

Refusals of Requests and Offers in Iraqi Arabic And British English

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Mohammed Taher Jasim

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List of Abbreviations

1,2,3	First, Second, Third
APA	American Psychology Association
BES	British English Speakers
CCP	Cross cultural pragmatics
CEF	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CP	Cooperative Principles
DCT	Discourse Completion Test
EFL	English as a foreign language
ESL	English as a second language
F	Feminine
FTA(s)	Face-Threatening Act(s)
FSA (s)	Face-Satisfying Act (s)
FCs	Felicity Conditions
H	Hearer
ILP	Interlanguage Pragmatics
IFID	Illocutionary Force Indicating Device
ILEs	Iraqi Learners of English
IL	Interlanguage
IPA	International Phonetics Association
IAs	Iraqi Arabic Speakers
L1	Language one
L2	Language Two

NA	Negated Ability
PP	Politeness principle
S	Speaker
SIE	Statement of Impeding Event
SAT	Speech Act Theory

Abstract

This study investigates refusals of requests and offers utilised by speakers of Iraqi Arabic and British English, as well as by Iraqi learners of English. It aims to identify the strategies of refusal employed by these three groups of speakers, as well as any differences between them. 60 subjects participated in this study. 20 Iraqi Arabic Speakers (IAs), 20 Iraqi Learners of English (ILEs), and 20 British English Speakers (BEs). The elicitation method adopted for the data collection consisted of a discourse completion test (DCT) and a series of open-ended role plays. In both cases, the scenarios employed varied systematically along the following parameters: social status, social distance, rank of imposition and gender.

The data obtained by both methods were categorised into a number of strategies. An attempt was made to provide a comprehensive description of the nature of refusal strategies used by the subjects. The strategies identified were categorised following the Beebe et al (1990) scheme of refusals. In addition, they were classified according to the (im)politeness superstrategies posited by Brown and Levinson (1987) and Culpeper (1996). The results indicate that the choice of refusal strategies reflects characteristics of Iraqi versus British English culture. These results are as follows:

1. Although both groups of subjects displayed sensitivity to the social factors referred to above, the relative influence of each factor differed from one group to another. Thus, Iraqi Arabic Speakers (IAs) and Iraqi Learners of English (ILEs) varied their refusal strategies mainly according to status and distance, while British English Speakers (BEs) did so mainly according to status and gender. Besides, the responses of the three groups were influenced by the degree of imposition.
2. The application of refusals employed by the three groups differed according to the eliciting method, namely, the DCT and the Role-Play. Consequently, various refusal strategies collected via the Role Play did not appear in the data collected by the DCT and vice versa.
3. Certain strategies employed by Iraqi speakers of Arabic were nonexistent in the data of British English speakers and vice versa.

4. The study of the interlanguage of Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language also confirmed the hypothesis that there is evidence for pragmatic transfer in the order, the frequency and the content of semantic formulae used.

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Chapter One

This chapter is composed of seven sections. Section 1.1 states my motivation as well as the rationale and statement of the problem for conducting this study. Sections 1.2-3 introduce the study aims and present the hypotheses on which this study is based. Section 1.4 briefly describes the procedures and the data collection methods, followed by highlighting the limitations and significance of the study in sections 1.5-6. Finally, section 1.7 concludes with an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Rationale and Statement of the Problem

Refusals are important because of their communicatively central place in everyday communication. In many cultures, how one says "no" is probably more important than the answer itself. Therefore, sending and receiving a message of "no" is a task that needs special skill (Abdul Sattar et. al, 2010:81). The interlocutor must know when to use the appropriate form and its function depending on the community and its culturallinguistic values (Al- Kahtani, 2005).

Beebe et al. (1990) explain that refusal is a complex speech act to realise and it requires a high level of pragmatic competence to be performed successfully. Refusals, by nature, tend to be subtle. Speakers use different strategies for refusing without actually saying 'No'. It is, therefore, sometimes difficult to recognise and comprehend refusals. Refusals, then, prove to be a major cross-cultural problem for many non-native speakers.

During my one year of work in Iraq as a cultural and bilingual advisor, I observed many 'refusals' amongst British and Iraqi native speakers as they occurred in natural discourse. In addition, I encountered situations when communication broke down in refusing some requests/offers due to inappropriate use of communication skills or lack of cultural awareness from the interlocutors.

Many studies have been conducted to investigate and identify the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influences on the use of various speech act realisation strategies in different languages. Consequently, any research that identifies cross-linguistic and cross-cultural

influences on the use of various speech act realisation strategies in Iraqi Arabic language can be beneficial for understanding the culture of its speech community. As Rubin (1983) has pointed out, speech acts reflect fundamental cultural values that may be specific to a speech community. Cultures have been shown to vary drastically in their interactional styles, leading to different preferences for modes of speech act behaviours. As a result, lack of knowledge of speech act realisation patterns and strategies across cultures can lead to breakdowns in intercultural and inter-ethnic communication. A similar view was adopted by Nelson (2002) as he stated that one of the reasons for studying Arabic communication relates to the misunderstanding of Arabs by many outside the Arab world.

Refusal is also sensitive to other sociolinguistic variables such as the status of the interlocutors relative to each other (e.g., refusing a request/offer from a friend versus a supervisor at work), the social distance (e.g., refusing a request/offer from a stranger versus an intimate), rank of imposition (high, low, medium) and gender (male versus female). Beebe et al. (1990) further explain that refusals reflect 'fundamental cultural values' and involve 'delicate interpersonal negotiation' that requires the speaker to 'build rapport and help the listener avoid embarrassment' (p. 68). It, therefore, warrants investigation since the potential for offending the hearer and the possibility of communication breakdown are high.

1.2 Aims of the Study

The present study aims to investigate refusal strategies as realised by Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language (ILEs), native speakers of Iraqi Arabic (IAs), and native speakers of British English (BEs). The focus of the study is to investigate how the three groups of informants realise refusals and to examine the types of semantic formulae used in each refusal strategy, along with their frequency of occurrence and order of use. Another goal here is to investigate the importance of four contextual variables, viz, social status, social distance, rank of imposition and gender, in accounting for the variation in the realisation of refusals in Iraqi Arabic and British English. A further focus of the study is to find evidence for pragmatic transfer that may exist in the order, frequency and content of semantic formulae used in the refusals of Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language. In addition, this study is one of a very small number of studies that used both the discourse

completion test (DCT)¹ and Role Plays in data collection. Thus, this study investigates whether the subjects react differently or similarly when the refusal is written in the DCT rather than spoken and subject to interactional negotiation (in the Role Plays).

1.3 Hypotheses

The present study hypothesises that:

- a. The choice of one strategy rather than others in a given situation is mainly determined by three different variables: social status, social distance, rank of imposition and gender.
- b. The frequency of the semantic formulae of refusal, their content, order, situational context and the linguistic forms available are culture-specific.
- c. Speakers of Iraqi Arabic and British English can be distinguished on the basis of their refusal strategies.
- d. Pragmatic transfer exists in the order, frequency and content of semantic formulae used in the refusals of Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language.

1.4 Procedure and Data Collection

Two types of refusals were selected because they represent two distinct types of stimuli to refusals, namely, requests and offers. Furthermore, two elicitation methods were used to collect the data; DCT and Role Play. Role Play is a method that may capture a dynamic negotiation of meaning and may elicit multi-turn interactional data, allowing the analysis of speech acts at the level of discourse. Thus, natural data have been the source for setting 36 situations concerning refusals of request and offer in the DCT and 9 situations in the Role Plays. In each case, a situation was described; each situation was followed by a request or offer and then a blank in which a refusal would fit. The subjects were asked to write down what they would reply (see appendix 1). Similarly, modified open-ended Role

¹ . A DCT was first developed by Blum-Kulka (1982) and usually consists of a written task in which participants are required to write what they believe they would say in a particular situation (see chapter 3, section 3.3.1 Discourse Completion Task/Test (DCT)).

Play scenarios were used to collect data orally. Each Role Play situation is divided into two parts: A and B. Informant B is the one who initiates the speech act (whether a request or an offer), while informant A refuses (see appendix 3).

The subjects were divided into three groups as follows: 20 Iraqi Arab speakers, 20 British English speakers and 20 Iraqi learners of English, with the Iraqi learners of English providing the foreign language data (chapter three).

The data were categorised according to the classification scheme proposed by Beebe et al (1990) (see chapter 2, section 2.6.2 for Beebe's et. al (1990) coding scheme). Finally, the results of the study are compared with previous studies that researched refusals such as Al-Shalawi (1997), Al Issa (1998), Morkus (2009) etc. (chapter two, section 2.6).

1.5 Limitation of the Study

This study investigates the refusal phenomenon in Iraqi Arabic and British English. It generally falls within sociopragmatics, which studies the ways in which pragmatic performance is subject to specific social variables or conditions. The study is concerned with the ways in which language is used to perform refusals with four social and situational variables that potentially affect their use. However, due to time and space limitation, the effect of some further linguistic and situational factors such as age, and occupation were not taken into account.

The data are utterances functioning as rejection in Arabic and English as they are currently used in Iraq and Britain. Refusal includes rejection of different types of speech acts. In this study, however, for practical reasons, refusals of speech acts other than requests and offers are not included.

It is commonly accepted that suprasegmental features of speech such as intonation, stress and rhythm are important components in speech interaction. However, due to the nature of the written discourse completion test adopted for the data collection in the DCT, these, are not included in the collection of data or in the analysis of this study. Facial expressions, such as raising the eyebrow, certain movements of lips and nodding the head, which may accompany the actual refusal act, are also omitted, since the study is concerned only with the actual linguistic realisation of refusal. However, features such as stress, loudness,

rising/falling intonation, are considered in analysing the conversations extracted from Role Play scenarios (appendix 8).

1.6 Significance of the Study

The present study can be of considerable value for those studying speech acts across cultures. Since refusals may cause cross-cultural problems, the study of the variation in the realisation of refusals across cultures is useful for non-native speakers. It is commonly recognised that the importance of cross-cultural communication is constantly escalating due to the increasingly cross cultural nature of economic, political and personal relationships worldwide. However, cross-cultural communication, without an understanding of different sociolinguistic rules, often leads to pragmatic failure and consequently to cross-cultural misunderstanding. The differences between Iraqi culture and British culture may be reflected in the realisation of refusals in Arabic and English. If they can be described in concrete ways, such differences could be more easily understood and thus could improve cross-cultural communication, reduce misunderstandings and minimise cultural clashes.

The study will assist English teachers in Iraq to understand the common features of the English spoken by Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language. It also provides the predominant possible forms and strategies of refusal for different occasions in Arabic and English from which learners may benefit. Finally, it is worth stating that this is the first study that investigates how refusals are realised in British English and Iraqi Arabic. It is also the first Arabic study that combines both DCT and Role Play methods to collate refusal strategies.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows.

Chapter 2 first reviews the literature on pragmalinguistics vs sociopragmatics, cross-cultural pragmatics and the concept of 'culture'. I then move on to discuss speech act theories with an emphasis on refusals, requests, and offers, as well as theories of (im) politeness. The last section pays particular attention to the refusal studies that informed the design of this study.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the data collection and analysis methods that were utilised in the present study, and a rationale for the development of the DCT and Role Play methods. The chapter concludes by a description of the classification scheme used in this study.

Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive description of the refusal strategies found in the data of this study and discusses and orders these strategies, as well as their number and frequency, according to Beebe et al (1990) coding scheme and the (im)politeness super-strategies posited by Brown and Levinson (1987) and Culpeper (1996).

Chapters 5-6 present the quantitative and qualitative findings of refusals of requests and offers, respectively that were collected by the DCT. The last section investigates pragmatic transfer in ILEs data.

Chapter 7 follows a similar approach, but focuses on the data extracted from the Role Plays

Finally, Chapter 8 provides a discussion of the qualitative and the quantitative findings. It discusses the pedagogical implications of the results, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the study. Finally, the chapter provides suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This chapter provides the theoretical background for the present study. I introduce the notions of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics as both types transfer; pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic, by ILEs from Iraqi Arabic will be observed in the present data.

As this study investigates refusal strategies from a cross cultural perspective, it also sheds some light on the important area of cross-cultural pragmatics by elucidating its basic tenets. The next section defines culture viewing it as being constructed in interactions.

I will start by providing the concepts, ideas and theories that form the theoretical foundation for the empirical investigation of speech acts. I show how refusals, requests, and offers are categorised according to Searle's (1969) classification of illocutionary acts.

Next, a discussion of the concept of politeness is provided and particular attention will be paid to the (im) politeness theories of Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Culpeper (1996) as the data in this study will be processed according to their superstrategies. This chapter moves on to present a review of some Arabic politeness studies. This review aims to show the applicability of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory as an analytical framework.

Finally, I take a look at Arabic refusal studies as well as other particularly relevant refusal studies, since refusals are the focus of the present study. This is a particularly important step as it will show, on the one hand, how previous studies informed the present study, and on the other hand, to point out the gap in the literature and show how the present study can bridge this gap.

2.1 Pragmalinguistics vs sociopragmatics

Within general pragmatics, Leech (1983: 11) draws a distinction between pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. The former can be applied to the study of the more linguistic area of pragmatics where we consider the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocution(s). Barron (2002:7) states that pragmalinguistics 'refers to the range of resources from which speakers of language have

to choose when using that language'. These resources include pragmatic strategies (e.g. directness and indirectness), pragmatic routines, and modification devices (Ibid: 8). Sociopragmatics is the sociological interface of pragmatics which studies the ways in which pragmatic performance and principles are subject to specific social conditions.

At the pragmalinguistic level in this study, the data will be examined to detect any evidence of pragmatic transfer by ILEs at the level of refusal strategies. At the sociopragmatic level, an investigation will be carried out to demonstrate whether ILEs varied their selection of refusal strategies along the contextual parameters, namely: the social status, social distance, degree of imposition and gender.

I will also investigate whether ILEs exhibit any pragmatic failure; pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic. Pragmatic failure is defined as the 'inability to understand what is meant by what is said' (Thomas, 1983:91). A distinction made by Thomas (1983:99) between pragmalinguistic failure and sociopragmatic failure is a very useful one:

- a. Pragmalinguistic failure occurs when the pragmatic force mapped by a speaker onto a given utterance is systematically different from the force most frequently assigned to it by native speakers of the target language, or when speech act strategies are inappropriately transferred from first language (L1) to second language (L2).
- b. Sociopragmatic failure is a term Thomas (1983) appropriated from Leech (1983:10-11), which he used to refer to the social conditions placed on language in use.

Moreover, Thomas (1983:99) argues that while pragmalinguistic failure is basically a linguistic problem, caused by differences in the linguistic encoding of pragmatic force, sociopragmatic failure stems from cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour.

As this study focuses on refusals from a cross-cultural perspective, the following section focuses on cross-cultural pragmatics.

2.2 Cross-Cultural Pragmatics

Cross-cultural pragmatics (henceforth, CCP) is a field of study that has sprung up in the 1980s of the last century as a reaction against the linguistic universalism of Searle's

typology of speech acts in the sense that such a universal stance can be no longer maintained (Huang, 2007:120). Its emergence is strongly associated with the names of such world-known scholars as Wierzbicka 1985, 2003; Tannen, 1981; and Schiffrin, 1984. Wierzbicka remarks that the fundamental tenets of CCP are best delineated in the following terms:

1. In different societies and communities, people speak differently.
2. These differences in ways of speaking are profound and systematic.
3. They reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values.
4. Different ways of speaking, different communicative styles can be explained and made sense of in terms of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities.

These four tenets altogether embrace the basic pillars upon which this area of pragmatics is built. In this respect, speech acts and politeness are assumed to be linguistic universals, and when applying the notion of culture into pragmatics, cross-cultural pragmatics are able to find out how people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds perform a stock of speech acts such as expressing gratitude, apology, request, etc., and to what extent the notion of politeness is present, and in what way or ways people from cross-cultures/languages keep responsive to the politeness principle. As a result, Wierzbicka (1985:175) concludes that cultural norms are reflected on speech act realisations as evidenced by many cross-cultural studies.

Given the importance of culture in CCP and since the present study is concerned with two sharply contrasted languages that are genetically, linguistically, and culturally diverse, the next section will attempt to clarify the concept of culture and show how the 'old thinking' about the concept culture have been critically deconstructed.

2.3 The Concept of Culture

No natural speech utterance is ever made in a vacuum. Each is enriched and empowered by the social and cultural loadings. When interactants encounter one another without awareness of the cultural variability beyond each other's utterances, miscommunication may take place. In explaining the cultural variability, collectivism and

individualism are widely adopted parameters (Nydell, 2006; Paulston 2014; Wierzbicka, 1985, 2003, 2006, among others). Jandt (2004:192) states that in individualistic cultures, goals are set with minimal consideration given to groups other than perhaps nuclear family. In collectivistic cultures, other groups are taken into account in a major way where goals are set. Individualistic cultures are loosely integrated while collectivistic ones are tightly integrated.

However, simplistic generalisations of those referring to collectivist and individualist cultures are widely criticised and problematised. Whilst it is possible, broadly speaking, to recognise tendencies towards collectivism or individualism in particular cultures, what is striking about all cultural groups is that all societies display both collectivism and individualism. Thus, whilst Arab cultures are often characterised as tending towards collectivist values (Hofstede, 1980), individuals nevertheless strive for their individual rights and necessarily act as autonomous beings. And whilst English culture is often characterised as tending towards individualist values (Hofstede, 1980; Culpeper and Demmen, 2011), individuals nevertheless recognise the importance of their allegiance to social groups such as the family and adjust their behaviour and values to those groups (Grainger et. al, 2016:25).

Jack et al. (2008: 875), on the other hand, see culture as heterogeneous; continuously evolving as each individual makes their 'route' through social life, rather than being 'rooted' in any "homeland" (Clifford, 1997: 12). Holliday (1999) also argues for culture to be conceptualised as a process of social construction that explains cohesive behaviour within small social groups. Furthermore, Schneider et al. (2014) consider culture as a set of interacting spheres of influence, rather than static dimensions. They see national/regional culture as just one sphere, with other spheres being identified, such as industry (e.g. type of business activity), professional (e.g. type of education and training undertaken by individuals), functional (e.g. nature of the task undertaken by individuals at work and the time taken to complete it) and company (e.g. organisational culture). This broader concept does arguably omit other potential spheres such as, for example, age and gender. However, Schneider et al. (2014) do not suggest people are programmed by these spheres, but rather move within and between them. Their concept therefore provides for interaction between spheres of culture, thus suggesting culture's dynamic nature.

This allegation underpins Holliday's (1999: 241) argument that a work group may constitute one such form of social grouping. Holliday makes a difference between 'large

culture' and 'small culture', thus attempting "to liberate 'culture' from notions of ethnicity and nation" (ibid: 237). Holliday considers the concept of small culture to be particularly appropriate given "that the world is becoming an increasingly cosmopolitan, multicultural place where cultures are less likely to appear as large coherent geographical entities" (ibid: 244). He (ibid: 248) notes "in the newly forming small culture [...], each member will bring small culture *residues* from other [...] collegial and peer experiences". According to him, small cultures are not subordinate to large cultures; rather they are permeable and dynamic entities in which boundaries (between cultures) are not clear and where culture is essentially performed, emerging in real time out of social processes. Thus, culture is enacted of face-to-face interaction and his attempt was to avoid the pitfalls of treating cultures as homogeneous and pre-existing entities that are inherent in a large culture approach (Grainger et al. 2016:16).

Piller (2011:70) also explains that we live in a world where people cross in and out of cultural styles (Rampton 1995), engage in cultural fusions (Pennycook 2007), are part of third cultures (Tokuhama-Espinosa 2003), and where hybridity carries enormous identifiatory and analytic purchase (Maher 2010). In such a world, a homogenous, nation-focused intercultural communication device is not only stereotypical; it is also out of reach (Piller, 2011:70).

Thus, the term 'culture' may be used to mean the beliefs, values and practices of any social group that may be considered a community, not just national, linguistic or ethnic groups (Grainger et al. 2016:16). To the extent that culture is viewed as a practice, the widely used notion of community of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1998; Wenger, 1998) since it refers to a group of people that is defined through mutual engagement in a task or activity and which has 'a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time' (Wenger, 1998: 76). For example, a white working class Italian-American woman does not develop her ways of speaking directly from the larger categories working class, Italian-American and female, but from her day-to-day experience as a person who combines those three (and other) memberships. Her experience will be articulated by her participation in activities and communities of practice that are particular to her place in the social order. It is in these communities of practice that she will develop an identity and the linguistic practices to articulate this identity

In summary, as has already been argued above, culture should be treated as something that people 'do', rather than something that they 'have'. In this way, a view of culture as

monolithic, homogeneous and static, and which coincides directly with nationality or ethnicity, may be avoided. Consequently, discussing the findings of this study in terms of the individualistic and collectivistic cultures will be avoided.

2.4 Speech Act Theory

Current interest in speech act theory (henceforth, SAT) stems directly from the work of Austin (1962). For Austin, language results from acts of speaking. His contention that 'in saying something, a speaker also does something' has been widely accepted by, and inspired, many other scholars. First, Austin (1962) defined sentences that cannot be assigned a truth value. These are called 'performative', for example:

1. *You are fired!*
2. *I warn you!*

These sentences do not describe a state of affairs, but are used to perform actions, namely: firing and warning respectively. However, unless certain conditions are met, performatives cannot be carried out successfully. These are called the felicity conditions (FCs). Austin pointed out that all utterances are affected by parallel phenomena related to sincerity, commitment, and presupposition. At this point, Austin reconsidered the sense of performing something in saying something. He claimed that three kinds of acts are simultaneously performed in uttering any sentence. His division of acts into locutionary (which refers to producing a sentence with a certain reference and sense, such as *Can you pass the salt?*), illocutionary (the act performed by uttering this sentence: in this case it is a request), and perlocutionary (the effect of the illocutionary act on the addressee).

An important contribution to the speech act theory may be found in Searle (1969), who proposes an influential version of this theory which can be seen as an elaboration of Austin's work.

Most importantly for my purposes, Searle (1979: 2-5) proposes a classification of functions of language usage by dividing illocutionary acts into a number of categories: Assertives (in which the speaker commits themselves to the truth of the expressed proposition, such as describing, assessing, reporting, stating, etc.), directives (in which the speaker tries to direct the hearer to do or not to do some future action such as warning, giving permission,

ordering, asking, pleading, advising, commanding, inviting, etc.), commissives (in which the speaker attempts to commit themselves to some future action such as promising, threatening, committing, swearing, vowing, etc.), expressives (in which the speaker expresses their psychological state of mind, such as apology) and declarations (which require extralinguistic institutions to bring about a change in reality such as name, marry, christen, define, declare, etc.).

The object of the present study consists of refusals in response to requests and offers. In terms of SAT, requests and offers belong to the class of 'directives' and 'commissives' (Searle, 1975b: 347). The former are attempts by the speaker to persuade the hearer to carry out some future action; requesting and inviting are of this type. Ervin-Tripp (1981) considers these acts as belonging to the large class of 'control moves which affect the addressee's actions'.

Commissives, on the other hand, are undertakings to carry out a future action, for example, promising and offering. The speech act of Refusal, which is the focus of the present study, falls into the category of commissives because it commits the refuser to (not) performing an action (Searle 1977). However, it could be argued that both directives and commissives involve cooperation. Hancher (1979) points out that inviting and offering are commissives as well as being directives. He therefore prefers to call them 'commissive directives', since they commit the speaker to a certain course of behaviour. Offers, furthermore, are not performed by the speaker with the sole intention of ensuring that the listener understands what is being offered. Rather they attempt to elicit from the hearer particular responses, if they are to be accomplished successfully. Commissive directives look towards completion in some response by the hearer.

Furthermore, Searle (1975) identifies a basic dimension with respect to which different kinds of speech vary from one another i.e., speech acts direction of fit. It characterises the way in which acts of that type are related to the world. A statement has a "word-to-world" fit because it constitutes an attempt by the speaker to make his words "match" the world in a certain sense. In contrast, a promise has a world-to-word fit because it constitutes an undertaking on the part of the speaker to make the world match his words. Searle (1975) also recognised a "null" direction of fit for speech acts, such as greetings and thanks that match neither words to the world nor the world to words.

Refusals normally function as second pair parts to a number of eliciting speech acts, such as invitations, suggestions, requests and offers; their forms and content vary according to, among other factors, these eliciting speech acts. They are not initiating acts but responses or reactive speech acts (Felix-Brasdefer, 2008) by which the speaker ‘fails to engage in an action proposed by the interlocutor’ (Chen, Ye and Zhang 1995 in Felix-Brasdefer, 2008:42).

The idea that refusals belong to the category of commissives because they commit the refuser to (not) performing an action (Searle 1977) is rejected by Ellis (2008: 186). He (ibid) claims that ‘the speech acts of refusal do not easily fit into Searle’s classification of speech acts. They occur in the form of responses to a variety of illocutionary acts such as invitations, offers, requests and suggestions.

In order to capture the interactive nature of speech acts, Edmondson (1981: 55) suggested the examination of ‘a sequence of speech acts, rather than having a closed pair of such acts’. Following Sinclair and Coulthards’s (1975) model of discourse, Edmondson examined speech acts interactions in terms of sequential organisation: uptake, head, and appeler. Taking into account the complete speech act interaction, Edmondson observed that some speech acts are the product not of a single utterance, but of a negotiation, a cooperative achievement, or a conversational outcome between two speakers.

Gibbs and Mueller (1988) explained that speech acts can be analysed with respect to their sequential structure across the interaction (macro level) or according to the internal structure of speech act sequence (micro level). At the macro level, speech act sequences (e.g. an invitation-refusal sequence) are realised by means of pre or post sequences. Similarly, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) explain that the negotiation of speech acts may be realised by means of various sequences across the interaction (e.g. invitation-refusal sequence).

It seems reasonable to conclude that refusal even if it occurs as a response to other acts is not a reason to treat it as belonging to the category of the speech act patterns. It might be better to treat refusal as an interactional turn rather than a speech act.

Refusals typically contain many semantic formulae, including apologies, thanks and endorsement of the requested activity. However, within each refusal formula, there is often a particular act that could be used on its own by the refuser in order to convey their rejection of the soliciting act. This act is called the Head (see section 2.6.2) or, in Turnbull

and Saxson's (1997) words, 'the act of refusing compliance where a declination component exists' (see also Turnbull, 2001). One first pair part of an adjacency pair such as invitations, suggestions, requests, offers, blame and questions, may trigger a number of potential second pair parts, such as acceptance, agreement and denial. These second pair parts are not all equally favoured. Indeed, there is a ranking of preference in the production of these parts and there is always at least one preferred and one dispreferred response. Adjacency pairs are to be understood as conversational sequences whereby the occurrence of a first pair part makes the occurrence of the second pair part 'conditionally relevant' (Edmondson, 1981: 46). An adjacency pair occurs when a certain turn projects a relevant next action or range of actions to be performed by another speaker in the next turn. These pairs include:

Table 2.1: Adjacency pairs of offers as cited from (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984: 6; Schegloff, 1984: 32; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987: 147; Mey, 1993: 342; Beun, 1996: 7).

The First Pair	The second pair
Question	Answer
Offer	Acceptance/Refusal
Request	Grant/Deny
Greeting	Greeting

Preference does not necessarily refer to what an interlocutor wants to do. Following an offer of a cup of tea from an annoying neighbour, one might wish to reject the offer.

However, in terms of preference structure, the preferred response is to accept and the dispreferred second is to refuse the offer. Preferred responses are typically produced without delay and are usually simple in form. Dispreferred second pair parts (such as refusals) are usually delayed, prefaced in some way (often with modifications that contain a reason as to why the preferred response cannot be given). The table below (taken from Levinson, 1983:336) shows first pair parts and their dispreferred responses.

Table 2.2: Adjacency Pairs and their (dis)preferred second pair parts

First Part		Request	Offer/Invite	Assessment	Blame	Question
Second Part	Preferred	Acceptance	Acceptance	Agreement	Denial	Expected response
	Dispreferred	Refusal	Refusal	Disagreement	Admission	Unexpected response

Preference organisation, then, is related to cultural norms rather than to personal wishes. Preferred responses will (usually) enhance the face of the interlocutor and dispreferred responses are likely to cause damage to the hearer's face. It is for this reason that they are deemed to be hedged (Heritage, 1984).

The act of refusal possesses a number of attributes that make it important. Firstly, refusals are face threatening acts par excellence; the risk of offending one's interlocutor is so much a part of the speech act that sometimes people find it difficult to perform. Secondly, refusals are sensitive to various cultural norms and values and sociolinguistic variables, such as the age and status of the interlocutor. Thirdly, they are a major cross-cultural 'sticking point' (Beebe and Cummings, 1985:5) for many nonnative speakers. For that reason they are also important for second language educators and others involved in cross-cultural communication.

The following is a brief account of the notion of the speech acts of requesting and offering. Some general points about requests and offers are worth considering. These points might be fundamental to explaining the different realisations of the refusals of requesting and offering in Arabic and English in the present study.

Requests 'express the speaker's intention that their utterance be taken as a reason for the hearer to act' (Bach and Harnish, 1979: 47). Leech (1983: 106) prefers the term 'impositive' to 'directive' in respect of requests. However, it seems that the latter is more appropriate since requests do not always 'impose' on the addressee. Eckert and McConell-Ginet (2003:188) explain that although requests and some other speech acts, such as commands, are classified as directives that ask the addressee to act in a way specified by

the speaker, it is often considered more polite to issue them indirectly. So one might say *could you pass the salt, please?* Or *would you mind passing the salt, please?* Instead of just *pass the salt.*

Both compliance and non-compliance with requests take into consideration how far the request is impolite, although they always direct the addressee to perform the action. As second pair parts, both compliance and non-compliance are expected. However, in performing requests, speakers assume and prefer compliance, or at least good will on the part of the addressee, although sometimes their assumptions may be wrong. Consequently, non-complaint responses tend to vary in type and elaboration depending, among other factors, on whether the requester's assumptions are true or not, and on whether or not the addressee is showing good will.

Generally, requests are classed as intrinsically face-threatening activities, threatening the addressee's negative face (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lee-Wong, 1994; Liao, 1997), since such requests could imply intrusion on the addressee's territory and limit their freedom of action (Sifianou, 1992: 99). However, it should be noted that negative politeness and positive politeness do not command the same value in different cultures. In the Anglo-Saxon culture, negative face is highly valued and observed, whereas in Iraqi culture, positive face has more value than negative (Al-Sulaimaan, 1997: 23). This implies that, under certain circumstances, there are cases where requests do not necessarily threaten the hearer's negative face, but imply even closeness and intimacy. Nwoye (1992:317), for example, gives a list of instances from different conversations in which he explains that speakers in Igbo society do not intrude on the addressee's territory or threaten their negative face while performing requests, even though they are realised by the use of imperative constructions:

3. My car has suddenly stopped. Come and help me push it.
4. Can you help me push this car?
5. Give me a small quantity of salt. When I go to the market and buy some I will pay you back.
6. I want to work with your cutlass/hoe today.

The requests above are not imposing on the hearer even when they are performed in their most direct way, as in example (3), rather people even feel glad to give some assistance in

a system built on mutual sharing of goods and services like Igbo society. Hearer in Igbo society complies with such requests in order to demonstrate that they are public-spirited and to avoid being considered unsociable (Nwoye, 1992: 318-19).

The speech act of offer, on the other hand, belongs to those acts that express friendly cooperative attitudes towards others. Individuals express their willingness or intentions to do things for each other, which may or may not be accepted by the recipient. An offer then is a voluntary act on the part of the speaker aimed at satisfying the recipient's potential needs.

In making an offer the speaker is voluntarily obligated to bring about the state of affairs expressed in the proposition (Fraser, 1975:193). This opinion is shared by Hickey (1986: 70) who states that offering expresses commitment regardless of the recipient's reaction. Additionally, Bach and Harnish (1979:42) accept classification of illocutionary acts in terms of types of expressed attitudes, namely those of commitment and obligation. Accordingly, they state that:

Commissives are acts of obligation or of proposing to obligate oneself to do something specified in the propositional content, which may also specify the condition under which the deed is to be done or does not have to be done.

(Bach and Harnish, 1979:50)

Allan (1986:195) also argues that offers are commissive and he highlights the fact that the speaker places himself under a social obligation to do something which is to the hearer's benefit. Vanderveken (1990:182) believes that the speech act offer is commissive (though conditional) upon the hearer's acceptance: the speaker puts something forward for the consideration of the hearer, who in turn either accepts or refuses. Bilbow (2002:292) classifies commissive speech acts broadly as promises and offers on the basis of whether they are initiated or uninitiated, respectively. Initiated commissive speech acts are uttered in response to some form of instigation in short adjacency pair relationships, whereas uninitiated commissives are those that occur spontaneously and seemingly without initiation, in free conversation.

For example, in a promise, a dialogue may proceed as below with 7.A promising 7.B, although this is not unequivocally an adjacency pair:

7. A. You have to be here before 9. Don't forget! We all depend on you.
 B. Don't worry! I'll be here on time. Count on me! (Al-Zubaidi, 2010:27)

In an offer, a guest is sitting with the host. Before starting a conversation, the host may say, *Coffee or Tea?* Here the offer is expressed as a result of no apparent initiation. However, offers may be solicited, more or less, overtly as in the following example:

8. A. I am thirsty.
 B. Would you like some orange juice?
 A. Yes, please. (Al-Zubaidi, 2010:31)

In the above instance, it is obvious that B and A constitutes an adjacency pair. Similarly, Allan (1986:195) believes that commissives involve threats, invitations, promises and offers. A promise means obligating oneself to do something for the benefit of the hearer. An offer, on the other hand, is a promise that is conditional upon the hearer's acceptance. The following example is relevant:

9. If you need paper, I can get what you want.

Here the offerer promises to give the hearer paper on condition that the hearer actually needs it. Offers, then, can be understood as the first part of adjacency pairs.

Hancher (1979:7) observes that commissives and directives have some features in common. They both involve cooperation; he considers offering to be a commissive-directive act as it requires two participants to act. Further, they have the same direction of fit. In her study of offers in Arabic and English, Al-Shabaan (1999) argues that in making an offer, the speaker commits themselves to an act, *May I give you more drink?*, or commits the hearer to *A Have more drink!*, or even both the speaker and hearer will be involved in the accomplishment of an act, *let's have more drink*. She concludes that an offer is treated as a commissive-directive act.

The present study investigates refusals of requests and offers from a cross cultural perspective.

2.5 The Concept of Politeness

Politeness analysis is a relatively new field in linguistics and it is only in recent years that this concept has become a major issue in linguistics. Nevertheless, politeness is much discussed and linguistically analysed in studies such as Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), and Leech (1983). All of their models and analyses have been influenced by Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle (CP) and Goffman's (1967) notion of 'face work'.

Politeness is usually defined as a norm of social behaviour which is adhered to in communication and which affects linguistic choice in communication. Mey (1993: 23) defines it as a 'pragmatic mechanism', in which a variety of structures work together according to the speaker's intention of achieving smooth communication.

The study of politeness touches on many fields such as semantics, pragmatics (micro-linguistics), sociolinguistics and discourse and conversational analysis (macro-linguistics). This is clearly evident in the fact that verbal politeness relates to semantics and pragmatics dealing, as it does, with notions such as presupposition, implicature and speech acts, and relates to sociolinguistics and discourse and conversational analysis when dealing with social factors and functions and the rules of appropriateness and acceptability of language.

The importance of politeness phenomenon in human interaction, and consequently in the study of language in its social context, may justify the growing interest in, and continuing development of, the theory of politeness.

Grice's theory of implicature is an attempt to investigate the underlying principles in everyday interaction. He proposes a framework for language use. He contends that conversation is a cooperative effort of the interactants, and it is governed by 'a rough general principle which participants will be expected to observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged' (1975: 45). According to Grice (1975) the speaker's contribution should be true (Quality), as informative as required (Quantity), relevant to the content (Relevance), as well as clear (Manner).

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) establish their theory on the basis of the Gricean (1975) maxims and Goffman's (1967) concept of 'face' which they connect with self-esteem or self-public image that is attacked or maintained in interaction. Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) subdivided face into two wants, labelled 'negative face' and 'positive'. 'Positive face' refers to the wants to be approved of by others and 'negative face' refers to the wants to be free from any imposition (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 61-62).

Brown and Levinson contend that certain acts inherently threaten the 'face' needs of one or both participants. Negative face is the desire to maintain one's own autonomy. Members of any culture wish to be shown proper deference and respect and to not have their privacy and space invaded, their resources spent or their actions restricted without just cause. (Wilson et al., 1991: 219). Examples of negative face proposed by the authors are: relate to etiquette, avoidance of disturbing others, indirectness in making requests or in imposing obligations, acknowledgement of one's debt to others, showing deference (Marques-Reiter, 2000:15). Positive face encompasses the desire to be accepted and to have what one wants approved by others.

Although participants are considerate of each other's face wants, they may nonetheless threaten each other's negative face or positive face. It is assumed that certain speech acts may intrinsically threaten either participant's negative face or positive face. Hearer's negative face is threatened by imposing on their autonomy, whereas the positive face is threatened by acts that overlook the hearer's feelings or wants or express disapproval (Trees and Manusov, 1998: 566). Such acts are labelled 'face threatening acts' (FTAs). For example, a request is a typically negative hearer-oriented FTA, entailing imposing on the hearer to do something for the speaker; criticism involves a negative evaluation of the hearer (a threat to positive face). The magnitude of threat in a given instance depends on the speaker's power, closeness, and on a culturally defined understanding of the costs and benefits occasioned by particular speech acts (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 74-81). For example, a friend's request for a personal favour is less face threatening than one requested by a subordinate. Based on constitutive rules, Brown and Levinson distinguish between acts that threaten negative face and those that threaten positive face (1987: 65), as well as 'between acts that primarily threaten hearer's face and those that threaten primarily speaker's face' (1987: 67). To illustrate, a directive is defined as indicating that the speaker believes that the hearer ought to do some future act - an intrinsic threat to negative face. Positive and negative face threats, however, are not mutually exclusive, and some acts

threaten both negative face and positive face (e.g. complaints, interruptions, threats, strong expressions of emotion and requests for personal information). It is also possible to threaten one's own face in the same speech act that threatens the other's face, as in the case of expressing thanks and acceptance of offers. Wilson et al., (1991) postulate that particular types of compliance appeals contain multiple threats.

The essence of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness is that acts threatening interactants' face may be rendered less face threatening when speakers employ communicative strategies in order to soften the effect. Strategies employed to minimise face threat when performing FTAs, are known as face work (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 10). Should a speaker wish to perform an FTA despite the possible face loss to hearer, to speaker or to both, linguistic means for minimising face damage are available. For example, the speaker may signal linguistically that they recognise the threat to the hearer's negative or positive face, thereby satisfying some of the hearer's wants. The speaker can select specific linguistic means appropriate to the perceived level of face threat of the verbal act. Brown and Levinson (1987) identify a politeness continuum of five superstrategies from which people choose when communicating an FTA.

Bald on record messages are performed "in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 69); in other words, in accordance with Grice's Maxims (1975). No attempt is made to acknowledge the hearer's face wants. This strategy is typically used in emergency situations (e.g. shouting *get out* when a house is on fire), when the face threat is very small (e.g. *come in* said in response to a knock at the door), and when the speaker has great power over the hearer (e.g. *stop complaining* said by a parent to a child) (Culpeper, 2011a: 8).

Positive politeness involves communicating closeness or shared group membership. Brown and Levinson (1987: 103) outline three broad strategies for conveying positive politeness: claiming common ground, conveying that the interactants are cooperators, and fulfilling the hearer's wants. The three strategies are manifested in terms of 15 more specific mechanisms. For instance, common ground can be claimed by using in-group identity markers; one can cooperate by making offers, and fulfilling the hearer's wants can be achieved by bestowing gifts².

² Positive politeness is also called solidarity politeness when the emphasis is on the common grounds of the participants' relationship, while the essence of negative politeness is deference, which emphasises the distance between the participants (Scollon and Scollon, 1983: 167f).

Negative politeness, in contrast with positive politeness, addresses negative face threat. This is the performance of the threatening act while simultaneously attending to the negative face (i.e., the desire to be unimpeded) of the hearer (Holtgraves, 1997: 224). Negative politeness can be conveyed by a number of negative politeness strategies, the most common of which is to be conventionally indirect.

For example, requests can be realised through a large class of conventionally indirect forms which are based on the felicity conditions underlying the performance of the act (Searle, 1975). These include questioning the propositional content e.g., *Will you open the door?* or preparatory conditions e.g. *Can you open the door?* or asserting the sincerity condition e.g. *I'd like you to open the door.*

These forms attend to the negative face of the recipient by providing them with a means of escape. In addition to such indirect forms, Brown and Levinson (1987: 187) outline a number of additional negatively polite strategies, such as apologising, minimising the imposition and so on.

Off record politeness is an instance of the indirect speech act. The face threatening act here is performed in such a way as to allow for more than one interpretation of the remark. The speaker leaves themselves an 'out' since they cannot be held to have committed themselves to just one particular interpretation of the act (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 211). In this way, the speaker can deny that a face threatening act was performed. Off record politeness strategies are related to Grice's maxims; each strategy can be seen as violating a specific Gricean conversational maxim. For example, violating the relevance maxim with a hint can serve as an off-record request e.g. *It is cold in here* as a request to shut the window (cf. Holtgraves, 1994). Also, one can violate the quantity maxim to criticise others' behaviour, as with an overly brief reply *It's Okay*, in response to a request to comment on another's new possessions.

A final strategy, which averts face threat but is not part of politeness communication, is avoidance of the FTA altogether (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 69).

The choice of strategy depends on the speaker's estimation of risk of face loss. Weightiness of the imposition is assessed on the basis of three factors: the relative power relationship between the speaker and the hearer (P), the social distance between them (D),

and the individual ranking of the particular imposition in the social context in which it is used (R) (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 81). According to Brown and Levinson's schema, weightiness of an FTA will determine the choice of strategy, with the higher-numbered strategies reserved for higher-weighted FTAs. The influence of those three social factors in addition to gender will be investigated in the present study.

Despite some limitations of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory³, research on pragmatics in the past decade demonstrates substantial reliance on their model (Bella et. al., 2015: 23). This framework is "common and has inspired a wealth of research, in particular in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics e.g. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989" (Ogiermann, 2015:1). Thus, Refusal strategies in the present study will be discussed in forms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) five superstrategies of politeness. However, some strategies that appear in the course of my data analysis do not fit any of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness strategies as they imply deliberate face damage. They can be categorised according to the impoliteness theory of Culpeper (1996).

Culpeper (1996) investigated impoliteness strategies in conversation, and established a framework for the impoliteness strategies that work in parallel with Brown and Levinson's model of politeness, but the aim of his framework is opposite to that of Brown and Levinson's. In other words, Brown and Levinson's model of politeness shows the different strategies of politeness used by the interlocutors to save and redress face, but positive and negative impoliteness strategies in Culpeper's framework of impoliteness aim at attacking the interlocutors' face. Moreover, Culpeper (1996) differentiates between two types of impoliteness; the first one is inherent impoliteness, which agrees with Leech's definition of absolute politeness, which refers to "the politeness associated acts independent of context." In this regard Leech argues that there are some illocutionary acts such as orders that are always impolite, and in a parallel vein there are some illocutionary acts that are always polite such as offers. Clearly this is not always the case. For example, orders, deemed impolite by Leech, might not be so in a classroom situation in which teachers order their students to do something (Marques-Reiter, 2000:10-11). According to Culpeper (1996: 351), inherent impoliteness holds to a minority of acts, irrespective of their contexts. For example, the illocutions that relate to the fact that the target is engaged in anti-social activity e.g. *picking nose or ears*. Such acts can be mitigated or redressed by politeness work as in *would you mind not picking your nose? Or do you think you could possibly not*

³ The shortcomings of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory will be discussed later in this chapter.

pick your nose? but the face damage incurred in drawing attention to an anti-social habit cannot.

The second type of impoliteness according to Culpeper is mock impoliteness, or banter which has been described as the “impoliteness that remains on the surface, since it is understood that it is not intended to cause offence.” This kind of impoliteness is represented in Leech’s Banter Principle (1983: 144): In order to show solidarity with the hearer (H), say something which is (i) obviously untrue, and (ii) obviously impolite to H” [and this will give rise to an interpretation such that] “what S says is impolite to H and is clearly untrue. Therefore what speaker (S) really means is polite to H and true. So, according to Leech (1983), banter fosters intimacy in participants’ relations (i.e. participant will use equal terms of address reflecting on the close social distance and the equal power they have). After introducing the two types of impoliteness, Culpeper (1996) tries to explain in what cases and situations interlocutors become impolite. He argues that the motivation for politeness in conversation is to maintain face as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987), and thus participants cooperate based on mutual vulnerability of face. In other words, “normally everyone’s face depends on everyone else’s being maintained and since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened”

Culpeper (1996) builds up a framework for impoliteness super-strategies. Each of the impoliteness super-strategies in his framework has its opposite politeness super strategy in Brown and Levinson’s (1987) model of politeness. They are opposite in the sense that their orientation to face is different. Instead of enhancing or supporting face, impoliteness superstrategies are a means of attacking face. These strategies are:

1. Bald on record impoliteness - the FTA is performed in a direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way in circumstances where face is not irrelevant or minimised.
2. Positive impoliteness - the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee’s positive face wants.
3. Negative impoliteness - the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee’s negative face wants.
4. Sarcasm or mock politeness - the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realisations.
5. Withhold politeness - the absence of politeness where it would be expected.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 5) touch on the face-damaging implications of withholding politeness work: "... Politeness has to be communicated, and the absence of communicated politeness may be taken as the absence of a polite attitude." For example, failing to thank somebody for a present may be taken as deliberate impoliteness.

It is also worth mentioning that Brown and Levinson's formula for assessing the weightiness of an FTA i.e. the use of the same socio-cultural variables of (P)ower, social (D)istance, and the absolute (R)ank of imposition still apply for assessing the weight of the FTA when using impoliteness strategies as well. So, the greater the rank of imposition, power, and social distance the speaker has, the more face-damaging the act is likely to be.

With regards to output strategies of negative and positive impoliteness, Culpeper (1996) suggests a provisional list of some of the strategies in his framework. This list is not exhaustive and the strategies depend upon an appropriate context to be impolite.

Positive impoliteness output strategies:

1. Ignore, snub the other - fail to acknowledge the other's presence.
2. Exclude the other from an activity.
3. Disassociate from the other - for example, deny association or common ground with the other; avoid sitting together.
4. Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic.
5. Use inappropriate identity markers - for example, use title and surname when a close relationship pertains, or a nickname when a distant relationship pertains.
6. Use obscure or secretive language - for example, mystify the other with jargon, or use a code known to others in the group, but not the target.
7. Seek disagreement - select a sensitive topic.
8. Make the other feel uncomfortable - for example, do not avoid silence, joke, or use small talk.
9. Use taboo words - swear, or use abusive or profane language.
10. Call the other names - use derogatory nominations, etc.

Negative impoliteness output strategies:

1. Frighten - instil a belief that action detrimental to the other will occur.
2. Condescend, scorn or ridicule - emphasize your relative power. Be contemptuous.
3. Do not treat the other seriously. Belittle the other (e.g. use diminutives).

4. Invade the other's space - literally (e.g. position yourself closer to the other than the relationship permits) or metaphorically (e.g. ask for or speak about information which is too intimate given the relationship).
5. Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect - personalize, use the pronouns 'I' and 'you'.
6. Put the other's indebtedness on record.

In another study Culpeper (2005) revised his 1996 framework of impoliteness. In the modified framework, he states that he refrains from calling his model of impoliteness a theory of impoliteness, and it still requires further development. He claims that impoliteness is not inherent in particular linguistic and non-linguistic signals. Yet, he does not refute the idea that some linguistic expressions are heavily oriented towards impolite interpretation. He gives as an example of this the expression *you fucking cunt*. It is extremely difficult to imagine that such an expression is not counted as impolite. This means that impoliteness is a result of the interaction between linguistic and non-linguistic signals and thus it is very important to consider context as a factor when accounting for impoliteness.

Furthermore, Culpeper (2011b:3) indicates that impoliteness research is 'a multidisciplinary field of study' and that, although it has so far been fundamentally grounded in sociopragmatics, it must also take into account other disciplines such as social psychology, sociology, and conflict studies. He (ibid) states that impoliteness occurs when speaker's words conflict with hearer's social norm-based expectations of how speaker should be addressing Hearer. Culpeper criticises Brown and Levinson's category of 'negative politeness' (speaker's attempt to not impose on hearer) as too simplistic and individualistic and prefers to use Spencer-Oatey's (2005) rapport management categories, as well as a couple of his own, to put labels on how exactly impolite speech causes offence (e.g., by using a taboo word, by classifying Hearer as belonging to a stigmatised group or not belonging to the in-group, etc.).

Culpeper distinguishes three structural types of impolite implicatures. The first type, form-driven impoliteness, is typical of mocking mimicry and operates based on lexical cues, prosodic cues, and co-text that all point to the fact that speaker is trying to offend hearer, typically by flouting one of Grice's Maxims. The second structural type of impolite implicature is convention-driven (e.g., sarcasm, teasing). This should not be confused with

the conventional impoliteness formulae; rather, this term designates the mismatch of conventional politeness expressions with a co-text or prosodic context in which a polite interpretation is unsustainable. Such mismatches, such as *I think you're amazing: amazingly dreadful*. The final structural type, context-driven impoliteness, is not defined or exemplified as clearly as the other two, but seems to consist of the marked absence of polite behavior on the part of Speaker where it is strongly expected by hearer.

Finally, after presenting the basic tenets of the different main theories of politeness, and Culpeper's framework of impoliteness, it is important to emphasise that Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness and Culpeper's framework of impoliteness (1996) are appropriate for the purpose of this study.

Regarding the issue of universality of politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987: 260) claim that the concept of face, being the motivation for politeness, will most probably be universal, but its exact content will be culturally specific. They, furthermore, argue that even the strategies of face redress are universal. They contend that there are universal principles of politeness, but the different languages select the strategies and forms most appropriate to their needs. However, this view has been challenged. House and Kasper (1981: 157) query the assumption that politeness is a universal phenomenon. Matsumoto (1988) and Gu (1990) observe that the two components attributed to 'face' by the theory cannot be universal because neither the positive nor negative aspects of it can account satisfactorily for politeness phenomenon in both Japanese and Chinese cultures. Gu (1990: 241-242) emphasises the normative nature of politeness in Chinese culture, noting that Brown & Levinson's failure to go beyond the instrumental function and to recognise the normative function of politeness in interaction is probably due to the construction of their theory around the notion of two rational and face-caring model persons.

Despite these criticisms, however, Brown and Levinson's theory remains a very useful analytical framework for understanding politeness phenomena cross-culturally, and especially within the framework of speech act research. In fact, the majority of cross-cultural speech act studies conducted over the past 20 years have used this theory as a framework for understanding how speech acts are differentially realised in different cultures. Many of the components of this theory, that will be explained below, have proved to be useful tools for comparing and contrasting the realisation strategies of speech acts cross-culturally. Despite its limitations, this theory remains the most powerful framework available today in this field.

The notion of face plays an important role in the Arabic culture in regulating people's speech behaviour (Al-Issa, 1998; Nuredeen, 2008). Al-Issa (1998) outlines some factors that may cause Arabs to take face into consideration in interaction. These factors include honour, pride, power, religious beliefs, and emotional attachment to self-image and the image of others. For example, in refusals, Arabs find it difficult to refuse a request or an invitation directly by saying *no* or *I can't*. Instead, they feel obliged to produce a convincing explanation of the refusal in order to save their own and the other's face. Such elaborate responses may be interpreted by American speakers (who are more direct) as exaggeration and insincerity.

The universality claim is supported by El-Shafey (1990), where he compares politeness strategies in Spoken Egyptian Arabic and Spoken British English. Results show that both British English and Egyptian speakers use indirect forms in similar situations, although the British use more of them than the Egyptians. Using non-conventionalised strategies to respond to an offence (e.g., British *thank you*, Arabic *shukran* thanks) is sometimes regarded as a more polite strategy than conforming to conventions of using a certain politeness strategy to attempt threatening the hearer's face in response to the performed FTA.' (p. 347).

Joking is another strategy that both cultures adopt with intimate relations. The realisation of politeness strategies by using address terms to show deference is more widely recognised in Egyptian Arabic than in British English. However, El-Shafey (1990) analyses some strategies that cannot be described as either positive or negative politeness, such as seeking disagreement when beneficial to the addressee, thus highlighting a shortcoming of Brown and Levinson's model. This is similar to saying in English *I disagree with you* in response to the statement, *I'm fit for nothing*.

In comparing politeness substrategies used by native speakers of Palestinian Arabic and English, Atawneh (1991), and Atawneh and Sridhar (1993) have conducted a study to describe the politeness strategies in realising the speech act of requesting in Arabic and contrasted them with those in English. Their studies also aim to test the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) with Arabic-English bilinguals and Arabic monolinguals, and to explore the cultural determination of pragmatic norms in language. The data have been collected through role-playing situations. The analysis of the results strongly supports the politeness theory. Atawneh and Sridhar (1993) posit that native speakers of Arabic use the substrategies of politeness differently from their English counterparts. Arabic would

seem to allow for more positive politeness strategies whereas English allows more negative politeness because the modal system in English permits higher mitigation by hedging and the use of indirect requests. Arabic, on the other hand, has a limited modal system that does not have past forms, but allows a range of conditional verbal modals which could be used at various levels of politeness for mitigating the request as *idha mumkin X ' if it is possible X'*. Address titles of deference are frequently used in addressing strangers in Arabic (Atawneh, 1991; Atawneh & Sridhar, 1993).

In order to test the applicability of Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework in Tunisian Arabic, Elarbi (1997) examined the concepts of politeness and face in Modern and Traditional Tunisian Arabic. His data was obtained from fifty-four Tunisians of different social backgrounds (traditional and modern). The results support the universality of Brown and Levinson's model particularly regarding notions of face and politeness in Tunisian Arabic. In Traditional Tunisian, politeness is expressed through beliefs in notions of honour and shame, as well as through deference or redressive acts such as those related to the evil eye in close relationships. In Modern Tunisian, on the other hand, positive face is maintained through in-group identity with social groups of different degrees of closeness, and the use of 'superposed' prestigious dialect which is not gender related.

Using Brown and Levinson's (1987) classification of politeness strategies, Davies and Bentahila (2012: 237) suggest that Arab culture favours positive politeness while British culture tends to support negative politeness. In this case, 'considerable attention is paid in Arab society to making the other party feel good' (Emery, 2000:206). The contention of Davies and Bentahila (2012) is confirmed by Nureddeen (2008), regarding Sudanese Arabic. This study investigated the type and extent of use of apology strategies in Sudanese Arabic to shed light on the sociocultural attitudes and values of the community. The corpus was 1082 responses to a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) that consisted of 10 different social situations of varying severity of offence, strength of social relationship and power between hypothetical speakers and hearers. Nureddeen asserts that the results support the claim of the universality of speech act strategies; however, the selection of apology strategies reinforces the culture-specific aspect of language use. Her results reveal an orientation among the Sudanese toward positive politeness. The informants attempted to preserve their positive face by avoiding use of apology strategies (e.g., taking responsibility, intensification and promise of forbearance) which are most damaging to speaker's face. In order to reduce the threat of a strong apology, informants used

unthreatening – or face saving – strategies (humour, minimisation, denial, and opting out). The study also illustrates the use of religious words and phrases in everyday communication with varied illocutionary forces, possibly as fillers, hedges, or devices to soften the threat of an act.

The application of Brown and Levinson's ([1978] 1987) model to speech acts in Arabic is not uncommon, and proves the applicability of their theory in Arabic language. Thus, I will categorise refusal strategies following the Beebe et al (1990) framework of refusal strategies; Direct strategies, Indirect strategies, and Adjunct to Refusals. In addition, I will discuss them in forms of the (im)politeness superstrategies of Brown and Levinson (1987) and Culpeper (1996) (see chapter four and chapter eight, section 8.1). Furthermore, the present study is an attempt to add other views of applicability, using different speech acts that are rarely discussed in the literature such as refusal strategies after requests and offers.

2.6 Refusals across Cultures

2.6.1 Arabic Refusal Studies

Cross-cultural studies on refusals confirm that different cultures perform refusals differently. Their sensitivity to social variables, their degree of directness, and their performance in terms of the content of strategies (Eslami, 2010:220) may be diverse.

A number of studies investigating refusal in Arabic have been conducted. Studies concerning refusal conducted by Stevens (1993), Al Issa (1998), Al Shalawi (1997), Al Eryani (2007) and Morkus (2009) are reviewed. All of these studies are cross-cultural, investigating refusal in Arabic and English. Other studies also looked at how this refusal is realised by Arab EFL learners. Almost all of these studies used a DCT for collecting the data (except Morkus, 2009 who used Role Plays). This is one of the methods used for data collection in the present study. Furthermore, as the present study investigates refusal in Iraqi dialect, these above-mentioned studies correspond to the present study in that they investigated refusal in different Arabic dialects including Egyptian, Jordanian, Saudi, and Yemeni. These studies are being reviewed here in some detail because they have informed the present study with regard to design and data analysis method. They are also reviewed

in order to demonstrate how the present study improves on previous research and bridges some of the gaps in the literature.

With regard to findings from these studies, they will be compared with findings from the present study later on in this thesis (chapter 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8). In addition, in this section other relevant, non-Arabic, refusal studies will be reviewed. These studies are also important in informing the present study for three reasons. Firstly, they elicited interactional data from participants using the role play method which is the second method used for data collection in the present study. Secondly, all of these studies adopted a classification scheme for analysing refusal strategies that has been widely used in the literature (Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz, 1990). This classification scheme, which is reviewed in detail later in this section, will be adopted in the present study. This is important because it allows for comparing these different studies. Thirdly, since these studies are in part similar to the present study with regard to the data collection method and their analytical framework, it will be important to review their findings to see how they compare with findings from the present study.

Stevens (1993) conducted the first refusal study on Arabic. His study investigated the realisation of refusal by native speakers of American English, native speakers of Egyptian Arabic, and Egyptian learners of English as a foreign and second language.

Stevens' study is particularly important, not only because it is the first refusal study on Arabic, but also because of its classification scheme of refusals and its findings. For example, some of the refusal strategies that Stevens found were not previously reported in other Arabic refusal studies and these include, for example, Chiding e.g., *Come on, hide your money and do not be silly*, White Lie e.g., *The doctor told me not to eat fish for a week*, Accept a Little e.g., *Looks and smells great, but I only want a little*, Frank Explanation e.g., *Oh, you know, I hate dogs*, and Non-Committal Strategy e.g., *We'll see what happens; if I have time, I'll help you*. One of the limitations of this study, however, is that the researcher used Egyptian and non-Egyptian Arab participants, so the results should be interpreted with this in mind. This is important to note, since it is possible that the same speech act can be differentially realised in different Arabic dialects. As Nelson (2002) stated, however, one of the reasons for studying Arabic communication is related to the misunderstanding of Arabs by many outside the Arab world. Of the limited number of studies on Arabic communication style, many categorise all Arabic-speaking countries together. Consequently, there has been no single attempt to investigate the features of Iraqi

Arabic speech acts, more specifically refusal to requests and offers. Thus, understanding of, and familiarisation with, Iraqi culture and the way Iraqis refuse are required in order to improve communication with Iraqis. There are many differences between the Iraqi culture and other Arabic countries. For example, El Louadi (2004:126) thinks that one should refuse the first offer of refreshment and await a more emphatic second one. Such behaviour, however, might be considered unacceptable in Iraq in situations where the guest rejects the first cup of tea or coffee offered by the host. Davies & Bentahila (2012:236) proffer some advice on how Americans interact with Arabs and warn the US police not to refuse offers of food or drink, as this may be offensive. This refusal to drink the tea or coffee might be interpreted as suspicion of the hospitality of the host, or in certain situations may infer that the guest has a demand that requires fulfilment by the host. The latter situation is very common in the Iraqi tribal system, thus the host understands that the guest(s) have a request, for example to sort out a tribal conflict or to ask for a woman's hand, etc. If the host complies with the visitor(s) request, then they accept the offer of a drink, but if not this might give an impression that the host does not respect and appreciate the visitors as people or their tribes in general.

Steven's study also used a written DCT (in formal Arabic) for eliciting the data, which is, as will be explained in the next sections, problematic in Arabic because of its diglossic situation.

Another important Arabic study of refusals is that of Al-Issa (1998) in which he examined the realisation of refusals by Jordanian EFL learners as well as native speakers of Jordanian Arabic and native speakers of American English. The researcher was specifically investigating whether there was evidence of pragmatic transfer from Arabic, and the factors causing this transfer.

This study is significant in many ways. Firstly, Al-Issa (1998) designed his own DCT situations based on naturally occurring refusal data collected through observation and field work. In addition, he made his DCT open-ended by removing the rejoinder that follows the description of the scenario and makes the dialogue incomplete. By removing the rejoinder the situation is followed by a space so that the participants are not limited to providing a certain speech act (see chapter three, section 3.3.1).

Al-Issa's study, therefore, is particularly important because of the rigor the researcher exercised in designing the study. It is also a significant study because of its important

findings regarding pragmatic transfer and Arabic refusal strategies. In the present study a similar level of rigor was applied. In this thesis findings from Al-Issa's study will be compared with findings from the present study.

Al-Issa's study, however, suffered from a number of limitations. The first and most obvious is that data were collected only in writing and not orally. The present study has overcome this limitation by eliciting sequences of interactions produced orally by the informants in addition to writing formulae. Moreover, some researchers collecting written DCT data in Arabic sometimes write their prompts in the dialect (Nureddeen, 2008). Al-Issa, however, used prompts written in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is the formal and official variety of Arabic. This probably encouraged his participants to answer in MSA, instead of using the dialect. In contrast, Iraqi dialect was used in the situations of my study to encourage the informants respond in Iraqi dialect (see chapter three, section 3.8 for Iraqi Arabic vs. Modern standard Arabic). Despite these limitations, Al-Issa's study made important contributions to the study of refusals in Arabic, as explained above.

Another Arabic refusal study was conducted by Al-Shalawi (1997) who investigated the refusal strategies used by Saudis and Americans. He used a written, open-ended DCT to elicit refusals of requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions from 50 American males and 50 Saudi males. He then analysed the data with regard to the semantic formulae used following Beebe and Cummings' (1985) classification scheme of refusal strategies, and also adding new categories e.g., sarcasm *Why don't you teach the class instead of me?*, or *I didn't think that you were a genius* to account for his data. He calculated frequency counts of all formulae, and ran a t-test to determine if there were any statistically significant differences between the two groups, and he analysed the situations on two variables: status and social distance.

Al-Shalawi's study is particularly significant since it attempted to interpret the results within the framework of cultural differences between the two speech communities. It also reports many important findings that provide important insights into Arab culture and communication style. However, it analysed the situations only on two variables: social status and social distance, while the present study analyses them on four variables: social status, social distance, degree of imposition and gender. Another difference between my study and Al-Shalawi's is that the latter's participants were all males, while equal numbers of males and females have taken part in my study. Again and as with previous researchers,

Al-Shalawi elicited his data depending on written, open-ended DCT, neglecting the oral data which is considered more naturalistic.

Another refusal study was conducted by Al-Eryani (2007) researching the refusal strategies of Yemeni EFL learners compared with those of native speakers of Yemeni Arabic and native speakers of American English. All the participants in his study were males. The researcher used a written DCT which consisted of 6 situations in which participants refused offers, requests, invitations, and suggestions from someone higher, lower, and equal in status. Data analysis was based on the scheme used by Beebe et al. (1990) which will be discussed in the next section. Outcomes from the study indicate that native speakers of Yemeni Arabic tended to be less direct in their refusals when compared with their American counterparts. The order of the semantic formulae was also different between the two groups. The EFL learners showed similarities with native speakers of English in three areas: order of semantic formulae, their frequency, and their content.

Al-Eryani's study is significant in many ways. Firstly, it is one of only three Arabic studies that examined refusal as realised by the language learner, particularly by Arab learners of English as a foreign language. Findings from this study are similar to findings from other studies (Al-Isaa, 1998; Al-Shalawi, 1997) with regard to Arabic preference for indirect refusal strategies. It also indicates that there was limited pragmatic transfer in the realisation of refusals by advanced EFL learners. This study is also significant because it investigates refusal in an Arabic dialect that is rarely examined in speech act research. It is particularly relevant to the present study because it looks at pragmatic transfer and it investigates many of the areas that the present study will examine, such as the frequency, type, and order of the semantic formulae. One of its limitations, however, is that, as with Al-Shalaw's study, no females have participated. In addition, only 6 situations have been used by Al-Eryani, while in my study 36 situations were implemented in the DCT and 9 scenarios in Role play covering a wide variety of situations where refusals take place.

Finally, Morkus (2009) researched how refusal strategies are perceived in Egyptian Arabic by some American learners of Arabic as a foreign language. Further, the study attempts to discover if there are any similarities or differences in the latter group's responses in comparison with that of Egyptian native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of American English. Another objective is to examine the relationship between the learners' language proficiency and their pragmatic competence. Furthermore, it investigates if there is a pragmatic transfer from the source language and whether there is a relationship

between the degree of pragmatic transfer and the level of L2 proficiency. His research also explored how refusals are utilised and arranged in the sequences of interactions.

Arguably, Morkus's (2009) study supports findings from the literature that Arabic communication style tends towards verbosity (Al Issa, 1998, and Al Shalawi, 1997). Moreover, some of the participants' excuses were family-oriented, and this might reflect the role of family in Egyptian culture as was the case with Saudis' cultures according to Al-Shalawi (1997). Another point that corresponds to that of Al Shalawi (2007) is Invoking the name of God, commonly used by the Egyptians. This strategy was used more frequently by the advanced students than the intermediate students due to their linguistic knowledge which allowed them to be more aware of such expressions and the way in which they are used in everyday communication in Arabic. Morkus suggests that the use of this strategy, which literally means *I swear to God*, may not be as straightforward as it seems.

This study is important for the improvements the researcher made with regard to data collection and data analysis. Firstly, Morkus collected his data orally using a method similar to the one used in the present study, namely, an enhanced open ended role play (for more details about Role Plays see chapter three, section 3.3.2). Secondly, for analysing his data, he adopted the Beebe et al (1990) classification scheme. As with the present study, he elicited refusals of offers and requests.

Morkus's study, however, has some limitations. Firstly, he collected the data only orally via the role plays and did not exploit the benefits of DCT, such as surveying a large number of participants, controlling the different cultural variables and allowing a cross-cultural comparison. I have employed both methods in order to increase the validity of the study, since refusals are performed not only orally in Iraqi Arabic, but also in writing.

Furthermore, Morkus investigated only one contextual variable between his interlocutors which is the social status, whereas I investigate four variables (social status, social distance, degree of imposition, and gender) in accounting for the variation in the realisation of refusals in Iraqi Arabic and British English.

The studies reviewed above (with the exception of Morkus, 2009) used a data collection instrument that elicited single-turn responses, namely a written DCT. Also all of these studies used DCT scenarios that are similar to ones used in the literature, especially by

Beebe et al. (1990). In addition, these studies used refusal classification schemes that are based on the schemes proposed by Beebe et al. (1990), and Beebe and Cummings (1985).

