save their positive face

when connecting their begging act with the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nhnu) (exclusive we). By doing this, the speaker saves his 'individual face' by maintaining his 'positive face' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) to be admired. Furthermore, the delegation leaders do not threaten their positive face and their group members' positive face when using this begging act as a performative tactic for preserving shared social values through the 'ṭwah process. On this argument, the delegation leaders unintentionally support the victim's clan leaders agreeing on their begging for achieving the 'ṭwah's purpose.

The begging act is not only related to using the Arabic verb توسل (beg); it is also related to a religious expression مشان رينا (for God's sake) and a cultural expression مشان الملك (for the king's sake). By using these expressions, the speakers and the hearers belong to the same set of people who consider 'God's satisfaction' and 'king's satisfaction' as social values. Thus, the speakers unconsciously impose the request for the 'ṭwah on the victim's clan leader by shifting responsibilities to the highest authorities: 'God' and 'the king'. However, the speakers still show respect to the hearer by unwitting construction of 'collectivism' based on 'God's satisfaction' and 'the king's satisfaction' as a common ground for preserving shared social values. On this argument, my study contributes to Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework, in that these religious and cultural expressions used for the begging act can be a strategy of positive politeness. Furthermore, I argue that these expressions are used for saving the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the victim's clan leaders.

It is worth mentioning that the linguistic forms are not the only phenomenon used by the delegation leaders to show how they construct 'collectivism', but the visual presentations also affirm this point when the delegation leader turned his faces to all sides with saying 'the face of the victim's clan is saved', as explicated in section (5.6). Hence, my study contributes to Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework in that these visual presentations can be a strategy of positive strategy in order to save the social face and the group face of interlocutors.

In light of what has been discussed in the previous paragraphs in this section, I posit that the language used by the delegation leaders such as in-group identity marker *الآخوه* (brothers), religious verses, the Arabic plural pronoun *نحن* (*nħnu*) (we) and *أنتم* (*'antom*) (you plural), and the begging act, are 'ritual expressions'. That is, the delegation leaders use these expressions regularly in different 'ṭwah cases. This recurrent usage of these expressions makes them the basic conventional components in this ritual practice for building in-group harmony (for more descriptions, see the Discussion Chapter). These expressions were employed by the delegation leaders in the 'ṭwah process where it is important to show their awareness of rights and obligations. In other words, the delegation leaders have a right, the victim's clan leaders have an obligation, and the imposition is found by moving responsibility from them to the highest authorities such as 'God' and 'the king' in these conventional situations. The right of the delegation leaders is restoring respect of the victim's clan and rebuilding a bridge among the disputing parties; therefore, the victim's clan leaders have to achieve the 'ṭwah's purpose as a social norm in order to uphold shared social values.

Chapter Six: Analysis of linguistic forms used by the victim's clan leaders

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate the analysis of the 'ṭwah cases (see data in section (4.3)) in terms of using an in-group identity marker, religious verses, the use of the pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we) in the request act, and retuning the cheque to the delegation leader which are used by the victim's clan leaders in order to answer the following research questions:

Q1. How is العطاء العشائريه (the 'ṭwah) processed linguistically in Jordan?

Q2: How are politeness strategies employed by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders in العطاء العشائريه (the 'ṭwah)?

In light of what has been mentioned previously, this chapter aims to achieve the same purpose as Chapter Five for building arguments to address the overarching research question, Q1, by addressing Q2 in detail. Furthermore, the purpose of this chapter is to explicate the power reversal of the victim's clan leaders by developing a systematic analysis of similar and different patterns of the 'ṭwah situations. The victim's clan leaders could use particular utterances which serve and support their role, and which distinguish them from the delegation leaders. That is, despite the similar social status of the victim's clan leaders and the delegation leaders, the victim's clan leaders have an institutionalised power role which is different from the powerful role of the delegation leaders, as illustrated later in this chapter. I also provide telling examples by presenting the original version in Arabic, the roman script, morpheme by morpheme, and the translation into English.

6.2 Using in- group identity markers

As I clarified in section (5.2), in-group identity markers are used as a positive politeness strategy to convey an in-group membership (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Below, I present the investigation of الاخوه (the brothers) as an in-group identity marker in case (G). In this case, the delegation gathered with the victim's clan as a result of a murdering of a Muslim husband by his Muslim wife. The victim's clan leader initiates his speech with

using an in-group identity marker, as shown in the extract below.

Extract (24)

4: S2 الاخوه الاعزاء

S2: 4. al-ikhwah	al-‘azā’
DEF-M-PL	DEF-ADJ-PL
the-brother-s	the-dear-s

S2: 4. Dear the brothers

Before confirming what I argued in section (5.2), I start with an explanation of the Arabic masculine in-group identity marker الاخوه (al-ikhwah) (the brothers) to answer the second research question. This in-group identity marker demonstrates how the victim’s clan leader implicitly emphasises a shared membership in a group which reflects a positive politeness strategy (this is the answer of the second research question). Therefore, it concentrates on demonstrating that he and the delegation leader are made up of the same group of individuals. In light of what has been mentioned previously and what was mentioned in section (5.2), this in-group identity marker suggests that the male delegation leaders and the male victim’s clan leaders recognise that everybody involved in this social ritual practice constructs an in-group harmony as a value in the Jordanian community. In other words, by using this in-group identity marker, both the male delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders affirm that they share ritual identities, which can help them see each other as people share in- group characteristics in this ritual practice such as restoring honour, dignity, and respect through constructing رابطه الاخوه (a brotherhood bond). Thus, - by using this in-group identity marker-, the male victim’s clan leader and the male delegation leader agree that they both have a common ground through a construction of a brotherhood bond in order to maintain feelings of unity within a group (Leech, 1983); i.e. maintaining feelings of unity in the group through saving their “group face” (Nwoye, 1992: 313) and their ‘social face’ (Mao, 1994). By using this masculine in-group identity marker, the victim’s clan leader saves the face of the delegation leader as a member of a group, as

a representative of the group, and as a representative follows ritual procedures of this conventional practice by using it as a strategic performance through building a brotherhood bond as a common ground (this is how I answer the first research question). Thus, this seems to relate to Al-Khawaldeh and Zegarac's (2013) study who found that this Arabic masculine in-group identity marker is used as an address term among unfamiliar participants in Jordanian culture to build solidarity, but I argue that this solidarity takes place through a construction of a brotherhood bond based on a religion for showing the following of God's instructions, as clarified in section (5.2).

I further argue that restoring damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan is necessary in this case because this kind of murdering which is an intra-group conflict (a conflict between family members) damages honour which is at the centre of حمولة (humuleh) (a tribe/a clan) and عائلة (a family) (Cohen, 2001). Thus, this in-group identity marker is used as "a strategic conflict avoidance" (Leech, 1983: 19) by the victim's clan leader by referring to his cooperation in building an in-group harmony through a reconstruction of the religious value 'brotherhood bond', which in turn maintains blood-related groups. That is, the victim's clan leader restores the damaged respect of the victim's clan through cooperation in building in-group coherence. On this argument, this in-group identity marker, -which is used by the victim's clan leaders and by the delegation leaders-, refers to "interpersonal politeness" (Arndt and Janney, 1985: 283-287) pointing to the mutual concern of both the victim's clan leaders and the delegation leaders to maintain the social and the group faces of each other during al-'ṭwah process. In the next section, I investigate another linguistic phenomenon used by the victim's clan leaders.

6.3 Religious verses and stories

Before analysing and discussing the religious verses used by the victim's clan leaders, I reconfirm the role of holy books-as defined in section (5.3)- in the lives of believers who have a belief that their closeness to God brings peace for them through obeying God's

instructions as revealed in His holy books, such as His calling for forgiveness, respect, peace, reconciliation, and punishment for the offender.

In this section, I present the investigation of the Quranic verses and stories which are used to perform a request act in forming collective identities regardless of the representatives' religions; more specifically, it seems that generating a request act for punishment for the offender is a common ground based on a religion in order to maintain coherence in a group between opposing parties. This is shown in the extracts below.

In case A, referring to the 'ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims from the same province, the victim's clan leader uses the following verse from the Quran:

Extract (25)

S2: 5. قال الله تعالى: وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ

S2: 5. The Almighty says: "in retribution there is a life for you [all]".

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah): The Quran, 179:19)

The same Quranic verse was used in case (D) by another victim's clan leader-see extract (26) below (the 'ṭwah for this murder case was a result of a Muslim man killing a Christian man).

Extract (26)

S2: 3. قال الله تعالى: و لكم في القصاص حياه يا اولي الالباب

S2:3. The Almighty says: "in retribution there is a life for you".

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah): The Quran, 179:19)

It is worth mentioning that the victim's clan leader (S2) in the 'ṭwah case (H) (a Muslim husband killed his Muslim wife) mentions a story from a saying of Prophet Muhammad's friend for requesting punishment, as shown in the extract below.

Extract (27)

S2: 13. أنا أخبركم لماذا قتلها؟

S2: 13. ana 'aqol l-km lmatha qatal-ha

S2: 13. SUBJ SUBJ-PRS PRE-O Q PST-O

S2: 3. I I-say for-you why killed-her

S2: 13. I tell you why he killed her?

S2: 14. لماذا قتل الغلام في عهد عمر بن الخطاب امير المؤمنين رضي الله عنه

S2: 14. Imatha qatal al-gholam fi 'ahed Omar Ibn Al-Khattab

S2: 14. Q PASS-3-M DEF-O PREP O Omar Ibn Al-Khattab

S2: 14. Why killed the-boy in era Omar Ibn Al-Khattab

S2: 14. Why was the boy killed in the era of Umar bin Al-Khattab, the prince of believers.

S2: 15. كان له اب و هذا الاب سمي هذا الولد "اصيل" و هذا الولد كان له امراه اب فأمنه عند امراه الاب

S2: 15. Kana lah-o 'bin sama hatha al-wald Aseel

w hatha al-walad kan lah-o mart a'ab

S2: 15. PST-3-M PRE-O SUBJ SUBJ-PST DET DEF-O Aseel CONJ

DET DEF-SUBJ PST-3-M PREP-O O O

S2: 15. Was-he for-him father called-he this the-boy Aseel

and this the-boy was-he for-him wife father

S2: 15. This boy had a father who called him "Aseel" and he has a father's wife who was responsible for protecting him.

S2: 16. ذهب الاب مسافرا و كان لها صاحبا تعاشره بالزنا

S2: 16. thahab 'al-'ab msafer w kan l-ha sahib to'ashar-ho

S2: 16. PST-SUBJ DEF-O O CONJ PST PREP-O ADJ SUBJ-PRES-O

S2: 16. Went-he the-father passenger and was for-her lover she-sleep-he

S2: 16. This father travelled. His wife had lover and she had sexual relationship with him

S2: 17. فرأى ذلك هذا الغلام فخافت ان ينقل الى اباه فقالت لعشيقها

S2: 18. ra'ah thalka al-gholam f-khaf-at an yanqol ila 'aba-ho

f-qala-t li-'ashiq-ha

S2: 18. SUBJ-PST DET DEF-SUBJ CONJ-PST-3-F INF 3-M-PRS PREP OBJ-POSS

CONJ-PST-3-F BEN-lover-POSS

S2: 18. So-see-he this the-boy so-scared-she to he-tell

to father-his so-said-she BEN-lover-POSS

S2: 18. The boy saw her, so she was scared that the boy informs his father. Thus, she told her lover:

S2: 18. ان لم تقتله سأبتعد عنك في البدايه رفض

S2: 18. in lam ta-qtol-ho sa-'abta'id 'an-k fi al-bedayah rafḍ

S2: 18. COND NEG SUBJ-PRS-O FUT-1-PRS PREP-O PREP DEF-O SUBJ-PST

S2: 18. If not you-kill-him will-I-leave about-you in the-beginning he-rejected

S2: 18. If you do not kill him, I will leave you. He rejected that

S2: 19. فذهب مع اصدقائه لقتله فقتلوه و وضعوه في بئر و بعد ايام حققوا معهم

S2: 19. thab-ah ma'ah aṣḍiqa-hi f-qatal-oh w ba'ad ayam ḥḩaq-o ma'a-hn

19. PST-SUBJ PREP O-POSS CONJ-PST-O PREP O PST-O PREP-O

S2: 19. So-he-went with friends-his so-they-killed-him and after days detected with-them

S2: 19. He went with his friends to kill him. Later, the police found them.

S2: 20. فتبين انهم سبعة كما قال الامام مالك في كتابه "المواقف"

S2: 20. tabyan anhom sab'ah k-ma qal Al-Imam Malik fi ktab-h "Al-Mwakif"

S2: 20. PRS SUBJ1-PL O PREP PST-3-M O PRE O-POSS

S2: 20. clarify that-they seven said-he Al-Imam Malik in book-his

"Al-Mwakif"

S2: 20. They were seven killers, as Al-Imam Malik said in his book "Al-Mwakif".

S2: 21. فذهب اشخاص يستشيرون عمر بن الخطاب و اخبروه ما حصل

S2: 21. thahb 'ashkhaṣ yastashir-on Omar w 'khbar-ho ma ḩaṣal

S2: 21. PST SUBJ SUBJ-PRES-O OBJ SUBJ-PST-O PST

S2: 21. went persons they-ask-they Omar they-tell-him what happened

S2: 21. Persons went to Omar Ibn Al-Khattab and told him what happened.

S2: 22. فأمرهم بقتل السبع أشخاص فقالوا يا امير المؤمنين الذي قتله واحد

S2: 22. amar-hm b-qatl al-saba'ah f-qal-o alathi qatal waḩd

S2: 22. SUBJ-PST-O INF-PRS DEF-SBJ CONJ-SUBJ-PST COM PST SUBJ

S2: 22. he-ordered-them to-kill the-seven so-said-they that killed-he one

S2: 22. He ordered them to kill these seven persons. So, some people said to Omar: Prince, the killer

is one person.

S2: 23. قال و الله لو كل اهل صنعاء اجتمعوا على قتله لقتلناهم جميعا

S2: 23. qal w-Allahi law kol ahl Sana'a 'ijtma-o ala qatl-ih l-qatkn-hm
jamā'ah-m

S2: 23. PST-3-M w-Allah COND SUBJ SUBJ Sana'a PST-1-PL INF INFN-SUBJ
INF-PRES-O O

S2: 23. Replied-he swear-Allah if all people Sana'a meet-they on killing
to-kill-we-them

S2: 23. He replied: if all Sana'a's people killed him, I swear to God we kill all of them.

In the previous Quranic verse, we read that God addresses people by using the Arabic plural pronoun at the end of the propositional phrase لكم (for you all) to implement retribution, which in turn saves not only the disputing party's life but saves all people's lives through preventing further conflicts. Similarly, -in the previous religious story-, Omar Ibn Al-Khattab, the prince of believers ordered people to kill that person with his friends because they killed an innocent boy.

Building on a meaning of this Quranic verse and this religious story, the victim's clan leaders aim to convey retribution as a request. That is, the performative utterance of the "illocutionary act" (Austin, 1962: 94) (as illustrated in section (3.2)) is a request for retribution in this Quranic verse and this religious story. As a result, according to Searle (1979) this generated request act might be successful because it may meet the conditions of request suggested by Searle (see section (3.1)); these are "essential condition", the "sincerity condition", and the "preparatory condition" (ibid: 44). That is, in these sacred texts, the hearers could take this utterance to be performative for the request act, and they could take this verse to represent the wish of the speakers to punish the offender.

In light of what has been argued previously, this request strategy used by the speakers is a "non-conventionally indirect strategy" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 202) (see section (3.2.1)); the speakers make a partial reference to the desired act, which the hearer interprets as a calling for retribution in the situation used. This result agrees with Al-Marrani

and Sazalie (2010) who found that male speakers in a male-male interaction could prefer to use non-conventionally indirect strategies (see section (3.8.3)). Therefore, the use of this verse serves an example of an act of ‘off-record politeness’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987), since the usage of this verse appears to demonstrate a mitigation of imposition on the hearer (this is an answer to the second research question).

By using this Quranic verse for asking for القصاص (retribution) in another ‘twah case by a Christian speaker (see extract 26 above); this confirms that asking for retribution is a tactic procedure used as a reconstruction of a religious value to maintain shared social values such as honour and dignity (this is how I answer the first research question). Thus, this argument proves what I discussed in the previous chapter (see section (5.3)) that the ‘non-conventionally indirect request act’ shows respect to the hearer regardless of the social status and the institutional power status of interlocutors. In other words, respect is achieved by a rebuilding of a religious value such as القصاص (retribution) for preserving a shared social value. It is worth mentioning that the Christian victim’s clan leader used this verse from the Quran not from the Bible to confirm that the Quran is the dominant book in Jordanian culture where Christians are minorities in this society (see section (2.3)). Therefore, the Christian victim’s clan leader aims to maintain coherence in his group as a minority in Jordanian culture by relying on the dominant holy book in the society. That is, if he used a verse from the Bible calling for retribution, he would not have a great impact on the Muslim delegation leader. Thus, the Muslim delegation leader may not cooperate in punishing the offender, which in turn threatens the coherence in a Christian group who could engage in further conflicts because their damaged respect was not restored. On this argument, the Christian victim’s clan leader saves his ‘group face’ and his ‘social face’ by behaving in conformity with a reconstruction of a religious value (retribution) based on the Quran.

Although the previous analysis shows that the victim’s clan leaders generated a

request act, I contend that the main point is that these sacred texts is used to reinforce the request for punishing the offender in order to absolve the victim's clan leader of 'responsibility' and to 'favour' the spiritual to reinstate a religion as the highest judge for asking for punishment of the offender, because God and the main character of the story (Umar bin Al-Khathab) -who represents the prince of believers and the great leader in most of the Islamic wars (Ash-Shalabi, 2008)- are perceived to have the highest authority over the delegation and the delegation leader (this is the answer to the first research question). Therefore, the delegation leaders have to accept the punishment for the offender. In other words, the victim's clan leaders unintentionally compel the delegation leaders to build collectivism based on القصاص (retribution) as a reconstruction of a religious value to restore honour as a social value (this is the answer to the first research question).

Although the victim's clan leader and the delegation leader have the same power social status, the victim's clan leader has more institutionalised power status than the delegation leader. Despite representing this verse as an act of 'off-record politeness' showing respect to the delegation leader, the victim's clan leader still has more institutionalised power status representing asking for القصاص (retribution) because his role is more important than the role of the delegation. To put it in another way, peace will be achieved among the disputing parties through only restoring the damaged respect of the victim's clan-that is, no peace will be achieved without restoring the damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan. On the other hand, the delegation leader constructs his institutionalised power status from his role in the 'ṭwah which represents restoring peace among the disputing parties; therefore, he asks for reconciliation, peace, and forgiveness. Therefore, the delegation leaders use linguistic strategies that support their ritual role in the atwa such as the begging act for reconciliation, as shown in section (5.5).

To also answer the first research question, I aim to explain the complexity of the 'ṭwah process from the institutional discourse perspective, as explained in section (5.3). In this

‘ṭwah, the “backstage” (Sarangi and Roberts (1999: 20)) represents linking the social purpose of the ‘ṭwah with a reconstruction of religious values such as retribution for achieving its goal between the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders. That is, the victim’s clan leader uses the previous Quranic verse for building a common ground between him, his clan, and the delegation. As a result, the victim’s clan leader takes the advantage of religion to change the act for asking for punishing the offender to the act of imposing or commanding. In other words, the victim’s clan leader used God’s commands from the Quran regarding the penalty as the basis for insisting that the offender should be punished. Thus, the victim’s clan leader reinforces the delegation leader to achieve retribution, which refers to the “politeness principle” (Leech, 1983: 81), in which an agreement is reached on the common ground such as a restoration of respect based on a reconstruction of religious value (retribution). This means that the victim’s clan leader unintentionally reinforces the delegation leader to collaborate and cooperate with the victim’s clan leader in achieving punishment for the offender. This, in turn saves the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of both the victim’s clan leader and the delegation leader as representatives of their groups and as representatives pursuing the procedures of the ‘ṭwah as a cultural conventional norm (this is the answer to the first research question).

In case (D) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the manslaughter case between two Muslims, the victim’s clan uses the same Quranic verse (see extract (28) below) used by the delegation leader in the same case (see extract (8) in section (5.3))

Extract (28)

S1: 2. قال الله تعالى: وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ مَّاذَا تَكْسِبُ غَدًا وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ بِأَيِّ أَرْضٍ تَمُوتُ ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

S1: 2. The Almighty said: ‘‘ No soul known what it will earn tomorrow, and no soul knows in what land it will die. Surely, God is all knowing, all aware’’

(Luqman: The Quran, 34: 313)

Building on the meaning of this Quranic verse (explained in section (5.3)), I argue that, by considering this incident as a manslaughter case instead of a murder case, the

victim's clan leader asks for 'forgiveness'. This is done through showing his belief in 'God's destiny' by using this Quranic verse. From this argument, the delegation leader understands what the victim's clan leader conveys by using this quote; that he constructs forgiveness as a religious value for building a bridge between his clan and the offender's clan through showing his belief in God's destiny. Thus, I consider that this Quranic quote represents 'non-conventionally indirect request act' referring to 'off-record politeness', that indicates an agreement on the delegation leader's request for forgiveness (see extract (8)) (this is the answer to the second research question). On this agreement, the interlocutors construct in-group harmony referring to the 'ṭwah as a process based on a collaboration between the delegation and the victim's clan (Pely and Luzon, 2018) in order to reconcile the opposing parties through forgiveness (this is the answer to first research question). Thus, this result confirms that the 'ṭwah is based on social values such as forgiveness, peace, reconciliation, honour, and dignity (Gellman and Vuinovich, 2009) (see section (2.3)). Furthermore, this confirms what I argued previously that this Quranic verse refers to 'social interpersonal politeness'; that the speaker and the hearer conform with traditional recurrent procedures of the 'ṭwah to maintain shared social values.