For the most part these studies are consistent in their findings. For example, Morkus (2009) and Al-Eryani (2007) observed that while Arabs and Americans used similar semantic formulae, they ordered them differently when realising refusal. Al-Shalawi (1997), Al-Issa (1998), and Morkus (2009), all revealed that Arabic explanations and excuses tended to be lengthy and more elaborate when compared with the American ones. Both Al-Shalawi (1997) and Al-Issa ascertained that Arabic explanations and excuses were less specific than the American ones. Al-Shalawi and Morkus (2009) observed that the Arabic excuses were family-related whereas the American ones were about the speaker's personal life. Both Al-Shalawi (1997) and Al-Issa (1998) observed the high frequency of religious reference in the Arabic data whereas the American data did not include such reference. Morkus (2009) noted that Egyptians, except for Christians who consider it inappropriate, also invoke the name of God to mitigate the illocutionary force of the speech act of refusal.

However, while Al-Issa (1997) and Al Eryani (2007) discerned that Arabs tended to use more indirect strategies in their refusals, Morkus (2009) did not find such a difference in his data. It is important to note that these differences may be the result of differences in data collection methods (e.g., written DCT, role plays), and can also be due to the different dialects investigated. With regard to studies investigating the language learner (Al-Eryani, 2007; Al-Issa, 1998; Stevens, 1993; Morkus, 2009), they all reported evidence of negative pragmatic transfer from L1.

2.6.2 Other Relevant Refusal Studies

The first work to be reviewed in this section is the influential study by Beebe et al. (1990) who researched pragmatic transfer in the realisation of refusal by Japanese learners of English. The researchers used a written DCT that consisted of 12 refusal situations for collecting the data. Each situation was followed by a blank where participants wrote their answers and the blank was followed by a rejoinder that made it clear that a refusal was required. The DCT situations elicited four types of refusal: refusals of requests, invitations, suggestions, and offers. The situations were varied by the status relationship between the

interlocutors from refusing someone of a higher status to someone of a lower status to someone of equal status.

Data was analysed in terms of the frequency and order of the semantic formulae used in each situation. Also investigated was the content of some semantic formulae, such as the type of excuses and explanations proffered when refusing. The researchers utilised a classification scheme of semantic formulae that consists of three broad categories: Direct Refusals, Indirect Refusals and Adjuncts to Refusals. Direct Refusals refers to phrases such as *No* or *I can't* or *I refuse*. Indirect Refusals signifies statements of Regret, Excuses, Alternatives, Conditional Acceptance, etc. such as *I have a headache*. Adjuncts to Refusals denote preliminary remarks that cannot stand alone and function as refusals, such as Expressions of Gratitude or Positive Opinion of the interlocutor such as *That's a good idea* (see appendix9). Furthermore, according to Beebe et al. (1990), refusals can be seen as a series of pre-refusal strategies (to prepare the interlocutor for the upcoming refusal), head acts (to express the main refusal), and post refusal strategies (to justify, emphasise, mitigate, or conclude the refusal response).

Beebe et al's (1990) study is certainly significant and relevant to the present study for a number of reasons. The main contribution of this influential study is the classification scheme of refusal strategies that it proposed. This comprehensive coding scheme was adopted by most studies of refusal strategies that followed, including those using a DCT, as well as those utilising the role play method, as outlined above. It will also be used in the present study.

Another notable contribution of this study was the scenarios designed to elicit refusals of offers, suggestions, requests, and invitations. Over the past 15 years these scenarios have been widely adapted by researchers investigating refusal. Many were also used in studies using the role play method, including the studies reviewed in this section. Some were used in the present study. The fact that these scenarios have been extensively used is relevant since this will allow for comparing the findings of these studies.

Beebe et al's study was also the first refusal study to draw attention to the importance of examining the content of explanations and excuses speakers advance when refusing since they can reveal important cultural differences. Likewise, the present study examines this content.

VonCanon (2006) examined the realisation of refusing requests by American learners of Spanish, native speakers of Spanish, and native speakers of American English in equal and unequal status situations. She also investigated the effect of a semester-long study in Spain on the learners' ability to realise refusal.

An important finding of the study is that individual native speakers and learners can vary significantly in their selection of which strategies to use in performing refusal. She also observed that learners sometimes abandon refusals and comply with their interlocutors, a finding also observed in Garcia's (1992) study. This finding is also observed in the present study (see chapter eight, section 7.4.2).

VonCanon's (2006) research is relevant to the present study in a number of ways. Firstly, she collected her data using the open role play method, which was used in the present study. For coding her refusal data, she used the classification scheme proposed by Beebe et al. (1990). In addition, as with my study, she extracted refusals to requests and offers, although her analysis was limited to refusals of requests. Thus, it will be important to compare findings from the present study with findings from VonCanon's research, and so VonCanon's study was deemed worthy of inclusion in this section.

Another influential study was conducted by Felix-Brasdefer (2002) who investigated refusal as realised by native speakers of Mexican Spanish, native speakers of American English, and advanced American learners of Spanish. The researcher used 6 enhanced open role plays to elicit refusals (two invitations, two requests, and two suggestions) in equal and higher status situations. An enhanced role play differs from a regular role play in the amount of the contextualised background information it includes (e.g., gender, age, social distance, power status, length of acquaintance). These situations were based on two independent variables: power and social distance. In addition to the refusal situations, there were four additional role play situations that served as distracters. It is essential to note that the researcher controlled the following variables with regard to the American learners of Spanish: gender, age, L2 proficiency, L2 Spanish dialect, and experience abroad. He also conducted retrospective verbal interviews with the participants.

For data analysis, the researcher used a coding scheme of semantic formulae similar to the one used by Beebe et al. (1990), classifying the semantic formulae into three categories: Direct Refusals such as *No, I can't, I refuse*, Indirect Refusals e.g., *Why don't you ask*

someone else? and Adjuncts to Refusals e.g., *It sounds like a good idea, but I won't be home tomorrow.*

Outcomes from Felix-Brasdefer's (2002) study indicate a negative pragmatic transfer in the frequency, content and social perception of refusal strategies.

Using open role plays for eliciting data, Gass and Houck (1999) examined the realisation of refusal by Japanese learners of English. The participants completed 8 role plays with a native speaker of American English. The role plays consisted of refusals of invitations, requests, offers, and suggestions. Two situations requiring refusal were created for each refusal type. All the interactions were videotaped.

Gass and Houck's (1999) study is certainly significant and relevant to the present study in many ways. To begin with, it employed the role play method for the eliciting of the refusal data. It is a unique study since it analysed the data using new qualitative analytic techniques designed for understanding how refusals are structured and recycled over a stretch of discourse. The qualitative analysis of Role Plays data in my study will also focus on the content and organisation of the interactions which can lead to better understanding of the structure of refusals at the level of discourse.

Overall, as we have noted in the previous studies, all of the researchers collected their data by either DCTs or Role Plays and there is no single previous research that combines them both. The present study, however, makes use of both methods in the collection of data. Besides, it is worth stating that all of the above-mentioned studies investigated refusals in American English and none has been conducted on British English. The present study will fill this gap by investigating refusals in British English and Iraqi Arabic. One should stress that this study adopts the view that one should not treat all Arabic speaking countries as if they were identical. Arabic in Iraq, like Arabic all over the Arab world, is of a diglossic nature. There are two varieties in use: a 'formal variety' (Fusha) which is similar to classical Arabic and a colloquial variety (Ammiyya) which is used in everyday communication (orally and in writing) (see chapter three, section 3.8). Various dialects of Arabic relate to districts in that they reflect the social norms that are specific to those speech communities. Thus, refusals to requests and offers in Iraqi Arabic may reflect fundamental cultural values that may be specific to an Iraqi speech community. No single study has been undertaken on the performance of Iraqi Arabic, as far as refusals are concerned. This study will consider the strategies used in a dialect language, i.e. Iraqi

Arabic. In most previous studies, attention focussed on the analysis of refusals to suggestion, invitation. Thus, the present study is a continuation of this line of research as it investigates the linguistic means used by Iraqis to refuse requests and offers.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter describes the research design and methodological steps and procedures adopted to conduct this study.

First, the participants in the study are described with regard to their number, age, gender, native language, foreign language proficiency, and educational background. As the main instruments utilised to gain the present study quantitative data, the next sections provide a detailed description of the DCT and Role Plays in terms of their nature, the rationale for employing them in this study, development of those two instruments, and methods administration in addition to the role of the researcher in collecting the data will also be delineated. Then, the choice of the contextual factors are reflected on and justified. Some light will also be shed on the differences between modern standard Arabic (MSA) and Iraqi Arabic (IA) as the latter was used by the participants in their answers to the DCT and Role Plays in this study as instructed, illustrating the differences between the two varieties at different linguistic levels. Information concerning how the pilot study was used to refine this instrument will be provided. This will be followed by a description of the participants' interview. Besides, the procedures of translating the situations, audio recording and transcribing the Role Play data are provided. Finally, the data qualitative and quantitative analysis and coding scheme of this study will be discussed and exemplified in detail.

1.1 Participants

The participants in the present study were divided into three groups as follows: 20 native speakers of British English, 20 native speakers of Iraqi Arabic, and 20 Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language. Each group was made up of 10 females and 10 males with an age range of 18 to 30.

3.1.1 British English Speakers (BEs)

This group of participants consisted of 20 British students from the University of Manchester and the University of Salford. In order to avoid the risk of reverse pragmatic transfer from Arabic into English, participants were chosen who had no familiarity with Arabic language or culture. They were students of different disciplines, but none had specialised in social sciences, humanities, English or linguistics. All were native speakers of English, as were their parents.

3.1.2 Iraqi Arabic Speakers (IAs)

This group comprised 20 native speakers of Iraqi Arabic, studying History at the School of Education, University of Misan, Iraq, who had lived in Iraq all their lives (see appendix two). These students were basic users of the English language according to the ‘Common European Framework of Reference for Languages’ (CEF) (see appendix 7). This document was translated into Arabic and used to facilitate student self-assessment. Working with this framework, thirteen of the IAs evaluated their English proficiency level as A1, while the rest (7 students) judged theirs to be A2.

3.1.3 Iraqi Learners of English (ILEs)

The third group of participants was made up of 20 Iraqis studying English Language at the Department of English, School of Education, University of Misan, Iraq. All of these students were at tertiary level in the school, and, according to the (CEF), their level was B2. All had majored in English from the first stage of school. They were chosen for this research because they were at an advanced stage and had already dealt with this topic (refusals) in their textbooks and in everyday-life situations. Fourth year students were unavailable to take part.

IA and ILE, participants were natives of the province of Misan, Iraq, and so shared the same regional Misani Iraqi dialect.

In the DCTs subjects were asked to provide their age, gender, educational level, nationality, English proficiency level and native language, without disclosing their identities. They were informed that they were participating in a contrastive socio-linguistic study, but were not furnished with the details or informed of the object of the research lest this should affect the spontaneity of their responses.

3.2 Participants' Learning History

My experience as a lecturer suggests that in practice, teaching of English in Iraq from primary level to university level has been grammatically-oriented and has offered only limited opportunity for communicative activities in the classroom. More recently, attempts have been made to have a more communicatively-oriented classroom so that a task-based approach is becoming more commonplace in schools and universities.

Iraqi students might be expected to have some knowledge of the linguistic forms of refusals and the contexts in which the forms can be used. This is because refusals are among the acts listed in the functional and communicative EFL syllabi used in Iraq. Within the syllabi used in schools across the country, refusals of different initiating acts such as requests, offers and suggestions are a subject of teaching and presented in the forms of conventional expressions. For instance, *impossible, I'm sorry but...* or *I like to, but I have to work late*, are presented as expressions for refusals in EFL textbooks widely used in the country. The most commonly used textbooks are Headway (Soars and Soars, 1996) for the British curriculum and Interchange (Richards et al., 1997) for the American curriculum. Learners at higher levels, especially university students, are introduced to the skills of participating in arguments and debates which, to some extent, are conceptually related to refusals. However, activities to interact in the classroom for most Iraqi EFL learners are limited.

With regard to their learning history, some of the participants claim to have studied in a communicatively-oriented class at some point in their education background. All of the participants report that they have more than one means of accessing English such as English radio programmes, cable TV which shows English-speaking films or computer games, and they use these regularly.

Thus, the participants seem to have had exposure to English (both American and British English) and on how to perform refusals in English. This study, then, investigates the aspects of language use that the learners are assumed to know within their writing and expressive capacity.

3.3 Data Collection instruments

In recent years there have been many studies of speech acts, using different data collection methods, including observation of natural interactions (ethnographic observation), corpus linguistics, questionnaires, discourse completion tests (DCTs), and Role-Plays. There are many arguments for and against the different methodologies used although the main consensus among researchers is that the preferred method is to collect natural data or real-life conversations (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Rintell & Mitchell, 1989; Kasper & Dahl, 1991; Cohen & Olshtain, 1994; Beebe & Cummings, 1995).

In the following sections, the advantages and limitations of the two methods used for data collection in the present study will be discussed, bearing in mind the cautionary advice that ‘There is no single best method of collecting information on the patterns of language use within a speech community’ (Saville-Troike, 1989:117). Rose (2001) emphasises that there are weaknesses associated with every data collection method, including the collection of authentic or natural data (p.319). Natural data is likely to be difficult or labour-intensive to collect especially when the target form does not occur frequently in natural settings. As a result, the amount of natural data that can be obtained in a study may be relatively small, which could possibly render cross-contextual analysis impossible or at least limiting (Ishihara, 2006:20). Furthermore, the method of collecting data ethnographically has limitations that make it impractical for a research project and it would probably not be suitable for the objectives of the investigation. For example, it would be necessary to obtain permission from companies and individuals to record long stretches of conversation, only to find that the data might not be suitable, or might not contain appropriate data in sufficient quantities. As Rintell and Mitchell (1989: 250) point out:

Another drawback to the ethnographic method of data collection is that the researcher must either rely on memory to accurately record the data, or on the taping of long stretches of talk in the hope that the particular speech act in question emerges in the course of the exchange.

Additionally, the ethnographic method cannot produce many instances of the same speech act in the same situation and the researcher can never control the contextual variables to ensure that the same context will be repeated even once (ibid: 250).

The reason for the use of both the Role-Play and the DCTs in this research is that they will complement each other in the following ways: (1) they will satisfy the needs of the study in collecting data of certain refusal strategies in both languages. In other words, a speech act might not necessarily occur in the Role-Play but might occur in DCTs, and vice versa; (2) they will provide not only data from the elicitation methods, but also the personal backgrounds of the participants. (3) A common characteristic of these two elicitation instruments concerns the fact that different variables, such as age, gender and proficiency level can be controlled (Felix-Brasdefer, 2010). This study will compare the data produced by the same subjects using the two different methods in the two languages, and will also compare the results with those from other researchers such as Al-Salawi (1997), Stevens (1993), Felix-Brasdefer (2002) and others.

For this reason, researchers usually prefer to use combinations of methods in order to minimise researcher bias and to increase the validity of collected data (see Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985; Aijmer, 1996:5). There is an approach to research that uses a combination of more than one research method in a single investigation (see Hongyin 1996; Li, 2008 ; Sabri, 2012). According to Kasper and Dahl (1991), discourse completion tests (DCTs) and Role-Play (written or spoken) are the main data collection instruments in interlanguage pragmatics. Thus, this study utilises multiple data sources, namely, DCT and Role-Play.

3.3.1 Discourse Completion Task/Test (DCT)

Over the past thirty years the DCT has been the most popular elicitation instrument in cross-cultural speech act research. It was first developed by Blum-Kulka (1982) and usually consists of a written task in which participants are required to write what they believe they would say in a particular situation. The scenarios in a DCT typically vary according to the status of the interlocutors relative to each other and the social distance between them, as well as the weight of the imposition. These variables have been identified

to be particularly important in cross cultural speech act research. The original format of the DCT usually included a rejoinder after the description of a scenario, and in this way it looked like an incomplete dialogue that the respondent was requested to complete. In this closed format, originally used by Blum-Kulka (1982) and in the CCSARP (cross cultural speech act realisation project), the discourse was structured to provide a space for the speech act followed by a rejoinder. The following is an example of this:

(a) At the college teacher's office

A student has borrowed a book from her teacher, which she promised to return today. When meeting her teacher, however, she realises that she forgot to bring it along.

Teacher: Miriam. I hope you brought the book I lent you.

Miriam_____

Teacher: Ok, but please remember it next week. (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:14)

In an open-ended DCT, the situation is followed by a space for the participant to write a speech act without being followed by a rejoinder, as in the following:

(b) A birthday present

It's your birthday, and you are having a few friends over for dinner. A friend brings you a present. You unwrap it and find a blue sweater.

You say: _____

(Eisenstein & Bodman, 1993, as cited in Kasper, 2000:327)

As illustrated above, some DCT's include a follow-up response or rejoinder while others do not. If there is no rejoinder a DCT is called open-ended (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989), as is the case with the DCT used in the present study (see appendix 1). Sometimes a DCT provides the respondent with a number of possible responses to choose from (Rose, 1992), or a ranking of possible answers (Hill, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki & Ogino, 1986). A DCT can also be used to elicit data orally (Cohen & Olshtain, 1981), and in this case is referred to as an oral DCT in order to distinguish it from the more traditional written DCT.

Golato (2003:92) discusses some administrative advantages of DCTs. For example, the DCT is probably the most efficient method of collecting data cross-culturally since it allows for cross-cultural comparison. In addition, it is easy and efficient to administer to a large number of respondents at once. Furthermore, unlike naturalistic data collection, it affords the researcher complete control over the different contextual variables. Chaudrons (2003:773) also explains that this method allows for elicitation of 'an extensive range of potentially natural, unmonitored learner performance appropriate to a given genre of speech behaviour or style'. Unlike collection of authentic data and use of Role-Plays, DCTs do not require cumbersome and error-prone transcription (Rintell & Mitchell, 1989). Finally, they allow easy statistical analysis of data.

However, a number of disadvantages of the DCT have also been highlighted in the literature. One of the more common criticisms is that the DCT does not provide an opportunity to the participants to opt out of responding (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985). This is important since in some cultures, due to certain contextual factors such as the age, gender, or status of the interlocutor, speakers may decide to opt out of performing a particular speech act in a given situation. Therefore, using a DCT may prevent the researcher from capturing this important cultural difference. It should be noted that DCTs do not demonstrate what participants would 'actually' say, but what they think might be appropriate to say. In other words, they provide information about the metapragmatics of the speech act in question, rather than about its pragmatics as such. Neither does the DCT allow multiple turns, which is characteristic of negotiation in natural speech interaction. Another drawback is that it is mostly used in its written, rather than oral format, and this can be problematic since speech acts in dialogue are normally realised orally. This restriction can be even more misleading in diglossic situations, which is the case with Arabic, where the spoken, informal language, used for realising speech acts, is different from the written, formal language. To counteract this, the subjects in the current study

were asked to use the Iraqi dialect in their answers, as this is the language used in their daily life communication both verbally and in written informal contexts (see section 3.8). Another disadvantage of the DCT is that the response time is almost unlimited, which allows respondents to carefully consider their responses and even make corrections to them, which, of course, does not reflect real-life interactions. Finally, the format of the DCT may encourage respondents to write more than they would normally say in a real-life situation (Beebe & Cummings, 1996). To overcome the last two shortcomings, the informants in this study were asked to complete the questionnaires fairly quickly (the time limit will be explained in section 3.9).

3.3.2 Role-Plays

In studying speech acts, the use of Role-Plays is recognised as a valid and effective method of collecting data. Tran (2006:3) defines Role-Plays as simulation of social interactions where participants assume and enact described roles within specified situations. Two types of Role-Plays method have been identified in the literature: open and closed. A closed Role-Play is similar to the oral version of the DCT where the respondent is allowed to give a one-turn oral response to a prompt. This means that there is no interaction or negotiation involved in the realisation of the speech act, as in the following scenario:

You are applying for a very good part-time job in an American company. You are at the job interview with the office manager (a male) asks you to fill in a form. You do not have a pen, and need to borrow a pen from the manager.

You:

(Sasaki, 1998:480)

In an open Role-Plays, on the other hand, the respondent is asked to act out the Role-Plays with the researcher or some other participant and it involves negotiation over a number of turns in a way that is similar to real-life interactions (see appendix 3 for Role-Plays scenarios used in this study). Open Role-Plays specify the situation, interlocutor roles, and the communicative goals of the interaction, while the outcome is not predetermined, but

rather left to evolve based on the course of the interaction. The following is an example of an open Role-Play:

Informant A:

You ask a neighbour you do not know very well to help you move some things out of your flat with his/her car since you have not got a car and you have not got anyone else to ask since everyone you know appears to be on holiday and you have no money either to hire someone who can help or to arrange transport. You see your neighbour on the street. What would you say to him/her?

Informant B:

You are on the street. A neighbour you do not know very well comes to talk to you.

Respond to him/her.

(Marquez-Reiter, 2000:187)

The freedom permitted by open Role-Plays allows them to be rich sources of data and ‘allow examination of speech act behaviour in its full discourse context’ (Kasper & Dahl, 1991:19). More specifically, Role-Plays:

represent oral production, full operation of the turn-taking mechanism, impromptu planning decisions contingent on interlocutor input, and hence negotiation of global and local goals, including negotiation of meaning, when required (Kasper & Dahl, 1991:19).

Hence, the lack of interactiveness of DCTs is not a problem for Role-Plays because open Role-Plays allow the participants to modify their refusal strategies in response to initiating acts and to carry out the conversation to its logical end (Kasemisin, 2006:45).

Kasper and Dahl (1991) and Gass and Houck (1999) argue that one of the main advantages of this method is that data are elicited orally and in a way that is similar to real-life interactions, so resulting in more natural speech.

That is why they consider data elicited with an open Role-Play to be closest to natural speech. Moreover, Role-Plays afford researchers the opportunity to record and/or videotape them for further careful analysis (Abdolrezapour and Eslami-Rasekh, 2012).

Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985) actually refer open Role-Play as a semi-ethnographic method. It has also been argued that this method is particularly appropriate for eliciting certain speech acts, such as refusals, which are normally realised over an extended negotiation between interlocutors instead of over one or two utterances (Edmondson, 1981). The researchers emphasise the importance of studying refusals over a conversational sequence. This last recommendation is particularly significant, and the current study is, in fact, the first study in Iraqi Arabic to examine the speech act of refusal over multiple turns of interactions.

However, a number of disadvantages of this method have been highlighted in the literature. For example, it has been pointed out that it is relatively more difficult to administer than the DCT, and also that the elicited data are difficult to analyse, involving, as they do, negotiation over a number of turns (Gass & Houck, 1999). The written DCT data, on the other hand, are easier to collect and analyse since they involve only a one-turn response. Such responses are easy to analyse in terms of frequency counts of the refusal strategies, and do not involve any discourse-level analysis. Furthermore, according to Jung (2004), Role-Plays can result in unnatural behaviour at times. In addition, as Chang (2006: 7) points out, 'Subjects may exaggerate the pragmatic interaction in performing Role-Plays, producing a speech behaviour which would not have occurred in a real-life situation ...'. The most evident drawback is the probability that Role-Plays could generate redundant conversation. Sasaki (1998) and Turnbull (2001) addressed the methodological issues in refusals by comparing data gathered from DCTs and Role-Plays and found that Role-Play refusals were unnaturally lengthy as compared with real life conversations. In addition, interlocutors might not be sufficiently careful to avoid FTA's towards the other participants, simply because they know that they are acting out scenarios which are not real. All of these limitations, however, are shared with other methods with the exception of the ethnographic.

Another drawback is the possibility that open Role-Plays, placing, as they do, the participants in hypothetical situations, may impose upon them some excessive imaginative challenges, thus possibly undermining their performance (Kasper and Rose, 2002). To counteract this disadvantage, five out of nine scenarios in this study allowed the

participants to act as themselves and in familiar contexts with situational and visual clues, while in four situations the participants were required to assume other identities.

Yi (2001), on the other hand, contends that natural speech, if recorded properly, can provide the most accurate picture of everyday conversation. Golato (2003: 111) also supports the idea that a preferred method of data collection would involve the audio and video-taping of spontaneous, naturally occurring data. Houck and Gass (1996) and Gass and Houck (1999), for example, found that some of their Japanese ESL participants opted for silence or repeated the previous turn such as the request, invitation, or offer made by the interlocutor. According to those researchers, silence and repetitions of what was said is considered as a type of indirect refusal or avoidance strategy. The nature of Role-Plays allows the respondents to use other strategies that might be considered as indirect refusals in some cultures. Furthermore, in their study, Role-Plays also revealed interactive features such as negotiation for an alternative, when one party did not wish to comply with the request, and recycling of requests and refusals. In both studies, refusals came in multiple turns spreading throughout the Role-Play interaction, allowing the researchers to observe how the learners adjusted their refusal strategies in response to the native speaker interlocutor's reaction.

Overall, a single data collection method, regardless of the advantages it may offer, is often inadequate and may even adversely affect the data and bias the findings. Therefore, multiple data collection methods (such as the DCT combined with Role-Plays) are utilised in the current study to investigate the various aspects of the construct in question, to avoid potential pitfalls, and to obtain findings that are more reliable and valid. Since the aim of this study is to investigate both spoken and written language, the written DCT has been utilised together with oral Role-Plays.

3.4 Description of the DCT and the Role-Plays

This study researches the refusal phenomenon in Iraqi Arabic and British English, and generally falls within the field of sociopragmatics, which studies the ways in which pragmatic performance is subject to specific social variables or conditions. The study is concerned with the ways in which language is used to perform the act of refusing with four social and situational variables that potentially affect their use. However, due to time and

space limitation, the effect of some further linguistic and situational factors will not be considered.

Two types of refusal were selected because they represent two distinct types of stimuli to refusal, namely, requests and offers. Traditionally, refusals of offers, suggestions, invitations, and requests have been investigated in speech act research. It is believed that suggestions and invitations may be construed as types of offer; hence they can be included under the category of offers (Morkus, 2009:101). Requests, on the other hand, represent a different category of stimuli to refusals: In a request, an interlocutor puts themselves in a position where they are in need of some help or assistance from the speaker, which is inherently different from a situation where they are making an offer to the speaker. Therefore, it was considered to be more consistent to focus on these two types of distinct stimuli to refusal: requests and offers.

As the collection of data is most important in that it provides the needed materials for analysis, 36 situations concerning refusals of requests and offers were set. On the basis of these situations, a modified open-ended discourse completion test was constructed for written elicitation, consisting of 18 situations for eliciting refusals of requests and 18 situations for eliciting refusals of offers. In each case, a situation was described, followed by a request or offer and then a blank in which a refusal would fit. The subjects were asked to write down what they would reply in their responses (see appendix 1).

In the Role-Plays there were 9 situations. Informants A and B were provided with separate instructions explaining the social status and the social distance of the other interlocutor. The choice was left open for informant B to make either a request or an offer, while informant A was the one who should refuse it (see appendix 3). It was explained to the participants that the Role-Plays would be conducted in their dialect, and that they were required to refuse any offer or request advanced by their partner. Written instructions were provided for the participants and they were given the opportunity to ask questions. The Role-Plays were then enacted, audio-recorded and subsequently listened to for the purpose of data analysis. All the scenarios in the Role-Plays are also to be found in the DCT situations in order to enable investigation into whether the informants react differently when refusing verbally as compared with their written refusals, and to make a direct comparison of their behaviour in both situations.

The aim throughout is to determine how the informants react to three social factors, namely: social status (high, low, equal), social distance (high, low, medium), and gender (male, female) (for more details about those variables see section 3.7).

In other words, the goal is to investigate the importance of those contextual variables in accounting for the variation in the realisation of refusals in Iraqi Arabic and British English. The underlying hypothesis is that the choice of one refusal strategy rather than others in a given situation is mainly determined by these three variables, and that the relative role of these variables differs from one culture to another.

Besides, the influence of the degree of imposition (high, low, medium) on the refusers' responses will also be investigated. This study considers imposition on the speaker (refuser) as the one who is being imposed upon. Degree of imposition is commonly referred to as 'the act of putting a burden on' (Goldschmidt, 1996:244) or the burden placed on the addressee by the addresser (Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris, 2006). This will vary depending on the type of speech act in question (Brown, 2001:304).

The degree of imposition in the situations of this study can be determined by the amount of time or efforts that need to be spent on the beneficial acts, value of objects, the obligation and right to perform the beneficial act. For example in refusals to requests in the DCT, the rank of imposition is high in situation 9 where the respondent is refusing a request from their teacher to attend on their day off (time consuming), while low rank of imposition is implied in situation 2 (taking a photo), situation 4 (passing the salt), and situation 5 (showing the way) (less time consuming). However, the time spent on (copying a paper) in situation 3 is neither very high nor very low. Thus, it is classified as a medium imposition situation.⁴ The distribution of the contextual variables in DCT and RPs are presented in below in tables 3.1 and 3.2.

⁴ The influence of the rank of imposition on the informants' responses will be discussed in more detail in chapter five (section 5.4), chapter six (section 6.3), and chapter seven (section 7.3).

Table 3.1: Variables in DCT situations⁵

Sit. No.	Social status	Social distance	Gender (requester/offerer)	Imposition (requests)	Imposition (offers)
1	S,H/Equal	low	Female	high	low
2	S,H/Equal	high	Female	low	low
3	S,H/Equal	acquaintance	Female	medium	low
4	S,H/Equal	low	Male	low	low
5	S,H/Equal	High	Male	low	low
6	S,H/Equal	acquaintance	Male	medium	medium
7	H/High	Low	Female	high	high
8	H/High	high	Female	low	high
9	H/High	acquaintance	Female	high	low
10	H/High	low	Male	high	high
11	H/High	high	Male	medium	low
12	H/High	acquaintance	Male	high	medium
13	H/Low	low	Female	medium	medium
14	H/Low	high	Female	medium	low
15	H/Low	acquaintance	Female	low	high
16	H/Low	low	Male	high	medium

⁵. The refuser's gender, in addition to the same/mix-gender dyads will also be investigated in this study in chapter 5, 6, and 7.

17	H/Low	high	Male	high	low
18	H/Low	acquaintance	Male	medium	medium

Table 3.2: Variables in Role-Play situations ⁶

Role Play No.	Social Status	Social Distance	Degree of imposition
1	S/low, H/high	High	High
2	S/low, H/high	Medium	High
3	S/low, H/high	Low	medium
4	(S,H) equal	High	medium
5	(S,H) equal	Medium	Low
6	(S,H) equal	Low	High
7	S/high, H/low	High	Low
8	S/high, H/low	Medium	medium
9	S/high, H/low	Low	Low

3.5 Development of the DCT and the Role-Plays

Previously designed questionnaires and Role-Play situations (e.g., Beebe et al., 1990, Al-Shalawi, 1997, and Morkus, 2009) were utilised to a certain extent in designing the situations. Linguists were also consulted to receive their comments, suggestions and feedback. Then, the English draft of the methods was translated into Iraqi Arabic.

⁶ .The participants match in the Role Plays as same/mix gender. This will be discussed in Role Plays analysis chapter (chapter 7, section 7.2).

3.6 Methods Administration

The study involving Iraqi subjects (both native speakers of Iraqi Arabic and Iraqi learners of English) was administered in Misan province, Iraq in April 2014, and the research with British students was carried out in Manchester City, UK in March and April 2014.

I collected BEs' data first. This was fulfilled with some of my friends' and colleagues' help at the University of Manchester and Salford University. These friends/colleagues have requested from the British informants individually to take part in the study. Once they accepted, I intervened to explain the nature and the rules of participation. Firstly, consent forms were prepared and were signed by the participants prior to their involvement in the research. The consent form described the project and its procedures, and explained that participation in the study was voluntary and that the participants had the right to withdraw (see appendix 5). It was important to reassure them that all the data would be confidential and that no personal information was required.

The second step is to answer DCTs. The DCTs contained offers and requests (but no choice of options for responses) and the participants were asked to read the questionnaire and respond naturally.

Next, the informants acted out two situations in the Role Play. They were limited to only two situations in order to avoid repetition of refusal strategies which might be employed by participants should they come to understand the point of the investigation, and consequently their answers might be less natural and spontaneous. The Role-Play sheets were given individually and the roles were swapped in the two situations, one Role-Play after another. That is, student A in the first Role-Play would act as B in the second task so that each student had one turn at requesting/offering and one at refusing. Both genders (same and mixed)⁷ have acted out the Role Play interactions in the three groups.

After BEs' data were collected, I travelled to my home country, Iraq, to collect ILEs' and IAs' data. I began with ILEs at the third year at the Department of English. The third class consists of about 36-40 students from both genders. I asked the students in the class whether they were willing to participate in the study. I also explained that the participation was voluntary and that I needed 10 males and 10 females from them to take part in the

⁷ The gender dyads in each group are divided as follows: 5 Female-Female, 5 Male-Male, 5 Female-Male, and 5 Male-Female.

study. Having agreed on participation, the informants were handed the consent form to fill out. The instructions were also explained orally to make sure that everyone understood them. The same procedures were followed when IAs' data were collected from History Department in Misan University. All subjects were asked to complete an open-ended discourse completion task (DCT) and to act out Role-Play situations in their native languages (Iraqi Arabic).

Consequently, 60 exchanges of refusals were recorded from the three groups of informants by the Role Plays (see appendix 13 for Role Plays transcripts) and 2160 tokens were extracted from the three groups by the DCT.

In this study the researcher did not participate in the Role-Play scenarios for the following reasons: to avoid the possibility of English speakers modifying their language to accommodate a non-native speaker; to avoid directing or influencing the spontaneity and neutrality of the interactions; because the elicitation of the British English data aimed to find out how native speakers of English realised refusal when interacting with other native speakers of English and not with non-native speakers.

It was imperative that certain principles should be applied in setting up the study. Firstly, there should be an equal number of groups of subjects between Iraqis and English (20 informants for each group) and an equal number of males and females (10 males and 10 females). Secondly, in terms of Role-Play situations, in order to elicit more natural and spontaneous refusal data the subjects must not be informed in advance of what was going to be refused in terms of speech acts (requests or offers). The required speech acts should be performed naturally. Thirdly, informants must not be allowed to interact with those who had already acted the Role-Plays. In terms of the questionnaire, while students answered it as a group, they were kept apart from each other, so that they could not discuss it amongst themselves.

3.7 The Social Factors

The norms for directness/indirectness are applied differently from culture to culture, leading to differences in cross-cultural realisations of speech acts. There are a number of factors which appear to govern directness in all languages. In their theory of politeness,

Brown and Levinson (1987:78) suggest some circumstantial factors which influence the choice of speech act strategy used. They argue that speakers calculate the sum of all these factors in choosing how to produce the speech act in question. They emphasise that the factors of distance (D), Power (P), and rank of imposition (R), are believed to be mutually assumed in realising speech acts. Similarly, Thomas (1995:124) suggests the same universal axes that govern directness. She states that the axes governing directness are universal in the sense that they capture the types of consideration likely to govern pragmatic choices in any language, but the way they are applied varies considerably from culture to culture. And, the degree of indirectness increases according to the degree of social distance, social status, and size of imposition. Furthermore, gender and speech behaviour are interwoven and interrelated to each other (Boxer, 1993; Holmes, 1995; Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990).

Consequently, the present study will focus on highly influential factors that govern the way people undertake the act of refusing in their daily conversations. These include social distance (low, high, acquaintance); social status (low, high, equal); rank of imposition (high, low, medium), and gender (male, female).

3.8 Iraqi Arabic vs. Modern Standard Arabic

In the Arabic versions of the DCT and the Role Plays in my study, I used prompts in Iraqi Arabic, which is the variety used in oral interactions and in informal written contexts in Iraq (Abu-Haidar, 1989: 477). This encouraged my participants to answer in Iraqi dialect instead of the MSA because 'using MSA consistently would be a source of ridicule and unpleasant outcome' (Abed el Jawad, 1987:360). The informants use IA in their written completions of the DCTs as instructed and did not exhibit differences in register from the Role Play data. For example, they used *lā no*, ما اقدر *I can't (mā 'gdār)* in the written DTC and produced them orally in Role Plays. The Iraqi dialect, however, is different from other dialects in the Arabic world. For example, the Negated Ability *I can't (mā 'gdār)* ما اقدر in Iraqi Arabic is different from Egyptian Arabic *I can't (muš 'ādir)* مش قادر (Morkus, 2009:129). I provide no further examples from other Arabic refusal studies because researchers in the literature either investigate refusals in MSA as in Al-Issa (1993), or they do not give examples in Arabic as in Al-Shalawi (1997), and Al-Eryani (2007) (see 2.6.1).

MSA and Iraqi dialect are phonologically, grammatically, and lexically distinct (Abu-Haidar, 1992:91). The present section aims to illustrate the differences between the two varieties at different linguistic levels: Phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax.

3.8.1 Phonological differences

As regards phonology, ‘the L system will often appear to be the more basic’...[there is quite a difference between Classical Arabic and the colloquial varieties’⁸ (Wardhaugh, 2006: 91).

Some phonological differences between the MSA and IA are:

a. Consonant Change

The phonemes /q/ and /k/ are pronounced in the Iraqi dialect of Arabic as /g/ and /ʃ/ respectively, due to Turkish influence (Ameri and Zeighami, 2007:5). Some examples are:

	MSA	IA	Meaning
	/k/	/ʃ/	
(1)	/sikki:n/	/siʃʃi:n/	knife
(2)	/kalb/	/ʃalib /	dog
(3)	/samak/	/simatʃ/	fish
	/q/	/g /	
(4)	/su:q/	/su:g/	market
(5)	/qamar/	/gamar/	moon

The consonant / ʻ / tends to change to /j/ in IA:

⁸ One variety, called High, is used only under formal and public circumstances, while the other one, referred to as Low is used in normal daily-life events (Charles, 1959).

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------|---------|
| | /ʾ / | /j/ | |
| (6) | /ma: ʾ / | /ma:j / | water |
| (7) | /mi ʾa/ | /mijja / | hundred |

(Jabbari, 2013:142)

b. Vowel Change

The vowels /u/ and /a/ in MSA often change to /i/ in IA. Some examples are as follows:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|------------|-------------|
| | /u/ | /i/ | |
| (8) | /tuntadʒ(u)/ | /tintidʒ/ | is produced |
| (9) | /jukallif(u)/ | /jikallif/ | it costs |

- | | | | |
|---|------------|------------|--|
| | /a/ | /i/ | |
| The present verb prefix vowel /a/ changes to /i/ in IA: | | | |

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------|----------|
| (10) | /jaftaʒil(u)/ | /jiftaʒil/ | it works |
| (11) | /nahta:dʒ(u)/ | /nihta:dʒ/ | we need |

- | | MSA | IA | Meaning |
|--|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| The vowel /a/ in MSA definite articles changes to /i/ in IA: | | | |
| (12) | /ʾal-kita:b/ | /ʾil-kita:b/ | the book |
| (13) | /ʾad-dars/ | /ʾid-dars/ | the lesson |

(ibid: 145)

3.8.2 Morphological Differences

Palmer (2007:120) asserts that "L has fewer grammatical (morphological) categories and a reduced system of inflection; H has a greater grammatical (morphological) complexity". This implies that the two varieties do not necessarily follow the same set of grammatical rules.

a. Suffix Deletion

A good example of the said reduced system of inflection is the tendency of /u (n)/, /a (n)/, /i (n)/ deletion word finally in IA. This deletion, also mentioned as a phonological process, is of morphological importance too. As a matter of fact, the said deleted items are verb suffices or case markers.

MSA	IA	Meaning
(14) /'arid- u ma 'dʒu:n- a 'asna:n- in /		I want a tooth paste.
I- want-suff. paste- ACC teeth-GEN		
	'arid-Ø ma 'dʒu:n-Ø ' asna:n-Ø/	
	I- want paste-ACC teeth-GEN	

b. Dual and plural final Deletion

In MSA, the regular dual and masculine plural markers end in /n/, e.g. /mu'allim-a:n/, /mu'allim-aj**n**/ (two [masculine] teachers), / mu'allim-at-a:n/, /mu'allim-at-aj**n**/ (two [feminine] teachers), mu'allim-u:n/ and / mu'allim-i:n/ ([three or more masculine] teachers). In IA, 'when the first noun of a genitive noun phrase, referred to as the /muɖa:f/, is dual or masculine regular plural, the final /n/ is deleted' (Mahyar, 1994:159). Some examples are follows:

MSA	IA
(15) / mu'allim-a:n/+ /madrisatu-na/ →	(16) / mu'allim-a:Ø madrisatu-na/

teacher-dualNOM school-of ours

The two teachers of our school

(17) /muslim-i:n/ +/ 'ifri:qi:ja:/ → (18) /muslim-i:Ø 'ifri:qi:ja:/

muslim-pl.ACC/GEN Africa
Muslims of Africa

In IA this rule is sometimes violated.

(19) /mi:lja:rajØ mitr muka 'ab/ → /mi:lja:rajn mitir muka 'ab/

Two milliard cubic meters.

3.8.3 Lexical Differences

a. Lexical Distribution

In a diglossic situation, "There may be distinctly different pairs of words, i.e., doublets, in the H and L varieties to refer to very common objects and concepts. Since the domain of the two varieties do not intersect, there will be an L word for use in L situations and an H word for use in H situations with no possibility of transferring the one to the other" (Wardhaugh, 2006: 91). In other words, the H and L have, in the main, a complementary lexicon. It is a particular characteristic of the diglossic situation that pairs are used situation-specifically with the same meaning in the H variety and the L variety" (Dittmar, 2000:120). Lexical Distribution includes all parts of speech. Some examples are:

	MSA	IA	Meaning
Adjectives			
(20)	/qali:l/	/juwajja /	little
(21)	/ba:sil/	/judʒa: ' /	brave
Adverbs			
(22)	/'iðan/	/la 'ad/	then, so

(23)	/ġadan/	/ba:ʃir/	tomorrow
------	---------	----------	----------

Prepositions

(24)	/fi:/	/bi/	in
------	-------	------	----

(25)	/min/	/ʻimni/	from, of
------	-------	---------	----------

Verbs

(26)	/ʻaḏhabu/	/ʻaru:h/	I go
------	-----------	----------	------

(27)	/balaġa/	/waṣala/	He reached
------	----------	----------	------------

3.8.4 Syntactic Differences

MSA and IA are also different at the levels larger than a lexicon. These differences are classified under syntactic differences.

a. Different Word Order

There are several phrases and sentences with different word orders, in the two varieties. Examples are:

	MSA	IA	Meaning
(28)	/sa:ʻadək alla:h/	/ʻalla:h jusa:ʻad-ək/ God help-2S.M	May God help you
(29)	/hafaḏa-k-allah/	/ʻallah ʻij-hifḏ-ək/ God protect-2S.M	May God help you

From the abovementioned explanations, it seems clear that IA differs from MSA on many linguistic levels. Thus, it would be unrealistic to ask IA participants to act out or write down their responses in formal MSA which they do not use in real life. Instead, they are requested to respond to refusal situations in Iraqi dialect that is actually used in everyday interaction. Thus, the situations and the instructions are written in IA for this purpose.

3.9 Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted before administering the questionnaire and the Role-Plays to the selected subjects. This was done in order to gauge the subjects' reaction and participation to the questionnaire and the Role-Plays as well as to calculate the time needed to complete them. It also allowed me to evaluate whether there would be any problems or confusion regarding the clarity of the items and the language of the two methods. Eight students, four Iraqis and four British, were chosen as a sample for this experiment.

This pilot study proved beneficial and provided ideas and information not previously apparent. More specifically, direct feedback was received from the eight students in the pilot study that led to important improvements and indicated the need for some modifications in the early version of the questionnaire. Some respondents requested more explanations for some situations and this was assured in the final version. For instance, situation 9 of request refusals involves a teacher asking if she can see her student on their day off, Sunday. This caused confusion for BE informants for whom this day is part of the weekend, while it is a working day for Iraqis. Furthermore, I was able to determine that the time needed to complete the questionnaire ranged from 15 to 20 minutes. The role plays took from approximately three to five minutes to act out two Role-Plays for each pair of the participants. Thus, it became evident that the time permitted for completion of the questionnaire and the Role-Plays should be reduced to ensure that informants in the main study would be encouraged to respond quickly within the time limit. A time delay could affect the data by allowing the subject extra time to reflect upon their answers that would not be possible in spontaneous oral and written communication. Several other minor changes were made to the DCT and Role-Play situations.

3.10 Participants' interview

The research also involved interviewing a few of the participants. The principal value of this practice for the present study is that, according to Kraikosol (2004), it provides additional related information on causal factors for certain patterns of behaviour. Four participants were interviewed after performing the Role Plays; one BEs, one IAs, and 2 ILEs. The post-interviews were used to reinforce the responses elicited by the DCTs and

the Role-Plays, and to focus more on the different refusal strategies used by the Iraqis and the British. The aim was to elicit socio-pragmatic information about the social norms of the linguistic behaviour of refusals in both Iraqi and British cultures. The questions investigated the appropriateness in the participant's culture of the use of some strategies of making refusals. While being interviewed, the subjects were given the opportunity to explain the reasons for their responses, justify their linguistic choices, and discuss their ability to empathise and perform 'in-role' and within the time frame. Generally speaking, participants considered the Role-Play scenarios and DCT situations to be realistic, felt that a refusal was possible in each situation and that the time allowance was reasonable.

The IA and one ILE informant were interviewed because they accept or partially accept the offer/request as opposite to the instructions given to them. For example, in RP3 where a supervisor asks their employee to work two extra hours, an IA informant finally agreed to stay for one hour instead of two. Also, in RP5 an ILE agreed to taste the dessert at the end. Interestingly, a BE subject in RP8 agreed to fix to the requester's computer but after the party (see chapter 7, section 7.4 for more details about these situations). As with the findings of Robinson (1992:56), those informants reported that they face difficulty in refusing due to their family training and/or social constraints, which required a comply with requests/offers so as to maintain social harmony. Furthermore, the interviews revealed that the three Iraqi participants experienced difficulty in their decision-making as they found it necessary to preserve social ties. The second ILE was interviewed to explain the reason he employed a culturally inappropriate idiomatic expression (tell it to the bear) to refuse his supervisor's request to work two extra hours (see 7.4.1.2 in chapter 7).

3.11 Translating the Role-Plays and the DCTs

The situations for both Role-Plays and the DCT were translated into Iraqi Arabic (See both the English and the Arabic versions of the methods in appendices 2 and 4), and the translated version given to the native speakers of Iraqi Arabic. Minor modifications were made to the Arabic version in order to render the situations more culturally appropriate. For example, in Role-Play 1, the British cities and the British company were replaced by Iraqi ones.

3.12 Audio-recording

A smartphone recorder, Samsung Galaxy S3, was used for the recordings, and the resultant quality was very good. On listening to the recordings in detail, they were deemed to be appropriate to the purpose of the experiment. Therefore, the results of the recorded data were collated in written form to render the data easier to transcribe. Then the researcher, with the assistance of a Linguistics/PHD student, prepared the English transcriptions. The researcher (a native Iraqi Arabic speaker) also undertook the Arabic transcription, thus ensuring that the accuracy and quality of the transcriptions would be guaranteed.

3.13 Transcribing Role-Play Data

The transcription symbols used in this study are adopted from Nofsinger's system (1991: 167-169) which is based on the original scheme devised by Jefferson (2004) and explained in more detail in Atkinson and Heritage (1984) (see appendix 8). All Role-Plays were transcribed using simplified conversation analysis transcription conventions (Nofsinger, 1991). 'Simplified transcription' indicates that detailed reproduction of prosody or intonation was not taken into consideration. A question mark only was used to capture rising intonation as featured in yes/no questions and understanding and confirmation checks. Contractions were used in the transcription but were not granted the full reflection of connected speech. Furthermore, Arabic instances were transliterated and glossed in this study following Versteegh's (2014) framework of transliteration (see appendix 10).

3.14 Data Analysis

Quantitative and qualitative analysis were carried out in this study. The quantitative analysis in the present study consists of frequency counts of the refusal strategies used by the participants. These were calculated for each group, each refusal type, as well as with regard to the rank of semantic formulae. In addition, the length of responses (the number of semantic formulae) is identified.

Descriptive statistics were used to present a detailed description of the results in terms of percentages. This approach was followed by many studies in the literature (for example Stevens (1993), Al- Issa (1998), Al-Shboul et al. (2012), Al-Shboul et al. (2016), Al Kahtani, (2005), Turnbull and Saxton (1997), and Morcus (2009)). However, inferential statistics were not used for two reasons. Firstly, there were only a small number of participants in the present study. As such, the use of inferential statistical techniques may not have been the best means for understanding the data.

The second reason is that the present study differs from the majority of speech act studies in the literature in that it is not limited to (only) analysing the data quantitatively in terms of frequency counts of semantic formulae. It also extends the examination of refusals to include qualitative analysis of interactions. The qualitative analysis in this study was more informative than any type of inferential statistical analysis.

As regards to the qualitative analysis, the content of the semantic formulae used is investigated. More specifically, the reasons and excuses given by the participants for their refusals are examined. Moreover, the choice of refusal made by the informants in the DCT and Role Plays are discussed. In addition, samples of the interactions from both the native-speaker and the learner data in the Role Plays are qualitatively analysed and compared. The focus of the analysis is on the content and organisation of the interactions. This can lead to a better understanding of the structure of refusals at the level of discourse as well as the kind of negotiation involved in realising refusals.

3.15 Classification Scheme of Refusal Strategies

To reiterate, the primary purpose of this study is to identify the semantic formulae used by both Iraqis and British speakers in performing refusals. In order to achieve that goal, refusals collected in the Role-Plays and the DCT were analysed by adopting Beebe et al.'s (1990: 72) classification method for coding the data and this was found to be effective in encompassing most of the strategies found in the data (see appendix 9). Use is also made of the framework of Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Culpeper's (1996) theory of (im)politeness (see chapter 4 and 8). Beebe et al's (1990) coding scheme was slightly adapted; for example, Adjuncts to refusals are accounted for separately in the present study and not together with Direct and Indirect refusals as with Beebe et al. This is because it can

be contended that Adjuncts such as *thanks* and *This is so kind of you* cannot, when used alone, express refusal, but must be accompanied by Direct and/or Indirect refusals. It should be stated that some of Beebe et al's (1990) strategies have been modified to coincide with the present study and the data collected. For example, 'Statement of Impeding Events' is used in this study to combine a wide range of strategies that include some indirect refusals such as 'reasons, excuses, justification, and previous obligation'. Furthermore, 'Invoking the name of God' is a strategy used in this study but not in Beebe et al's, due to the fact that IAs, for religious reasons, tend to use it frequently (a classification of refusals and Adjuncts used in this study is represented in detail with examples in tables 4.1 and 4.2 in the next chapter).

In addition, some categories from the coding schemes adopted for some Arabic and other refusal studies, especially those that use the Role-Plays and/or DCT methods for data collection (Stevens, 1993, Morkus, 2009 Felix-Brasdfere, 2002; Gass & Houck, 1999) were also utilised here. Refusal tactics in this study will be compared with others found in the literature. Furthermore, a new strategy that was not previously reported in the literature, 'It is my Treat', was discovered, and for this a new category was created. (This will be explained in section 4.2.2 in the next chapter).

Chapter Four

Refusal Strategies

In the following paragraphs, the refusal strategies found in the data (3 direct, 14 indirect and 6 adjuncts) will be described and compared to other ones found in the literature. Examples of each strategy will be provided from the data. This chapter includes both refusals to offers and requests due to the fact that many refusal strategies are mutually utilised by the three groups of informants as responses to those two stimuli to refusals; requests and offers.

For both the DCT and Role Plays, frequencies and percentages have been performed to examine the similarities and differences within the three groups in their performance of refusals. As with Beebe et al. (1990), Stevens (1993), Al Kahtani (2005) and others, the percentages of the strategies in this study are calculated on the basis of the total number of strategies in each group⁹.

Refusal strategies are classified according Beebe, et al. (1990) coding scheme of Direct Refusals, Indirect Refusals and Adjuncts to Refusals and judged within the framework of (im)politeness super-strategies posited by Brown and Levinson (1987) and Culpeper (1996). Finally, the summary of the chapter is provided.

This section starts with tables 4.1 and 4.2 that list refusal strategies and adjuncts with examples. These strategies in tables 4.1 and 4.2 and the discussion in this chapter are also ordered according to the superstrategies they represent: Negative Politeness, Positive Politeness, Off-Record Politeness, and Bald-on-Record Impoliteness.

Table 4.1: A list of direct and indirect refusals with examples from the data.

No.	(Im)politeness superstrategies	Direct Refusals	Examples	(Im)politeness superstrategies	Indirect Refusals	Examples

⁹ For example, to calculate the percentage of Direct No in IA, the number of occurrences of Direct No (83 instances) is calculated as a percentage of the total number of Direct and Indirect refusals (494 tokens), yielding 16.8% of the total. See tables 5.10, 6.9 and 7.1 in chapters five, six, and seven respectively for representation of the number of occurrences and frequencies of these strategies.

1	Negative Politeness	Negated Ability	I can't; impossible; I am not able to.	Negative Politeness	Let Off the Hook	It's nothing at all.
2	Bald on Record (Im) Politeness	Direct NO	No		It is my Treat	It is on me this time.
3		Performative Refusals	I refuse, I decline	Positive Politeness	Indicate Unwilling-ness	I'm not interested in this offer.
4				Off Record Politeness	St. of Impeding Events	I have to work.
5					Counter-factual Conditionals	If I wasn't busy, maybe.
6					General Principle	We all make mistakes.
7					Alternative	Ask Dr. Ahmed
8					Avoidance	I do not know what to say
9					Putting the	I need to consult

					blame on a Third Party	my family
10					Request for Information/ Clarification	Is it necessary to do it?
11					Request for Consideration or Understanding.	I hope that you understand my situation.
12					Negative Consequences to Requester	I don't wanna give you the wrong informatio n.
13					Wish	I wish I was able to.
14				Bald on Record (Im) Politeness	Chiding/ Criticism	You do not even attend in class.

Table 4.2: A list of Adjuncts to Refusals with examples

No.	(Im)politeness superstrategies	Adjuncts to Refusals	Examples
1	Negative Politeness	Statement of Regret/Apology	Sorry; apologise.
2		Invoking the Name of God	By God; I swear to God.
3	Positive Politeness	Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or agreement	I love to help; I like to; You are a good student.
4		Gratitude/Appreciation	Thank you; I appreciate.
5		Statement of Empathy/Concern.	Do not be upset.
6	Off Record Politeness	Getting Interlocutor's Attention.	Listen; look.

4.1 Direct Refusals

A direct refusal may consist of expressions that include the performative verbs such as 'refuse', or 'decline'. Direct refusals, however, may also be recognised without speech act verbs as in 'Direct No' or as long as they indicate the refusers' unwillingness to oblige or inability.

In the data collected by both the DCT and Role-Plays, IAs and ILEs employed more direct refusals than BEs. In the DCT (refusals of requests), IAs employed 164 instances of direct refusals (41.5%), ILEs utilised 151 direct refusals (43.6%), while 115 (27.7%) direct tokens appeared in BEs' data. In refusals to offers, direct refusals constitute 43.7% of IAs' data, 36.4% in ILEs, and 29.8% in BEs. In Role-Plays, direct refusals were also employed more frequently by IAs (30.4%) and ILEs (32.5%) than BEs (20.7%) (See tables 5.10, 6.9 and 7.1. The following are the three types of direct refusals, with examples:

4.1.1 Negated Ability (NA)

This strategy signals a refusal by asserting the speaker's inability to comply with the request/offer. The refuser may refer to their inherent inability, which could be either physical or mental, or to external inhibiting circumstances such as time or place. In the examples below, the number sign (#) and the star (*) indicate that the examples are elicited from the DCT as refusals to requests and offers respectively to differentiate them from other examples collected by the Role-Plays that are referred to as (R). Further, the number after signs (#), and (*) or after the letter (R) refers to the situation number in the DCT and the Role Play. Besides, M/F refer to the gender of the refuser.

1. # 3. أرجو المعذره. ما اكدر

'a-rju l-ma'ḍira mā -'agdar

1SG-beg DEF-pardon NEG-able.1SG

'Sorry I can't'. (F4, IA)

2. # 11. I am sorry I can't do that. (F4, ILE)

3. # 9. It is going to be impossible. (M6, BE)¹⁰

References pertaining to external circumstances may present real obstacles to compliances. Thus, a request for money can be easily refused if the demanded sum is beyond the requestee's financial capacities. This strategy can usually be accompanied by the Statement of Impeding Event (henceforth SIE) (see 4.2.4) which further specifies the external circumstances or the inherent inability:

4. # 7. ما اكدر لان تعبان

mā -'agdar li'an ta'bān

NEG-able.1SG because tired.1SG.M

'I can't, because I am tired'. (M6, IA)

5. # 1 I won't be able to make it. That is bad time for me. (F2, BE)

¹⁰ For more instances found in the data, see appendix 12.

Beebe et al. (1990) refer to this strategy as 'Negative Ability'. This type of refusal of requests in the DCT accounted for one of the largest proportions of all refusal strategies in this study. 26% (103 instances) for IAs, 19.3% (67 instances) for ILEs and 22.4% (93 instances) for BEs. In IA data, all instances of this type of refusal contained a Negated Ability verb: ما/أكر (ma'gdar) *I can't*. Thus, in accordance with the definition of this type of refusal, all instances contained Negated Ability expressions. Except for 3 cases, all instances of this type in ILE data contained the Negated Ability modal verb *can't* e.g., *I am sorry I can't do that*. The other 3 cases contained the negation of 'be able to' e.g., *I am not able to do that*. As for BE data, on the other hand, 56 cases contained the negation of 'can' e.g., *I can't make it then*, 29 the negation of 'be able to' e.g., *I won't be able to go* and the negation of 'be possible' occurred in 8 cases e.g., *Friday is not possible*. This type of a refusal strategy accounts for the largest proportion, 26.8% (133 instances) of all refusals of offer in IA data. However, a lower percentage of this strategy was used by BEs 16.9% (80 instances), and the frequency of NA used by ILEs was the lowest among the groups: 16% (78 instances). Here are some examples of this strategy in use:

6. * 18. ما أعتقد أكر, ماراح أكل كل هذا.

mā-'a'tiqid 'agdar mā- rāḥ 'ākil kul haḍa

NEG-think.1SG able.1SG NEG-will eat.1SG all this

'I do not think I can. I won't be able to eat all of this'. (F7, IA)

7. * 16. It is not going to be possible. I've got an urgent meeting. (F3, ILE)

8. * 17. I do not think I can. It is a little bright for me there. (F9, BE)

Refusals of this type containing Negated Ability verbs in context encode necessity, conveying that the speaker is obliged to refuse to comply. Other refusals of this type may contain a combination of an epistemic expression and NA or probability/possibility expression and NA:

9. #1. خاف ما اكر اجيبه.

xāf ma-'agdar 'a-jība

afraid.1SG NEG-able.1SG 1SG-fetch

'I'm afraid I can't fetch it'. (M3,IA)

10. #1. I do not think I can. (M7, ILE)

11. #12. I do not think it is going to be possible. (F5, BE)

These statements do not express strong convictions. Yet, they indicate that the speakers are not certain whether or not unspecified natural and social forces preclude them, but nevertheless there are forces that necessitate their refusal. Thus, they convey their reluctance to refuse to comply, and their lack of choice in so doing. The speakers in the above examples are also involved in facework. According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, this is a negative on-record strategy.

Modifying Negated Ability with an expression of epistemic necessity conveys that in addition to the natural forces, which could be physical ones, there are rational laws of reasoning that compel the speaker to refuse and that the refusal is thereby warranted:

12. #2. اكد, ما اقدر

'akīd ma-'agdar

certainly NEG-able-1SG

'Certainly, I can't'. (F1, IA)

13. #17. Definitely I can't. (F2, BE)

By expressing a strong belief in the rightness of their utterance, the speaker protects their own face, while damaging the requester's/offerer's face.

In the course of conversation analysis of the Role-Plays, it has emerged that 17.1% of IAs data (18 instances) was NA, while for ILEs and BEs the percentage was lower; 11.2% (10 instances) and 4.5% (5 instances) respectively.

14. R4. ما اقدر (F4, IA)

mā-'aqdār

NEG-able.1SG

'I can't'

15. R4. I do not think I can. (M9, ILE)

16. R9. It is not going to be possible. (F3, BE)

4.1.2 Direct 'No'

This strategy, exemplified in Arabic by the particle لا (*lā*) *no* and its equivalents such as كالا 'kala' *no*, ابداً ('abadan) *never*, is rarely used alone to convey refusal. The negative particle لا/ (lā) *no* is usually used in writing, examinations and completion of forms. It could also possibly be used within the family domain and in the school by parents to children and by teachers to students. Besides, لا (*lā*) *no* is also used in daily oral interactions of Iraqi people. In refusals to requests, almost 15.4% (61 instances) of the IAs' refusals were of this type, whereas 'no' (only the English *no* is used by ILEs) occurred 84 times (24.2%) in ILEs' refusals and there were 22 instances (5.3%) of *no* and its variants in BE data.

However, on none of these occasions was it used without modification or the accompaniment of other refusal strategies. This strategy was more common in refusals to offers; in ILEs' data it is accounted for 20.4% (99 instances) although it occurred less frequently in BE and IA data. It constituted 12.8% (61 tokens) of BE data and 16.8% (83 Direct No strategies) of IA data (see table 6.9 in chapter six for the total numbers and percentages of refusal formulae of offers). In the data elicited by the Role-Play situations, IAs used 12 instances (11.4%) of this strategy while ILEs used 15 tokens (16.8%) of Direct No.

BEs, on the other hand, used a slightly higher number of instances (18 instances) (16.2%) (See table 7.1 in chapter seven for the numbers and percentages of all the semantic formulae elicited from the Role Plays).

17. لا بنيتي! مو هسه #14

lā binayt-i mū hassa

NEG daughter-1SG.F NEG now

'No, not now, daughter'. (F8, IA)

18. # 14 No, today I can't. (F9, ILE)

19. # 18 No, I have some work. (M6, BE)

Although using a polite addressing form بنيتي (binayti) *daughter* and expressing regret modify and soften the formality of the literal meaning of the Direct No and its equivalents,

'No' explicitly marks the utterance as a refusal. This refusal has been used by a 30 years old IA speaker to reject a request from a younger (first year student) to explain a subject for her. Idioms such as حبيتي (ḥabibti) *sweetie*, حبي (ḥubi) *my love*, ابنتي ('bnayti) *my daughter* and so on, can be addressed to younger people from the same sex in Iraq to establish a good rapport with the interlocutor and create a friendly atmosphere saving the requester's face.

A bare direct refusal strategy may be challenged as the addressee may ask *Why?* Therefore, speakers tend to include other strategies such as Statements of the Impeding Event, Putting the Blame on a third party, Negative Consequences etc.¹¹.

20. # 17 لا, هستوني وصلت

lā hastaw-ni wisal-it

NEG now-1SG arrive-1SG

'No, I've just arrived'. (M4,IA)

The simple 'no' or the negative particle /لا/(lā) can readily be perceived as a refusal even to consider the request, as in Situation No. 14, in which a first year female student asks the addressee to explain a subject for her. If the request is construed literally *I ask you whether you know about this subject?*, it may elicit responses such *No, I do not'* But if it is construed as an indirect request, *I request you to explain this subject to me*, it elicits two distinct classes of refusals; simple ones such as *I've just arrived*, or two part refusals as in example No. 4, *No, I've just arrived*, the first part of which, *No*, answers the literal question, and the second part, *I've just arrived*, explains the answer to the question. Direct No strategy is a bald on-record refusal (if it appears on its own with no mitigation).

It indicates that the refuser's desire to satisfy the requester's/offerer's face is inconsiderable, since the refuser does not fear that non-cooperation may arouse retaliation in the requester/offerer.

However, this same bald on-record strategy may be used by a speaker without being considered impolite in cases of refusing an intimate's request/offer, since no risk of face is involved i.e., politeness is irrelevant. However, it's not the case in all cultures that politeness is irrelevant among intimates. For example, Chinese and Koreans are not

¹¹ These refusal tactics will be explained later in this chapter.

necessarily less direct to their superiors or more direct to their close friends than they are to acquaintances (Rue and Zhang, 2008:12).

On the other hand, it may be that the speaker who employs such a bald on-record refusal may simply not care about maintaining the requester's/offerer's face, and is being deliberately offensive.

4.1.3 Performative refusal

Another method of refusal to comply with an offer/request is accomplished by using a verb of refusal rather than the word 'No'. In Role-Plays, this strategy was applied twice (1.9%) by IAs, 4 times (4.4%) by ILEs, but not at all by BEs. This strategy belongs to the bald-on-record category. Some examples of its use are set out below:

1. R1. انا ارفض طلبج
'ana 'a-rfūd ṭalab-ič
I 1SG-refuse request-2SG.F

'I refuse your request'. (M3, IA)

22. R4. I decline. (F1, ILE)

4.2 Indirect Refusals

Indirect refusals refer to strategies advanced by speakers to soften the illocutionary force of their refusals and so minimise the offence to the interlocutor's positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). These indirect strategies have been found to be used more frequently than the direct ones (Stevens, 1993; Al-Issa, 1998; Nelson, Carson, Al Batal & El Bakary, 2002). In the current study also indirect refusals were employed more frequently than direct strategies by each of the three groups, and most notably by the BEs. These are explained in detail below and examples from the data are provided. In refusals of requests, almost 58.4% (231 instances) of IA DCT data was of this type, 56.3% (195 instances) of

ILEs and 72.2% (300 instances) of BEs. In refusals of offers, BEs also used this tactic more commonly (70.1%; 232 instances) than ILEs (63.5%; 308 instances) and IAs (56.2%; 278 instances) Similarly, in Role-Plays BEs employed indirect strategies more frequently than the other two groups (79.2%; 88 instances), compared with (69.5%; 73 instances) and (67.4% ;60 instances) by IAs and ILEs respectively (see tables 5.10, 6.9 and 7.1 for more details).

4.2.1 Let off the Hook

A polite way to signal the refusal to accept an offer while at the same time expressing gratitude is to use expressions that let the offerer ‘off the hook’ while acknowledging that the offer is at a cost to the offerer. It is important to indicate that this strategy is only applied to offers in this study and it seems to be linked to a particular refusal situation that Beebe et al. (1990) utilised in their DCT (the cleaning lady situation), where part of the speech act is actually an apology. This strategy is not found in refusal studies that did not use this situation or a similar one, (Felix-Brasdefer, 2002; VonCanon, 2006). However it does feature in this current study since a situation similar to the one used by Beebe et al (1990) is utilised (Role-Play 7 and situation15 in refusals to offers) in which a cleaner has accidentally knocked down and broken a statuette and subsequently offers to pay its value.

23. R7. ماكو مشكله لاتهتم

māku muškila lā-t-ihām

NEG problem NEG-2SG.M-care

‘No problem, never mind’. (F9, IA)

24. R7. It’s nothing at all. (M3, ILE)

25. R7. No worry about it at all. (M8, BE)

It also appears as a refusal to offers in many situations in the DCT:

26. * لا تز عج نفسك 6

lā-tiz‘ij

nfsak

NEG-bother1SG.M REFL.2SG.M

'Don't bother yourself'. (F7, IA)

27. *12. No, it will cost you a lot. (M7, ILE)

28. *6. No, it is out of your way. I'll just walk (F2, BE)

This strategy is typically a way to decline offers and invitations while minimising the cost to the offerer or inviter. Such expressions are usually used by lower status speakers addressing either people of higher status or equals. ILE and IA low status interlocutors used 62.5% of this strategy, while BEs used 48.8% (see appendix 14, table 6). Such expressions can be conventionalised so they are not always seen as serious refusals. The offerer often considers them to be polite ostensible refusals (to 'oil the wheels' of sociality). They convey that the refuser believes that their refusal is necessary because they observe certain causal social laws for not accepting the offer. As the offerer also knows and observes these social laws, the refusal is tentative and subject to change. Thus, the refuser responds to the eliciting act by conveying recognition that the offerer wishes an act be done, and that the refuser is in fact willing that the act be done.

This strategy an on-record, negative polite refusal strategy. The speaker seems to interfere with the addressee's freedom of action (e.g. to pay in the restaurant), but redresses the FTA of refusal by explicitly disclaiming any indebtedness of the addressee so 'letting off the hook'. This strategy is intended to give deference to the addressee indicating that they are respected and esteemed and regarded as superior. Thus the speaker manages to satisfy the addressee's negative face even though they do not fulfil their desires.

Although this strategy was more common in BE data 9% (43 instances), it was used equally by both IAs and ILEs, (8 instances, 1.6% each). In Role-Plays, it was applied more commonly by the IA groups (9 tokens), but it was used less by ILEs and BEs, (7 and 9 instances respectively).

4.2.2 It is My Treat

Another tactic for rejecting offers is to refuse by saying something like, 'It is my treat' as in:

29. * 12. ما لازم تدفع.

mā-lazim tidfe'

NEG -have to pay.1SG.M

'You do not have to pay'.(F5,IA)

30. * 15. No, never, this is my treat. (M2, ILE)

31. * 15. It is on me this time. (F6, BE)

This strategy accounted for rather a small proportion, (1.4 %; 7 instances) in IA and ILE data. It could be said that the small proportion of this strategy is because it is a situation-specific tactic and it is only appropriate in the 'pay for snack situation'. It is My Treat, as a form of refusal, was less frequent in BE data, occurring twice only (0.4%). As with the previous strategy, 'It is my Treat' is used in the present study as a refusal strategy to offers only.

This strategy is less offensive than showing anger as in Chiding (see 4.2.14). Stevens (1993:98) explains that showing anger could be construed as offensive if directed at English speakers. This type of structure was mainly used in refusals accomplished by the speakers when identifying states that were not observed by the offerer. The refuser tries to suggest that their refusal is necessitated by heavy social constraints. Pragmatically, they imply that they are obliged to refuse. They also convey the notion that they have recognised that the offerer wishes for an act be executed, that the offerer's utterance counts as an offer, but that they are not willing for that act be performed by the offerer.

This is an on-record, negative polite refusal strategy. As with 'let off the hook', the offerer interferes with the offeree's freedom of action. In the case of 'It is my treat', the speaker redresses the FTA of refusal by explicitly acknowledging their indebtedness to the addressee.

As a remedial act, the refuser may add another safer and more effective tactic, namely the 'Next-time' strategy. Such strategy helps to put an end to the interlocutors' arguments about who pays this time, and clarifies that next time it will be the offerer's turn. Examples of this include:

32. *15. لا هاي المرة علي انا ادفع الحساب. المرة الجايه عليك.

lā hāi 'almara 'alay 'āna 'adfa' l-ḥsāb l-mara l-jāia 'aliək
NEG this time on.REFL.1SG I pay DEF-bill DEF-time DEF-next on.2S

'No, this time on me, I pay. Next time will be on you'. (M7, IA)

33. *12. No, I will pay the ticket this time. (M5, ILE)

Stevens (1993:98) describes it as a safer and more effective tactic that students of English might use more frequently. In this study, it was the preferred strategy of the British groups:

34. *12. Put it away ! you pay next time. (M4, BE)

35. *4. Next time. (F3, BE)

4.2.3 Indicate Unwillingness

Refusers may simply state that they are not willing to, or interested in, accepting the offer. Approximately 11.3% (56 instances) of refusals of offer in IA data are of this category, as are 6.8% (33 instances) for ILEs and 20.5% (97 instances) for BEs. This strategy is not cited in Beebe et al's (1990) study, but it can be found in Turnbull and Saxton (1997). Further, it did not feature in refusals of requests or in Role-Plays in the current study. Each of the following examples contains epistemic expressions.

36. *11. تعرف ما احب هذا الشيء.

t-'ruf ma 'a-ḥib hāḍa il-šī
2S.M-know NEG 1S-like this DEF-thing

'you know, I am not really into that'. (F10, IA)

37. * 11. ما اعتقد اريد ادخن جكاره

mā-'a'tiqid 'irīd 'dahin jigarah

NEG-think.1SG want.1SG smoke.1SG cigarette

'I really do not think I want to smoke a cigarette'. (M7, IA)

38. * 10. No, I do not think. I'm not interested in this offer. (M8, ILE)

39. * 17. I do not think I'd be interested in something like that. (M3, BE)

The exclusive use of epistemic expressions is a characteristic of 'Indicate Unwillingness'. The refuser semantically encodes their belief that the laws of rationality do not preclude the truth of the proposition of refusal. However, since the refuser expresses only a weak belief in the truth of the proposition, they convey the possibility that the offer may be accepted, that refusal of compliance is tentative and subject to change over time. The refuser also conveys that they are reluctant to refuse, that they feel discomfort at not satisfying the wishes of the offerer, even that they are open to certain aspects of the offer. They convey an understanding that the propositional content of the utterance counts as an offer, that they have recognised that the offerer's utterance expresses a wish that an act be accomplished, but that the offerer's assumption that the recipient is willing to comply is mistaken.

This strategy is a positive-on-record refusal, which usually contains face-saving elements that mitigate the illocutionary force of the refusals. It functions not only to indicate non-compliance but also threatens the offerer's positive face by implying that their wishes are not desirable. Although, the refuser indicates that their refusal is necessitated by forces, these forces are not external but internal. Here too, the refuser's want to satisfy the offerer's positive face is very slight.

4.2.4 Statement of the Impeding Event (SIE)

This strategy has a role in all types of refusal, and was one of the most commonly adopted by the three groups of subjects studied. In refusals of requests, almost 37.2% (147 instances) by IAs, 63.8% (265 instances) by BEs and 42.7% (148 instances) by ILEs were

of this type. These numbers and percentages do not exclude instances that also contain strategies other than SIE. In a response that contains both SIE and Negated Ability, Direct No, or Wish, each one is counted separately under its specific category. This strategy is not applied in Beebe et al.'s (1990) classification, but it is found in Turnbull and Saxton, (1997).

The aim of this strategy is to provide reasons, excuses or justifications, other than lack of ability on the part of the speaker, for a refusal. The impeding event may be clear or vague, and may even be a 'white lie'. The impeding event is usually expected to be known only to the speaker and is, as a consequence, difficult to contest. When speakers use an impeding event, they indicate that they are obligated to refuse due to factors external to them. The following instances are typical:

40. #7. ما اقدر اتسوك عندي امتحان.

mā-'aḡdar 'a-tsaḡaḡ 'aīnd-i imtiḡān

NEG-able 1SG-do shopping have-1SG exam

'I can't do the shopping. I have an examination'. (M3, IA)

41. #7. I can't, I have no time. (F7, ILE)

42. #7. I have to work. (M2, BE)

The three instances of refusal above contain SIE. Further, the three instances employ one strategy; expressing necessity. The use of such expressions indicates that the speaker judges that the event of refusing to comply is necessitated by both social and natural forces i.e., the refusal naturally occurs in all possible worlds because of social or natural laws. At the pragmatic level, the speakers convey that they are obliged to work and, therefore, they have no choice but to refuse this request and any other request for that time period; they are not responsible for the act they are committing.

At the interpersonal level, the speaker is performing facework: their refusal protects the face of both interactants, since neither is responsible for the potential threat to the addressee's face. 15 instances expressing necessity were found in IA data, 22 in BE and 12 in ILE. However, not all SIEs cite necessity, as in the following:

43. #7. يجوز اتاخر بالدوام

ayjūz 'a-t'xar b-l-dawam
 might 1SG-stay late at-DEF-work

'I might stay late at work'. (F6, IA)

The speaker in the example above has used a rather different strategy. They modify the refusal by an expression of possibility indicating that neither social nor natural laws preclude them from working at the time of the requested/offered activity, i.e., preclude them from refusing to comply. Modifying the act of refusal with a possibility expression may damage the refuser's face and increase the damage to requester's/offerer's face. 16 IA informants, 17 BEs and 34 ILEs proffered their refusals through 'expressing possibility'.

It is worthwhile to consider another case of Stating the Impeding Event which embodies rather a different strategy and implications:

44. #1. بس انتي تعرفين انا مشغول وما عندي وقت.
 bas int-i it'urf-īn 'āna mašgūl w ma 'ind-i waqit
 but you-2SG.F know-2S.F I busy and NEG have-1SG time

'But you already know I'm busy and have no time'. (M9, IA)

The speaker above uses an epistemic expression conveying that, in addition to the natural and social forces, there is a rational law that precludes them from complying with the request/offer. They are expressing a very strong belief in the truth of the proposition. They attempt to convey that rational laws compel them to refuse, that any rational being would also refuse. Further, the speaker claims to be a rational person and implies that, as a rational being, the requester/offerer should have known better than to ask or even that the requester/offerer is irrational and that the request/offer should never have been made. Consequently, they protect their own face and damage the requester's/offerer's face. This strategy was not commonly employed; it occurs only twice in IA, 9 times in BE, and not at all in ILE data.

Statement of the Impeding Event as a refusal may take the form of an honest or frank explanation, an excuse, a reason or a 'white lie'. Of these, a frank explanation is somewhat

disfavoured because of the potential for giving offence to a close friend or to the addressee in general. Totally frank refusals of this type appear to be socially unacceptable as they damage the face of both interlocutors. Such a refusal occurs only once, in IA data, when refusing a request to explain from a lower status subject to a first-year female student whom the requestee does not like.

45. #14. هذا مو شغلي

hāḍa mū šuġl-i

this NEG business-1SG

‘I am not responsible for this work’. (F4, IA)

The data from the three groups abound with other statements which can be recognised as ‘white lies’. Although less frank, they seem to be socially more acceptable¹². The majority of examples of this strategy consist of statements of previous obligations, thereby conveying that the refusal is a natural consequence:

46. #9. باجر عندي امتحان

bačir ‘and-i imtiḥan

tomorrow have-1SG exam

‘I’ve an examination tomorrow’. (M5, IA)

47. # 5 I can’t. I have to catch the bus. (F3, ILE)

48. # 9 I’m busy, I have an exam next week that I am revising for. (F8, BE)

These examples are statements of refusal which refer to previous obligations. These appear to be socially acceptable and highly effective strategies which cannot easily be challenged by the addressee, who may in turn acknowledge and accept the impending event. Statements of general reasons or excuses also come under the heading of this strategy.

49. # 2 عندي شويه شغل

¹² Clark (1979: 430) argues that listeners have to rely on their perception of the situation in judging whether the literal meaning was intended seriously or as proforma.

‘and-i šwiah šuġul

have-1SG some work

‘I have some work to do’. (M1, IA)

50. # 2 I have no time. (M5, ILE)

51. # 2 I’m rather busy. (F3, BE)

Although these expressions are frequently used, they are less powerful and less polite than those cited earlier since the speaker does not proffer sufficient explanation or reasons for his refusal.

The strategy of SIE may be used alone to indicate reluctance to comply with the request/offer or may accompany other strategies where it can be seen either as refusal to comply with request/offer modified by other strategies or where it functions as modification for other refusal strategies, repairing face-damage by conveying reluctance and obligation. There are some examples below:

52. #1. اتمنى لو اقدر بس ما عندي وقت كافي.

’a-tmana lo ’a-qdar bas ma-’aind-ī wakit kafi

1SG-wish if 1SG-able but NEG-have-1SG time enough

‘I wish I could, but I do not have enough time’. (F3, IA)

53. # 9. I wish, but I have an examination. (M7, ILE)

54. # 9. Oh yes, but I am working on the students’ marks at the moment, sorry. (M8, BE)

In these examples, the SIE are modified by statements of the refuser’s willingness, which function as adjunct to refusal (for more details about ‘Wish’, see 4.2.13)

Approximately 27.1% (134 tokens) of refusals of offers employed by IAs, 33.6% (163 tokens) by ILEs and 40.1% (190 tokens) by BEs were of this type. In different offer situations, this strategy could be considered indirect since it requires inferences on the part of the addressee, as in the following example:

55. * 1. هسه شربت فنجانين قهوه

hassa šarab-it finjan-īen qahwa

now drank-1SG cup-DUL coffee

‘I have just had two cups of coffee’. (M8, IA)

Most statements refer to previous obligations, thereby indicating that the refusal is a natural consequence. The events could also be concerned with present states or past events, as illustrated below:

56. * 15. هسه تغديت

hassa tgdīt

now take lunch.1SG

‘I have just taken my lunch’. (M6, IA)

57. #16. Sorry, I do not have time. (F3, BE)

The last example (ex.57) is a refusal from a British female to a request from her relative ten-year-old son to give him a lift to school.

In Role-Play scenarios, this strategy was more common in BEs and IAs data than in ILEs data. It amounted to 30.6% (34 instances) in BE data and 18% (19 instances) in IAs data. However, only 17 instances (19.1%) of SIE were used by ILEs. There are some examples below:

58. R1. اقصد انو زوجي هنا يشتغل بمحافظة ميسان

’a-qsid inū zawj-ī hinā y-štūgūl b-muḥāfaḍt misan

1SG-mean that husband-3SG here 3SG.M-work with-province Misan

‘I mean, my husband works here in Misan Province’. (M7, IA)

59. R3. I have an appointment after work directly. (F8 , ILE)

60. R8. I am not skilled in computers, that is why. (M3, BE)

Reasons advanced may be detailed or generalised. This is particularly important since in some cultures, such as Japanese (Beebe et al., 1990) and Arabic (Al-Issa, 1998; Al-Shalawi, 1997), speakers tend to give vague reasons and excuses when refusing, whereas in the American culture speakers are usually more specific. Similar to these findings, the data collected through both DCT and Role-Plays in the present study reveal that Iraqis give general reasons/excuses while British informants are more specific and provide more details.

An example of this is the following dialogue between BEs in which a manager requests an employee to work two extra hours in a factory:

61. R3.

1. A. er, helen we are really busy at the minute as you know er but it means that we got some more hours for you to work if you if you would like it (.) but what I am looking for really is that you work other couple of hours today? er and <we'll pay a bit more maybe?<

➔ 2. B. i can't sorry today i've got a guide group that i run afterwards i've gonna get back for that¹³

3. A. are you are you sure that you can't {do it?}

➔ 4. B. { i can't}{.} i'll be letting down thirty little girls i can't do that sorry

5. A. mmm ok never mind. maybe maybe some other point this week you could work?

6. B. well if you let me know the days outside of work but probably not to be fair(.

➔ i do quite a lot of stuff outside work. (BE, F6)

As can be seen in the exchange above, which was extracted via the Role-Plays, if the requester does not give up, then the refuser needs to state the reason for rejection. Adding reason(s) after a direct refusal (2B and 4 B) also softens their utterance and makes it less straightforward.

¹³ The arrow(s) indicates where in the extended excerpt the structure I am interested in occurs.

Following Brown and Levinson's classification, SIE is an off-record refusal strategy. A speaker who claims to be compelled to refuse to comply because of forces external to the self conveys that they have no choice in the matter and, therefore, cannot be personally responsible for the threat to the addressee's face. Thus, the addressee's face is protected by giving reasons why the request/offer must be rejected.

4.2.5 Counter-factual Conditionals

In this strategy the speaker sets conditions for accepting the request/offer, and implies that the speaker would be willing to comply if the situation were different. This strategy distracts the interlocutor from the impact of the refusal and serves to minimise the threat to the interlocutor's face. Beebe et al. (1990) define this strategy as 'set conditions for future or past acceptance'. Below are some examples from the data collected by the questionnaire in the present study:

62. # 8. لو مطيتنياها قبل , جان دزيتها .

lo mṭiatnia-ha qabil čan dazēt-ha

if give.1SG-2SG.F before was.1SG send.1SG-2SG.F

'If you had given it to me before, I would have sent it'. (M7, IA)

63. # 9. If it was yesterday that would have been possible. (M2, ILE)

64. #17. If I wasn't busy, maybe (F7, BE)

There were no instances of this strategy in ILEs verbal data, while 2 tokens (1.9%) of this strategy were found in IAs and 4 instances (3.6%) in BEs data. The following examples are taken from the Role-Plays situations:

65. R8 لوما مستعجل جان صلحته الك

lo-mā mista'jil čān salaḥt-ah 'i-lak

if-NEG 1SG.M.hurrying was repair-3SG for-you

'If I were not in a hurry, I would fix it for you'. (F2, IA)

66. R5. If I'd known earlier, I would have eaten it first. (F4, BE)

Furthermore, in this strategy the speaker may imply a promise to accept a similar request/offer at some point in the future, thus softening the illocutionary force of the refusal and minimising the impact on the interlocutor's positive face. However, promising for future acceptance does not seem to be very common in the literature. For example, it was not found in two of the refusal studies that used the Role-Play method for data collection (Felix-Brasdefer, 2002; VonCanon, 2006), although it did feature in two of the Arabic refusal studies that used DCTs for data collection (Al-Issa, 1998; Nelson et al. 2002).

This is an Off-record refusal strategy, and, simply by virtue of its meaning, it could be contended that the 'if-clause' functions pragmatically as a hedge on the force of the speech act. Thus, the combination of the 'if clause' with a direct or indirect request is one of the standard ways of requesting politely:

67. إذا عدك جكاره انطيني وحده.
 'iḏa 'and-ak jiqara 'anṭīn-i wiḥd-a
 if have-2SG.M cigarette IMP.give.2SG-1SG one-1SG.F

'If you have a cigarette, give me one'.

This is a direct request hedged with an if-clause which suspends that very presupposition (that the addressee does have a cigarette). The if-clause softens the direct force of the bald on record request turning it into a polite request, as it gives the addressee an option to refuse.

This strategy amounted to 1.5% (6 instances) of the refusal of request strategies used by IAs and 1.7% (6 instances) in ILEs. It was less frequent in BE; it occurred four times only (0.9%) in BEs group.

It should be stated that this strategy is commonly used by people of high status addressing lower status requesters and also among intimates. In IA data it accounted for 4 (out of 6) strategies used by high status refusers, while 5 (out of 6) counter-factual strategies were

used by high status ILEs and 4 (out of 4) by BEs. In Role-Plays, 2 instances (out of 2) were used by high status refusers in IAs, and 3 (out of 4) in BEs (see table 1, appendix 14).

4.2.6 General principles

This strategy was reported in other refusal studies (Felix-Brasdefer, 2002) and it was found to be used more frequently in Mexican Spanish than in American English. In the present study it was also found to be used by some of participants. This is considered a positive (solidarity) politeness strategy.

Beebe et al. (1990) indicate that statements of philosophy e.g., *one cannot be too careful* are commonly used to refuse requests and offers in English. This same strategy was also found in IA data (in refusals of requests), although it accounted for only 1% (4 instances), whereas it was 0.5% (2 instances) in ILE and 2.1% (9 instances) in BE data. Below are some examples:

68. #15. سبحانه الي ما يخطا

sibhāna ilī mā j-ḥt'

almighty-1SG who NEG 3.SG.M-commit mistake

'It is only God who does not commit mistakes' (M8, IA)

69. #15. It happens. (F2, ILE)

70. #15. We all make mistakes. (M10, BE)

The examples above occur in the situation when a cleaning lady breaks a Chinese statuette and wanted to pay for it. These are obvious ways of refusal and considered acceptable. They indicate that the speaker judges that the event of refusing is demanded by social forces. However, it is hard to convince the requester/offerer that, because of social laws, the event of refusal occurs in all possible worlds. Nevertheless, the refuser wants to convey that they are obliged to observe the principle they believe in and, therefore, have no choice, but to refuse.

In Iraqi Arabic, and probably in any other society influenced by the Islamic religion, speakers often quote verses from the Glorious Qu'ran and tradition (Hadith) of the Prophet Mohammed (May the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him). For example, in the following instance from situation 13, tradition (Hadith) was observed in refusing an offer to carry some heavy bags:

71. *13. صاحب الحاجة اولى بحملها

ṣahīb l-ḥaja 'awla b-ḥamliha

owner DEF-object should with-carry

'The owner of an object should carry it'. (M5, IA)

(Often uttered by people to refuse offers of help).

General Principles (proverbs-like statements) do exist in all languages, yet they are not always used to refuse people in all languages. Liao (1994: 123) points out that they are frequently used by Chinese people, though rarely as refusals. The reason is that they think that proverbs are not good excuses to refuse people and it is too face threatening.

Furthermore, according to the Role-Play data, this strategy was not applied at all by ILEs, while it constitutes 2.8% (3 instances) in IAs' responses and 2.7% (3 instances) in BEs' data.

72. R7. انكسر الشر

'ankisar l-šar

broke.3SG DEF-evil

'The evil broke down'. (F3, IA)

73. R2. خيرها بغيرها

ḥēr-ha b-ġēr-ha

good-3SG with-another-3SG

'next time it will be even better'. (M5, IA)

74. R7. Things break eventually. (M1, BE)

Example 72 above was used in this study by a chief executive officer (CEO) of a large company to refuse an offer of money from a cleaner who accidentally dropped a statuette and broke it. Iraqis utter this ‘proverb’ when something drops and breaks in order to modulate the impact of the panic caused by the doer of the accident. *Next time it will be even better* in example 73 is another common Iraqi saying used to refuse a request/offer. It expresses hope that the action might be performed next time at the refuser’s convenience. This strategy was employed by IAs to refuse a request from their lecturer to attend a party in the students’ union the next day.

This is an off- record refusal strategy. By stating the refusal as a general rule or principle the speaker conveys that they do not intend to threaten the addressee’s positive face, but they are merely forced by certain social rules and obligations. The speaker thus draws to the addressee’s attention that they are aware of their negative face wants, but they are also observing some particular social norms which act as rules which they are obliged to follow, and which do not allow them to comply with the request.

As such, the use of this strategy is highly restricted to certain situations in this study, being used only when the requester/offerer is not on friendly terms with the refuser and when the latter is of a higher social status.

4.2.7 Alternative

A refuser proposes an alternative when they cannot, or do not want to, do the requested task but they have another idea to solve the problem (Suzuki, 1997:75). It indicates the speaker’s non-compliance with the request but offers an alternative. The following are typical examples of alternatives as refusals:

75. #3. خلي احمد بصورلج البحث.

ħal-i aħmad ayşawir-l-ič l-baħit

let-2SG.M ahmed copy.3SG.M-for-2SG.F DEF-paper

‘Let Ahmed copy this paper for you’. (M4, IA)

76. # 8. Why don’t you ask Ismail to fix it for you? (F2, ILE).

77. # .1 Fetch it. I’m busy (M9, BE)

Response 75 and 77 are positive imperative utterances which directly offer an alternative. Response 76 is a negative question used as a suggestion. As illustrated in the examples above, this strategy can be used alone (examples 75 & 76) but is sometimes modified by other strategies or adjuncts. Example 77, /انتي جيبه/ (inti jibīh) *fetch it* is a refusal with /انا مشغول/ (ʿāna mašğūl) *I am busy* (stating the impeding event) to mitigate its force.

This strategy accounted for a relatively small proportion of Refusals of requests, 15 instances (3.7%) in IA data. Of these, 7 were used alone and 8 were used as modification or as head of refusal to comply (for more detail about head of refusal, see chapter two, section 2.4). In ILE data, Alternative accounted for 4.3% (15 instances) of the refusals, and was less frequent in BE data where it occurred twice only (0.2%).

A speaker who does not want to state their alternative explicitly may resort to hinting at an alternative.

78. #3. أحمد راح يروح لمكتب الاستنساخ

ʿḥmad rāḥ ʿay-rūḥ l-maktab l-ʿstinsaḥ

ahmed will 3SG.M-go REL- shop DEF-copy

‘Ahmed is going to the photocopying shop’. (F2, IA)

According to Grice's (1975) 'Relevance Maxim', by stating a future action by a third party in example 78, the requestee is presumed to be co-operative and, therefore, their utterance must be relevant to the request of copying a paper. Nonetheless, the requester could conclude that they do not wish to comply with the request.

Below are some examples from the 3 groups of the use of the Alternative strategy by employees when their boss has offered a promotion and a pay rise on condition that they relocate to a distant city:

79. *10. سوف بلكي موظف غيري يوافق

šūf blki muaḍāf ġiḗr-i ywafiq

see.2SG.M possibly employee.SG.M another-1SG agree.3SG.M

'You can see if another employee is interested in this offer' (M2, IA)

80. *10. Maybe you could try another one. (M3, ILE)

Alternative strategy constituted 5.2% of refusal to offers strategies used by IAs (26 instances). The frequency of its use by ILEs was higher, being 13.6% (66 instances), but it was not employed at all by BEs.

Further, it was also used in Role-Play situations, where it accounted for 3.6% (4 instances) in BEs data, while it was more frequent in IAs and ILEs data at 5.6% (6 instances) and 6.7% (6 instances) respectively. Below are some examples from the Role-Plays data:

81. R3. اقدر اشتغل وقت اضافي بغير يوم؟

'agdar 'a-štuḡul waqit 'dāfi b-ḡēr yom

1SG.able 1SG-work time extra with-another day

'Can I work extra hours another day?' (F2, IA)

82. R3. Isn't there someone else that can work extra hours? (M5, ILE)

83. R6. This weekend I can lend you my computer. (M3, BE)

This strategy does not indicate whether there are any evident external forces or whether the speaker has previous commitments which might compel them to refuse. Interpersonally, the speaker shows hesitance or reluctance about performing a face-threatening act. Thus, they may protect both their face and the other's by being very indirect (off record).

4.2.8 Avoidance

Another common refusal strategy is simply to avoid a direct reply, although when a speaker performs an action that solicits a response, this may or may not succeed. Recipients may not hear the talk or understand it, they may ignore it and continue to be involved elsewhere or even initiate other actions.

Beebe et al. (1990) refer to avoidance as refusal, through a number of strategies such as topic switch, hesitation, silence, joke, repetition, postponement or hedging¹⁴. A direct non-compliance with a request can be avoided by means of a humorous retort. Adults may refuse a loan by saying / أبوك أنا / ('buk' ana) *Am I your daddy?*, although this is offensive unless articulated by very close friends and in a soft tone.

The above example is an off-record politeness strategy, because it may simply show that the speaker knows the joke and does not mean what they say, and the addressee may also interpret it thus.

Such a joke puts the addressee 'at ease' (Brown and Levinson; 1987: 124), but usually it softens the gap only between friends.

In other words 'Avoidance' leaves room for negotiation, as it allows the speaker time to rehearse the refusal, while it prepares the interlocutor for the upcoming refusal. The following examples were found in the data:

84. # 1. ما ادري شكول
 mā-'adri š-'gūl
 NEG-know.1SG what-say.1SG

'I do not know what to say'. (F5, IA)

85. #10. This will be tough. (M8, ILE)

86. # 6 I don't know. (M5, BE)

These expressions do not mean that the speaker lacks knowledge. They are rather conventional replies to avoid a negative response.

This is an off-record refusal strategy because the requester can infer that these strategies are refusals. Utterances of this type violate at least two of Grice's submaxims: quantity and relevance. As such, they invite the addressee to form inferences regarding the speaker's intention.

¹⁴ Hedges are cautious expressions speakers use to mark that they may be in danger of not fully adhering to the cooperative principles (for more details, see Yule, 1996: 38).

In refusals of requests, the strategy of avoidance accounted for 7.5% (30 instances) of IAs refusal, 4.6% (16 instances) of ILEs, and 2.8% (12 instances) of BEs. In Role-Plays, this strategy was utilised less commonly by the three groups, accounting for 11.4% (12 tokens) for IAs, while its use was less frequent in the other two groups, being 11.2% (10 instances) in ILEs data and 9% (10 instances) in BEs data.

87. R2. والله ما ادري شكلك

w-ālla mā-'a-dri š-gil-ak

by-God NEG-1SG-know what-tell-2SG.M

'By God I do not know what to say'. (M8, IA)

In the following conversation between BEs, a manager requests his employee to work two extra hours:

88. R3

1.A. hi Will erm sorry to ask. would you be able to work for two more hours <this week<?

➡ 2. B.erm i don't know. i've worked quite lots of extra time recently. erm maybe i could stay for one hour but hhh i've got lots of classes to prepare for uni and things so maybe not.

3. A. it is just erm this week only we're really busy so we really need those extra two hours i asked you to help us out you are obviously be paid for it.

➡ 4. B. yea s sorry iam i am really busy iam .hhh i'am gonna do my homework and then i've I've planned a study session as well? so i'd like to help but i ca can't.

5. A. so absolutely no way you could just work for ONE extra hour other than what you've just to complete?

6. B. hhh you know i am just i am just exhausted at the moment erm today is my friend's birthday as well hhh if i was going to do anything apart from studying i'd go meet them i i i've got to go to meet some some old friends. (M3, BE)

The delay after the request or offer, as in the example above, is often sufficient to signal that the requestee/offeree is not, in fact, willing to produce a face-threatening act (refusal), even though no overt refusal has taken place (Al Sulaimaan.1997: 16).

The rejection includes a hesitation delaying the rejection statement. The rejection component in turn 2B above is “mitigated or cushioned” (Heritage, 1988: 132) with “I don’t know,” and the rejection is accounted for with an explanation with several hesitations of *erm* and *hhh*. Heritage (1988) explains that these features of mitigated rejection are “highly characteristic of rejection” (p. 132).

Repetition is another avoidance strategy that can be categorised among the off-record super-strategies. Holmes (1984:355) states that ‘repetition itself serves as a rhetorical device to increase the force of repeated speech act’. Bousfield (2008:156), on the other hand, explains that repetition can also ‘hog’ the conversational floor imposing upon the other participant's face.

89. R3. ساعتين اضافيات؟

sāʿt-iṭṭān ʿḍāfi-āt

hour-DUL extra-3PL

‘Two more hours?’. (M1, IA)

90. R2. Oh, you want me to turn up tomorrow? (F3, ILE)

91. R1. To York? (M1, BE)

This strategy appears frequently in the verbal data in this study while it is not found in that of the DCT. This may be because it requires a reply or/and confirmation of the request/offer on the part of the speaker, as in the following conversation where a manager offers his employee a promotion on condition that she works in Baghdad:

92. R1.

1.A. صباح الخير زينہ، شلونج حبييتي.

ṣabah il-ḥēr zīna ʿ šlōn-ič ḥabīb-ti

morning Def-good Zina how-2S.F love-2S.F

‘Good morning Zina, how are you my love?’

2.B. بخير الله يسلمج

b-ḥēr 'lla ysalmi-č

with-good God bless-2S.F

'Good, God bless you'

3.A. اليوم قررنا بالجماع ترفيتج وزيادة راتبج بس بشرط يكون عملج ابغداد.

'l-yōm qararn-a b-il-'jtima ' terqīt- ič w ziadet ratb- ič

DEF-day decide-1P in-DEF-meeting promote-2S.F and increase salary-2S.F

bes b- šeriṭ yikūn 'mal- ič fi baḡdād

but with-condition be work-2S.F in Baghdad

'Today we decided to promote you in the meeting on condition that you work in Baghdad'

→ 4.B. انقل لبغداد

'a-niqil l- baḡdād

1S-move to-Baghdad

→ 'Move to Baghdad?'

5.A. اي

' ī

'Yes'.

6.B. شكر بس والله اسفه انا اتمنى اقبل طلبج بس تعرفين بغداد خطره وانا زوجي هنا يشتغل بمحافضة ميسان لازم اجيك وياه.

šukren bes walla 'āsf-ah 'ana 'a-tmena 'a-qbel ṭeleb-č bes

thank but by god sorry-1S.F I 1S-wish 1S-accept request-2S.F but

't-'urf īn baḡdād ḥeṭreh w 'ana zewj-i 'hna y- štuḡul

2S.F-know Baghdad dangerous and I husband-1S here 3S.M-work

b-muḥfaḍet mīsān lazim 'ček wi-āh
 in-province Misan must check with-3S.M

'Thank you but by God, I am sorry, I wish I could accept your request but you know that Baghdad is dangerous and my husband works here in Misan province by God I need to check with him'.

7.A. اي اعرف بس ما يکدر يروح وياج؟

'ī 'a-'ruf bes mā y-gdar y-rūḥ wi-āč
 yes 1S-know but NEG 3S.M-able 3S.M-go with-2S.F

'Yes I know but can't he go with you?'

8.B. لا صعبه ما نکدر انا اسفه اذا ارفض طلبج... اسفه شوفي حنان بلکي بلکي توافق.

lā še'beh mā n-gdār 'ana 'āsf-ah 'ḍa 'rfuḍ ṭaleb-ič
 no difficult NEG 1S.able I sorry-1S.F if 1S.F.refuse request-2S.F

'āsf-ah šuf-i ḥenān belki 'i-twafuq
 sorry-1S.F see-2S.F Hanan possible 3S.F-accept

'No, it is tough, sorry if i refuse your request, sorry because all my relatives and friends are here. You can see Hanan, I hope she will accept your request'.

9.A. اوکي راح اسالها. من رخصتج.

'okay rāḥ 's'l-ha min ruḥi ṣt-ič
 Ok will ask-3S.F from excuse-2S.F

'Ok, i will ask her. Excuse me'.

10.B. براحتج.

b-rāḥ-tič
 with-rest-2S.F

Ok.

(F1, IA)

4.2.9 Putting the Blame on a Third Party

Speakers may sometimes avoid a direct refusal in order to be deliberately ambiguous as to their willingness or otherwise that an act be implemented. Thus, they tend to use certain utterances apportioning blame to a third party over whom they have no control. In interviews with husbands, *When does your wife say I have to consult my husband?*, Liao (1994:98) states that many answered *When their wives mean No*. This same strategy is also used by shop assistants and managers to reject people:

93. 'I'm sorry, the regulation of the store is "No return of the purchased goods".'

94. The company's regulation is.....

Such a strategy is also typical of young people when rejecting acts such as offers and invitations:

95. *3. منعني الطبيب من أكل الحلويات

min'-ni l-ṭabīb min 'akil l-ḥlawi-at

prevent.2SG.M-1SG DEF-doctor.2SG.M from eating DEF-sweet-PL

'The doctor prevents me from eating sweets'. (F6, IA)

96. *10. I need to consult my family. (F6, ILE)

The structure associated with this type of strategy is that of necessity, conveying the belief of the speaker that their refusal is necessitated by social and conventional laws. At the pragmatic level, they convey that they are compelled to do so by social constraints or family commitments. At the interpersonal level, they communicate that they have no choice in the matter and that they are not personally responsible for the threat to the offerer's face. They also convey that they have recognised that the offerer's/requester's utterance counts as a wish that an act be done, but they do not clarify whether or not they are willing to comply.

By assigning the blame to a third party (particularly over whom they do not have control), the speaker admits that they are reluctant to perform an FTA, and no face threat is intended or desired. Thus, the speaker is obviously involved in face work to save the addressee's

positive face. Consequently, this type of refusal belongs to off-record refusal strategies as defined by Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory 'because when the requestee/offeree utters *I have to consult my wife*, the offerer may interpret it literally and expect a further optimistic reply' (Lia, 1994:179). On the other hand, utterances of this type violate one of Grice's submaxims which is 'relevance', in that a person proffering a refusal is, to a certain degree, expected to offer an explanation with a relevant reason. This may be viewed as the speaker's attempt not only to achieve the linguistic purpose of expressing 'no', but simultaneously to remain interpersonally amiable. However, examples 93 and 94 belong to negative polite on-record strategies impersonalizing S and H.

In the current study, this strategy was widely used in refusals of offers. It occurred 24 times in IAs' data (4.8%), 3.2% (16 instances) in ILEs', but not at all in BEs'. However, it was not utilised at all in refusals of requests. It is worth stating that this strategy has not been used as a separate strategy by any previous study that investigated refusals of offers. Furthermore, it is not categorised under SIE as refusers in this strategy show no personal responsibility for the rejection but appeal to a third party and leave the negotiation open.

In the Role-Play data for the present study, this strategy was observed in IA and ILE data (4 tokens; 3.8% and 3 tokens; 3.3% respectively) but not in BEs. The following examples were found in the data:

97. R1. يحتاج احجي ويه زوجتي قبل لا اتخذ قرار.
 y-htāj 'a-hči wiə zawijit-i qabil lā 'a-tiḥid qarār
 3SG-need 1SG-talk with wife-1SG before NEG 1SG-take decision

'I need to talk to my wife before taking a decision'. (F9, IA)

98. R1. I think my husband will not agree on moving to Baghdad. (M4, ILE)

4.2.10 Request for Information/Clarification

This strategy is particularly important since it is found only in refusal studies that use the Role-Play method to elicit data (Felix-Brasdefer, 2002; Gass& Houck, 1999; VonCanon, 2006; Morkus, 2009) and not in those that employed DCT only, since in the DCT there is

no interaction and the interlocutor does not have the option of asking for or receiving information. This strategy was not included in the classification scheme proposed by Beebe, et al. (1990) as their scheme was based on data elicited through a DCT. Neither does it appear in the DCT data in this current study. It is also necessary to point out that Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990) explain that interlocutors use this strategy as a way of delaying the refusal in the interaction in order to create enough time to plan for the refusal. The requestee/offeree could possibly question the justification of the request/offer as in the instances below:

99. R5. ؟ تحتاجه اليوم

t-ihtāj-ah 'l-yom

2SG.M-need-1SG DEF-day

'Do you need it today?' (F7,IA)

100.R8. Is it necessary to do it? (M5,ILE)

101.R3. Why me? (F2, BE)

All of these responses are evasive and imply an unfavourable opinion on the part of the requestee/offeree. By questioning the necessity of the act requested, the requestee manages to imply that they do not favour the idea of fulfilling the act. With such a question, the speaker allows, or rather invites, the hearer to draw certain conclusions concerning the speaker's underlying assumptions and expectations, i.e., a negative answer is more probable.

This strategy does not explicitly indicate the requestee's non-compliance, but rather it questions one of the conditions of performing a request, namely the necessity of performing a future action. By questioning the request, the requestee implies that the act is not necessary. Thus, they invite the requester to deduce that the request is being reasonably refused. Repetition of the request (see 4.2.8) does not clearly question the necessity of the act requested but the refuser repeats exactly the main request/offer. However, as observed in Role Plays in this study, the requester/offeree sometimes does not perceive Request for Information as a refusal. Thus, the exchange does not end in this strategy as it is illustrated in the following interaction between BEs.

102.R1.

1. A. erm hh i'd like to erm talk to you about a fantastic opportunity that is coming up i think you've done really well in the last two months. and erm you i am impressed so i'd like to promote you and give you more responsibility and also a pay rise. erm i think it is really well deserved erm the only problem is that erm you will be working in tesco in YORK? erm >i think it is really fantastic opportunity for you>.

➔ 2. B. erm ok but why me?

3. A. erm because you've done i am really impressed with with what you've been doing so far and i think you'd work well with more responsibility.

4. B. to york? it is gonna be little tough.

6. A. erm i appreciate that but it is it is a pay rise as well so i am sure there is you know options that you could you could pursue? that it will enable you to move and take advantage of this great opportunity.

7. B. ok erm the thing is i've just bought A HOUSE and my family is here in manchester. i just had my parents move here so i could i could be closer to them.

8. A. erm oh gosh that is shame congratulation on your house and buying a house. york and manchester are not that far you know you could commute potentially to york erm erm and you may open up a promotion you could move back to manchester in the near future? erm and take on that high role.

9. B. erm i also got some friends here. and my fiancé has a job here.

10. A. again can you think of work it is not yea it is not too far you know you could take the train there is good train links and not too expensive.

11. B. (no answer).

(M2, BE)

In accordance with Brown and Levinson's (1987) categorisation, this is an off-record politeness strategy. The syntactic form of this strategy might be interrogative. In Arabic, this form consists of a statement preceded by question particles which is equivalent to a yes/no question (see Cantarino, 1975: 35-68). However, in Iraqi dialect sometimes it is

employed without a question particle as in example 99 above. This strategy was less frequently observed in IA than in ILE and BE data; 10 instances (9.5%) in IA data, 8 (8.9%) in ILE, and 7 tokens (6.3%) in BE data.

4.2.11 Request for Consideration or Understanding

In this strategy, the participant requests the interlocutor's consideration and understanding of the participant's situation and their inability to comply with the request or accept the offer. It is used to distract the interlocutor from the illocutionary force of the refusal. According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) super-strategies, it is an off-record politeness strategy.

103.R1. اتمنى ان تفهم وضعي
 'a-tmana 'an t-fihām wāq'-i
 1SG-hope that 2SG.M-understand situation-1SG

'I hope that you understand my situation'. (F3, IA)

104.R1. Changing the life of the family is not easy, I think you understand my position.
 (F2, ILE)

105.R9. You understand how busy I am during final exams. (F3, BE)

This strategy can be understood as refusal or as justifying refusal, as in example (103). It is one of the less frequent strategies elicited by the Role-Play data. It occurred 4 times in IAs and ILEs data while 5 instances of this type were used by BEs.

4.2.12 Negative Consequences to Requester

This strategy is cited by Beebe et al. (1990) under Attempts to Dissuade Interlocutor, and is also found in some of the Arabic studies (Al-Issa, 1998). In this strategy the speaker tries to dissuade the interlocutor from pursuing an acceptance since an acceptance could lead to negative consequences for the interlocutor. It also serves to distract the interlocutor from the illocutionary force of the refusal by warning them of those negative consequences. So,

it is categorised as a negative polite off-record strategy. In the current study this strategy does not appear in the DCT data, nor in IA or ILE Role-Play data, and features only in 6 instances (5.4%) for the BE group. An example of its application is:

106.R8. I am a bit in a hurry, so I do not wanna not fix it for you properly. (M7, BE)

Here, as with some other strategies, the conversation between the interlocutors extends to several sequences of interaction as in the following scenario between two BEs regarding the borrowing of lecture notes:

107.R4.

1. A. er you know the lecture notes that you've been doing in the last few weeks?

2. B. yea?

3. A. could i POSSIBLY borrow them?

➡ 4. B. hhh i haven't really finished them yet so i don't wanna give you the wrong the wrong
 ➡ information because i am not really (0.3) .hh i am not really sure that everything is right in
 ➡ it so i don't wanna give you the {wrong information}

5. A. { maybe } we could go to the library and i can have a look over what you have done so far?

6. B. maybe maybe later (.) maybe maybe some point next week(.) but at the minute i don't really i don't really feel comfortable showing them to anyone?

7. A. do you know someone else that might?

8. B. emm maybe maybe ask EMILY maybe

9. A. ok i'll try her then

10. B. ok. (F5, BE)

4.2.13 Wish

Wish is a common strategy found in most refusal studies, and it is one of the strategies listed in Beebe et al's (1990) classification scheme. It expresses the speaker's desire to help their interlocutor but at the same time their inability to do so. This strategy aims to minimise the threat to the interlocutor's positive face by expressing the speaker's desire to help. According to Brown and Levinson categorisation, this is an off-record refusal strategy.

108.#7. ...اتمنى اقدر اسوي هذا الشيء بس...

'a-tmana 'a-gdar 'saw-i haḏa aš-ši bas

1SG-wish 1SG-able do-1SG this DEF- thing but

'I wish I could do this, but...'(F1, IA)

109.# 6. I wish I was able to lend them to you...(M3,ILE)

110.#14. I wish I could, but I can't. (M4, BE)

In the present study this strategy did not appear either in Refusal of offers or in Role-Play situations, but only in Refusals of Requests (in the DCT data). It was less frequent in IA than in ILE and BE data; it occurred once in IA data (0.2%), 8 times in BE (1.9%), whereas there were 7 instances of the formula in ILE data (2%).

4.2.14 Chiding/Criticism

In this category participants criticise the requester/offerer for making the request/offer and usually imply that the request/offer is not fair. Culpeper (1996:357) regards the concept of 'criticism' as an impolite positive face threatening strategy. Its existence is explicitly an FTA, and, according to Bousfield (2008:126), it is powerfully impolite.

111.#13 انت دائما تطلب البايكل

'int-a dā'man t-uṭlūb l-bāisikl

you-2SG.M always 2SG.M-ask DEF-bike

‘You always ask for the bike’. (M6, IA)

112.# 6. You do not even attend in class. (F3, ILE)

Chiding/Criticism as a refusal strategy to requests is often utilised by high status and intimate people to refuse requests by low or equal status speakers. There were 13 (out of 28) instances of Chiding used by IA high status refusers, while only 3 tokens of this strategy were resorted to by low status subjects (table 1, appendix 14)¹⁵. The following are typical examples of Chiding/Criticism as refusals to comply with requests:

113.#18. انت شكذ بطران

’int-a šgad beṭṭr-ān

you-2SG.M how much discontented-SG.M

‘How discontented you are’. (M8, IA).

The speaker conveys that there are both natural and social forces that compel them to refuse. Although they do not specify those external forces, they convey that the requester/offeree is irrational since they fail to appreciate those natural and social preventing forces. Further, they convey their annoyance, anger or dissatisfaction with the requester’s/offeree’s behaviour by indicating that the request/offer should not have been made. Chiding/Criticism is commonly used alone, but sometimes it is accompanied by an SIE which functions as a remedial formula.

114.# 14 روعي مني، ما تشوفيني تعبان

rūḥ-ī min-ī mā-tišuf-in-i ta’b-an

get off-2SG.F from-1SG NEG-see-2SG.F-1SG tired-SG.M

‘Get off, don’t you see I’m tired’ (F10, IA).

Here the Chiding/Criticism formula is followed by an SIE which specifies the external forces. Generally, Chiding/Criticism does not specify any social, natural or even rational

¹⁵ See tables (1-10) in appendix 14 for the distribution of (less frequent) refusal strategies by contextual factors.

forces acting on the speaker to refuse the request/offer. Consequently, a speaker, who performs such a face-damaging act when there are few or no reasons for doing so, damages both their own and the other's face.

In refusals of offers, situation number 15 regarding payment in the cafeteria highlights an important cross-cultural difference. Whereas in the Western world it is acceptable for each person to pay for their own food, it might not be so in Arab society to split the bill. Iraqis tend to pay for what they have had rather than chop the bill equally. In addition, if you invite someone for dinner you may intend to pay for the whole thing especially if, for example, you have not seen the person for some time. You can also notice that if you eat with Iraqis especially those that you do not often see or who are not close friends of yours, they are more likely to try to pay for you, and you have had arguments over who is going to take care of the bill. In the western world, such practices are not usually common (this will be discussed in more detail in chapter eight, section 8.3). Thus, IAs produced responses making reference to being angry or reprimanding, challenging or chiding the offerer as in:

115. * 15. عيب. خلي فلوسك

'ēb ḥl-i flūs-ek

shame IMP.keep-2SG money-2SG.M

'It is a shame, keep your money'. (F2, IA)

Such expressions semantically encode the speaker's belief that social and rationality laws preclude the truth of their proposition. They also convey the impossibility that the offer may be accepted. This is unlike other types of refusal, such as 'It is my treat' (see 4.2.2), where the refuser feels comfort at not satisfying the offerer's wishes. Expressing comfort about not satisfying another's face protects one's own face but damages the other's. In refusals of offers, Chiding appeared only 3 times (0.6%) in IAs data, while it was non-existent in the other two groups. In refusals of requests, 28 instances (7%) were used by IA. However, it was non-existent in the BE group, while it occurred only once (0.2%) in ILE group. This tactic was employed by the three groups of informants in the Role-Plays; 4 instances (3.7%) by IAs, 5 (5.6%) by ILEs and 6 (5.4%) by BEs.

116.R4. أنت دائما تغيب عن المحاضرات

'ant-a dā'man t-ġīb 'ān 'l- muḥāḍar-āt

you-M always 2SG.M-absent from DEF-lecture-3PL

'You are always absent from lectures'. (F8, IA)

117.R6. You do not know how to use computers properly. (F5, ILE)

118.R6. You are awkward. (M6, BE)

Furthermore, it would appear that the speaker who uses Chiding as a refusal strategy is not engaging in any type of polite facework; to reject an offer/request, for example, may imply that the speaker is engaged in facework in order to injure rather than to protect the addressee's face. Thus, Chiding does not fit into any of Brown and Levinson's (1987) categories of politeness strategies. Since it is performed in an obvious and straightforward way and implies deliberate face damage, it belongs to bald on-record impoliteness strategy as defined by Culpeper (1996).

The syntactic form of this strategy in both Arabic and English could be interrogative *Am I a photographer?* Exclamatory *I can't figure this out!*, or interrogative with negative implication *Can't you be more careful?*.

4.3 Adjuncts to Refusals

Adjuncts to refusals do not form part of the refusal itself but are external modifications to the main act of refusal. They serve as strategies for attending to the needs of the interlocutor's positive face by expressing solidarity with the interlocutor (Beebe et al., 1990). Savic (2014: 72) defines Adjuncts as 'expressions accompanying refusals but not themselves used to perform refusals'. These may include expressions of Regret/Apology, Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or Agreement, Invoking the name of God, Gratitude/Appreciation, Getting Interlocutor's Attention, and Statement of Empathy/Concern. Some of these were identified by Beebe et al. (1990) and featured in many other refusal studies, including those investigating Arabic (Al-Issa, 1998; Nelson, et

al., 2002, Morkus 2009). Some examples of these strategies were also observed in the present study.

4.3.1 Statement of regret /apology

Apologies are often issued with the intention of placating the hearer (Trosborg, 1994: 283). The act of apologising/regretting is a convivial speech act, the goal of which coincides with the social goal of maintaining harmony between speaker and hearer. Olshtain and Cohen (1983:30) point out that an apology is called for when social norms have been violated whether the offence is real or potential. Thus when a person fails to accept an offer/request (a hearer beneficial act), they feel that they have offended the offerer/requester; an apology is then issued with the intention of “setting things right”. Regret is often stated in Iraqi Arabic with the phrase أسف (’āsif) *sorry* or اعتذر (’a’tidīr) *apologise*.

Apology is an on-record negative politeness strategy. Brown and Levinson (1987: 187) indicate that one way to satisfy the addressee’s negative face demands is to indicate that the speaker is aware of them and taking them into account in their decision to execute the FTA. Thus, by apologising for performing the face threatening act of refusal, the speaker satisfies the addressee’s negative face by indicating that they are aware of the addressee’s face want, and hope that their apology will act as compensation, even though they know that offering apology involves a threat to their own face. In refusals of Requests, this strategy was frequently utilised by all three groups of informants. It amounted to 75% in ILEs (241 instances), followed by BEs 41.8% (59 instances), while it appeared 100 times (33.6%) in IAs data. Examples of the use of regret and apology statements are seen in the following:

119.#1 أسف (’āsif) Sorry (M5,IA)

120.*3 Really sorry (F4, ILE)

121.# 6 I apologise (M7, BE)

This type of Adjunct was also much used in IA verbal conversations, 27.8% (17 instances), followed by ILEs 28.2% (13 instances). BEs used Regret less (10 instances) which amounted to 35.7%. Consider the following examples:

122.R2. آسف

'āsif

'sorry' (M8,IA)

Statement of Regret/Apology was less commonly used in refusing offers, although it was sometimes resorted to, as in the situation where the boss offered a promotion and raise, dependent on relocation, to their employee. 23 instances were found in BE data (38.9%), while it was widely used by ILEs (135 instances, 64.5%). IAs used 32 instances of Regret/Apology which amounted to about 26.2% of the total. Some examples of its application are underlined below:

123. * 18 اسف عندي سكر. تصورت تدري؟

'āsif 'and-i sukar t-ṣawart tidri

sorry.1SG.M have-1SG diabetes 1SG-thought know.2SG.M

'Sorry, I am diabetic, I thought you knew?' (M3, IA)

124. * 10 I apologise. I cannot work in Baghdad, It is dangerous. (M6, ILE)

125. * 10 Location is my priority, sorry. (F4, BE)

4.3.2 Invoking the name of God

In a study investigating the speech act of swearing to God in Arabic, Abdel-Jawad (2000) found that swearing to God is used in Arabic to preface almost all types of speech acts. He also found that it is a common strategy used in Arabic to mitigate the illocutionary force of the speech act of refusal. It is generally used to confirm the truth value of the speaker's proposition (Saleh & Abdul-Fattah, 1998). Although it was observed in other Arabic refusal studies (Al-Issa, 1998), it is not usually identified as a separate strategy in Arabic

speech act studies. However, in the present study it is classified as a separate category because it is an important strategy that is frequently used in Iraqi Arabic. Other researchers also classify it as a separate strategy in the realisation of other speech acts in Arabic, such as apology (Bataneh, 2004). In the DCT, it was used solely by IAs. In refusals of requests it amounted to 31.9% (95 instances) and 18% (22 instances) in refusals of offers.

126.#1 والله مشغوله

wallā mašgūl-a

by god busy.1SG-1SG.F

'By God, I am busy'. (F9, IA)

As with the DCT, it was used widely by IA informants (22 instances; 36%) in the Role-Plays, and accounted for 23.9% (11 instances) in ILEs' data. BEs, on the other hand, never invoked the name of God in their refusals.

127.R5. I am full, I swear to God. (F10, ILE)

4.3.3 Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or Agreement

Some refusal strategies are accompanied by Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or Agreement, which serves to mitigate the illocutionary act of refusals and to preserve the harmonious relationship between the interlocutors. Here, the refuser expresses that the request/offer is a good idea but unfortunately they cannot comply (Martínez-Flor & Juan, 2011:58). The following are examples from the data:

128.#6. انت صديقي واحبك وتحبني

'inta sadīq-i w 'a-ḥib-ak w t-ḥib-ni

you friend-1SG.M and 1SG-love-2SG.M and 2SG.M-love-1SG

'You are my friend and I love you and you love me' (M9, IA)

129.#17. Oh, that's great news. (F10, ILE)

130.# 2. I love to help, but...(F2, BE)

This strategy was used frequently in refusals of requests by IAs (102 tokens) (34.3%), but less so by ILEs and BEs (80; 24.9%) and (82; 58.1%) respectively. It accounts for 14.7% (9 instances) in IAs, 13% (6 instances) in ILEs and 25% (7 instances) in BEs in the verbal interaction of the informants. The following short interaction demonstrates its use:

131.R1.

1. A. err hhh ok we have good news for you (.) er we can offer you er a promotion and a significant {pay rise}

2. B. {oh great}

3. A. the only thing to bear in mind or to take into account is that this job involves moving to YORK.

➔ 4. B. ok erm we are flattered by that (.) and this is that is good news in general but i don't think i'll be able to relocate at the time. (M3, BE)

Again, this strategy was less frequent in refusals of offers rather than requests. In BEs data, it amounted to 25.4% (15 instances). However, the other two groups used it less frequently; 5.7% (12 instances) in ILEs' data and 4.9% (6 instances only) in IAs'.

4.3.4 Gratitude/Appreciation

Thanking is a speech act that has been classified as an aspect of polite language (Watts, 2003; Eelen, 2001; Leech, 1983), as a social norm (Escandell, 1996), as a conversational routine or discourse expression and as an institutional expression (Aijmer, 1996; Watts, 2003). In the performance of the act of thanking, the receiver's face (in Goffman's terms, 1972:5) benefits from the sender's behaviour (i.e. the actual thanking). This is reciprocal as the sender's face also benefits when they perform the SA of thanking. However, according to Brown and Levinson's politeness model ([1978] 1987), thanking is face-damaging to the

self, acknowledging, as it does, one's state of indebtedness to the other. Nonetheless, since it enhances the face of other, it is a positive-on-record strategy.

The spectrum of what is recognised as thanking reflects different cultural values, and so raises concerns in cross-cultural pragmatic study regarding the commonly used definition as expressions of gratitude and appreciation.

A possible negative aspect of thanking (the expression of gratitude) in terms of social relationship is pointed out by Apte (1974), where he contends that, in Marathi and Hindi, verbalization of gratitude is not expected among family members and close friends. Since, in these cultures, 'verbalization of gratitude indicates a distant relationship' (p.75), thanking may even suggest the friendship is in danger. In the present study, Gratitude/Appreciation was performed less (27.4%) when refusing offers of low distance interlocutors by IAs, but more frequently when refusing high distance interlocutors (32.2%). The same trend was observed for the other two groups (see table 6.11 in chapter 6).

Beebe et al. (1990) include this Adjunct to Refusal under 'Gratitude/Appreciation'. This strategy was not applied in refusals of requests but only in refusals of offers. Overall, in the present study, Gratitude/Appreciation was more frequently used by IAs and ILEs than by the BE group; 62 instances (50.8%) in the former, and 62 instances (29.6%) in the latter. However, 21 instances feature in BE data, which accounts for 35.5% of this group's whole data.

شکرا جزیلا اقدر اشیلهن. 13. * 132

šukren jazilen 'agdar 'a-šil-hin

thanks very much able.1SG 1SG-carry-3PL.F

'Thank you very much. I can carry them'. (M4, IA)

133. *9 Thank you. I have a spare one. (F4, ILE)

134. *8 I am ok. Thanks though. (F7, BE)

In the verbal interaction of the subjects, Gratitude/Appreciation was also used in the answers of all three groups of participants, although more frequently in IAs and ILEs data

(8 and 9 instances respectively) than in BEs' (6 instances). The following conversation, in which there is an offer of a dessert, is between two BE friends in my study:

135.R5.

1. A. there are still there are still dessert left (0.3) but you got to have some more no, no letting you stay here ((joking)) ((laughing))

→ 2. B. no i am all right thanks i am fine

3. A. i can't have food wasting in my house

→ 4. B. i am full (.) i am full i am all right thank you very much. (M6, BE)

4.3.5 Statement of Empathy/Concern

This strategy, which expresses concern for the interlocutor and aims to convey a positive attitude towards them, is included as an Adjunct to refusal in the Beebe et al. (1990) classification scheme. This strategy mitigates the illocutionary force of the refusal showing concern for the interlocutor. Therefore, it can be categorised as a positively polite on-record strategy. In the present study it was not commonly employed by either IAs or ILEs (1 instances; 1.6%) and (4 instances; 8.6%) respectively). BEs, on the other hand, used it more frequently (5 instances; 17.8%). It was found in the informants' verbal interactions only. The following are some examples:

136.R3. أعرف أنه وجودي مهم.

'a- 'ruf 'ana wujud-i muhim

1SG-know I presence-1SG important

'I understand that my presence is important'. (F5, IA)

137.R6. Do not be upset. (M6, ILE)

138.R4. I know that you need the lectures very badly. (M5, BE)

4.3.6 Getting Interlocutor's Attention

This strategy was not reported in any previous refusal study, except for Morkus' (2009). In this strategy, the speaker tries to get the interlocutor's attention using words such as 'look!' or 'listen!' This appears to be a solidarity strategy, used to attend to the interlocutor's positive face, by appealing to the interlocutor's understanding and consideration. Waltereit (2002:1) states that discourse markers such as 'look' conversationally implicate that the interlocutor has to say something very important which requires immediate attention from the hearer. This strategy was not found in the written responses of the subjects in the present study, and appeared only 4 (6.5%) and 3 times (6.5%) in IAs' and ILEs' verbal data respectively, with no tokens being found in that of the BEs.

139.R3. شوف , امي مريضه كلش وبالمستشفى.

šūf 'um-i marīḍ-ah kuliš w b-l-mustašfa
look.2SG.M mother-1SG sick-3SG.F very and in-DEF-hospital

'Look! . . . my mom is very sick and she is in the hospital'. (F4, IA)

140.R8. No, listen! I am waiting for your brother. (M6, ILE)

4.4 Conclusions

In summary, with previous categories (Direct, Indirect, and Adjunct), Direct and Indirect Refusal can be seen as the central act (head) if there is more than one formula employed in a given instance. Those that are not central are deemed Adjuncts. Non-central strategies (i.e. Adjuncts) commonly occur together with central (Indirect or/and Direct) strategy as in *No, thanks* or *Nice, but I am very occupied now*. However, non-central strategies did not feature alone as refusals in any of the data elicited for the current study. Adjuncts are supporting strategies, and, as such, play a non-central role in performing the function of refusals. Adjuncts are important external modifiers used to minimise the illocutionary force of refusal, and consequently save the interlocutor's face.

Generally, in both the Role-Plays and the DCT investigation, all groups favoured the most indirect strategy type, accounting for a very high percentage of all of the strategies they

adopted. However, both IAs and ILEs utilised more Direct refusals than did the BEs (see tables 5.10, 6.9, and 7.1 for a clear representation of numbers and proportions). This finding contrasts with other studies, for example, Morkus (2009), Al-Issa (1998), Al-Shalawi (1997), Al Eryani (2007), all of whom concluded that Arabs are more indirect than their English-speaking counterparts. The findings are also dissimilar to those of Nelson et al (2002) who found out that American and Egyptian participants used a similar number of Direct and Indirect strategies. This may support the widespread perception the British are 'reserved' and 'indirect' (Fox, 2004). As for Americans, on the other hand, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:188) state that 'language ideology among social groups in the US see directness as a virtue, indirectness at best a waste of time and often as an impediment to effective communication'. As far as I know, there is no study that compares refusals in American English and British English.

In addition, the strategies utilised in this study were determined by the eliciting act (requests and offers) and elicitation method (DCT and Role-Play). For instance, It is My Treat, Let off the Hook, Gratitude/Appreciation were used in refusals of offers but not of requests. However, Avoidance, Wish, Counterfactual Conditionals and others appeared only in refusals of requests. Due to the nature of the Role-Play which allows for long stretches of interactions between interlocutors, many strategies, such as Request for Consideration, have been found only in the verbal conversations of the subjects, for example *I hope you understand my situation*, in addition to some Adjuncts as in the attention markers *look* and *listen*.

Statement of Impeding Event was the most common strategy utilised by the three groups in both the DCT and the Role-Plays. This is a tactic that includes some excuses, reasons, explanations, and justifications for the refusal. As for Adjuncts, ILEs use adjuncts more frequently than the other two groups. It is perhaps because adjuncts tend to be formulaic, so are more easily mastered by L2 speakers.

Some strategies were confined to one group. For example Invoking God as in *والله by God...* were utilised solely by IAs, with the exception of 11 instances of Invoking God that appeared in the verbal data of the ILEs. These differences and similarities will be discussed further in the following chapters.

Chapter Five

Refusals of Requests

Chapter Five presents the quantitative and qualitative findings of refusals of requests that were collected by the DCT. It also examines the influence of the contextual factors on these strategies. It consists of five sections. These sections are structured by subheadings making explicit which variable is being investigated. It starts with the number and order of semantic formulae found in refusals of requests and the influence of the three social factors on them. This section is dedicated to find out if the groups differ in the order of the semantic formulae and the length of their responses in relation to the variables. The influence of the degree of imposition variable on the subjects' responses will also be investigated in a separate section in this chapter.

The second section examines the frequency counts of the different refusal strategies used and their distribution according to the variables. As in studies like Turnbull and Saxton (1997), the frequencies of occurrence of refusal expressions are calculated and compared for each category and each group (see chapter three, section 3.14 for more details). It aims at investigating the frequency of each category utilised by each group and how it is influenced by the social factors. It is worth mentioning here that Adjuncts are calculated separately as they are considered as modifications to refusals and not as refusals in themselves. The third section provides findings of the qualitative analysis, investigating the content of excuses and reasons implied in the SIE, Alternative, and General Principles that were utilised by the three groups. The section also highlights other characteristics that could be identified in the informants' responses such as clarity vs. vagueness, family and personal excuses etc. The goal here is to find out whether the informants use similar/different content of formulae. In an attempt to discover how informants react to weighty requests (e.g., work in another city) other than small requests (e.g., taking a photo), the influence of the rank of imposition on the length of responses will be highlighted in the following section. The last section investigates the pragmatic transfer in ILEs data and examines if there is any negative pragmatic transfer by ILEs from their Arabic native language. It consists of three parts: The first part deals with the qualitative examination of the ordering of semantic formulae in refusals of requests. The second part investigates the evidence of pragmatic transfer in the frequency and selection of refusals, and the third one

deals with the contents of these formulae. Conclusions are provided at the end of each section in this chapter.

5.1 Number and Order of Semantic Formulae

This section explains the number and order of semantic formulae of Refusals of Requests that were elicited through this study's questionnaire in its two versions: English and Arabic (see table 5.10 for all refusals of requests collected from the questionnaire).

5.1.1 Number of Semantic Formulae

As I have explained in the previous chapter (the methodology), each group in this study consists of 20 informants refusing 18 situations of requests and 18 situations of offers. As for refusals to requests, the total number of responses in each group is 360 responses. The number of semantic formulae used in each instance differed; one semantic formulae, two semantic formulae, and three semantic formulae¹⁶. Iraqi Arabic Speakers (IAs) tended to use two semantic formula strategies more frequently than one semantic formula. Of the 360 instances of refusal strategies 228 (63.3%)¹⁷ consist of two semantic formulae (example 1), 116 (32.2%) of one semantic formulae (as in example 2), and only 16 (4.4%) of three semantic formulae (example 3).

1 ما اكر ما عندي وقت. #1
ma 'gdar ma 'and-i waqit

NEG-able NEG have-1S time

'I can't, I haven't got time'. (M2, IA)

¹⁶ Adjuncts are not included in calculating the number of semantic formulae but only the head refusals i.e., Direct and Indirect refusals.

¹⁷ This proportion (63.6%) is gained by dividing the number of two semantic formulae (228 instances) on the total number of responses of the whole group i.e., 360 by 100.

2 انا مشغول هسه. #4

'ana mašgūl hasa

I busy.1S.M now

'I am busy now'. (M3, IA)

3 ما اقدر مو عندي. تكدر تسال شخص ثاني؟ #6

ma 'gdar mū 'and-i ti-gdar ti-s'al šaḥuṣ tāni

NEG-able NEG have-1SG 2S.M-able 2S.M-ask person second

'I can't, I have not got them with me, can you ask someone else?' (M5, IA)

Iraqi Learners of English (ILEs) also favoured strategies consisting of two semantic formulae. Thus, 291 (80.8%) of the strategies used by ILEs consisted of two semantic formulae, 61 (16.9%) of one formula and only 8 (2.2%) consisted of three formulae. British English Speakers (BEs), on the other hand, demonstrated a preference for a one semantic formula strategy. Thus, 270 (75%) of the strategies were of this type, 62 (17.2%) of two formulae and only 28 (7.7%) consisted of three formulae.