Based on the above discussion, the institutional dimension of the 'ṭwah context complicates the concept of the speaker more than Brown and Levinson's (1987) suggestion. Although Brown and Levinson's concept of the speaker as an abstract 'Model Person' (see section (3.6)), a "cardboard figure" (1987: 58), who deals with universal interpersonal relations without a meaningful context, the 'ṭwah context adds a specific institutional role as an aspect of the speaker's identity; a role that the speaker fulfils and that aims to achieve a specific ritual institutional task. That is, the speaker's interpersonal exchanges are influenced by his institutional roles as the victim's clan leader or the delegation leader, and the need to perform relevant ritual restorative tasks. The leader's identity thus consists of institutional and interpersonal aspect. A part of the influence of the institutional role can

been seen in how the institutional speaker seems to subordinate his politeness strategy vis-à-vis the hearer to the performance of the speaker’s institutional task. For instance, despite of the greatest institutionalised power status of the delegation leader, he indirectly requests for retribution because he performs his conventional role as a restorer of his clan’s respect through retribution. In the next section, I investigate another linguistic phenomenon used by the victim’s clan leaders-that is, the first plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we)-when generating a request act.

6.4 Use of pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we) in a speech act of request

Before analysing and arguing the pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we) used by the victim’s clan leaders, I reconfirm the definition of ‘inclusive we’ and ‘exclusive we’ which I introduced in section (5.4). In this context, “inclusive we” (Scheibman, 2004: 378) refers to the speaker and the addressee(s) and “exclusive we” (ibid) refers to the speaker and other individuals or groups who are not addressees.

Case (G) refers to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims; more specifically, a Muslim husband was killed by his Muslim wife. The victim’s clan leader generates the following:

Extract (29)

S2: 6. ان نعلم بناتنا ما هو الزوج عند الله

S2: 6	an	nu-‘allim	ban-at-ina	ma	huwa	al-zawj
	‘nd	Allāh				
	DEF	SBJ-PRS	OBJ-PL-DET	Q	SBJ	DEF-SBJ
PRE	OBJ					
	to	we-teach	daughter-s-our	what	he	the-husband
	to	Allāh				

2: 6. **We** must teach our daughters what is the value of the husband in Allāh’s will.

Extract (30)

S2: 7. ان نعلمها ان رضى الله من رضا الزوج

S2: 7. an nu-‘allim-ha anna riḍá Allāh men riḍá
al-zawj
DEF SBJ-PRS-OBJ DEM SBJ OBJ PRE
OBJ DEF-OBJ
to we-teach-her that satisfaction Allāh from satisfaction
the-husband

S2: 7. **We** must teach her that the husband’s satisfaction is a part of Allāh’s satisfaction.

In extracts (29) and (30), by using the first-person plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we), the victim’s clan leader includes himself and his group members, and the delegation leader and his group members in asking for a woman to respect her husband through referring to a husband’s value in God’s will رضى الله من رضا الزوج (the husband’s satisfaction is a part of God’s satisfaction). That is, the victim’s clan leader links the husband’s satisfaction with God’s satisfaction; when wives appreciate their husbands, God thus blesses them. I consider that this asking for a husband to be respected is an “explicit performative strategy” of the request act (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 202). In this utterance, the “illocutionary act” (Searle, 1962: 94) is asking for a husband to be respected; here the speaker seems to engage in ‘on-record politeness strategy’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which agrees with Grice’s (1972) cooperative principle (this is the answer to the second research question). This principle focuses on clarity in conveying a message, where ‘clarity’ refers to a politeness rule ‘be clear’ (Lakoff, 1973) (see section (3.4)) (this is the answer to the second research question).

As I argued previously, the victim’s clan leader includes himself, his group members, and the delegation leader and his group members in asking for the same goal by using the first-person plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we); I also see this connected to Blum- Kulka et al.’s (1989) suggestion that ‘we’ refers to ‘the speaker and hearer oriented’ (see section (3.2.1)). According to the definition of Scheibman above, this ‘inclusive we’ which refers to the victim’s clan leader and his group members, and the delegation leader and his group

members, shows that they are all united to achieve the same goal. That is, the speaker and the hearers (the delegation and members of the victim's clan) belong to the same set of people who share 'respect to husband' as a common ground among them in order to rebuild a relationship between the victim's clan and the offender's clan (this is the answer to the second research question). On this argument, this Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nhnu) (inclusive we) represents a strategy of 'positive politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (this is the answer to the second research question) in order to minimise the social distance between him and the delegation leader by saving the positive face of the hearer. Furthermore, this 'inclusive we' includes other clans and goes further to include everyone in the society. Thus, the speaker seems to impose 'respect to husbands' on the hearers through linking this request with 'inclusive we' referring to all society and through linking this request with God's will and God's satisfaction (this is the answer to the first research question). That is, the speaker places the delegation leader and his group members in a position to be held accountable for fulfilling this request in front of God and a society. Therefore, by using 'inclusive we' referring to himself, his clan, the delegation, and society, the speaker unintentionally reinforces the delegation leader to construct collectivism based on asking for 'respect to husband' for preserving shared social values such as building relationships. Thus, in-group's norms and responsibilities confirm 'respect to husbands' as a reconstruction of religious value by linking it with God's will and God's satisfaction, which has a positive effect on family members to re-establish a balance in their relationship with each other.

Based on the previous argument, I consider the act generated by the victim's clan leader as a strategy of a 'bald on-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Because this act conforms with Grice's (1975) Maxims (see section (3.3)) (this is the answer to the second research question). Thus, this result shows that the victim's clan leader has a more institutionalised power status than the delegation leader. In other words, the victim's clan

of Scheibman (2004), this first plural pronoun is used as an ‘exclusive we’, which refers to the victim’s clan leader and his group members. That is, the speaker and the hearers—who are not the addressees—belong to the same set of people who share asking for الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile) as a common ground among them. On this argument, the victim’s clan leader shows respect to his own group by indicating to them as important components in the ‘ṭwah process; this is called “bystander honorifics” (Levinson, 1983: 90). In other words, the speaker honours non-participants of his group over the delegation by showing them as a significant component in the process of speech.

In light of what has been argued previously, I consider the ‘exclusive we’ as a strategy of ‘positive politeness’ in this ‘ṭwah case (this is the answer to the second research question). That is, the ‘inclusive we’ is not the only pronoun which is used to refer to ‘positive politeness’, as Brown and Levinson (1987) argue (see section (3.6)), but also the ‘exclusive we’ acts the same. Furthermore, this result shows that the institutionalised power of the victim’s clan expands to the whole of his group. Thus, using this ‘exclusive we’ gives the victim’s clan leader and his group members an institutional superiority over the delegation. The victim’s clan leader also derives his influence in the ‘ṭwah process from his function as a chief for power reversal of the victim’s clan through الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile). The victim’s clan leader wants الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile) for the male relatives of the offender because they count more than women; therefore, the punishment is harsher than sending away the whole of family, it also does what the victim’s clan has suffered by splitting the family. This asking for الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile) is a group-based act referring to unify group members with focusing on achieving a group goal rather than an individual one, and it demonstrates an “agreement maxim” (Leech, 1983: 82) among them for achieving this purpose. By a generation of this request act, the victim’s clan leader does not threaten the face of the delegation leader, but he saves the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the delegation leader by building his request on asking for الجلوى (jalwah) (the exile) as

an essential requirement of the ‘ṭwah process in any murder case in order to restore the damaged honour and dignity of the victim’s clan (this is the answer to the first research question).

To answer the first research question, I aim to broaden this argument by looking at it through the institutional discourse. Sarangi and Roberts (1999) define ‘frontstage’ as “an interaction between representatives and a client” (ibid: 20). In the ‘ṭwah process, I argue that it is an interaction between the victim’s clan leader and his group in the ritual restorative justice institution. That is, the victim’s clan leader engages his group members in a generation of the request act by using the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (exclusive we). In other words, the victim’s clan leader and his group members interact in order to accomplish their request by demonstrating their utility. To be more specific, the victim’s clan leader joins with his group members in asking for الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile) of the male relatives of the offender by using this plural pronoun.

In case (J), I am referring to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims, the victim’s clan leader utters:

Extract (32)

S2: 12. احنا بدنا عشر الالاف دينار

S2: 12. nḥnu	bid-na	‘ashr	alāf
SBJ	PRS-SBJ	DET	ADJ
we	want-we	ten	thousand

S2: 12. **We** want ten thousand.

In extract (32), this ‘exclusive we’ indicates that the victim’s clan leader and his group members are all united to attain the same goal which is ordering the delegation leader to pay an amount of money, which represents the Arabic Jordanian colloquial verb بدنا (bid-na) (we want). That is, the speaker and the hearers—who are not the addressees—belong to the same set of people who share ordering الديه (diyah) (a blood money compensation) as a common ground among them. On the definition of diyah (a blood money compensation),

Watkins (2014: 37) refers to it “as an amount of money paid from the offender’s clan to the victim’s clan as a way of expressing their sense of shame due to the offender’s act” (see section (2.3). Hence, by diyah (a blood money compensation) the victim’s clan reinstates their respect, which in turn mitigates the offender’s sense of shame by reintegrating them in the community when meeting this conventional procedure.

The request for diyah (a blood money compensation) is generated by another victim’s clan leader in case (F) that refers to the ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims.

The victim’s clan leader says:

Extract (33)

S2: 4. نحن نأمر و ليس طلب فتنبيض وجه السحيلات مليون دينار أردني

S2: 4. nḥnu	n-‘amr	w	laysa	ṭalab	fa-tabīḍ	wajh
al-Suḥaylat	milyūn					
OBJ	SBJ-PRS	CONJ	NEG	OBJ	DEF-PRS	OBJ
OBJ	OBJ					
we	we-order	and	not	request	to-whiten	face
al-Suḥaylat	million					

S2: 4. **We** order you to pay one million to whiten a face of al- Suḥaylat.

In extract (33), by using the first-person plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we) the victim’s clan leader includes himself and the victim’s clan members in ordering the delegation leader to pay diyah (a blood money compensation), which represents the Arabic verb نأمر (we order), I see this related to Blum- Kulka et al.’s (1989) suggestion that ‘we’ refers to ‘the speaker and hearer oriented’ (see section (3.2.1). Thus, the performative utterance is asking for the paying of diyah (a blood money compensation). This ‘exclusive we’ also signals that the victim’s clan leader and his group members agree on asking for an amount of money.

Based on this analysis for extracts (32) and (33), it demonstrates that the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (exclusive we) accompanied with the request act for diyah (a blood

money compensation) is used as a strategic performance, because it is used by different victim's clan leaders in different 'ṭwah cases for implementing the 'ṭwah's purpose (this is an answer to the first research question). Therefore, the victim's clan leaders seem to impose diyah (a blood money compensation) on the delegation leaders. In other words, the victim's clan leaders do not give the delegation leaders any option to reject their request, because asking for diyah (a blood money compensation)-as one of the basic regulations in the 'ṭwah process-is a tactic manoeuvre for a restoration of honour and dignity as a social value (this is the answer to the first research question).

On this analysis, I confirm what I argued when analysing extracts (29) and (30) that the act generated by the victim's clan leaders in extracts (31), (32), and (33) also refers to a strategy of 'on-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) because this act agrees with Grice's (1975) Maxims (see section (3.3)) (this is the answer to the second research question). Thus, this result confirms my argument that the victim's clan leaders have a more institutionalised power status than the delegation leaders. This role is confirmed by the victim's clan leader in extract (33) when using the Jordanian cultural term "تبييض الوجه" (Al-Suwaidi (2008: 27) (whitening face). It refers to saving the face of the victim's clan after "blackening face" (ibid) through restoring their damaged honour and dignity by paying الديه (idyah) (a blood money compensation) to them.

To also answer the first research question, I argue that that the 'on-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) is used to save the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the delegation leader by building their requests on a conventional common ground such as الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile) and الديه (diyah) (a blood money compensation) for upholding a restoration of respect as a shared social value. Accordingly, the speaker unconsciously reinforces the delegation leader to build a cohesive in-group based on a common ground for achieving the 'ṭwah's purpose.

In light of what has been argued previously, the victim's clan leaders and their groups

show collectivism as a social value by viewing their utility bond through using the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nħnu) (we) for supporting their requests for الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile) and الديه (diyah) (a blood money compensation) as regulations of the ‘ṭwah process. Therefore, this result confirms that the ‘we’ group (or in-group) is a distinctive strategy in the atwa process which shows a “cohesive in-group” (Hofstede, 1991: 51) arrangement (see section (2.2)).

In case (E) referring to the ‘ṭwah for the second time as a result of a Muslim man killing a Christian man, the Christian victim’s clan leader states:

Extract (34)

S2: 5. انت شيخ نعطيك عطوه حتى 3/24

C: S2: 5. ?nta Sheikh n-ʔti:-k atwa hata 24/03

S2: 5. You are a Sheikh. We give you the atwa until 24/03.

In extract (34), the victim’s clan leader refers to himself and members of his group as a united group in giving the ‘ṭwah for the delegation leader by using the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nħnu) (exclusive we). On this argument, this confirms that the ‘exclusive we’ is used as a strategy of ‘positive politeness’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987) signalling that the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of a group who share ‘giving the ‘ṭwah for the delegation leader’ as a common ground (this is the answer to the second research question). By referring to this, the speaker minimises the social distance between him and his group members. I consider that ‘giving the ‘ṭwah for the delegation leader’ is an “explicit performative strategy” (Blun-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 202). That is, the “illocutionary act” (Searle, 1962: 94) is giving the ‘ṭwah for the delegation leader in this utterance; the speaker seems to engage in ‘on-record politeness strategy’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which is line with Grice’s (1972) Conversational Maxims (this is the answer to the second research question). This principle focuses on expressing a message clearly (Lakoff, 1972) see section (3.4)), where the speaker is sufficiently explicit while

making the request (this is another answer to the second research question). Furthermore, I consider this giving act as a “tact maxim” of the politeness principle (Leech, 1983: 82) in order to maximise benefit to the hearer and minimise the benefit to the self. On this argument, the victim’s clan leader saves ‘the positive face’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987) of the delegation leader by minimising the social distance between him and the delegation leader.

Furthermore, the victim’s clan leader addresses the delegation leader by using شيخ (Shaykh) (a leader of his clan). By the employment of this address term, the speaker maintains the social distance between him and the hearer. This result agrees with Liao’s (2019) result who shows that using addressing terms in justice settings refers to maintaining the social distance between the judge and the lawyer, and the lawyer and the offender, as illustrated in section (3.7). The rationale behind using شيخ (Shaykh) (a leader of his clan) as an address term in this utterance is linked to show that a friendly relationship could be less important than keeping respect among the ‘ṭwah’s representatives.

I also consider ‘giving the ‘ṭwah’ as a strategy of positive politeness under “giving gifts to H” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 129), as illustrated in the following section. In other words, giving the ‘ṭwah indicates that both the delegation leader and the victim’s clan leader belong to the same group who share ‘the ‘ṭwah’ as a common ground for reconciliation or peace.

6.5 Returning the cheque

Brown and Levinson (1987: 129) illustrate that the strategy “giving gifts to H” (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation) satisfies the hearer’s positive face want by satisfying some of the hearer’s wants. They add that ‘giving gifts’ is not only related to tangible gifts, but also refers to human-relation wants, which in turn maintains the hearer’s wants to be liked, admired, listened to, understood, and cared about.

In case (F), I am referring to asking for الدية (diyah) (a blood money compensation)

due to the murder case between two Muslims. The victim's clan leader utters:

Extract (35)

S2: 13. هذا الطير في ايدي و أنا عاتقك لوجه الله

M: S2: 13. Haða al-tayer fi ?d-I w ana ?tk-k l-wjh Allah

S2: 13. "This bird is in my hands. I release you for Allah's satisfaction".

In extract (35), the victim's clan leader describes the cheque which was given to him by the delegation leader as a bird, and this bird is with him. That is, the victim's clan leader restores the damaged honour and dignity of his clan through this cheque which is money paid to the victim's clan as compensation for the incident. However, the victim's clan leader returns this cheque to the delegation leader to satisfy God. By returning this cheque to the delegation leader, the speaker collaborates in restoring peace between his clan and the offender's clan. Furthermore, by returning this cheque to the delegation leader, the victim's clan confirms a restoration of his clan's honour and dignity. Also, by returning this cheque to the delegation leader, the victim's clan leader shows his agreement with his group members on the delegation leader's request to restore peace. In other words, the victim's clan leader forgives the offender's clan, which in turn satisfies God's will that calls us to forgive each other.

On this explanation, I consider 'returning the cheque' to the delegation leader as a tangible gift from the victim's clan's side that expresses their approval of the delegation leader's request for the 'ṭwah, and acts as a strategy of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) in order to save the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the delegation leader as a representative of his group member and a representative of this conventional norm (this is an answer to the first research question).

'Giving the cheque' as 'a strategy of positive politeness' refers to the face that the victim's clan leader and the delegation leader belong to the same set of people who share 'the cheque' as a common ground in the 'ṭwah process. On this argument, the speaker and

the hearer are both members of the same group of people who share the 'ṭwah process's demand for peace, honor, and dignity. That is, the speaker unintentionally constructs collectivism based on 'returning the cheque' as a common ground for preserving shared social values (this is the answer to the first research question).

6.6 Conclusion

In this section, I examine the politeness strategies used by the victim's clan leaders based on what has been discussed previously. The victim's clan leader uses the in-group identity marker *الاقوه* (the brothers) as a positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987) which shows how the victim's clan leader implicitly stresses a common membership in a group; therefore, it focuses on indicating that he and the delegation leader are constructed to the same set of people. This identity in-group marker signals that the male victim's clan leader and the male delegation leader recognise that everybody involved in the 'ṭwah establishes 'collectivism' as a value based on *رابطه الاخوه* (the brotherhood bond). Hence, my study contributes to Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework related to this in-group identity marker in that it is used as a tactic manoeuvre in the 'ṭwah process based on *رابطه الاخوه* (a brotherhood bond) for maintaining feelings of unity as a social value. Furthermore, my study contributes to Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework that this in-group identity marker is used by the male victim's clan leader to save their 'group face' and their 'social face' and the 'group face' and the 'social face' of the delegation leaders. In other words, the speaker saves his face and the face of the hearer as representatives of their groups, as members of their clans and, as members, they apply what is imposed on them by the 'ṭwah as a part of Jordanian customs and traditions.

Based on the analysis of section (6.3), I consider the request strategy based on using the Quranic verses and the religious story as a "non-conventionally indirect strategy" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984: 202); the victim's clan leaders refer partially to the required act which is interpreted by the delegation leaders as an asking for punishing the

offender and as an asking for forgiveness. Therefore, the use of these Quranic verses and this religious story represents an act of 'off-record' politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) for seemingly saving the negative face of the hearer by showing respect to him through maintaining the social distance among them. My study contributes to Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework of 'off-record politeness' in that I discuss that these Quranic verses and the religious story are used to seemingly impose retribution on the delegation leaders; the speakers do not give the delegation leaders any option to reject their requests because of shifting their responsibility to 'Allah' (God) and 'Umar bin Al-Khathab' as the highest judgement. Furthermore, these Quranic verses are used as a strategic performance; they are used by different victim's clan leaders in different 'ṭwah cases in order to achieve the conventional purpose of the 'ṭwah representing the power reversal of the victim's clan when meeting their requirements, re-establishing a relationship bridge among the disputing parties, and minimising the offender clan's sense of shame. Based on this argument, the speakers save the delegation leaders' group face and social face by unintentionally pressuring them to construct inter-group and intra-group harmony by calling for القصاص (punishment for the offender) to preserve societal values such as forgiveness, peace, saving face, dignity, and honour.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) claim that 'off-record politeness' is used when the speaker has a lower powerful status (-P) than the hearer in order to minimise the imposition on the hearer. Here, my study contributes to Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework that the victim's clan leaders who have a more institutionalised power status over the delegation leaders used this strategy for a reconstruction of religious value related to retribution to strengthen his role and to possibly impose his request on the hearer. Consequently, power is more complex than what Brown and Levinson (1987) claim in that it refers to the social hierarchy of the interlocutors (see section (3.8)), but here it is related to how the speaker employs the cultural values to support his situated or institutional power. Therefore, saving

a face does not only relate to an individual but also refers to save a group face and a social face of the interlocutors, as I discussed previously in the ‘ṭwah process.