The selection of the number of semantic formulae would appear to be determined, to a certain extent, by the three social factors. The frequency of the number of semantic formulae also revealed variation as to the requester's social status, social distance and to their gender as follows:

5.1.1.1 Social Status

IAs increased the range of the composite strategies consisting of two semantic formulae when refusing a request from a person of higher status, such as:

4 مالي خلك ما اقدر. #2

mā-aqdar mali ḥulig

NEG-able NEG mood

'I can't, I do not feel well' (M3, IA)

Thus, the range of difference in the frequency of two semantic formulae strategies between higher and lower status requester was 25 instances (10.9%). Consequently, the frequency of one semantic formula strategies decreased; the range of difference was 5 instances (4.3%) (see table 5.1)¹⁸. This finding is consistent with the general characteristics of Jordanian Arabic communication style reported by Al-Issa (1998). He reports that Jordanians tend towards verbosity especially when interacting with someone higher in status. Similar findings are also to be observed in the studies of Al Shalawi, (1997) and Morkus (2009) who investigated other Arabic varieties; Saudi and Egyptian Arabic respectively.

ILEs also increased the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing a higher status over a lower status requester. However, the range of difference was 29 instances (10%). BEs also demonstrated sensitivity to social factors. However, they varied the frequency of the semantic formulae rather differently. They increased the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing status unequal requesters over status equal requesters by 10 instances (16.1%).

Table 5.1: Number and Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests by status.

Refusers' Status	Number of Semantic Formulae	Frequency (percentages of semantic formulae)					
		IA		ILE		BE	
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Equal	1	33.6	39	32.7	20	44	119
Low	1	31	36	27.8	17	23	62
High	1	35.3	41	39.3	24	33	89

¹⁸ The semantic formulae are distributed according to their numbers and the contextual factors in tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4. For instance in table 5.1 the instances that consist of one formula in IAs' data (116 instances) are divided into three groups; 39 instances (33.6% of 116) were used by equal social status refusers, 36 instances (31%) by lower and 41 instances (35.3%) by higher social status. The same thing can be applied for the instances that consist of two semantic formulae and for the other social factors in this group and the other two groups.

Equal	2	29.3	67	35	102	22.5	14
Low	2	40.7	93	37.4	109	40.3	25
High	2	29.8	68	27.4	80	37	23

5.1.1.2 Social distance

As for social distance, assessment of interlocutor's social distance was also evident in IA data in determining the number of semantic formulae in a given refusal strategy. As the social distance between the interlocutors increased, the IAs escalated the frequency of their use of two semantic formula strategies. The range of difference between high and low distance requesters was considerable, being 20 instances (8.8%) (see table 5.2). ILEs displayed less sensitivity to social distance. Although they increased the frequency of two semantic formula strategies as the degree of social distance expanded, the range of difference was only 6 instances (2%). BEs did not appear to regard this as important, as the range of difference between a high and low distance requester was only two instances (3.3%).

Table 5.2: Number and Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests by distance

Refusers' distance	Number of Semantic Formulae	Frequency (percentages of semantic formulae)					
		IA		ILE		BE	
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Low	1	35.3	41	42.6	26	31	84
High	1	31.8	37	22.9	14	26	70
Acqu.	1	32.7	38	34.4	21	43	116

Low	2	28.9	66	32	93	32.2	20
High	2	37.7	86	34	99	35.5	22
Acqu.	2	33.3	76	34	99	32.2	20

5.1.1.3 Gender

Gender was not an influential factor in IAs and ILEs data in the DCT. Although IAs increased the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing a male requester, the range of difference was almost negligible (only 2%). The range of difference between male and female requester was 3 instances (1%) in ILEs. Furthermore, gender also was not an influential factor in IAs when they communicate with people of the same gender or with people of the opposite gender (table 5.4). Although they increased the frequency of two semantic formulae when refusing the opposite gender and decreased it with the same one, the range of difference was not remarkable (2.7%). ILEs, however, increased the frequency of two semantic formulae by 21 instances (7.3%) when they refuse someone from the opposite gender.

Table 5.3: Number and Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests by Requesters' and Refusers' gender

Requesters' Gender (H)	Number of Semantic Formulae	Frequency (percentages of semantic formulae)					
		IA		ILE		BE	
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Male	1	48	56	49.1	30	40	108
Female	1	52	60	50.8	31	60	162
Male	2	51	116	50.5	147	44	27
Female	2	49	112	49.5	144	56	35
Refusers'	Number of	Frequency (percentages of semantic formulae)					

Gender (S)	Semantic Formulae	IA		ILE		BE	
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Male	1	79.3	92	68.8	42	31.3	84
Female	1	20.6	24	31.1	19	68.8	186
Male	2	27	57	28.1	82	75.8	47
Female	2	75	171	71.8	209	24.9	15

A different pattern was observed for BEs. Gender seemed to be much more influential as compared with the other two groups, since BEs increased the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing a female requester and opposite gender, the range of difference being 8 instances (12%) in the former and 52 instances (83.9%) in the latter.

Male refusers, on the other hand, in the Iraqi groups employed more responses that consist of one semantic formula and less of two semantic formulae. British male refusers, however, were more verbose as they utilise more strategies that consist of two semantic formulae as compared to females. The range of difference is 50.9% (see table 5.3).

Table 5.4: Number and Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests by the same/opposite gender

Gender	IAs				ILEs				BEs			
	One formula		Two formulae		One formula		Two formulae		One formula		Two formulae	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
same	56	48.2	111	48.6	33	54	135	46.3	137	50.7	5	8
opposite	60	51.7	117	51.3	28	45.9	156	53.6	133	49.2	57	91.9

5.1.2 Order of semantic Formulae

In terms of the order of the semantic formulae to refusals of Requests in the questionnaire, a composite strategy was widely utilised by the participants. The main refusal strategies were usually either preceded or followed by Adjuncts to refusal. The focus of the analysis in this section is on the organisation of the semantic formulae, which can lead to a better understanding of the order of the formulae involved in realising refusals. To obtain the general semantic formula of sequential orders, each semantic formula in refusal strategies (direct, indirect and adjunct) was segmented into strings. Refusals are analysed as consisting of sequences of semantic formulae. For example in the second situation of the DCT where a respondent refuses to photograph the requester, saying:

5 #2. Sorry, I can't. I am in a hurry, ask someone else. (F4, ILE)

This was ordered as Regret/Apology (sorry), NA (I can't), SIE (I am in a hurry), and Alternative (ask someone else). After all the data was coded like this, the most frequent formula performed by a certain group takes a prior position in the table. The semantic formulae and adjuncts having the highest frequencies were taken to represent the contents of the slot in the table.

Tables (5.5 to 5.9) consist of 4 slots because instances may consist of up to three refusal formulae; I have considered adjuncts separately as they are only modification to refusals.

IAs used Regret/Apology, and Invoking the Name of God as Adjuncts to refusal strategies (see table 5.5). When used by IAs as Adjuncts to the strategy of Statement of Impeding Event (SIEs), the SIE usually followed the Adjunct as in:

6 # 7. والله مستعجل.

walā m-ista'jīl

by god 1SG.M-hurry

'By God, I am in a hurry' (M8, IA)

SIE was used also with other refusal strategies. Of the thirty cases of combination of SIE and Negated Ability (NA), IAs stated the SIE first in 9 cases as in:

7 #6. أريد ادرس الليلة, ما اقدر.

'-arīd 'adris 'al-liələh, ma-'gdar

1SG-want 1SG.study this-night NEG-able

'I want to study tonight, I can't' (F2, IA)

and second in 11 cases as in

8 # 11 ما اقدر, ما عندي وقت

mā 'agdar, mā '-andī waqit

NEG-able NEG-1SGhave time

'I cannot, I have no time'. (F6, IA)

As for the other most frequently used strategy namely NA, it was placed second when used with Adjuncts to refusal.

9 #16 اسف ما اقدر

'āsf ma 'gdar

Sorry NEG-able

'sorry, I can't'. (M10, IA)

NA occurred first when used with Alternative and Avoidance.

10 # 8 ما اقدر, ليش ما تروح بنفسك

mā 'agdar liəš mā t-irūh b-nafsak

NEG-able why NEG 2SG.M-go with-yourself

'I can't, why do not go yourself?' (M9, IA)

And second when used with Regret.

11 #5 سامحني, ما اقدر

samiḥn-i mā 'agdar

forgive-1S NEG-able

'Forgive me, I can't'. (F2, IA)

ILEs, on the other hand, tended to use SIE in combination with adjuncts such as Positive Opinion, Feeling or Agreement as well as other refusal strategies. In the 30 cases of combination of SIE and Statements of Positive Opinion or Regret/Apology, ILEs always stated their SIE second as in:

12 # 11. I love to work with you, but I already have plans. (M6, ILE)

Of the 129 cases of combined Regret/Apology and SIE, the former preceded the latter except for 5 cases where SIE was placed first as in:

13 #5 I am not sure, sorry. (F4, ILE)

SIE and NA, the two most frequently occurring strategies, were also used together. In 26 of the 29 instances of combination, NA preceded SIE.

14 #17. I can't, I have no time. (F8, ILE)

SIE occurred also with other refusal strategies. When used with suggesting Alternatives, SIE appeared second in all situations, for example:

15 #18. Maybe some other time, I am busy now. (M9, ILE)

Adjuncts to NA, including Regret/Apology and Statement of Positive Opinion always came first, for example:

16 #12. I apologise, I won't be able to. (F9, ILE)

Thus, in terms of the order of semantic formulae, the three groups order their formulae differently. In addition, the subjects did not appear to be equally sensitive to the social

factors investigated in the present study, namely: social status, social distance and gender as follows:

5.1.2.1 Social Status

Informants responded differently to the three social factors, IAs prefaced their refusals with an adjunct (regret/apology and/or Invoking God) when the refuser's social status is low and equal, while they began with only regret/apology when the refuser's social status is high (see table 5.5). 32 (out of 39) instances of Regret occupy the first position in high social status IA refusals (see table 5.11 for number of occurrence to refusals of requests by social status). Adjuncts are followed by NA and then SIE. The fourth is occupied by Avoidance/Alternative. ILEs frequently began with an initial adjunct, usually exemplified by Regret/Apology or Statement of Positive Opinion. Like IAs, they placed NA second and SIE third. The fourth place was usually occupied by Avoidance or Suggesting Alternative as in this example:

17 #18. Really sorry, I can't, I don't know how to fix it. You can ask an IT specialist. (M7, ILE)

Thus, ILEs did not adjust their order of semantic formulae when refusing an equal or unequal status requester.

BEs tended to initiate their refusals with Positive Opinions and Regret/Apology. However, the latter was often omitted when the refuser was of higher status. Further, Avoidance occupied fourth place when the refuser was again of higher status, for example:

18 # 11. I'd like to help, but I live far away. I can't, it is difficult. (F10 BE)

Table 5.5: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests¹⁹
by status

Refusers' Status	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	4
Lower	IA	regret/apology (37), /Invoking the name of God (40).	NA (32)	SIE (26)	Avoidance (5) Alternative (5)
Lower	ILE	regret/apology (88), Positive opinion (32).	NA (64)	SIE (51)	Alternative (6)
Lower	BE	Positive opinion (39), regret/apology (89).	SIE (78)	NA (22)	--
Higher	IA	regret/apology (32)	NA (30)	SIE (28)	Avoidance (19), Alternative (4)
Higher	ILE	regret/apology (70), Positive opinion (26)	NA (31)	SIE (29)	Alternative (5), Avoidance (8)
Higher	BE	Positive opinion (29)	SIE (91)	NA (33)	Avoidance (6)
Equal	IA	regret/apology (32), Invoking the name of God (19).	NA (21)	SIE (18)	Avoidance (3), Alternative (6).
Equal	ILE	regret/apology (79), Positive opinion (19)	NA (24)	SIE (22)	Avoidance(3), Alternative (4).
Equal	BE	Positive opinion (21)	SIE (71)	NA (25)	--

¹⁹ The numbers in the parentheses show the raw counts of refusals. See also tables 5-11- 5.15 for the frequencies and the number of occurrence of these strategies.

5.1.2.2 Social distance

IAs seemed to be more sensitive to the interlocutors' social distance than to their social status. Thus, when the social distance of the refuser was high, the refuser began with an initial adjunct (see table 5.6). 72 instances (out of 81) of Regret took the first position in high social distance situations by IAs (see also table 5.12 for number of occurrence to refusals of requests by social distance).

19 # 11. آسفه، ما اكدر لازم اروح اجيب أبني من المدرسه.

'āsif -ah ma- 'gdar lazim 'a-ruḥ ' -jīb 'bn-i min l-madrasah

Sorry-S.F NEG-able must 1SG-go 1SG-bring son-1SG from DEF-school

'Sorry, I can't. I have to pick my son up from school' (F6, IA)

Whereas this adjunct was usually omitted when the social distance of the refuser was low, for instance:

20 # 14. ما اكدر ما عندي معلومات عن هذا الموضوع.

ma- 'gdar mā 'aīnd-i mā'lum-āt 'an haḍa l-mawḍu

NEG-able NEG have-1SG information-PL about this DEF-subject

'I can't, I do not have information about this subject' (M2, IA)

ILEs did not make any distinction between an interlocutor who was a stranger and one who was either an intimate or an acquaintance. NA and SIE took the second and third positions respectively in both IAs and ILEs.

As for the influence of social distance in BEs, SIE was placed second when the social distance was low.

21 #7. I love to, but I have got too much on today. (M5, BE)

And also second when the social distance was high or equal.

22 # 17. I'd like to help, but not now, I am not able to? (F9, BE)

Table 5.6: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests by distance.

Refusers' Distance	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	4
Low	IA	Invoking God (18)	NA (39)	SIE (31)	Avoidance (10), Alternative (4)
Low	ILE	regret/apology (52)	NA (25)	SIE (23)	Alternative (4)
Low	BE	St. of positive opinion (27)	SIE (75)	NA (30)	--
High	IA	regret/apology (72)	NA (35)	SIE (32)	Avoidance (6), Alternative (6).
High	ILE	regret/apology (82)	NA (24)	SIE (22)	Alternative (4)
High	BE	St. of positive opinion (32)	SIE (106)	NA (28)	--
Acquaintance	IA	Invoking God (29)	NA (24)	SIE (22)	Avoidance (14), Alternative (6).
Acquaintance	ILE	regret/apology (98)	NA (17)	SIE (16)	Alternative (5)
Acquaintance	BE	St. of positive opinion (21)	SIE (66)	NA (31)	--

5.1.2.3 Gender

IAs ordered the semantic formulae in a virtually identical way with gender difference of both males and females. In both cases, they either began with an initial adjunct or a refusal without an Adjunct. IAs placed NA ability second, followed by SIE in the third position (table 5.7), except when the refusers' gender was female, in which case the third position was occupied by a Counter-factual Conditional (table 5.8):

23 #.18. لو كايلى من وكت جان صلحته الك

lo gail-i mi wakit čan šalaht-a i-lak

if tell-1SG from time mag fix-3SG 2SG.you

'If you had asked me earlier, I might have got it fixed for you'. (M6, IA)

The fourth position was usually occupied by Avoidance or Alternative, as in:

24 #10. آسف, يمكن ما راح اساعدك, عندي موعد اليوم, يمكن على المره الجاي.

'āsif yimkin ma-rah 'sā'd-ak 'ind-i maw'id 'l-yom

sorry maybe NEG-will 1SG-help-2SG.M have-1SG appointment DEF-today

'Sorry, I won't be able to help, I have an appointment today, probably next time'. (F9, IA)

BEs did not change the order of the semantic formulae when refusing a male or female requester. However, the order changed with the refusers' gender. Female refusers put Direct No second in most cases as in:

25 #6. I'd like to, but no I can't. Ask another student may be. (M2, BE)

Male refusers, however, used SIE in the second position followed by NA.

The three groups of informants, however, seem to make a distinction of whether they refuse the same or opposite gender (table 5.9). IAs preface their refusal with either

Invoking God or /Regret with the opposite gender, they however do not employ Invoking God with the same gender. The Adjunct was followed by SIE and then NA in the same gender, while SIE and Direct No when they turn down a request from an opposite gender. Chiding or Alternative take the fourth slot in the table in both cases. ILEs start their refusal with Regret with the same gender and with the opposite gender. BEs however did not alter their order when with both genders except omitting Regret with the opposite gender.

Table 5.7: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests by Requester's gender.

Requester's Gender	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	4
Female	IA	regret/apology(43), Invoking the name of God (50)	NA (51)	SIE (48)	Avoidance (13), Alternative (4)
Female	ILE	regret/apology (113), Positive Opinion (47)	NA (29)	SIE (27)	Alternative (8), Avoidance (3)
Female	BE	regret/apology (36) Positive Opinion (54)	SIE (141)	NA (28)	--
Male	IA	regret/apology (50), Invoking the name of God (41).	NA (52)	SIE (50)	Avoidance (15), Alternative (10)
Male	ILE	regret/apology (117), Positive Opinion	NA (34)	SIE (30)	Alternative (12)

		(30)			
Male	BE	regret/apology (21) , Positive Opinion (25)	SIE (108)	NA (59)	--

Table 5.8: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests by refusers' gender

Refuser's Gender	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	4
Female	IA	regret/apology (61), Invoking the name of God (64)	NA (42)	Counter-factual Conditionals (5)	Avoidance (4)
Female	ILE	regret/apology (114) , Positive Opinion (40)	NA (27)	SIE (21)	Avoidance (8), Alternative (3)
Female	BE	Positive Opinion (52)	Direct No (22)	NA (20)	Avoidance (7)
Male	IA	regret/apology (30) , Invoking the name of God (40)	NA (52)	SIE (48)	Avoidance (11), Alternative (7)
Male	ILE	regret/apology (112), Positive	NA (40)	SIE (36)	Alternative (14)

		Opinion (31)			
Male	BE	regret/apology (16), /St. Positive Opinion (22)	SIE (92)	NA (70)	--

Table 5.9: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests by Gender
(same/opposite)

Gender (same/opposite)	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	
Same Gender	IA	Positive Opinion (71), Regret (42)	SIE (57)	NA (54)	Chiding (15)
	ILE	Regret (107)	Direct No (68)	SIE (116)	Alternative (6)
	BE	regret/apology (12), Positive Opinion (21)	SIE (71)	NA (48)	
Opposite Gender	IA	regret/apology (51), Invoking the name of God (76)	SIE (77)	Direct No (23)	Alternative (10), Chiding (8)
	ILE	regret/apology (122)	NA (28)	Avoidance (12)	
	BE	Positive Opinion (61)	SIE (187)	NA (38)	

5.2 Frequency of Semantic Formulae

Frequency of semantic formulae is a rich area for investigation as it refers to the subjects' preference for selecting these formulae. It also provides evidence for contrasting sensitivity in the three groups and for pragmatic transfer.

This section presents quantitative analysis of the study. It consists of frequency counts of the refusal strategies in the three groups. These were calculated for each group, and each refusal type i.e. Direct, Indirect, in addition to Adjuncts to refusals. As I have explained earlier, Adjuncts are calculated separately.

The frequencies of refusals are calculated with respect to the overall number of strategies. For example, Direct No in IAs constitutes 15.4% from the total number of direct and indirect refusals (i.e. 395 tokens) (see table 5.10).

The section aims to show any cross-cultural differences and/or similarities between the research groups in performing refusals with regard to the choice and frequency of strategies and how contextual variables affect their choice of responses. Only responses of high occurrence will be discussed and compared among the groups as responses of low frequencies do not warrant confident claims regarding identifying differences/similarities among the groups or discovering the influence of contextual factors on their responses. Tables and summaries are provided for this purpose.

SIE was the most frequently used strategy as it was applied in almost all of the situations. However, its frequency varied from one group to another: 147 instances (37.2%) by IAs, 148 instances (42.7%) by ILEs and 265 instances (63.8%) by BEs. NA was the other main strategy occurring widely in the situations: 103 of the responses (26%) of IAs contained NA, 67 (19.3%) of ILEs and 93 (22.4%) of BEs responses included this formula.

Although not found in all of the 18 situations, there were other strategies that featured in the responses of the three groups. The frequency of these strategies also varied from one group to another (see table 5.10 below).

Table 5.10: Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Requests²⁰

Strategy type	IA		ILE		BE		Pattern
Direct Refusals							
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Direct No	61	15.4	84	24.2	22	5.3	ILE>IA>BE
NA	103	26	67	19.3	93	22.4	IA>BE>ILE
total	164	41.5	151	43.6	115	27.7	IA>ILE>BE
Indirect Refusals							
SIE	147	37.2	148	42.7	265	63.8	BE>ILE>IA
Alternative	15	3.7	15	4.3	2	0.4	IA=ILE>BE
Avoidance	30	7.5	16	4.6	12	2.8	IA>ILE>BE
General Principles	4	1	2	0.5	9	2.1	BE>IA>ILE
Wish	1	0.2	7	2	8	1.9	BE>ILE>IA
Counter-factual Conditionals	6	1.5	6	1.7	4	0.9	IA=ILE>BE
Chiding	28	7	1	0.2	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
total	231	58.4	195	56.3	300	72.2	BE>IA>ILE
Total (direct+indirect)	395	99.9	346	99.9	415	99.9	
Adjunct to Refusal							

²⁰ The column labelled *Pattern* in this table and all comparable tables is based on the frequencies of occurrence of refusal expressions /adjuncts utilised by each language group i.e. the group using the highest absolute number for a particular strategy gets the top rank.

Regret/Apology	100	33.6	241	75	59	41.8	ILE>IA>BE
St. of positive opinion	102	34.3	80	24.9	82	58.1	IA>BE>ILE
Invoking the name of God	95	31.9	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
total	227	99.8	321	99.9	141	99.9	ILE>IA>BE

Table 5.10 also reveals that the strategy of Chiding which was frequently used by IAs (28 instances), was not utilised by the other two groups, except for one instance of Chiding by ILEs.

Adjuncts to request refusals were more frequent in ILEs and IAs than in BEs data. However, instances of Regret/Apology amounted to 241 in ILE and 59 in BE data, whereas there were 100 instances in IA data. This finding is not consistent with the results reported by Al-Shalawi (1997) with regard to the use of Statement of Regret/Apology. While in his study the Saudi participants used more expressions of regret than the American participants, in the present study IAs were found to use this strategy more frequently than the BEs.

Invoking the Name of God as an adjunct to refusal was found in IA data (95 instances), but not at all in ILE and BE data. This corroborates findings from previous Arabic research that also demonstrate the prevalence of religious reference in Arabic communication. For example, Al-Issa (1998) and Al-Shalawi (1997) found that Arabs frequently made reference to God in the realisation of refusals. Morkus (2009), on the other hand, reported that Egyptians also invoke the name of God to mitigate the illocutionary force of refusal, except for Christian Egyptians who, for religious reasons, consider it inappropriate.

Participants in the present study were also found to be sensitive to social factors, and this determined the frequency of semantic formulae in the responses of the three groups. Subjects displayed noticeable differences in the frequency of use of some strategies between higher and lower status, between low and high social distance requesters and between males and females (same and/or opposite gender). The range of difference in the frequency of some main strategies and adjuncts according to the social factors is presented in the following sub-sections.

To remind the reader that the DCT situations (in both requests and offers) are divided into three parts (6 situations are refusals to higher social status interlocutors, 6 to equal and 6 to lower) (see the distribution of the contextual variables in the DCT in table 3.1 and also in appendix 1). The following sub-sections discuss how each type of refusal performed by each group is manipulated according the variables. For instance, 147 SIE were utilised by IAs in their refusals to requests; 58 were used by refusers of lower social status, 34 by higher, and 55 by equal (table 5.11). The same procedure is applied for social distance. Informants in the DCT, however, refuse 9 male requesters/offers and 9 female requesters/offers. Refusers'/requester's gender in addition to same/opposite gender will be investigated. The variations in the informants' employment of refusals in relation to the contextual variables are manifested in details below.

5.2.1 Social Status:

The three groups displayed noticeable variation in the range of the frequency of SIE between higher and lower status requester. The range of difference was 24 instances for IAs (16.3%), 14 instances for ILEs (9.5%) and 5 instances for BEs (1.9%) (see table 5.11). However, participants displayed little differentiation between status equals and unequals, the range of variation in the frequency of SIE being 9 instances for IAs (6.2%), 1 for ILEs (0.6%) and 21 for BEs (8%).

As for NA, the range of difference in the frequency between higher and lower status requester was 12 instances for IAs (11.7%). In their refusals to requests, ILEs were particularly conscious of higher versus lower status. Thus, the range of difference in the frequency of NA formulae between higher and lower status requester was 19 instances (28.3%). BEs were particularly aware of social status in terms of equals versus unequals. The range of difference in the frequency of NA formulae between status equals and status unequals was 21 instances (22.6%).

Table 5.11: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Requests by status

Refusers' Status	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern	
		IA		ILE		BE			
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		
1.	Lower	SIE	39.4	58	37.8	56	36.9	98	BE>IA>ILE
	Higher	SIE	23.1	34	28.3	42	35	93	BE>ILE>IA
	Equal	SIE	37.4	55	33.7	50	27.9	74	BE>IA>ILE
2.	Lower	NA	33.9	35	17.9	12	34.4	32	IA>BE>ILE
	Higher	NA	45.6	47	46.2	31	38.7	36	IA>BE>ILE
	Equal	NA	20.3	21	35.8	24	26.8	25	BE>ILE>IA
3	Lower	Direct No	60.6	37	48.8	41	59	13	ILE>IA>BE
	Higher	Direct No	14.7	9	20.2	17	9	2	ILE>IA>BE
	Equal	Direct No	24.5	15	30.9	26	31.8	7	ILE>IA>BE
4.	Lower	regret/apology	39	39	37.7	91	32.2	19	ILE>IA>BE
	Higher	regret/apology	39	39	29	70	27.1	16	ILE>IA>BE
	Equal	regret/apology	22	22	33.1	80	40.6	24	ILE>BE>IA
5.	Lower	Invoking the name of God	42.1	40	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Higher	Invoking the name of God	37.8	36	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE

	Equal	Invoking the name of God	20	19	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
6.	Lower	St. of positive opinion, feeling or agreement	33.3	34	40	32	39	32	IA> ILE=BE
	Higher	St. of positive opinion, feeling or agreement	24.5	25	35	28	35.3	29	BE>ILE>IA
	Equal	St. of positive opinion, feeling or agreement	42.1	43	25	20	25.6	21	IA>BE>ILE

In addition, all subjects appeared to be conscious of social factors in their use of adjuncts to refusals, as exemplified by Regret/Apology and Positive Opinion. As previously indicated, Regret/Apology was more frequently utilised by ILEs than by IAs and BEs. ILEs provided 241 instances of Regret/Apology as adjuncts to refusals of requests, and IAs afforded 100 instances, whereas BEs demonstrated only 59 instances. This is in line with Takahashi and Beebe's (1986) findings that Japanese learners apologise more frequently than their American counterparts. The subjects tend to use expressions of Regret/Apologies more frequently with higher-status interlocutors, but less frequently with lower-status interlocutors. However, ILEs tended to modify their refusal of requests with Positive Opinion less frequently than the other two groups. They provided about 80 instances of this type of adjunct, 102 by IAs, and 82 by BEs. It is worth alluding to the fact that IAs tended to modify their refusals with yet another type of adjunct. Thus, they used about 95 examples of 'Invoking the name of God' (see table 5.10).

Regarding Invoking the name of God that only featured in IAs, IAs increased its frequency when refusing a higher social status requester by 4 instances (4.1%). However, they did not increase their use of Regret/Apology when refusing the request of a high status person over one of a lower status. ILEs, on the other hand, displayed a noticeable variation in the frequency of applications of adjuncts to refusal between higher versus lower status

1.	Low	SIE	33.3	49	36.4	54	30.1	80	BE>ILE>IA
	High	SIE	37.3	55	41.2	61	44.5	118	BE>ILE>IA
	Acquainted	SIE	29.2	43	22.2	33	25.2	67	BE>IA>ILE
2.	Low	NA	39.8	41	38.8	26	33.3	31	IA>BE>ILE
	High	NA	36.8	38	35.8	24	31.1	29	IA>BE>ILE
	Acquainted	NA	23.3	24	25.3	17	35.4	33	BE>IA>ILE
3.	Low	regret/apology	2.6	3	21.9	53	28.8	17	ILE>BE>IA
	High	regret/apology	81.5	81	36	87	32.2	19	ILE>IA>BE
	Acquainted	regret/apology	15.7	16	41.9	101	38.9	23	ILE>BE>IA
4.	Low	Invoking the name of God	21	20	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	High	Invoking the name of God	45.2	43	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Acquainted	Invoking the name of God	33.6	32	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
5.	Low	St. of positive opinion, feeling or agreement	13.7	14	21.2	17	35	29	BE>ILE>IA
	High	St. of positive opinion, feeling or agreement	67.6	69	41.2	33	40	32	IA>ILE>BE
	Acquainted	St. of positive opinion, feeling or agreement	18.6	19	37.5	30	25	21	ILE>BE>IA

As for Adjuncts, IAs were particularly sensitive to the requester's social distance. In IAs data, the range of difference in the frequency of Regret/Apology between high and low distant requester was 78 instances (78.9%). Regarding Invoking the name of God, IAs increased the frequency when the social distance was also high (23 instances).

As with the IAs, ILEs demonstrated sensitivity to social distance as well. They increased Regret/Apology when refusing a more distant person by 34 instances (14.1%).

BEs demonstrated less awareness of social distance than of social status. Yet, they increased the frequency of Regret/Apology and Positive Opinion when the social distance was high. The range of difference in the frequency of Regret/Apology between low and high distance requester was 2 instances (3.4%), while it was 8 instances (13.5%) between a high status requester and an acquainted requester. Similarly, BEs increased the frequency of Positive Opinion when refusing a high distant requester. The range of difference between a more vs less distant requester was 3 instances (5%) and 2 instances (10%) between a socially distant requester and an acquainted requester (see table 5.12).

5.2.3 Gender

Unlike the other two social factors, gender proved to be unimportant to IA and ILE participants. The range of difference in the frequency of SIE between male and female requesters was only 3 instances for IAs (2%), 4 for ILEs (2.7%) and 43 for BEs (16%) (see table 5.13) .

The range of difference in the frequency of NA between IA male and female requester was only one instance and in ILEs 9 instances (14%) between male and female requester. In BEs responses, they however demonstrated a consciousness of male versus female distinction. The subjects increased the frequency of NA when refusing a male requester, the range of difference being 31 instances (34%).

Table 5.13: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Requests by requesters' gender

requester's	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)	Pattern

	Gender		IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
1.	Female	SIE	51	75	51.3	76	58	154	BE>ILE>IA
	Male	SIE	49	72	48.6	72	42	111	BE>IA=ILE
2.	Female	NA	49.5	51	43	29	33	31	IA>BE>ILE
	Male	NA	50.5	52	57	38	67	62	BE>IA>ILE
3.	Female	regret/apology	45	45	49	118	61	36	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	regret/apology	55	55	51	123	39	23	ILE>IA>BE
4.	Female	Invoking the name of God	54	51	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Male	Invoking the name of God	46	44	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
5.	Female	St. of positive opinion, feeling or agreement	32	33	62.5	50	70	57	BE>ILE>IA
	Male	St. of positive opinion, feeling or agreement	68	69	37.5	30	30	25	IA>ILE>BE

As with most of the strategies of refusal, gender seemed to be less influential in the frequency of Regret/Apology and Positive Opinion in IAs. Gender, in addition, showed less impact on the frequency of Invoking the Name of God in IAs. Again, in common with their IA counterparts, ILEs did not display noticeably different usage of Regret/Apology when refusing a male or female requester. The range of difference was only (2%). BEs, however, revealed a high degree of sensitivity to gender, increasing the frequency of Regret/Apology and Positive Opinion when refusing a female requester. The range of difference was 13 instances (22%) and 32 instances (40%) respectively (see table 5.13).

The non- sensitivity to requesters' gender, as explained above, is also true for male/female refusers in Iraqi groups. The informants' gender for both IAs and ILEs did not make a big difference in terms of their choice of refusal strategies. Generally speaking, females in the three groups of informants utilised more indirect strategies as compared to males. However, the proportion varies from one group to another and from one strategy to another. The range of difference in SIE between male and female refusers in IAs is 3.5%, 6.7% in ILEs and 23.1% in BEs. A different pattern was observed in NA. It was employed less frequently by female refusers. The difference between the two gender was not considerable in IAs (6.7%), but it was remarkable in the other two groups; 19.5% in ILEs and 52.7% in BEs (table 5.14).

The Adjuncts; Regret, Positive opinion, and Invoking God were also utilised more considerably by females in the three groups. The range of difference was more remarkable among BEs as compared to the Iraqi groups. However, Regret was highly employed by IAs' females as compared to males (34 instances; 34%).

Table 5.14: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Requests by refuser's gender

Refuser's Gender	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern	
		IA		ILE		BE			
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		
1.	Female	SIE	51.7	76	53.3	79	61.5	163	BE>ILE>IA
	Male	SIE	48.2	71	46.6	69	38.4	102	BE>IA>ILE
2.	Female	NA	46.6	48	40.2	27	23.6	22	IA>ILE>BE
	Male	NA	53.3	55	59.7	40	76.3	71	BE>IA>ILE
3.	Female	regret/apology	67	67	52.2	126	71.1	42	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	regret/apology	33	33	47.7	115	28.8	17	ILE>IA>BE

4.	Female	Invoking the name of God	56.8	54	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Male	Invoking the name of God	43.1	41	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
5.	Female	o positive opinion	66.6	68	51.2	41	64.6	53	IA>BE>ILE
	Male	positive opinion	33.3	34	48.7	39	35.3	29	ILE>IA>BE

Table 5.15 below describes the numbers and frequencies of refusals that were used by the three groups, categorised by the gender relationship of the two persons involved in the communication. Generally, IAs and ILEs utilised more indirect refusals such as SIE, Avoidance, Alternative etc. in addition to adjuncts such as Regret when refusing people of the opposite gender except NA, the direct strategy, that is used more by IAs with the same gender. BEs, on the other hand, made noticeable differences in the number of these categories when they communicate with people of the same gender and with those of the opposite gender. For instance, BEs utilised Regret about four times more frequently when they refused people of the opposite gender than when they refused the same gender (12 versus 47). Similarly, SIE were utilised more frequently when refusing the opposite gender. The range of difference was 44.9% (table 5.15)²¹.

Table 5.15: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used by same/opposite gender.

Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)					
	IA		ILE		BE	
	same	opposite	same	opposite	same	opposite

²¹ See also table 1-5 in appendix 14 for Avoidance, Alternative and other refusals strategies of less number of occurrence in this study.

		No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No	%
1.	SIE	65	44.2	82	55.7	72	48.6	76	51.3	73	27.5	192	72.4
2.	NA	54	52.4	49	47.5	39	58.2	28	41.7	53	56.9	40	43
3.	regret/apology	46	46	54	54	110	45.6	131	54.3	12	20.3	47	79.6
4.	Invoking God	19	20	76	80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	St. of positive opinion	76	74.5	26	25.4	37	46.2	43	53.7	21	25.6	61	74.3

To summarise, the Iraqi groups in this study seem to be less sensitive to gender variation. They did not make noticeable differences in the frequency of refusal formulae when refusing male/female requester. BEs' responses, however, were more sensitive to gender differences as they increased the frequency of the formulae when refusing a female requester. As regards the refusers' gender, generally no considerable difference was observed in Iraqi male/female refusers, while British females escalated the number of refusals tactics as compared to males. BEs, in addition, revealed a noticeable difference in their employment of refusals with the opposite sex (see table 5.15), while Iraqis did not.

5.3 Content of Semantic Formulae

Although the majority of refusal strategies of requests are found in all three groups of subjects, it is not sufficient to demonstrate that IAs, ILEs and BEs alike state the Impeding Events, Suggest Alternatives, Indicate their Inability as formulae when making a refusal. In order to grasp the real flavour of refusals that each group typically proffers, it is important to investigate what constitutes an appropriate Impeding Event or what types of Alternative are suggested.

5.3.1 Statement of Impeding Events

The contents typically used to fulfil the function of given formulae will now be examined. Statement of Impeding Events is probably the most promising area for content analysis, as it is frequently used by all three groups. A brief summary is given of content differences (see tables 5.16, 5.17):

Table 5.16: Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Requests by status

DCT item	Refuser status	Situation of request	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentage of responses containing formulae)		
				IA	ILE	BE
# 17	Higher	Interview for a project	SIE	30	62.5	42
# 9	Lower	Day off	SIE	55	80	53
# 1	Equal	Bring a book	SIE	71	72	61

Table 5.17: Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Request by distance

DCT item	Refusers' distance	Situation of request	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentage of responses containing formulae)		
				IA	ILE	BE
# 11	Low	Working extra hours	SIE	55	67	52
# 13	High	Borrowing a bicycle	SIE	23	62	41
# 3	Acquainted	Lending lecture notes	SIE	35	78	35

The three groups do not appear to be equally specific in stating the Impeding Events. The data analysed reveal that refusers usually resort to stating the Impeding Events and explanations rather than using other strategies. The events could be concerned with present states, past events or future events. Of these, issues concerning the present state are frequently used, probably because they are more convincing as excuses. The following instances exemplify these observations:

26 # 18. هستوني وصلت من الشغل.

hastawn-i wiṣal-it min il- šuġul

just now-1SG arrive-1SG from DEF-work

‘I have just arrived from work’. (M6,IA)

27 # 11. I worked until midnight last night. (F10, ILE)

28 # 16. But I’m really afraid of being late for work.(M6, BE)

The refusers in example 26 and 27 cite past events as excuses or reasons for non-compliance, while Example 28 states a present event or potential future event.

Statements of Impeding Events may be more or less specific and even vague or lacking details. IAs and ILEs seemed to be less specific in stating the Impeding Events, as many refusers simply said / مشغول / (mašġūl) *busy* or / مستعجل / (mist’jil) *in a hurry*. BEs, on the other hand, tended to be a little more specific about their plans as to place, time or participants involved. This finding corresponds with both Al-Shalawi (1997) and Al-Issa (1998) who also found Arabic explanations and excuses to be less specific than the American English. Beebe et al. (1990) also found the American explanations in their study to be more specific than the Japanese ones.

29 # 9 I’ve got a doctor’s appointment on Saturday at 9:00. (M5, BE)

30 # 6 I have to study for the exam tomorrow. (F2, BE)

These two examples are more detailed than those proffered by IAs and ILEs, whose statements lacked details and were relatively weak. Moreover, situations for which speakers of one group favoured an ‘air-tight’ Statement of Impeding Event elicited from the other groups statements that lacked details and were not convincing:

31 # 2. مشغول

mašgūl

busy.1SG.M

'I am busy'. (M4, IA)

32 # 9 I'm meeting some friends. (F6, ILE)

33 #8 I think I have to go to pick some books up from the library. (M2, ILE)

Assuming that IAs' and ILEs' Statements of Impeding Events are less specific or lack details may prove to be stereotypical. Certainly some statements are very specific and elaborate in detail. For example, one IA refused a request as follows:

34 # 8. أتمنى اقدر بس اني مشغول ولازم اشوف المشرف ماتي.

'atmana 'agdar bas 'āni mašgūl w lazim 'a-šūf

wish.1SG able.1SG but I busy.1SG.M and have to 1SG-see

l-mušrif mati

DEF-supervisor.1SG.M POSS

'I wish I could, but I'm busy and I have to see my supervisor'. (F7,IA)

5.3.2 Alternative

Another area of interest, amenable to content analysis, is Suggesting an Alternative as refusal. Different types of Alternative can be suggested for different situations. Both IAs and ILEs suggested alternatives to status equals and unequals or to intimates and more distant associates (see table 1 and 2 in appendix 14). However, the form of alternatives differed in that their type and form indicated sensitivity to social factors. Where the refuser was of a higher status, all of the alternatives were suggested in the imperative form:

35. # 14 روجي للاستاذ

rūḥ-i l-l-'stad

IMP.go-1SG.F REL-DEF-teacher-1SG.M

‘Go to the teacher’. (M9,IA)

36. # 14 اسألني المدرس

is’l-i l-mudaris

IMP.ask.2SG.F DEF-teacher.1SG.M

‘Ask the teacher’. (F1,IA)

37. # 18 Ask Ahmed. He is very skilled in computers. (M4, ILE)

However, where the refuser was of a lower status, alternatives were usually accompanied by SIE and formed as preferable suggestions:

38. # 10 بابا, افضل شي تروح بنفسك

baba ’afḏdal ši t-rūḥ b-nafsak

father better thing 2SG.M-go with-Refl-2SG.M

‘It is better if you go yourself Father’. (F3,IA)

39. # 10 اتمنى لو انت تروح لان اني مشغول

’atmana lo ’ant-a t-rūḥ l’an āni mašgūl

wish.1SG if you-2S.M 2SG.M-go because I busy.1SG.M

‘I wish that you go, I’m busy’. (M3, IA)

40. # 7 why don’t you ask my younger brother? (F4, BE)

In 38 the refuser suggests that their father could carry out the proposed action more successfully than they can. When refusing a more distant speaker, alternatives were suggested as imperatives:

41. # 17. See somebody else. (M2, ILE)

Some other Alternatives were hinted at:

42. # 14. Certainly, your teacher can explain it better. (F3, BE)

Alternatives offered by IAs were also influenced by the refuser's social distance. When the social distance was low and the refuser had lower social status, no imperative form was used, but the alternatives suggested were accompanied by an SIE involving some terms to soften the refusal:

43. # 7. خلي اخوي يروح للسوك لان اني مشغول والله
 ḥali 'ḥu-i irūḥ l-s-sūg
 let brother.1SG-1SG.M go.2SG.M REL-DEF-market
 l'n 'āni mašgūl wala
 because I busy.1SG.M by god

'Let my brother go to the market, because I'm busy by God'. (F8, IA)

The refuser, in example 43 appeals to their mother to accept their suggestion.

5.3.3 General Principles

Statement of General Principle usually in itself sounds formal in tone and even lofty. This probably explains the low incidence of this formula as a refusal strategy for all three groups (table 5.10). They avoided the tendency to philosophise, although IAs used this formula in certain situations where the refuser was of higher status and the social distance was high. The example below is a refusal to a request to photograph a stranger:

44. # 2 اضرب راسك بالحائط
 'ḍrub rāsek b-il- ḥaiuṭ
 NEG-beat.2SG head-2SG with-DEF-wall

'Go beat your head on the wall'. (M3, IA)

This was not true of the other two groups. ILEs avoided this strategy in all but two of the 18 situations.

It is noteworthy here that IAs and ILEs used family reasons, while BEs used mostly personal reasons (especially in situation 11 where the participants were asked to turn down a request from a boss at work to stay for extra hours). It is interesting to see that the reasons given by the Iraqis reflect their awareness of the role of family in the Iraqi culture. However, it seems that there is a high level of appreciation to the personal life in the British culture (see chapter 7, section 7.4 for more explanation about family, personal, and health reasons).

45. # 11. I need to pick my wife from work. (M7, ILE)

46. # 11. I've got a part time job. (F10, BE)

5.4 Length of Responses by Degree of Imposition

This section aims at presenting the overall performance of the length of refusal utterances between all three groups. It aims at looking into whether the rank of imposition of requests has an effect on the average length of responses.

Table (5.18) show that the three groups used considerably longer strategies of refusals in high-imposition situations than in the low-imposition situations. Thus, IAs, ILEs and BEs used remarkably longer responses in the high-imposition strategies. The influence of the imposition variable conforms to the results of many studies in the literature, such as Al Qahtani (2009), Felix-Bradefter (2002) and Ansarin (2014) which show that the degree of situational imposition consistently influenced refusers' responses. In other words, the finding that all groups said considerably more in situations carrying heavier imposition supports the hypothesis that groups' sociopragmatic assessment are influenced by the degree of imposition. The result is consistent with Eisenstein and Bodman's (1986, 1993) result that the degree of burden/indebtedness the speaker felt toward their interlocutor influences the length of utterances.

In refusals of requests of the DCT, 7 situations are of higher degree of imposition, 5 of low imposition, and 6 of medium imposition (see table 5.19)²². Since the number of scenarios

²² See also chapter three, section 3.4 for the scale of imposition utilised in this study.

is not equal, the total number of formulae used is higher in the high imposition category compared with the medium and low imposition categories. For this reason, the average length of the responses is calculated in Table 5.18, by dividing the total number of strategies by the number of responses (20 participants multiplied with the number of scenarios).²³

Table 5.18: The average length of responses in refusals of requests by the degree of imposition

Imposition	IA		ILE		BE	
	Average length of responses	Absolute number of strategies	Average length of responses	Absolute number of strategies	Average length of responses	Absolute number of strategies
High-imposition	1.9	265	2.5	350	1.9	268
Medium-imposition	1.7	203	1.3	154	1.4	167
Low-imposition	1.5	154	1.6	163	1.2	121

Table 5.18 shows that the three group of informants used longer responses in higher imposition situations compared to medium and low imposition scenarios. The above table also suggests that the average length of responses in ILE group is higher in high-imposition situations compared to IAs and BEs (ILEs=2.5; IAs=1.9; BEs=1.9). The BE group utilized the lowest average of responses in low-imposition situations compared to the Iraqi groups (BEs=1.2; ILEs=1.6; IAs=1.5). The relative proximity of the average length of responses between IAs and Iraqi EFL groups may suggest negative pragmatic transfer. Furthermore, IAs and BEs utilized longer responses in medium-imposition situations as compared to ILEs (1.7, 1.4 and 1.3 respectively).

The majority of responses to requests of higher imposition consist of 2-3 semantic formulae. For example in situation 9 where the respondent is refusing a request from their teacher to attend on their day off, they usually answer with an adjunct and one or two indirect refusals.

²³ This can be done by dividing the total number of formulae by the total number of responses in each category. E.g. for IA and high imposition: 265 formulae divided by 7 high imposition scenarios and then by the total number of 20 IA informants yielding 1.9.

47. # 9. I'd like to come but I will go on a holiday. I am very sorry. (F2, ILE)

Table 5.19: Refusals of requests by degree of imposition.

Sit. No.	Setting	Imposition	Sit. No.	Setting	Imposition
1	Bringing a book	high	10	Picking up a brother from school	high
2	Taking a photo	low	11	Working two extra hours	medium
3	Copying a paper	medium	12	Writing a paper	high
4	Passing the salt	low	13	Borrowing a bike	medium
5	Showing a way	low	14	Explaining a subject	medium
6	Lending the lecture notes	medium	15	Asking to pay a broken statuette value	low
7	Doing the shopping	high	16	Giving a lift	high
8	Taking a message	low	17	Interviewing for a project	high
9	Turning up on a day off	high	18	Help in using a pc programme	medium

It was also obvious that in situations when refusing a request that imply a high degree of imposition, more adjuncts were used and more indirect strategies were also employed. For example, in situation 7 (doing the shopping), situation 9 (attending on a day off), situation 10 (picking a brother from school), and situation 12 (preparing a paper in two days) more Regrets and Gratitude were used.

48. #11. I am sorry, I have another job, next time maybe. (M9, BE)

However, much more direct strategies of one semantic formula were utilised as answers to situations of low rank of imposition as in situation 2 (taking a photo); situation 4 (passing the salt); situation 5 (showing the way); situation 8 (taking a message to a tutor); and situation 15 (paying a broken statuette value).

49. #2. I am in a hurry, I can't. (F1, BE)

50. #4. I can't reach it. (M2, BE)

51. #5. I am not from here. (F6, ILE)

52. #8. I do not know him. (F7, ILE)

53. #15. ما اخذ فلوس.

mā 'a-ḥd 'flūs

NEG 1S-take money

'I do not take money'. (M9, IA)

54. #18. هذا مو اختصاصي.

hāḍa mū 'ḥtiṣaṣ-i

this NEG field-1S

'This is not my field'. (F10, IA)

Besides, responses to medium imposition situations as in situation 3 (copying a paper), situation 6 (leading the lecture notes), situation 11 (working two extra hours), situation 13 (borrowing a bike), situation 14 (explaining a subject), and situation 18 (help in using a computer programme) may consist of one, two or three semantic formulae in the three groups.

55. #13. والله اسف احتاجه اليوم اروح بيه للدوام

wala 'āsifa 'a-ḥtaj-a il-yōm 'a-ruḥ bīh l-il-dewām

by god 1S.F.sorry 1S-need-3S DEF-today 1S-go with it to-DEF-work

'By God sorry. I need it today. I ride my bike to work'. (F7, IA)

56. #14. I am not good at your major, sorry. (M10, ILE)

57. #18. I am not competent as a programmer, sorry. (F8, BE)

However, some exceptions appeared particularly in ILEs' responses who elaborated their responses of refusals to requests in situations that carry lower degree of imposition as in the following example:

58. # 2. I am so sorry for not taking the photo. I need to catch the bus. (F3, ILE)

59. # 5. Sorry, I will meet some friends in the school; we study together at this time. Ask other people here. (M6, ILE)

ILEs, however, have produced short and mostly bald on record utterances in high-imposition situations where more elaborate utterances or expressions are expected (see 5.5.3 for more details).

60. #1. No, not me no. (F2, ILE)

61. #16. I am not able to. (M9, ILE)

In summary, the total frequency counts of indirect refusals utilised by the three groups were more frequent than the direct (table 5.10). Thus, the three groups of subjects inclined towards indirectness; BEs (72.2%) followed by IAs (58.4%) and ILEs (56.3%). Conversely, Iraqi groups were more direct in their refusals than BEs. ILEs refused their requests more directly (43.6%) than both IAs (41.5%) and BEs (27.7%).

In terms of the numbers of the semantic formulae, BEs tended to use single semantic formula strategies more frequently than composite strategies. IAs and ILEs, on the other hand, favoured strategies consisting of two semantic formulae (see section 5.1.1). This finding coincides with those of Al-Shalawi (1997); Al-Issa (1998); and Morkus (2009), who discovered that when compared with American English, Arabic explanations and excuses tended to be lengthy and more elaborate. This might be attributed to the fact that BEs prioritise the need for clarity in the message, while IAs and ILEs might be more concerned about maintaining a harmonious relationship with the interlocutors.

With reference to the order of semantic formulae, the reaction of the groups to three parameters, i.e. social status, social distance and gender, varied. IAs and ILEs displayed more sensitivity to the social distance of the interlocutors than to their social status and gender. BEs, in contrast, placed little importance on the degree of social distance between the interlocutors, while, for them, gender and social status appeared to be much more influential (see section 5.1.2). Overall, Iraqis prefaced their refusals with adjunct followed

by NA and then SIE. BEs, however, followed a different pattern. They began their refusals with an adjunct followed by SIE and then NA. This order differs due to the influence of the contextual factors. As the informants' choice of refusals is influenced by the contextual variable, this result confirms hypothesis (a) which assumes that 'The choice of one strategy rather than others in a given situation is mainly determined by three different variables: social status, social distance and gender'.

Regarding the frequency of semantic formulae, SIE and NA were the most frequent strategies utilised by all three groups, as they were used in all of the situations without any exception (see section 5.2). Their frequency of use, however, varied from one group to another. BEs showed the highest percentages of SIE, while NA were more numerous in IA data than in either of the other two groups. However, IAs employed the fewest instances of SIE. Interestingly, the data collected through the questionnaire revealed that some strategies uniquely appeared in one group while they were absent from another. For instance, Chiding, and Invoking the name of God were uniquely IAs strategies.

Another interesting discovery is that IAs and ILEs were observed in the present study to make greater use of more family-related reasons than their British counterparts (see subsection 5.3.3). This finding, in fact, was found to be similar to that of the Saudi Reasons/Excuses in Al-Shalawi (1997) study. In his study the Saudi refusals were found to be more family-related compared with the American's which generally were about the personal life of the speaker.

Nelson et al. (2002), on the contrary, observed that Egyptian Arabic and American English participants used similar Reasons/Excuses in their refusals. It is important to remember that a DCT was used for data collection in both Al-Shalawi and Nelson et al. studies. The above-mentioned studies have investigated refusals in American English and many Arabic varieties, but not Iraqi Arabic, while the current study investigates refusals in British English and Iraqi Arabic (see 4.4 for some differences between British and American English).

Thus, there is support for hypothesis (b) 'the frequency of the semantic formulae of refusal, their content, order, situational context in which they are found and the linguistic forms available are culture-specific'. Furthermore, hypothesis (c) 'Speakers of Iraqi Arabic and British English can be distinguished on the basis of their refusal strategies' is also supported.

Concerning the content of the semantic formulae, BEs were more specific in stating their refusals and proffering excuses and/or reasons for rejecting a request, while both IAs and ILEs were vague and lacked detail (section 5.3).

Finally, the rank of imposition implied in the requests seems to have a vital role in determining the length of informants' responses and the number of formulae employed. With situations of high impositions, longer and more indirect utilised (see section 5.4). However, more direct and shorter refusals are used in response to low imposition situations. Respondents' refusals to medium imposition requests vary from one, two or three semantic formulae.

5.5 Pragmatic Transfer of Refusal Strategies

There is disagreement about how to define the scope of pragmatic transfer. Although pragmatic transfer has been referred to as sociolinguistic transfer (Wolfson, 1989), transfer of L1 sociocultural competence or cross-linguistic influence (Beebe et al., 1990), transfer of conversational features or as discourse transfer (Olden, 1989) reflecting the different ideas about pragmatics and about transfer and/or the different objects of the study, the term pragmatic transfer will be maintained in this study as it is understood by Kasper (1992) who considers it refers to the influence that previous pragmatic knowledge has on the use of L2 pragmatic knowledge.

pragmatic transfer in interlanguage pragmatics shall refer to the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information .

(Kasper, 1992: 207).

Kasper (1992:223) also explains that since in pragmatics multiple, rather than binary, choices are usually available for speakers to express communicative intent, parallel trends towards one option in a binary choice schema can rarely be established. A simpler and more adequate method is to determine whether there are noticeable differences between the interlanguage and the learner's native language on a particular pragmatic feature are considerably important, and how these differences relate to the target language.

Evidence of negative transfer in ILEs' refusals was obvious in certain areas: the order, the frequency, and the content of semantic formulae. Since it is not possible to isolate positive transfer from acquisition that was accomplished without positive transfer, positive transfer was not discussed. Negative transfer revealed noticeable differences in refusal strategies between ILE-BE and IA-BE and no recognisable differences between ILE-IA. Thus, the dissimilarity between ILE and BEs responses is believed to be due, at least in part, to the influence of Iraqi Arabic norms of perceptions and behaviour.

Pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic transfer were investigated. At the pragmalinguistic level, the data were examined to detect any evidence of pragmatic transfer at the level of refusal strategies and forms by which an act with refusal intention was implemented. At the sociopragmatic level, an investigation was carried out to demonstrate whether ILEs varied their selection of refusal strategies along the same contextual parameters as native speakers of Arabic and English, namely: the social status, social distance and gender.

5.5.1 Pragmatic Transfer in the Order of Semantic Formulae

The findings here are qualitative assessments of the characteristic ordering of semantic formulae in refusals of requests. Analysis of the data confirmed the expectation that there is pragmatic transfer from Iraqi Arabic in the order of semantic formulae that ILEs used in their refusals. Further, they seemed, in certain situations, to be influenced by the same contextual factors which caused IAs to choose a particular order of the semantic formulae. Table 5.5 indicates that ILEs and BEs ordered their semantic formulae differently; BEs, regardless of social status, commenced their refusal with Positive Opinion and/or Regret/Apology. ILEs almost always began with Regret/Apology, while IAs were less prone to preface their refusals in this way. BEs relegated SIE to second position, as in:

62. # 6. Sorry, I need them today. (M7, BE)

Whereas ILEs, in common with their IA counterparts, placed NA second and SIE third, for instance:

63. #16. Sorry, I am unable to, it is not on my way. (M7, ILE)

BEs placed Avoidance fourth only when the refuser was of high status, while, in similar situations, ILEs and IAs always used Avoidance and/or Alternative, a strategy rarely evident in BE data. Thus, it is evident that ILEs transferred their ordering of semantic formulae according to Iraqi Arabic norms.

Table 5.6 (section 5.1.2) indicates that when the social distance was the predominating contextual factor, ILEs' and BEs' refusals were quite different in terms of the order of semantic formulae. Except for the initial adjunct, both IAs and ILEs used the same order, while BEs ordered their semantic formulae quite differently. BEs always began with Positive Opinion, and when the requester was intimate, stranger, or fond of the refuser they placed SIE second and NA third, for example:

64. #14. I'd love to, but I am quite busy at the moment, I can't. (F4, BE)

In contrast, Iraqis positioned NA second and SIE third where the requester was a stranger, as in this instance:

65. # 14. انا اسف, ما اقدر, ما احب هذا الموضوع

'ana 'āsif mā-'gdar mā 'a-ḥib hāḍa il-mauḍā '

I sorry NEG-able NEG 1S-like this DEF-subject

'I am sorry, I can't, I am not into this subject'. (F9, IA)

Although all three groups appeared to be sensitive to social distance, ILEs' perception of this contextual factor was transferred into English.

As previously stated, frequency counts indicated that the range of difference in male versus female refusers/requesters was not high for IA or ILE but it was for BE. Thus, ILEs resembled their IA counterparts in using the same order with female and male requesters. However, they differed from IAs in the order adopted for female and male refusers, in that IA refusers used Counter-factual Conditionals in the third position, while ILEs used SIE. BEs responses, on the other hand, revealed variation in the order of semantic formulae with regard to male versus female requesters and refusers (see tables 5.7 and 5.8). As for refusals to the same/opposite gender, although BEs followed similar order (SIE and NA), the Iraqi groups differ in their order.

To summarise, as far as gender is concerned it seems there is a pragmatic transfer by ILE requesters. However, such transfer was not observed by ILE refusers or same/opposite gender as they did not follow the same order of refusal formulae that IAs did.

5.5.2 Pragmatic Transfer in the Frequency of Semantic Formulae

Evidence for pragmatic transfer in the frequency and selection of refusal strategies, including SIE, was observed in ILE data. As previously indicated (see table 5.10), SIE and NA were the two most frequently used strategies by the subjects of all three groups. Iraqi groups recorded a similar number of instances of this strategy (147 in IAs and 148 in ILEs). However, BE usage was higher (265 instances). Furthermore, it has been found that ILEs transferred into English a sensitivity to contextual factors, such as social status, similar to that of their IA counterparts. Both groups displayed a noticeable difference in the range of the frequency of SIE between higher versus lower status (24 instances for IAs and 14 for ILEs) (see table 5.11).

BEs were also concerned with social status, and displayed a difference in the range of SIE in status equal versus status unequal requesters, recording a decrease in the frequency of this formula when refusing an equal status requester. The influence exerted by ILEs' perception of social distance and gender was also evident in the range of difference in the frequency of SIE between low versus high distance requester, 7 instances (4.8%) for ILEs, 6 (4%) for IAs and 38 (14.4%) for BEs. Thus, no considerable difference between ILEs and IAs was observed, whereas a clear difference was obvious between ILEs and BEs.

Concerning subjects' perceptions of gender, frequency counts indicated that neither IAs nor ILEs were sensitive to gender, whereas BEs clearly were extremely so. The range of difference in the frequency of SIE between male and female requester was 3 instances (2%) for IAs, 4 instances (2.7%) for ILEs and 43 instances (16%) for BEs. As for refusers' gender, females in the three groups utilised more SIE than males do. However, the difference between IAs and ILEs was not high; 6 and 8 instances respectively. In BEs, however, 61 instances were observed. Besides, all informants employ more SIE refusals with the opposite sex, but it was remarkable with only BEs; 119 instances (44.9%) (see tables 5.13, 5.14, 5.15).

The range of difference in the frequency of NA also provided evidence for pragmatic transfer in ILEs' refusals. Both IAs and ILEs seemed to be more sensitive to status than to social distance. Thus, ILEs transferred the sensitivity to high versus low status and non-sensitivity to gender. The range of difference in the frequency of NA between high and low status requester was 12 instances (11.7%) for IAs, 19 instances (28.3%) for ILEs and 4 instances (4.3%) for BEs (table 5.11).

As previously stated (see chapter four, section 4.3.2) Invoking the name of God has been characterised as being a uniquely Iraqi Arabic refusal strategy. It is important to note that ILEs did not transfer this strategy into English in their refusals to requests. The subjects reported that they avoided this strategy because they felt that the intended illocutionary meaning (refusal) would not be clear enough for native BEs. Thus, the subjects consulted their L1 and IL pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge when making decisions on how to refuse requests in English.

With reference to Chiding, it would appear that the occurrence of this reprimanding strategy in ILE data results from a transfer of Iraqi Arabic patterns. However, it should also be noted that in this case the difference between learners' interlanguage and the target language (BE) is negligible (there is only one instance of Chiding in ILEs data, while this strategy does not feature in BEs data). Thus, this observation, does not warrant confident claims regarding the influence of contextual factors in identifying an instance of pragmatic transfer.

5.5.3 Pragmatic Transfer in the Contents of Semantic Formulae

So far, negative pragmatic transfer has been dealt with quantitatively, now it is time to examine it qualitatively through extracting some illustrative examples from Iraqi EFL learners' data. Both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic types of transfer are observed in the present data. Precisely speaking, it has been found that occurrences of negative sociopragmatic transfer are rare in comparison with those of negative pragmalinguistic transfer in the present data.

The suggestion that certain refusal expressions are examples of negative pragmatic transfer is based on British English native speakers' acceptability judgment on ILEs' use. More

specifically, ILEs refusal expressions were judged by five British native speakers who have all agreed that those expressions do not occur in British English, and some of them could be literal translation of some L1 expressions or formulae.

The following examples extracted from the study data represent negative pragmalinguistic transfer:

- 66. #12. I feel shy from this answer. (M10, ILE)
- 67. #5. God keep you safe. (F6, ILE)
- 68. #9. I would do anything to return this for you. I wish I can help you in happiness. (M10, ILE)
- 69. #11. Your help lived with me for a long time. (F10, ILE)
- 70. #8. Feel quite embarrassed to refuse you. (M7, ILE)
- 71. #7. I bothered you by my situation. (F10, ILE)
- 72. #3. I say no with my respect. (F1, ILE)
- 73. # 11. You are my boss and on my head. (M7, ILE)
- 74. # 10. I have made you feel sad. (M6, ILE)
- 75. # 17. Am I teasing you? (F3, ILE)

Most examples, mentioned above, indicate that ILEs rely heavily on their L1 pragmatic competence resulting in pragmalinguistic transfer or failure. This suggests that Iraqi EFL learners have relative limitations in conforming to the target language formulae or routines.

As far as sociopragmatic transfer is concerned, some examples of sociopragmatic transfer were attributed to ILEs' misjudgment of the size of imposition caused by their requester. Specifically, ILEs have produced short and mostly bald on record utterances in high-imposition situations where more elaborate utterances or expressions are used by BE speakers and vice versa. The following examples are extracted from the ILEs' data:

- 76. #1. No, not me no. (F2, ILE)
- 77. #16. I am not able to. (M9, ILE)

Here, the refuser has used a short (Direct No, NA) response in situations of high imposition such as situation 1 (bringing a book) and 16 (giving a lift) in which more elaborate expressions of refusal are the norm. On the contrary, in situations of low imposition such as situation 2 (Taking a photo), and 8 (taking a message to a tutor) the

refuser has used more elaborate refusal expressions where a short answer is the norm. Consider the following example from the study data:

78. # 2. I am so sorry for not taking the photo. I need to catch the bus. (F3, ILE)

79. # 8. You are my best teacher, but I should go home now. I am late. (M4, ILE)

Here, the refuser has used a profuse refusal expression that is unnecessarily prolix. In both types of situations, the refuser has wrongly encoded the amount of politeness required, and misjudged the size of imposition. In the same vein, Thomas (1983:104) asserts that misjudgment of the size of imposition is one major causes of sociopragmatic failure among nonnative speakers of English. Moreover, the higher average of number of strategies used by ILEs lend support to Edmondson and House's (1991) "Waffle Phenomenon" that learners will say more than necessary. Learners' verbosity was also reported in some refusal studies in the literature such as Felix-Brasdefer (2002).

Furthermore, evidence of pragmatic transfer can also be observed in the actual contents of semantic formulae. The analysis of content (see section 5.3) indicates that the three groups differed as to actual contents of the main refusal strategies. SIEs are the most promising area for pragmatic transfer (see 5.3.1). The events or reasons explained by IAs as excuses for refusals tended to be vague about their plans as to place, time and participants. This appears to transfer into ILEs whose excuses lacked details and were less specific than BEs, who were particularly specific in their excuses.

There is evidence for pragmatic transfer in the strategy of Suggesting Alternative as refusal. ILEs were influenced by Iraqi Arabic in their selection of this strategy, which was not found in BE data (see 5.3.2). BEs suggest alternatives as refusals to requests only twice. They utilise it in a few instances when refusing a high distance/status requester (see tables 1 and 2, appendix 14). In addition to selecting this strategy ILEs, like IAs, varied the content and forms of this strategy in accordance with the social norms of the Iraqi Arab community. For example, they were similar to those of the IAs, who used the imperative form in presenting an alternative when the refuser had a higher status.

80. # 18 Ask Ahmed. He is very skilled in computers.(F4, ILE)

Furthermore, the social distance between the interlocutors in situation 18, where the imperative above is used, is low. This underpins Kadar and Mills' (2011: 28) argument that

'Within most varieties of dialectal Arabic, indirectness when used to intimates can signal an excessive concern with distance and even antipathy'. Thus, Arab speakers of English may use directness as a way of indicating closeness, but may be interpreted by their British interlocutors as being overly familiar or rude (Grainger et. al., 2016:64).

However, when the refuser was of a lower status, alternatives in ILE data took the form of an appeal or suggestion. Thus, the selection of an appropriate form of alternative for both IAs and ILEs seemed to be influenced by the same contextual factor, i.e., the social status and distance of the requester.

In conclusion, ILEs revealed evidence of pragmatic transfer in three areas: order of semantic formulae, their frequency, and their content. This finding is consistent with those of many similar studies such as (Al-Eryani, 2007; Al-Issa, 1998; Stevens, 1993, Felix-Brasdefer, 2002; Henstock, 2003), each of whom reported evidence of negative pragmatic transfer from L1. Furthermore, Takahashi and Beebe (1987) examine pragmatic transfer in Japanese ESL learners' refusals in the order, frequency, and content of refusal strategies between American and Japanese students. This finding supports hypothesis (d) which assumes that 'pragmatic transfer exists in the order, frequency and content of semantic formulae used in the refusals of Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language'.

Chapter Six

Refusals of Offers

This chapter is devoted to discuss refusal strategies collected as responses to offers through the DCT. It is designed in the same way as in the previous chapter (refusals of requests). Both kinds of quantitative and qualitative data analyses are carried out.

Section one investigates the number of refusal formulae and whether there are any differences/similarities in the number of semantic formulae between the three groups. Besides, the informants' method in arranging the formulae in a given order is also highlighted. As for quantitative analysis, descriptive statistics are employed in the presentation of results for showing differences/similarities between the study data sets. Thus, the frequency of occurrence of refusals for each refusal category and each group will be examined in section two. As with refusals of requests, the number, order and frequency of refusals will be discussed according to the influence of the three contextual variables on them (social status, social distance and gender).

The qualitative analysis in section three aims at investigating the differences and/or similarities in the content of refusals.

Furthermore, the impact of the degree of imposition on the offerees' responses will be discussed and exemplified. The goal here is to find out if the respondents react differently to offers of heavier imposition than those of lighter imposition.

In the last section, British English and Iraqi Arabic native speakers' data are analysed and presented to form a baseline data for comparison with the Iraqi learners' data. Then Iraqi Learners of English (ILEs) data are compared with the native speakers' baseline data to see whether there is any difference in producing the strategies under investigation, and to see whether there is any evidence of pragmatic transfer from L1. Summaries and tables are given for illustrative purposes in this chapter.