Regarding the plural pronoun ‘we’, the victim’s clan leaders include himself and his group members in asking for الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile) and الدية (diyah) (a blood money compensation) by using the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nħnu) (we) (exclusive we). That is, the speaker and the hearers, who are not the addressees, belong to the same set of people who share الجلوه (jalwah) (the exile) and الدية (diyah) (a blood money compensation) as a common ground among them. My study contributes to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) framework that ‘exclusive we’ is used as a strategy of positive politeness. This Arabic plural pronoun accompanied by the request for the exile and diyah (a blood money compensation) is used as a strategic performance. Thus, the victim’s clan leaders could force these request acts on the delegation leaders (as the basic regulations in the ‘ṭwah process) for implementing the ‘ṭwah’s aim.

It is worth mentioning that, another strategy of positive politeness used by the victim’s clan leader is ‘returning the cheque’ which I consider as ‘a tangible gift’ in order to save the positive face (Brown and Levinson, 1987) of the delegation leader by minimising the social distance between him and the delegation leader. That is, the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of people who share ‘the cheque’ as a common ground. In other words, the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of people who share peace as a common ground. Thus, the speaker constructs ‘collectivism’ based on ‘returning the cheque’ as a common ground by implicitly confirming peace for upholding shared social values. Therefore, I contribute to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness framework that the speaker saves the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the delegation leader by showing his collaboration with the delegation leader in building in-group coherence as the main purpose of the ‘ṭwah when returning this cheque to the delegation leader.

In light of the discussion above, I argue that the linguistic features used by the victim’s

clan leaders such as in-group identity marker الاخوه (the brothers), religious texts, the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nħnu) (we), and returning the cheque as ‘ritual behaviours. That is, the victim’s clan leaders use these expressions regularly in different ‘ṭwah cases. This recurrent usage of these expressions and their conventional behaviour makes them the basic conventional components in this ritual practice for building collectivism (for more descriptions, see the discussion chapter). These expressions, which were employed by the victim’s clan leaders in the ‘ṭwah process, show their awareness of rights and obligations. In other words, the victim’s clan leaders have a right, and the delegation leaders have an obligation. The right of the victim’s clan leaders represents restoring the damaged honour and dignity of their clans; therefore, the delegation leaders have to achieve this request according to a constitution of the ‘ṭwah.

Chapter Seven: Discussion of the results

In this chapter, I present a discussion of similarities and differences between linguistic features used by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders. Following an examination of these similarities and differences, I explicate how 'face' and 'facework' relate to collectivism in the 'ṭwah process.

Before a discussion of the previous points, I introduce a definition of the 'ṭwah as a reminder of its relation to the notion of face. The 'ṭwah is managed via the third-party mediator who occupies a status position and has a credible reputation. To give 'face' in the 'ṭwah process, in the name of honouring the social status of the delegation leaders, the victim's clan leaders have to save the face of the delegation leaders as members of their groups through giving them the 'ṭwah. The delegation leaders also give 'face' to the victim's clan leaders in the name of honouring the victim's clan leaders as members belonging to a group through meeting their requirements to show the power reversal of the victim's clan. This in turn builds a bridge between them and the offender's clans by saving 'the social face' and the group face' of both representatives' leaders. That is, both representatives put more efforts into linguistic formality and the facework interaction by pursuing what is linguistically imposed on them by this conventional practice.

In the 'ṭwah practice, politeness is a ritualised interpersonal social process. That is, it signals that both leaders are preserving their group face and social face through this ritual common practice by unintended repeated creation of collectivism to maintain social values. This means that the social ritual identity of the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders is conceptualised through reaffirming the stability of a shared common ground for preserving this frequent practice as a social, cultural, and ritual norm in Jordanian culture. In other words, the 'ṭwah's leaders belong to the same set of people who ritually construct collectivism based on *المحافظة على رابطة الاخوه* (maintaining the brotherhood bond), a reconstruction of religious values, a utility bond through using the Arabic plural pronoun

نحن (nħnu) (exclusive we), and the preservation of God and the king's satisfaction for building harmonious relationships.

The delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders used the same in-group identity marker *الاخوه* (the brothers) when addressing each other. This indicates that this in-group identity marker signals that both representatives construct the same cultural identities, seeing each other as members belonging to the same group who share *رابطة الاخوه* (a brotherhood bond) as a common ground. Thus, this in-group identity marker is not only used as an address term but also as a reflection of a cultural ritual identity which is the basis of the *'ṭwah*. As I have stated, both leaders unwittingly build in-group harmony based on the brotherhood bond for preserving shared social values. In the previous two chapters, I have argued that the *'ṭwah* is founded on common Shariah (Islamic values); therefore, both representatives refer to the brotherhood bond by using this in group identity marker as a reconstruction of a religious value for accomplishing the objective of the *'ṭwah*. That is, this in-group identity marker is used as a strategy of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987). However, as an in-group identity marker in the *'ṭwah* process, *الاخوه* (the brothers) does not seek to achieve a spontaneous solidarity among individuals but to rebuild the relationship among the disputing parties in order to maintain blood-related groups, non-blood related groups, and groups with various religious backgrounds. In other words, using this in-group identity marker as a ritual expression that aims to restore peace among clans whose members could be relatives of the other clan's members. Furthermore, it aims to build a relationship among clans whose members are strangers to each other, and to maintain a harmonious balance among clans with different religious backgrounds. Thus, as a cultural and traditional standard, the *'ṭwah* process always seeks to uphold harmony among various clans on a group level-i.e. by maintaining the face of individuals who identify themselves as people belonging to a social group, which in turn preserves community coherence in Jordanian society. Through building in-group harmony, the

victim's clan leaders uphold their social and ritual roles by restoring the social rank of their clans when mending their damaged honour and dignity. In contrast, the delegation leaders uphold their social and ritual roles by accomplishing the victim's clan's requirements.

Regarding the use of the religious verses, both the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders employ religious verses referring to a specific request. However, the delegation leaders use religious verses to refer to a request which differ from the religious verses used by the victim's clan leaders. This indicates that the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders use these verses to support their institutionalised ritual roles in the 'ṭwah process. For instance, the delegation leaders use the religious verses which signal peace, reconciliation, and forgiveness. I consider the act generated from using these verses as a strategy of 'off-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987). By using this politeness strategy, the delegation leaders show respect to the victim's clan leaders by minimising the imposition on the hearers; in doing so, they support the victim's clan leaders to accept these requests, since they used them in building collectivism. Therefore, the delegation leaders exploit these religious verses to achieve the 'ṭwah purpose and use them in different 'ṭwah cases to unintentionally enforce restoring peace on the victim's clan leaders. Thus, the delegation leaders prefer to save 'the social face' (Mao, 1994) and "the group face" (Nwoye, 1992: 313) of the victim's clan leaders by unwittingly reinforcing them to build collectivism based on constructing peace as a common ground for saving their group forming a clan in a society, rather than saving the 'individual face' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) of the victim's clan leaders. Simultaneously, the delegation leaders save their social face and their group face when using these religious verses. That is, these verses quoted by the delegation leaders are oriented towards their desire to uphold their reputation as a group whose members have a high social status and have a specific duty in the 'ṭwah process. In other words, by using these religious verses, the delegation leaders maintain their institutional power in the 'ṭwah process through shifting their responsibilities to God who

has the highest authority over all involved. That is, the delegation leaders save their group face and social face by reflecting their desire to conform to their conventional role, which is conceptualised by this ritual practice-i.e. as members who exploit their social status to maintain shared social values by an application of this conventional norm.

Compared to the religious verses used by the victim's clan leaders, they prefer to employ these quotes that pertain to demand for punishment. Such use indicates that the victim's clan leaders exploit these religious verses to reinforce their institutionalised power role in the 'ṭwah process. Thus, the victim's clan leaders use religious verses which are different from those used by the delegation leaders. As I discussed above, these Quranic verses are used as a strategy of an 'off-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Therefore, the victim's clan leaders appreciate the delegation leaders when asking indirectly for retribution; that is, the victim's clan leaders save the negative face of the delegation leaders when showing respect to them. However, the victim's clan leaders could impose retribution on the delegation leaders as a tactical manoeuvre in the 'ṭwah process when relying on what God says in his sacred texts. In other words, the victim's clan leaders put the delegation leaders in charge of carrying out the victim's clan's request for punishment. Similarly, the delegation leaders make the victim's clan leader responsible for accomplishing peace, reconciliation, and forgiveness, as argued above. Despite this similarity, the institutionalised power status of the victim's clan leaders is more important than the institutionalised role of the delegation leaders. This means that peace is only brought by restoring the power of the victim's clan when repairing their damaged honour and dignity. In other words, saving the group face and the social face of the victim's clan leader helps to construct a relationship with the offender's clan. Thus, restoring respect of the victim's clan is the bridge for rebuilding a relationship balance. Based on this analysis, saving face is more complex than Brown and Levinson's (1987) classification, particularly when saving face is based on a re-establishment of religious values which are employed to

support a particular institutionalised power status and to preserve shared social values. In light of this comparison, the victim's clan leaders give priority to saving their "group face" (Nwoye, 1992: 313) and 'social face' (Mao, 1994) over saving the 'group and the 'social face' of the delegation leaders.

Based on the above discussion, the negotiation process in the 'ṭwah includes a complicated power interplay between the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders. Here, power does not refer to the relationship of subordinates to superordinates; it is related to the institutional power status which is provided to representatives by the 'ṭwah process. Hence, the delegation members who have high social ranks in a society have less institutional power status in the 'ṭwah process. Thus, they expect their face to be threatened; therefore, they resort to reconstructing a common ground to preserve their social face and their group face, as discussed above. On the contrary, the victim's clan leaders who also have a social power status have a more institutionalised power status in the 'ṭwah process which enables them to generate a direct request act.

Regarding using the Arabic plural pronoun نحن (nḥnu) (we), the delegation leaders refer to both themselves and the other members of their groups when employing this pronoun when asking for the 'ṭwah. In other words, by using this pronoun the delegation leaders and their group members belong to the same set of people who share 'asking for the 'ṭwah' as a common ground for re-establishing peace. The "exclusive we" (Scheibman, 2004: 378) is used when the speaker includes himself and hearers who are not addressees in the act. By referring to this, the delegation leaders indicate that they are all working together to fulfil the 'ṭwah which aims to bring the opposing parties back to peaceful relations. This supports my earlier claim that the function of the delegation leaders seeks for peace. On this argument, I consider that the 'exclusive we' could be positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987). By using this 'exclusive we', the delegation leaders confirm that their roles are only directed towards saving the 'social face' and the 'group

face' of the victim's clan when requesting the 'ṭwah. That, in turn, preserves the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the delegation leaders by maintaining their social status as a prime minister, a minister, a member of the Jordanian parliament, and Shaykh (a leader of his clan), as well maintaining their institutionalised power status as representatives' leaders who focus on achieving the 'ṭwah process.

The previous result is confirmed by the delegation leaders' use of the Arabic plural pronoun *أنتم* ('antom) (you all) in the object position when addressing the victim's clan leader (see extract (16)). Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that using the plural pronoun (you) when addressing a single hearer is a strategy of 'negative politeness', wherein the speaker shows respect to the hearer by minimising the imposition on him/-her. Therefore, the speaker saves the negative face of the hearer. In the 'ṭwah process, the delegation leaders use the Arabic plural pronoun *نحن* (*nḥnu*) (exclusive we) in the subject position and the Arabic plural pronoun *أنتم* ('antom) (you all) in the object position. The use of these pronouns in these positions indicates that the delegation leaders prefer to save the 'group face' and the 'social face' of the victim's clan by showing their responsibility to restore the respect of the victim's clan and to rebuild a relationship through the 'ṭwah, rather than saving the 'individual face' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) of the victim's clan leaders. Thus, the delegation leaders give priority to achieving the reason for them coming to *مضافه أهل الضحيه* (the victim's clan guesthouse) in the 'ṭwah process. That is, saving of the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the victim's clan is meaningful when the damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan must be first restored. Therefore, the victim's clan leaders use an 'exclusive we' when ordering the restoration of their damaged honour and dignity. In other words, the victim's clan leaders include themselves and their group members in ordering payment of a sum of money. Thus, the victim's clan leaders show their duty for achieving their purpose by using the 'exclusive we' accompanied by ordering the delegation leader to pay *الديه* (*diyah*) (a blood money compensation).

In light of the above discussion, the ‘exclusive we’, which is accompanied by the Arabic verb *نأمر* (we order), signals that the victim’s clan leaders have a more institutionally powerful role than the role of the delegation leaders. This institutionalised power status also appears in the use of the ‘inclusive we’ by the victim’s clan leaders when referring to him, his group members, the delegation leaders, and the society as a whole for unintentionally encouraging the delegation leaders to establish collectivism based on a re-establishment of the religious value ‘respect to husbands’. That is, the institutionalised power status of the victim’s clan leader empowers him to place the delegation leaders in a position of responsibility in front of God and in front of the society.

I argue that the request act generated by the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders does not threaten the negative face of the hearers and the positive face of the speakers, because it is built on requesting peace, reconciliation, forgiveness, retribution, *الجلوه* (jalwah) (the exile), and *الديه* (diyah) (a blood money compensation) as a common ground in the ‘*ṭwah* process. The purpose of the request act is to maintain honour, dignity, peace, respect, and to build a relationship as shared social values. As a result, saving each party’s ‘social face’ and ‘group face’ is more important than saving their ‘individual face’ to fulfil the ‘*ṭwah* as a conventional norm. On this argument, the notion of ‘face’ is not universal-i.e. what is considered as a face threat in one culture will not be a face threat in another culture. This result contributes to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) claim that the notion of ‘face’ is universal (as illustrated in a section (3.6)).

It is worth mentioning that the ‘exclusive we’ refers to a ritual interaction between the leaders and their group members in the restorative justice institution. Hence, the difference between ‘the frontstage’ (the interaction between the leader and his group members (see section (4.4)) in the ‘*ṭwah* process and the ‘frontstage’ in any other institutional discourse is that the former is used as a recurrent ritual linguistic expression in the ‘*ṭwah* process. Conversely, the latter refers to a normal interaction between the leader and his group in a

company as an example.

Referring to the lower institutionalised power status of the delegation leaders, they use the begging act, whether by using the Arabic verb نتوسل (we beg) or by using some religious and cultural expressions for begging such as مشان ربنا (for God's sake) and مشان الملك (for the king's sake). This result indicates that the delegation leaders minimise the imposition on the victim's clan leaders by using the Arabic verb نتوسل (we beg). Furthermore, this result signals that the delegation leaders minimise the social distance with the hearer by using these religious and cultural expressions as a common ground among them. By illustrating this, these expressions are used as mitigative devices and as a strategy of 'positive politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that the begging act threatens the positive face of the speaker (see section (3.6)). However, the delegation leaders do not threaten their positive face when using these begging expressions because they have used them as a tactical performance to preserve shared social values.

Generally, the representatives of the 'ṭwah see themselves as people who share cultural identities through using particular linguistic features in the 'ṭwah, as argued earlier in this chapter. These linguistic expressions are used to force a leader of each group to unconsciously establish in-group harmony for preserving shared social values. Collectivism in the 'ṭwah process is based on implicit imposition of the fixed recurrent ritual procedures on the other party for maintaining the 'ṭwah practice as a conventional norm. Below, I summarise the notion of 'face' and 'facework' and how they are related with collectivism in the 'ṭwah process. Then, I move to define the ritual expressions and the public apology in the 'ṭwah process.

Face has an effective role in the 'ṭwah process because, in any 'ṭwah case, the delegation leaders are interested in protecting their group-interest goals and honouring the victim's clan. The face of the victim's clan leaders is related to honouring their groups and accomplishing the delegation leaders' interest goals, as argued previously. Therefore, the

‘ṭwah process involves face-saving behaviours.

‘Face’ in the ‘ṭwah process favours the social-worth that the delegation leaders want the victim’s clan leaders to confer to them. In contrast, ‘face’ in the ‘ṭwah process prefers the group-worth that the victim’s clan leaders want the delegation leaders to achieve. Thus, procedures of the ‘ṭwah process include active facework management. These procedures aim to rebuild a relationship and restore the powerful reversal of the victim’s clan which represent a cultural-sensitive facework communication. Then, the ‘facework’ in the ‘ṭwah process is a set of ritual communicative procedures that the delegation leaders use to preserve their reputation as members belonging to a group forming a clan and as representatives’ leaders while supporting the victim’s clan’s honour; therefore, they resort to the begging act as an example. The ‘facework’ for the victim’s clan leaders is a set of ritual communicative procedures that they use to restore their respect.

Jordanian cultural values shape meanings and important salient facets of social face and group face in the ‘ṭwah process. Due to the construction of a common ground, the communication between the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders cannot easily escalate into intensive conflict situations. That is, both leaders belong to the same culture where they orient to apply the ‘ṭwah for preserving shared cultural values and is present at the social system (group) level not at the individual (personality) level.

A cultural variability approach of collectivism is related to the study of face and facework in the ‘ṭwah process. That is, ‘we-identity’ attitudes have an effect on the behaviours of leaders in the ‘ṭwah process. Basically, collectivism in the ‘ṭwah process refers to the importance of ‘we’ identity over ‘I’ identity. The victim’s clan leaders have a tendency to save their group-images over their self-images; therefore, they put in more efforts to restore their damaged honour and the dignity of their groups. This argument is supported by the victim’s clan leader when generating the following utterance (see extract (33)): نحن نأمر أنكموا تدفعوا مليون دينار (We order you to pay one million Jordanian dinars). By

uttering this, the victim's clan leader includes himself and his group members in ordering the delegation leader to pay this amount to save their 'group face'. That is, the victim's clan leader built his request on a common ground in order to restore the power of his clan, which in turn saves the 'social face' and the 'group face' of his group as a clan in the Jordanian community. Furthermore, by ordering this payment, the victim's clan leader threatens the 'negative face' of the delegation leader. However, this behaviour is not judged as impolite, because the victim's clan leader gives priority to a 'group face' over a 'self-image' of the delegation leader.

In light of the above discussion, collectivistic orientation in the 'ṭwah process relates to how the delegation leaders employ face-saving strategies as part of their role. Collectivistic orientation in the 'ṭwah process also relates to how the victim's clan leaders employ face-honouring strategies referring to their group orientation. On this argument, collectivistic tendencies exist in the 'ṭwah process for achieving specific purposes. Thus, I refer to these strategies used by both parties as 'restorative strategies'. That is, the delegation leaders orient the message function based on specific politeness strategies to proactively protect their institutional role against face threats. The victim's clan leaders orient the message function based on specific politeness strategies to retroactively restore their clan's face. This means that the delegation leaders focus on a problem-solving traditional mode with the intention of bringing peace through the 'ṭwah process. On the other hand, the victim's clan leaders tend to focus more on a relational interdependence group to restore the respect of their clans.

Generally, face in the 'ṭwah process is cumulative with affective behavioural steps such as feelings of restoring peace, honour, and dignity. In addition, face in the 'ṭwah process is cumulative with cognitive behavioural steps such as how face is exchangeable among them; that is, how much they give face and how much they receive face. Thus, when the victim's clan leaders restore their clans' respect by saving their 'social face' and their

‘group face’ when meeting their requirements, the delegation leaders then receive their social face and group face when showing their success in achieving the ‘ṭwah process. As a result, the concept of ‘face’ is arguably complex in the ‘ṭwah process, particularly when generating the request act based on supporting the cultural situated identities of the leaders.

When both the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders use the same Quranic verse to ask for forgiveness in a manslaughter case (see extracts (8) and (27)), collectivism represents both leaders depending on destiny as an external factor to explain away the manslaughter case. Therefore, the facework in this case is a set of communicative behaviours oriented to save the each other’s ‘group face’ and ‘social face’ by attributing this case to ‘God’s destiny’. Therefore, saving the face is mutual, and is built on forgiveness. Extending this argument, both leaders confirm that there are agreed in-group standards to be followed in the ‘ṭwah process. This is also confirmed by using other religious verses reflecting a common ground between the delegation leaders and the victim’s clan leaders, and vice versa. That is, when the leaders generate their request acts based on a religion when asking for retribution and peace, they confirm agreed in-group standards which are difficult to violate, because they are attributed to sacred texts.

To define ritual expressions in the ‘ṭwah, I refer to religious sacred texts as ‘religious rituals’ because the leaders use these religious texts as recurrent conventional practices that include references to what God meant by these verses for achieving their purposes. In other words, Muslims and Christians are expected to look for advice from God, ‘Allah’, in resolving disputes, which in turn reflects on the ‘ṭwah process as a conventional practice. In other words, the leaders always use religious verses as rituals in the ‘ṭwah process for communicative purposes, even if these leaders are not deeply convinced by the importance of the content in these religious texts-i.e. they use them as a form of persuasion.