6.1 Number and Order of Semantic Formulae

This section focusses on the number and order of semantic formulae of Refusals of Offers that were elicited through a questionnaire in its two versions, English and Arabic, for the three groups of subjects. Table 6.10 lists the refusals strategies of offers as found in the DCT.

6.1.1 Number of semantic formulae

Iraqi Arabic speakers (IAs) tended to favour strategies of refusal of offers that consisted of two semantic formulae (203 instances, 56.3%), usually an adjunct with two refusal strategies²⁴:

1. * 4. شكرًا ما عطشان ما اشرب

šukren mā ‘aṭšān mā-’ašreb

Thanks NEG thirsty NEG-drink.1SG

‘thanks, I am not thirsty, I don’t drink’. (F3, IA)

2. * 12. لا شكرا, لا تكلف نفسك

lā šukren lā-t-kalif nafs-ek

no thanks NEG-2SG.M-cost REFL-2SG.M

‘No thanks, do not bother yourself’. (M9, IA)

The most frequently used semantic formulae, such as Statement of Impeding Events, Negated Ability, Direct No were utilised together in different situations. IAs always positioned their Statement of Impeding Event second to Direct No and Negated Ability:

3. * 12. لا, عندي تذكره

lā ‘and-i taḍkira

²⁴ As with refusals to requests, adjuncts are not included in calculating the numbers of semantic formulae.

NEG have-1SG ticket

‘No, I have a ticket’. (M3, IA)

4. * 4. ما اقدر, ما اشرب المشروبات الغازيه

mā-’agdar mā ’a-šrab l-mašrub-āt l-ġ āziəa

NEG able-1SG NEG 1SG-drink DEF- drink-3PL DEF-fizzy

‘I can’t, I do not drink fizzy drinks’. (F9, IA)

The semantic formula of Alternative also followed the Statement of Impeding

Event as in:

5. * 18. شبعت والله عوفيهما للجهاال

šiba’-it wala ’uf -ī-ha l-l-jahal

full-1SG by God leave-2SG.F-3SG.F for-DEF- children

‘I am full, by God, leave it for the children’. (F1,IA)

Direct no was always placed before Negated Ability, Alternative, It is My Treat, and Let Off the Hook, as in the following instances:

6. * 14. لا مستحيل, انت أول

lā mustaḥīl ’anta ’awal

NEG impossible you first

‘No, impossible, you first’. (M2,IA)

7. * 16. لا, المنظف راح ينظف الميز

lā l-munaḍf rāḥ ynaḍuf l-miəz

no DEF-cleaner.3SG.M will clean.3SG.M DEF-table

‘No, the cleaner will clean the table’. (F4,IA)

8. * 15 لا المره الجايه عليك

lā l-mara l-jaia ‘alīək

NEG DEF-time DEF-next on you

‘No, next time is on you’. (F6,IA)

9. * 8. لا لا تقلقين

lā lā tqleq-īn

NEG NEG worry-2SG.F

‘ No, Do not worry. (M9,IA)

In the 360 instances, 142 (39.4%) strategies used by IAs consisted of one semantic formula²⁵, as in:

10. * 7. عندي هوايه قمصان

‘and-i hwaia qimṣān

have-1SG many shirts.PL

‘I have too many shirts’. (M5, IA),

while only 15 contained three semantic formulae, such as:

11. * 10. لا ما أگدر زوجي يمكن ما يقبل

lā mā-’aqdar zawj-i ymkin mā yiqbel

no NEG-able-1SG husband-1SG may NEG agree.2SG.M

‘No, I cannot, my husband may not agree’. (F3, IA)

²⁵ For how the total number of semantic formulae are reached and calculated, see 5.1.1 in chapter five.

With regard to the data of the Iraqi Learners of English (ILEs), the subjects tended to use more than one semantic formula in a given refusal strategy. They also positioned Statement of Impeding Events second to Negated Ability and Direct No, as in:

12. *18. I cannot, I had quite enough. (M9, ILE)

13. *17. No, I am meeting someone. (F7, ILE)

The strategy of Alternative also followed Statement of Impeding Event:

14. *18. I am not hungry, keep it for yourself. (F1, ILE)

ILEs tended to employ refusal strategies consisting of two semantic formulae, 263 (73%), as in:

15. *9. No, I have a spare one. (M5, ILE),

54 (15%) of one semantic formula:

16. *18. I am OK (F8, ILE)

And 43 (11.9%) of them consisted of three semantic formulae, for example:

17. *13. It is too heavy for you, I can manage, hold the hand bag, please. (F3, ILE).

According to their data, the British English (BE) apparently preferred one semantic formula strategies, although two semantic formula strategies were also employed. Of the 360 situations, 188 (52.2%) of the strategies used by BEs consisted of one semantic formula, as in:

18. *9. I've got another one. (M4, BE)

while 172 (47.7%) comprised two semantic formula strategies, as in:

19. *7. No, thanks. (F5, BE)

BEs demonstrated an inclination to utilise an expression of Indicate Unwillingness in second position, preceding their Impeding Event in almost all status situations, as in the following example:

20. *18. I am sure I don't want to, I had too much dessert. (M8, BE)

However, the fact that the IAs and ILEs demonstrated a preference for strategies consisting of two semantic formulae and also the high frequency of two semantic formulae in BEs should not be assumed to imply that they were alike in their selection of semantic formulae. The selection was determined by the three social (contextual) factors, i.e., social status, social distance and gender.

6.1.1.1 Social Status:

Generally, in both IA and ILE data, the effects of social status and social distance proved to carry more weight with informants than that of gender, whereas the latter was not less influential in BE data. Concerning the number of semantic formulae, social status seemed to be influential in IA and ILE data. As referred to above, IAs preferred strategies consisting of two semantic formulae, and they increased the frequency of such strategies when refusing a high status offerer, while decreasing those consisting of one semantic formula (see tables 6.1 below). The range of difference is 9.9% in the former case and 8% in the latter.²⁶

Table 6.1: Number and Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offer by status.

Refusers' Status	No.of Semantic formulae	Frequency (percentages of semantic formulae)			Pattern
		IA	ILE	BE	

²⁶ For more clarification about calculating the number of refusals of offers and their distribution over the contextual variables, see 5.1.1 and 5.1.1.1 in chapter five.

		%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	
Equal	1	30.9	44	33.3	18	46.8	88	BE> IA> ILE
Low	1	26	37	22.2	12	21.2	40	BE>IA>ILE
High	1	42.9	61	44.4	24	31.9	60	IA>BE>ILE
Equal	2	34.9	71	34.6	91	20.9	36	ILE>IA>BE
Low	2	37.4	76	35.3	93	41.8	72	ILE>IA>BE
High	2	27.5	56	30	79	37.2	64	ILE>BE>IA

Assessment of the interlocutors' social status in determining the number of semantic formulae was evident in ILE data also. The subjects increased the frequency of strategies consisting of two semantic formulae by 4.6% and decreased the frequency of one semantic formula strategies by 22.2% when refusing high status offerers.

BEs also displayed sensitivity to social factors. They varied the number of semantic formulae employed in accordance with the distinction between status equals versus unequals. They increased the frequency of strategies consisting of two semantic formulae when refusing status unequal offerers by 18.6% while decreasing the frequency of those consisting of one semantic formula by 20.2%.

6.1.1.2 Social Distance:

The degree of social distance between the interlocutors also had an effect on the number of semantic formulae used in a given strategy. IAs increased the use of the strategies consisting of two semantic formulae when refusing acquaintances and high distance offerers, while decreasing the frequency of structures comprising one semantic formula (See table 6.2 below).

Table 6.2: Number and Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offer by distance

Social distance	No.of Semantic formulae	Frequency (percentages of semantic formulae)						Pattern
		IA		ILE		BE		
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Low	1	38.7	55	40.7	22	33.5	63	BE>IA>ILE
High	1	35.2	50	35.1	19	24.4	46	IA>BE>ILE
Acqu.	1	26	37	24	13	42	79	BE>IA>ILE
Low	2	29.5	60	33	87	31.9	55	ILE>IA>BE
High	2	33	67	33	87	40.1	69	ILE> BE>IA
Acqu.	2	37.4	76	33.8	89	27.9	48	ILE>IA>BE

Table 6.2 indicates that ILEs were not sensitive to social distance as they did not change the frequency of two semantic formula strategies, the range of difference being nil. Further, the range of variation in the frequency of one semantic formula strategies was not high (5.6%).

Conversely, BEs decreased the frequency of two semantic formulae (8.2%) and increased one semantic formula (9.1%) when refusing a friend's offer (see table 6.2).

6.1.1.3 Gender

Gender seemed to be less influential in the choice of refusal strategies in IA data. Although the subjects sometimes increased the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing a female offerer or one of the opposite gender, the range of difference was not high. It was 13 instances (6%) in the former and 6 instances (4.3%) in the latter (see tables 6.3 and 6.4).

Also, assessment of interlocutor's gender was not evident in ILEs, as the subjects did not make a noticeable change in the number of semantic formulae between male vs. female or same vs. opposite gender.

The influence of gender was greater for BEs than were the other two factors. The subjects increased the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing a female offerer (28 instances; 16%) or one of the opposite gender (40 instances; 23.3%) while simultaneously decreasing the frequency of one semantic formula strategies.

On the other hand, no obvious variations in the number of semantic formulae were observed in the IA and ILE groups according to the refusers' gender. British males, however, respond more frequently with one semantic formula and less with strategies that include two formulae. The reverse pattern was observed for women.

However, the range of variation between British males and female responses was more considerable than among Iraqis. The difference in one semantic formula is 16 instances (8.5%) in BEs, while only 4 instances (2.9%) in IAs and 2 instances (3.7%) in ILEs.

To conclude, as with refusals to requests, BEs prove their sensitivity to gender while the Iraqi groups were less influenced by this factor.

Table 6.3: Number and Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offer by offerers' and refusers' gender

Offerers' Gender	No.of Semantic formulae	Frequency (percentages of semantic formulae)						Pattern
		IA		ILE		BE		
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Female	1	45	64	42.5	23	42	79	BE>IA>ILE
Male	1	55	78	57.4	31	58	109	BE>IA>ILE
Female	2	53	108	50.5	133	58	100	ILE>IA>BE
Male	2	47	95	49.5	130	42	72	ILE>IA>BE

Refusers' Gender	No.of Semantic formulae	Frequency (percentages of semantic formulae)						Pattern
		IA		ILE		BE		
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Female	1	48.5	69	48.1	26	54.2	102	BE>IA>ILE
Male	1	51.4	73	51.8	28	45.7	86	BE>IA>ILE
Female	2	52.2	106	48.6	128	56.3	97	IA>ILE>BE
Male	2	47.7	97	51.3	135	43.6	75	ILE>IA>BE

Table 6.4: Number and Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offers by the same/opposite gender

Gender	IAs				ILEs				BEs			
	One formula		Two formulae		One formula		Two formulae		One formula		Two formulae	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
same	74	52.1	97	47.7	28	51.8	130	49.4	112	59.5	66	38.3
opposite	68	47.8	106	52.2	26	48.1	133	50.5	76	40.4	106	61.6

6.1.2 Order of Semantic Formulae

With regard to the order of the semantic formulae elicited from the three groups of informants, although each of the strategies of refusals of offers can be used alone, a given strategy may consist of a combination of semantic formulae or adjuncts to refusal either preceding or following the head of refusal act. In the former case, one semantic formula represents the refusal to comply with the offer and the other semantic formula may do

facework. The data indicate that certain semantic formulae were common to all of the three groups in given situations, for example 24% - 37% of the situations invoked at least one instance of Statement of Impeding Events, and 5% - 37% involved Negated Ability. However, the order in which these semantic formulae appeared differed from one group to another and also from one situation to another within a given group. Concerning the IA data, the major refusal strategies were often preceded by adjuncts to refusal namely: Regret/Apology, Gratitude/Appreciation, and Invoking the name of God (see table 6.5 and 6.6), although Gratitude/Appreciation may also follow the refusal to offer (لا شكراً/ (lā šukren) *no thanks*²⁷.

6.1.2.1 Social Status

IAs demonstrated sensitivity to social status. In addition to Gratitude/Appreciation, and Invoking the name of God, they would sometimes begin with Regret/Apology; in high status situations Regret/Apology was very likely (see table 6.5), for instance:

21. * 10. أرجو المعذرة, بس صعب اشتغل بغير مدينة
 'a-rju l-ma'ḍira bas ša'ab 'a-štugul b-gēr madīna
 1SG-beg DEF- pardon but difficult 1SG-work in-another city

'I beg your pardon, but it is difficult to work in another city'. (F7, IA)

The participants generally omitted the expression of Regret/Apology when the refusers were higher in status than the offerers, as in situation 18 where the offeree was invited by a male employee to have more dessert (see also table 6.10 for the number of refusals distributed by the social status).

22. * 18. معدتي راح تنفجر
 ma'adt-i rāḥ t-infijir

²⁷ The semantic formulae and adjuncts having the highest frequencies were taken to represent the contents of the slot in the table. For further explanation see section 5.1.2 in chapter five.

stomach-1SG will 2SG.F-explode

'My stomach will explode'. (M9,IA)

ILEs tended to initiate their refusal of offers with three types of adjuncts: Gratitude/Appreciation, Regret/Apology and Statement of Positive Opinion. When refusing persons of unequal status, refusers commenced with Gratitude/Appreciation or Regret/Apology, for example:

23. *15. Thank you, I have some change. (F2, ILE)

Whereas they began with Statement of Positive Opinion when refusing a lower status offerer as in:

24. *18. I love this dessert, but I have eaten too much. (M3, ILE)

12 ILEs' responses of being unable to comply (9 females and 3 males) express they *would like to... love to...* etc. but they expressed their excuses as previous commitments.

BEs were more likely to initiate their refusals with adjuncts: Gratitude/Appreciation such as *Thank you, Cheers*, and Statement of Positive Opinion, such as *I'd love to ...*, whereas expressions of Regret/Apology were placed first, followed by impeding events in most status situations, as in this example:

25. *10. Sorry, I do have some commitments. (F8, BE)

With status unequals of both types, the subjects began with 'Statement of Positive Opinion (table 6.5):

26. *11. This is kind of you, I've always smoked, but I am trying to cut down.
(M7, BE)

Whereas *Thanking* is used when refusing an equal status friend:

27. *5. It is all right, thanks, we have a seat booked over there. (F4,BE)

Table 6.5: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offers by status

Refusers' Status	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	4
Lower	IA	Invoking God (18), Gratitude/Appreciation (16), Regret/Apology (22).	NA (45)	SIE (41)	Alternative (18)
Lower	ILE	Gratitude (25), Regret (91)	NA (28)	SIE (26)	Alternative (22)
Lower	BE	Regret (12), Positive Opinion (13)	SIE (84)	Indicate unwillin gness (17)	NA (16)
Higher	IA	Regret (5)	DirectNo (33), NA (46)	SIE (12)	Alternative (4)
Higher	ILE	Gratitude (17), Regret (31), Positive Opinion (10)	DirectNo (40), NA (31)	SIE (26)	Alternative (9)
Higher	BE	Regret (12), Positive Opinion (11)	SIE (59)	Indicate unwillin gness (24)	NA (14)

Equal	IA	Gratitude (44), Regret (4).	NA (32)	SIE (27)	Alternative (2)
Equal	ILE	Gratitude (20), Regret (6), St. Positive Opinion (4)	DirectNo (31), NA (18)	SIE (16)	Alternative (12)
Equal	BE	Regret (6), Gratitude (5)	SIE (33)	Indicate unwillin gness (17)	NA (13)

6.1.2.2 Social Distance

IAs use the three types of adjuncts when social distance was low, however they rarely opened with Regret/Apology when refusing the offer of an intimate (5 instances only) (see table 6.6). Invoking the name of God was possible when the social distance was high (12 instances) as in:

28. * 8. والله يمكن اسوي الواجب بنفسي

walā yimkin 'agdar 'a-sawi l-wajib b-nafs-i

by god probably 1SG.able 1SG.do DEF-assignment with-REFL-1SG

'By God, I probably can do the assignment myself'. (F8, IA)

whereas it was avoided when refusing an acquaintance (only 4 instances) (see also table 6.11, subsection 6.2.2 and tables 6-10 in appendix 14 for the number of refusals distributed by the social distance), for example:

29. * 17. احب اكعد هناك، شكرا

'a-ḥib 'ag'id hināk šukren

1SG.like 1SG.sit there thanks

'T'd like to sit there, thanks'. (F4,IA)

They also distinguished between the interlocutor who was familiar and the one who was either an intimate or a stranger. BEs also said 'thank you' at the end of their refusal to a friend but not to the others (see table 6.6).

30. *10. Thanks for this offer. (F7,BE)

Table 6.6: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of offers by distance

Refusers' Distance	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	4
Low	IA	Invoking God (5), Gratitude (17)	NA (51)	SIE (32)	Alternative (4)
Low	ILE	Gratitude (21), Regret (40)	Direct No (29), NA (30)	SIE (28)	Alternative (10)
Low	BE	Gratitude (7), Positive Opinion (9)	SIE (61)	Indicate unwilling ness (24)	NA (22), Direct No (13)
High	IA	Invoking God (12), Gratitude (20), Regret (15)	NA (35)	SIE (31)	Alternative (11)
High	ILE	Regret (74),	NA (48)	SIE (41)	Alternative

		Gratitude (23)			(20)
High	BE	Gratitude (14) , Positive Opinion (3)	SIE (52)	Indicate unwilling ness (31)	Direct No (11), NA (19)
Acq.	IA	Gratitude (23), Regret (5)	Direct No (35), NA (40)	SIE (32)	Alternative (8)
Acq.	ILE	Gratitude (9), Regret (13)	Direct No (33), NA (27)	SIE (25)	Alternative (21)
Acq.	BE	Regret (8), Positive Opinion (3)	SIE (66)	Indicate unwilling ness (31)	Direct No (28), NA (27)

6.1.2.3 Gender

Concerning gender, in IAs and ILEs no difference was observed in the initiation of a refusal of an offer according to the offerer's gender (see table 6.7), but it was noted that expressions of Gratitude/Appreciation were common in nearly all situations, although these were less frequent when the social distance was low or the refuser was of higher status (see tables 6.10, and 6.11 in section 6.2). BEs always utilised SIE and NA in the second and third position respectively (tables 6.7, 6.8). However, Regret was used with females and same gender in this group, while Gratitude is more often employed with males and opposite gender. The order of semantic formulae made by male/female refusers can hardly be distinguished from those used to address male/female offerers so I did not explain it in a separate table.

However, it is observed that some distinctions were made by the three groups in the order of refusal strategies when refusing the same or opposite gender. Iraqi groups, as with BEs, always preface their refusals to the same/opposite gender with Gratitude and/or Regret. However, Invoking God only appeared in the beginning of IAs refusals. Adjuncts are followed by NA and then SIE in Iraqi groups while the reverse pattern was observed in BEs order of refusals. Alternative was a less frequent strategy that sometimes occupies the fourth position in IAs and ILEs refusals. Let Off the Hook was more frequent in the fourth positions in BEs responses (see also tables 6-10 in appendix 14 for refusals of less frequency).

Table 6.7: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offers by offerers' gender

Offerer's Gender	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	4
Female	IA	Gratitude (32), Regret (12) , Invoking God (12)	NA (63)	SIE (52)	Alternative (12)
Female	ILE	Gratitude (28), Regret (68), Positive Opinion (7)	NA (40)	SIE (37)	Alternative (21)
Female	BE	Regret (11), Positive Opinion (9)	SIE (71)	NA (43)	--
Male	IA	Gratitude (27), Regret (16), Invoking God (9)	NA (34)	SIE (30)	Alternative (12)
Male	ILE	Gratitude (30), Regret (55), Positive Opinion	NA (38)	SIE (27)	Alternative

		(5)			(21)
Male	BE	Gratitude (7), Positive Opinion (6)	SIE (104)	NA (25)	--

Table 6.8: Order of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offers by gender
(same/opposite)

Gender (same/opposite)	Group	Order			
		1	2	3	4
Same Gender	IA	Gratitude (18) Regret (12)	Direct No (76)	SIE (31)	Alternative (12)
	ILE	Regret (54) Gratitude (28)	SIE (96)	Direct No (64)	Alternative (51)
	BE	Regret (11)	SIE (88)	NA (43)	Let Off the Hook (12)
Opposite Gender	IA	Invoking God (15), Gratitude (41)	SIE (92)	NA (38)	Alternative (14)
	ILE	Regret (73) Gratitude (26)	NA (53)	SIE (51)	Alternative (41)
	BE	Regret (9) Gratitude (12)	SIE (87)	NA (25)	Let Off the Hook (24)

In summary, IAs and ILEs tended to use strategies that consist of two semantic formulae (203 instances [56.3%] in IAs' data and 263 [73%] in ILEs) more frequently than strategies that consisted of one or three semantic formulae. However, BEs demonstrated a preference for strategies of one semantic formula, (188 [52.2%] out of 360) (see 6.1.1). This finding coincides with those of Al-Shalawi (1997); Al-Issa (1998); and Morkus (2009), who observed that Arabic explanations and excuses were inclined to be lengthy and more elaborate when compared with American English ones. It is worth noting that the above-mentioned studies have focused on comparing Arabic with American English rather than British English, and, of course, American culture is different from British culture. At an ideological level Britain and America are somewhat distinct, with different values being attributed to the UK and USA. This distinction between the cultural values of the two countries is emblematised in the differences that there are seen to be in American and British English, for example, with the use of positive politeness (*camaraderie*) by Americans and negative politeness (*deference*) by Britons (Grainger et. al 2016:10).

IAs increased the use of strategies consisting of two and three semantic formulae, and reduced the number of strategies comprising one semantic formula when refusing high status, high distance and acquaintance offerers (table 6.1). As for gender, although IAs extended their use of strategies consisting of two semantic formulae when refusing a female offerer and opposite gender, the range of difference was not high (tables 6.3, and 6.4).

ILEs escalated the frequency of strategies consisting of two semantic formulae and decreased the frequency of one-semantic-formula strategies when refusing high status offerers. They, however, were not sensitive to social distance and gender. BEs increased the frequency of strategies consisting of two semantic formulae when refusing status unequal offerers while they lowered the frequency of strategies consisting of one semantic formula. Moreover, they lessened the frequency of two semantic formulae and increased one-semantic formula when refusing a low distance offerer (table 6.1 and 6.2).

Social status and social distance exerted more influence than gender did on IAs and ILEs, while gender proved of influence in BEs refusals to offers. BEs increased the use of two semantic formulae and reduced the one semantic formula strategy when refusing a female offerer and opposite gender. Female refusers tended to utilise strategies consisting of two formulae in the three groups. However, the range of difference between Iraqi males and

females refusers was not as wide as that observed between British genders (tables 6.3 and 6.4).

To conclude, as with refusals to requests, BEs proved their sensitivity to gender while the Iraqi groups were less influenced by this factor.

With reference to the order of the semantic formulae, IAs commenced their refusals with Invoking the name of God when the offerers' social distance was high, but this was avoided when social distance was medium-to-low. When the offerers were of high status, IAs opened with any of the three kinds of Adjuncts: Invoking the name of God, Regret/Apology or Gratitude/Appreciation. However, they did not differentiate in their order of strategies when refusing male and female offerers/refusers.

Similarly, ILEs initiated their refusals of offers with all types of Adjuncts with the exception of Invoking the Name of God, which was used solely by IAs.

Finally, BEs usually commenced their refusals with Gratitude/Appreciation, Positive Opinion or Regret/Apology, followed by Statement of Impeding Event. Gratitude/Appreciation were used when refusing an equal status addressee.

However, with the opposite gender the three groups followed different patterns, although all three prefaced their refusals with either Regret or Gratitude. Invoking God also here appeared in IAs. BEs put SIE second and NA third in their refusals. IAs, however, used Direct No more frequently in the second position with the same gender, while ILEs employed SIE and NA with the opposite gender (see tables 6.7 and 6.8).

In brief, Iraqi groups followed almost the same patterns of order in their refusals except when refusing the same/opposite gender. BEs, however, followed an order that differs from the Iraqi groups.

These results confirm hypothesis (a) in this thesis, which contends that 'The choice of one strategy rather than others in a given situation is mainly determined by three different variables: social status, social distance and gender'.

6.2 Frequency of Offer Refusal Strategies

When all the data were coded into semantic formulae, descriptive statistics were used to analyse these data. The use of this type of statistics to analyse the data is also shared by studies conducted by Al-Issa (1998) and Al-Shboul et al. (2012) and other (see section 3.14 in chapter three). Thus, frequencies/percentages, number of occurrences of semantic formulae were calculated and compared among the groups.

Analysis of the data obtained suggests that there were similarities/differences not only in the selection of refusal strategies, but also in the frequency patterns and sensitivity to social or contextual factors. The strategies of Statement of Impeding Events, Negated Ability, Direct No, and Indicate Unwillingness in addition to the Adjunct Gratitude/Appreciation were the most frequently utilised, yet, due to the influence of social or contextual factors, their occurrence was not the same in all groups and situations. SIE was the most frequently used strategy in the data, amounting to 134 cases (27.1%) in IAs while 163 (33.6%) in ILE and 190 (40.1%) of BE subjects' refusals. Direct No and NA were the two most frequently occurring strategies in IAs' and ILEs' data, amounting to 133 (26.9%) and 83 (16.8%) cases respectively in the former group, and 99 (20.4%) and 78 (16%) in the latter group (see table 6.9).

Analysis of the data revealed that the BEs also favoured the strategies of Indicate Unwillingness, Negated Ability, and Direct No. 97 instances (20.5%) of their responses contained Indicate Unwillingness, 80 (16.9%) of Negated Ability, and 61 (12.8%) of Direct No (see table 6.9).

Table 6.9: Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offers

Strategy type	IA		ILE		BE		<i>Pattern</i>
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	
Direct Refusals							
Negated Ability	133	26.9	78	16	80	16.9	IA>BE>ILE
Direct No	83	16.8	99	20.4	61	12.8	ILE>IA>BE

	216	43.7	177	36.4	141	29.8	IA>ILE>BE
Indirect Refusals							
Statement of Impeding Events	134	27.1	163	33.6	190	40.1	BE>ILE>IA
Alternative	26	5.2	66	13.6	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
Indicate Unwillingness	56	11.3	33	6.8	97	20.5	BE>IA>ILE
putting the blame of a third party	24	4.8	16	3.2	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
Chiding	3	0.6	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
Let off the Hook	8	1.6	8	1.6	43	9	BE>IA=ILE
It is my Treat	7	1.4	7	1.4	2	0.4	IA=ILE>BE
General Principles	20	4	15	3	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	278	56.2	308	63.5	332	70.1	BE>ILE>IA
	494	99.9	485	99.9	473	99.9	
Adjunct to Refusals							
Strategy type	IA		ILE		BE		Pattern
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	
Gratitude/Appreciation	62	50.8	62	29.6	21	35.5	IA=ILE>BE
Regret/Apology	32	26.2	135	64.5	23	38.9	ILE>IA>BE
St. of positive opinion	6	4.9	12	5.7	15	25.4	BE>ILE>IA
Invoking the name of God	22	18	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	122	99.9	209	99.8	59	99.8	

The refusal strategies did not feature in all of the 18 situations, yet they were found in the three groups of data. The frequency of these strategies varied from one group to another and from one situation to another. The strategy of Putting the Blame on a Third Party appeared only in IA and ILE data, while Chiding featured solely among IAs.

Further, the frequency of refusal strategies may shed light on the interaction between social factors and linguistic actions. Subjects' assessments of social status, social distance and gender, as well as other factors, vary across cultures. This implies that a given social factor may prove to be more influential in one culture than in another, and vice versa. Below is an examination of the range of difference in the frequency of some main strategies of refusals of offers and adjuncts. An attempt will be made to demonstrate how subjects of the three groups displayed variations in the frequencies of refusals of offers between high versus low status or equals versus unequals, low versus high distance speakers and male versus female.

6.2.1 Social Status

IAs displayed differences in the frequency of the main refusal strategies depending on the subjects' perception of social factors. The range of variation in the frequency was notable in some cases, but not remarkable in others. The participants displayed an obvious difference in the frequency of occurrence of Statement of Impeding Event between high and low status offerers, the range for IAs being 48 instances (35.8%). Statement of Impeding Event was employed more frequently when refusing an offerer of higher status (see table 6.10).

The range of difference in the frequency of Negated Ability (NA) indicates that IAs were also affected by social status. However, the range of the difference in the frequency of this semantic formula between a higher versus lower status offerer was not large, approximately 2 instances (1.5%).

According to IA data, Direct No was one of the most frequently used semantic formulae, and a difference can be noted in the frequency of this semantic formula. A range of difference of 7 instances (8%) was observed between high versus low status offerer.

Statement of Unwillingness was another frequent refusal strategy employed by IAs, constituting about 11.3% of the total, and again there was a noticeable variation in the frequency of this formula between a high versus low status offerer, 10 instances (18.5%).

Table 6.10: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Offer by status

Refusers' status		Semantic formulae	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No	%	No	%	No	
1	Lower	SIE	50	67	42.9	70	48.8	93	BE>ILE>IA
	Higher	SIE	14.2	19	16.8	28	33.8	64	BE>ILE>IA
	Equal	SIE	35.8	48	39.8	65	17.2	33	ILE>IA>BE
2	Lower	NA	34.5	46	35.8	28	26.2	21	IA>ILE>BE
	Higher	NA	36	48	41	32	22.5	18	IA>ILE>BE
	Equal	NA	29.3	39	23	18	51.2	41	BE>IA>ILE
3	Lower	Direct No.	31	26	26	26	16	10	IA=ILE>BE
	Higher	Direct No.	39	33	40	40	29	18	ILE>IA>BE
	Equal	Direct No.	30	24	34	34	54	33	ILE<BE<IA
4	Lower	St. of unwillingness	25.9	15	25	8	17.6	17	BE>IA>ILE
	Higher	St. of unwillingness	44.4	25	37.5	12	24.7	24	IA>BE>ILE
	Equal	St. of unwillingness	29.6	16	37.5	13	57.6	56	BE>IA>ILE

5	Lower	Gratitude/ Appreciation	25.8	16	40.3	25	47.6	10	ILE>IA>BE
	Higher	Gratitude/ Appreciation	0	0	27.4	17	23.8	5	ILE>BE>IA
	Equal	Gratitude/ Appreciation	74.1	46	32.2	20	28.5	6	IA>ILE>BE
6	Lower	Regret/Apology	68.7	22	70.3	95	52.1	12	ILE>IA>BE
	Higher	Regret/Apology	15.6	5	25.1	34	34.7	8	ILE>BE>IA
	Equal	Regret/Apology	15.6	5	4.4	6	13	3	ILE>IA>BE

Adjuncts to refusals of offers were exemplified in IA data by Gratitude/Appreciation, Invoking the name of God, and Regret/Apology. As an Adjunct to refusals, Gratitude/Appreciation constituted a large proportion; 50.8% (62 tokens). Nevertheless, the subjects displayed noticeable variation in the frequency of use of this semantic formula between high versus low status offerers. The range of variation was 25.8%, as the subjects almost always omitted thanking when refusing a lower status offerer.

Regret/Apology accounted 26.2% of the total numbers of Adjuncts. The frequency of Adjunct was high when refusing high status offerers, approximately 17 instances (53.1%)

ILEs also displayed difference in the frequency of their use of the main semantic formulae used in refusals of offers. Statement of Impeding Event was the most frequent semantic formula employed by ILEs, amounting to 33.6% (163 instances). The frequency of this semantic formula was clearly influenced by the subjects' perception and assessment of social factors, as there was an observable difference between high and low status offerers, 42 instances (26.1%) (See table 6.10).

Direct No was the second most frequent refusal strategy employed by ILEs, constituting almost 20.4% of the total. The difference observed in the frequency of this semantic formula provides interesting evidence that the decisive distinction in selecting semantic formulae was between status higher and status lower. ILEs displayed a manifest difference

in the frequency of Direct No between lower and higher status offerers, increasing the frequency when refusing a lower status offerer; the range of difference was 14 instances (14%).

Negated Ability appeared less often in ILE data than in the data of the other two groups, constituting about 16% of the total (78 instances). The subjects displayed a noticeable variation in the frequency of use of this semantic formula, but the decisive distinction was between status equal and status unequal relationships, irrespective of direction (high to low or low to high). Thus the range of difference was 48 instances (61.5%).

The last semantic formula discussed here is Regret/Apology, which accounted for the largest proportion of Adjuncts among the three groups, and 64.5% of the total in ILEs. ILEs' sensitivity to social factors, as displayed in the frequency of this semantic formula, was not consistent with that outlined regarding the semantic formulae previously discussed. Frequency of this formula escalated when refusing a high status offerer, the range of difference between a lower and higher status offerer being 61 instances (45.2%) (See also tables 6-10 in appendix 14 for refusals of less frequency in this study).

The analysis suggests that BEs vary their selection of semantic formulae and their frequency patterns due to their sensitivity to social factors. However, the selection they made and the patterns they maintained varied from those of IAs and ILEs because of cross-cultural differences.

BEs demonstrated a preference for the strategy of Statement of Impeding Event, which constituted about 40.1% of the total used (190 instances). However, the frequency of this semantic formula varied from one situation to another. The range of difference between status equals and status unequals was 43 instances (24.1%), while the range of difference between high and low status offerers was 29 instances (15%). So the decisive distinction is not obvious (see table 6.10).

Indicate Unwillingness was the second most frequent semantic formula utilised by BEs, and the range of difference here suggests certain sensitivity to social status. The range of difference in the frequency of this formula between status equals and status unequals was 31 instances (36.4%). Thus the subjects increased the frequency of this formula when refusing an equal status offerer.

The distinction between status equals and unequals in NA was also evident, the range being 21 instances (26.8%).

The frequency of Direct No lessened when refusing a high status offerer. The range of difference between status equals and status unequals was 19 instances (31.5%).

Regret/Apology as an adjunct to refusal accounted for about 35.5% of the total. However, sensitivity to social factors was not important, although the decisive distinction was between status equal and status unequal. The range of difference was 7 instances (30.4%).

6.2.2 Social Distance

IAs also displayed a noticeable difference in the prevalence of Statement of Impeding Event between a high and low distance offerer, the range of the difference being 15 cases (11.9%). This semantic formula was much utilised when refusing an equal who was also a stranger. It should also be noted that the range of difference in the occurrence of Statement of Impeding Event fell to 8 instances (6%) when comparing the range of difference between a low distance versus an acquainted offerer (see table 6.11).

The range of difference of NA in IAs was also considerable between a high versus a low distance offerer, approximately 19 instances (14.3%).

IAs displayed a considerable difference in the frequency of use of Unwillingness between high distance versus low distance offerer. Instances of this formula increased to 37 when refusing a friend while 6 instances were recorded when refusing a stranger. Thus the range of difference was 55.5%.

As regards the Regrets, IAs were sensitive to social distance also; the range of difference between a low distance versus high distance offerer was 9 instances, amounting to 28.1%.

No considerable difference of Direct No between low and high social distance interlocutors. Only 4 instances of Direct No (4%) between a high distance versus low distance offerer was observed in IAs.

As for Gratitude, the subjects displayed no sensitivity to social distance. The range of difference was small, 4.8%.

Table 6.11: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Offer by distance

Refuses' distance		Semantic formulae	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
1	Low	SIE	27.3	37	34.5	56	34.4	65	BE>ILE>IA
	High	SIE	39.2	52	36.2	59	30	58	ILE>BE>IA
	Acqu.	SIE	33.3	45	29.2	48	35.5	67	BE<ILE<IA
2	Low	NA	41.3	55	42.3	33	36.2	29	IA>ILE>BE
	High	NA	27	36	23	18	30	24	IA>BE>ILE
	Acqu.	NA	31.5	42	34.6	27	33.7	27	IA>ILE=BE
3	Low	Direct No.	30	25	35.3	35	23	14	ILE>IA>ILE
	High	Direct No.	26	21	30.3	30	18	11	ILE>IA>BE
	Acqu.	Direct No.	44	37	35.3	35	59	36	IA>BE>ILE
4	Low	St. of unwillingness	66.6	37	50	16	27	26	IA>BE>ILE
	High	St. of unwillingness	11.1	6	12.5	5	36.4	35	BE>IA>ILE
	Acqu.	St. of unwillingness	22.2	13	37.5	12	36.4	35	BE>IA>ILE
5	Low	Gratitude/ Appreciation	27.4	17	40.3	25	33.3	7	ILE>IA>BE

	High	Gratitude/ Appreciation	32.2	20	41.9	26	66.6	14	ILE>IA>BE
	Acqu.	Gratitude/ Appreciation	40.3	25	17.9	11	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
6	Low	Regret/Apology	28.1	9	30.3	41	30.4	7	ILE>IA>BE
	High	Regret/Apology	56.2	18	60	81	34.7	8	ILE>IA>BE
	Acqu.	Regret/Apology	15.6	5	9.6	13	34.7	8	ILE>BE>IA

However, the impact of social distance on SIE in ILEs was low; the range between a low versus a high distance offerer being only 3 instances (1.7%) (See table 6.11 above).

They also escalated the frequency of use of Direct No when refusing an intimate offerer. The range of difference between a high and low distance offerer was 5 instances (5%).

Moreover, they increased its frequency of Unwillingness when refusing an intimate. Thus the range of difference in the frequency between a high versus low distance offerer was 11 instances (37.5%).

In NA, the ILE participants' sensitivity to social distance was also high; the range of difference between low and high distance offerer was 15 instances (19.3%).

The influence of social distance was important in Regret/Apology; the range of difference between a high versus low distance offerer was 40 instances (29.7%).

In Gratitude/Appreciation, however, the social distance was less influential than social status, it was almost not evident. The range of difference between a high and low distance offerer was 1 instance (1.6%) (See table 6.11).

As for BEs, the range of difference of SIE between socially distant vs socially close offerer was only 7 instances (4.4%).

There were also small variations of NA in the range of difference between familiar and unfamiliar, 5 instances (6.2% (see table 6.11).

However, the impact of social distance on Indicate Unwillingness was rather less notable. The subjects increased the frequency of this semantic formula when refusing a stranger, showing a range of difference between high and low distance offerer of 9 instances (9.4%).

Awareness of social distance in Direct No was less obvious, as the range of difference between low and high distance offerer was only 3 instances (5%).

Finally, the range of difference between low and high distance offerer in Regret/Apology was also noteworthy, amounting to 1 instance (4.3%).

6.2.3 Gender

IAs displayed a difference in the range of frequency of the use of SIE between a male and female offerer. However, the range of difference was not high (4.7%) (see table 6.12 below). They were also not sensitive to gender variation in Negated Ability; the range of the frequency of this formula between male versus female offerer amounted to only 7 instances (5.3%).

Between male and female offerer the range of difference of Direct No was only 3 instances (4%), again displaying no gender bias.

Yet again, no noticeable difference was observed between male versus female offerer as far as Statement of Unwillingness is concerned (see table 6.12 below).

As for Gratitude, IAs displayed no sensitivity to gender as the range of difference between male and female was small, 3.3%. However, Regret/Apology was the only semantic formula where IAs displayed a considerable difference between male and female offerers, increasing frequency when refusing male offerers, 4 instances (12.5%).

Table 6.12: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Offer by offerers' gender

Offerers' gender	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)			Pattern
		IA	ILE	BE	

			%	No	%	No	%	No	
1	Female	SIE	47.6	64	48.6	79	42.2	80	BE>ILE>IA
	Male	SIE	52.3	70	51.3	84	57.7	110	BE>ILE>IA
2	Female	NA	52.6	70	51.2	40	63.7	51	IA>BE>ILE
	Male	NA	47.3	63	48.7	38	36.2	29	IA>BE>ILE
3	Female	Direct No.	52	43	52	51	25	15	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	Direct No.	48	40	48	48	75	46	ILE>BE>IA
4	Female	St.of unwillingness	51.8	29	51	17	64.7	63	BE>IA>ILE
	Male	St.of unwillingness	48.1	27	49	16	35.2	34	BE>IA>ILE
5	Female	Gratitude/ Appreciation	51.6	32	51.6	32	66.6	14	IA=ILE>BE
	Male	Gratitude/ Appreciation	48.3	30	48.3	30	33.3	7	IA=ILE>BE
6	Female	Regret/Apology	43.7	14	50.3	68	47.8	11	ILE>IA=BE
	Male	Regret/Apology	56.2	18	49.6	67	52.1	12	ILE>IA>BE

In ILEs' data, the influence of gender on SIE was not remarkable, being only 5 instances (2.7%) (See table 6.12).

Again, gender was seen to have little impact on Direct No in ILEs, the range of difference between male and female accounting for only 3 instances (4%).

Gender, again, was not at all important in ILEs; the range of difference in the frequency of Unwillingness between male and female offerer was 2 instances (2%).

Gender also proved to be the least influential social factor as far as NA is concerned; the range of difference was only 2 instances (2.5%). Again, the subjects did not prove susceptible to gender distinctions in Gratitude/Appreciation; the range of difference was also 2 instances (3.3%)

In Regret/Apology, the range of difference between males and females was only one instance (see table 6.12 above).

However, BEs' sensitivity to the offerers' gender was evident in this study. In SIE, the range of difference in the frequency of this formula between male and female was 30 instances (15.5%) (See table 6.12).

Sensitivity to gender was also evident in Indicate Unwillingness, since the range of difference between male and female offerer was 29 instances (29.5%).

Negated Ability constituted about 16.9% (80 instances) of the total data elicited from BEs. The range of difference in the frequency of this formula between male and female was 22 instances (27.5%).

Direct No also accounted for a considerable proportion of strategies used by BEs, constituting about 12.8% of the total (61 tokens). The frequency of Direct No varied according to the social factors. Gender seemed to be the most important distinguishing factor in subjects' decisions in determining the frequency of this semantic formula. The range of difference between male and female was high, constituting 31 instances (50%). The subjects increased the frequency when refusing a male offerer.

In Gratitude/Appreciation, the frequency intensified when refusing a female offerer, where the range of difference was 7 instances (33%).

As regards to the influence of offerees' gender on refusal formulae, no clear patterns were observed among the three groups (table 6.13). Generally speaking, female refusers almost always utilised more indirect refusals and adjuncts as compared to males. Such differences are not always considerable except for those in SIE and Gratitude in the three groups. However, this difference was more obvious in BEs. The range of difference between male and females refusers was 78 instances (28.8%) in SIE. It was also remarkable in Gratitude in ILEs; 40 instances (64.5%) (See table 6.13). Females also escalated the number of Regrets in their refusals in the Iraqi groups. The range of difference was 12 (37.5%)

instances in IAs and 47 (34.9%) in ILEs. In contrast, males used Regrets more frequently than females in BEs data by 19 tokens (85.1%).

Table 6.13: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Offer by refusers' gender

refusers' gender		Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
1	Female	SIE	62.6	84	58.8	96	70.5	134	BE>ILE>IA
	Male	SIE	37.3	50	41.1	67	41.7	56	ILE>BE>IA
2	Female	NA	39	52	20.5	16	62.5	50	IA>BE>IA
	Male	NA	60.9	81	79.4	62	37.5	30	IA>ILE>BE
3	Female	Direct No.	54.2	45	71	71	34.4	21	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	Direct No.	45.7	38	28	28	65.5	40	BE>IA>ILE
4	Female	St.of unwillingness	62.5	35	45.4	15	74.2	72	BE>IA>ILE
	Male	St.of unwillingness	37.5	21	54.5	18	25.7	25	BE>IA>ILE
5	Female	Gratitude/ Appreciation	69.3	43	82.2	51	76.1	16	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	Gratitude/ Appreciation	30.6	19	17.7	11	23.8	5	IA>ILE>BE
6	Female	Regret/Apology	68.7	22	67.4	91	6.2	2	ILE>IA>BE

	Male	Regret/Apology	31.2	10	32.5	44	91.3	21	ILE>BE>IA
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Table 6.14 also describes the total number and frequencies of refusals that British and Iraqi informants utilised in terms of the relationship with the gender (same/opposite). Overall, the informants utilised more indirect refusals when refusing conversational partners of the opposite gender than that of the same gender. This trend was found to be more remarkable in British refusers than the Iraqis. They former group escalated SIE when refusing the opposite gender by 33.3% (62 instances), while it was 7.5% (10 instances) in IAs and 11.7% (19) in ILEs (see table 6.14).

Table 6.14: Frequency of Semantic Formulae in Refusals of Offers used by same/opposite gender

Semantic formula		Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)											
		IA				ILE				BE			
		same		opposite		same		opposite		same		opposite	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	SIE	62	46.2	72	53.7	72	44.1	91	55.8	64	33.6	126	66.3
2	NA	75	56.3	58	43.6	42	53.8	36	46.1	27	33.7	53	66.2
3	Direct No	46	55.4	37	44.5	54	54	45	45	51	83.6	10	16.3
4	Unwillingness	24	42.8	32	57.1	18	54.5	15	45.4	30	30.9	67	69
5	regret/apology	15	46.8	17	53.1	59	43.7	76	56.2	6	26	17	73.9
6	Gratitude/ Appreciation	28	45.1	34	54.8	34	54.8	28	43.7	3	14.2	18	85.7

In conclusion, the data elicited via the questionnaire regarding refusals of offers demonstrates that Negated Ability, Statements of Impeding Events and Direct No were the

most frequently utilised strategies by the three groups of informants. Alternative was also much used by ILEs, while Indirect Unwillingness was more common in BEs data. On the other hand, as with refusals of requests, the data collected through the questionnaire revealed that some strategies uniquely appeared in one group and were nonexistent in another. For instance, Chiding, and Invoking the name of God were uniquely IA strategies, while some others were mutually used by IAs and ILEs, such as General Principles, Alternative, and Putting the Blame on a Third Party. The latter strategy is observed in IAs' and ILEs' data, as in:

31. *10. I have to ask my husband first. (F5, ILE)

As with refusals of requests, the frequency counts of the total number of strategies indicated that IAs and ILEs produced more direct (43.7% and 36.4% respectively) and less indirect strategies (56.2% and 63.5% respectively) as compared to BEs (see table 6.9). BEs, however, tended towards indirectness, which accounted for 70.1% of the total. Direct refusals were employed less frequently (29.7%) than by the Iraqi groups.

The data demonstrates that IAs' refusals are more family-related than their British counterparts. This finding, in fact, was found to be similar to the content of the Saudi Reasons/Excuses in the Al-Shalawi (1997) study. In his study the Saudi refusals were found to be more family-related, whereas the American ones related to the speaker's personal life. Nelson et al. (2002), on the contrary, found that Egyptian Arabic and American English participants used similar Reasons/Excuses in their refusals. It is important to remember that a DCT was used for data collection in both Al-Shalawi and Nelson et al. studies.

The Iraqi groups were less sensitive to social status and gender while British responses varied according to the refusers'/offerers' gender. The three groups, in addition, followed increased refusal formulae in rejecting opposite-gender offerers, although Iraqis slightly increase their indirect refusal formulae with the opposite gender as compared to BEs.

Thus, hypothesis (b) 'the frequency of the semantic formulae of refusal, their content, order, situational context in which they are found and the linguistic forms available are culture-specific ' would appear to be valid. Furthermore, hypothesis (c) ' Speakers of Iraqi Arabic and British English can be distinguished on the basis of their refusal strategies' is also confirmed.

6.3 Length of Responses by Degree of Imposition

This section discusses the influence of imposition carried by offers in this study on the informants' responses.

In refusals of offers, as with refusals of requests, the differences in degree of imposition influenced the average length of responses produced by the three groups. As table (6.15) illustrates, 4 out of 18 situations were of higher rank of imposition, 5 were of medium, and 9 of low imposition.

Table 6.15: Refusals of offer situations by degree of imposition.

Sit. No.	Setting	Degree of Imposition	Sit. No.	Setting	Degree of Imposition
1	A cup to tea	low	10	A promotion that involves relocation	high
2	A glass of juice	low	11	A cigarette	low
3	A piece of cake	low	12	A bus ticket	medium
4	A cold drink	low	13	Carrying heavy bags	medium
5	A seat	low	14	Taking a lift (elevator) first before your student	low
6	A lift in a car	medium	15	Paying a snack	high
7	Money to buy a shirt	high	16	Cleaning a table	medium
8	Help on assignment	high	17	A table close to the window	low

9	A pen	low	18	A dessert	medium
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The results in table 6.16 show that there is noticeable difference between high-imposition situations and low-imposition situations for all three groups. The average length of responses is higher in high imposition situations compared to the low imposition situations for all groups (IAs: H=3 & L=1.3; ILEs: H=3 & L=1.3; BEs: H=3 & L=1.3)²⁸. Regarding the medium-imposition situations, the three groups produced shorter responses in these situations than those utilised in high imposition situations (1.3 in IAs, 2 in ILEs, and only 1 in BEs).

Moreover, such results suggest that the three groups share, to certain extent, the same pragmatic knowledge.

Table 6.16: The average length of responses in refusals of offers by the degree of imposition

Imposition	IA		ILE		BE	
	Average length of responses	Absolute number of strategies	Average length of responses	Absolute number of strategies	Average length of responses	Absolute number of strategies
High-imposition	3.1	250	3.2	257	3	238
Medium-imposition	1.3	126	2	207	0.7	68
Low-imposition	1.3	240	1.3	230	1.3	226

In situation 10, where there is an offer for a promotion but involved a relocation to a distant city, it was observed that the informants from the three groups were more lengthy in their responses. Their refusals usually include adjuncts in addition to one or two formulae, for example:

انا عشت هنا عمر وعندي روابط اجتماعيه. اعذرنى. 10. *

'ana 'išit 'umur 'hnā w 'ind-ī rewābiṭ 'jtimā'iah 'i'ḡurn-i

²⁸ The average length of responses in table 6.16 is based on total number of formulae. See also chapter five, section 5.4 for how the average length of responses is calculated.

I lived age here and have-1S tie.PL social forgive-1S

'I've lived here for ages and I have social ties. Forgive me'. (IA, M8).

It is also interesting to point out some similarities here among the three groups. The informants produced more responses in situations where the offer is high in degree of imposition as in situation 7 (an offer for money), and situation 8 which includes help in an assignment by a teacher:

33. *7. I have some money in my account I guess. Thank you mum. (F5, BE)

34. *8. Thank you. I think I can do it myself. (M9, ILE).

The informants, however, used shorter responses when refusing an offer of low imposition. For instance, in situation 14 where the informant was asked to refuse an offer from a first year student to take a lift first (low imposition), the responses were mostly consisting of one semantic formula:

35. *14. السيدات اولاً.

il-sayd-at 'walen

DEF-Mr.-PL.F first

'ladies first'. (M7, IA)

36. *14. You first. (M2, ILE)

37. *14. I am not in a hurry. (F2, BE)

In situations where the degree of imposition was medium as in situation 6 where a male classmate offers a lift in his car, situation 12 where there is an offer to pay for a bus ticket, situation 13 where a neighbour offers to carry some heavy bags, situation 16 where there is an offer to clean up a table, and situation 18 where there is an offer for a dessert, the responses fluctuated between one and two semantic formulae and usually accompanied by a Gratitude. See the following examples:

38. 41. *16. راح انظفه بعدين. هسه انا مشغول, شكرا.

rāḥ 'a-neḏfa be'diən hesa 'āna mešgūl

will 1S-clean later now Iam busy.1S.M

'I will clean it later, I am busy now, thanks'. (M6, IA)

39. * 13. Thanks a lot, I can carry them. (F10, ILE)

40. * 6 No, thanks, I'd rather walk. (M8, BE)

In summary, generally speaking, informants make considerable difference in their responses to offers as far as the degree of imposition is concerned. The average length of responses is higher in high imposition situations as compared to the medium and low imposition situations (table 6.16). Besides, it seems that in some situations the rank of imposition plays a vital role in determining the length of responses produced by the subjects of the three groups. With high degree of imposition, more responses of two or three formulae were produced, while responses to offers of low imposition were always answered with one formula. Responses to medium-imposition situations were either one or two semantic formulae accompanied usually by the adjunct of Gratitude/Appreciation.

6.4 Pragmatic Transfer of Refusals of Offers

Preliminary evidence for pragmatic transfer was found in offer refusals of different types in ILE data (the data are presented in tables 6.1-6.14). The selection, frequency, order and content of semantic formulae differed from one group to another. Certain semantic formulae were found in all of the three groups, whereas other formulae existed in one or two groups only. Further, it could be argued that the difference in the frequency of use of the same strategies in different groups was not random. These provide a basis for investigating the data for any evidence of pragmatic transfer of both types, pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic, in the ILE interlanguage. The present section focuses on the influences exerted by the ILEs' linguistic knowledge and their perception of cultural values in their performance in the foreign Language (English).

At the pragmalinguistic level, IAs and BEs did not employ exactly the same strategies. The strategies of Chiding, Alternative, and General Principle were employed by IAs but not by

BEs. Some of these strategies were also employed by ILEs in their refusals of offer in English. These strategies are definitely characterised as pragmatic transfer of refusal strategies from Arabic to English. Although these forms are semantically/syntactically equivalent, due to different 'interpretive bias', they convey different pragmatic forces in English i.e., they would not be interpreted as a refusal of offer. The examples below, which are constructed for illustration, clarify this explanation. They are in responses to an offer to attend a wedding party.

41. I have never attended such parties.

However an example of refusal such as:

42. I have attended such parties.

(Nassier, 2005: 96)

They would be understood easily, with appropriate prosody, by a native speaker of British English, since the intended meaning can be perceived clearly as a refusal.

The speaker in 41 attempts to convey that the offerer has made a wrong assumption; what has been offered is inappropriate, and they are not the kind of person who attends such parties i.e. they are refusing. However, such a situation can result in cross-cultural misunderstanding and communication breakdown. An English native speaker may have difficulty in arriving at the speaker's intention (refusal). Thus, this pragmatic transfer of an Arabic refusal strategy into English could lead to pragmatic failure, to misunderstanding the illocutionary force of the utterance, to misunderstanding what is meant by what is said. Equally, the illocutionary force of 42 is ambiguous in its written form (Is S refusing or accepting the offer?).

Further, the forms by which these particular linguistic actions are implemented were also similar to those used by IAs. For example, ILEs have transferred the strategy of Alternative, a common strategy for refusing an offer, to their English refusals. Moreover, the same subjects transferred negative interrogative, a common syntactic form in Arabic, to their English refusals:

43. *1. Why not tea? (F2, ILE)

44. *2. ليش مو مشروب غازي؟

līəš mū mešrūb gāzi
 why NEG drink fizzy
 ‘Why not fizzy drink?’ (M3, IA)

The examples above are in response to an offer for a cup of coffee.

Negative interrogative ask or seem to ask question and express refusal (Gupta, 2006: 241). Interestingly, negative interrogative is either used to refuse an offer to equal or lower social status offerers. IAs utilised it about 6 times in their refusals.

45. * 13. ليش ما تشيلين الخفيفات انتي؟
 līəš mā ʔt-šiliha il-ħefif-at ʔint-i
 why NEG 2S.F-carry DEF-light-PL you-2S.F
 ‘Why don’t you carry the light ones?’ (F6, IA)

46. * 17. ما اقدر الكعد كدام؟
 mā ʔgdar ʔgʔid gidam
 NEG able.1S sit in front
 Can’t I sit in front? (M9, IA)

All of these observations indicate pragmatic transfer at the level of the strategies selected and the forms by which these refusals of offers were realised. Other examples of pragmalinguistic transfer in refusal of offers are indicated below. They are respectively in responses to offers for some help on an assignment (ex. 46), for a pen (ex. 47), for a promotion that involves relocating to a distant city (ex.48, and 49), paying a ticket in a bus (ex.50), paying for a snack in a cafeteria (ex. 51, 52, 53), and for more dessert (ex 54).

- 47. * 8. Your help is on my head. (M7, ILE)
- 48. * 9. You and me are one. (F10, ILE)
- 49. * 10. From my eyes. (M9, ILE)
- 50. * 10. He wanted to treat her eyes, he made them blind. (M5, ILE)
- 51. * 12. Do not cost yourself. (F8, ILE)
- 52. * 15. On the contrary dear. (M6, ILE)

53. * 15. We are sisters. (F4, ILE)
 54. * 15. We are one pocket. (F1, ILE)
 55. * 18. I will die from food. (F10, ILE)

It is obvious to note that ILEs exhibit two types of pragmatic failure; pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic (see chapter two, section 2.1 Pragmalinguistics vs sociopragmatics). This can lead to the inference that even learners with a good mastery of the grammatical structures of a language may nevertheless be extremely unsuccessful in their interactions with native speakers of the target language if they do not have some understanding of their norms of politeness. Advanced mastery of grammatical rules does not guarantee advanced mastery of sociolinguistic rules (cf. Davies, 1987: 76). Some problems are pragmalinguistic in nature in that learners are often unable to approximate native idioms and routines. Others are related to sociopragmatic limitations which create the potential for more serious misunderstanding.

Though it is supposed that the ILEs have a relatively good command of English, they show relatively few occurrences of both types of negative transfer. This finding coincides with previous studies on pragmatic transfer from L1 to L2 such as Nassier (2005).

6.4.1 Pragmatic Transfer in the Frequency of Semantic Formulae

In addition to selecting strategies that did not appear in BE data, ILEs varied the frequency of these strategies along the same social or contextual parameters as native speakers of IA. The subjects demonstrated a similar sensitivity to social status, social distance and gender.

As indicated previously, certain strategies featured in all three groups of data. The strategies of Statement of Impeding Event, and Negated Ability were the most frequently used semantic formulae in the three groups of data. As such, no clear evidence for pragmatic transfer was found in the frequency of these formulae. At the pragmalinguistic level, ILEs did not fail in form-function mapping or the illocutionary force assignment. The subjects managed to use declarative forms appropriately in Stating the Impeding Event. Thus, ILEs, like their BE counterparts, were able to use forms that mapped the stating function. For example, they used suitable modal expressions, such as ‘have to, going to or

will/will not be'. As for Negated Ability, which usually contains Negated Ability modal expressions, ILEs, though unable to use all possible forms, were successful in employing those that were linguistically appropriate. Thus, regarding the strategies present in the three groups of data, no evidence for pragmalinguistic transfer was observed in ILE data (except those observed in the previous section).

However, at the sociopragmatic level, ILEs displayed sensitivity to contextual factors similar in one way or another to that of their IA counterparts. Both IA and ILE subjects demonstrated noticeable difference in the range of the frequency of Statement of Impeding Event between higher and lower status; 48 instances (35.8%) for IAs and 30 instances (26.5%) for ILEs. BEs also displayed sensitivity to social status, but the distinction was between status equals and unequals (table 6.10). The influence exerted by the subjects' perception of social distance provided further evidence for sociopragmatic transfer. Each of the three groups proved to be sensitive to social distance, yet the direction of change in the frequency of Statement of Impeding Event was not the same in the three groups. ILEs, like their IA counterparts, decreased the frequency of this formula when refusing an intimate, whereas BEs were only concerned with whether the offerer was familiar or not. They reduced the frequency of this formula when refusing a stranger and increased it when refusing an intimate and/or friend or acquaintance (table 6.11).

The percentages indicated that both IA and ILE subjects' sensitivity to gender did not vary, whereas the BEs showed considerably high sensitivity to gender. The range of difference in the frequency of Statement of Impeding Event between male and female offerers both in IA and ILE data (4.7% for IA and 2.7% for ILE), (11.7% for IA and 11.7 for ILE in same /opposite gender) indicates that the relative lack of sensitivity to gender was transferred from IA into the subjects' interlanguage. However, no such transfer was observed in refusers' gender (tables 6.12, 6.13, 6.14).

The range of difference in the frequency of Negated Ability, indicating as it did a difference in the subjects' sensitivity to contextual factors, provided further evidence of sociopragmatic transfer in ILE data. Sociopragmatic transfer was evident in subjects' sensitivity to social distance and gender. Both IA and ILE subjects expressed clear difference in the frequency of this formula between high and low distance offerers; the range of difference was 19 instances (14.3%) for IAs and 15 instances (19.3%) for ILEs, whereas it was 5 instances (6.2%) for BEs (table 6.11). As for gender, ILEs transferred the relative nonsensitivity to gender from Arabic into English. The range of difference in the

frequency of Negated Ability between male and female offerers was 7 instances (5.3%) for IAs and 2 instances (2.5%) for ILEs. However, an obvious instance of sociopragmatic transfer can be noted since the range of difference in the frequency of this formula between male and female in BE data was dissimilar to that observed in IA data (22 instances, 27.5%) (see table 6.12). The same non-sensitiveness was observed for Iraqis in the same/opposite gender refusals. It was 12.7% (17 instances) for IAs, and 7.7% (6 instances) for ILEs, while the range of difference for BEs was 32.5% (26 instances) (table 6.14). However, no such considerable variation was noticed in refusers' gender between the three groups (table 6.14).

Statement of Unwillingness was the other common strategy found in the data of all three groups. This semantic formula provides another area for investigating evidence for pragmatic transfer in ILE interlanguage. Subjects have been shown to transfer their perception of contextual factors from IA into English. Like their IA counterparts, ILEs displayed a considerable difference in the frequency of Unwillingness between high and low status offerer and between high and low distance offerer. In the former case, the range of difference was 10 instances (18.5%) for IAs and 4 instances (12.5%) for ILEs, while in the latter case, the range of difference was 31 instances (55.5%) for IAs and 11 instances (37.5%) for ILEs. BEs were also sensitive to contextual factors, but the decisive distinction was not the same as for IAs; the range of difference in the frequency of this semantic formula between status equals and unequals was (36.5%) and (36%) between familiar and unfamiliar offerer (tables 6.10, 6.11).

Tables 6.10-6.14 (section 6.2) indicate that both IA and ILE subjects displayed similar frequency patterns in their L1 and their interlanguage, in increasing the use of refusals containing 'No' when the refuser was of lower status or when the social distance was low. Thus the range of difference between high and low status offerer was 7 instances (8%) for IAs and 14 instances (14%) for ILEs in the former case, while it was 4 instances (4%) for IAs and 5 instances (5%) for ILEs in the latter case. BEs, on the other hand, demonstrated rather different frequency patterns due to the difference in the decisive distinction between status equal and status unequal relationships (irrespective of direction; high to low or low to high) (see Table 6.10). L1 based preference for frequencies of Direct No as a refusal of offer also emerged in ILEs interlanguage. IA and ILE subjects revealed similar patterns in male and female distinction. Both groups were less sensitive to gender distinction. BEs, on the other hand, displayed a considerable difference in the frequency of this formula

between male and female offerer. This implies that ILEs have carried their relative nonsensitivity to gender from Arabic into English (tables 6.12, 6.13, 6.14 and for refusals of low frequencies see tables 6-10 in appendix 14).

6.4.2 Pragmatic Transfer in the Order and Number of Semantic Formulae

Adjuncts to refusals of offer were used to modify most of the semantic formulae found in refusals of offers. Further, the main semantic formulae were usually preceded or followed by other less frequent semantic formulae, whereas some other semantic formulae were used alone. However, it has been observed that these semantic formulae were not randomly ordered. Speakers usually followed certain patterns, that is, they showed preference for certain sequences of semantic formulae. Moreover, the order of semantic formulae seemed to vary from one situation to another in all groups (tables 6.5-6-8). Thus, it is likely that evidence for pragmatic transfer can be detected in ILE data as far as the order and number of semantic formulae are concerned. The subjects did not follow the same order patterns in the three groups. Refusals of offers were usually (but not always) initiated by adjuncts. Gratitude/Appreciation and Regret/Apology were common to all three groups, although no evidence of pragmatic transfer was observed. In addition, informal interviews with some of the ILEs revealed that they perceived the use of the strategies of Invoking the name of God and Chiding as language-specific. Thus they were careful not to transfer them into their interlanguage.

It has been observed that Statement of Impeding Events was common to all groups in all situations (table 6.9). Further, this semantic formula was employed with adjuncts and other semantic formulae. However, the order and the position it occupied relative to other semantic formulae differed from one group to another. ILEs resembled their IA counterparts and differed from BEs in certain aspects: whereas both IAs and ILEs placed Statement of Impeding Event third after NA, as in:

56. *1.Thank you, I can't. It is time to leave now. (M2, ILE)

BEs placed SIE second, and Indicate Unwillingness third, as in:

57. *3. Looks and smells great, but I am satisfied, I really do not think I want it. (F4, BE)

In the BE refusals of offers, the subjects expressed NA in the fourth position (table 6.5).

58. *18. No, thanks, I've been having a stomach-ache today. I can't. (M7, BE)

This position, in IA and ILE refusals of offer, was occupied by Alternative.

59. *10. شكرا للعرض, بس ما اقدر. عندي عائله بهاي المدينه. باقي الموظفين يمكن يعجبهم.

šukren l-il- 'eriḍ bes 'end-i 'ā'ila b-hāi il-medīnah

thank you for-DEF-offer but have-1S family in-this DEF-city

bāqi il-mueḍef-īn yimkin y'jib-hum il-'eriḍ

other DEF-employee-PL maybe like-3PL.M DEF-offer

'Thank you for the offer, but I can't. I have a family in this city. Other employees might be interested'. (F6, IA)

These observations confirm the expectations that there is pragmatic transfer from Arabic in the order of semantic formulae as utilised by the ILEs (see tables 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7).

The groups were not alike in determining the number of semantic formulae used in a given refusal strategy. Subjects' perception of social factors seemed to be influential in this respect. As such, evidence for pragmatic transfer could be operative in subjects' perceptions of the social factors as far as the number of semantic formulae is concerned. Indeed, both IA and ILE subjects seemed to be sensitive to social status and social distance; they increased the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing a high status offerer, as in:

60. *5. I can't, I am waiting for my friend.(F6, ILE)

and reduced one-semantic-formula strategies.

61. *18. اتمنى لو اقدر

'a-tmana lo 'a-gdar

1S-wish if 1S-able

'I wish I could'.

The decisive distinction for BEs was between status equals and unequals. ILEs transferred their relative nonsensitivity to gender for they, like IAs, did not change the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing male or female offerers (see tables 6.3, 6.4).

In conclusion, ILEs demonstrated evidence of pragmatic transfer in three areas: order of semantic formulae, their frequency, and their content. This finding is consistent with the findings of many similar studies, such as (Al-Eryani, 2007; Al-Issa, 1998; Stevens, 1993, Felix-Brasdefer, 2002, Henstock, 2003; and Takahashi and Beebe, 1987), who all reported evidence of negative pragmatic transfer from L1.

This finding demonstrates that hypothesis (d) which assumes that 'pragmatic transfer exists in the order, frequency and content of semantic formulae used in the refusals of Iraqi learners of English as a foreign language' is confirmed here.

Chapter Seven

Refusal Strategies of Role Play Scenarios

7.1 Data Extracted from Role Plays

The present chapter will shed light on refusals as realised by the three groups in the Role Plays. The responses in the Role Plays include refusals to requests and offer. In Role Play interactions, the choice was left open for informant B (the requester/offerer) to make either a request or an offer, while informant A (the refuser) was the one who should refuse it (see section 3.4 in chapter 3 and also appendix 13).