I believe that these religious rituals in the ‘ṭwah process are ‘interpersonal and relational’ since the leaders use them to restore relationships or communication between

the victim's clan and the offender's clan, and since the leaders use them to relate to God. According to observers, the purposes of these religious rituals in the 'ṭwah process could be visible because of their direct connections oriented with the aim of the 'ṭwah process.

In light of the above discussion, I posit that religious rituals are not only related to the main pillars of religions such as praying, fasting, and baptism, but are also related to how religious texts are continuously used in a stable linguistic form in order to manage interpersonal relations in the 'ṭwah, which in turn satisfies God.

Furthermore, I posit that the 'ṭwah not only relates to religious rituals but also refers to social and in-group rituals. That is, the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders pursue recurrent linguistic expressions which are fixed components for the success of the 'ṭwah process. That is, the 'ṭwah as a social ritual practice works in the discourse of social networks as a form of convention which is ritualised in a given group.

The public apology in the 'ṭwah process is a moral act reflecting moral concerns. That is, the delegation leaders aim to achieve a moral act which is the restoration of peace among the disputing parties. The moral act of the victim's clan leaders is the restoration of the damaged honour and dignity of their clans. The moral core of the public apology in the 'ṭwah process is based on frequent uses of a stable request act which has turned apologies in the 'ṭwah process into an image of a restoration and as a tool for regulating social relationships with others in the public domain.

In conclusion, the speech act of request provides support for the speaker and the hearer; for instance, the delegation leaders orient this act towards reparation of a relationship for preserving the reputation of the delegation and a reparation of damaged honour and dignity of the victim's clan. Moreover, the speech act of request provides support for the hearer's group not the speaker's group; for instance, when the victim's clan leaders orient this act towards a restoration of damaged honour and dignity, not towards a restoration of a relationship. The public apology in the 'ṭwah process is related to preserve

the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the victim's clan, which in turn saves the 'social face' and the 'group face' of the delegation. Thus, the public apology in the 'ṭwah process is not related to how the transgressor apologises or confesses his guilt but to how the 'social face' and the 'group face' are preserved when generating a request act. The public apology is also related to the ways in which representatives use conventional forms of request act in order to support their responsibilities in this ritual practice. That is, the public apology in the 'ṭwah process includes explicit and routinised illocutionary acts to be perceived by the other party as rebuilding interpersonal relationships.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Summary of the study

This research has provided a comprehensive review of politeness studies, as well as an analysis of politeness in Arabic Jordanian culture. In this study, I have adopted Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theories to investigate politeness in the tribal judiciary system in Jordan called the 'ṭwah. The following hypothetical research questions have been adequately addressed and answered by this research, as demonstrated in the important findings section.

Q1. How is العطاء العشائريه (the 'ṭwah) processed linguistically in Jordan?

Q2. How are politeness strategies employed by the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders in العطاء العشائريه (the 'ṭwah)?

In this chapter, I wrap up the current research by examining its important findings in relation to the research questions. In the following section, I discuss the study's contributions. The final section concludes with research recommendations.

The 'ṭwah process is a mixture of respect, dignity, honour, and peace. All these are related to face issues. When the victim's clan leaders impose on the delegation leaders to pay an amount of money by using an order act or the direct request act, the social position of the delegation leaders-as a prime minister, a minister, a member of the Jordanian parliament and شيخ (Shaykh) (a leader of his clan) and the institutionalised power status as leaders of their groups-could be attacked. However, the delegation leaders do not need to restore or save their face, because the role of the victim's clan leaders is more powerful than the role of the delegation leaders. When the victim's clan leaders honoured the delegation leaders by granting them the 'ṭwah, their social-worth and group-worth are enhanced. Thus, saving face is the key concern of the 'ṭwah process.

Face in the 'ṭwah process focuses on the following face concerns. A 'group-face' is related to how the delegation leader and the victim's clan leader save their group and social

image. 'Other-face' is related to how the delegation leaders show concern for the victim's clan's image, as well as how the victim's clan leaders show concern for the delegation leaders' image.

Regarding the 'ṭwah, it is the most extensively employed customary judiciary procedure among Jordanians. Its purpose is to assist in the resolution of grievance conflicts such as murder and manslaughter cases. The seriousness of an offence is measured by the prospect of losing one's honour and/or escalation into more confrontation. Representatives of the 'ṭwah provoke disputants through an intricate process to convert the victim's clan's desire for vengeance due to the offender's act into a willingness to restore peace. Therefore, 'the 'ṭwah' which is the strategic method, contains precise routine measures to settle the conflict in order to restore the clan's dignity and honour, which in turn lessens the offender's sense of shame by reintegrating them into a society. The steps of the 'ṭwah are aimed to gradually restore the victim's clan's honour without harming the perpetrator clan's honour, while also promoting the concept of restoring peace as a communally favoured choice for resolving the conflict to rebuild the relationship among the disputing parties. Hence, the delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders depend on a religion to achieve this aim through a reconstruction of religious values by using sacred texts, as an example.

The delegation leaders rely on religious quotes throughout the 'ṭwah process, which I view as 'off-record politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987) to compel the victim's clans to grant them their requests for peace, reconciliation, and forgiveness. Their aim is directed towards achieving the community balance rather than an individual-related purpose. That is, the delegation leaders aim to restore the peace among the disputing parties through restoring the victim's clan's respect, which in turn maintains a sort of community balance. Therefore, the delegation leaders uphold their institutionalised power status from their positions as advocates for the restoration of peace among the parties of a conflict. The victim's clan leaders employ religious quotes to request punishment for the offender to

repair their damaged honour and dignity. Therefore, their goal focuses on in-group and communal goals rather than an individual one. That is, the victim's clan leaders aim to restore their damaged honour, which in turn makes peace with the offender's clan. Hence, the victim's clan leaders obtain their institutionalised authority position from their duty to restore the damaged honour and dignity that the victim's clans suffered from.

The delegation leaders and the victim's clan leaders use the in-group identity marker of *الاخوه* (al-ikhwah) (the brothers) when addressing each other, which I refer to as a strategy of 'positive politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In the *'ṭwah* process, it indicates that the speaker and the hearer belong to the same set of people who share *رابطه الاخوه* (the brotherhood bond) as a social value or a common ground among them. Thus, this in-group identity marker is not used for showing a spontaneous solidarity. Instead, it is used as a strategic performance for supporting in-group goals; for instance, rebuilding the bridge among the disputing parties as a priority of the delegation leaders and restoring respect as a priority of the victim's clan leaders. Therefore, they unintentionally motivate each other to create 'collectivism' in order to uphold shared social values such as solidarity, building relationships, peace, and reconciliation.

A construction of the institutionalised power status of the delegation leaders is also based on using the Arabic plural pronoun *نحن* (nḥnu) (exclusive we). That is, the delegation leaders include themselves and their group members in asking for achieving their goals. By using this Arabic plural pronoun, the delegation leaders show their utilities with their groups for asking for peace as a common ground among them. As a result, this Arabic plural pronoun acts as a strategy of 'positive politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In addition, this Arabic plural pronoun is used as a strategic performance which is used by different delegation leaders in different *'ṭwah* cases for supporting their requests. However, the victim's clan leaders gain a more powerful status than the delegation leaders by using this Arabic plural pronoun *نحن* (nḥnu) (exclusive we) in a different way. In other words, the

victim's clan leaders use this Arabic plural pronoun to show their utility with their group members in ordering the delegation leaders to accomplish their goal. Furthermore, the victim's clan leaders construct a more powerful status from using this Arabic plural pronoun as an 'inclusive we'; including themselves, their group members, the delegation leaders, and their group members, and the whole society to impose their requests on the delegation leaders.

Furthermore, the delegation leaders use this Arabic plural pronoun 'exclusive we' with the Arabic begging verb نتوسل (na-tawsal) (we beg) for supporting their aim in the 'ṭwah process. As a result, this indicates that the delegation leaders have a lower institutionalised power status than the victim's clan leaders. This result is also confirmed by the delegation leader using particular religious and cultural expressions such as مشان الله (for God's sake) and مشان الملك (for the king's sake) referring to the begging act for supporting their requests. The delegation leaders use these expressions, including that they and the victim's clans belong to the same set of people who share these expressions as a common ground. Thus, these expressions could be a strategy of 'positive politeness'.

In light of the above discussions, the 'ṭwah process works in conformity with a construction of collectivism in order to maintain shared social values such as honour, dignity, solidarity, building relationships, peace, and reconciliation (among other social values).

8.2 Contributions

This research contributed to the growing body of scholarship related to politeness and speech acts in Arabic. Most Arabic politeness research has focused on politeness performed in a request act by making a comparison between English-native speakers and Arabic-native speakers in an educational setting, as illustrated in sections (3.8.2) and (3.8.3). Furthermore, a few Arabic linguistic studies focus on investigating politeness strategies in performing the request act within one culture only. The scarcity or non-investigation of the request act in a ritual practice within a particular single Arabic culture constitutes a gap in the literature which my study aimed to fill.

My study also contributed to Jordanian Arabic research on politeness in Jordanian culture. To date, most research has focused on how the speaker who has a higher power status than the hearer is not judged by Jordanian members as impolite when directly addressing the hearer such as the study of Shehadeh and Wardat (2017) and the study of Amer, Burgohain, and Suryani (2020) (see sections (3.7) and (3.8.2)). For instance, Amer et al. (2020) investigate politeness strategies used by male employers and male customers in telecommunication company in Jordan. They argued that the request act generated by the speaker who has more powerful status than the hearer is explicit, whereas the request act generated by the speaker who has lower powerful status than the hearer is implicit in order to be polite. My study contributed to the body of research by showing that the speaker who has a lower power status than the hearer could not be impolite when asking directly for preservation of shared social values such as asking for peace, respect, forgiveness, punishment for the offender, and reconciliation (among other social values). Hence, FTAs are not universal because politeness not only differs from one culture to another but also differs from one group to another in the same culture.

This study also contributed to the existing literature on politeness through an

investigation of how politeness strategies are used to build ‘collectivism’ for preserving respect, solidarity, building relations, honour, dignity, and reconciliation in order to save the ‘social face’ and the ‘group face’ of the interlocutors rather than their ‘individual face’. Thus, the notion of ‘face’ is not universal; namely, individuals could prefer to build in-group harmony to save their faces as individuals belonging to a group and as individuals pursuing conventional norms as the basis for regulating their lives.

8.3 Further directions

The following suggestions for further research on Jordanian politeness are based on the theoretical aspects of my study. Jordanian politeness in the ritual practice is still regarded as an under-researched area in Jordanian culture, compared to other contexts in which politeness is used in Jordan. As a result, more research in this field is highly recommended.

This study focused on politeness in naturally occurring data and in institutional discourse; therefore, it would be valuable to conduct additional research on Jordanian politeness in the ‘ṭwah process using other types of data collection, such as questionnaires distributed to male Jordanians to ask them which role they would like to perform in the ‘ṭwah process a delegation leader or as a victim’s clan leader. The answers to these questions would then be provided according to their roles. This could identify any similarities or differences, as well as additional interesting patterns of behaviour that were not depicted in interactional discourse.

Politeness has been investigated in relation to a ritual practice in this study; therefore, the results of this study have opened a door to an important and interesting area of research—namely, an investigation of the role of social values in Arabic ritual practices. In other words, a reestablishment of ‘collectivism’ for upholding shared social norms in conventional practices because these practices are thought to play an important role in many

Arab societies, where ‘in-group harmony’ could be the dominant motivator for many of the in-group Arabs’ relations. However, ‘collectivism’ has only received a limited attention, particularly in relation to politeness theory. As a result, further research within this area would be extremely beneficial to connect ritual conventional practices with politeness research.

9. Bibliography

- Aba-Alalaa, H. (2009). *Request strategies used by Saudi English learners* (Unpublished Master thesis). SOAS University, London, U.K.
- Abdel-Jawad, H. (2000). A linguistic and sociopragmatic and cultural study of swearing in Arabic. *Culture and Curriculum*, 13, 217-240.
- Ado, M. & Bidin, S. (2017). Religious quotations as declarative speech acts of arbitrators in Shariah-based reconciliation case proceedings. *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 5(2), 59-68.
- Akman, V., & Bazzanella, C. (2003). The complexity of context. In V. Akman, C. Bazzanella (Eds.), *On Context. Journal of Pragmatics*, 35, 321-329.
- Al-Abbadi, A. (2006). *Bedouin justice. The customary legal system of the tribes and its integration into the framework of state polity from 1921-1982*. Amman: Dar Jareer.
- Alabdali, T. (2019). Revisiting Brown and Levinson's politeness theory: A middle-eastern perspective. *Bulletin of Advanced Studies*, 2, 73-78.
- Al-Adaileh, B. (2007). *The speech act of apology: a linguistic exploration of politeness orientation in British and Jordanian culture* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). The University of Leeds, Leeds, U.K.
- Al-Adaileh, B. (2011). When the strategic displacement of the main topic of discussion is used as a face-saving technique: Evidence from Jordanian Arabic. *Journal of Politeness Research Language Behaviour Culture*, 7(2), 239-257.
- Al-Ali, M., & Al-Awneh, R. (2010). Linguistic mitigating devices in American and Jordanian students' requests. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 7, 311-339.
- Alaoui, S.M. (2011). Politeness principle: A comparative study of English and Moroccan Arabic requests, offers and thanks. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 20(1), 7-15
- Al-Fattah, M. (2009). Politeness strategies in the English international requests of Yemeni learners. *Iranian Journal of Language Studies* 3(3), 249-266.

- Al-Hamzi, A. (1999) *Pragmatic transfer and pragmatic development: A study of the inter-language of the Yemeni Arab learners of English* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Hyderabad, India.
- Al-Harashseh, A. (2014). Language and gender differences in Jordanian spoken Arabic: A sociolinguistic perspective. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 4(5), 872-882.
- Alkailani, M., Azzam, I., & Athamneh, A. (2012). Replicating Hofstede in Jordan: Ungeneralized, Reevaluating the Jordanian Culture. *International Business Research* 2(4) pp. 71-80.
- Al-Khatib, M (2006). The Pragmatics of invitation making and acceptance in Jordanian society. *Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 5, 272-289.
- Al-Khawaldeh, N. Zegarac, V. (2013). Gender and the communication of gratitude in Jordan. *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics*, 3(3), 268-287.
- Al-Marrani, Y., & Sazalie, A. (2010) Polite request strategies by male speakers of Yemeni Arabic in male-male interaction and male-female interaction. *The International Journal of Language Society and Culture*, 30, 63-80.
- Al-Momani, H. (2009) *Caught between two cultures: The realisation of requests by Jordanian learners* (Unpublished Doctoral thesis). University of Pennsylvania, Indiana.
- Al-Natour, M., Maros, M., & Ismail, K. (2015). Core request strategies among Jordanian students in an academic setting. *Arab World English Journal*, 6(1), 251-266.
- Al-Qahtani, H. (2009) *Female use of politeness strategies in the speech act of offering: A comparative study between spoken Saudi Arabic and spoken British English* (Unpublished MA dissertation). King Saud University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
- AL-Serhan, M. (2008). Tribal customary law in Jordan. *South Carolina Journal of International Law and Business*, 4, 17-34
- Al-Shaikh, F. (2003). The practical reality theory and business ethics in non-Western

- context. *Journal of Management Development*, 22(8), 674-693.
- Al-Shboul, Y., Maros, M., & Yasin, M. (2012). An intercultural study of refusal strategies in English between Jordanian EFL and Malay ESL postgraduate students. 3L. *The Southeast Asian Journal of English Language Studies*, 18, 29 – 39.
- Al- Suwaidi, M. (2008). *When an Arab executive says 'yes': Identifying different collectivistic values that influence the Arabian decision-making process*. (Unpublished master degree). University of Pennsylvania, United States.
- Al-Zumor, A. (2003). *A pragmatic analysis of speech acts as produced by native speakers of Arabic* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India
- Amer, F., Buragohain, D., & Suryani, I. (2020). Responding strategies in Jordanian Arabic: A socio-pragmatic study. *Journal of Scientific Research and Reports*, 26(2), 13-26.
- Aminah, S. & Ma'ruf, A. (2016). Cooperative Patterns in the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. *Journal Humaniora*, 28(2), 131-141.
- Ancarno, C. (2010). *Public acts of contribution as apologies in the British and French press: Focus on evaluation and ideology* (Unpublished Doctoral thesis). Cardiff University, U.K.
- Anshori, D. (2016). Gender cognition in religious discourse: A study of framing in thematic holy in Koran interpretation. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 6(1), 88-98.
- Antovic, M. (2007). Half a century of generative linguistics_ What has the paradigm given to social sciences? *Linguistics and Literature*, 5(1),31-46.
- Arndt, H., & Janney, W. (1985). Improving emotive communication: Verbal, prosodic and kinesic conflict-avoidance techniques. *Per Linguam*, 1(1), 21-33
- Assawae, M. (2018). *Politeness in Libyan Arabic: A Third-Wave Perspective*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Huddersfield, U. K.
- Ash-Shalabi, M. (2008). *Biografi Umar bin Al-Khattab*. Pakistan: Al-Kaufsar

- Atawneh, A. (1991). Politeness Siri and the directive speech-act in Arabic-English bilinguals: An empirical study. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 53(02), 479
- Atawneh, A., & Sirdhar, N. (1993). Arabic-English bilinguals and the directive speech act. *World Englishes.*, 5, 279-297.
- Atkinson, J., & Heritage, J. (1984). *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Austin, J. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ayab, R. (2015). Doing data: the status of transcripts in conversation analysis. *Discourse Studie*, 17 (5), 505-528.
- Bajri, E. A. (2005). *A sociolinguistic study in politeness strategies of apology and request among British and Saudis*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) King Abdul Aziz University.
- Bardovi-Harlig, K. (1999). Researching method. In L. Bouton (ed.), *Pragmatics and Language Learning* (pp. 226-237). Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Bardovi-Harlig, K. (2001). Evaluating the empirical evidence: Grounds for instruction in pragmatics? In K. Rose & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Pragmatics in language teaching* (pp. 13-32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Hartford, B. (2008). *Interlanguage Pragmatics: Exploring institutional talk*. New York: Routledge.
- Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in Interlanguage Pragmatics: Learning How to Do Things with Words in a Study Abroad Context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Baskerville, R. (2003). Hofstede never studied culture. *Accounting Organization and Society*, 28, 1-14.
- Bataineh R., & Bataineh R. (2006) Apology strategies of Jordanian EFL university students. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38, 1901-1927.

- Bataineh, R. F. (2013). On congratulating, thanking, and apologizing in Jordanian Arabic and American English. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, 32, 1404-1634
- Beebe, L. M., Takahashi, T., & Uliss-Welts, R. (1990). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. In R. C. Scarcella, E. S. Anderson, & S. D. Krashen (Eds.), *Developing communicative competence in a second language* (pp.55-73). New York: Heinle & Heinle.
- Berger, I. (2012). YouTube as a source of data. *PsyPag Quterly*. (1), 9-12.
- Bernard, R., H. (2011). *Research methods in anthropology. Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1982). Learning how to say what you mean in the second language: A study of speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. *Applied Linguistics*, 3, 29-59.
- Blum-Kulka, S., & Olshtain, E. (1984). Requests and Apologies: A Cross- cultural Study of speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP)'. *Applied Linguistics*. 5(3), 196-213.
- Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., & Kasper, G. (1989). The CCSARP coding manual. In S. Blum-Kulka, J. House, & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies* (pp. 273-294). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1992). The metapragmatics of politeness in Israeli society. In R.J. watts, S. Ide, & K. Ehlich (Eds.), *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory, and Practice* (pp. 255-281). New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- Bond, M. (2002). Reclaiming the Individual from Hofstede's ecological analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(1): 73-77
- Bouchara, A. (2015). The role of religion in shaping politeness in Moroccan Arabic: The case of the speech act of greeting and its place in intercultural understanding and misunderstanding. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 11(1), 71–98
- Boxer, D. (1996). Ethnographic interviewing as a research tool in speech act analysis: The

- case of complaints. In S. M. Gass, & J. Neu (Eds.), *Speech acts across cultures: Challenges to communication in a second language* (pp. 217-240). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Boyatzis, R. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. California. Sage Publications.
- Braithwaite, J. (1999). Restorative Justice: Assessing Optimistic and Pessimistic Accounts. *JSTOR*, 25, 1-127.
- Brown, R., & Gilman, A. (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In C. Bratt Paulston & G.R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 156-163). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987) *Politeness: some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Burgess, J., & Green, J. (2009). *YouTube: online video and participatory culture. Digital Media and amp; society*. United Kingdom: Polity Press.
- Cheng, D. (2011). New insights on compliment responses: A comparison between native English speakers and Chinese L2 speakers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 220-414
- Cohen, R. (2001). Language and conflict resolution: The limits of English. *International Studies Review*, 3 (1), 25-51.
- Cohen, A. D. (2005). Strategies for learning and performing L2 speech acts. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 2, 275-301.
- Cole, M., & Parker, M. Culture and Cognition. In Keith, K.D (Ed.), *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Contemporary Themes and Perspectives* (pp 133–159). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Coupland, N., & Giles, H. (1988). Introduction: The communicative contexts of accommodation. *Language & Communication*, 8, 175–182
- Crabtree, B., & Miller, W. (Eds) (1999). *Doing Qualitative Research* (2nd edition).