Both quantitative and qualitative methods will be used for analysing the data. The purpose of the quantitative analysis in the present study is to compare the differences/similarities in refusal strategies among the three selected groups. It consists of frequency counts of the refusal strategies used by the participants. Furthermore, the rankings of these strategies or semantic formulae in terms of frequency of use will be identified. In addition, the influence of the three social factors: social status (high, Low, equal), social distance (high, low, acquainted), and gender (same, opposite) on refusals will also be investigated. Besides, the influence of degree of imposition on the refusers' performance will be addressed, aiming to find out if responses to situations of high/low/medium imposition vary in length and number of formulae.

The next section goes on to examine refusals qualitatively. This section consists of two parts: The first part focuses on analysing selected interactions from the three groups in order to reach a better understanding of how the refusal discourse is structured and how refusals are recycled over a number of turns in the two cultures under investigation. The second part looks at the excuses and reasons given by the participants in support of their refusals. This qualitative analysis can reveal interesting differences among the groups and can shed light on the extent of pragmatic transfer.

Thus, from nine situations in the present study, 60 Role Play scenarios were audio recorded and transcribed (appendix 13). 305 semantic formulae of refusals were produced by the three groups of informants, and 135 Adjuncts to Refusals. Many refusal strategies that had not appeared in the data collected by the DCT, occurred frequently in the Role Play data. These included Request for Consideration or Understanding, Request for

Information/Clarification, and Negative Consequences to Requester, in addition to some Adjuncts, such as Getting Interlocutor's Attention and Statement of Empathy/Concern²⁹.

7.2 Frequency of Refusal Strategies Used in the Role Plays

For the purpose of comparative analysis between the three selected groups, frequencies/percentages, number of occurrences, and the ranks of the semantic formulae used by Iraqi and British participants were calculated as illustrated in table 7.1.

In this section the overall count of strategies used in the nine refusal situations by all three groups is presented. Firstly, a description of the differences between the three groups with regard to their strategy selection in each Role Play is provided. This is followed by an account of the most frequently used Indirect and Direct strategies, as well as Adjuncts to Refusal employed by each of the groups in the nine scenarios.

A total of 14 strategies were identified in the data: 3 Direct strategies, 11 Indirect strategies, in addition to 6 Adjuncts to Refusal. The majority of these strategies were used by participants in each of the three groups. However, there were some exceptions: the Indirect strategies of Counter-factual Conditionals and General Principle were not used by participants in the ILE group, but did appear in the data of the other two groups. In addition, the Indirect strategy Negative Consequences to Requester was not used by IAs nor by ILEs, while it was employed by participants of the BE group. The strategy of Putting the Blame on a Third Party was utilised by all of the groups except for the BEs. With regard to Adjuncts to Refusal, Invoking the Name of God, did not feature in the BEs data. Furthermore, Performative Refusal was another Direct Refusal that was not employed by BEs.

As Figure 7.1 and Table 7.1 below elucidate, Direct Refusal strategies accounted for 30.4% of all those used by IA students, 32.5% for ILE students and 20.7% for the BE group. So, of the three groups, BE informants utilised the lowest percentage of Direct strategies.

²⁹ See table 7.1 in section 7.2 of this chapter which lists the refusal strategies found in the Role Play data of the three groups of participants.

Figure 7.1: Overall use of Direct and Indirect strategies by the groups.

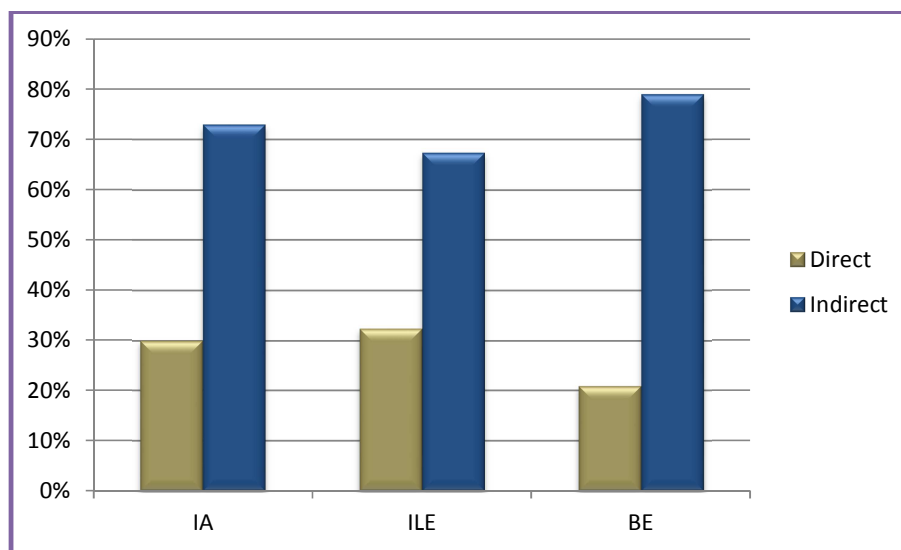


Table 7.1: Overall strategy use by the groups in the Role Plays

Strategy type	IA		ILE		BE		Pattern
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	
Direct Refusals							
Direct No	12	11.4	15	16.8	18	16.2	BE>ILE>IA
Negated Ability	18	17.1	10	11.2	5	4.5	IA>ILE>BE
Performative refusal	2	1.9	4	4.4	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
Total	32	30.4	29	32.5	23	20.7	IA>ILE>BE
Indirect Refusals							
Request for Information/Clarification	10	9.5	8	8.9	7	6.3	IA>ILE>BE

Let Interlocutor off the Hook.	9	8.5	7	7.8	9	8.1	IA=BE>ILE
Chiding.	4	3.7	5	5.6	6	5.4	BE>ILE>IA
Avoidance	12	11.4	10	11.2	10	9	IA>ILE=BE
Request for Consideration or Understanding.	4	3.8	4	4.4	5	4.5	BE>IA=ILE
Negative Consequences to Requester.	0	0	0	0	6	5.4	BE>IA=ILE
Statement of Alternative.	6	5.7	6	6.7	4	3.6	IA=ILE>BE
Statement of Impeding Event	19	18	17	19.1	34	30.6	BE>IA>ILE
Counter-factual Conditionals	2	1.9	0	0	4	3.6	BE>IA>ILE
General principles	3	2.8	0	0	3	2.7	IA=BE>ILE
Putting the blame on a Third Party.	4	3.8	3	3.3	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
Total	73	69.5	60	67.4	88	79.2	BE>IA>ILE
Total (direct+indirect)	105	99.9	89	99.9	111	99.9	
Adjunct to Refusals							
Strategy type	IA		ILE		BE		Pattern
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	
Regret	17	27.8	13	28.2	10	35.7	IA>ILE>BE
Gratitude/Appreciation	8	13.1	9	19.5	6	21.4	ILE>IA>BE

Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or Agreement.	9	14.7	6	13	7	25	IA>BE>ILE
Invoking the Name of God.	22	36	11	23.9	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
Getting Interlocutor's Attention.	4	6.5	3	6.5	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
Statement of Empathy/Concern.	1	1.6	4	8.6	5	17.8	IA>ILE>BE
Total	61	99.9	46	99.7	28	99.9	IA>ILE>BE

Indirect strategies accounted for the majority in all three groups and in all nine refusal situations. They made up 69.5% of all strategies used by IAs, 67.4% of all those brought into play by ILEs, and 79.2% of all strategies employed by BEs. With Indirect strategies the reverse of the pattern observed with Direct strategies can be seen: here the BE group used a higher percentage of Indirect strategies than either of the other two groups. The inclination of the members of all three groups to avoid direct refusals and to employ more indirect strategies could be attributed to the fact that they consider harmony in human relationships more important than sincerity. They might regard the use of direct formulae as an impolite way of refusing which could affect the social relationships between the interlocutors. Finally, with regard to Adjuncts to Refusal, the IA group achieved the highest frequency (61 instances), followed by the ILE group at 46 instances, and finally the BE group at 28 (see table 7.1 above). The high frequency of Adjuncts in the data of IAs and ILEs may be due to the fact that refusal is a very sensitive issue for Iraqis. In Iraqi culture a person is strongly encouraged to comply with a request for help; to accept an invitation or offer, and to provide a requested suggestion. If a person cannot comply, then appropriate linguistic refusal formulae, depending on the status and social relationship of the interlocutors, are brought into play (Anwar, 1995). Thus, the utilisation of more Adjuncts by the Iraqi groups was possibly aimed at avoiding unnecessary friction in their contacts with others and maintaining the social harmony.

With regard to Direct Refusal strategies, as Table 7.1 indicates, the Direct No strategy such as, *No, sorry*, was the one most frequently exercised by BEs and ILEs. It accounted for 16.2% of all the strategies used by the BE group and 16.8% of those employed by the ILE group. This strategy was also the second most frequently used by the IA group,

constituting 11.4% of the total. The Negating Ability strategy, for instance, *I can't, impossible, not able to*, was the second most frequently used by both the BEs and the ILE group, but was the one most commonly called upon by the IA group. It is interesting to note here that there are more similarities between the ILE students and the BE group with regard to the frequency of occurrence of the Direct No and Negating Ability stratagems. These findings also demonstrate that, while the native speakers of British English used the Direct No strategy more frequently than the Negating Ability one, native speakers of Arabic preferred the reverse pattern. The Performative 'I refuse' strategy was the least frequently used, appearing only twice in the IA data and four times in the records for ILE, while it made no appearance at all in BE data.

The most frequently used Indirect Refusal strategy by all three groups in the nine refusal situations was Statement of Impeding Event, accounting for 17.9% of all strategies used by IAs, 30.9% by BEs and 19.1% by ILEs.

1. R3. لازم ارجع من وكت اجيب ابني من المدرسه. (M4, IA)
 lazim 'rja' min waktu 'a-jīb 'bn-i min il-medrasah
 must back from early 1S.bring son-1S from DEF-school
 'I have to go back earlier to pick my son from school'. (M4, IA)

The second most frequently used indirect strategy for the three groups, amounting to 11.4 in IAs, 11.2% in ILEs and 9% in BEs, was Avoidance, for example:

2. R2. Tomorrow I don't know, not sure. (F4, ILE)

The third most common approach demonstrated by IAs and ILEs was Request for Information/Clarification, It formed 9.5% of all strategies used by IAs and 8.9% of those utilised by ILEs. for example:

3. R4. Do you mean the lecture notes of Biology? (M6, ILE)

Let Off the Hook, for instance, occupied the third place for BEs amounting to 8.1% for each strategy.

4. R7. It is totally fine don't worry about it. (M6, BE)

However, it is important to highlight that the latter is a special type of refusal strategy that would appear to be situation-dependent. It occurred mostly in the seventh Role Play where participants were asked to refuse an offer from someone lower in status (a cleaner) who accidentally broke down a statuette in their boss's office and offers to pay its value. Table 7.2 furnishes a list of the six most commonly used indirect strategies adopted by the three groups in order of frequency.

Table 7.2: Most frequently used Indirect Strategies by the three groups.

Ranking	IAs	ILEs	BEs
First	SIE	SIE	SIE
Second	Avoidance	Avoidance	Avoidance
Third	Request for Info.	Request for Info.	Let Off the Hook
Fourth	Let off Hook	Let off Hook	Request for Info.
Fifth	Alternative	Alternative	Chiding/ Negative Consequences
Sixth	Chiding	Chiding	Request for Consideration

It is important to note that the figures for the six most frequently used Indirect strategies were identical for IAs and ILEs, but were different for the BE group, with the exception of the first two, which was the same for all three groups. Let off the Hook was the third most popular strategy for BEs, claiming fourth position for both ILEs and IAs. Conversely, was the third in the Iraqis groups, but occupying the fourth position in BEs' data. Request for Information/Clarification appeared 10 times in IAs and 8 times in ILEs, such as:

5. R3. تريدني ابقى حوالي ساعه؟

'a-trīd-ni 'a-bqa ḥawali sā'eh

2S.M-want-1S 1S-stay about hour

'Do you want me to stay for about an hour?' (M5, IA)

Chiding and Negative Consequences were the fifth most frequently used strategies by BEs.

6. R8. I helped you before. (M9, BE)
7. R4. I do not want to give you the wrong information. (M3, BE)

This demonstrates that the patterns displayed by the BE group are dissimilar to those observed in the other two groups with regard to strategy preference. The difference between Iraqi and British informants in terms of refusals leads to a conclusion that different values are attached to refusal strategies as a means of communication.

The Statement of Alternative strategy was the fifth most frequently applied Indirect strategy by IA and ILE groups while Chiding and Negative Consequences found to be the fifth most frequently used by the British group.

The less popular strategies varied for the different groups. It is noteworthy that Putting the Blame on a Third Party was less commonly used by IA and ILE groups; it appeared only 3 and 4 times in the data for ILE and IA groups respectively, and not at all in the BEs. One final point here is that ILE groups never used the strategies of Counter-factual Conditionals, as in,

8. R5. If I'd known earlier, I would have eaten it first. (FF6, BE)

or Statement of Principles, such as the Iraqi principle

9. R5. الإنسان ما معصوم.
il-'nsān mā ma'sūm

DEF-human NEG flawless

'No human being is flawless'. (F10, IA)

These strategies did appear in the data of the other two groups. This is an interesting finding that has not been reported in other refusal studies.

With regard to Adjuncts to Refusal, table 7.3 sets out a ranking of the four most popular Adjuncts to Refusal used by each of the three groups. The most frequently applied strategy by BEs and ILEs was that of Regret/Apology, such as, *sorry, I apologise*. This strategy

was used less frequently by the IA group where it held the second position. It accounted for 35.7% of all strategies used by the BE group, 28.2% of all those used by the ILE group, and 27.8% for the IA group.

Table7.3: Most frequently used Adjuncts by the three groups.

Ranking	IAs	ILEs	BEs
First	Invoking God	Regret	Regret
Second	Regret	Invoking God	Positive Opinion
Third	Positive Opinion	Gratitude	Gratitude
Fourth	Gratitude	Positive Opinion	St. of Empathy

The most popular strategy for IAs was Invoking the Name of God, amounting, as it did, to 36%, whereas this was the second most common strategy for ILEs, occurring 11 times (23.9%). In contrast, Invoking the Name of God did not appear at all in the BE data.

10. R5. I am so full by God, I am out of breath. (F1, ILE)

Statement of Regret, for instance, *I am sorry, unfortunately*, was the first most commonly utilised strategy by both BEs (35.7%) and ILEs (28.2%), and featured in second place in the IA data (27.8%). Positive Opinion proved to be the second most popular strategy for BEs (25%), while it occupied the third position for IAs and the fourth for ILEs (14.7% and 13% respectively).

11. R9. I mean you have been a good student this year so erm I'd love to help you to get on to the master programme but...(F7, BE)

Statement of Empathy was one of the less commonly used strategies by the Iraqi groups, accounting for 1.6% of all strategies used by the IA group and 8.6% of all those used by the ILEs group.

12. R3. أعرف أنه وجودي مهم

'a- 'ruf 'nu wijūd-i muhim

1S-know that presence-1S important

'I know that my presence is important'. (M4, IA)

The Interlocutor Attention stratagem for example, *Listen, Look* occurred only 4 times in the IA data and 3 times among ILEs. However, it was not employed by the British participants.

Participants' selection of refusal strategies in the Role Plays were also found to be influenced by social factors and this determined the frequency of semantic formulae in the responses of the three groups. Subjects displayed noticeable differences in the frequency of use of some strategies between higher and lower status, between low and high social distance requesters/offerers and between males and females (same and opposite gender).

To remind the reader that the 9 situations in the Role Plays are divided into three parts (3 situations are refusals to higher social status interlocutors, 3 to equal and 3 to lower). As with social status, 3 situations are of high social distance, 3 to acquainted, and 3 to low (see the distribution of the contextual variables in the RP in table 3.2 in chapter 3 and also in appendix 3). The following sub-sections discuss how each type of refusal performed by each group is manipulated according the variables. For instance, 19 SIE were utilised by IAs in their refusals (see table 7.1); 11 were used by refusers of lower social status, 3 by higher, and 5 by equal (table 7.4). The same procedure is applied for social distance.

In the Role Play interactions, the conversations were performed by speakers of same and opposite genders. Thus, the influence of Refusers' and requesters'/offerers' gender (same/opposite) on the interlocutors' performance will be investigated.

The range of difference in the frequency of some main strategies and adjuncts according to the social factors is presented in the following sub-sections.

7.2.1 Social status

The three groups displayed noticeable variation in the range of the frequency of SIE between higher and lower status requester/offerer. The range of difference was 8 instances for IAs (42.1%), 6 instances for ILEs (35.3%) and 6 instances for BEs (15.8%) (See table 7.4). However, ILEs and BEs displayed no differentiation between higher and lower status requester/offerer in Request for Information, while the range of variation in the frequency of this refusal was 3 instances for IAs (30%) (see also Table 7.1 in section 7.2 for the total number of strategies in Role Plays).

Table 7.4: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Role Plays by status

Refusers' Status	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern	
		IA		ILE		BE			
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		
1.	Lower	SIE	57.8	11	47	8	47	16	BE>IA>ILE
	Higher	SIE	15.7	3	11.7	2	31.25	10	BE>IA>ILE
	Equal	SIE	26.3	5	41.1	7	25	8	BE>ILE>IA
2.	Lower	Request for Information	60	6	50	4	42.8	3	IA>ILE>BE
	Higher	Request for Information	30	3	50	4	42.8	3	ILE>IA=BE
	Equal	Request for Information	10	1	0	0	14.2	1	IA=BE>ILE
3.	Lower	Avoidance	66.6	8	60	6	44.4	4	IA>ILE>BE
	Higher	Avoidance	8.3	1	20	2	33.3	3	BE>ILE>IA

	Equal	Avoidance	25	3	20	2	22.2	2	IA>ILE=BE
4.	Lower	NA	22.2	4	20	2	80	4	IA=BE>ILE
	Higher	NA	55.5	10	70	7	20	1	IA>ILE>BE
	Equal	NA	22.2	4	10	1	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
5.	Lower	Direct No	58.3	7	60	9	66	12	BE>ILE>IA
	Higher	Direct No	25	3	13.3	2	11	2	IA>ILE=BE
	Equal	Direct No	41.6	5	26.6	4	22	4	IA>ILE=BE
6.	Lower	regret/apology	64.7	11	69.2	9	70	7	IA>ILE>BE
	Higher	regret/apology	5.8	1	15.3	2	20	2	ILE=BE>IA
	Equal	regret/apology	29.4	5	15.3	2	10	1	IA>ILE>BE
7.	Lower	Invoking the name of God	72.7	16	81.8	9	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	Higher	Invoking the name of God	13.6	3	18.1	2	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	Equal	Invoking the name of God	13.6	3	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE

As for NA, the range of difference in the frequency between higher and lower status requester/offerer was 6 instances for IAs (33.3%). In their refusals to requests/offers, ILEs and BEs were also conscious of higher versus lower status. Thus, the range of difference in the frequency of NA formulae between higher and lower status requester/offerer was 5 instances (50%) for ILEs and 3 instances 60% for BEs.

Regarding Invoking the name of God that was only featured in IAs and ILEs, they both increased its frequency when refusing a higher social status requester/offerer by 13 instances (59.1%) in IAs and 7 instances (63.7%) in ILEs. Furthermore, the three groups increased their use of Regret/Apology when refusing the request/offer of a high status

person over one of a lower status. Moreover, the informants in the Iraqi groups displayed a noticeable variation in the frequency of applications of Avoidance between higher versus lower status requester/offerer. The range of difference in the frequency of this strategy was 7 instances (58.3%) in IAs, 4 instances (40%) in ILEs, while it was only 1 instance (11.1%) in BEs.

Overall, all subjects appeared to be conscious of social status in their use of refusal strategies. They increased the frequency of refusals when declining higher social status requester/offerer and decrease the frequency with lower social status requester/offerer.

7.2.2 Social distance

Subjects from the three groups also reacted differently in relation to social distance. BEs, however, were less sensitive to social distance than the other two groups.

The range of difference in the frequency of SIE between higher and lower distance requester/offerer was 8 instances (42.1%) in IAs and 8 instances (47.1%) in ILEs, whereas it was only 2 instances (5.8%) between more and less distant requester/offerer in BEs

The range of difference in the frequency of Request for Information was 9 instances for IAs (100%), 3 instances for ILEs (37.5%) while it was only 1 instance for BEs (14.3%). (see table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Role Plays by distance

Social distance		Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
1.	Low	SIE	21	4	11.7	2	29.4	10	BE>IA>ILE
	High	SIE	63.1	12	58.8	10	35.2	12	IA=BE>ILE

	Acquainted	SIE	15.7	3	29.4	5	35.2	12	BE>ILE>IA
2.	Low	Request for Information	0	0	12.5	1	42.8	3	BE>ILE>IA
	High	Request for Information	90	9	50	4	57.1	4	IA>ILE=BE
	Acquainted	Request for Information	10	1	37.5	3	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
3.	Low	Avoidance	8.3	1	10	1	44.4	4	BE>IA=ILE
	High	Avoidance	75	9	60	6	55.5	5	IA>ILE>BE
	Acquainted	Avoidance	16.6	2	30	3	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
4.	Low	NA	55.5	10	50	5	50	5	IA>ILE=BE
	High	NA	22.2	4	30	3	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	Acquainted	NA	22.2	4	20	2	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
5.	Low	regret/apology	17.6	3	0	0	40	4	BE>IA>ILE
	High	regret/apology	70.5	12	53.8	7	50	5	IA>ILE>BE
	Acquainted	regret/apology	11.7	2	46.1	6	10	1	ILE>IA>BE
6.	Low	Invoking the name of God	27.2	6	27.2	3	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	High	Invoking the name of God	63.6	14	45.4	5	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	Acquainted	Invoking the name of God	9	2	27.2	3	0	0	ILE>IA>BE

The range of difference in the frequency of Avoidance between low and high distance requester/offerer was 8 instances (66.7%) in IAs, while it was 5 instances (50%) in ILEs. The range of difference, however, was not noticeable in BEs (only one instance).

As for Adjuncts, IAs and ILEs were also sensitive to the requester's/offerer's social distance. The range of difference in the frequency of Regret/Apology between high and low distant requester was 9 instances (58.98%) in IAs, 7 instance 53.8% in ILEs, and 1 instance (10%) in BEs.

Regarding Invoking the name of God, IAs increased the frequency when the social distance was also high (8 instances; 36.4%) while the range of difference was only two instances (18.2%) in ILEs. This Adjunct, however, did not appear in BEs' data.

In summary, IAs and ILEs demonstrated sensitivity to social distance as they increased the frequency of refusals in high social distance requests/offers. BEs, however, demonstrated less awareness of social distance. Although they increased the frequency of refusals when the social distance was high, the range of difference was not observable.

7.2.3 Gender

In the Role Plays interaction, the conversations were performed by interlocutors of same and opposite genders. The data show that in the three groups of informants, refusers from all gender dyads employ fewer direct formulae and more indirect (table 7.6). Male refusers in IAs and ILEs, however, utilised about twice as many indirect formulae when refusing female requesters/offers (38-15 instances in the former and 42-21 instances in the latter). No such remarkable difference was observed in male or female BEs' refusers (female-male 41 instances, and male-female 38 instances). As regards to Iraqi same gender refusers, Females employ more indirect strategies when refusing requests/offers from other females as compared to male-male interaction. In contrast, it is observed that males were more indirect in their responses to males, while females tend towards less indirect tactics in British group. No obvious pattern was observed regarding the direct refusals.

Table 7.6: Frequency of semantic formulae in the Role Plays by Gender

Gender (requester/ offerer- refuser)	IAs			ILEs			BEs		
	Frequency of Semantic formulae			Frequency of Semantic formulae			Frequency of Semantic formulae		
	Direct	Indirect	Adjunct	Direct	Indirect	Adjunct	Direct	Indirect	Adjunct
Female- Female	7	43	11	11	36	23	6	15	3
Male- Male	8	23	16	7	26	9	5	26	8
Female- Male	12	38	15	9	42	12	3	41	1
Male- Female	6	15	4	5	21	12	5	38	12

As regards to the Adjuncts, ILEs employed the highest number of adjuncts amongst the three groups (23 tokens). In addition, ILEs were the most apologetic group.

To conclude, the informants from the three groups tend towards indirectness in their refusals. The findings also elucidate that Iraqi male interlocutors tend to refuse more indirectly when they interact with someone of the opposite gender. The same findings were observed in the DCT (for both refusal to requests and offers). This pattern, however, was not observed in the third group. Women, in general, in the three groups refuse more carefully than men. They show their empathy to the requesters/offerers by apologising or asking for more information about the request/offer in order to demonstrate their participation in the conversation and to show their concern about the request/offer.

13. R1. Yea but but it is difficult. Changing the life of the family is not easy, I think you understand my position. I am so sorry. (F4, ILE)

7.3 Length of Responses by Degree of Imposition

The analyses of Role Plays showed an effect of the degree of imposition on the use of refusal strategies in this study. It was found that the length of refusal responses was, to a certain extent, affected by the rank of imposition implied in the Role Plays scenarios. Table 7.7 demonstrates clearly the variations of responses in relation to degrees of impositions. 3 situations are of high degree of imposition, 3 of medium degree of imposition, and 3 of low degree of imposition.

Table 7.7: Strategy used by imposition in Role Plays

Situation No.	Situation Index	Degree of imposition
1	offer of promotion and pay rise but involves relocation	High
2	a request to attend a party	High
3	a requests to work two extra hours	medium
4	a request to borrow the lecture notes	medium
5	an offer for a dessert	Low
6	a request to borrow a laptop	High
7	an offer to pay the value of a broken statuette	Low
8	a request to fix your sibling's computer	medium
9	a request to write a reference letter	Low

In situations of high-degree of imposition, i.e., situation 1 (an offer and request to relocate), situation 2 (attending a party), and situation 6 (borrowing a laptop) the respondents were more lengthy and verbose in their refusals (see also table 7.8).

14. R 1. شكر بس والله اسفه انا اتمنى اقبل طلبج بس تعرفين بغداد خطرته وانا زوجي هنا يشتغل بمحافظة ميسان. لازم احبك وباه.

šukren bes walla 'āsf-ah 'ana 'a-tmēna 'a-qbel ṭēleb-č bes
 thank but by god sorry-1S.F I 1S-wish 1S-accept request-2S.F but
 't-'urf īn baġdād ḥeṭreh w 'ana zewj-i 'hna y- štuġul
 2S.F-know Baghdad dangerous and I husband-1S here 3S.M-work
 b-muḥfaḍet mīsān lazim 'ček wi-āh
 in-province Misan must check with-3S.M

'Thank you but by God, I am sorry, I wish I could accept your request but you know that Baghdad is dangerous and my husband works here in Misan province by God I need to check with him'. (F1, IA)

15. R2. Surely you understand I mean you are a professor erm you understand if students have homework I've just got mountains and and a part time job. I just I really can't I really sorry it does sound like lots of fun I am sure that will be someone else that could go. (F3, BE)

The frequency counts as displayed in table (7.8) show that the three groups used considerably more strategies of refusals in high and medium imposition situations than in the low imposition situations (see also table 7.1 for the total number of refusals strategies).

Table 7.8: Frequency of number of strategies of refusals by imposition in Role Plays.

Imposition	IA		ILE		BE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
High-imposition	74	44.3	62	45.9	49	42.6
Medium-imposition	58	34.7	42	31.1	39	33.9
Low-imposition	35	20.9	31	22.9	27	23.4
Total	167	99.9	135	99.9	115	99.9

Refusers might find large offers/requests as face-threatening acts to them and to offerers/requesters regardless of the other contextual determinants. When the offer/request is heavy, they usually avoid using direct strategies, such as Negated Ability *I can't*. Instead, they use more indirect tactics to reject the offer to avoid embarrassing the addressee and to save themselves the trouble of carrying out such offers/requests:

16. R1. انقل لي بغداد

'a-niqil l- baġdād

1S-move to-Baghdad

'Move to Baghdad?' (F1, IA)

17. R2. Tomorrow? I do not know, not sure let me ask my father if it is ok for him to go to the party. You know he is my father so you understand me. (F5, ILE)

18. R6. This weekend I can lend you my computer. (M7, BE)

In situations of medium-degree of imposition, i.e., Situation 3 (a requests to work two extra hours), situation 4 (a request to borrow the lecture notes), and situation 8 (a request to fix your sibling's computer) IAs' and BEs' responses were more verbose than ILEs'. The latter group's responses usually consists of Chiding or Request for Information.

19. R3. شوف والله اليوم امي كلش مريضه وبالمستشفى. اقصد تريدني ابقى حوالي نص ساعه؟ او اقدر اشتغل وقت اضافي بغير يوم؟

šūf wala il-yōm 'um-i kiliš merīd-a w b-il-mustešfa 'a-qšid

look by god Def-today mother-1S very sick-3S.F and in-DEF-hospital 1S-mean 3S

i-trīd-ni 'a-bqa ḥawali nuš sā'a 'w 'a-gdar 'a-štugil waqit 'dafī b-ġer yum

want1S 1S-stay about half hour or 1S-able 1S-work time extra in-another day

'Look, by God my mum is very sick and she is in the hospital. I mean do you want me to stay for about half an hour? or Can I work extra hours another day? (F2, IA)

20. R4. مع الاسف دفتر الملاحظات بالبيت نسيت احبيه

m' il-'saf daftar il-mulaḥaḍ-āt b-il-bayat nisiət 'jīb-a

with DEF-sorry copybook DEF-note-PL in-DEF-house forgot bring-3S

'Unfortunately, my notebook is at home, I forgot to bring it' (M4, IA)

21. R6. But where I mean how about yours? (F5, ILE)
22. R4. Do you mean the lecture notes of Biology? (F4, ILE)
23. R8 erm well i helped you before when i fixed your computer. Why don't you have ago at fixing it yourself? (M7, BE)
24. R8.I am going out in a minute she is nearly ready we are going to a party we have to get there for a certain time. (F8, BE)

Short statements of refusals were observed to be utilised in situations of low degree of imposition such as situation 5 (an offer for a dessert), situation 7 (an offer to pay the statuette value), and situation 9 (writing a recommendation letter)³⁰.

25. R.7. لا تقلق

la t-iqlaq

NEG 2S-worry

'Do not worry'

26. R.7 thanks, I am fine.
27. R5. No, I can't eat anymore. (M4, ILE)
28. R7. It is fine, to err is human. (M6, BE)

Data obtained in these interactions were less elaborated than in those data found in the other six situations. In other words, the higher the imposition of the offer/request, the longer response the speakers performed.

Furthermore, in low imposition situations, participants used more direct strategies with the friend in situation 5 (an offer for a dessert), an employee in situation 7 (an offer to pay the statuette value), and with a student in situation 9 (a request for a recommendation letter) when the rank of the imposition was low.

29. R5 شبعت ما اقدر كلش تكدر تخليها للجهاال

šibe'it mā `gdar kiliš t-' gda t-ḥelī-ha l-il-jahāl

³⁰ I have ranked situation 9 (writing a recommendation letter) as low because I deem it to be part of the teacher's job.

full NEG-able very 2S.M-able 2S.M-leave-3S for-DEF-children

'I am so full I can't. You can keep it for the children' (F6, IA)

30. R7. I am busy now, I can't (F6, ILE)

31. R5. Oh gosh I can't eat anything erm am (F4, BE)

Informants tend to use many face-saving manoeuvres if the request/offer is costly to addressee although they would not eventually perform the acts. An IA female informant in Situation 3 (working two extra hours) responded.

32. R3 شوف والله امي كلش مريضه وبالمستشفى

šūf wala 'um-i kiliš marīd-a w b-il- mustašfa

look by god mum-1S very sick-2S.F and in-DEF-hospital

'Look, by God my mum is very sick and she is in the hospital. (F2, IA)

This '[made-up excuse] would make the refusal sound politer [...] and easier to be sympathetic with' (Nhung, 2014:12). This shows that her reason for delaying making a direct refusal is that she does not want her refusal to cause negative effects in the interaction.

Such variations in responses may suggest the participants' awareness of the differing imposition situations.

In general, although there are numerous ways of expressing refusals in the Role Plays, many of the strategies are situation-specific, and the speaker's choice of expression is thus limited. For instance, in situation number 7 where a cleaner breaks the boss's statuette, Let Off the Hook such as *do not worry, never mind, It is not a big problem* was the most frequently employed strategy by each of the three groups in an attempt to avoid any embarrassment and to save the cleaner's face. Request for Information was more frequently used by IAs and ILEs in situation 4 where they were asked to refuse to lend lecture notes to a classmate. This is an indirect refusal that enables the requester to draw a conclusion that the request/offer cannot be fulfilled.

33. R4. يا ملاحظات؟

ya mulahed-at

which note-PL

Which lecture notes? (F3, IA)

34. R4. Do you mean the lecture notes of Biology? (M4, ILE)

Statement of Impeding Event, on the other hand, was used more commonly in the first three situations of this study by each of the three groups, and continued to be the most common tactic adopted to refuse high status requesters/offers. Generally speaking, being more polite to others can help the speaker to avoid straightforward expressions of refusal, and to proffer instead implied refusal by stating the reason(s). Thus, the use of more excuses/reasons by the three groups indicates that Iraqis and British share some important features in the realisation patterns of refusal. They both tend to be more aware of the manner in which they refuse. In other words, in an effort to avoid disappointing their interlocutors, they provide a variety of reasons in order to provide a rationale for the refusal.

Males and females in the three groups tend towards indirectness in their refusals. Iraqi male interlocutors tend to refuse more indirectly when they interact with someone of the opposite gender. This pattern, however, was not observed in the BE group (7.2.3).

It is clear that the informants avoided behaving very directly with high status offerers/requesters (section 7.2.1) and to situations of high degree of imposition (section 7.3) and consequently they tended to be more indirect in their refusals in these situations. In addition, an explanation of the high frequency of occurrence of direct refusals in the data of the three groups in refusing low status interlocutors with low imposition request/offer is that they might not feel the necessity to save face in their refusals to socially low requesters/offers. Further, it appears that social distance also influences the choices of the types of refusals, as was observed very clearly in the last three RPs.

Often the interactions extend to long sequences with lots of face-saving manoeuvres. The refuser refuses pleasantly and lengthily. However, the requester/offers does not give up easily, and continues to ask the refuser to comply with the request. The refuser, in turn, reiterates their rejection, expecting that the requester/offers will understand it this time and concede. As they repeat this exchange, the refuser's expression of refusal becomes

clearer and clearer in order to make the requester/offerer more aware of the refuser's rejection. As a consequence, the refuser reveals their negative attitude gradually. Thus, it has been demonstrated, through this study, that conversations not only have the function of communication, but also have the purpose of maintaining interpersonal and social harmony. The interaction below is between two ILEs in situation number 1 where refuser attempts to refuse a request (high imposition) from her boss who offers her a promotion and pay rise but it involves relocating in another city, Baghdad.

35. R. 1.

1. A. Al Salam Alyakum (peace be upon you) Ameera

2. B. walilaykum Al salam (peace be upon you)

3. A. Ameera, if your boss asks you for something, will you do it?

4. B. yes, of course, but but what is that thing?

5. A. Ameera I want you to go to Baghdad and work there and I will pay you a good salary.

6. B. Ok, but Baghdad is dangerous, you know and

7. A. Yes I know but they need you there.

8. B. I really do not know if my family will accept this suggestion

9. A. You will be safe there, I think, it is a safe area.

10. B. yea, but but it is difficult. Changing the life of the family is not easy; I think you understand my position. I am so sorry.

11. A. Yea I understand

B. and by God my mum is old and sick and I take care of her.

12. A. ok, ok, ok

13. B. sorry, I like to but you know I need to consult my family.

14. A. Do not worry

15. B. ok, bye sir.

(F4, ILE)

In the excerpt above, the refuser B quite often displays a negative attitude indirectly. Firstly, she indicates that she has no interest in accepting the request by SIE explaining that Baghdad is a dangerous city. She also demonstrates her negative attitude in that she has to consult her family by using 'Putting the Blame on a Third Party' strategy.

Even after she shows her negative attitude towards the offer, the offerer does not concede, and he persists in asking her to accept it explaining that she will be safe there. In response, B diverts to an Avoidance refusal and Request for understanding so that she can reframe the situation. She concludes the conversation with a SIE explaining that her mum's health condition is an obstacle. Finally resorting to consulting her family again with an apology might convince her boss that she would not be able to accept the offer.

In brief, interlocutors often use indirect and lengthy responses to reject refusers of high social status and to situation of high degree of imposition as illustrated in the conversation above.

7.4 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis in this section investigates the content of the semantic formulae used in Role Play scenarios, specifically; samples of the interactions from both the native-speaker and the learner data will be qualitatively analysed and compared. Individual differences among the participants will also be examined. The focus of the analysis was on the content and organisation of the interactions, which can lead to a better understanding of the structure of refusals at the level of discourse as well as the kind of negotiation involved in realising refusals. The relationship between pragmatic transfer and individual difference will also be highlighted.

Then, the content of the excuses and the reasons given by the participants for their refusals will be examined. This is particularly important and can reveal interesting differences among the groups and can shed light on the extent of pragmatic transfer.

7.4.1 Discourse Analysis of Selected Interactions

This section presents an in-depth discourse analysis of selected interactions. The discourse analysis goes beyond the frequency counts of strategies presented in the quantitative analysis section to analyse the interaction at the level of discourse and examine how refusals are structured, and how they are recycled over a number of turns. The analysis also aims to examine how native speakers and learners attend to their interlocutor's face through the use of various direct and indirect strategies. This section complements the quantitative analysis section in answering some questions by looking at characteristic differences among the three groups of participants. The analysis also focuses on differences between ILE groups and IAs. It also examines patterns used by the ILE and the IA group to explore common discourse-level characteristics of refusal that could be due to transfer from L1. The first subsection deals with strategy selection and it examines the use of two strategies: Avoidance and Chiding/Criticism in RP4 and how ILEs and IAs strategically used these strategies in their interactions. This subsection focuses on pragmatic transfer by providing examples of discourse-level pragmatic transfer from L1. The second subsection examines individual differences among the participants by providing an in-depth discourse analysis of the interactions of the three groups of students. This analysis aims to show how individual differences and pragmatic transfer from L1 can affect how ILE realise refusals in English.

7.4.1.1 Strategy Selection

The interactions selected for analysis in this section come from RP4 in which participants were asked to refuse a classmate's request to borrow the participant's lecture notes. The quantitative analysis showed that ILEs produced the highest percentage of Direct strategies as well as a high percentage of the strategy Chiding/Criticism. Participants from the BE group also produced a high percentage of Direct strategies and frequently used the Chiding/Criticism strategy. The IA group, on the other hand, frequently used Avoidance and rarely used the Chiding/Criticism strategy. In this section an in-depth analysis of how these strategies were strategically used by participants from each of these three groups in their interactions. This section provides examples of discourse-level pragmatic transfer and it also reveals interesting cultural differences between Iraqis and British informants.

This section starts with the following interaction from RP4 by one of the ILEs, Yousif. This Role Play starts with a brief greeting which is followed by the request (turn 3), and Yousif's response (turn 4).

36. R4.

1. A. Yousif, How are you?

2. B. I am good

3. A. That's good, Ok, Yousif I need your help in something. I need the lecture notes because I did not attend yesterday.

4. B. Do you mean the lecture notes of Biology?

5. A. Yes, I have a family problem so...

6. B. no, I can't, sorry

7. A. Why, Yousif you know we have an exam

8. B. no, I mean I always attend but you do not come to class.

9. A. You know I have a special situation, I mean circumstances

10. B. What is the problem, with your dad again?

11. A. Yes, you know my dad left his job and

12. B. I mean this is impossible, sorry

13. A. I meant only for one day?

14. B. Oh no no no

15. A. not even for one or two hours maybe?

16. B. sorry, I can't

17. A. Ok. Yousif I may ask Ahmed or Salma

18. B. yes, it is better to ask them.

19. A. thank you Yousif

20. B. OK

(M3, ILE)

The response is a Request for Information/Clarification, which is used to delay the refusal in the interaction so that the participant would have enough time to plan for the refusal (See 4.2.10). However, when the interlocutor provided the information (turn 5), Yousif responded with two direct refusals, Direct No, and Negated ability (turn 6), and these strategies were followed by a Statement of Regret to mitigate the illocutionary force of the Direct Refusal. The Statement of Regret was actually one of the most frequently used strategies by the three groups. When a second attempt was made at the request (turn 7), Yousif responded with the Indirect refusal strategy of Chiding/Criticism (turn 8). This strategy was, in fact, frequently used by the three groups in this situation. Yousif makes use of the Indirect strategy of Request for Information/Clarification strategy a second time (turn 10) by asking about the nature of the problem and confirming that it had to do with the interlocutor's family. He is still, however, insistent on the refusal and he responds by using Direct refusal strategies in the following three turns, and rejecting any compromises (turns 12, 14, and 16). Yousif, however, uses the Negated ability and Statement of Regret again in turns 12 and 16 as he did in turn earlier in his initial insistence to refusal (turn 6). In turn 14, however, Yousif expresses his strongest refusal by using the Direct No strategy three times without any mitigation. In fact, the Direct No strategy was used more frequently by IAs and ILEs than by BEs in this RP.

It is interesting here to notice that this student started his refusal (turn 4) by using an Indirect strategy, Request for Information/Clarification. However, he repeatedly used and recycled Direct refusal strategies over a number of turns in the following turns. It is also important to notice that he did not give the interlocutor any opportunities for negotiation by using alternatives, for example. It will be interesting to compare this interaction to an interaction from BEs data and see if some of these discourse-level patterns can be found in the BEs data as well.

Drawing a comparison between Yousif's interaction, above, and the interaction below from the BE data, would reveal interesting similarities between the two participants. In this interaction, we see that B's initial response to her interlocutor's request is a Direct refusal strategy: Negated Ability (line 2).

37. R.4

1. A. So, again, I really appreciate all the help you've given me in the past. Erm, I was hoping I could get your lecture notes from this these past couple of weeks.
2. B. Erm, yeah, I can't. I need them to be honest.
3. A. I mean, obviously, I'm not going to be copying anything word for word. I won't I won't photocopy your notes. I just would really like them to fill in the pieces of
4. B. Yeah, I know, you really haven't been to class, and I put a lot of time in taking down the notes and
5. A Well, I've been I've had a lot. I've kind of been a mess lately. hhh, my girlfriend broke up with me, so I've really, erm, I've been late; I've been sleeping late. It's really just messed up my schedule. erm, so maybe, this one time, hh, you've helped me in the past and your notes are incredible. They're always really great. erm, really kind of supplement all of; you know, the notes that I have taken, so
6. B. Yeah, I know. I I feel bad saying no, but it's i don't really feel like i should this time.
7. A. is there any way you can help me out > just this one time>?
8. B. NO. NO.
9. A. <This will be the last<.
10. B I'm sorry I need them.
11. A. Okay. But, Okay. Thanks. Thank you very much anyways. Good luck on the exam.
12. B Thanks. You too. (F3: BE)

When the interlocutor assures her that he will not copy anything word for word or photocopy her notes but just use them to fill in the missing pieces (turn 3), B uses the strategy of Chiding/Criticism (turn 4) reminding the interlocutor that he does not come to class regularly and implying that his request is not fair since she puts a lot of time in taking the notes. Again this strategy was used 4 times by BEs in this Role Play. Although B uses a Statement of Empathy *I feel bad* to mitigate the illocutionary force of her refusal, she still asserts her refusal in the same turn by using two Direct refusal strategies (turn 6). When

the interlocutor makes two more attempts at recycling his request (turns 7 and 9), B responds with the most direct of the Direct refusal strategies: Direct No (turn 8) and she does not use any mitigation strategies in those turns. However, she uses a SIE (turn 10), and as mentioned above this strategy was frequently used by the BE participants and it was often used either before or after a Direct refusal.

It is important to notice the similarities between this interaction and ex. 36 above. It seems that for both participants persistence on the part of the requester triggers the use of more Direct refusal strategies. While the two participants used Indirect strategies and Adjuncts, they tended to assert their refusals using the Direct strategies rather than Indirect ones. This was in fact characteristic of the interaction for the two participants.

However, it is important to point out that while some BEs used Indirect strategies, the majority preferred Direct strategies, especially in their later responses of the interaction. While this interaction above does not represent the strategies used by all the BEs, it still shows many of the patterns preferred by the BE participants such as the use of Indirect strategies as an initial refusal as well as the preference of Direct strategies in the face of insistence on the part of the interlocutor.

The patterns exhibited by Iraqi participants in this Role Play were different from those followed by the BEs in a number of respects. First, it is important to point out that while none of the BE participant in all three groups agreed to give the interlocutors her notes, one IA participants actually agreed to lend the notes to the interlocutor (see Role Play 4, section 7.4.2). The IA participants also used the lowest percentage of Direct strategies and the highest percentage of Indirect strategies in this Role Play. With regard to aggravating strategies such as Chiding/Criticism, they were used by two participants only in IAs group. What is interesting also is that the Iraqis frequently used the strategy Avoidance, which was the second most frequently used Indirect strategy by the IAs and ILEs in this Role Play (with the first being SIE). However, it was used by one participant in the three BEs groups in this Role Play. In the Avoidance strategy the speaker attempts to avoid the refusal by providing vague and open-ended replies, and by conveying to the interlocutor an attitude of someone who is very willing to help but might not be able to due to circumstances that are out of their control. The following interaction from IAs data illustrates how Avoidance strategy was used by the IA participants. It also shows how Indirect refusals were preferred and how they were used and recycled in the interaction. After greeting this participant, Noor, the interlocutor makes the request of borrowing her

lecture notes (turns 3 to 5) and the participant replies with an excuse that she does not have the notes in her possession at this very moment, and that she left them at home (turn 6).

38. R.4

1. A. هلو نور شلونج

həlaw nūr 'šlōnič

hello nōr how are you.2SG.F

'hello Noor, how are you?'

2. B. زينه, انت شلونك

ziən-a 'nt-a 'šlōn-ak

good-1SG.F you-2SG.M how are you-2SG.M

'good, how are you?'

3.A. زين شكرا, نور ردت مساعدتج, تعرفين الاستاذ غال راح يكون امتحان الاسبوع الجاي وردت استعير ملاحظاتج
فد يوم هيچ.

ziən šukren nūr ridi-t musa'adt-ič t'urfī-n 'l- 'stād gāl rāḥ 'ikūn

good thanks noor need-1SG help-2SG.F know-2SG.F DEF-prof said will be

'mtiḥān 'l-'sbū' 'l-jāi w ridit 'sti'ir mūlāḥd-āti-č fed yōm

exam DEF-week DEF-next and need borrow note-PL-2SG.F a day

'Fine, thanks. Noor, I wanted your help, you know, the professor said there will be an exam next week and I wanted to borrow your notes just for a day or so'.

4.B. مع الاسف دفتر الملاحظات بالبيت نسيت اجيبه

ma' il-'sāf daftar il-mūlāḥd-āt b-il-bīət nisīə-t 'jībeh

with DEF-sorry copybook DEF-note-PL in-DEF-house forget-1SG bring

'Unfortunately, my notebook is at home, I forgot to bring it'.

5.A. اوڪي اڱدر احصله منچ باچر؟

'ōkei 'a-qdār 'ḥaṣleh mini-č bāčir

ok 1SG-able 1SG-get from-2SG.F tomorrow

'OK, can I get it from you tomorrow, maybe?'

6. B. باچر لا , بصراحه راح اسافر للبصره وما راح ارجع للجامعه

bāčir lā b-ṣarāḥ rāḥ 'sāfir l-il-bāṣrah w mā rāḥ

tomorrow no with-frank will 1SG-travel to-DEF-Basra and NEG-will 1SG

'-rja' l-il-jāmi'ah

come to-DEF-university

'tomorrow no, honestly I have to travel to Basra so I will not be coming to the university'.

7. A. اوڪي بلڪي من ترجعين او؟ اقصد يعني اقصد قبل الامتحان

'okei belki min tirij'-īn 'u 'qṣid ye'ni 'qṣid qabil

ok maybe when come-2SG.F or 1SG-mean like 1SG-mean before DEF-

'l-'mitihān

exam

'Ok, maybe when you get back or? I mean, like, I mean if it would be before the exam'.

8. B. بس راح اكون محتاجتهن , اسفه لا تزعل مني

bes rāḥ 'kūn miḥtājeth-in 'āsf-eh lā t-iz'el min-i
 but will be need-PL sorry-SG.F no 2SG-upset from-1SG

'but I will be needing them, sorry, don't be upset with me'.

9.A. لا لا مو مشكله

lā lā mū mūškila

no no NEG problem

'no, no, no problem'

10. B. ما راح اقدر استغني عنهم قبل الامتحان. راح ادرس بيهم فما راح...

mā rāḥ 'gdar 'stegni 'en-hum qebil 'l-'mtihān rāḥ rāḥ 'dris

NEG will 1SG-able 1SG-dispense about-PL before DEF-exam will will 1SG- study

b-ṭhum fe mā rāḥ

with-them so NEG will

'I will not be able to dispense with them before the exam, I will be I will be

Studying by them, so I will not...'

11. A. طبعا طبعا او كي بس اذا اخذهن لمدة هيچ ساعتين او ثلاثه بس القى نظره عليهن تعرف للامتحان الجاي.

ṭeb'en ṭeb'en 'okei bes 'da 'ā-ḥiḍhin l-mudet hīč sā't-iān 'u

of course of course ok but if 1SG-take for-time like hour-PL or

'tlāṭeh bes 'lqi neḍrah 'liəh-in l-il-'mtihān 'l-jaī

three only 1SG-take look on-them for-DEF-exam DEF-next

'Of course, of course, OK, so if I take them for two or three hours or something,

just so that I would just have a look at them, you know, this upcoming exam'.

12. B. اقصد ان شاء الله نشوف

'-qsid 'n šā' 'lāh 'n-šūf

1SG-mean if will God 1PL-see

'I mean, hopefully [God willing], we'll see'

13. A. يعني اقدر احجي وياچ مره ثانيه من ترجعين من البصره او؟

ya'ni 'gdar 'ħči wiā-č mara min ti-rij'īn mi il-

mean 1SG-able 1SG-speak with-2SG.F again when 2SG.F.come from DEF-

bašrah 'au

basra or

'So, shall I talk to you again, like, when you get back from Basra, or?'

14. B. اقصد نشوف من نلتقي تگدر تذکرنی

'-qsid 'n-šūf min n-iltiqi ti-gdar 't-ḏekirn-i

1SG-mean 1PL-see when 1PL-meet 2SG-able 2SG-remind-1SG

'I mean, we'll see, when we meet you can remind me'.

15. A. اوکي من نلتقي المره الجايه راح انکرج

'okei min n-iltiqi 'l-mara 'l-jaiā rāḥ 'ḏekr-ak

ok when 1PL-meet DEF-time DEF-next will remind-2SG.M

'OK, when we meet next time I will remind you?'

16. B. ان شاء الله

'n šā' 'lāh

if will God

'God willing'

17. A. اكي تڭدرين تشوفين الوقت يناسب , اقصد من نلتقي مره ثانيه شوفي اذا يناسب او لا

'kīd 'okei t-gidrīn t-šufīn 'l-waqit li-'ināsb-ič 'qšid min

sure ok 2SG.f-able 2SG-see DEF-time DEF-suitable-2SG.F 1SG.mean when

n-iltiqi t̄ānia šuf-ī 'da 'ināsb-ič 'w la

1PL-meet again see-2SG.F if suite-2SG.f or no

'Sure, OK, you can see your suitable time, I mean, when we meet next time you

will see if this will convenient or not'.

18. B. اوكي اوكي خلي نعوفها للظروف

'okei 'okei ḥeli 'n-'uf-ha l-il-ḍur-ūf

ok ok let 1PL-leave-3SG to-DEF-condition-PL

'OK, OK, I mean, let's leave it to the circumstances'.

19. A. عوفيه للظروف , اكي اكي. اوكي نور انا ما اريد اتعيج. انتي ساعدتيني قبل وچنتي ممتازه اكي وتكتبن ... ملاحظات كلش زينه , لهذا السبب اقصد واحد يجب يستعير ملاحظاتي , بس ...

'-ufīha l-il-ḍirūf 'kīd 'kīd 'okei nūr 'ana mā 'rīd

2SG.f-leave to-DEF-condition sure sure ok noor I NEG 1SG-want

'te'bi-č 'nt-I help-1SG before and were-2SG.f mumtāz-ah 'kīd w

tire-2G.F you-2SG.f s̄a'adt̄in-i qabil w čint-i excellent sure and
 tktb-īn mulāḥḍ-āt kiliš ziəna l- haḍa 'l-sabab 'qšid waḥid y-ḥib
 write-2SG.f note-PL very good for-this DEF-reason mean one 3SG-love
 y-sti'ir mulāḥḍ-āt-ič bes
 3SG-borrow note-PL-2SG.F but

'Leave it to the circumstances, sure, sure, Ok, Noor. I do not want to trouble you. You helped me before and you just, you are excellent of course and you write good notes, because of that I I mean one like to borrow the notes from you but...'

20. B. اكيد اي , اقصد انا احب اساعدك بس هليومين انا شويه مشغول لذلك ما راح اقدر انطي ملاحظاتي

'kīd 'ī '-qšid 'ana '-ḥib '-sā'd-ek bes hel-yom-iən 'ana '
 sure yes 1SG-mean I 1SG-like 1SG-help but these-day-dual I
 šweih mešgūl liḍālik ma rāḥ '-gdar '-nṭi mulāḥṭ-āt-i
 little busy so NEG will 1SG-able 1SG-give note-PL-
 1SG

'sure, yes, I mean, I'd love to help you, but these couple of days I am a little busy so
 I will not be able to give away my notes'.

21. A. شكرا ماكو مشكله نهائيا ماكو مشكله. من تصير عندي فرصه احجي وياچ من ترجعين ان شاء الله

šukren maku muškila nihā'ien maku muškila min tšir 'ind-i
 thank no problem at all no problem when become have-1SG
 furša 'ḥči wia-č min trij'-īn 'n šā' 'lāh
 chance talk with-2SG.F when go-2SG.F if will God

'thanks, no problem at all, no problem, if I got a chance I will talk to you when you

get back, God willing'.

22.B. ان شاء الله

'n šā' lāh

if will God

'God willing'.

(M3, IA)

When the interlocutor suggests that he could get the notes from her the following day, the participant uses another excuse that she would be traveling to Basra the following day (turn 8). It is important to remind the reader that the SIE strategy was the most frequently used strategy by the IAs in this RP. The participant's second reason was also interesting in that she used the expression *have to* to signify that she is under some external obligation to do it (i.e., traveling to Basra). When the interlocutor persists again, recycling his request for the third time (turn 7) suggesting that she could give him the notes after she returns from Basra, the participant expresses refusal using another Excuse/Reason and using another Indirect strategies: St. of Empathy/Concern in addition to Regret/Apology (turn 8). She also followed this with further explanation of her reasons that she would need to study the notes before the exam.

The interlocutor has not yet given up at this time and recycles his request for the fourth time suggesting that he would take the notes from her for a couple of hours or so (turn 11). In a situation like this, where the request is recycled for the third or fourth time, BE and ILE participants would normally respond by asserting their refusal using a Direct refusal (c.f. ex. 36, turns 6 and 8, and ex. 37, turns 6 and 8). The IA participant, however, in response to persistence on the part of her interlocutor, uses the Avoidance strategy as a face-saving move in order to help the interlocutor save face and avoid embarrassment. She responds by saying *we'll see* and making reference to God using an expression similar to *God willing* (turns 15 and 17). However, the participant is still not satisfied with the answer because he wants a specific date and time or a more serious commitment from the participant. So, he checks with the participant again if he can contact her after she comes back from Basra (turn 14). The participant yet again uses another Avoidance reply strategy

and tries to be non-committal: *we'll see, when we meet you can remind me* (turn 15). In the following turns the interlocutor repeats confirmation checks to make sure that the participant was serious about helping him and the participant responds to both of them with Avoidance, again using expressions such as *God willing* and *let's leave it to the circumstances* (turns 17 and 19).

However, in his attempt to get a more serious commitment from B, the interlocutor says that he is counting on her for the lecture notes, and reminds her that she helped him in the past and that he appreciates her help, and that she writes good notes etc. At this point the participant finally decides to use a Direct refusal strategy, she prefaces it, however, with Statement of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement *I'd love to help you*, and SIE *I am a little busy* and then the Direct refusal *I will not be able to give away my notes* (turn 21). At this point it becomes clear to the interlocutor that the participant is not willing to help him and expresses understanding of her position (turn 21). However, the interesting point here is that when the interlocutor says he may give her a call when she gets back from Basra (turn 21), the participant responds by saying *God willing* implying that the participant may do so. She did not assert her refusal again at this time. It seems that she already feels that her interlocutor 'got the message' and he understands that she will not be able to help but she is just trying to save his face.

As can be observed from this interaction and the previous two, there are differences between the British and Iraqi participants with regard to how they realise their refusals in these interactions. While the British participants are more concerned with getting their message across, the Iraqi participants are more concerned with saving their interlocutor's face at the expense of the clarity of their message.

7.4.1.2 Individual Differences

Individual differences among the participants are being examined since, as explained above, they seem to be particularly important in accounting for differences in how refusal is realised. The relationship between pragmatic transfer and individual differences will also be investigated. In this section individual differences between two ILEs in how they realise the refusal in RP3 are examined. The reader is reminded that in RP3 participants were

asked to refuse a request from a supervisor at work to stay for 2 extra hours. In this section we examine how Haydar and Salah, two ILEs, realised their refusals in this Role Play.

We start here by examining Haydar's interaction below. It is quite interesting that Haydar did not immediately address the interlocutor's request in turn 1. Instead, he responds by greeting his interlocutor and addressing him as *sir* (turn 2). Then he continues greeting him over two turns (turns 4 and 6), and finally he attends to his supervisor's request (lines 8 to 10).

39. R.3

1. A. Haydar, we want your help, we want you to work 2 extra hours today from 3 to 5

2. B. Thank you, Sir, nice to see you

3. A. Nice to see you too

4. B. How are you?

5. A. Thank God, good

6. B. All is well?

7. A. All is well

8. B. I am a student now and I study every day, this is the first week in the course and I, with your permission, will not be able to work at this hour because of I have to study at that time. Can I help you at some other time?

9. A. At some other time? You know, a large volume of products has to be ready today. God willing, I mean, can't you work today and study tomorrow, or?

10. B. I don't have time, this is a problem, I, I love working with you, but this week is very important for me because of I want the course to start well

11. A. Of course, of course, of course, OK, can you stay for only one hour?

12. B. I think this is not suitable for me, this is not because of I don't love you, you are my friend, and I love to work with you but I don't have the time.

13. A. OK, Haydar, no problem, maybe some other time, you said some other time, maybe tomorrow, for example

14. B That's possible, possible

15. A. Possible tomorrow

16. B. God willing

17. A. Thanks

(M2, ILE)

It seems that through the use of these greetings, which are examples of Statement of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement, Haydar attempts to convey his respect for his supervisor and creates a friendly atmosphere in order to soften the illocutionary force of his upcoming refusal. I, personally, find prolonged greetings with my boss inappropriate. 'Pragmatic failure might result from overindulgence in words, creating a lack of appropriateness which might cause the hearer to react with impatience' (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986:175).

When Haydar finally expresses his refusal of his interlocutor's request he prefaces it with three Indirect strategies (i.e., SIE): that *he is a student*, that *he has to study every day*, and that *this is the first week in the course*. By presenting these excuses he seems to be requesting his supervisor's understanding and consideration. When Haydar finally expresses his refusal in this turn he also prefaces it with *with your permission* (turn 8) to soften its illocutionary force, and he immediately follows his Direct refusal with another excuse *I have to study at that time*, and then another Indirect strategy, Statement of Alternative, *Can I help you at some other time?* (turn 8).

When the supervisor explains that the large volume of the products has to be ready that day, Haydar responds by using another SIE strategy *I don't have time* rather than using a Direct strategy. This is followed by a Statement of Empathy *this is a problem* (line 10) which shows that Haydar understands the supervisor's dilemma and empathises with them. This strategy is followed in turn by a Statement of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement in the same turn (turn 10) *I love working with you*. Haydar again requests the supervisor's understanding by explaining that this week is very important for him because he wants the course to *start well* (turn 10). The supervisor, however, wants to see if it is possible for him

to stay for only one hour (turn 11). Haydar explains that this will not work for him by saying it will not be *suitable* for him, then to soften his refusal he immediately uses three Statements of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement in the same turn (turn 12). First he explains that the fact that he will not be able to help should not be interpreted that he does not *love* the supervisor. He actually *loves* the supervisor because the supervisor is his *friend* and he *loves* to work with the supervisor. Haydar ends this turn by using another Indirect strategy, SIE, asserting that he does not have the time; at the same time avoiding to use another Direct refusal strategy. At this time the supervisor accepts Haydar's refusal and agrees to schedule some other time for him to work the extra hours.

Haydar's interaction is interesting in many ways. First, unlike most of ILEs interactions in which a high percentage of Direct strategies was used, Haydar's managed to use these strategies minimally. He used his limited linguistic resources to convey an attitude of someone who is very friendly and very willing to help. However, the fact that Haydar used a high frequency of Adjuncts to refusal and in particular Statement of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement indicates a high degree of pragmatic transfer from L1. It will be interesting to compare Haydar to another ILE, Salah, and find out how they differ in realising their refusals.

In this section we examine the interaction below, which is with Salah, another ILE performing RP3. Unlike Haydar who started the interaction by greeting his supervisor and prefacing his refusal by three Excuses and one Statement of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement, Salah used a Direct refusal strategy that was prefaced by a Regret/Apology, and he did not provide any excuses or reason for his refusal (turn 2).

40. R3.

1. A. Salah, I need your help, we want you to work 2 extra hours today God willing
2. A. Sorry, but this is not possible
3. B. Why not possible?
4. A. I have, I am busy a lot and now I need, I need a break
5. B. You can take a break tomorrow
6. A. No, tell it to the bear!
7. B. tell it to the bear!

8. A. I need a break now
9. B. OK, I mean, is one hour only possible?
10. A. No, I work a lot and I am very tired and I have a lot of homework too and this is important in my life, sorry
11. A. So, I mean this is not possible at all?
12. B. No, not possible
13. A. OK, Salah, no problem, I can talk with Ali
14. B. Yes, maybe he will help you
15. A. I will talk with Ali, no problem, thanks Salah (M4, ILE)

When the supervisor enquires about the reason, Salah explains that he is busy and he needs a break (turn 4). When the supervisor suggests that Salah could take a break the following day, Salah responds with a Direct No (turn 6), which was followed by a very strong assertion of his refusal of the supervisor's suggestion *tell it to the bear* (turn 6). The literal meaning of this expression is 'in your dreams' implying that the interlocutor would never comply with what is being proposed and completely rejects it. This is interesting because Salah may not have been aware of how culturally inappropriate such idiomatic expression is when used to address a supervisor or someone higher in status to the interlocutor. In fact, in an interview conversation after the role play with this participant, Salah told the researcher that he had known this expression and had been fond of using it in Iraqi Arabic and wanted to show off his knowledge of such idiomatic expressions but he did not know how to use them in a culturally appropriate way.

The supervisor is surprised by Salah's response and he repeats it. Salah seems to be aware of this and gives the supervisor a more specific, but a blunt and unmitigated refusal of the supervisor's suggestion that he would take a break tomorrow by saying that *I need a break now* (turn 8). When the supervisor makes the suggestion that Salah could work for only one extra hour, instead of two (turn 9), Salah responds again with a Direct No, which is followed by three SIE strategies (line 11): *I work a lot, I am tired, and I have a lot of homework*. Then he explains that this is important in his life, and he ends his turn with a

Regret/Apology. The supervisor makes one last attempt at asking Salah to do the extra hours (turn 12) and Salah responds by another Direct No and a Direct refusal *not possible*.

These two interactions of Haydar and Salah highlight the important fact that individual differences can play a major role in how refusals are realised. Here we have two participants at the same level of proficiency (i.e., B2) according to the 'Common European Framework of Reference of Languages' (CEF) but who realised refusal in different ways. Haydar used the Statement of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement strategies frequently to reduce the illocutionary force of the refusal. By doing so he actually used a strategy that is preferred by native speakers of English. In fact, in this Role Play, the BEs group used the highest percentage of the Statement of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement than any other group. Also, like most of the participants in the IA group, Haydar used a lower percentage of Direct refusal strategies. This is interesting because most of the participants in the BE group used a high percentage of Direct strategies. Also, following a pattern that was observed in the Iraqi data, Haydar used a high percentage of Indirect strategies. It is also very interesting to notice that Haydar did not use the strategy sequence that was most frequently used by the BE participants, which is a combination of Direct Refusal and a Statement of Regret. This strategy sequence was used by Salah, for example, twice (turns 3 & 12). Salah, on the other hand, used strategies that were very similar to those used by the BE group and although he could have used Adjuncts to refusal, especially Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement, which was used frequently by the BEs, he chose not to. When compared to IAs' refusals, Haydar's performance seems to be more successful than Salah's. However, it is also important to point out those gaps in Haydar's sociopragmatic knowledge about English culture led to inappropriate use of the Statement of Positive Opinion/Feeling or Agreement. For example, it was not culturally appropriate for Haydar to refer to his supervisor as his *friend* (turn 12). Also, it did not seem appropriate to ignore the supervisor's request in line 1 and engage in exchange of greetings over three turns before attending to the request in line 8.

7.4.2 Content of the excuses and reasons

This section deals with the content of the excuses and reasons the participants provided in support of their refusals. It is important to remind the reader that Statement of Impeding Event (SIE) strategy was the most frequently used strategy by all the participants in this

study. This strategy contains wide varieties of excuses, reasons, commitments, previous obligations etc.

41. R8. تعرفين ماعدنا وكت... لوما مستعجل چان صلحتها الج انتي دائما تطلبين مني اشيء وانا
مستعجل. اعذريني

't- 'urf -īn mā 'id-na wakit lo mā m-iste'jil čān šelehit-ha 'l-
lič

2S.F-know NEG have-PL time if NEG 1S-in a hurry may fix-3S For-
you

'nti da'man 'tulb-in min-i 'šiā' w 'ana miste'jil 'u 'drini
you.S.F always ask-2S.F from-me things and I in a hurry sorry

'You know we do not have time... If I wasn't in a hurry by God, I 'd fix it for you, sorry. You always ask for things when I am in a hurry'. (M9, IA)

42. R3. I have, I am busy a lot and now I need, I need a break. (M2, ILE)

43. R9. i still got exams sorry i've really got to go i have an exam starting. (F10, BE)

Role Play 1

In this Role Play the participant were asked to turn down an offer of a promotion and relocation. For the British informants the relocation was from Manchester. In the case of the Iraqi participants the move was from Misan to the city of Baghdad (about 200 miles North West of Misan). None of the participants in all the groups ended up agreeing to this offer. Some of the participants, however, postponed making a decision until they had enough time to consult with their family members. All the participants in this Role Play mainly used the SIE to express their refusal. In fact, this was the Role Play that generated the highest frequency of SIE strategy (see appendix 13 for the Role Plays transcripts).

Before discussing the type of excuses used by each group, it is important to point out the general classification of the types of excuses used by the three groups in this Role Play.

The reasons provided here fell into the three categories of Family, Friends, and Personal, in addition to the category of Health.

The category of Family refers family-related engagements (e.g., dinner with family, brother's birthday, and sister's wedding). The Friends category refers to activities or engagements that involved friends (e.g., friend's birthday, meeting with a friend). The Personal category refers to reasons related to the participant themselves and not involving other people (e.g., homework to do; study for an exam; an appointment, needing a break). Finally, the category Health refers to health related reasons and it could be used in combination with the other excuses as mentioned above.

However, it is important to point out here that the Personal category was used to refer to the personal preference of the participant as well as to reasons that were related to them directly, and these included, for example:

44. R1. احب ميسان
 'a-ħib misān
 IS-like misan
 'I like Misan'. (F2, IA)

45. R1. I don't like Baghdad. (M2, ILE)

46. R1. I've just bought a house. (M1, BE)

The majority of the excuses used by IA were related to Family and they were 6 instances of family-related excuses used by the participants in this group. One participant also mentioned both Family and Friends. The category Friends was used by only one participant. The category Personal was used twice. Some of the examples in the Family category included:

47. R1. عائلتي مستقره هنا
 'a'il-ti mistiqir-a 'hna

Family-IS settled-2S.F here

'My family is settled here'. (M2, IA)

48. R1. كلنا هنا تربينا ابا عن جد
 kilna 'hna 'traben-a 'ban 'an jad

all here brought up-1PL parent and granddad

‘We all were brought up here; my parents and grandparents.’ (M3, IA)

49. R1. مدرسة اطفالي هنا هم عقبة

medrasat 'ʔf āl-i 'hna hem 'eqaba

school children-1S here also obstacle

‘My kids’ school is also an obstacle’. (M4, IA)

Examples of the category Personal included:

50. R1. ما احب بغداد

mā 'a-ḥib baġdād

NEG 1S-like Baghdad

‘I don’t like Baghdad’. (M2, IA)

This shows that this group used more family-related excuses (6) to turn down the offer. ILEs used similar excuses to those used by the IAs. Six excuses fell into the Family category. One of the participants who used the Family excuse also used the Friends excuse. Another participant who used the Family category also used the Personal category. Personal excuses were used six times in this situation. Also only one participant used the Friends category exclusively. Participants who used the Family category also used the Health category, explaining that their family members were sick. Examples of the Family + Health excuses included:

51. R1. By God my mum is old and she is sick and I take care of her. (F2, ILE)

52. R1. My family lives here in Misan and my mother is sick. (F4, ILE)

Examples of the Personal reasons included:

53. R1. I like living in Misan. (M1, ILE)

54. R1. My life is good here. (M1, ILE)

55. R1. I don't like Baghdad. (M1, ILE)

BEs used excuses that are similar to those used by the two other groups. 2 participants in this group used the Family excuse to turn down the offer. One of the participants also used the Friends excuse

56. R1. I also got some friends here. (M3, BE)

One excuse was Personal excuse.

57. R1. It is too far away, I'd rather stay around Manchester. (F2, BE)

Examples of the Family excuses included:

58. R1. But it is too far away, because all my family lives around here. (F2, BE)

59. R1. My fiancé has a job here. (M1, BE)

60. R1. I just had my parents move here so I could, I could be closer to them. (M1, BE)

Examples of the Personal reasons included:

61. R1. I've just bought a house. (M1, BE)

In summary, all three groups were similar with regard to the type of excuses they used to turn down the offer in Role Play 1. The majority of the excuses (14 instances) in each of the three groups used Family excuses to refuse the offer in this Role Play.

Role Play 2

In this Role Play, the participants were asked to refuse a request from a lecturer at the university to attend a party at the students' union the next day. The excuses in this situation are divided into three categories: papers, assignment, and work.

It is important to explain here that paper category refer to paper due in by the next day (the day when the lecturer asks the student to attend the party), for example:

62. R2. I've got a paper due in by tomorrow. (M7, BE)

Assignment reasons, on the other hand, also refer to commitments to finish some school assignment on time.

63. R2. عندي كومه تحاضير باجر

'ind-i koma taḥḍīr bāčīr

Have-1S lots assignment.PL tomorrow

'I have lots of assignments tomorrow'. (F4, IA)

The last category was made by some informants to refer to some other work performed by the student at days off or some free time, for example:

64. R2. I got a part time job. (F4, BE)

Most of the IA excuses in this situation was related to assignment for instance. Two of their excuses were of this type. Work excuses were utilised only once by this group. No instances of paper category were featured in IAs data.

65. R2. عندي هواي تحاضير طلبهن منا الاستاذ

'ind-i 'hwai taḥḍīr ṭ-ileb-hin min-a il- 'stād

Have-1S many assignment.PL 2S.M-ask-3PL from-1PL DEF-teacher

'I have many assignments requested by my teacher tomorrow'. (F4, IA)

As with IAs, ILEs employed excuses related to assignment, but less than those used by IAs. Paper category occupies the second type of excuses used in this scenario. The rest of excuses were that of work.

66. R2. I work; I help my father in the shop. (M4, ILE)

BEs, however, were keen to employ paper excuses. The rest was mixed between assignments and work.

67. R2. I've got a paper due in by tomorrow. (M3, BE)

68. R2. I got other assignments as well. (F2, BE)

69. R2. I've got a part-time job at school.(F2, BE)

In summary, while IAs and ILEs tend to use more excuses of assignment and work, BEs inclined more towards paper excuses.

Role Play 3

In this Role Play the participants were asked by a supervisor at a company where they worked to stay for two extra hours. There were interesting differences among the three groups with regard to the kind of excuses given. Although all participants were instructed to refuse, one participant in the IA group agreed to stay for some of the time; that is to stay for one hour instead of two. The participants in all the other two groups insisted on the refusal. The most frequently used strategy by the participants in all three groups in this Role Play was SIE.

In the following paragraphs a description of the kind of excuses given by each group will be provided. As with RP1, the reasons given by the participants in this Role Play fell into three broad categories: 1) Family, 2) Friends, and 3) Personal. In addition to these three categories there is also the category Health, which was used in combination with one or more of these categories. For example, if the participant has to take a family member to the doctor, then this would be an example of Family + Health reason. In the following paragraphs the excuses used by each group will be described.

IAs used a combination of Family reasons (7 times) and Personal reasons (2 times). The Family reasons involved, mother's birthday, dinner with family, going to the movies with mom, picking up the children from school, preparing food for the family, and teaching the kids.. The Personal reasons included: needing a break, evening class. It is also important to point out that some of the reasons were not detailed. Finally, this group did not use any excuses in the Friends or Health categories.

70. R3. شوف والله اليوم امي مريضه و بالمستشفى

šūf wall a il-yōm 'um-i merīṣ-a w b-il-mustašfa

look-2S.M by god DEF-day mother-1S sick-3S.F and in-DEF- hospital

'Look, by God my mum is very sick and she is in the hospital'. (F2, IA)

The excuses provided by ILEs were similar to but also different from the ones given by their IA counterparts. ILEs used all three categories: Family, Friends, Personal, and they also used a combination of Personal + Friends. This group used the Family category 1 time, Personal + Family 1 time, Personal 9 times, and Friends one time. This means that the highest number of excuses (9) fell in the personal category. Some of the reasons this group used in the Family category included, for example, sister's wedding party. In the Personal category: studying for an exam, and getting tired or wanting to go home, and in the Friends category: wanting to see friends.

71. R3. I want the course to start well. (M4, ILE)

BEs were very interestingly different from the three other groups. In BEs data, the most frequently used type of excuse fell into the Personal category. In fact, 8 excuses were of SIE used reasons from the Personal category. The other type of excuse that was used by this group was Friends and it was used twice by the participants. None of the participants in this group used the Family or Health categories. The Personal excuses used included examples such as: preparing for classes, going to study sessions, doing homework, being busy, feeling exhausted, having a guide group, and doing stuff outside work. It is also important to notice that most of the Personal reasons were related to school. The Friends category included: a friend's birthday and meeting an old friend.

72. R3. I am gonna do my homework and then I've planned to a study as well so I'd like to help but I can't. (M6, BE)

To sum up, while IAs and ILEs mostly used family-related reasons, BEs group mostly used personal reasons. This kind of excuses is different from the uniformity pattern observed in RP1 where the three groups were similar with regard to the type of excuses. Furthermore,

the finding that one IA agreed to stay for one hour instead of two might indicate that some subjects are willing to compromise in real life.

Role Play 4

In this Role Play the participants were asked to refuse a request from a classmate for the lecture notes. It is important first to point out that some of the participants in this Role Play actually ended up agreeing to give the notes to the interlocutor despite the fact that the instructions for the Role Play asked them to refuse. This, in fact, is not usual and was reported in previous refusal studies employing the role play method for data collection (Garcia, 1992, 1999; Gass & Houck, 1999). In the present study one participant in the IA group ended up agreeing to lend the notes to the interlocutor. None of the participants in BEs agreed to give the notes to the interlocutor. It is also important to point out that one of the participants from the ILEs group agreed to let the interlocutor study with them and look at the notes but not borrow them. This finding is also found in VonCanon's (2006) and Garcia's (1992) study. They observed that learners sometimes abandon refusals and comply with their interlocutors.

The most frequently used strategy by the BE group in this Role Play was Avoidance. For the other two groups, however, the most frequently used strategy was SIE and the second most frequently used strategy was Chiding. It is also important to know the number of SIEs strategy in each group: ILEs: 6, IAs: 8, and BEs: 4. With regard to IAs and ILEs, the two most frequently used excuses by ILEs were:

73. R4. محتاجتهن ادرس للامتحان
miḥtājet-hin 'a-dris l-il-'mtihān

1S.F.need-3PL 1S-study to-DEF-exam

'I need the notes to study for the exam'. (F3, IA)

74. R4. ما عندي الملاحظات هسه
mā 'ind-i il-mulāḥeḍ-āt hesa

NEG-have-1S DEF-note-PL now

'I don't have the notes right now'. (F4, IA)

These excuses were also used by BEs. However, IAs and ILEs elaborated on such excuses by saying for, example:

75. R4. مو احنا انتقلنا لبيت جديد و صاير هوسه وياخذ عمر حتى الكاهن
 mū 'ḥna 'nteqaln-a l-bayt jidīd w ṣāira hōsa w yaḥid

because we move-1PL to-house new and become mess and take

'umur ḥeta 'lgah-in

Age to find-3PL

'Because we have recently moved to a new house and it is very messy now and it takes for ages to find them'. (F4, IA)

76. R4. I put them somewhere and I do not know where they are now. (M3, ILE)

Such elaboration was not found in BEs data. The same two excuses were also used by BEs.

77. R4. I need the notes to be honest. (F3, BE)

In addition to negative consequences such as:

78. R4. I don't wanna give you the wrong information. (M2, BE)

However, Iraqis elaborated on these excuses when the interlocutor persisted by saying, for example, that they had to rewrite the notes or complete them because the notes were not ready yet. One participant also expressed fear that the notes might get lost if she lent them to the interlocutor. What distinguishes the BEs' responses, however, from the responses of IAs and ILEs is that when the interlocutor persisted, IAs excuses became more and more open-ended and turned into Avoidance strategy, which is one of the most frequent Indirect refusal strategies used by the IAs in this Role Play. This strategy is used to give the impression to the interlocutor that it is possible to give them the notes at some point in the future but it all depends on circumstances. ILEs, on the other hand, did not use Avoidance

when their interlocutor persisted with the request. They, instead, opted for Direct refusal strategies or other Indirect strategies such Chiding/ Criticism.

The most frequently used excuse by the BE group was:

79. R4. I really need my notes to study. (F3, BE)

One important difference, however, between this group and the two other groups is that in this group the participants did not “invent” reasons or excuses like the ones made in the two other groups. For example, the participants did not say:

80. R4. I don't have the notes with me right now. (M5, ILE)

They also did not elaborate in a way similar to that observed in the two other groups, such as:

81. R4. The notes are in my dad's house. (M5, ILE)

Most of the reasons BE participants mentioned were related to study and school, and they included, for example:

82. R4. I am really busy studying for this exam. (M6, BE)

It is also important to mention that the participants in the BE group, like the participants in the other groups, preferred to use the Adjunct of Regret when their interlocutor persisted with the request or they opted for other Indirect strategies such as Chiding/Criticism.

In summary, IAs and ILEs, despite some differences, seemed to use similar excuses and reasons in their refusals. However, when their interlocutor persisted with the request, they used the Regret or Chiding/Criticism. BEs, on the other hand, used Avoidance strategy. Finally, IAs and ILEs' reasons were more elaborate than those produced by BEs.

Role Play 5

In this Role Play the participants were asked to turn down an offer of dessert from a host, who was an old friend, at the end of a meal. One participant in ILEs ended up actually agreeing to taste the food. Also one participant in the IA group ended up eating a small piece of the dessert. BEs participants insisted on refusing the offer. All the participants in all the groups used the SIE as one of the strategies for refusing the offer.

Before discussing the type of excuses each group used, it is important to present the types of excuses found in the data. There were three types found: 1) Full 2) Negative Consequences, and 3) Diet. Examples of the Full category included:

83. R5. اكلت هواي.

'a-kalit 'hwai

1S-eat alot

'I ate a lot'. (F4, IA)

84. R5. There is no room. (M4, ILE)

85. R5. I am full. (M5, BE)

Examples of the Negative Consequences included:

86. R5. I am about to explode. (F5, BE)

87. R5. My cholesterol level is high. (F5, BE)

Examples of Diet included:

88. R5. مسويه رجيم.

'msaw-ia rijim

made-1S.F diet

'I am on diet'. (F4, IA)

89. R5. I am trying to keep on a diet here. (F6, ILE)

90. R5. I've been sacrificing doing diet. (F5, BE)

The most frequently used excuse by the IAs fell in the Full category, accounting for 5 tokens of all the excuses used by this group. No excuses were in the category Negative Consequences. The Diet excuse was used by the participants in this group only once. However, it is possible that when one participant in this group said that she would be *fat* if she ate any more, she probably meant that she was on a diet. As for ILEs, the most common used excuse was also in the Full category; 4 instances of excuses used. The other excuses used were Diet excuses and examples included:

91. R5. احاول احافظ على الرجيم

'a-ḥāwil 'a-ḥāfiḍ 'ela il-rijīm

1S-try 1S-keep on DEF-diet

'I am trying to keep on diet'. (F4, IA)

92. R5. راح اسمن

rāḥ 'asmen

will 1S.be fat

'I will be fat'. (F4, IA)

Like the IAs group, no participants in the ILEs group used Negative Consequences. For BEs, the Full category occurred twice *I am full* of their excuses and the remaining were roughly divided between the Negative Consequences and the Diet excuses.

93. R5. I've been sacrificing doing diet. (F5, BE)

One of the BEs participants mentioned a cholesterol problem he had and that eating dessert would make it worse.

In summary, it seems that all three groups were more or less similar in their preference for the Full excuse. This type of excuse occurred 11 times of excuses used by all the groups. Also, neither IAs nor ILEs used the Negative Consequences strategy. While BEs used excuses in the Negative Consequences category such as 'making things worse' , 'exploding', IAs and ILEs used other expressions to signify that they were so full such as:

94. R5. I am out of breath. (M4, ILE)

BEs also used a health-related excuse *cholesterol level*.

95. R5. Honestly my cholesterol level is high and I just feel like this dessert might make it worse. (F6, BE)

This way, it seems that BEs excuses were more varied than the excuses provided by the two other groups.

Role Play 6

In this Role Play, the participant is refusing a request from a flatmate to lend their computer. It is in some ways similar to Role Play Four and Five in that the participant is turning down an equal status requester. However, it differs from them as the requester is lower in social distance. Avoidance was utilised as the most frequent strategies by the three groups in this situation.

96. R6. بلكي عالجايات.

Belki 'al-jāi-yāt

Maybe on-next-PL

'May be next time'. (M6, IA)

97. R6. I can do it later (F8, ILE)

98. R6. This is week I lend you my computer. (M7, BE)

These strategies might also be context-specific. Turning down a request from a flatmate may put the refuser in an embarrassing situation. Thus, they resort to make a promise to accept this request at some point in the future to soften the illocutionary force of the refusal.

In this situation, two categories of excuses were mostly utilised by the three groups of informants; Usage and Defect. In the first category, the refuser try to convey a message to

the requester that they are using this computer at the minute and they are unable to lend it to them for example:

99. R6. I've got to get this work done. (M7, BE)

100. R6. I absolutely have to keep using it. (M7, BE)

In the second category; Defect, the participant attempt to point out that their computer is defective and it is not working properly and they mostly promise to lend it in the future by employing promise of future acceptance. IAs and ILEs tended more commonly towards the category of Defect.

101. R6. انا همين ما اعرف شبيها حاسبتني, انتظري لحد ما اصلحها بلكي باچر
'ana hemen mā 'a-'ruf 'šbīh-a ḥasibt-i

I too NEG 1S-know what is wrong-3S.F computer-1S

'a-ntaḍr-i liḥedma 'a-ṣaliḥ-ha belki bačir

2S.F-wait till 1S-fix-3S maybe tomorrow

'Me too I do not know what is wrong with it, wait till I fix it maybe tomorrow'. (F6, IA)

It featured 7-8 times in the two Iraqi groups. For example

102. R6. It is not responding I do not know what is wrong with it.

103. R6. The software is not working properly by God I mean my software. (F6, ILE)

It is important to mention here that IAs' and ILEs' responses were more detailed and elaborated than those of BEs. The latter group, however, were more concerned about the clarity of their message. In addition, they utilised more excuses of Usage category than that of Defect.

Role Play 7

In this Role Play the participants were asked to refuse an offer from a cleaner who was trying to pay for a china statuette that they broke while cleaning the participant's desk. The most important point about this Role Play is that there was a marked difference between the British participants and the Iraqis with regard to the strategies used. While 6 instances of SIE strategy were used to turn down the cleaner's offer in ILEs, 5 were used by IAs. 10 SIE strategies were used by participants in the British English group.

Also the situation-specific strategy Let Off the Hook was used commonly in this situation; 8 in ILEs, 9 in IAs and 7 in BEs for example

104. R7. لا تهتم
lā t-'htam

NEG 2S.M-care

Never mind. (M8, IA)

105. R7. Do not worry. (M7, ILE)

106. R7. It is fine. (M7, BE)

General principles occurred 3 times in IAs and BEs, while it was not featured in ILEs.

107. انكسر الشر
'nkisār il- šer

Broke DEF-evil

'The evil broke down'. (F6, IA)

108. R7. It happens. (M6, ILE)

109. R7. To err is human. (M7, BE)

110. R7. Things eventually break. (M8, BE)

However, for all the groups, the most frequently used strategy in this Role Play was Let Interlocutor Off the Hook. In the following paragraphs we examine the differences with regard to the types of excuses provided by each group.

The types of excuses used can be divided into two broad categories: Monetary Value and Sentimental Value. The Monetary Value is used to refer to the statuette as something of no real monetary value, as a reason for refusing the offer of money. Examples of this type of reason included:

111. R7. مو غالي.
mū gāli

NEG expensive

‘It is not expensive’. (M7, IA)

112. R7. عندي هواي بالبيت
'ind-i 'hwai b-il-bayt

Have-1S a lot in-DEF-house

‘I have a lot of statuettes at home’. (F9, IA)

113. R7. اشتريته من محل هدايا رخيص
'i-šteret-a min meḥel hedaia riḥīš

1S-bought-3S from shop gifts cheap

‘I bought it from a cheap gift store’. (F6, IA)

114. R7. It is cheap. (M7, ILE)

115. R7. It is only 5000 (Iraqi dinar). (M8, ILE)

The Sentimental Value refers to the emotional attachment between the participant and the statuette. It was also used to explain that the statuette did not have any sentimental value for the participants and because of this there was no need for compensation. Examples of the Sentimental Value reasons included:

116. R7. I don't even like it. (M8, BE)

117. R7. It is a present from an old girlfriend. (M7, BE)

118. R7. It is not something special from my family or anything. (M7, BE)
119. R7. I don't even miss it. (M8, BE)
120. R7. It was like a present from someone I don't I don't remember who they were. (M8, BE)

In the following paragraphs we look at how each group used these excuses. The participants in IAs used a combination of Monetary Value and Sentimental Value reasons. They used the Sentimental Value reasons more frequently, (4 instances). ILEs used six excuses from the Monetary Value category and did not include any examples from the Sentimental Value category. As for the participants in BEs, like those in IAs, they used the Sentimental Value excuses (5 instances) and used the Monetary Value excuses only once.

It is possible to argue that ILEs did not use the Sentimental Value argument because it requires a higher level of linguistic competence, whereas the Monetary Value would simply require the participants to say for example *it is cheap*.

Role Play 8

In this situation the participant is asked to refuse a request to fix a computer belonging to their friend's younger sibling. In this situation, only one subject from BEs ended up agreeing on fixing the computer after the party.

Three categories of excuses have been found out in this situation: Getting Late, Inexperience, and Negative Consequences.

IAs and ILEs, on the whole, have used more excuses of Getting Late (5 tokens) for example:

121. R8. راح نتاخر علفله
 rāh n-it'her 'el heflah
 will 3PL-getting late on party

'We are going to be late for the party'. (M9, IA)

122. R8. We are in a hurry. (F8, ILE)

However, they sometimes use both categories Getting Late + Inexperience for instance:

123. R8. We are late and I do not have good experience in computers. (M8, ILE)

Inexperience category has been used by the two groups for instance one ILE refused by saying:

124. R8. I do not have experience in computers, this is not my major, you know.
(F9, ILE)

BEs employ more Negative Consequences and Inexperience excuses than Getting late. For example

125. R8. I am not really skilled in computers. (M9, BE)

126. R8. You wouldn't want me to damage it for you? (M9, BE)

127. R8. I am not that good at computers. (F6, BE)

It is important to note here that the most frequently used strategy by BEs was 'Avoidance'.

For example:

128. R8. I may do it later for you I mean I could do it for you after the party.
(M9, BE)

Finally, it is important to draw attention to the fact that Chiding was one of the most frequently used strategies by the groups for example:

129. R8. انتي دائما اتطلبين مني اشياء من اكون مستعجل
'nt-i dā'man 't-ṭulbīn min-i 'šja' min 'a-kūn miste'jil

You-2S.F always 2S.F-ask from-1S thing.PL when 1S-be in a hurry

'You always ask me for things when I am in a hurry'. (M7, IA)

130. R8. Because you misuse your computer you break it down. (M9, ILE)

131. R8. I helped you before when I fixed your computer. (M9, BE)

The Adjuncts to refusal used in RP8 are similar to those used in RP6 in that the most frequently used strategy was 'Regret'. The interlocutors in this situation show their regret for being unable fix the requester's lap top as the refuser were in a hurry in order to attend a party. However, the second most frequently used strategy was not the same for all of the groups. For example, for IAs, it was 'Invoking the name of God', occurring 4 times in their data, but this strategy did not feature at all in the data of the BEs group, but 3 times in ILEs data. The second most frequently used strategy for the BE group was 'Statement of Positive Opinion', for example:

132. R8. I'd love to help you... (M8, BE)

For the ILE group it was Statement of Empathy or Concern for instance:

133. R8. I know that you need it so badly. (M7, ILE)

To sum up, while IAs and ILEs excuses were more of Getting Late and Inexperience, BEs patterns were more of Inexperience and Negative Consequences.

Role Play 9

In the final Role Play, RP9 the participants were acting as teachers trying to refuse a request from an academic advisee to write a reference for them.

Three categories of excuses have been observed here: Appeal to a third party, doing exams, and incompetence.

Appealing to a third party was the most frequent reason for refusal by IAs. It occurred 4 times in this situation, for example:

134. R9. بس دكتورہ فاطمہ فارغہ ليش ما تسالها؟
 bes diktōr-a faṭmah farg̃-a līāš mā ti-s'ī-ha

but doctor-1S.F Fatima empty-3S.F why NEG 2S.M-ask-3S.F

'But Dr. Fatima is free I think, why don't you ask her or any other staff?' (M9, IA)

Being busy doing the exams for the students was also employed here.

135. R9. انا مشغول بتحضير اسئلة الطلاب
 'ana mešgūl b-teḥīr 's'lat il-ṭilāb
 I 1S.busy by-prepare questions DEF-students
 'I am busy preparing for the students' tests'. (F10, IA)
136. R9. احتاج احضر اسئله للطلاب
 'ḥtāj 'a-ḥeḍir 's'la l-il- ṭilāb
 1S.need 1S-prepare questions for-DEF-students
 'I need to prepare tests for my students'. (M9, IA)
137. R9. I am currently busy preparing the questions of the exam (M10, IA)
138. R9. I am preparing for the students' students' test. (F9, ILE)

ILEs, on the other hand, refer that they are not good at writing references for others and advise to find someone else to do that for them.

139. R9. Well, I am not very good at writing a reference letters. (M10, ILE)

ILEs, sometimes use both incompetence+Appeal to a third party; I am not a good referee maybe you ask Dr. Alaa.

BEs patterns of excuses were almost always fall into doing exams excuses for example:

140. R9. If I was not busy testing the students, maybe I'd be able to but I've got exams I've got to do the tests. (F8, BE)
141. R9. I still got exams sorry I've really got to go I have an exam starting. (F9, BE)
142. R9. You probably know we got midterm exams coming up next week so i am really quite pushed of time at the moment. (F10, BE)
143. R9. But yea I really iam busy with the exams at the minute so erm I am just pushed with the time. (F10, BE)

This type constituted the vast majority of their refusals (90%). The other two types occupy the rest of refusals.

The Adjuncts used in this Role Play varied from one group to another. However, they were also similar in some respects. For example, 'Statement of Positive Opinion' was the most frequently used Adjunct by BEs and ILEs as in

144. R9. You've been a very good student. (F7, BE)

Invoking the name of God was used most frequently by IAs. In a unique pattern not previously observed, the three groups used Getting the Interlocutors' Attention as the second most frequent Adjunct to Refusals for example:

145. R9. اسمع انا حاليا مشغول
's-sme' 'ana ḥalien mešgūl

2S.F-listen I currently busy

'Listen, I am currently busy...' (M6, IA)

146. R9. Ok ok erm look I'll tell you something. I am well I am not very good at writing reference letters. (M7, ILE)

It was used 4 times by IAs, twice by ILEs and once by BEs.

In brief, the three groups were dissimilar in their excuses in this RP. While IAs used more excuses of Appealing to A Third Party, ILEs employ more Incompetence. However, BEs tend to utilise more excuses of doing exams.

7.5 Conclusion

As with refusals in the DCT, informants in the Role Plays tend more towards indirectness in the three groups. Iraqi informants, however, were more direct in their refusals as compared to the British subjects. The latter group was more indirect in their refusals (see section 7.2).

The most frequently used Indirect Refusal strategy by all three groups in the nine refusal situations was Statement of Impeding Event and Avoidance. It is important to note that the

figures for the six most frequently used Indirect strategies were identical for IAs and ILEs, but were different for the BE group, with the exception of the first two (Statement of Impeding Event and Avoidance), which was the same for all three groups. This may indicate a pragmatic transfer by ILEs from Iraqi Arabic.

In addition, social factors have an influence on the refusers' responses in Role Plays. While IAs and ILEs were more sensitive to social status and distance, BEs varied their refusals according to the social status and gender (section 7.2). Furthermore, the degree of imposition was also an influential factor. It was found that the length of refusal responses was, to a certain extent, affected by the rank of imposition implied in the Role Plays scenarios. The three groups increased the number of refusal strategies with situations of high and medium imposition; while they decrease the number of refusal formulae with low impositions scenarios (see section 7.3).

As regard to the qualitative analysis, the selected interactions provide examples of discourse-level pragmatic transfer and it also reveals interesting cultural differences between Iraqis and British informants. For example, while the British participants are more concerned with getting their message across, the Iraqi participants are more concerned with saving their interlocutor's face at the expense of the clarity of their message (see 7.4.1.1).

The study also shows that individual differences can play a major role in how refusals are realised (7.4.1.2). In addition, the content of the excuses and reasons provided by the participants in their refusals reveals interesting differences among the groups and it also show some pragmatic transfer by ILEs from their native language (section 7.4.2).

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

This chapter is devoted to presenting the findings arrived at in this study. On the basis of these findings, a number of pedagogical implications and recommendations, and possible relevant projects for further research are suggested.

8.1 Summary and Conclusions

This thesis has conducted research into the verbal and written acts of refusal in response to requests and offers. The study was designed so that the subjects would undertake both a Role Play and a DCT. Firstly, the DCT questionnaire was completed, in which the three groups responded to 36 written scenarios (18 refusals to requests and 18 refusals to offers) by indicating what they thought they would say. The second activity was designed to collect data orally via Role Plays which consist of 9 eliciting refusals of offers and requests. The reason for this was to make a direct comparison between their behaviour in the Role Play and in the DCT. Combining multiple data collection in this way is not only a comprehensive method of conducting research, but is most essential for investigating an elusive, many-faceted discipline such as pragmatics (Al Sulaimaan, 1997:89). The responses of the participants accumulated from both processes were categorised and compared across the groups. The refusal formulae were discussed according to the (im)politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) and Culpeper (1996) and with reference to the social norms of Iraqi and British cultures. The coding scheme adopted in this study is that of Beebe et al. (1990) who categorised refusals into Direct, Indirect and Adjunct to refusals.

In this chapter, differences in the use of Direct, Indirect and Adjunct to Refusal, as well as the four variables that influenced their use (social status, social distance, degree of imposition, and gender) will be discussed. Moreover, each refusal type and strategy will be investigated in order to draw conclusions as to what influences speakers to select a certain refusal type and/or strategy of refusal. The data collected from the DCT investigation will then be compared with those collected from the Role Play scenarios. The results of both

the Role Play and DCT will also be compared with the findings of other researchers in the literature, and they will be discussed from the viewpoint of cultures. The manner in which IAs, ILEs, and BEs followed a variety of patterns for the production of refusal strategies used in different situations and under different circumstances will also be investigated. To analyse the semantic formulae of their refusal, 60 conversations were collected from the Role Play scenarios, and 2160 tokens were extracted from the DCT.

Regarding the data collected by the DCT, the results indicate that Iraqi and British people can be distinguished on the basis of their refusal strategies (see chapters 5 and 6), since the choice of refusal strategies reflects the different characteristics of both cultures. Further, a number of different refusal strategies have been observed. Each of these strategies can be realised by certain semantic formulae. These semantic formulae have been found to be attentive to certain aspects of the eliciting acts. As such, each strategy has its own specific nature. Furthermore, the linguistic expressions realising these semantic formulae may convey different implications on pragmatic and interpersonal levels. Generally, BEs varied their refusals mainly according to the social status and gender of the addressees, and, to a lesser extent, to social distance, while IAs and ILEs chose their refusal tactics according to the addressees' social status and social distance rather than their gender. The strategies of refusal have also been found to be determined by the type of the eliciting act (requests and offers), and consequently the selection of a certain refusal strategy and the semantic formulae by which it is realised can be constrained by the specific features of the eliciting acts. So, the strategies of *It is My Treat* and *Let off the Hook*, for example, were used to decline offers, but not requests (see chapters 4 and 6).

The frequency of use of each refusal strategy fluctuated from one group of subjects to another in accordance with the influence of the three social factors (social status, social distance, and gender). However, sensitivity to those factors varied from one group to another. Gender and social status were more influential than social distance for BEs, while social status and social distance were found to be more influential than gender for IAs and ILEs. Further, BEs demonstrated greater sensitivity to status equals versus status unequals, whereas IAs were particularly conscious of high versus low status in their responses in the frequency of refusal strategies (see chapters 5, and 6).

Moreover, the order and number of semantic formulae observed in a given refusal strategy diverged from one situation to another and from one group to another. The selection of a

certain order was also perceived to vary according to the degree of sensitivity of the subjects to the three social factors (chapters 5 and 6).

Analysis of the DCT and Role Plays data confirms the hypothesis that there is pragmatic transfer from the native language in the order, frequency and content of the semantic formulae used by the ILEs. At the pragmalinguistic level, strategies such as General Principle and Alternative appeared to be transferred from Iraqi Arabic to the subjects' interlanguage. In addition, adopting some expressions that do not occur in English by ILEs might result in cross-cultural misunderstanding and communication breakdowns (see Chapters 5, 6, and 7).

1. #11. Your help lived with me for a long time. (F10, ILE)
2. *10. From my eyes. (M9, ILE)
3. R3. No, tell it to the bear. (M4, ILE)

At the sociopragmatic level, ILEs demonstrated a sensitivity to social factors that was relatively similar to that of their IA counterparts. Thus, they were more sensitive to social status and social distance than to gender in their selection of refusal strategies and in the order and frequency of semantic formulae found in those strategies. In addition, it has been observed that some examples of sociopragmatic transfer could be attributed to ILEs' misjudgement of the size of imposition (see 5.4.3). The misjudgment of the size of imposition coincides with the finding of Thomas (1983:104) who asserts that it is one major causes of sociopragmatic failure among nonnative speakers of English. Moreover, the higher average of number of strategies used by ILEs lend support to Edmondson and House's (1991) "Waffle Phenomenon" that learners will say more than necessary.

With regard to the number of semantic formulae produced by the three groups in the DCT, it emerged that both IAs and ILEs produced a higher frequency of two semantic formulae when interacting with a person of higher status and distance than with someone equal or lower in status and distance (see 5.1.1 and 6.1.1).

4. #2. مالي خلگ ما اقدر

mā-aqdar mali ḥulig

NEG-able NEG mood

'I can't, I do not feel well' (M3, IA)

5. *17. No, I am meeting someone. (F7, ILE)

This may be indicative of a conception, in Iraqi culture, that a person higher in status and distance requires more explanation and elaboration of the reason for the refusal, in order to make the situation less confrontational and to avoid hurting the feelings of others. Elaborate statements contain multiple reasons or excuses, and thus are perhaps more convincing as refusals than would be brief statements. Conversely, it would appear that refusing an offer or a request from someone lower in status and distance does not require the same level of elaboration and explanation, but rather a high level of insistence in asserting the refusal, hence the use of one semantic formulae and a more direct strategy. Elaborate statements were also observed when the Iraqis refused people of higher social status and distance in the Role Plays (see 7.2.1 and 7.2.2).

In general, two semantic formulae occurred more frequently in the responses of IAs and ILEs. This finding supports those in the literature that Arabic communication style tends towards verbosity (Al-Issa, 1998; Al-Shalawi 1997; Nelson, Al Batal, and Echols 1996; Nelson, El-Bakary and AL Batal 1993; and Morkus 2009). It is noteworthy that the phenomenon of circumlocution found in the ILEs' data, appears to be an indication of the native language influence (Iraqi Arabic) on their refusal responses. As such, it is evidence of negative pragmatic transfer from the mother tongue language. BEs, on the other hand, tend to use strategies that consist of one semantic formula more frequently than those of two or three semantic formulae. It could be argued that BEs are more concerned about the clarity of the message in their refusals than are Iraqis. The clarity of the message would appear to be more important to BEs than is preserving the face needs of their subjects. IAs and ILEs answers are vaguer, and seem more empathetic than those of BEs. It is reasonable to assume that their goal is maintaining a good, harmonious relationship with other informants at the expense of the clarity of their message.

Furthermore, it has been observed that the degree of imposition of requests and offers has influenced the informants' length of responses in the three groups (see 5.4, 6.3) and the number of the semantic formulae of the three language groups (see 7.3). The informants in the three groups used remarkably longer responses in situations carrying heavier imposition.

6. *10. انا عشت هنا عمر وعندي روابط اجتماعيه. اعذرنى.

'ana 'išit 'umur 'hnā w 'ind-ī rewābiṭ 'jtimā'iah 'i'durn-i

I lived age here and have-1S tie.PL social forgive-1S

'I've lived here for ages and I have social ties. Forgive me'. (IA, M8).

7. #11. I am sorry; I have another job, next time maybe. (M9, BE)

In situations where the degree of imposition was medium responses fluctuated between one and two semantic formulae. The informants, however, used shorter responses when refusing requests/offers of low imposition (see 5.4, 6.3, and 7.3).

The influence of the imposition variable conforms to the results of many studies in the literature such as Al Qahtani (2009), Eisentein and Bodman's (1986, 1993), and Felix-Bradefer (2002).

Gender, on the other hand, was not an influential factor for either IAs or ILEs in terms of the number of semantic formulae. In other words, they did not distinguish noticeably in the number of the semantic formulae of the refusal strategies when refusing male or female offerers/requesters or opposite gender. Although they increase the number of refusals when refusing females/opposite gender, the range of difference is small. Furthermore, no obvious variations in the number of refusals were observed by the refusers' gender (see chapters 5, 6, and 7). It might be argued that Iraqi society is conservative. Thus, there is a shortage of interaction between the two genders, so people lack specialised strategies to deal with the opposite sex. In fact, separation of sexes is one of the main characteristics of Iraqi society. Although the data of this study are collected from informants (males and females) who study in a co-educational institution, it seems that the students are still aware of the cultural norms of their society which impose a great number of restrictions on a man-woman relationship. Gender in BEs seemed to be much more influential as compared with the other two groups. BEs increased the frequency of two-semantic-formula strategies when refusing a female requester/offender and opposite gender. British male refusers, however, were more verbose as they utilise more strategies that consist of two semantic formulae as compared to females (chapters 5 and 6). In the Role Plays, Women and men in the three groups tend towards indirectness. Iraqi male interlocutors tend to refuse more indirectly

when they interact with someone of the opposite gender. This pattern, however, was not observed in the third group (see 7.2.3).

Some strategies that appeared in refusals of requests did not feature in refusals of offers, and vice versa. For instance, Avoidance, Wish, and Counter-factual Conditionals, appeared in refusals of requests but not in refusals of offers. However, Indicate Unwillingness, Putting the Blame of a Third Party, Let off the Hook, It is my Treat, and Gratitude/Appreciation were utilised only in refusals of offers. Generally, the three groups of informants used a high frequency of Adjuncts in refusals of requests and offers. Regrets/Apology appeared more commonly in IA and ILE than in BE data in both the DCT and Role Plays. This finding concurs with the results reported by Al-Shalawi (1997) with regard to the use of Statement of Regret/Apology. Saudi participants in his study used more expressions of regret than did Americans. Iraqis demonstrate to employ more negative politeness strategies than do BEs. It can be said that Iraqis are apt to produce refusals with care. ILEs, on the other hand, used Regrets more frequently in refusals of requests than the other two groups (see tables 5.10, 6.9, and 7.1). It seems, on the whole, that all of the groups consider preserving harmony to be of the utmost importance in human relationships. Refusing a request/offer without expressing regret or implying that one would really like to comply to a request or accept an offer might be considered impolite by all three groups.

Gratitude/Appreciation was used only in refusals of offers. This may be attributed to a sense that, when refusing offers, people tend to express gratitude and appreciation to the offerer in an attempt to mitigate the illocutionary force of the refusal. This finding is evident in the data of all three groups (table 6.9).

In this study, Role-Plays have been chosen as the closest type of data to natural discourse in its analysis of refusals of requests and offers. In this Role-Play data analysis as well as the DCT, it is observed that the most frequently used strategies of refusal by all three groups of informants is Statement of Impeding Event. To a certain degree, a refuser acknowledges the need to offer a pertinent reason and an explanation. This might be explained as a refuser's attempt not only to fulfil the linguistic purpose of saying 'no', but also to maintain interpersonal cordiality at the same time. It is noteworthy that BEs employed more SIE than the other two groups in the DCT and the Role Plays (see tables 5.10, 6.9, and 7.1). The Iraqi groups, however, utilised more direct refusals such as NA and Direct No as compared with those featured in BEs data. The higher frequency of SIEs and

the lower frequency of NA and Direct No for BE subjects could be explained by a convention among BEs that SIE alone gives the implicature of NA/Direct No whereas Iraqi speakers are more likely to explicitly state NA and/or Direct No because SIE alone might not be sufficient .

Thus, it could be argued that, by providing more details and information in their refusals, the three groups are aware that the social relationship has to be maintained. In fact, almost all refusal studies in the literature, both those who used the DCT method and those who used the Role Play method for data collection, have found Excuse/Reason to be the most frequently used strategy in the realisation of refusal (Al-Issa, 1998; Al-Shalawi 1997; Felix-Brasdefer 2002; Morkus 2009). Furthermore, this tendency is also observed in the study conducted by Bardovi-Harling and Hartford (1991) where it was revealed that Explanations was the strategy most commonly used for rejections by both native and non-native refusers.

An important difference between the interlocutors of the groups is that IAs and ILEs, both in the DCT and in the Role Play, stressed the importance of family in their life. In Role Play 3 and situation number 11 in refusals of requests in the DCT, where the subjects were asked to refuse their boss's request to work for two extra hours, and also in an offer of job promotion but relocation to another city (Role Play 1, situation 10 refusals of offers) it was obvious that IAs and ILEs, in their use of the strategy of Putting the Blame on a Third Party, resorted to family-related excuses (see 5.5.3, and 7.4.2). It is worth mentioning here that women in Iraqi groups resort to such excuses more than men (64% and 36% respectively). It could be explained that men in Iraqi society are socially the decision-makers in family matters, particularly for such crucial decisions. Thus, women need to consult their husbands or brothers before giving their acceptance in such important matters. BEs, on the other hand, provided personal, rather than family, reasons although a few instances of family reasons are used by them (see Role Play 1 and 3 in 7.4.2). In the course of data analysis of the DCT and the Role Plays, it was noticed that Iraqis used family circumstances more commonly in their explanations, such as:

8. R3. مسوين عشا عائلي.
'a-mseuīn 'eše 'ā'l-i

1PL. made dinner family-Adv.

'We will have a family dinner'. (M4, IA).

9. *10. I need to consult my husband. (F8, ILE)

BEs, on the other hand, gave explanations that show their own inclinations, such as:

10. *16. I am busy now you can clean it later. (M9, BE)

11. #10. No, I have to study now. (F6, BE)

12. R1. I've just bought a house. (M1, BE)

This can be explained by differences in communication practices. Iraqis give family-related circumstances the greatest priority in their explanations, which reflects the value of family in their interaction. As a result of these differences, IAs and ILEs used family excuses/reasons for their refusals, while BEs utilised personal ones (work, study).

Analysis of the data in this study has revealed that religion plays a vital role in the refusal process. A number of religious expressions were regularly employed by the IAs. The strategy commonly used in the DCT by IAs, but not by the other two groups, is Invoking the name of God (see 4.3.2). The illocutionary force of refusal in Arabic is softened by this strategy (Abdel-Jawad, 2000). In this current study ILEs used it 11 times in their oral refusals in the Role-Play (see table 7.1). In contrast, BEs never included such religious expressions in their refusals. This may be attributed to the fact that BE informants are less religious. However, it doesn't mean that all Iraqi speakers who use such expressions are deeply religious. Their use in Arabic could be attributable to the fact that such expressions are conventionalised in Arabic language in a way that they are not in contemporary English.

Religious formulae are widely utilised in Iraqi interactions. Invoking God *والله* *by God* is an expression that appears to be an essentially fixed formula in Iraqi conversational interactions. Furthermore, the speaker of such expressions tries to gain the social approval of the addressee. It is extremely likely that the socio-cultural rationale behind using these expressions is to enhance solidarity and to achieve more trustworthiness on the part of the requester/offerrer. In addition, Arabs would use swearing to God expressions in order to give firmity and assurance to what they say or intend to do (Almutlaq, 2013:224).

إن شاء الله *God willing* was another expression of wish which was utilised in IAs' and ILEs' formulae. The use of such expressions is taken from the Arabic and Islamic tradition, where the refuser tends to say 'God willing' whenever they wish something good to happen

in the future (Al-Khatib, 2001:191). Iraqis, as Muslims, believe that humans cannot control all events; something depends on God (i.e. fate) and that everything can come into being by the willingness of God. Moreover, by communicating such expressions, Iraqis displace responsibility for the refusal away from themselves and mitigate unpleasant outcomes. This finding was also investigated in Al-Issa (1998), and Morkus (2009). They too found evidence of frequent references to God in the realisation of refusals.

Language proficiency would appear to have played a part with regard to the semantic formulae employed by ILEs in both the DCT and the Role-Play. Generally, ILEs avoided using some lexical terms such as *definitely*, *absolutely*, *look after*, or syntactic forms which have no equivalents in Iraqi Arabic, for instance, tag-questions, hedges *kind of*, *sort of*, presumably because they are not confident in using them. Furthermore, strategies such as Counter-factual Conditionals might require knowledge of complex syntactic structures in order to be successfully utilised. However, 6 instances of Counter-factual Conditionals were used by ILEs in the DCT (see 5.2). This could be due to the nature of the DCT which allows them sufficient time to think about their answers. On the other hand, adjuncts such as Invoking the name of God did not feature in ILEs' DCT data. It could be argued that ILEs' linguistic knowledge allows them to be more aware of refraining from the use of such expressions, as they may consider them inappropriate in the English setting. However, 11 instances of Invoking the name of God appeared in ILEs' Role Play data. This may be attributed to the fact that ILEs are more subject to tongue slips and negative transfer in their verbal interaction. Some other formulae, however, were frequently used by ILEs such as Statement of Gratitude/Appreciation, Regret/Apology, and Direct No. It could be argued that ILEs' repeated use of such formulae is attributable to the fact that these strategies do not require a high level of linguistic competence and they are not linguistically demanding. This might well be the reason they were preferred by ILEs.

On the other hand, ILEs failed to adopt some strategies that occurred in BEs data such as Negative Consequences to Requester (table 7.1) Other strategies such as General Principles appeared in the DCT but not in the Role Plays (tables 5.10, 6.9, and 7.1). This strategy was not used by ILEs because it might require memorisation of certain phrases or tenses. The failure of these learners to adopt the strategies used by BEs may stem simply from their lack of familiarity with specific English formulae (Stevens,1993:105).

In addition, in the DCT and Role-Play data, other similarities and differences are evident among the three groups of informants. Most of the participants, for instance, in both

languages chose more Indirect strategies such as Statement of Impeding Events, Avoidance. However, IAs and ILEs used fewer indirect strategies and more direct strategies when interacting with someone lower in status. This may reflect the hierarchical structure of Iraqi society. In general, Iraqi society is hierarchical in the sense that social status differences play a vital role. Age, wealth, power and religion or governmental positions are all sources of status differences. BEs followed the same pattern of IAs and ILEs by using more indirect refusals with higher social status interlocutors, but the range of difference between high and low status subjects is not remarkable. BEs, however, sometimes utilised more indirect strategies when refusing someone lower in status. This may reflect the British belief in equality (see 5.2.1, 6.2.1, and 7.2.1).

Generally, in both the Role Play and the DCT investigation, all groups favoured the most indirect strategy type, which accounted for a very high percentage of all of the strategies they adopted (see chapters 5, 6, and 7). However, both IAs and ILEs utilised more Direct refusals than BEs. This finding contrasts with other studies, for example, Morkus (2009) Al-Issa (1998), Al-Shalawi (1997), Al Eryani (2007), who all concluded that Arabs are more indirect than their American English-speaking counterparts. Neither do the findings of this study coincide with those of Nelson et al (2002) who found that American and Egyptian participants used a similar number of Direct and Indirect strategies.

These findings shed light on important differences in communication styles between Iraqis and other Arabic speaking communities, on the one hand, and British and American people on the other. The most obvious difference between them is that, in this investigation, the English interlocutors make more use of the conventionally indirect strategy than the Iraqis, who employ more direct strategies than the English. Thus, different communication styles are adopted by those groups.

Further, In Role play interactions, when it is a matter of asking somebody to do something that has a cost in terms of either time or labour, initially refusers can be very indirect in rejecting a request/offer. They tend to use more and more supportive moves, for example, to proffer reasons, in order to persuade without sounding impolite. But when requesters/offerers do not concede easily, refusers repeat their rejections in the argument employing more direct strategies (See 7.2).

With reference to the pragmatic transfer found in ILEs data, the data of the two methods show that there was pragmatic transfer from Iraqi Arabic to British English (see 5.5,

6.4,7.2 and 7.4). As explained in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, evidence of pragmatic transfer was detected in the use of the three main categories of refusal, namely: Direct, Indirect, and Adjunct to Refusals. Firstly, evidence of pragmatic transfer was obvious in ILEs' refusals of requests. In the DCT, ILEs resembled their IA counterparts in their use of the same order of semantic formulae (section 5.1.2). BEs began their refusals with Positive Opinion and/or Regret/Apology, while IAs and ILEs almost always started with Regret/Apology. For BEs, SIEs occupied the second position in terms of frequency, as in:

13. # 6. Sorry, I need them today. (F4, BE)

Whereas for ILEs, as with their IA counterparts, Negated Ability was the second most commonly employed strategy and SIE the third, for instance:

14. # 8. Sorry, I am unable to, it is not on my way. (M7, ILE)

NA, as in *I don't have the ability to...* is regarded in Iraqi communication as less egocentric and serves to preserve the face of the requester. Furthermore, evidence of pragmatic transfer in the frequency and selection of refusal strategies of requests was found in ILE data. SIE and NA were the most frequently used strategies in those groups (see table 5.10). However, it was evidenced that ILEs transferred into English a sensitivity to contextual factors in a similar way to their IA counterparts. ILEs, like IAs, were sensitive to social status, while BEs, on the other hand, displayed sensibility to social status and gender (section 5.2). There is also evidence of pragmatic transfer in the contents of semantic formulae. The reasons/explanations advanced by IAs as excuses for refusals were actually less specific about their plans as to place, time and participants. This appears to transfer into ILEs, whose excuses lacked details and were less specific than BEs, who were particularly explicit in their excuses (section 5.3).

Moreover, evidence of pragmatic transfer was found in offer of refusals of different types in ILE data in the frequency, order and content of semantics (see chapter 6). Certain strategies were evident in IA data but were absent in that of BEs, and vice-versa. The strategies of Chiding, Alternative, and General Principle were employed by IAs but not at all by BEs. Some of these strategies were also employed by ILEs in their refusals of offer in English. These strategies are definitely characterised as transfer of refusal strategies from Arabic to English. As with refusals of requests, ILEs in refusals of offers displayed

sensitivity to contextual factors similar in one way or another to that of their IA counterparts (section 6.2). Both IA and ILE subjects displayed a noticeable difference in the range of the frequency of Statement of Impeding Event between higher and lower status. BEs also demonstrated an awareness of social status, but the distinction there was between status equals and unequals. The percentages indicate that the sensitivity of both IA and ILE subjects to gender did not vary, whereas the BEs demonstrated a considerably higher sensitivity to gender (section 6.2).

In refusals of offers, as far as the order and number of semantic formulae are concerned, the subjects did not follow the same pattern in the three groups (see 6.1.2). Whereas both IAs and ILEs employed NA as a second preference followed by SIE, as in:

15. *5. Thank you, I can't. It is time to leave now. (F3, ILE)

For BEs, SIE came second prior to Indicate Unwillingness in the third position, for example:

16. *18. Looks and smells great, but I am satisfied, I am not into this. (M10, BE)

Both IA and ILE subjects appeared to be sensitive to social status and social distance, since they increased the frequency of two semantic formulae when refusing a high status offerer, as in (section 6.1.1):

17. *6. Sorry, I promised my family to take them on a trip. (M2, ILE)

and decreased the one semantic formula strategies, such as:

18. *1. اتمنى لو اقدر

'a-tmena lō 'a-gdar

1S-wish if 1S-able

'I wish I could'. (F2, IA)

The decisive distinction for BEs was between status equals and unequals (section 6.2). ILEs transferred their relative nonsensitivity to gender, for they, like IAs, did not alter considerably the frequency of two semantic formula strategies when refusing male or female offerers/requester or those of same or opposite gender (section 6.1.1).

Pragmatic transfer was also observed in the interaction between ILEs in Role-play situations. In Role-Plays, as with the data extracted through the DCT, certain semantic formulae were evident in the data of all of the three groups, whereas other formulae existed in the data of one or two groups but were nonexistent in the other (see chapter 7). For instance, Invoking the Name of God, and Putting the Blame on a Third Party were used by IAs and ILEs, but did not feature in BEs data. This can be seen as an example of pragmatic transfer. Besides, the non-occurrence of Negative Consequences to Requester in both IAs and ILEs baseline data also provided evidence of pragmatic transfer. Furthermore, It is important to note that the figures for the six most frequently used Indirect strategies were identical for IAs and ILEs, but were different for the BE group, with the exception of the first two (Statement of Impeding Event and Avoidance), which was the same for all three groups. This may indicate a pragmatic transfer by ILEs from Iraqi Arabic (chapter seven, section 7.2).

Moreover, sociopragmatic and a pragmlinguistic transfer occurs in the present study when ILEs used expressions that do not occur in British English or because they misjudge the imposition implied in the situation (see 5.5.3, 6.4, and 7.4).

In both methods Direct Refusals were more frequent in the data of IAs and ILEs than in BEs . This difference could be explained in terms of differences in communication style between British people and Iraqis. It could also be interpreted as a sign of a negative pragmatic transfer from Iraqi Arabic.

It seems that ILEs tended to fall back on Arabic pragmatic knowledge when making refusals. English is an international language; however, the sociolinguistic or pragmatic transfer from the native language to the target language cannot be avoided (Cohen and Olshtain,1981; Olshtain, 1983; Takahashi, et al., 1993).

Pragmatic transfer has been found in refusal studies using the Role Play method for data collection (Felix-Brasdefer,2002; Morkus, 2009) as well as studies using DCT (Henstock, 2003; Al-Issa,1998 Al-Eryani, 2007; and Stevens, 1993).

Many different types of refusal strategies have been identified in this study, and many observations have demonstrated that various refusal strategies collected via the Role Play did not appear in the data collected by the DCT and vice versa. For instance, Request for Consideration or Understanding, Request for Information/Clarification, and Negative Consequences to Requester, in addition to some Adjuncts such as Getting Interlocutor's Attention and Statement of Empathy/Concern were investigated in the data collected by the Role Plays, but they were non-existent in the DCT data. On the other hand, Wish, was observed in the DCT data but not in the Role Plays (see tables 5.10, 6.9, and 7.1 in chapters five, six, and seven respectively). Such variations in the use of strategies could be due partially to differences in data collection methods, i.e., the DCT and the Role-Play. Role play allows for extended negotiation between interlocutors in that the conversation stretches over a period of interaction, and this may explain the appearance of some strategies such as Avoidance, for example:

19. R1. Go to Baghdad? (F2, ILE)

Such tactics, arguably, are more reliable indicators of what people do in real-life situations. However, DCT allows for only a single turn response.

As regards the (im)politeness theories of Brown and Levinson (1987) and Culpeper (1996), refusal strategies are differentiated into four strategies: negative (im)politeness, positive (im)politeness, off-record (im)politeness and bald on record (im)politeness (see chapter four and tables 4.1 and 4.2).

Negative politeness is the heart of respectful behaviour (Brown and Levinson, 1987:129). The speaker is concerned with the hearer's freedom of action and wants to redress or at least minimise the threat to the hearer (see also chapter two, section 2.5). Five strategies of this type are found in this study: (1) Negated Ability (2); Let Off the Hook (3); It is my Treat (4); Regret/Apology, and (5). Invoking the Name of God.

However, when using positive politeness, it is not necessary to redress the face want infringed by the FTA because the speaker wants the addressee's face to be satisfied. In the data I have found four strategies in use: (1) Indicate Unwillingness; (2) Statement of Positive Opinion/Agreement; (3) Gratitude/Appreciation; and (4) Statement of Empathy/Concern.

Furthermore, in communicating by using the off-record strategy, the speaker does not say their intension directly or clearly, in order not to commit themselves with their utterance. They leave the interpretation to the hearer. The vast majority of the strategies in this study were of this type:

(1) Statement of Impeding Event; (2) Counter-Factual Conditionals; (3) General Principles; (4) Alternative; (5) Avoidance; (6) Putting the Blame on a Third Party; (7) Request for Information; (8) Request for Understanding; and (9) Negative Consequences.

The last superstrategy is bald on record. This strategy is fairly self-explanatory. Brown and Levinson (1987) add the clarification that whenever the speaker wants to undertake a FTA with maximum efficiency more than they want to satisfy the hearer's face, they will choose the bald on record strategy (p.95). In this study, bald on record is usually used to state the speaker's intention directly. Therefore, strategies such as (1) Performative Refusals *I refuse...* or (2) Direct No e.g. *No* are categorised under bald on record strategy. Chiding, however, did not fit this category but the bald-on-record (im)politeness strategy of Culpeper (1996).

The strategies used here vary according to the scenarios and to how each informant perceives them. The status difference between speaker and hearer seems to correlate with the strategy chosen. The negative politeness is often used in situations (7-12) in the DCT, and scenarios (7-9) in the Role Plays where the participants must deal with a higher status hearer. However, positive politeness is used equally with negative politeness, but some informants use bald on record more frequently with equal and lower social status/distance (see tables 5.11, 6.10, and 7.4 in chapters five, six, and seven respectively). Interaction with lower status people also leads participants to choose negative politeness, as in scenario 7 in the Role Play (an offer to pay a broken statuette value) where most subjects use this strategy to talk to a waiter.

20. R7. It does not matter. (M9, BE)

We can also see that bald on record is often used with scenarios dealing with people of the same status (situations 1-6 in the DCT, RPs 4-6). They seem to feel comfortable with a direct style and do not have to be careful when talking with their friends or people who are of the same status. Another interesting point is that females in many scenarios use positive

politeness more widely than male refusers in both methods. This is especially true for the offers situations of the DCT (table 6.13). This may reflect their attitude in choosing expressions to show their friendliness when disagreeing with a sister, a brother (situation 1, and 4), a classmate (situation 3 and 6) in the DCT. Positive politeness did not appear widely in the Role Plays, however (only 55 instances of the total). Table 1 and figure 1 in appendix 15 illustrate all the strategies found in this study from both methods classified according to the (im)politeness strategies. It is obvious from the total numbers of strategies that Off Record and Negative Politeness were the most frequent in this study (36.4%, and 35.1% respectively). However, strategies that are classified as Bald on Record were the less frequent in this study (12%), followed by Positive politeness (16.4%).

8.2. Pedagogical Implications

There are a number of pedagogical implications of the present study. Numerous examples show that ILEs have gaps in both their pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic knowledge of English (see 5.5.3, 6.4, and 7.4). Consequently, it is very important to target both types of knowledge when teaching them English. With regard to the socio-pragmatic competence, it is important to teach learners this type of information and show them how it affects communication. The variables of status and distance, as was clearly shown by the findings from the present study, were crucial in how refusals were differentially realised in English and Arabic. Furthermore, this study revealed that ILEs, as with IAs, were not sensitive to gender that was an influential variable in BEs' responses. Thus, ILEs need to be more aware of this contextual factor when making refusals.

With regard to pragma-linguistic competence, it is important, as was observed in this study, to teach learners how refusal strategies are differentially used in English and Arabic. The study showed that British English and Iraqi Arabic share many refusal strategies, but these strategies are sometimes used and distributed differently. As was reported in the present study such strategies include, for example, SIE, Avoidance and Regret/Apology. As the present study has shown, it is also important for ILEs to learn about the pragmatic functions of certain syntactic structures in English (e.g., Counter-factual Conditionals, Negative Consequences). In addition, fixed expressions such as General Principles, which are commonly used in everyday interactions in Iraqi Arabic and in English, should be

taught explicitly to students. Students should also be taught how to use these expressions appropriately taking into account all relevant contextual factors.

Perhaps the best way to teach students this type of pragmatic information is through awareness rising, which is an approach that has been advocated in the literature by a number of researchers (Bardovi-Harlig, 1996; Rose, 1999). According to this approach, students are not taught this pragmatic information explicitly, but instead they are encouraged to discover this information on their own. This is done through paying close attention to context, and examining how different contextual factors affect communication. Other techniques include those suggested by Rose (1994), who advocates the use of videos for teaching pragmatic knowledge. He explains that video represents an ideal medium for introducing pragmatic issues in the classroom. This is probably because it allows language learners to examine not only the verbal but also the non-verbal communication strategies.

Finally, it is very important to point out that teachers of English need to be particularly sensitive when teaching socio-pragmatic information to their students. Thomas (1983) explains that “sociopragmatic decisions are social before they are linguistic, and while foreign learners are fairly amenable to corrections which they regard as linguistic, they are justifiably sensitive about having their social . . . judgment called into question” (p. 104). Therefore, teachers should provide sociopragmatic information to learners and let them choose how to express themselves in the target language (Bardovi-Harlig, 1996; Thomas, 1983). It should be up to the learner whether or not to adopt the communication style of the target language, since adopting it would partially entail adopting the socio-cultural norms and beliefs of the target culture.

8.3 Strengths and Weaknesses/Limitations of my study

An immediately obvious contribution of this study is that refusals in British English versus Iraqi Arabic have not been investigated previously.

The main strength of the study lies in the combination of data collection methods. Role Play is very effective in the sense that, having begun, it moves freely much like real life events, producing very useful data for analysis. As a result, the data in the DCTs and the Role Play go hand in hand. In comparing the methods used, data analysis reveals that Role

Play investigation can compensate for some of the limitations of the questionnaire and vice versa. Thus, it satisfies the requirements of the researcher. It appears that no previous study has combined these two methods for the collection of data in Iraqi Arabic and British English. However, the extent to which Role Plays are representative of spoken language is not certain. It should be noted here that this study is the first one that has examined refusals in Iraqi Arabic over multiple turns of interacts via Role Plays.

Finally, this study presents a new strategy which is 'It is My Treat', such as *I'll pay; It is on me*, that did not appear in any previous study (see 4.2.2). This strategy appeared mostly in situations 12 (an offer for a cigarette), and 15 (an offer to pay a snack in a cafeteria) in refusals of offers when interlocutors were asked to refuse an offer for payment. This strategy may show a cross-cultural difference more than a difference in communication styles. While it is acceptable in the western culture to split a bill, it might not be so in Arab society. In Restaurants, Arabs will almost always insist on paying, especially if it is a small group setting or a business setting. The appropriate response is offering to help pay in a gracious manner (Nydell, 2006: 63). However, when paying together as a group for a major meal, it is best if one person pays the bill and is reimbursed later, because publicly calculating a bill is considered annoying and embarrassing to Arabs (ibid).

In terms of limitations, a salient issue is the small number of subjects. There are sixty subjects in the present study, 20 IAs, 20 ILEs, and 20 BEs, and, because the sample sizes are rather small, any results have to be interpreted cautiously. The constraints of doctoral work did not allow for the collection of more data. The transcription process in particular was very time-consuming, and accessing subjects was not easy especially with BEs who refused to participate when I explained that the time needed to answer the DCTs and acting out the Role Plays was about 30 minutes.

An additional limitation lies in the difficulty of classifying data. Sometimes this task proved rather challenging. For example, although criteria were put in place for classification of data, sometimes it was very difficult to decide whether a certain utterance should be classified as a Direct or as an Indirect refusal, given the differences between English and Iraqi Arabic. Further, in contrast to previous studies, Adjuncts are counted separately, because they are considered modifications to refusals accompanying Direct and/or Indirect refusals. Having completed the classification work, the task of categorising them according to the (im)politeness theories of Brown and Levinsons (1987) and Culpeper (1996) remained to be accomplished. It is inevitable that such decisions are

subject to a certain amount of subjectivity in classifying and categorising particular utterances. However, this study would appear to be the first to have discussed refusal tactics in terms of the (im)politeness theories.

Finally, due to time and word count limitations of the thesis, variables such as age, occupation, and level of education, were not investigated in the present study.

8.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Since the present study was the first in to elicit data by Role Plays and DCTs in Iraqi Arabic, there is certainly a need for more studies that use those data collection methods. The findings of such studies would provide very useful insights into Iraqi Arabic communication style and how Iraqi speech acts are realised at the discourse and written level. Findings from such studies can certainly provide an invaluable resource for Iraqi teachers, Iraqi textbook writers, and curriculum designers.

Future research can also control for a number of variables that have been found to be important in speech act research such as age, occupation and level of education. It will be important to find out in what ways these variables affect the realisation of speech acts in Arabic.

Another area of research that is also very promising is that of judgments of appropriateness and level of directness. That is, to have learner's interactions judged for appropriateness and directness by native speakers of English and/or Arabic. This can provide very useful insights into the criteria native speakers of Arabic/English use in judging the appropriateness of learners' performance.

Finally, the informants in the present study are aged from 18 to 30 years old. Sometimes we feel that the children in primary schools are also good in their verbal and written tact of rejection. Thus, discovering language development of understanding and producing polite forms of refusal at school age, 6 to 11 needs to be researched.

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Appendix (1): Discourse Completion Test in English

Age: Below 20 20-25 26-30 31-35 36-39 40-45 above 45

Gender: Male Female

Level of Education Below BA BA Above BA

Native language _____

Nationality _____

Arabic Language Proficiency: Advanced Intermediate Basic None

Parents Language _____

Please read the following situations. After each situation you will be asked to write a refusal response in the blank space after 'you'. Respond as you think you would do in actual conversation

1. Request refusals:

1. Your sister asks you to bring her a book from the library.

You: _____

2. A female stranger stops you at a public garden and asks you to photograph her.

You: _____

3. Your female classmate wants you to copy a paper for her.

You: _____

4. Your brother asks you to pass him the salt next to you.

You: _____

5. A male stranger stops you in the street and asks you to show him the way to the railway station.

You: _____

6. Your male classmate wants you to lend him the lecture notes from the classes that he missed.

You: _____

7. Your mother, who usually does the shopping, tells you that she can't do it today. She asks you to do the shopping.

You: _____

8. A female professor from another department tells you that there is a message for your tutor and asks you to take it to him.

You: _____

9. Your teacher tells you that she wants to see you on your day off to discuss an important subject.

You: _____

10. Your father, who usually picks up your younger brother from school, asks you to do it today.

You: _____

11. Your boss at a bookstore, whom you hardly know, asks you to work extra hours.

You: _____

12. Your teacher tells you that he wants you to prepare a paper for him within only two days.

You: _____

13. Your neighbour's ten-year-old daughter, whom you do not really know, wants to borrow your bicycle.

You: _____

14. A first-year female student at the university, whom you do not like, asks you to explain a subject to her.

You: _____

15. Your cleaning lady, who started working in your house two years ago, broke your china vase accidentally, and asks to pay for it.

You: _____

16. Your relative's ten-year-old son, whom you know well, asks you to give him a lift to school.

You: _____

17. A first-year student whom you do not like wants to interview you for his project.

You: _____

18. A first-year male student whom you like asks for your help in using a computer program.

You: _____

2. Offers Refusals:

1. Your sister offers you a cup of coffee.

You: _____

2. You are at a party, and a woman offers you a glass of juice.

You: _____

3. One of your female classmates offers you another piece of cake in a cafeteria.

You: _____

4. Your brother offers you a cold drink.

You: _____

5. You are at the cinema, and man offers you a seat next to him.

You: _____

6. One of your male classmates offers you a lift in his car.

You: _____

7. Your mother offers you some money to buy yourself a shirt.

You: _____

8. A female professor offers you some help on your assignment.

You: _____

9. Your female dean offers you a pen after noticing that your pen has run out of ink.

You: _____

10. Your male boss, with whom you've worked for about three years now, offers you a promotion and a pay raise. This promotion, however, involves relocating to a distant city.