London: Sage

Crystal, D. (1991). *The Cambridge encyclopaedia of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Culpeper, J. (2011). Politeness and impoliteness. In G. Andersen, & K. Aijmer (Eds.), *Pragmatics of society* (pp 391-436). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Davies, B., Merrison, J., & Goddard, A. (2007). Institutional apologies in UK higher education: Getting back into the black before going into the red. *Journal of politeness research*, 3, 39-63.

Demeter, G. (2007). Role-plays as a data collection method for research on apology speech acts. *Simulation & Gaming*, 38(1), 83-90.

De Mooij, M., & Hofstede, G. (2010). The Hofstede model: Applications to global branding and advertising strategy and research. *International Journal of Advertising: The Quarterly Review of Marketing Communications*, 29(1), 85–110.

Drew, P., & Heritage, J. (Eds.) (1992). *Talk at work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eckert, P. (1989). The whole woman: sex and gender differences in variation. *Lang. Var. Change*, 1, 245–267.

Edmondson, J. (1981). *On saying you're sorry*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Eelen, G. (2001). *A critique of politeness theories*. Manchester: St. Jerome Press.

Elarabi, N. (1997). *Face and politeness in traditional and modern Tunisia: An application of Brown and Levinson's politeness* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). The University of Texas, Texas.

El-Shazly, A. (1993). *Requesting strategies in American English, Egyptian Arabic and English as spoken by Egyptian second language learners* (Unpublished master degree), Cairo American University, Cairo.

Emery, P. G. (2000). Greeting, congratulating and commiserating in Omani Arabic.

- Ernest, P. (1994). *An introduction to research methodology and paradigms*. England: University of Exeter
- Eslami-Rusekh, A., & Mardani, M. (2010). Investigating the effects of teaching apology speech acts, with a focus on intensifying strategies, on pragmatic development of EFL learners: The Iranian context. *The Journal of Language, Society and Culture*, 30, 543-564
- Farghal, M., & Al-Khatib, M. (2001). Jordanian students' responses to compliments: A pilot study. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 1485-1502
- Farghal, M., & Haggan, M. (2006). Compliment behavior in bilingual Kuwaiti college students. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 9, 94-118
- Felix-Brasdefer, J. C. (2005). Indirectness and politeness in Mexican requests. In D. Eddington (Ed.), *Proceedings from the 7th Hispanic Linguistic Symposium* (pp. 66-78) Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla
- Fougère M, Moulettes A (2007) The Construction of the modern West and the backward rest: Studying the discourse of Hofstede's Culture's Consequences. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 2(1), 1-19
- Fraser, B. (1990). Perspectives on politeness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14 (2), 219-236
- Fromkin, V., Rodman, R., & Hyams, N. (2003). *An introduction to language* (7th ed.). Boston: Heinle.
- Geertz, C. (1993). *The interpretation of cultures*. London: Fontana Press.
- Gellman, M., & Vuinovich, M. (2009). From Sulha to Salaam: Connecting Local Knowledge with International Negotiations for Lasting Peace in Palestine/ Israel. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 26(2), 127-148.
- Gesteland, R. (2005). *Cross-cultural business behaviour: Negotiating, selling, sourcing and managing across cultures* (4th edition). Denmark: Copenhagen Business School

Press.

- Gharaybeh, K. (2014). General socio-demographic characteristics of the Jordanian society: A Study in social geography. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4 (1), 1-10.
- Ghawi, M. (1993). Pragmatic transfer in Arabic learners of English. *Journal of Second Language Acquisition and Teaching*, 1, 39-52.
- Gibbs, G. (2007). *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. Beverly Hills: SAGE publications Ltd.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine
- Goffman, E. (1967) *Interaction rituals: essays on face-to-face behaviour*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books
- Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Micro studies of the public order*. London: Allen Lane.
- Golato, A. (2003). Studying compliment responses: A comparison of DCTs and rewording a of naturally occurring talk. *Applied Linguistics*, 24(1), 90-121
- Golato, A. (2017). "Naturally occurring data". In A. Barron, Y. Gu, & G. Steen (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Pragmatics* (pp. 21-26). Milton Park and New York: Routledge.
- Goldschmidt, M. (1998). Do me a favor: A descriptive analysis of favor asking sequences in American English. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 29, 129-153.
- Goody, N. (Eds) (1978). *Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Grainger, K., Kerkam, Z., Mansor, F., & Mills, S. (2015). Offering and hospitality in Arabic and English. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 11(1), 41–70.
- Greenbank, P. (2003). The role of values in educational research: The case for reflexivity. *British educational research journal*, 29 (6), 791-801.

- Grice, P. (1975). Logic and Conversation. In P. Cole, & J. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics* (pp. 41-58). New York: Academic Press
- Grice, P. (1989). *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gu, Y. (1990). Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14(2), 237-257.
- Gudykunst, W. (1998). *Bridging Differences: Effective Intergroup Communication (3rd ed.)*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gudykunst, W. (2003). *Cross-cultural and intercultural communication*. London: Sage Publications.
- Hall, E. (1989). *Beyond Culture*. New York: Anchor Books Editions
- Hanafi, S. (2012). The Arab revolutions; the emergence of a new political subjectivity. *JSTOR*, 5(2), 198-213.
- Harris, S. (2003). Politeness and power: Making and responding to “requests” in institutional settings. *Text*, 23, 27-52
- Haslam, S. A. (2001). *Psychology in organizations: The social identity approach*. London: Sage Publication
- Hassall, T. (2003). Requests by Australian learners of Indonesian. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35, 1903-1928.
- Haug, M. (2003). Anticipated versus inferred politeness. *Multilingua*, 22 (44), 397-413
- Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to transcription. In J. Sidnell, & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp 57-76). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hilbig, I. (2009). *Request strategies and politeness in Lithuanian and British English*. Available from www.ifa.amu.edu.pl/ylmp
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. London: Sage Publication.

- Hofstede, G. (1991). *Culture and organisations*. London: Sage Publication.
- Hofstede, G. (1994). *Value Survey module. Maastricht, The Netherlands: Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation*.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Cultures Consequences. Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publication.
- Hofstede, G. (2005). *Culture and Organizations—Software of the Mind: Intercultural Cooperation and its Importance for Survival (2nd ed.)*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Hofstede, G. (2009, June). Dimensionalizing Cultures: The Hofstede Model in Context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* (Unit 17, Chapter 14). International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology.
- Holmes, J. (1990). Apologies in New Zealand English. *Language in Society*, 19, 155- 199.
- Holmes, J. (1998). Women's Talk: The Question of Sociolinguistic Universals. In J. Coates (Ed.), *Language and Gender* (pp. 461-483). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Houk, A., & Gass, S. (2006). Non-native refusals: A methodological perspective. In S. Gass & J. Neu (Eds.), *Speech acts across cultures: Challenges to communication in a second language* (pp. 45-63). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- House, J., & Kasper, G. (1987). Interlanguage pragmatics: Requesting in a foreign language. In W. Lorsch & R. Schulze (Eds.), *Perspective on language in performance* (pp. 1250-1288). Tübingen, Germany: Gunter Narr
- Hussein, R., & Hammouri, M.T. (1998). Strategies of apology in Jordanian Arabic and American English. *Grazer Linguistics Studien*, 49, 37-51.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics. An ethno-graphic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ide, S. (1989) Formal forms and discernment: two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic politeness. *Multilingua*. 8, 223–248.
- Ide, S. (2002) The speaker's viewpoint and indexicality in a high context culture. In K,

- Kataoka, & S, Ide (Eds.), *Bunka, Intaakushon, Gengo Culture, Interaction, and Language* (pp. 3-20). Tokyo: Hituzi Shobo.
- Irani, G., & Funk, N. (2000). Rituals of reconciliation: Arab-Islamic perspectives. *JSTOR*, 20(4), 53-73
- Ivancevich, J. & Konopaske, R. (2004). *Global Management and Organizational Behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Janney, R., & Arndt, H. (1992). Universality and relativity in cross-cultural politeness research: A historical perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Politeness and Interlanguage Communication*, 12(1), 13-50.
- Jebahi, K. (2011). Tunisian university students' choice of apology strategies in a discourse completion task. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(2), 648-662
- Jefferson, G. (1985). An exercise in the transcription and analysis of laughter. In Dijk, T.A. van (Eds.), *Handbook of discourse analysis* (pp.25-34). London: Academic Press.
- Jefferson, J. (1988). On the sequential organization of troubles-talk in ordinary conversation, social problems. *Social Problems*, 35 (4), 418–441
- Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G.H. Lerner (Ed), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation* (pp. 13-31) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jeffries, L. (2007). Journalistic constructions of Blair's 'apology' for the intelligence leading to the Iraq War. In S. Johnson, & A. Ensslin (Eds.), *Language in the media, representations, identities* (pp. 48-69). Continuum: London.
- Jucker, A. H. (2009). Speech act research between armchair, field and laboratory. The case of compliments. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, 1611–1635.
- Kalling, M., & Gentry, L. (2007). Cultural Values Reflected in Arab and American Television Advertising. *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, 29(1), 15-32.

- Kampf, Z., & Blum-Kulka, S. (2007). Do children apologise to each other? Apology events in young Israeli peer discourse. *Journal of Politeness Research Language*, 3 (1), 11-37
- Kasper, G. (1990) Linguistic Politeness: Current Research Issues. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14(2), 193-218.
- Kasper, G., & Dahl, M. (1991). Research methods in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 13, 215-247.
- Kasper, G. (2000) Data collection in pragmatics research. In H, Spencer- Oatey (Ed), *Culturally Speaking: Culture, communication and politeness theory (1st edition 2000)* (pp. 316-341). London: Continuum.
- Kerkam, Z. (2015). *Comparison of Arabic and English Directness and Indirectness: Cross-cultural Politeness* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Sheffield Hallam University, Sheffield.
- Kelly, C., Dobbs, J., Lucas, J., & Lovaglia, M. (2017). Power and status: the building blocks of effective leadership. *The Journal of Character and Leadership Interactive*, 4, 56-63.
- Khan, M. (2012). *The Quran*. India: Goodword Books
- Khattab, S., Al-Manasra, A. Abu Zaid, & Qutaishat, F. (2012). Individualist, collectivist and gender moderated differences toward online purchase intentions in Jordan. *International Business Research*, 3(8), 85-93.
- Khoyi, A. & Behnam, B. (2014). Legal discourse: analysis of education and criminal convictions in Iranian courts. *Asian Journal of Education and e-Learning*, 2(6), 438-447.
- Kida, I. (2011). Language distance across cultures as a way of expressing politeness and not only. In J. Arabski, & A. Wojtaszek (Eds), *Aspects of Culture in Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Learning* (pp. 183-191). Springer. Berlin.
- Kluckhohn, (1962) *Culture and Behavior*. New York: the Free Press of Glencoe.
- Koike, D. A. (1989). Pragmatic competence and adult L2 acquisition: Speech acts in

- interlanguage. *Modern Language Journal*, 73, 279-289
- Kramsch, C. J. (1998). *Language and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Kuntsi, P. (2012). *Politeness and Impoliteness Strategies Used by Lawyers in the 'Dover Trial'*. (Unpublished Master Thesis). University of Eastern Finland. Finland.
- Kuper, A. (1999). *Culture: the anthropologists' account*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Kurzon, D. (2001). The politeness of judges: American and English judicial behaviour. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33 (1), 61-85.
- Mao, L. (1994) Beyond politeness theory: 'Face' revisited and renewed. *Journal of Pragmatics* 21, 451-486.
- Markee, N. (2007). Conversation analysis: Issues and problems. In J. Cummins, & C. Davinson, *Handbook of English Language Teaching* (pp. 1017-1032). London: Springer
- Martinez-Flor, A. (2007). Analyzing request modification devices in films: Implications for pragmatic learning in instructed foreign language context. In E. Alcon, & M. Jorda (Eds.), *Intercultural language use and language learning* (pp. 245-280). London: Springer.
- Martinovski, B. (2006). A framework for the analysis of mitigation in courts: Toward a theory of mitigation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38, 2065-2086.
- Matsumoto, Y. (1988). Reexamination of the universality of face: politeness phenomena in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 12, 403-426.
- Merkin, R. (2006). Power distance and facework strategies, *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 32(2) 139-160.
- Mey, J.L. (1993) *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Migdadi, F. (2003). *Compliments in Jordanian Arabic: A socio-pragmatic analysis* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Ball State University, Indiana.
- Mignolo, W. (2011). Epistemic disobedience and the decolonial option: A manifesto. *Transmodernity*, 1(2), 44–66.
- Mill, S., Grainger, K., Kerkam, Z., & Mansor, F. (2015). Offering and hospitality in Arabic and English. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 11(1), 41-70
- Mills, S. (2003). *Gender and politeness: studies in interactional sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mohammad, M. (2014). Terms of endearment and anger in Levantine Arabic. In *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXVI: Papers from the annual symposium on Arabic Linguistics. New York, 2012* (Vol. 2, p. 243).
- Moon, K., & Blackman, D. (2014). A Guide to Understanding Social Science Research for Natural Scientists. *Conversation Biology*, 28, 1167-1177.
- Morkus, N. (2009). *The realization of the speech act of refusal in Egyptian Arabic by American learners of Arabic as a foreign language*. Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics, Chicago, Illinois.
- Mulamba, K. (2009). Social beliefs for the realization of the speech acts of apology and complaint as defined in Ciluba, French, and English. *International Pragmatic Association*. 19, 543-546
- Mullins, L. (2007). *Management and Organizational Behaviour* (8th ed.). London: Pearson Education Ltd.
- Naciri, M. (2017). *Understanding Masculinities*. United States: PROMUNDO.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2019). Provisional notes on decolonising research methodology and undoing its dirty history. *A provocation. Journal of Developing Societies*, 1, 1–12.

- Nelson, G., Al-Batal, M. & El-Bakary, W. (1993) Egyptian and American compliments: A cross-cultural study. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 17, 293-313.
- Nelson, G. L., Al-Batal, M., & Echols, E. (1996). Arabic and English Compliment Responses: Potential for Pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics*, 17(4), 411-432
- Nelson, G., Carson, J., Al-Batal, M., & El-Bakary, W. (2002) Cross-cultural pragmatics: Strategy use in Egyptian Arabic and American English refusals. *Applied Linguistics* 23(2), 163-189.
- Nikander, P. (2008). *Working with transcripts and translated data*. New York: Routledge
- Nobles, M. (2003). *Official apologies and their effects on political membership in democracies*. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia.
- Norris, S. (2004). *Analyzing multimodal interaction: A methodological framework*. New York: Routledge.
- Nurani, L. (2009). Methodological issues in pragmatic research. Is discourse completion test a reliable data collection instrument? *Journal Sosioteknologi Edisi*, 17, 667-678.
- Nureddeen, F. A. (2008). Cross cultural pragmatics: Apology strategies in Sudanese Arabic. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40, 279–306.
- Nwoye, G. (1992). Linguistic Politeness and socio-cultural variations of the notion of face. *Journal of Pragmatics*, (18), 309-328.
- Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper and Row
- Lakoff, R. (1989). *The Limits of Politeness: Therapeutic and Courtroom Discourse*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.

- Legewie, A., & Nassauer, A. (2018). *YouTube, Google, Facebook: 21st Century Online Video Research and Research Ethics [51 paragraphs]*. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 19(3).
- Levinson, S. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Liao, M. (2019). Politeness in the courtroom discourse. *Forensic Criminal International Journal*, 7(2), 45-61.
- Obeidat, M. (2008). *Highlights of national cultural Jordanian identity, the first conference about national cultural and identity and its role in comprehensive maintenance operation*. Amman: Al-Thorea Center for Studies.
- Ogiermann, E. (2009a). *On apologising in negative and positive politeness cultures*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ogiermann, E. (2009b). Politeness and in-directness across cultures: A comparison of English, German, Polish and Russian requests. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 5, 189-216.
- Olshtain, E., & Blum-Kulka, S. (1985). Crosscultural pragmatics and the testing of communicative competence. *Language testing*, 2(1), 16-30.
- Olshtain, E. (1989). Apologies across languages. In S. Blum-Kulka, J. House & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies* (pp.155-173). New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Oyserman, D., Coon, H., Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128 (1), 3-72.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

- Penman, R. (1987). Discourse in courts: cooperation, coercion, and coherence. *Discourse Processes*, 10, 201-218
- Pely, D. (2016). *Muslim/Arab Mediation and Conflict Resolution*. New York: Routledge.
- Pely, D., & Luzon, G. (2018). The Muslim/Arab sulha and the restorative justice model same purpose, different approach. *Cardozo Law Review*, 19 (2), 289-307.
- Piepenburg, K. (2011). *Critical Analysis of Hofstede's Model of Cultural Dimensions. To What Extent Are His Findings Reliable, Valid and Applicable to Organisations in the 21st Century?* (Unpublished Master thesis). Oxford Brookes University, U.K.
- Peterson, M. 2004. Book review of Culture, leadership and organizations: The GLOBE study of 62 societies. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 49, 641-647.
- Potter, J. (2002). Two kinds of natural. *Discourse Studies*, 4, 539-542
- Qari, I. (2007). *Politeness study of requests and apologies as produced by Saudi Hijazi, EFL learners, and British English universities students* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Roehampton, London.
- Orr, L., & Hauser, W. (2008). A re-inquiry of Hofstede's cultural dimensions: A call for the 21st century. *Marketing Management Journal*, 18(2), 1-19
- Rubin, J. (1989). How learner strategies can inform language teaching. In V. Bickley (Ed.), *Proceedings from language use, language teaching and curriculum* (pp. 270-284). Hong Kong: Institute of Language in Education.
- Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Samarah, A. (2015). Politeness in Arabic culture. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 5(10), 2005-2016
- Sanderson, L. (1995). Linguistic contradiction: Power and politeness in courtroom discourse. *Canadian Journal for Studies in Discourse and Writing. Technostyle*, 12(2), 1-24.

- Sarangi, S., & Slembrouck, S. (1997). Confrontational asymmetries in institutional discourse: A socio-pragmatic view of information exchange and face management. In J. Blommaert, & C. Bulcaen (Eds), *Political Linguistics* (pp. 255–276). Amsterdam: Benjamins
- Sarangi, S., & Roberts, C. (1999). *Talk, work and institutional order. Discourse in medical, mediation and management settings*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton
- Sattar, H., Lah, S., & Suleiman, R. (2010). A study on strategies used in Iraqi Arabic to refuse suggestions. *The International Journal of Language Society and Culture*, 30, 81-95.
- Savin-Baden, M., & Major, C.H. (2013). *Qualitative research: the essential guide to theory and practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Schauer, G. A. (2009). *Interlanguage pragmatic development: The study abroad context*. London: Continuum.
- Shahin, A., & Wright, Peter. (2004). Leadership in the context of culture: An Egyptian perspective. *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, 25, 499-511.
- Scheibman, J. (2004). Inclusive and exclusive patterning of the English first person plural: evidence from conversation. In M. Achard, & Z. Kemmer (Eds), *Language, Culture and Mind* (pp 377-396). California: CSLI Publications.
- Shuy, R. (2005). *Creating Language Crimes: How Law Enforcement Uses (an Misuses) Language*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Scollon, R. & Scollon, S. (1983). Face in interethnic communication. In J. Richards, & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and Communication* (pp. 156-188). London: Longman.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (2001.) *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach* (2nd edition). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

- Searle, J. (1969). *Speech Acts: An Essay on the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, J. (1975). Indirect speech acts. In: P. Cole, & J.L Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics. Speech act* (pp. 59-82). New York: Academic Press.
- Searle, J.R. (1976). A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society*, 1-25
- Searle, J.R. (1979). A taxonomy of illocutionary acts. In J.R. Seattle (Ed), *Expression and Meaning* (pp. 1-29). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shehadeh, M. & Wardat, M. (2017). Investigation of speech acts of the provisional agreement of intent. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 7(4), 8-21.
- Sifianou, M. (1999). *Politeness phenomena in England and Greece: A cross-cultural perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Silverman, D. (2007). *A very short, fairly interesting and reasonably cheap book about qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Smith, C., & McDonald, K. (2011). The mundane to the memorial: Circulating and deliberating the war in Iraq through vernacular soldier-produced videos. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 28, 292–313.
- Smith, L. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London and New York: Zed Books
- Soliman, A. (2003). *Apology in American English and Egyptian Arabic*. In Proceedings of the TESOL 3rd annual Graduate Student Forum. Baltimore, Maryland.
- Sparks, R. (1994) *The structure self-repair in English conversation*. PhD Dissertation, University of Colorado at Boulder, Boulder, CO.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (1996). Reconsidering power and distance. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26, 1-

24.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008). *Culturally Speaking Second Edition: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Stets, J., & Burke, P. (2000). Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63 (3), 224-237.

Steven, P. B. (1993). The pragmatics of “No!”: Some strategies in English and Arabic. *IDEAL*, 6, 87-110.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Suggs, J., Sakenfeld, K., & Mueller, J. (Eds) (1992). *The Oxford study Bible: Revised English Bible with the APOCRYPHA*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sulieman, M. (2017). Attitudes of Jordanian students toward managers' leadership styles and their relationship to the national culture. *The Journal of Applied Business Research*, 33(2), 351-362.

Swan, M. 1985. A critical look at the communicative approach. *ELT Journal*, 39 (1), 2-12

Swann, J., & Maybin, J. (2007). Introduction: Language Creativity in Everyday Contexts. *Applied Linguistics*, 28(4), 491-496.

Taft, R. (1997). Ethnographic research methods. In J. Keeves (Ed), *Educational research methodology and measurement: an international handbook* (pp 59-63). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Takahashi, S. (1996). Pragmatic transferability. *Studies in second language acquisition*, 18(2), 189-223.

Taylor, S., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to qualitative research methods:*

A guidebook and resource. New Jersey. John Wiley & Sons.

Tawalbeh, A., & Al-Oqaili, E. (2012). In-directness and politeness in American English and Saudi Arabic requests: A cross-cultural comparison. *Asian Social Science*, 8(10), 85-98.

Ten Have, P. (1990). *Methodological issues in conversation analysis*. London: Sage.

Teras, V., & Steel, P. (2009). Beyond Hofstede: challenging the ten testaments of cross-cultural research. In Nakata: *Beyond Hofstede: culture frameworks for global marketing* (pp. 400-61). Chicago: Palgrave.

Taras, V., Steel, P., & Stackhouse, M. (2023). A comparative evaluation of seven instruments for measuring values comprising Hofstede's model of culture. *Journal of World Business*, 58 (1), 1-11.

Thomas, J. (1995). *Meaning in interaction: An introduction to pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Ting-Toomey, S. (2005) The matrix of face: An updated face-negotiation theory. In W.B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theories in intercultural communication* (pp. 213-235). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage

Triandis, H. (1995). *Individualism and Collectivism*. New York: Routledge.

Trosborg, A. (1987). Apology strategies in native/nonnatives. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 11, 147-167.

Umar, A. (2004). Request strategies as used by advanced Arab learners of English as a foreign language. *Umm Al-Qura University Journal of Educational and Social Sciences and Humanities*, 16(1), 42-87.

Ungaron, R., Fadzilah, D., & Abdul Salam, M. (2020). The concept of peace in the Bible and the Quran. *Afkar*, 22(2), 239-278.

- Uso-Juan, E. (2010). Requests: A sociopragmatic approach. In A. Martínez-Flor & E. Usó-Juan (Eds.), *Speech act performance: Theoretical, empirical and methodological issues* (pp. 237-256). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(4), 504–535.
- Vine, B. (2004). *Getting Things Done at Work. The Discourse of Power in Workplace Interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Wang, X. (2014). An Analysis of Legal Language Used by a Strong Judge in Court: A Case Study. *In The Fourth International Conference on Law, Language and Discourse (LLD)* (p. 82)
- Walker, R. (2014). *Strategic Management Communication for Leaders*. Boston: Cengage Learning.
- Watkins, J. (2014). Seeking Justice: Tribal Dispute Resolution and Societal Transformation in Jordan. *Journal of Middle East Studies*, 46, 31-49
- Watts, R. J. (2003). *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Watts, R.J. (1992) Linguistic politeness and politic verbal behaviour: Reconsidering claims for universality. In R. Watts, S. Ide, & K. Ehlich (Eds.), *Studies in History, Theory and Practice* (pp. 43-70). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Watts, R., Ide, S., & Ehlich, K. (1992). *Politeness in Language: studies in its history, theory and practice*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wolfson, N. (1981). Compliments in cross-cultural perspective. *TESOL Quarterly*, 15, 117-124.
- Wolfson, N. (1989). *Perspectives: Sociolinguistics and Tesol*. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

- Wolfson, N. (1983). An Empirically based analysis of complimenting in American English. In N. Wolfson, & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp. 82-95). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Wooffitt, R. (2005). *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*. New York, NY: Sage.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1985) Different cultures, different languages, different speech acts: Polish vs. English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 9(2), 145-178.
- Youssef, A. (2012). Study of request strategies employed by Libyan and Malay postgraduate students at USM. *International Journal of Learning and Development*, 2(2), 144-151.
- Yu, X. (2010). *Judicial Professionalism in China: From Discourse to Reality*. London: Routledge.
- Yuan, Y. (2001). An inquiry into empirical pragmatics data-gathering methods: Written DCTs, oral DCTs, field notes, and natural conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33(2), 271-292.
- Yuxiu, S., & Le, C. (2014). Comparative Study on Hedges in Chinese and American Courtroom Discourse. In *The Fourth International Conference on Law, Language and Discourse (LLD)* (p. 206).

Appendix 1: The basic data of the ‘ṭwah during 2013-2020

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of ‘ṭwah			The year of ‘ṭwah	The place of ‘ṭwah			Period Of ‘ṭwah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
1	Al- Hwaitat and Maanieh	1			2013			Ma’an	30,9
2	Al-Fayez	1			2013		Amman		31,11
3	Al-Karaki and Jagoop		1		2013		Ain-basha		36,11
4	Al-Dawaymrh		1		2013		Amman		36,20
5	Al-Ma’ani		1		2013			Ma’an	27,29

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
6	Hwaitat and Blwee	1			2013		Zarqa		14,27
7	Al-Khzoz			1	2013		Madabah		60,00
8	Al-Khzoz			1	2013		Madabah		45, 41
9	El-Edwan and Arabiat	1			2013		Al-Salt		19,52
10	Saltieha		1		2013		Al-Salt		10,56
11	Al- Nammora		1		2013		Amman		50,41

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
12	Al-Sarayeh			1	2013			A-Karak	31,56
13	Al-Majali			1	2014			Al-Karak	60, 00
14	Al-Sahouri			1	2014		Amman		26, 26
15	Yousef			1	2014		Zarqa		26,27
16	Dmasi and Al-Shareef	1			2014	Jarash			17,30
17	Al-Azza and Maharmeh	1			2014		Sahab		12,51

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
18	Zreekat and Bani Sakher		1		2014	Jarash			33,42
19	Abu- Shinar and Ma'anieh			1	2014			Ma'an	19,25
20	Al-Omari and Al- Shendi		1		2014	Al-Sarih			31,31
21	Majali and Marashdeh			1	2014			Karak	60,55
22	Al-Maitah			1	2014			Karak	30, 52
23	Al-Alfi and Essa	1			2014		Amman		10,4

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
24	Abu- Shwareb and Kabariti			1	2014			Aqaba	40,47
25	Khalaileh and Akrabeh			1	2014	Akraba			50,11
26	Al-Haddad			1	2014		Al-Salt		50,43
27	Al-Sulaihat			1	2014		Al-Salt		31, 52
28	Al -Awawdeh			1	2017		Al- Rsaifeh		60,07
29	Al-Bkaee and Shobaki			1	2014	Irbid			38,51

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
30	Salaymeh and Ati	1			2015		Zarqa		17,41
31	Al-Sabeh and Awathat			1	2015		Zarqa		29,18
32	Samhan and Majali			1	2015			Karak	16,53
33	Abu-Orabi and Abu-zaina			1	2015		Amman		31,29
34	Qaisi and Amaireh			1	2016		Al- Rsaifeh		48,14
35	Sarayreh and Matarneh			1	2016			Karak	49,4

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
36	Al-Edwan			1	2016		Al-Salt		13,49
37	Ma'aytah and Abbadi	1			2016			Karak	25,25
38	Wardat and Darabseh			1	2016	Alramtha			52,15
39	Khalaileh and Bani Sakher	1			2016		Zarqa		25,44
40	Fasfos and Kaisieh		1		2016		Amman		19,46
41	Al-Soud			1	2016		Amman		13,24

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
42	Harahsheh and Zboon		1		2016	Al- Mfracq			10,53
43	Drwasheh and Qura'an			1	2016	Al-Wistieh			54,17
44	Nadi Alkarameh and Alhussein	1			2016				18,20
45	Hawatmeh and Hameedah			1	2016		Theban		27,35
46	Spateen and Kaisi	1			2016			Ma'an	60,13
47	Da'ajeh and Rafiah			1	2016		Amman		12,25

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
48	Abu- Serhan and Tafaileh		1		2016		Ain- Basha		16,57
49	Hasan and Bassam Alssrawi			1	2016		Amman		16,28
50	Al- Hadban and Khatab			1	2016		Amman		47,34
51	Jbarat and Faweer			1	2017		Jwideh		60,50
52	Sakrat and Zawhreh			1	2017			Al- Tafelah	13,14
53	Talafha and Hamail		1		2017	Eudoon			25,31

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
54	Zawhreh and Zyood			1	2017	Al-Mfraq			60,5
55	Emawi and Bdour			1	2017	Irbid			20,15
56	Ayasrah and Dwaimel		1		2017	Jarash			17,32
57	Al-Ortani			1	2018		Amman		43,34
58	Al-Balqaa			1	2019		Amman		13, 38
59	Al-Abbadi			1	2019		Amman		40, 20

No	Parties of conflict (clans of conflicts)	Reason of 'twah			The year of 'twah	The place of 'twah			Period Of 'twah (minutes)
		Fight	Manslaughter	Murder		North province	Middle province	South province	
60	Hammad			1	2020		Amman		59, 18
Total		12	11	31					1939,88 minutes 1205,08 minutes ÷ 60 minutes = 32 hours

Appendix 2: Distribution of ‘ṭwah cases into three strata during 2013- 2020

Years of cases	Fights	Manslaughter	Murder	Total
2013	4	4	3	11
2014	3	2	11	16
2015	1	_____	3	4
2016	3	3	5	15
2017	_____	2	2	10
2018	_____	_____	1	1
2019	_____	_____	2	2
2020	_____	_____	1	1
Total	11	11	28	60

the-incident which happened

S1: 2. We came for God and Al-Majali clan's satisfaction due to the incident which happened.

S1: 3. جننا من أجل تجديد العطوه العشائريه للمده يلي بترضيكوا

C: S1:3. j'inā men ajel al-ṭwah al-'shāryah
lil-mudah yal na-ṭlub na-ṭlub
PST-SBJ PRE PRE DEF-OBJ DEF-ADJ
PRE-OBJ DET SBJ-PRS-AGR-OBJ
came-we for for the- ṭwah the-tribal
with-period which it-suit-s-you

S1: 3. **We** came to request the tribal ṭwah with a duration which suits you.

S1: 4. بنطلب منكوا انكوا ترجعوا قرايبكوا الى القرية يلي انتوا فيها

D: 4. na-ṭlub mn-kū in-kū t-raj'ū qarayib-kū Ilá al-karayah
SBJ-PRS PRE-OBJ DEM-SBJ SBJ-PRS-AGR OBJ-DEM PRE DEF-OBJ
We-ask from-you that-you you-return relatives-your to the-village

S1: 4. **We** ask **you** to return your relatives to the village.

S2: 3. قال الله تعالى: "وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ"

S2: 5. The Almighty says: "in retribution there is a life for you".

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah), verse no. 179) (Khan, 2012:19)

S2: 6. عطوة اعتراف هذا لكم هذا لكم

F: S2: 6. ṭwah ṭiraf hadha lak-om hadha lak-om
S2: 6. N ADJ DEM-DIST BEN-2-PL DEM-DIST BEN-2-PL
S2: 6. truce acknowledgment this for you this for you

S2: 6. The truce is for you, this for you.

S2: 7. لكن اذا ما اعترف الجاني أقربائه لن يعودوا

G: S2: 7. ṭha ma ṭaraf al-jani ṭqriba-ḥo ln y'od-o

S2: 7. COND NEG PRS-AGR DEF-offender relative-PL-POSS NEG PRS-1-PL
 S2: 7. If not confess the-offender relative-s-his will-not return-they
 S2: 7. If the murderer doesn't confess, his relatives will not return.

8: S1 احنا بنتوسل الكوا

H: 8. nhnu na-tawsal la-ka-ū
 SBJ SBJ-PRS PRE-OBJ-PL
 we we-beg for-you-all

S1: 8. We beg you all.

9: S2 فيما يتعلق بالجلوى: لا.

K: S2: 9. Fima ytk'alq bl-jalwah la
 S2: 9. IND IND INS-exile NEG
 S2: 9. What concerns with-exile no

S2: 9. In what concerns the exile, the answer is: no.

10: S2 احنا ما بنضمن شبابنا اذا صار في احتكاك بينهم .

L: S2: 10. nhnu ma naḍ-dman shbab-na 'tha sar fi 'h tkak bayn-hom
 S2: 10. 1-PL-M-INCL NEG AGR-PRS youth-1-POSS COND FUT INDF N PRE-1-M-PL
 S2: 10. We no guarantee youth-our if will any communication
 among-them

S2: 10. We do not guarantee our youth if any communication will happen among them and the offender's relatives.

Appendix 4: Case B (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between Muslims belonging to different provinces)

Background

In the following case, the clans are gathering as a result of the murder case between two Muslims belonging to different provinces, as it is seen in the following website of this tribal truce on YouTube:

Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oO9hasTr0Zw&spfreload=10>. Accessed 28.2/2021)

Place: Al- Sahori guesthouse (the victim’s clan guesthouse)

Time: The evening of 6/5/2014

(S1): The delegation leader

(S2): The victim’s clan leader

This tribal truce took place on the evening of 6/5/2014. Members of Al-Sahori clan association (the victim’s clan association) shared on uploading the video of this tribal truce on YouTube. The meeting was a result of killing Iyad Al-Sahori by the murderer (Alaa Yousef). He killed the victim deliberately as seen from the delegation leader’s speech and the victim clan leader’s speech. The offender’s clan sent the delegation to meet the victim’s clan requirements and obtain the tribal truce.

Script

The Arabic original version:

S1:1. قال الله تعالى: وَالْعَصْرُ (1) إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ (2) إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَّصُوا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَّصُوا بِالصَّبْرِ.

S1: 2. The Almighty says: “By time indeed mankind [humankind] is in loss except for those who believe and done righteous deeds and advised each other to truth and advised each other to patience”.

(The Quran. Al-Asr (the passage of time), verse no. 1,2 and 3) (Khan, 2012: 472)

S1: 2. جننا الى هذا الديوان بالعهاده و التي انتم جزء منها.

A: S1: 2. J’-na ‘la hatha al-di:wan bl-‘adeh w ‘lati ‘nt-m
jz’ mn-ha

S1: 2. PST-1-PL-M-INCL PRE DEM DEF-N PRE-O CON COM 2-PL-M

O from-O

S1: 2. Came-we to this the-guesthouse with-tradition and which you part from-it

S1: 2. We came to this guesthouse traditionally. You are part of it.

3: S1 جئنا من أجل عطوه عشائريه

B: 3. j'inā men ajel 'ṭwah 'shāryah
PST-SBJ PRE PRE OBJ ADJ
came-we for for 'ṭwah tribal

S1: 3. We came for the tribal 'ṭwah.

4: S2 احنا عنا شروط في العطوه

C: S2: 4. nḥnu 'na shroṭ fi al-'ṭwah
S2: 4. 1-PL-M-INCL AGR-POSS N-PL PRE DEF-N
S2: 4. We have conditions in 'ṭwah

S2: 4. We have conditions in 'ṭwah.

5: S2 جريمه القتل مثل هذا النوع فيها جلوى.

D: S2: 5. jaremt al-qatel mthl hatha al-no' fi-ha jalwah
S2: 5. N DEF-N PRE DEM DEF-N PRE-O O
S2: 5. Murder the-killing as this the-kind in-it exile
S2: 5. There is an exile in this kind of the murder cases.

6: S2 العطوه مدتها شهر و نصف قبل رمضان

E: S2: 6. Al-'ṭwah mdt-ha shahr w noṣ qbl Ramadan
S2: 6. DEF-'ṭwah O-1-POSS O CON O PRE O
S2: 6. Al-'ṭwah duration-its month and half before Ramadan
S2: 6. The duration of Al-'ṭwah is a month and half before Ramadan.

7: S1 بنطلب انكوا تزيدوا لنا العطوه شويه

F: S1: 7. na-ṭlub in-kū it-zīd-ū l-nā al-'ṭwah

shwai

SBJ-PST	PRE-OBJ	INF-PRS-OBJ	PRE-OBJ	DEF-OBJ	ADV
we-ask	to-you	to-increase-you	for-us	the-‘ṭwah	little

S1: 7. **We** ask **you** to increase the period of the ‘ṭwah a little bit for us.

S1: 8. الجاهه دايمًا شحاده لبعده رمضان

G: S1: 8. Al-jaha	daymn	ḡhadeh	lb°d	Ramadan
-------------------	-------	--------	------	---------

S1: 8. DEF-o	ADV	ADJ	PRE	O
--------------	-----	-----	-----	---

S1: 8. The-delegation	always	beggars	after	Ramadan
-----------------------	--------	---------	-------	---------

S1: 8. The delegation is always beggar. The period of Al-‘ṭwah is to be after Ramadan.

S2: 9. أنا انسان معروف بالحزم

H: S2: 9. Ana	‘nsan	m’rof	bl- ḡazem
---------------	-------	-------	-----------

S2: 9. 1-SBJ	M	ADJ	PRE-O
--------------	---	-----	-------

S2: 9. I	person	known	with-strictness
----------	--------	-------	-----------------

S2: 9. I am a person known with strictness.

S2: 10. اذا قصرت في شئ شيوخوا ما راح يتركوني.

G: S2: 10. ‘dh a	qaser-t	fi	shay	shyokh-na	ma	rah	y-troko-ni
------------------	---------	----	------	-----------	----	-----	------------

S2: 10. COND	FUT-AGR	PRE	O	O-PL-POSS	NEG	FUT	AGR-FUT-1
--------------	---------	-----	---	-----------	-----	-----	-----------

S2: 10. If	will-waive	in	anything	Shiekh-s-our	not	will	leave-will-me
------------	------------	----	----------	--------------	-----	------	---------------

S2: 10. If I waive anything, our Shaykhs will not leave me.

Appendix 5: Case C (The ‘ṭwah for the manslaughter case between Muslims)

Background

In the following case, the clans are gathering as a result of manslaughter case between two Muslims as it is seen in the following website of this tribal truce on YouTube:

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dl5bM-bxic>. Accessed 29/03/2021)

Place: Al-dwaymeh guesthouse (the victim’s clan guesthouse)

Time: In evening of 10/9/2013

(S1): The delegation leader

(S2): The victim’s clan leader

This tribal truce took place on the evening of 10/9/2013, as shown in the uploaded video by Muhammad Al-Maqousi (a member of the victim’s clan). The delegation headed towards the victim’s clan to obtain the tribal truce for an unintentional car accident that caused a young man and his mother’s death.

Script

The Arabic original version

S1: 1. أيها الاخوه الاعزاء

A: 1. ayuhā al-ikhwah
VOC DEF-M-PL
O’ the-brother-s

S1: 2. قال الله تعالى: وَمَا تُدْرِي نَفْسٌ مَّاذَا تَكْسِبُ غَدًا وَمَا تُدْرِي نَفْسٌ بِأَيِّ أَرْضٍ تَمُوتُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

S1: 2. The Almighty said: ‘’ No soul known what it will earn tomorrow, and no soul knows in what land it will die. Surely, God is all knowing, all aware’’

(The Quran. Luqman, verse. 34) (Khan 2012: 313)

S1: 3. جئنا الى هذا الديوان لنستمع و أنتم تأمرون

B: S1: 3. J’-na ‘la hatha al-diwan l-n-stm’ w ‘nt-m t’mr-on
S1: 3. PST-1-PL PRE DEM DEF-O BEN-1-P CON 2-PL PRES-PL

S1: 3. Came-we to this the-guesthouse to-we-listen and you order-you

S1: 3. "We came to this guesthouse to listen to you and to order us".

S2: 4. قال الله تعالى: وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ مَّاذَا تَكْسِبُ غَدًا وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ بِأَيِّ أَرْضٍ تَمُوتُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

S1: 2. The Almighty said: "No soul known what it will earn tomorrow, and no soul knows in what land it will die. Surely, God is all knowing, all aware"

(The Quran. Luqman, verse. 34) (Khan 2012: 313)

S2: 5. أنتم جنتم لارضائنا و لتحقيق طلباتنا

C: S2: 5. 'ntm j't-om l-'rda'-na w l-thqiq

tlb-at-na

S2: 5. 2-PL-M PST--PL-M BEN-INF CON BEN-INF

PL-1-PL-M

S2: 5. You came-AGR to-satisfy-us and to-achieve

request-s-our

S2: 5. You came to satisfy us and achieve our requirements.

S2: 6. ماذا تريدوا من عشيره الدوايمه بعد ما حدث؟

D: S2: 6. Matha t-rid-on mn 'shirat Al-dwaymeh b'd ma hadath

S2: 6. Q S-PRS-O PRE O Al-dwaymeh after CONJ PST

S2: 6. What you-want-you from clan Al-dwaymeh after what happened

S2: 6. What do you want from Al-dwaymeh clan after what happened?.

S2: 7. ما حصل قد حصل و نحن نعتبره قضاء الله

E: S2: 7. Ma ḥaṣl qd ḥaṣl w nḥnu n-'tbr-hu qaḍa

Allah

S2: 7. Q PST AGR PST CON 1-PL-M-INCL S-PRS- O Allah

What happened was happened and we we-consider-it destiny

Allah

S2: 7. What happened was happened. We consider this incident Allah destiny.

S1: 8. نحن جاهزين لكل شي

F: S1: 8.	nḥnu	jahz-in	l-kolshi
S1: 8.	1-PL-M-INCL	OBJ-PL	BNF-INDF
S1: 8.	We	ready-we	for-everything
S1: 8. We are ready for everything.			

نحن نعطكم عطوه بصلح 9: S2

G: S2: 9.	nḥnu	n-‘ṭk-m	‘ṭwah	b-sulh
S2: 9.	1-PL-M-INCL	AGR-PRE -PL	O	PRE-O
S2: 9.	We	give-you	‘ṭwah	with-reconciliation
S2: 9. We give you ‘ṭwah with a reconciliation.				

(Audience applauding)

Appendix 6: Case D (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between Muslims and Christians)

Background

In the following case, the clans are gathering as a result of murder case between Muslims and Christians as it is seen in the following website of this tribal truce on YouTube:

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XeY63EflmFg&feature=youtu.be>. Accessed 30/03/2021)

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d4p0cWrpxqk>. Accessed 30/03/2021)

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sxFr68G4vo0&feature=youtu.be>. Accessed 30/03/2021)

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8nnW13E4ohc>. Accessed 30/03/2021)

Place: Al- Khzoz guesthouse (the victim clan’s guesthouse)

Time: In the evening of 17/2/2013

(S1): The delegation leader (he is a Muslim)

(S2): The victim’s clan leader (he is a Christian)

This tribal truce took place in the evening of 17/2/2013 as shown in the uploaded videos by Ra’ed Khozouz (a member of the victim’s clan). The meeting was a result of killing Joney Al-Khozouz (a Christian man) by the murderer Moath Al-Oniamat (a Muslim man). The offender’s clan sent the delegation to the victim’s clan guesthouse to ask for the tribal truce and for the victim’s clan requirements.

Script

The Arabic original version:

S1: 1. اخواني الاعزاء: مسلمين و مسيحيين

A:	ikhwanī	al-‘azā’:	Muslīmīn	wa	mashīn
	M-PL-POSS	DEF-ADJ-PL:	M-PL	CONJ	M-PL
	brother-s-my	the-dear-s	: Muslim-s	and	Christian-s

S1: 1. Dear my brothers: Muslims and Christians

S1: 2. نطلب العطوه العشائريه للحادث الاليم للشباب جوني

B: S1: 2. na-ṭlub al-‘ṭwah al-‘shāryah lil-ḥādith al-alīm lil-shāb Jūnī
SBJ-PRS DEF-OBJ DEF-ADJ PRE-OBJ DEF-ADJ PRE-OBJ
Jūnī
we-ask the-‘ṭwah the-tribal for-accident the-terrible for-young
Jūnī

S1: 2. We ask for the tribal al-‘ṭwah because of the terrible incident caused the death of Joney.

S2: 3. قال الله تعالى: "وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ"

S2: 5. The Almighty says: "in retribution there is a life for you".

(The Heifer (Al-Baqarah), verse no. 179) (Khan, 2012:19)

S2: 4. نحن بنعطيكوا عطوه عشائريه لمده ثلاثه أسابيع

D: nḥnu n-‘ṭi-ko ‘ṭwah ‘sharyah l-mdt thalth ‘sab-i’
PL S-PRS-O-PL O ADJ PRE-O O O-PL
We give-you ‘ṭwah tribal for-period three we-s-ek

S2: 4. We give you ‘ṭwah for three weeks.

5.5: S1

E: La

NEG

S1: 5. No.

S2: 6. الجاهه لها الحق أن تسأل عن العطوه بس ما لها الحق تشتترط

E: al-jaha lha al-ḥaq ‘an-ts’l ‘an ‘ṭwah bs ma
lha al-ḥaq tshtart
DEF-N AGR-POSS-PRS DEF-O INF-PRS BEN DEF-S CON
NEG AGR-POSS-PRS DEF-O AGR-PRS
The-delegation has the-right to-ask for ‘ṭwah but not

Has the-right stipulate

S2: 6. The delegation has the right to ask for ‘ṭwah only but not to stipulate.

7: S2 احنا نعطيكو العطوه لأسبوعين اشربوا قهوتكو

F: nḥnu	na-ṭik-o	al-‘ṭwah	l-asbo-in	i-shrb-o	qahwtk-o
1-S	S-PRS-O	DEF-O	PRP-O	IMP-O	O-PL
We	give-you	al-‘ṭwah	for-week-two	drink-you	coffee-your

S2: 7. We give you al-‘ṭwah for two weeks. Drink your coffee.

8: S1 نحن قبلنا العطوه لأسبوعين مثل ما انتوا بدكو. مشكورين

G: nḥnu	qbl-na	al-atwa	l-isbo’	mthl	bdk-o	mḥkor-i:n
1-S	PRS-O	DEF-O	PRP-O	CON	PRE-O	O-P
We	accept	al-‘ṭwah	for-week-two	as	like-you	thank-you

S1: 8. We accept the duration of al-‘ṭwah for two weeks as you like. Thank you.

Appendix 7: Case E (The ‘ṭwah for the same previous murder case between Muslims and Christians)

Background

In the following case, the delegation and the victim’s clan are gathering again for the same previous murder case as it is seen in the following websites of this tribal truce on YouTube:

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jz2ZWMCTpBc>. Accessed 01/04/2021)

Place: Al- Khzoz guesthouse (the victim clan’s guesthouse)

Time: In the evening of 14/3/2013

(S1): The delegation leader

(S2): The victim’s clan leader

This second tribal truce which followed the previous one, took place in the evening of 20/3/2014, as shown in the uploaded video by halla3me (a member of the victim’s clan). The meeting was a result of ending the previous tribal truce without achieving the victim’s clan requirements. Thus, the offender’s clan sent another delegation to ask for another tribal truce and meet the victim’s clan requirements.

Script

The Arabic original version:

S1: 1. قال الله تعالى: " أنما المؤمنون اخوه فأصلحوا بين أخويكم و اتقوا الله لعلكم ترحمون "

S1: 1. The Almighty said: “Surely all believers are brothers. So make peace between your brothers, and fear God, so that mercy be shown to you”

(The Quran. Al Hujurat (the apartments) verse no. 10) (Khan, 2012: 395)

S1: 2. قال سيدنا عيسى: و على الارض السلام و بالناس المسره

S1: 2. The prophet Issa (Jesus) said: “upon earth peace among men [humankind] of goodwill”

(The Bible (Gospel bible). The Old Testament verse no. 14: 2))

S1: 3. عاداتنا العشائريه هي عادات طيبه

A: ‘adat-na al-‘asharyah hyah ‘ada-t ṭaybah

SBJ-PL	DEF-ADJ	PRS	O-PL	ADJ
Tradition-s	the-tribal	are	tradition-s	good

S1: 3. Our tribal traditions are good ones.

4: S1 مأخوذه من تاريخ العرب كالعطوه و الجلوى

B: makhodh	mn	tarikh	al-Arab	kl-‘ṭwah	w	al-jalwah
S	PRP	O	DEF-O	PRP-O	CON	DEF-O
came-it	from	history	the-Arab	such-‘ṭwah	and	the-exile

S1: 4. These traditions came from the history of the Arabs such as al-‘ṭwah and exile.

5: S2 انت شيخ نعطيك عطوه حتى 3/24

C: S2: 5. ?nta	Sheikh	n-‘ti:-k	atwa	hata	24/03
----------------	--------	----------	------	------	-------

S2: 5. You are a Sheikh. We give you the atwa until 24/03

6: S1 أرجو انكوا تزيدونا لمدة أطول

D: S1: 6. na-rjū	in-k-ū	it-zīd-ū-na	la-mudah	aṭwal
SBJ-PRS	PRE-OBJ- PL	INF-PRS-OBJ-OBJ	PRE-OBJ	ADJ
we-beg	from-you-all	to-increase-you-us	for-period	longer

S1: 6. We beg you all to increase the duration of the ‘ṭwah for a longer period.

7: S2 أنت مش وجه تتفشل

E: anta	msh	wajih	t-tfashal
SBJ-SG	NEG	O	S-PRS
You	not	face	you- lose

S2: 7. You do not deserve to lose your face.

8: S1 شعر شواربي نكفل ابن بني صخر

F: shar	shawrb-i	ta-kfl	ibn	Bni-Sakher
SBJ	S-SNG-POSS	S- PRS	O	O
hair	beard-my	guarantee	son	Bni-Sakher

S1: 8. The hair of my beard guarantees the offender.

S1: 9. حَقُّكَ العِشائِرِي عِنْد النِّعِمَاتِ ثابِتٌ و أَنَا كَفِيلُهُ

G: ḥaq-k al-ashari ind Al-onimat thabt w ana kafil-oho

S-POSS DEF-ADJ PRP DEF-O ADJ CON 1-SG O-POSS

Right-your the-tribal from Al-onimat fixed and I guarantor-its

S1: 9. “Your tribal right from Al-onimat is fixed and I am its guarantor”.

Appendix 8: Case F (The ṭwah including الدية (diyah) (a blood money compensation) for the murder case)

Background

In the following case, the clans are gathering for (الدية) (the blood compensation) as it is seen in the following website of this tribal truce on YouTube:

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0w5IehGxmuA>. Accessed 5/4/2021)

Place: Al- Slehat’s guesthouse (the victim clan’s guesthouse)

Time: In the evening of 26/8/2014

S1: The delegation leader

S2: The victim’s clan leader

This tribal truce took place in the evening of 26/8/2014 as shown in the uploaded video by Majed Al-Slehat (a member of the victim’s clan). The meeting was a result of a killing of a person from Al-Slehat clan and his clan asks for **the blood compensation** "الدية" “al-deya”

Script

The Arabic original version:

S1: 1. أولا احنا بنعتذر عن تأخرنا نحن جننا لطلبين

A: nḥnu	na-‘tdhr	an	takhr-na	nḥn	ji-na	li-ṭ-in
S-PL	S-AGR-PRS	PRE	ADV-PL	S-PL	PST-O	PRE-O-PL
We	we-apologize	for	late-our	we	came-we	for-request-two

S1: 1. We apologize for our late. We came for two requests.

S1: 2. المطلب الاول أرجو أن تقبلوا اعتذارنا عن تأخرنا

B: al-maṭṭlb	al-awal	‘a-rjo	an	taqbl-o	‘tdhar-na	an	t2khr-na
DEF-S	DEF-ADJ	S-PRS	INFV	DEF	PRS-O	O-PL	DEF O-PL
The-request	the-first	I-beg	to	accept-you	apology-our		for
							late-our

S1: 2. The first request: I ask you to accept our apology, please.

S1: 3. المطلب الثاني أحنا اجينا لتلبيه طلباتكوا

C: al-maṭlab al-thani nḥnu ji-na l-tlbyat ṭalbatk-o
 DEF-S DEF-ADJ S-PL P-S BEN-INF O-S-PL
 The-request the-second we came to-meet request-your-S

S1: 3. The second request is: we came to meet your requests.

S2: 4. نحن نأمر و ليس طلب فتبييض وجه السحيلات مليون دينار أردني

D: S2: 4. nḥnu n-‘amr w laysa ṭalab fa-tabīḍ wajh al-Suḥaylat milyūn
 SBJ SBJ-PRS CONJ NEG OBJ DEF-PRS OBJ OBJ OBJ
 we we-order and not request to-whiten face al-Suḥaylat million

S2: 4. We order you to pay one million to whiten a face of al- Suḥaylat.

S1: 5. ابشر

E: ‘ib-shr

S-PRS

You-obtain

S1: 5. You obtain it.

S1: 6. نزل المبلغ الى 300000 دينار أردني مشان ربنا

F: S1: 6. nazzil al-mablagh ila 300000 dīnār mishān rab-nā
 IMP DEF-OBJ PRE OBJ OBJ PRE OBJ-POSS
 reduce the-amount to 300000 dina for God-our

S1: 6. Reduce the amount to be 300000 Jordanian dinars for our God’s sake.

S2: 7. 300 ألف دينار أردني من أجل الله تعالى

G: 300000 dinar ordoni mn’ajel Allah taala
 S ADJ ADJ PRE ADV ADJ
 300000 dinar Jordanian for Allah almighty

S1: 7. “300000 Jordanian dinars for the Almighty Allah”.

S1: 8. نزل المبلغ مشان الملك

H: S1:8. nzzil al-mablagh mishān al-malik

IMP	DEF-OBJ	PRE	DEF-OBJ
reduce	the-amount	for	the-king

S1: 8. Reduce this amount for the king's sake.

S2: 9. لكل الاسره الهاشميه 80 الف دينار اردني

I: l-kol	al-ossra	al-hashemyh	80000	dinar	?rdoni
PRE-ADV	DEF-ADV	DEF-ADJ	ADV	ADJ	ADJ
For-all	the-family	the-Hashemite	80000	dinar	Jordanian

S2: 9. For the Hashemite family, we reduce the amount to be 70000 Jordanian dinars.

S1: 10. احنا شحادين كرامه و اجينا من أجل كرامتكوا

J: nħnu	shahd-in	Karameh	w	ji-na	mn-ajil	karamtk-o
S-PL	S-PL	ADV	CONJ	PST-PL	BEN	O-PL
we	beggar-s	dignity	and	came-we		for
	dignity-y					

S1: 10. We are beggars for your dignity. We came for your dignity.

S2: 11. المبلغ المتبقي هو 70 ألف دينار أردني .

K: al-mablgh	al-mtbqi	70000	dinar	ordoni
DEF-ADJ	DEF-ADJ	ADV	ADJ	ADJ
The-amount	the-rest	70000	dinar	Jordanian

S2: 11. The amount is 70000 Jordanian dinars.

S2: 12. نكتب صك الصلح

L: na-ktob	saq	al- şuloh
S-PL-PRS	O	DEF-ADJ
We-write	document	the-reconciliation

S2: 12. We write the reconciliation document.

Appendix 9: Case G (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims: A Muslim husband and a Muslim wife)

Background

In the following case, the clans are gathering as a result of the murder case between two Muslims: A Muslim husband and a Muslim wife, as it is seen in the following website of this tribal truce on YouTube:

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UJWSDozdI2I>. Accessed 28/3/2021)

Place: Awrtani guesthouse (the victim’s clan guesthouse)

Time: In the evening of 6/8/2018

(S1): The delegation leader

(S2): The victim’s clan leader

This tribal truce took place on the evening of 6/8/2018, as shown in the uploaded video by Waleed Awrtani (a member of the victim’s clan). The meeting was a result of killing Muhammad Awrtani. He was killed deliberately by his wife. The offender’s clan sent the delegation to ask for the tribal truce and meet the victim’s clan requirements.

Script

The Arabic original version:

S1: 1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم: " و بشر الصائرين الذين اذا أصابتهم مصيبه قالوا ان لله و ان اليه لراجعون "

S1: 1. In the name of Allah the Merciful: “give glad tidings to those who patiently persevere Who say, when afflicted with calamity: “To Allah We belong, and to Him is our return”

(The Quran. AL-Baqara verse no.156) (Khan, 2012: 290)

S1: 2. قال الله تعالى: " أنما المؤمنون اخوه فأصلحوا بين أخويكم و اتقوا الله لعلكم ترحمون "

S1: 1. The Almighty said: “Surely all believers are brothers. So make peace between your brothers, and fear God, so that mercy be shown to you”

(The Quran. Al Hujurat (the apartments) verse no. 10) (Khan, 2012: 395)

S1: 3. جننا الى هذا الديوان من أجل عطوه عشائريه و لتلبيه طلباتكم

C: Ji-na ila hatha al-diwan mnajl ‘ṭwah ‘sharyah w l-tlbyat tibat-km

PST-SBJ PRE O DEF-O PREP O ADJ CONJ INF O-PL
 Came-we to this the-guesthouse for truce tribal and to-meet requirement-s- your
 S1: 3. We came to this guesthouse to ask for Al-‘ṭwah and your requirements.

S2: 4. أيها الاخوه

D: 1. ayuhā al-ikhwah
 VOC DEF-M-PL
 O’ the-brother-s

S2: 5. هي رساله لكل أب: بدايه أن نرجع الى كتاب الله و دينه

E: hya resalah l-kl ‘ab Bi-idaya an na-rj ila ktab Allah
 S S PRE-ADV ADV PRE-ADV DEF S-PRS PRE ADV ADV
 It message for-each father in-life to We-return to book Allah
 S2: 5. It is a message for each father that we have to return to Allah’s book and religion.

S2: 6. ان نعلم بناتنا ما هو الزوج عند الله

F: S2: 6 an nu-‘allim ban-at-ina ma huwa al-zawj ‘nd Allāh
 DEF SBJ-PRS OBJ-PL-DET Q SBJ DEF-SBJ PRE OBJ
 to we-teach daughter-s-our what he the-husband to Allāh
 2: 6. **We** must teach our daughters what is the value of the husband in Allāh’s will.

S2: 7. ان نعلمها ان رضى الله من رضا الزوج

G: S2: 7. an nu-‘allim-ha anna riḍá Allāh men riḍá al-zawj
 DEF SBJ-PRS-OBJ DEM SBJ OBJ PRE OBJ DEF-OBJ
 to we-teach-her that satisfaction Allāh from satisfaction the husband
 S2: 7. **We** must teach her that the husband’s satisfaction is a part of Allāh’s satisfaction.

S2: 8. نعلمها أن الذكر ليس كالانثى

H: an nu-‘allim-ha anna al-thakr laysa k-al-ontha
 DEF SBJ-PRS-OBJ DEM DEF-SBJ NEG ADV-DEF-ADV
 To we-teach-her that the-man not as-the-woman

S2: 8. We should teach her that the man is not the same as the woman.

S2: 9. مطالبنا هي: عطوه اعتراف بالقتل

J: S2: 9. na-ṭlub al-ṭwah i-ṭiraf bl-qatil
 SBJ-PRS DEF-OBJ DEF-ADJ PRE-OBJ
 we-ask the-ṭwah the-acknowledgment for-murder

S2: 9. “We ask for the acknowledgement ṭwah as a result of the murder case”.

S2: 10. نطلب الجلوه

S2: 10. na-ṭlub jalwah
 SBJ-PRS OBJ
 we-ask jalwah

S2: 12. We ask the exile.

S2: 11. بنعطيكوا عطوه لمده ست شهور

L: na-ṭil-o al-ṭwah l-mdt set shoh-or
 SBJ-PRS-O DEF-O PRE-O ADV ADV-O
 We-give-you truce for-duration six month-s

S2: 12. We give you f al-ṭwah for six months.

Appendix 10: Case H (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two Muslims: A Muslim husband and a Muslim wife)

Background

In the following case, the clans are gathering as a result of the murder case between two Muslims: A Muslim husband and a Muslim wife, as it is seen in the following website of this tribal truce on YouTube:

(Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G0CDcjPKcIM>. Accessed on 10/4/2021)

Place: AL-Balqaa’s guesthouse (the victim’s clan guesthouse)

Time: In the evening of 9/2/2019

(S1): The delegation leader

(S2): The victim’s clan leader

This tribal truce took place on the evening of 6/8/2018, as shown in the uploaded video by جفرا نيوز (Jafra news); this indicates that the uploaded this العطوه العشائريه (the tribal truce) on YouTube by a formal news in Jordanian culture that it is a ritual behavior accepted by all members of Jordanian culture to solve the dispute between the disputing parties. The meeting was a result of killing a Muslim husband of his Muslim wife. The offender’s clan sent the delegation to ask for the tribal truce and meet the victim’s clan requirements.

Script

The Arabic original version:

S1: 1. قال الله تعالى: " أنما المؤمنون اخوه فأصلحوا بين أخويكم و اتقوا الله لعلكم ترحمون "

S1: 1. The Almighty said: “Surely all believers are brothers. So make peace between your brothers, and fear God, so that mercy be shown to you”

(The Quran. Al Hujurat (the apartments) verse no. 10) (Khan, 2012: 395)

S1: 2. تهدم الكعبه حجر حجر أهون من قتل دم مسلم مثل ما قال الرسول عليه الصلاه و السلام

B: S1: 2. tohdam al-ka-‘bh hajr hajr ahwn mn qatl dam

Muslim mthl ma qal al-rasol

S1: 2. PASS DEF-SBJ O O ADJ PREP ADV ADV

ADV	CONJ	3-PST-M	DEF-SBJ				
Destroyed	the-Ka'bah	stone	stone	easier	from	killing	blood
Muslim	as	said	the-prophet				

S1: 2. The destroy of the Ka'bah stone by stone is easier than killing a Muslim, as the Prophet Muhammad said.

S1: 3. هذا الرجل الذي قتل زوجته سيأخذ عقابه في الدنيا

C: S1: 3.	Hatha	al-rajol	alathi	qatal	zawjt-o
s-y?khoð	ʔkab-h		fe		al-donya
S1: 3.	DET	DEF-SBJ	CVB	PST-M	wife-POSS
FUT-PRS-M	SBJ-POSS		PREP		DEF-ADV

S1: 3.	This	the-man	who	killed	wife-his
will-take	Punishment-his	in		the-life	

S1: 3. This man who killed his wife will be punished in the life.

S1: 4. نحن نطالب بالاعدام لها

S1: 4.	nḥnu	nu-ṭālib	bil-‘dām	l-hū
	SBJ	AGR-PRS	PRE-OBJ	PRE-OBJ
	we	we-ask	for-execution	for-him

S1: 4. **We** ask for the murderer's execution.

S1: 5. نحن نتأثر بحادث مثل هيك لانه كلنا تحت شعار " لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله "

E: S1: 5.	nḥnu	na-t'athr	b-ḥadeth	mthl	hak	lian-o
kol-na	taḥt	shi'ar	la	‘ilah	‘ila	Allah
S1: 5.	1-PL	1-PL-PRS	PRE-ADV	PRE	DET	
CVB-M	DET-1-PL		PREP	ADV	NEG	SBJ
ADV						PRE

S1: 5.	We	we-effect	by-incident	like	this
because-it	All-we		under	logo	no
Allah					Allah
					except

S1: 5. We are affected by any incident like this because we are all under the logo “No God except Allah”.

S1: 5. هذا الرجل قتل هذه البنت و بعد قتلها فتح عليها الغاز

F: S1: 5. Hathaa al-rajol qatal hath-h al-bint w ba'id
 qatl-ha fataḥ ‘alayha al-ghaz
 S1: 5. DET DEF-SBJ PST DET-F-O DEF-O CONJ PST-O PST-SBJ
 PRE-O DEF-O
 S1: 5. This the-man killed this-she this-girl and after Killed-her
 opened-he on-it the-gaz

S1: 6. This man killed this girl after he opened gas.

S1: 6. سبحان الله هذه بلاد الشام التي أوصى بها الله

G: sobḥan Allah hath-hi belad al-fam alati Awṣa b-ha
 Allah
 ADJ N DET-F SUBJ DEF-ADJ CVB 3-M-PST PRE-POSS
 Allah
 Glory Allah this country the-Levant which Recommended for it
 Allah

S1: 7. Glory to be Allah, this country belongs to the Levant¹⁷ which Allah recommended with it.

S1: 7. ما بروح فيها حق لبشر

H: ma broḥ fi-ha ḥaq li-bashar
 NEG ADJ PREP-3 ADV PRE-ADV
 Not lost in-it right for-human

S1: 8. The human right will not be lost

S1: 8. جئنا من أجل عطوه عشائريه

S1: 8. j'inā men ajel ‘ṭwah ‘shāryah
 PST-SBJ PRE PRE OBJ ADJ

¹⁷ Levant: it is the region along the eastern Mediterranean shores. It includes: Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria.

came-we for for 'twah tribal

S1: 8. We came for the tribal'twah.

S2: 9. ان أصدق الكلام و أصدق الحديث هو كتاب الله

J: S2: 9. anna aşdq al-kalam w aşdaq al-ḥadith hwa ktab Allah

S2: 9. DET ADJ DEF-SUBJ CONJ ADJ DEF-SUBJ PRS O O

S2: 9. The honest the-speech and honest the-speech is book Allah

S2: 9. The honest speech is what is found in Allah's book

S2: 10. أصدق الهدي هو هدي محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم

K: S2: 10. 'aşdaq al-hadi hwa hadi Muhammad

S2: 10. ADJ DEF-SUBJ PRS ADJ N

S2: 10. Honest the-guide is guide Muhammad

S2: 9. The honest guide is Muhammad's guide (peace be upon him).

S2: 11. قال الله تعالى: "و من يقتل مؤمنا متعمدا فجزاؤه جهنم خالدا فيها و غضب الله عليهم و لعنه و أعد له عذابا عظيما"

S2: 11. The Almighty said: "But whoever kills a believer intentionally-his recompense is Hell, wherein he will abide eternally, and Allah has become angry with him and has cursed him and has prepared for him a great punishment".

(The Quran. AL-Nesa'a verse. 93) (Khan, 2012: 350)

S2: 12. كل واحد منكم يسأل نفسه لماذا قتلت؟

M: S2: 12. Kol wahid mn-kom ys'asl nafs-ho lmatha qotelat

S2: 12. INDF SUBJ PREP-O SUBJ-PRS-2-PL O Q PST-PASS-O

S2: 12. Each one of-you ask-you self-your why killed-she

S2: 12. Each one of you ask himself why was she killed?

S2: 13. أنا أقول لكم لماذا قتلتها

N: S2: 13. ana 'aqol l-km lmatha qatal-ha

S2: 13. SUBJ SUBJ-PRS PRE-O Q PST-O

S2: 3. I I-say for-you why killed-her

S2: 13. I tell you why he killed her?

S2: 14. لماذا قتل الغلام في عهد عمر بن الخطاب امير المؤمنين رضي الله عنه

O: S2: 14. lmatha qatal al-gholam fi ‘ahed Omar Ibn Al-Khattab

S2: 14. Q PASS-3-M DEF-O PREP O Omar Ibn Al-Khattab

S2: 14. Why killed the-boy in era Omar Ibn Al-Khattab

S2: 14. Why the boy was killed in the era of Omar Ibn Al-Khattab- the prince of believers.

S2: 15. كان له اب و هذا الاب سمى هذا الولد "اصيل" و هذا الولد كان له امراه اب فأمته عند امراه الاب

P: S2: 15. Kana lah-o ‘bin sama hatha al-wald Aseel

w hatha al-walad kan lah-o mart a’ab

S2: 15. PST-3-M PRE-O SUBJ SUBJ-PST DET DEF-O Aseel CONJ

DET DEF-SUBJ PST-3-M PREP-O O O

S2: 15. Was-he for-him father called-he this the-boy Aseel

and this the-boy was-he for-him wife father

S2: 15. This boy had a father who called him “Aseel” and he has a father’s wife who was responsible for protecting him.

S2: 16. ذهب الاب مسافرا و كان لها صاحبا تعاشره بالزنا

R: S2: 16. thahab ‘al-‘ab msafer w kan l-ha sahib to’ashar-ho

S2: 16. PST-SUBJ DEF-O O CONJ PST PREP-O ADJ SUBJ-PRES-O

S2: 16. Went-he the-father passenger and was for-her lover she-sleep-he

S2: 16. This father travelled. His wife had lover and she had sexual relationship with him

S2: 17. فرأى ذلك هذا الغلام فخافت ان ينقل الى اباه فقالت لعشيقتها

S2: 18. ra’ah thalka al-gholam f-khaf-at an yanqol ila ‘aba-ho

f-qala-t li-‘ashiq-ha

S2: 18. SUBJ-PST DET DEF-SUBJ CONJ-PST-3-F INF 3-M-PRS PREP OBJ-POSS

CONJ-PST-3-F BEN-lover-POSS

S2: 18. So-see-he this the-boy so-scared-she to he-tell

to father-his so-said-she BEN-lover-POSS

S2: 18. The boy saw her, so she was scared that the boy informs his father. Thus, she told her lover:

S2: 18. ان لم تقنله سأبتعد عنك في البدايه رفض

T: S2: 18. in lam ta-qtol-ho sa-‘abta’id ‘an-k fi al-bedayah rafq

S2: 18. COND NEG SUBJ-PRS-O FUT-1-PRS PREP-O PREP DEF-O SUBJ-PST

S2: 18. If not you-kill-him will-I-leave about-you in the-beginning he-rejected

S2: 18. If you do not kill him, I will leave you. In the beginning he rejected.

S2: 19. فذهب مع اصدقائه لقتله فقتلوه و بعد ايام حققوا معهم

U: S2: 19. thab-ah ma'ah aṣḍiqa-hi f-qatal-oh w ba'ad ayam ḥḩaq-o ma'a-hn

19. PST-SUBJ PREP O-POSS CONJ-PST-O PREP O PST-O PREP-O

S2: 19. So-he-went with friends-his so-they-killed-him and after days detected with-them

S2: 19. He went with his friends to kill and put him in a pit. Afterdays, the police detected with them.

S2: 20. فتبين انهم سبعة كما قال الامام مالك في كتابه "المواقف"

V: S2: 20. tabyan anhom sab'ah k-ma qal Al-Imam Malik fi ktab-h "Al-Mwakif"

S2: 20. PRS SUBJ1-PL O PREP PST-3-M O PRE O-POSS

S2: 20. clarify that-they seven said-he Al-Imam Malik in book-his

"Al-Mwakif"

S2: 20. They were seven killers, as Al-Imam Malik said on his book "Al-Mwakif".

S2: 21. فذهب اشخاص يستشيرون عمر بن الخطاب و اخبروه ما حصل

W: S2: 21. thahb 'ashkhaṣ yastashir-on Omar w 'khbar-ho ma ḩaṣal

S2: 21. PST SUBJ SUBJ-PRES-O OBJ SUBJ-PST-O PST

S2: 21. went persons they-ask-they Omar they-tell-him what happened

S2: 21. Persons went to Omar Ibn Al-Khattab and told him what happened.

S2: 22. فأمرهم بقتل السبع أشخاص فقالوا يا امير المؤمنين الذي قتله واحد

X: S2: 22. amar-hm b-qatl al-saba'ah f-qal-o alathi qatal waḩd

S2: 22. SUBJ-PST-O INF-PRS DEF-SBJ CONJ-SUBJ-PST COM PST SUBJ

S2: 22. he-ordered-them to-kill the-seven so-said-they that killed-he one

S2: 22. He ordered them to kill these seven persons. So, some people said to Omar: Prince, the killer is one person.

S2: 23. قال و الله لو كل اهل صنعاء اجتمعوا على قتله لقتلناهم جميعا

Y: S2: 23. qal w-Allahi law kol ahl Sana'a 'ijtima-o ala qatl-ih l-qatkn-hm

jamā'ah-m

S2: 23. PST-3-M w-Allah COND SUBJ SUBJ Sana'a PST-1-PL INF INFN-SUBJ

INF-PRES-O O

S2: 23. Replied-he swear-Allah if all people Sana'a meet-they on killing
to-kill-we-them

S2: 23. He replied: if all Sana'a's people killed him, I swear to God we kill all of them.

S2: 24. نعطيكوا عطوه الى حين اصدار الحكم

Z: S2: 24.na-tik-o 'aṭwah ila ḥīn 'ṣdar al-ḥokom

S2: 24. SUBJ-PRS-O O PRE O O DEF-O

S2: 24. We-give-you 'aṭwah until sentencing the-judgement

S2: 24. We give you 'aṭwah until the time of murderer's sentence.

Appendix11: Case I (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between two close Muslim friends)

Background

In the following case, the clans are gathering as a result of the murder case between two Muslims, as it is seen in the following website of this tribal truce on YouTube:

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I8RNB2jgEUk>. Accessed 12/10/2020

Place: AL-Abaddi’s guesthouse (the victim’s clan guesthouse)

Time: In the evening of 16/7/2019

(S1): The delegation leader

(S2): The victim’s clan leader

This tribal truce took place on the evening of 16/7/2019, as shown in the uploaded video by Rumonline Channel; this indicates that the uploaded this العطوه العشائريه (the tribal truce) on YouTube by a formal news in Jordanian culture that it is a ritual behavior accepted by all members of Jordanian culture to solve the dispute between the disputing parties. The offender’s clan sent the delegation to ask for the tribal truce and meet the victim’s clan requirements.

Script

The Arabic original version:

S1: 1. أيها الاخوه

A: 1. ayuhā	al-ikhwah
VOC	DEF-M-PL
O’	the-brother-s

S1: 2. قال الله تعالى: "و من يقتل مؤمنا متعمدا فجزاؤه جهنم خالدا فيها و غضب الله عليهم و لعنه و أعد له عذابا عظيما"

S1: 2. The Almighty said: “But whoever kills a believer intentionally-his recompense is Hell, wherein he will abide eternally, and Allah has become angry with him and has cursed him and has prepared for him a great punishment”.

S1: 3. نستنكر هذه الجريه

C: S1: 3. na-stnkr	hadh	al-jaremah
S1: 3.PL-S-PRS	DET	DEF-O
S1: 3. We-reject	this	the-murder
S1: 3. We reject this murder case.		

S1: 4. جننا معترفين بهذه الجريمه

D: S1: 4. Ji-na	m'tarf-in	b-hadhh	al-jaremh
S1: 4. PST-PL-S	PL-O-PL	PREP-O	DEF-O
S1: 4. came-we	acknowledgment-s	with-this	the-murder
S1: 4. We acknowledge this murder case.			

S1: 5. نطلب باعدامه

E: S1: 5. na-t-lob	bi-'dam-h
S1: 5. PL-S-PRS	PREP-O-O
S1: 5. We-ask	for-execution-his
S1: 5. We ask for his execution.	

S2: 6. فقدنا شخص عزيز قبل ست شهور

G: S2: 7. fqad-na	shkhs	aziz	qbl	khms	shoh-or
S2: 7. PST-PL-S	O	ADJ	PREP	O	O-PL
S2: 7. Lost-we	person	precious	before	six	month-s
S2: 6. We lost a precious person before six months ago.					

S2: 7. صديقه و جاره قتله

H: S2: 7. sadiq-oh	w	jar-oh	qatl-oh
S2: 7. S-POSS	and	O-POSS	PST-O
S2: 7. friend-his	and	neighbour-his	killed-him
S2: 7. His friend and his neighbour killed him.			

S2: 8. أخذ تلفونه و بعث رساله

I: S2: akhd-h	tlafon-h	w	b'th	resaleh
---------------	----------	---	------	---------

S2:8. PST-S	O-POSS	CONJ	PST-S	O
S2:8. Took-he	mobile-his	and	sent-he	message

S2: 8. He took the victim's mobile and sent a message.

S2: 9. أوهم الجميع انه حي

J: S2: 9. awhm-ah	al-jami'	anh-o	hay
S2: 9. PST-S	DEF-O	CONJ-S	ADJ
S2: 9. He-distracted	the-all	that-he	alive

S2: 9. He distracted people's attention that the victim is alive.

S2: 10. انتوا جايين لاجل عطوه

K: S2: 10. ant-omnt	jay-in	liajel	'ṭwah
S2: 10. S-PL	PST-PL	PRE	O
S2: 10. You-all	came-you-all	for	'ṭwah

S2: 10. You came for obtaining the 'ṭwah.

S2: 11. أنتم مقبولين كجاهه

L: S2: 11. ant-om	mqbol-in	k-jaha
S2: 11. S-PL	ADJ-PL	PREP-O
S2: 11. You-all	cceptable-s	as-delegation

S2: 11. You are all acceptable as a delegation.

S2: 12. نطلب الجوى

M: S2: 11. na-ṭlub	jalwah
SBJ-PRS	OBJ
we-ask	jalwah

S2: 12. We ask for the exile.

S2: 13. نعطيكموا عطوه الى حين اصدار الحكم

Z: 13. na-tik-o	'aṭwah	ila	hīn	'ṣdar	al-ḥokom
S2: 13. SUBJ-PRS-O	O	PRE	O	O	DEF-O
S2: 13. We-give-you	'aṭwah	until	sentencing	the-judgement	

S2: 24. We give you ‘atwah until the time of murderer’s sentence.

Appendix 12: Case J (The ‘ṭwah for the murder case between Muslims)

Background

In the following case, the delegation and the victim’s clan are gathering again for the murder case as it is seen in the following websites of this tribal truce on YouTube:

(Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S_g8eVcp3to. Accessed 10/02/2021)

Place: Al- Hammad’s gathering place (the victim clan’s guesthouse)

Time: In the evening of 14/12/2020

(S1): The delegation leader

(S2): The victim’s clan leader

This trial truce took place in the evening of 14/12/2020, as shown in the uploaded video by Khalil Hammad (a member of the victim’s clan). The meeting was a result of killing a Muslim man. Thus, the offender’s clan sent another delegation to ask for another tribal truce and meet the victim’s clan requirements.

Script

The Arabic original version:

S1: 1. أخواني عشائر حماد

A: ayuhā al-ikhwah
VOC DEF-M-PL
O’ the-brother-s

S1: 2. قال الله تعالى: وَالْعَصْرِ (1) إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ (2) إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَّصُوا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَّصُوا بِالصَّبْرِ

S1: 2. The Almighty says: “By time indeed mankind [humankind] is in loss except for those who believe and done righteous deeds and advised each other to truth and advised each other to patience”.

(The Quran. Al-Asr (the passage of time), verse no. 1,2 and 3) (Khan, 2012: 472)

S1: 3. كتابنا هذا هو منهجنا

C: S1: 3. Ktab-na hatha hwa mnhaj-na
S1: 3. S-POSS-PL DET S O-POSS-PL
S1: 3. Book-our this it constitution-our

S1: 3. Our book is our constitution.

S1: 4. جئنا نطلب عطوه عشائريه

B: S1:4.	j'inā	men	ajel	'ṭwah	'shāryah
	PST-SBJ	PRE	PRE	OBJ	ADJ
	came-we	for	for	'ṭwah	tribal

S1: 8. We came for the tribal 'ṭwah.

S2: 6. أهلا وسهلا

E: S2: 6.	ahln	w	sahln
S2: 6.	Noun	CONJ	Noun
S2: 6.	Welcome	and	welcome
S2: 6.	Welcome.		

S2: 7. احنا بدنا عشر الالاف دينار

K: S2: 7.	nḥnu	bd-na	'shr	alaf	dinar
S2: 7.	S-PL	PRS-PL	O	O-PL	O
S2: 7.	We	want-we	ten	thousands	dinar

S2: 12. We want ten thousand dinars.

S2: 8. نعطيكموا يلي بدكموا اياه

L: S2: 8.	n-'ṭi-ko	yle	bdk-o	iyah
S2: 8.	S-PRS-O	CONJ	PRS-S	O
S2: 8.	we-give-you	what	want-you	it

S2: 8. We give you what you want.

Appendix 13: Ethical Approval

From: Tim Wharton

Sent: Wednesday, March 28, 2018 1:58

PM To: Abeer Malkawi

Cc: Ken Turner

Subject: Ethical approval

Hi Abeer,

I don't think any ethical clearance is required here. All of the materials you are studying are already in the public domain and nothing you are doing involves working directly with vulnerable people. So, continue with your work and don't worry about this issue.

Tim Chair

BEYOND MEANING

<http://www.beyondmeaning.net>

Tim Wharton

Principal Lecturer: Language and
Linguistics School of Humanities
University of Brighton
School of Humanities, c/o D331 Checkland
Building Falmer Campus
Village Way

Appendix 14: List of Phonetic Symbols Used in Transliteration is based on the Library of Congress Romanisation scheme

Phonetic Symbols for Arabic Consonants

Arabic

Letters of the Alphabet

Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Romanization
ا	ا	ا	ا	omit
ب	ب	ب	ب	b
ت	ت	ت	ت	t
ث	ث	ث	ث	th
ج	ج	ج	ج	j
ح	ح	ح	ح	ḥ
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh
د	د	د	د	d
ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	dh
ر	ر	ر	ر	r
ز	ز	ز	ز	z
س	س	س	س	s
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh
ص	ص	ص	ص	ṣ
ض	ض	ض	ض	ḍ
ط	ط	ط	ط	ṭ
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ẓ
ع	ع	ع	ع	‘ (ayn)
غ	غ	غ	غ	gh
ف	ف	ف	ف	f
ق	ق	ق	ق	q
ك	ك	ك	ك	k
ل	ل	ل	ل	l
م	م	م	م	m
ن	ن	ن	ن	n
هـ	هـ		هـ	h (see Note 3)
و	و	و	و	w
ي	ي	ي	ي	y

Appendix 15: List of abbreviations (including ‘lexicon’ of abbreviated category labels)

These labels developed by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Bernard Comrie, Martin Haspelmath) and by the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig (Balthasar Bickel). The Committee of Editors of Linguistics Journals. 2015: 5). I used the following category labels according to its appearance in my data corpus:

1	First Person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb (ial)
AGR	Agreement
ART	Article
Aux	Auxiliary
BEN	Benefactive
COM	Comitative
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
CVB	Converb
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DIST	Distal
FUT	Future
IMP	Imperative
INDF	Indefinite

INF	Infinitive
INS	Instrumental
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
NEG	Negation/Negative
OBJ	Object
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRE	Preposition
PRS	Present
PST	Past
Q	Question particle/ maker
REFL	Reflexive
SBJ	Subject
SG	Singular
TR	Transitive
VOC	Vocative