You: _____

11. A lecturer whom you do not like offers you a cigarette.

You: _____

12. One of your lecturers wants to pay for your ticket on the bus.

You: _____

13. Your neighbour's ten-year-old daughter, whom you know well, offers to help carry some of your heavy bags.

You: _____

14. A first-year female student at the university whom you do not like offers that you can take the lift first.

You: _____

15. A first-year female student, whom you like, offers to pay for your snack in the cafeteria.

You: _____

16. Your relative's ten-year-old son, whom you know well, offers to clean up the mess on your table.

You: _____

17. A restaurant waiter offers you a table close to the window.

You: _____

18. At a party, your male employee, who has been appointed recently, offers you more dessert and insists that you should eat it. But you actually cannot.

You: _____

Appendix (2): Discourse Completion Test in Iraqi Arabic

العمر: أقل من 20 , 25-20 , 30-26 , 35-31 , 39-36 , 40-45 , فوق 45

الجنس: ذكر, انثى

مستوى التعليم: أقل من بكالوريوس, بكالوريوس , اعلى من البكالوريوس

هل تستخدم اللغة العراقية العامية في الكتابة: نعم , لا

الجنسية:

هل عشت خارج العراق:

مستوى اللغة الانكليزية: متقدم متوسط اساسي لا يوجد

1- الطلبات :

في المواقف التالية ستقرأ وصفا من المواقف الاجتماعية

ارجو ان تذكر رفضك كما انك لو ترفضها في المواقف الحقيقية .

1. طلبت منك اختك ان تحيب الها كتاب من المكتبه.

أنت تكول : _____

2. طلبت منك مره غريبه ان تاخذلها صورة في حديقة عامة .

أنت تكول : _____

3. طلبت منك زميلتك ان تستنسلها بعض الاوراق .

أنت تكول : _____

4. طلب منك اخوك ان تمررله الملح بجانبك على الطاولة

أنت تكول : _____

5. طلب منك شخص غريب ان تدليه على محطة القطار .

أنت تكول : _____

6. طلب منك زميلك ان تعيره بعض المحاضرات الي ما يحضرها .

أنت تكول : _____

7. طلبت منك امك , الي دائما تتسوك بنفسها , ان تتسوك اليوم .

أنت تكول : _____

8. طلبت منك دكتورة بقسم ثاني ان توصل رسالة لمدرس بقسمك .

أنت تكول : _____

9. طلبت منك رئيسة القسم ان تجي للكلية يوم الجمعة (يوم عطلتك) لمناقشة موضوع مهم.

أنت تكول : _____

10. طلب منك ابوك , الي دائما يجيب اخوك الصغير من المدرسه , ان تجيبه اليوم .

أنت تكول : _____

11. مديرك بالشغل , الي مو كلش تعرفه , طلب منك ان تشتغل ساعات اضافيه .

أنت تكول : _____

12. طلب منك احد استاذتك ان تكمل بحث خلال يومين.

أنت تكول : _____

13. جيرانكم الي عمرها 10 سنوات والي موكلش تعرفها طلبت منك البايسكل.

أنت تكول : _____

14. طالبتك بالجامعه , والي مو كلش تحبها , طلبت منك ان تشرحها موضوع معين.

أن تكول : _____

15. المنظفه الي صار لها سنتين تشتغل عدكم كسرت احد المزهريات وعرضت عليك ان تدفع فلوسها.

أنت تكول : _____

16. اقاربك الي عمره عشر سنوات والي كلش تحبه طلب منك ان توصله للمدرسه بسيارتك.

أنت تكول : _____

17. طالب بالمرحلة الاولى والي موكلش تحبه طلب ان يقابلك بخصوص مشروع بحث تخرجه.

أنت تكول : _____

18. طالب بالمرحلة الاولى والي تحبه طلب منك ان تساعده باستخدام احد برامج الحاسبه

أنت تكول : _____

2. - العروض :

1. قدمتك اختك فنجان كهوة .

أنت تكول : _____

2. باحد الحفلات قدمتك مره عصير .

أنت تكول : _____

3. قدمتك احد زميلاتك قطعة كيك ثانيه في الكافتيريا .

أنت تكول : _____

4. قدمك اخوك مشروب بارد .

أنت تكول : _____

5. بالسنيما عرض عليك شخص ان تجلس بجانبه .

أنت تكول : _____

6. عرض عليك واحد من زملائك ان يوصلك بسيارته .

أنت تكول : _____

7. عرضت عليك والدتك مبلغ تشتري بيه قميص .

أنت تكول : _____

8. استاذة عرضت عليك مساعده في واجبك البيتي .

أنت تكول : _____

9. عرضت عليك عميدتك ان تستخدم قلمها بعد ما لاحظت ان قلمك خالص حبر .

أنت تكول : _____

10. عرض عليك مديرك بالشغل والي صارك تشتغل وياه ثلاثة سنوات ترقيه وزياده بالراتب, بس بشرط ان تنتقل لمدينه ثانيه .

أنت تكول : _____

11. أنت كاعد وبيه احد المدرسين الي مو كلش تحبه وقدملك جكاراة .

أنت تكول : _____

12. عرض عليك احد مدرسيك ان يدفعلك كروة الباص .

أنت تكول : _____

13. جيرانكم عمرها عشر سنوات والي تعرفها زين رادت تساعدك بتوصيل جنطتك للبيت .

أنت تكول : _____

14. عرضت عليك احدى الطالبات والي متحبها ان تصعد بالمصعد قبلها .

أنت تكول : _____

15. عرضت عليك طالبة بالمرحلة الاولى (تعرفها) وجبة اكل بالكافتيريا .

أنت تكول : _____

16. عرض عليك اقاربك الي عمره 10 سنوات ان يرتب الفوضى على ميز مكتبك .

أنت تكول : _____

17. عرض عليك عامل مطعم ان تكعد على طاولة يم الشباك .

أنت تكول : _____

18. في حفله عرض عيك احد موظفيك الي قبل فتره قليله تعين عندك بعض الحلويات واصر ان تاكلها .

أنت تكول: _____

Appendix (3): Role Play Scenarios in English

Instructions

The following are 9 role-plays that you will act out with one of your classmates. You are required in accordance with the instructions provided. The role plays will be audio-recorded. You will be given instructions for the role play in English.

Role-Play 1

Instructions to informant A:

You have been working for TESCO for almost two months now. The other person is your boss, whom you barely know. They will ask you something that you cannot accept.

Instructions to informant B:

You are a manager at TESCO. The other person is your employee who has been working with you for almost two months now. You have decided to offer them a promotion and a pay raise. However, this promotion involves relocating to York, from their hometown of Manchester.

Role Play 2

Instructions to informant A:

Tomorrow is the deadline for one of your final papers. You have many other assignments that you need to finish on time. The other person is your lecturer who has taught you three semesters now. They will ask for something that you have to refuse.

Instructions to informant B:

You are a lecturer at the university. The other person is a student of yours whom you have taught three semesters now. You must ask them to attend a party prepared by the student union tomorrow.

Role Play 3

Instructions to informant A:

You have been working full-time at a factory for the past two years. The other person is your boss whom you like. They will want something which you have to refuse.

Instructions to informant B:

You are a mid-level manager at a factory. This week is a very busy one for the factory, as a large volume of products has to be ready for delivery at the end of it. The other person is an employee whom you like. Today, you want them to work for two more hours.

Role Play 4

Instructions to informant A:

You are taking a class on Biology and have an exam next week. The other person is a classmate of yours whom you hardly know. They will want something from you, which you must try to resist.

Instructions to informant B:

You are taking a class on Biology and have an exam next week. The other person is a classmate of yours whom you hardly know. You want to borrow their lecture notes.

Role-Play 5

Instructions to informant A:

You are visiting a friend of yours whom you know for almost a year. They have prepared a big meal for you with traditional food as well as some nice dessert. At the end of the meal you feel very full. Your friend wants something from you, which you must reject.

Instructions to informant B:

You have invited a friend of yours, whom you have known for almost a year, to dinner. You have prepared a big meal for them with traditional food as well as some nice dessert. They have finished eating, but you offer them more dessert and insist that they should eat it.

Role Play 6

Instructions to informant A:

You have been sharing a flat with a friend for two years now. The other person is your flat mate, who is working on an assignment. They will want something from you that you must try to resist.

Instructions to informant B:

While you are working on your assignment, your computer suddenly stops working. The other person is your flat mate. You want to borrow their computer.

Role-Play 7

Instructions to informant A:

You are the CEO of a large company. The other person is a cleaner working for your company, whom you hardly know. While cleaning your office, they accidentally knock down a small china statue, breaking it into pieces. They will make a suggestion that you must refuse.

Instructions to informant B:

You are a cleaner working for a large company. While you are cleaning the CEO's office, you accidentally knock down a small china statuette, breaking it into pieces. You feel guilty, so you apologize and insist that you should pay for it.

Role-Play 8

Instructions to informant A:

You stop by your friend's house to pick them up to go to a party. Your friend is running a little bit late. The other person is your friend's younger sibling, whom you have met a couple of times before. They will ask you for something that you have to refuse.

Instructions to informant B:

You have an assignment that must be submitted tomorrow. Your computer broke down earlier today, however. The other person is your sibling's friend, whom you have met a couple of times before. Ask him to help you fix it.

Role Play 9

Instructions to informant A:

You are a teacher at a university. Mid-term exams are next week, so you need to prepare a test for your students. The other person is your academic advisee, whom you know well, and who is graduating this semester. They will want something from you that you must try to resist.

Instructions to informant B:

You are graduating this semester and planning to apply for the Master's program. You need to submit a recommendation letter with the application. The other person is your Academic Advisor, whom you know well. You want them to write the reference for you.

Appendix (4): Role Play Scenarios in Iraqi Arabic

التعليمات:

راح نسوي 9 مشاهد تمثيلية بالعامية العراقية وراح تمثلها مع احد زملاءك. عليك ان تتبع التعليمات لكل دور علما ان المشاهد راح تتسجل صوتيا.

المشهد الاول:

تعليمات للشخص أ

انت تشتغل بشركة نفط ميسان صار شهرين. الشخص الي امامك هو مسؤولك بالعمل والي يادوب تعرفه. راح يطلب منك طلب لازم ترفضه.

تعليمات للشخص ب

انت مدير شركة نفط ميسان. الشخص الي امامك هو موظف عندك صار سنتين يعمل بالشركة. انت قررت ان تمنحه ترقية وزيادة بالراتب. لكن هاي الترقية وزيادة الراتب راح تتطلب من الموظف نقله من محافظة ميسان الى بغداد.

المشهد الثاني:

تعليمات للشخص أ

باجر هو الموعد النهائي لتسليم بحوث التخرج بالاضاف الى تحضيرات دراسيه اخرى مطلوبه منك. الشخص الي مقابلك هو استاذك والي لحد الان مدرسك 3 كورسات. راح يطلب منك شي عليك ان ترفضه.

تعليمات للشخص ب

انت استاذ بالجامعة والشخص الي امامك هو طالب عندك درسته لحد الان 3 كورسات. اطلب منه ان يحضر حفله حضرها اتحاد الطلبة بالجامعة.

المشهد الثالث:

تعليمات للشخص أ

انت تشتغل باحد المعامل بدوام كامل صار لك تقريبا سنتين. الشخص الي امامك هو مديرك الي كلش تحبه. راح يطلب منك فد شي لكن انت لازم ترفض.

تعليمات للشخص ب

انت مسؤول تنفيذي في شركة. بهذا الاسبوع المعمل مطلوب منه انتاج كميات كبيره من المواد وتسليمها للزبائن. الشخص الي مقابلك هو موظف عندك. اليوم تريد تطلب منه ان يشتغل ساعتين اضافيه بعد الدوام.

المشهد الرابع:**تعليمات للشخص أ**

عندك امتحان مادة الاحياء الاسبوع الجاي. الشخص الامامك هو زميك لكن يادوب تعرفه. زميك هذا راح يطلب منك شي وانت مطلوب منك ترفض.

تعليمات للشخص ب

عندك امتحان مادة الاحياء الاسبوع الجاي. الشخص الامامك هو زميك لكن يادوب تعرفه. تريد ان تطلب منه محاضراته لمادة الاحياء.

المشهد الخامس:**تعليمات للشخص أ**

انت بزيارة لصديق تعرفه صار تقريبا سنه. حضرلك هذا الصديق وجبة اكل شعبيه بالاضافة للحلويات. بعد ما خلصت اكل وشبعت, صديقك راح يقدملك شي انت لازم ما تقبله.

تعليمات للشخص ب

انت عزمت احد الاصدقاء على وجبة عشا والي صارلك سنه تقريبا تعرفه. حضرت للعشا وجبة اكل شعبيه بالاضافة لبعض الحلويات الطيبه. بعد ما خلص صديقة العشا تقدمله بعض الحلويات وتصر على ان ياكلها.

المشهد السادس:**تعليمات للشخص أ**

انت تسكن بشقة ويه احد الاصدقاء صارلك تقريبا سنتين. الشخص الي امامك هو شريكك بالسكن والي هسه عنده واجب مدرسي. راح يطلب منك فد شي الي عليك انت ترفضه.

تعليمات للشخص ب

اثناء ما جاي تشتغل على واجب مدرسي، حاسبتك فجأه عطلت. الشخص الي امامك هو زميلك بالسكن . اطلب منه حاسبته حتى تكمل واجبك.

المشهد السابع:

تعليمات للشخص أ

انت المدير التنفيذي لشركة كبيرة. الشخص الامامك هو منظمف والي يادوب تعرفه. بين ما كان ينظمف مكتبك وكع تحفية وتكسرت. راح يقترح عليك فد شي بس عليك ان ترفض.

تعليمات للشخص ب

انت تشتغل منظمف بشركة كبيرة. بينما كنت تنظمف مكتب المدير وكعت تحفية وتكسرت. حسيت بالذنب واعتذرت وتريد تدفع فلوسها.

المشهد الثامن:

تعليمات للشخص أ

مريت على بيت صديقك حتى تاخذه وياك بالسياره للحفله. تاخر عليك صديقك. الشخص الي امامك هو اخو صديقك الاصغر منه والي قابلته كم مره. راح يطلب منك فد شي انت لازم ترفضه.

تعليمات للشخص ب

عندك واجب مدرسي لازم تكمله باجر. اليوم عطلت حاسبتك الي لازم تكمل بيها واجبك. الشخص الي امامك هو صديق اخوك الي مقابله عدة مرات. اطلب منه ان يصلح الحاسبه.

المشهد التاسع:

تعليمات للشخص أ

انت استاذ جامعي . الاسبوع الي جاي امتحانات الكورس الاول وتريد تحضر الاسئله للطلاب. الشخص الي امامك هو احد طلابك والي تعرفه زين وراح يتخرج هذا الكورس. راح يطلب منك طلب عليك انت ترفضه.

تعليمات للشخص ب

راح تتخرج هذا الكوس من الجامعه وراح تقدم على دراسة الماجستير. تحتاج ان تقدم رسالة توصية ويه المستمسكات المطلوبة للتقديم. الشخص الي امامك هو استاذك والي عندك معرفه بيه من زمان. اطلب منه ان يكتبلك رسالة توصية.

Appendix (5): Consent Form in English

You are invited to participate in this study to help the researcher gather data on communicative strategies in a cross-cultural perspective. The following information is provided to help you decide whether to participate or not.

The purpose of the study is to investigate communicative strategies in a cross-cultural perspective. Your participation is voluntary. You are free not to participate in this study or to withdraw any time you want without affecting your relationship with your university. If you decide to participate, all the information will be kept in strict confidentiality and will have no bearing on your academic status. If you agree, you will be asked to answer some background questions. The researcher will then set a time to give a test session. You will be asked to answer orally and /or in writing. Your answers will be audio-recorded for research purposes, but names will not be needed. The test will take approximately 20 minutes to fill in a questionnaire form and about 5 minutes to act out two situations of the role plays with your colleague.

This data will be used for my Ph.D thesis, conferences, presentations, and/or published research papers with no monetary compensation to you now or in the future.

By signing this consent form, you are demonstrating that you have read all the information above and that you have agreed to be audio-recorded. There is no risk to you by participating in this research.

If you have questions, please contact Mohammed Jasim, the researcher at 07539200417,

e-mail: mohammed.jasim@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

-----	-----	-----
Participant's Signature	Printed Name	Date
-----	-----	-----
Researcher's Signature	Printed Name	Date

Appendix (6): Consent form in Arabic

انت مدعو للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة لمساعدة الباحث في جمع بياناته في استراتيجيات التواصل من منظور متعدد والغرض من هذه الدراسة هو بحث استراتيجيات التواصل من منظور متعدد الثقافات. مشاركتكم طوعية. الثقافات. أنت حر في عدم المشاركة في هذه الدراسة أو الانسحاب في أي وقت تريد دون أن يؤثر ذلك على علاقتك مع جامعتك. إذا قررت المشاركة، سيتم الاحتفاظ بكافة المعلومات في سرية تامة لن يكون لها أي تأثير على وضعك الأكاديمي. إذا كنت توافق، سوف يطلب منك أن تجيب على بعض الأسئلة الأساسية. سيحدد الباحث بعد ذلك وقت إجراء الاختبار. سوف يطلب منك أن تجيب شفويا و / أو خطيا. إجاباتك سوف تسجل صوتيا لأغراض البحث، ولكن لن تكون هناك حاجة الأسماء.

سيسبغرق الاختبار حوالي ٢٠ دقيقة لملا استمارة الاستبيان و حوالي ٥ دقائق لتمثيل مواقف شفوية مع احد زملاؤك.

وسيتم استخدام هذه البيانات أطروحتي للدكتوراه ، المؤتمرات،العروض و / أو نشر البحوث مع عدم وجود تعويض نقدي لك الآن أو في المستقبل. سيتم تدمير هذه التسجيلات الصوتية عند الانتهاء من الدراسة.

من خلال التوقيع على نموذج الموافقة هذا، هذا يعني أنك قد قرأت جميع المعلومات الواردة أعلاه، وأنت وافقت على أن يكون يسجل صوتك. اود اعلامك انك لن تتعرض لأي خطر من خلال المشاركة في هذه الدراسة.

إذا كان لديك اي سؤال، ارجو الاتصال على الباحث محمد طاهر جاسم على الرقم ٠٧٧٢٢٥٠٧٨٦١ او البريد mohammed.jasim@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk الإلكتروني:

-----	-----	-----
توقيع المشارك	الاسم	التاريخ
-----	-----	-----
توقيع الباحث	الاسم	التاريخ

Appendix (7): Common Reference Levels: global scale

Proficient User	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of Proficient meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
Independent User	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her

Basic User		background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate Basic need.
	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

Appendix (8): List of Transcription Conventions

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Use</u>
<u>xxx</u>	Emphasised word or syllable
x:(:)	Elongated sound
xxx-	Abrupt stop
xxx=	Latched utterance
<xxx<	Delivered slowly (with respect to neighbouring talk)
>xxx>	Delivered quickly (w.r.t. neighbouring talk)
xxx	Delivered quietly (w.r.t. neighbouring talk)
XXX	Delivered loudly (w.r.t. neighbouring talk)
(0.3)	Timed pause (in seconds)
(.)	Micropause (less than 0.2 seconds)
xxx?	Rising intonation (not necessarily a question)
xxx.	Final intonation
xxx!	Emphatic intonation
h(hh)	Audible out breath (number of hs indicates respective length)
.h(hh)	Audible in breath (number of hs indicates respective length)
{xxx}	Talk which overlaps
((xxx))	Transcriber's note

Appendix (9): Beebe's et al. (1990: 72-73) method of classification of refusals:

I. Direct

A. Performative, e. g. I refuse.

B. Nonperformative statement

1. 'No. '

2. Negative willingness/ability, e. g. I can't. /I won't. /I don't think so.

II. Indirect

A. Statement of regret, e. g. I'm sorry ...

II feel terrible ...

B. Wish, e. g. I wish I could help you ...

C. Excuse, reason, explanation, e. g. My children will be home that night. /I have a headache.

D. Statement of alternative

1. I can do X instead of Y, e. g. I'd rather ... / I'd prefer ...

2. Why don't you do X instead of Y, e. g. Why don't you ask someone else?

E. Set condition for future or past acceptance, e. g. If you had asked me earlier, I would have...

F. Promise of future acceptance e, .g . I'll do it next time. /I promise I'll ... / Next time I'll ...(using 'will' of promise or 'promise')

G. Statement of principle, e. g. I never do business with friends.

H. Statement of philosophy, e. g. One can't be too careful.

I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor

1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester, e. g. 'I won't be any fun tonight. ' to refuse an invitation.
 2. Guilt trip, e. g. waitress to customers who want to sit a while: 'I can't make a living off people who just order coffee. '
 3. Criticize the request/requester, etc. (statement of negative feeling or opinion); insult/attack, e. g. Who do you think you are? / That's a terrible idea!
 4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request.
 5. Let interlocutor off the hook, e. g. Don't worry about it. / That's okay. / You don't have to.
 6. Self-defence, e. g. I'm trying my best. / I'm doing all I can do. / I do nothing wrong.
- J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal
1. Unspecific or indefinite reply
 2. Lack of enthusiasm
- K. Avoidance
1. Nonverbal
 - a. Silence
 - b. Hesitation
 - c. Do nothing
 - d. Physical departure
 2. Verbal
 - a. Topic switch
 - b. Joke
 - c. Repetition of part of request, etc., e. g. Monday?
 - d. Postponement, e. g. I'll think about it.

e. Hedging, e. g. Gee, I don't know. I'm not sure.

Adjuncts to refusals

1. Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement, e. g. That's a good idea ... / I'd love to ...
2. Statement of empathy (e. g. I realize you are in a difficult situation.)
3. Pause fillers (e. g. uhh / well / oh /uhm)
4. Gratitude / appreciation.

Appendix (10): Transcription and glossing of Arabic characters as cited from Versteegh (2014:xiv)

Name	Arabic script	Transcription	IPA sign
'alf	ا	ʾ	[ʔ]
bā'	ب	b	[b]
tā'	ت	t	[t]
ṭā'	ث	ṭ	[θ]
jīm	ج	j	[dʒ]
ḥā'	ح	ḥ	[h]
ḫā'	خ	ḫ	[x]
dāl	د	d	[d]
ḏāl	ذ	ḏ	[ð]
rā'	ر	r	[r]
zāy	ز	z	[z]
sīn	س	s	[s]
šīn	ش	š	[ʃ]
ṣād	ص	ṣ	[sʰ]
ḏād	ض	ḏ	[dʰ]
ṭā'	ط	ṭ	[tʰ]
ḏā'	ظ	ḏ	[ð]
'ayn	ع	ʿ	[ʕ]

ġayn	غ	ġ	[ɣ]
fā'	ف	f	[f]
qāf	ق	q	[q]
kāf	ك	k	[k]
lām	ل	l	[l]
mīm	م	m	[m]
nūn	ن	n	[n]
hā'	ه	h	[h]
wāw	و	w	[w]
yā'	ي	y	[j]

Additional signs used in transcription

Transcription sign	IPA sign
g	[g]
ǰ	[ʒ]
ǧ	[dʒ]
č	[tʃ]

Vowels

Symbol	Description
i	High front short
ī	High front long
e	Mid central short
ē	Mid-front long
a	Low front short
ā	Low back long
u	High back short
ū	High back long
ɑ:	Low back long
ay	Diphthong
aw	Diphthong
iə	Diphthong
īə	Diphthong

Table Abbreviations used in glossing

1,2,3	first, second, third person
ACC	accusative
ART	definite article

COMPL	complementiser
CONT	continous
COP	copula
GEN	genitive
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determinate
DEF	Definite article
DUL	Dual
F	feminine
FOC	focaliser
IMPERAT	imperative
IMPERF	imperfect
INDEF.ART	indefinite article
INDENT	indeterminate
INF	infinitive
INTERROG	interrogative
LINK	linking suffix
M	masculine
NEG	Negative
NOM	nominative
OBJ	object marker
PL	plural
PART	participle

PER.PART	Present participle
PERF	perfect
PROG	Progressive
POSS	possessive
PRED	predication
REL	relative
RELF	Reflexive
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TOP	topicaliser

Appendix (11): Refusal strategies found in the study:

Table (1): Refusal of Requests Strategies Found in the DCT

Direct Refusals	Indirect Refusals	Adjuncts to Refusals
Direct 'NO	Statement of Impeding Events	Statement of Regret/Apology
Negated Ability	Wish	Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or agreement
	Chiding/ Criticism	Invoking the Name of God
	Counter-factual Conditionals	
	General Principles	
	Alternative	
	Avoidance	

Table (2): Refusal of offers found in the DCT

Direct Refusals	Indirect Refusals	Adjuncts to Refusals
Direct No	Statement of Impeding Events	St. of Regret/Apology
Negated Ability	Indicate unwillingness	Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or agreement

	Let Off the Hook	Invoking the Name of God
	It is my Treat	Gratitude/Appreciation
	Chiding	
	General Principles	
	Putting the blame on a Third Party	
	Alternative	

Table (3): Refusal Strategies Found in the Role-Plays

Direct Refusals	Indirect Refusals	Adjuncts to Refusals
Direct No. Negating ability. Performative refusal.	Request for Information/Clarification Let off the Hook. Chiding Avoidance RequestforConsiderationor Understanding. Negative Consequences to Requester. Alternative. Statement of Impeding Events. Counterfactual Conditionals General Principles	Regret Gratitude/Appreciation Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or Agreement. Invoking the Name of God. Getting Interlocutor's Attention. Statement of Empathy/ Concern.

	Putting the blame on a Third Party.	
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Appendix (12): Some other Instances found in the data:

1. Direct No

1. *12 اعتقد لا , عندي خرده *

'a'tiqid lā 'and-i ḥurda

think.1SG NEG have-1SG change

'I think no, I already have the change'.(M4,IA)

2. #5. Probably no, we have seats over there. (F2, ILE)

3. #17. I think no. I'd rather sit away from the window if that is possible. (F1, BE)

4. R5. لا لا لا (M2,IA)

2. Negated Ability

5. # 4 ما اقدر انوشه

mā - 'agdar 'a-nūšah

NEG-able.1SG 1SG-fetch

'I can't fetch it'.(M2, IA)

6. # 9 Saturday, I can't make it. (F4, BE)

7 *18. I won't be able to. I am diabetic. I thought you knew. (M6, BE)

3. Performative refusal

8. R9. I reject. (M2, ILE)

10. R3. I better say to to this. (F3. ILE)

11. I have to say no. (F8, ILE)

4. SIE

12.R4. I have not brought my lecture notes with me today. (M1, BE)

13. # 9. I am working that day. (F4, BE)

14. # 7. This is a bad time for me (M2, ILE)

15. R4. but we have an exam next week and I really need them. (F6, BE).

16. *3 I deeply appreciate your offer, but I am not into this cake. I like chocolate cakes.
(M4, ILE)

17. * 9. I do not like this kind of cake, sorry. (F2, ILE)

5. Chiding

18. #10 انا ما مسؤول عن اخوي

'āna mā-mas'ūl 'an 'aḥ-ūi

I NEG-responsible.1SG.M about brother-1SG.M

'I am not responsible for my brother'. (F7, IA)

19. # 6 انت على طول غايب

'int-a 'alaṭūl ḡāib

you-2SG.M always absent.2SG.M

'You are always absent'.(M5,IA)

20. R7. From now on, you perhaps need to pay more attention to such fragile items when you clean them. (F5, BE)

21. R4. You are in a university and and uh there are standards to follow. (F10, BE)

22. R4. لازم تروح للجامعة كل يوم

'You have to go to the university everyday' (M3, IA)

23. R9. I have written a reference letter for you already. (F1, ILE)
24. R1. You have seen how good my work is. (M9, ILE)
25. R3. But but I woked extra hours before. (F5, BE)
26. R8. Because you misuse your computer, you break it down. (F10, ILE)
27. R4. I have some problems too. (F7, ILE)
28. R4. This is not my fault. (M5, ILE)

6. Counter-Factual Conditionals

29.R1. لو طالب مني قبل جان ممكن قبلت هذا العرض.

lo tālib min-i qabil čān mumkin qibal-it hāda 'l-'ariḍ

if ask.2SG.M from-1SG before was possible accept-1SG this DEF-offer

'If you had asked me before, I might have accepted this offer'. (F8, IA)

30. R9. If I wasn't busy testing the students, maybe. (M6, BE)
31. R4. I really, I mean, maybe if you had let me know before, I could have lent them to you. (F7, BE)

7. General Principles

32. R7. To err is human. (F9, BE)
33. R8. If you want something done right, you have to do it yourself. (M7, BE)

8. Alternative

33. # 17 How about I can give you a call, and we can do a telephone interview? (M3, BE)
34. # 1 Isn't there someone else that can bring you the book? (F2, BE)

35. # 14 ليش ما نكل لدكتور كريم يشرحك الموضوع

līš mā ti-gil d-diktor karīm yšraḥ-lak

why NEG 2SG.M-ask DET-doctor kareem explain.3SG.M-2SG.M

l-mauḏū‘

DET-subject

‘Why do not you ask Dr. Kareem to explain the subject for you?’ (M7, IA)

36 # 10 Well, I'm sorry. I can't, but have you thought of asking someone else? (F7, ILE)

37. R9.

38. R4 اكو هوايه طلاب تكدر تستعير محاضراتهم

‘aku hiwaīḥ ṭilāb ti-gdār t-isti‘īr muhāḏr-āt-hum

there alot student.3PL.M 2SG.M-able 2SG.M-borrow lecture-3PL-3PL.M

‘There are lots of students that you can borrow the lecture notes from’. (F9, IA)

39. R3. I mean I can stay for one hour. (M2, BE)

40. R8. Can I fix your computer tomorrow? (F7, BE)

9. Avoidance

41. #3 ما ادري اذا اقدر او لا

mā-‘adri ‘da ‘agdār ‘w lā

NEG-know.1SG if able.1SG or NEG

‘I don’t know if I will be able to or not’. (F2,IA)

42. #9. I don’t know if my husband will agree or not. (F8, ILE)

43. *1. This is a little difficult. (F9, ILE)

44. #2. I don’t know if I can do it right now. (F4, BE)

45. #6. I really don't know if I can lend you my notes again. (F1, BE)

46. R1. شويه صعبه , ما ادري

šwayah ša' b-ah mā-' a-dri

little difficult-3SG NEG-1SG-know

'It will be a little difficult, I do not know'. (F5,IA)

47.R4. محاضراتي ؟

muḥāḍar-āt-i

lecture-3PL-1SG

'My lecture notes?' (F6, IA)

10. Let Off the Hook

48 * 13. Do not worry, they are too heavy for you. I can carry them all. (M2, BE)

49 * 13. It is fine. I can manage. They will be too heavy for you. (F10, BE)

50. * 15. It is OK. (M5, BE)

51. * 15. No, this is not expensive. (F7, ILE)

52. R7. No, no no problem. (F9, BE)

11. It is My Treat:

53 * 15. لالا عليه هلمره

la la la 'alayia hl-mara

NEG NEG NEG on.1SG this-time

'no, no, no! it is on me this time'(M6, IA)

54. * 15. It is on me. (F3, ILE)

12. Putting the Blame on a Third Party:

55. #10 زوجي ما يسمطني أشتغل خارج هاي المدينة

zawj-i mā-yismaḥ-li 'a-štuḡul ḥārij hai l-madīna

husband.1SG.F NEG-allow.2SG.M-1SG 1SG-work outside this DEF-city

'My husband does not allow me to work outside this city'. (F8, IA)

56. R2. Let me ask my father if it is ok for him to go to the party. (F2, ILE)

57. # 10. I do not think he will like this idea (F6. ILE)

13. Request for Consideration or Understanding

58. R2. You are a professor and I think you understand if a student has homework. (M3, BE)

59. R2. I hope you understand. (F5, ILE)

14. Negative Consequences to Requester

60. R4. I do not think you will benefit from my lectures as they are unintelligible. (M4, BE)

61. R2. I am in a hurry now and and I may errr give you a wrong decision. (F6, BE)

15. Statement of regret /apology

62. # 9 unfortunately (F6, BE)

63.R6. أنا آسفه

'ana 'āsif-ah

I sorry-SG.F

'I am sorry' (F2, IA)

64. R7. لسوء الحظ.

l-sū' l-haḍ

for-bad DEF-luck

'unluckily' (M6,IA)

65 * 10 Sorry, but I do not really want to relocate. (M3, BE)

66. # 12 اعذرنني! عندي شغل

'a'ḍirn-i 'ind-i šuḡul

forgive-1SG.M have-1SG work

'Forgive me I have work'. (F5, IA)

67. # 10 ارجوك اعفني من هاي!..!

'rjū-k 'a'fin-i min hai

please-2SG.M forgive-1SG.M from this

'Please, forgive me in this' (M8, IA).

16. Statement of Positive Opinion, Feeling or Agreement

68. # 11. I love to work with you. (M6, ILE)

69. * 17. Well, good luck on your project.(M1, BE)

17. Invoking the name of God

70. # 8. لا والله ما عندي وقت

lā walā mā 'and-i waqit

NEG by god NEG have-1SG time

‘No, I swear to God, I don’t have time’. (F4, IA)

71. *4. والله ما اقدر

walā mā-’agdar

by god NEG-able.1SG

‘I swear to God, I can’t’. (M9, IA)

18. Gratitude/Appreciation

72. *13. Cheers, but I’ve got super-strength. (M9, BE)

73. # 9. Thanks a lot (F10, ILE)

74. # 5. الف شكر

‘A thousand thanks’. (M3, IA)

Appendix (13): Transcripts of Role Play Scenarios

Iraqi Arabic Speakers (IAs)
RP1 (Female (requester/offerer) + Female (refuser))
<p>A. صباح الخير زينه, شلونج حبيبتي.</p> <p>ṣabaḥ il-ḥ̄er zīna ' šlōn-ič ḥabīb-ti</p> <p>morning Def-good Zina how-2S.F love-2S.F</p> <p>'Good morning Zina, how are you my love?'</p> <p>B. بخير الله يسلمج.</p> <p>b-ḥ̄er 'lla ysalmi-č</p> <p>with-good God bless-2S.F</p> <p>'Good, God bless you'</p> <p>A. اليوم قررنا بالاجتماع ترفيتج وزيادة راتبج بس بشرط يكون عملج ابغداد.</p> <p>'l-yōm qararn-a b-il-'jtima ' terqīt- ič w ziadet ratb- ič</p> <p>DEF-day decide-1P in-DEF-meeting promote-2S.F and increase salary-2S.F</p> <p>bes b- šeriṭ yikūn 'mal- ič fi baǧdād</p> <p>but with-condition be work-2S.F in Baghdad</p> <p>'Today we decided to promote you and raise your salary in the meeting on condition that you work in Baghdad'</p> <p>B. انقل لبغداد.</p> <p>'a-niqil l- baǧdād</p>

1S-move to-Baghdad

'Move to Baghdad?'

A.اي

'ī

'Yes'.

شكر بس والله اسفه انا اتمنى اقبل طلبج بس تعرفين بغداد خطره وانا زوجي هنا يشتغل بمحافظة ميسان لازم اجيك وياه..B.

šukren bes walla 'āsf-ah 'ana 'a-tmena 'a-qbel țeleb-č bes

thank but by god sorry-1S.F I 1S-wish 1S-accept request-2S.F but

't-'urf īn bağdād ɥetreh w 'ana zewj-i 'hna y- štuğul

2S.F-know Baghdad dangerous and I husband-1S here 3S.M-work

b-muḥfađet mīsān lazim 'ček wi-āh

in-province Misan must check with-3S.M

'Thank you but by God, I am sorry, I wish I could accept your request but you know that Baghdad is dangerous and my husband works here in Misan province by God I need to check with him'.

A.اي اعرف بس ما يكر يروح وياج؟

'ī 'a-'ruf bes mā y-gdar y-rūḥ wi-āč

yes 1S-know but NEG 3S.M-able 3S.M-go with-2S.F

'Yes I know but can't he go with you?'

لا صعبه ما نكدر انا اسفه اذا ارفض طلبج... اسفه لان كل اصدقائي و اقاربي هنا شوفي حنان بلكي بلكي توافق.B.

lā še‘beh mā n-gdār ‘ana ‘āsf-ah ‘da ‘rfuḍ ṭaleb-ič
 no difficult NEG 1S.able I sorry-1S.F if 1S.F.refuse request-2S.F

‘āsf-ah šuf-i ḥenān belki ‘i-twafuq
 sorry-1S.F see-2S.F Hanan possible 3S.F-accept

'No, it is tough, sorry if i refuse your request, sorry because all my relatives and friends are here.
 You can see Hanan, I hope she will accept your request'.

A. اوکي راح اسالها. من رخصتج.

‘okay rāḥ ‘s‘l-ha min ruḥi št-ič

Ok will ask-3S.F from excuse-2S.F

'Ok, i will ask her. Excuse me'.

B. براحتج

b-rāḥ-tič

with-rest-2S.F

Ok. (F1, IA)

(Male-Male)

A. السلام عليكم علي , ثلون الصحه؟

'Peace be upon you Ali. how are you?'

B. وعليكم السلام استاذ اهلا

'Peace be upon you Sir, hello'.

A. اليوم اريد اطلب منك طلب, وبنفس الوقت وياه خبر مفرح

'Today I want to ask you something, at the same time I have happy news'.

B. گول استاذ خير ان شاء الله

'Go ahead Sir, good God willing'

A. اريدك تنقل خدماتك من شركة نفط ميسان لبغداد وراح تترقى ويزيد راتبك

'I want you to transfer your services to from Misan oil company to Baghdad and you will get promotion and pay rise'.

B. اهااا شكرا خبر حلو والله , بس شويه صعبه ما اقدر , ما ادري , انت تعرف عائلتي هنا ومستقرين وانا ما احب بغداد ما اقدر

'Oh, thank you nice news by God, but it is a little difficult, I can't I do not know, you know my family is settled here and I do not like Baghdad, I can't'.

A. اي صح بس بيها ترقيه لا تنسى

'Yes right, but do not forget it has a promotion'.

B اعرف والله , بس ... لو طالب مني قبل چان ممكن اقبل العرض , اقصد قبل لا اتزوج. تكدر تشوف باقي الموظفين. اسف B يمكن زوجتي ما توافق ما اقدر.

'I know by God, but if you had asked me before I might have accepted the offer, I mean before I got married. You can see other employees, sorry. My wife may not accept, I can't'.

A. ياالله ماكو مشكله شكرا علي.

'Ok, no problem. Thank you Ali'

B. اهلا استاذ احمد

'Welcome Mr. Ahmed'.

(Male-Female)

A. هلو عيني سامر شخبارك؟

'Hello my eye Samir, how are you'.

B. زين الحمد لله . شلونج ست؟

'Good, thanks God, how are you Miss'.

A. ماشي الحال. اليوم عندي الك اخبار حلوه

'I am fine. I have good news for you today'.

B. شنو الاخبار ؟

'What news?'

A. اجتك زياده بالراتب وترقيه

'You got a pay raise and a promotion'

B. ياالله هاي الاخبار الزينه. بس اني ما صارلي بس شهرين من تعينت؟

'Oh God, these are the good news. But it was only two month when I was employed?'

A. تستاهل انت خوش موظف. بس اكو شغله صغيره, انه لازم تنقل لبغداد مو هنا

'You deserve it. You are a good employee. But there is a little issue, you have to move to Baghdad not here'.

B. اهااا افتهمت . بس اني احب ميسان وهاي ديرتنا , هنا تربينا ابا عن جد

'Oh I see. But I can't I like Misan and this is our place I can't, we all were brought up here; parents and granddads'

A. والله هاي فرصه الك لا تضيعها

'By God this is a chance for you. Do not lose it'.

B. بصراحه يحتاج احجي ويه زوجتي همين قبل لا اتخذ قرار ... بس اتمنى تفهمين وضعي و مدرسة اطفالي هم عقبه.

'Frankly, I need to talk with my wife as well before taking a decision...But I hope that you understand my situation and my kids' school here is also an obstacle'.

A. اي افتهمك

'I see'

B. اسف ست

'Sorry Miss'.

A. لا عادي

'It is ok'

RP2

(Male-Male)

A. هلو جعفر . وين هلايام ما شاوفاك .

'Hello Jafar. Where are you these days?'

B. اهلا استاذ. موجود , بس شويه مشغول .

'Hello sir. I am available but a little busy'.

A. باجر اكو حفله بناادي الطلبة اريدك تحضرها .

'Tomorrow there is a party in the student union. I want you to attend'.

B. باجر؟ والله المشكله باجر عندي كومه تحاضير, اتمنى احضرها بس ...

'Tomorrow? By God the problem that I have lots of assignments tomorrow'.

A. هي كم ساعه... حبيت الكل يتواجد من ضمنهم انت.

'It is only few hours. I'd like that everyone would attend including you'.

B. كتلك والله, اسف ... لو كايلي مو باجر چان حضرت اكيد بس لا انا عندي شغل همين.

'I told you by God sorry. If it was not tomorrow, I'd surely attend, but no I have a job as well'.

A. اوكي , اشوف حسن .

'Ok let me see Hasan'.

A. اوكي استاذ, اسف مره ثانيه . خيرها بغيرها .

'Ok sir, sorry again. next time it will be even better'.

B. اوكي حبي اشوفاك غير وكت .

'Ok love, see you later'.

A. باي

'bye'

(Female-Female)

A. السلام عليكم زهراء

'Peace be upon you Zahra'.

B. وعليكم السلام هلو ست نرجس.

'Peace be upon you, hello Miss Nerjes'.

A. اكلج باچر عندچ شي لو لا

'Are you available tomorrow?'

B. باچر شوكت يعني؟

'What time tomorrow?'

A. الصبح اقصد... اكو حفله بنادي الطلبة تگدرين تجين؟

'In the morning I mean. There is a party in the student union. Can you come?'

B. والله مع الاسف باچر عندي هوايه تحاضير طلبهن من عدنا الاستاذ..

'By God unfortunately, I can't I have many assignments requested by my teacher tomorrow'.

A. بس الصبح ميأثر على دوامج.

'But It won't interrupt your work in the morning'.

B. لا والله يآثر, ما اگدر, شكرا ست على الدعوه

'Yes, it does, I can't. Thank you for the invitation Miss'.

A. اهلا وسهلا.

'You are welcome'.

(Male-Male)

A. هلو ابو حسين. شلونها الامور.

'Hello Hussein's dad. How is it goun?'

B. الحمد لله تمام.

'Thanks God, everything is fine'

A. علي والله الك عندي مفاجاه.

'Ali, what a suprise I got for you!'

B. شنو المفاجاه؟ شوقتني.

'what is the surprise? You made me excited.'

A. عدنا حفله باچر بناادي الطلبة وانت اول المدعويين.

' We have a party tomorrow at the student union, and you are the first invitee'

B. والله شكرا جزيلا على الدعوه بس باچر ما ترهم لان راح اكون كلش كلش مشغول باچر.

' By God, thank you very much for the invitation but I will be very very busy tomorrow'

A. تعال لخالطري راح تتونس.

'come for my sake. You will enjoy it'

B. ما اقدر اعذرني غير مره بلكي.

'I can't, forgive me, maybe another time'.

A. اوكي الله كريم.

'Ok, God is generous'

B. الله كريم.

'God is generous'

RP3

(Female-Male)

A. هلو هديل

'Hello Hadeel'

B. اهلا استاذ سيف

'Hello Mr. Saif'

A. هديل هذا الاسبوع كلش هوايه عدنا شغل اريدج تتاخرين اليوم بالعمل

'Hadeel, we have alot of work this week. I want you to work late today'

B. شكد يعني اتاخر؟

'How long do you want me late?'

A. تقريبا ساعتين

'About two hours'.

B. ساعتين اضافيه؟

'Two more hours?'

A. اي والله

'Yes by God'

B. شوف والله اليوم امي كلش مريضه وبالمستشفى. اقصد تريدني ابقى حوالي نص ساعه؟ او اكدر اشتغل وقت اضافي بغير يوم؟

'Look, by God my mum is very sick and she is in the hospital. I mean do you want me to stay for about half an hour? or Can I work extra hours another day?'

A. انا محتاج اليوم .. وادفعلج اجور اضافيه

'I need you today. I'll pay you some more'

B. لا مو مسالة فلوس. اعرف انو وجودي مهم بس والله ما اكدر. اسفه, لازم ارجع من وكت اجيب ابني من المدرسه واحضر.

عشا للعائلة

'No, it is not a matter of money. I know that my presence is important but by God I can't, sorry. I have to go back home earlier to pick my son from school and prepare food for the family'.

A. اوكي, ماكو مشكله.

'Ok, no problem'.

B. اوكي. مع السلامه.

'Ok, bye'.

(Male-Male)

A. السلام عليكم صادق

'Peace be upon you Sadiq'

B. و عليكم السلام استاذ غيث

'Peace be upon you Mr. Qaith'

A. محتاج منك خدمه

'I want to ask you a favour?'

B. اي تفضل, شلون اقدر اخدمك

'Yes go ahead. How can I help?'

A. محتاجك تبقى ساعتين وره الدوام. لان ماكو احد يساعدنا بتهيئة البضاعه للاسبوع الجاي

'I want you to work two extra hours after your shift because no one can help in preparing the products for the next week'.

B. والله ما ادري شكلك, اليوم عيد ميلاد والدتي وبعدين نروح للسينما وياها ومسوين عشا عائلي.

'By God, I do not know what to say to you. Today is my mum's birthday and then we go to the movies with her and then we'll have a family dinner'.

A. اهاا افتهمت. ولا حتى تگذر تبقى ساعه؟

'Oh, I see, not even an hour?'

B. بصراحه احب ابقى اكثر واساعدكم بس همين لازم ارجع ادرس الاولاد. جدا اسف

'In fact, I'd like to stay longer and help you but I need to go to teach my kids, so sorry!'

A. زوجتك تدرسهم

'Your wife can teach them?'

B. اتمنى اگددر ابقى اطول بس عندي دراسه مسائيه تعرف.

'I wish I could stay longer but but I have evening class you know?'

A. اوكي

'Ok'

B. رغم انا تعبان واحتاج استراحه تريدني ابقى نص ساعه؟

'Although I am so tired and I need a break, do you want me to stay for about an hour?'

A. اوكي شكرا

'Ok thank you'

RP4

(Male-Female)

A. 1. A. هلو نور شلونج

həlaw nūr 'šlōnič

hello nōr how are you.2SG.F

'hello Noor, how are you?'

2. B. زينه, انت شلونك

ziən-a 'nt-a 'šlōn-ak

good-1SG.F you-2SG.M how are you-2SG.M

'good, how are you?'

3.A. زين شكرا ,نور ردت مساعدتچ. تعرفين الاستاذ غال راح يكون امتحان الاسبوع الجاي وردت استعير ملاحظاتچ فد يوم هيج.

ziən šukren nōr ridi-t musa'adt-ič t'urfī-n 'l- 'stād gāl rāḥ 'ikūn

good thanks noor need-1SG help-2SG.F know-2SG.F DEF-prof said will be

'mtihān 'l-'sbū' 'l-jāi w ridit 'sti'ir mūlāḥḍ-āti-č fed yōm

exam DEF-week DEF-next and need borrow note-PL-2SG.F a day

'Fine, thanks. Noor, I wanted your help, you know, the professor said there will be an exam next week and I wanted to borrow your notes just for a day or so'.

4.B. مع الاسف دفتر الملاحظات بالبيت نسيت اجيبه.

ma' il-'sāf daftar il-mūlāḥḍ-āt b-il-bīət nisīə-t 'jībeh

with DEF-sorry copybook DEF-note-PL in-DEF-house forget-1SG bring

'Unfortunately, my notes notebook is at home, I forgot to bring it'.

5.A. اوكي اقدر احصله منچ باچر؟

'ōkei 'a-qdār '-ḥaṣleh mini-č bāčir

ok 1SG-able 1SG-get from-2SG.F tomorrow

'OK, can I get it from you tomorrow, maybe?'

6. B. باچر لا , بصراحه راح اسافر للبصره وما راح ارجع للجامعه.

bāčir lā b-šarāḥ rāḥ 'sāfir l-il-bāšrah w mā rāḥ
 tomorrow no with-frank will 1SG-travel to-DEF-Basra and NEG-will 1SG
 'rja' l-il-jāmi'ah
 come to-DEF-university
 'tomorrow no, honestly I have to travel to Basra so I will not be coming to the university'.

7. A. اوڪي بلڪي من ترجعين او؟ اقصدي يعني اقصدي قبل الامتحان

'okei belki min tirij'-īn 'u 'qšid ye'ni 'qšid qabil
 ok maybe when come-2SG.F or 1SG-mean like 1SG-mean before DEF-
 'l-'mitihān
 exam

'Ok, maybe when you get back or? I mean, like, I mean if it would be before the exam'.

8. B. بس راح اكون محتاجتهم , اسفه لا تزعل مني

bes rāḥ 'kūn miḥtājeth-in 'āsf-eh lā t-iz'el min-i
 but will be need-PL sorry-SG.F no 2SG-upset from-1SG
 'but I will be needing them, sorry, don't be upset with me'.

9.A. لا لا مو مشكله

lā lā mū mūškila
 no no NEG problem
 'no, no, no problem'

10. B. ما راح اقدر استغني عنهم قبل الامتحان, راح ادرس بيهم فما راح ...

mā rāḥ 'gdar 'stegni 'en-hum qebil 'l-'mtiḥān rāḥ rāḥ 'driṣ

NEG will 1SG-able 1SG-dispense about-PL before DEF-exam will will 1SG- study

b-īhum fe mā rāḥ

with-them so NEG will

'I will not be able to dispense with them before the exam, I will be I will be

studying them, so I will not...'

11. A. طبعاً طبعاً او كي بس اذا اخذهن لمدة هيج ساعتين او ثلاثة بس القى نظره عليهن تعرف للامتحان الجاي

ṭeb'en ṭeb'en 'okei bes 'da 'ā-ḥiḍhin l-mudet hīč sā't-iān 'u

of course of course ok but if 1SG-take for-time like hour-PL or

'tlāṭeh bes 'lqi neḍrah 'liəh-in l-il-'mtiḥān 'l-jāī

three only 1SG-take look on-them for-DEF-exam DEF-next

'Of course, of course, OK, so if I took them for two or three hours or something,

just so that I would just have a look at them, you know, this upcoming exam'.

12. B. اقصد ان شاء الله نشوف

'-qsid 'n šā' 'lāh 'n-šūf

1SG-mean if will God 1PL-see

'I mean, hopefully [God willing], we'll see'

13. A. يعني اقدر احجي وياچ مره ثانيه من ترجعين من البصره او؟

ya'ni 'gdar 'hči wiā-č mara min ti-rij'īn mi il-
 mean 1SG-able 1SG-speak with-2SG.F again when 2SG.F.come from DEF-
 baṣrah 'au
 basra or

'So, shall I talk to you again, like, when you get back from Basra, or?'

14. B. اقصد نشوف من نلتقي تگدر تذکرنی

'qsid 'n-šūf min n-iltiqi ti-gdar 't-dekirn-i
 1SG-mean 1PL-see when 1PL-meet 2SG-able 2SG-remind-1SG

'I mean, we'll see, when we meet you can remind me'.

15. A. اوکی من نلتقي المره الجايه راح اذکرچ

'okei min n-iltiqi 'l-mara 'l-jaia rāḥ 'dekr-ak
 ok when 1PL-meet DEF-time DEF-next will remind-2SG.M

'OK, when we meet next time I will remind you?'

16. B. ان شاء الله

'n šā' 'lāh
 if will God

'God willing'

17. A. اوكي تگدرين تشوفين الوقت اليناسبج , اقصد من نلتقي مره ثانيه شوفي اذا يناسبج او لا

'kīd 'okei t-gidrīn t-šufīn 'l-waqit li-'ināsb-ič '-qšid min
 sure ok 2SG.f-able 2SG-see DEF-time DEF-suitable-2SG.F 1SG.mean when
 n-iltiqi t̄ānia šuf-ī 'da 'ināsb-ič 'w la
 1PL-meet again see-2SG.F if suite-2SG.f or no

'Sure, OK, you can see your suitable time, I mean, when we meet next time you
 will see if this will convenient or not'.

18. B. اوكي اوكي خلي نعوفها للظروف

'okei 'okei ḥeli 'n-'uf-ha l-il-ḍur-ūf
 ok ok let 1PL-leave-3SG to-DEF-condition-PL

'OK, OK, I mean, let's leave it to the circumstances'.

19. A. عوفيه للظروف , اوكي اوكي . اوكي نور انا ما اريد اتعيج . انتي ساعدتيني قبل وچنتي ممتازه اوكي وتكتبن ملاحظات كلش
 زينه , لهذا السبب اقصد واحد يحب يستعير ملاحظاتي , بس ...

'-ufīha l-il-ḍirūf 'kīd 'kīd 'okei nūr 'ana mā '-rīd
 2SG.f-leave to-DEF-condition sure sure ok noor I NEG 1SG-want
 'te'bi-č 'nt-I help-1SG before and were-2SG.f mumtāz-ah 'kīd w
 tire-2G.F you-2SG.f sād'tīn-i qabil w čint-i excellent sure and
 tktb-īn mulāḥḍ-āt kiliš ziēna l-ḥaḍa 'l-sabab 'qšid waḥid y-ḥib
 write-2SG.f note-PL very good for-this DEF-reason mean one 3SG-love
 y-sti'ir mulāḥḍ-āt-ič bes

3SG-borrow note-PL-2SG.F but

'Leave it to the circumstances, sure, sure, Ok, Noor. I do not want to trouble you. You helped me before and you just, you are excellent of course and you write god notes, because of that I I mean one like to borrow the notes from you but...'

20. B. اكيد اي , اقصد انا احب اساعدك بس هليومين انا شويه مشغول لذلك ما راح اقدر انطي ملاحظاتي

'kīd 'ī '-qšid 'ana '-ḥib '-sā'd-ek bes hel-yom-iən 'ana '

sure yes 1SG-mean I 1SG-like 1SG-help but these-day-dual I

šweih mešgūl liḍālik ma rāḥ '-gdar '-nṭi mulāḥṭ-āt-i

little busy so NEG will 1SG-able 1SG-give note-PL-1SG

'sure, yes, I mean, I'd love to help you, but these couple of days I am a little busy so

I will not be able to give away my notes'.

21. A. شكرا ماكو مشكله نهائيا ماكو مشكله. من تصوير عندي فرصه احجي وياچ من ترجعين ان شاء الله

šukren maku muškila nihā'ien maku muškila min tšīr 'ind-i

thank no problem at all no problem when become have-1SG

furša 'ḥči wia-č min trij'-īn 'n šā' 'lāh

chance talk with-2SG.F when go-2SG.F if will God

'thanks, no problem at all, no problem, if I got a chance I will talk to you when you

get back, God willing'.

22.B. ان شاء الله

'n šā' 'lāh

<p>if will God</p> <p>'God willing'.</p>
(Female-Female)
<p>A. هلو علياء شلونج؟</p> <p>'Hello Alyaa. How are you?'</p> <p>B. زينه والله ماشي الحال</p> <p>'Good by God. Everything is fine'</p> <p>A. علياء عدنا امتحان الاسبوع الجاي ومحتاجه دفتر الملاحظات ماتج</p> <p>'Alyaa, we have an exam next week and I need your notes'.</p> <p>B. يا دفتر الملاحظات؟ دفتر الملاحظات ماتي؟</p> <p>'Which lecture notes? My lecture notes?'</p> <p>A. اي والله بس استنسخه وارجه</p> <p>'Yes by God, just photocopy it and return it'.</p> <p>B. بس انا احتاجه ادرس للامتحان, ثانيا انتي دائما تغيبين عن المحاضرات لازم اتداومين بالجامعة يوميه.</p> <p>'But I need it to study for the exam. Secondly, you are always absent from lectures. You have to go to the university every day'.</p> <p>A. اي صحيح والله بس عندي ظروف</p> <p>'Yes, right by god, but I have circumstances'.</p> <p>B. والله ما اقدر , ما عندي الملاحظات هسه , اقصد ما جايته وياي هسه, اسفه بعدين كلنا عدنا مشاكل. تحتاجينه اليوم؟</p> <p>'By god, I can't, I do not have the notes right now. I mean I have not brought them with me, sorry. Further, we all have problems you need to sort it out yourself'. Do you need it today?</p> <p>A. اي او اذا مجايته اقدر اخذه منج باچر؟</p> <p>'Yes or if it is not with you now, can I take it from you tomorrow?'</p>

والله ما ادري. مو احنا انتقلنا لبيت جديد وصاير هوسه يحتاج وكت حتى الگاه. B.

'By God, I do not know, because we have recently moved to a new house and it is messy. It takes for ages to find them. I think you understand'

راح تلكاهم ان شاء الله انا متأكد. A.

'You will find them God willing I am sure'.

اوكي راح اجيبهن باجر لكن بس هاي المره. B.

'ok I will bring them to you tomorrow but only for this time'.

اي بس هاي المره شكرا. A.

'Yes only this time thank you'.

RP5

(Female-male)

تفضل شويه كيك بالكاكاو ما اكلت. A.

'Here you are some Chocolate Cake, you haven't tried it'.

ماكومجال والله شبعت. B.

'There is no space by God I am full'

سويتها بيدي لان تحبها: A.

'I made it by my hand (myself) because you like it'.

شبعت ما اقدر كلش تكدر تخليها للجها. B.

'I am so full I can't. You can keep it for the children'.

شويه شويه بس هاي القطعه. A.

'just a little, just a little, just this little piece'.

شبعت والله وين اوديها اكلت هواي احاول احافظ عالرجيم. B.

'By God I am full where can I send it (I have no room)'. I ate a lot. I am trying to keep on diet.

A. متأكد؟

'Sure?'

B. اي والله متأكد

'Yes, by God I am sure'.

(Male-Female)

A. مصطفى شنو؟ ما اكلتي حلويات

'Marwaa, what? you have not eaten dessert'.

B. يا حلويات؟ هو اني صدكت نزل وزني چم كيلو

'What dessert! Have I believed that I lost some kilos?'

A. هاي الحلويات الطيبه, ليش متاكلين؟

'These are nice dessert, why do not you eat?'

B. لالا ما اكدروالله اسمن امسويه رچيم

'No no I can't by God. I will be fat. I am on diet'.

A. ولا شويه؟

'Not even a little?'

B. شكرا ولا شويه, اسمن

'Thank you, not even a little. I'll gain weight'.

A. راح تتندمين

'You will regret'.

B. صدگ؟ راح اكل قطعه صغيره.

'Oh really? I will eat a small piece'.

RP6

(Male-Female)

A. احلام اشو حاسبتي عطلت. ممكن استعير حاسبتج؟

'Ahlam, My laptop broke down. Can I borrow yours?'

B. ممم اسفه والله, لان عندي شغل لازم اكمله.

'Errrm sorry by God, because I have some work to finish'.

A. عفيه, بس اكمل الواجب ماتي.

'Please, just to finish my homework'.

B. مو تعرف بيها صور عائليه وخصوصيات ما اقدر اتمنى تفهم قضدي.

'You know it has some family photos and some privacies, I can't. Sorry. I hope you understand what I mean'.

A. اوكي.

'ok'

B. اتمنى اساعدك بس همين محتاجتها هسه. بلكي عالجايات.

'I'd like to help but I need it as well now, maybe next time'.

A. شكرا احلام.

'Thanks Ahlam'

B. شكرا.

'Thank you'.

(Female-Female)

A. الاء رجاء ممكن اخذ حاسبتج بس شويه.

'Alaa please can I take your computer just for a while'.

B. شسوين بيها؟

'What for?'

A. اكمل واجبي لان حاسبتي وكفت فجاءه

'To finish my assignment, because my computer suddenly stopped'.

B. انا همين ما اعرف شبيها حاسبتي, انتظري لحد ما اصلحها بلكي باجر

'Me too I do not know what is wrong with it. Wait till I fix it may be tomorrow'.

A. والله حظ, اثنينهن عطلان فد ساعه

'What a bad luck, both of them are broken'.

B. شسوي , المصائب لا تاتي فرادى بس تدرين لازم تتعلمين شلون تصلحها بنفسج بدل ما تطلبين من الاخرين يصلحوها

'What can we do? Misfortunes never come singly. But you know, you need to learn how to fix it yourself instead of asking others'.

A. هههه والله صحيح

'(laugh) yes by God true'

B. شكرا الاء

'Thanks Alaa'

A. لا علمن ما سويتلج شي

'For what, I have not done anything for you'.

RP7

(Female-Male)

A. العفو استاذ ناصر كسرت التحفيه, شكك سعرها؟

'Excuse me Mr Nasir, I broke the statuette. How much is it?'

B. ممم مع الاسف بس لالا لا ماكو مشكله مو غاليه لا تهتمين, يمكن سعرها الف دينار.

'Erm unluckily but No no no problem, not expensive never mind, Its price maybe one thousand dinar'

A. لا لازم تاخذ فلوسها

'No you should take its value'.

B. ما اقدر اخذ فلوس تعويض عيب عليج

'I can't take compensation money, shame on you. I refuse'.

A. ولا حتى اي مبلغ؟

'Not even any amount?'

B. لا ولا اي شي, عندي هوايه تحفيات بالبيت ما احتاجهاهي حتى قديمه ومكسوره لا تعلقين خلي فلوسك لجهاك مو الي

'Nothing at all. I have a lot of statuettes at home. I do not need it. It is even old and broken. Never mind. Your money should go to your kids not me'.

A. اوكي شكرا استاذ

'Ok thanks Sir'

(Female-Female)

A. ست ايمان كسرت التحفيه ما متقصده, اسفه جدا, والله حظ

'Miss Eman, I broke the statuette by accident. I am so sorry, what a bad luck'.

B. ماكو مشكله, انكسر الشر لا تعلقين.

'No problem, the evil broke down. Do not worry'

A. ست ايمان شكذ سعرها انا حاضره مستعده ادفع قيمتها.

'Miss Eman, how much does it worth, I am ready to pay its value'.

B. لالا لا مو غاليه اصلا اشتريتها من محل هدايا رخيص يا فلوس مو عيب.

'No no no not expensive I bought it from a cheap gifts store. What money shame on you'.

A. ميخالف حتى لو رخيصه لو اجبيلج غيرها لو ادفع سعرها

'Even if it is cheap, I either bring you another one or pay its value'.

B. الانسان ما معصوم. لا تهتمين ما احبها لان قديمه

'I don't like it. It is very old. Human is not flawless, never mind'.

A. اوکي ست شکرا

'Ok Miss thank you'

B. عفوا

'You welcome'

RP8

(Female-Male)

A. عفيه اثير ضربت حاسبتي اليوم و واجبي لازم اكمله تكرر تصلحها الي؟

'Please Atheer, my PC is defective today and I have to finish my assignment. Can you fix it for me?'

B. شوکت تردین اصلحها الج اليوم؟ هسه

'When do you want me to fix it, today? Now?'

A. اي والله بدون زحمه عليك

'Yes, by God, if I do not trouble you'.

B. بس هسه ما اقدر والله مستعجلين. راح نتاخر علحله اسف.

'But now I can't by God, we are in a hurry, we are going to be late for the party. Sorry'

A. ما راح تاخرک هي خمس دقائق.. يمكن

'It won't delay you, it is only five minutes, maybe'.

B. تعرفين ماعدنا وکت...لوما مستعجل چان صلحتها الج انتي دائما تطلبين مني اشيء وانا مستعجل. اعذريني

'You know we do not have time... If I wasn't in a hurry by God, I 'd fix it for you, sorry. You always ask for things when I am in a hurry'.

A. اوکي اثير شکرا

'Ok Atheer thanks'.

B. عفوا رجاء

'It is ok Rajaa'

(Male-Female)

A. هلو ضحى

'Hello Duha'

B. اهلا تحسين

'Hello Tahseen'.

A. ولو انتم جاي تطلعون بس ممكن اخذ من وقتج كم دقيقه؟

'I know that you are about to leave, but can I take few minutes of your time?'

B. اوكي تفضل. شلون اقدر اساعدك؟

'Ok go ahead. How can I help you?'

A. حاسبتي فجاه وكفت .. ممكن تساعديني بتصليحها؟

'My computer has stopped suddenly.. Can you help me to fix it?'

B. مممم وهسه رايد اسويها؟

'Erm you want me to do it now?'

A. اي اذا تگردين

'Yes, If you can'.

B. مو احنا طالعين والله اسف. وديه لمحل حاسبات او انتظرنى الى ان ارجع.

'But we are going I can't by God sorry. Send it to a computer shop or wait till I come back'.

A. اوكي افتهمتج, بلكي من ترجعون ان شاء الله

'Ok I understand you, maybe when you come back God willing'.

B. اوكي ..ان شاء الله

'Ok God willing'.

RP9

(Male-Male)

السلام عليكم دكتور، أحتاج مساعدتك، راح اقدم على الماجستير هاي السنة واريدك تكتبلي رسالة تزكيه، اذا ما اتعبك؟

'Peace be upon you doctor. I need your help. I am going to apply for the Master this year and I want you to write a recommendation letter for me, if I do not trouble you'.

والله انا شويه مشغول هليام، انت تعرف امتحانات نصف السنه اسبوع القادم ولازم احضر اسئله لطلابي. بس دكتور فاطمه . فارغه ليش ما تسالها او اي احد من الكادر؟

'By God, I am a little busy these days, you know, mid-term exams are next week and I need to prepare tests for my students. But Dr. Fatima is free I think, why don't you ask her or any other staff?'

A. والله ما اعرف دكتور فاطمه زين، انت تعرف هي درستني كورس واحد مو مثلك.

'By god, I don't know Dr. Fatima well. You know, she has taught me only for one semester, not like you'.

B. بس هي كلش خوش استاذة و متعاونة.

'But, she is very good and cooperative lecturer'.

A. صحيح، سمعت بهذا الشيء، بس انا افضل أنت تكون المزكي.

'Yes I heard that but i prefer you as my referee'.

B. أنا كتلك انا مشغول، و.....

'I told you that I am busy, and...'

A. ماكو مشكله دكتور، يجوز اسال غير تدريسي.

'No problem doctor, maybe I ask another lecturer'.

B. أوكي بالتوفيق.

'OK, good luck'.

(Female-Male)

A. هلو استاذ سجاد. شلونك . صحتك؟

'Hello Mr Sajad, how are you, how is your health?'

B. الحمد لله بخير زينب انتي شخبارچ؟

'Thanks God, Iam good Zainab, how about you?'

A. زينه. اليوم طالبه منك خدمه صغيره .

'Good, today I want to ask you a favour?'

B. اي تفضلي

'Yes go ahead'.

A. تعرف اني جاي اقدم على الماجستير السنه الجايه ان شاء الله

'You know I am going to apply for Master degree next year God willing'.

B. ان شاء الله

'God willing'.

A. واريد منك رساله تزكيه لان احتاجها بالتقديم

'And I want a recommendation letter because I need it for the application'.

B. اسمعي اني حاليا مشغول بتحضير الاسئله مال الامتحانات. ليش ما تسالين دكتور زيد او اي استاذ درسك؟

'Listen, I am currently busy in preparing the questions of the exam. Why do not you ask Dr Zaid or someone who taught you before?'

A. مو انت لان استاذي ومدرستي سنين طويله , اقصد يعني تعرفني اكثر من اي استاذ ثاني.

'Because you are my teacher and taught me for long years, I mean you know me better than any other teacher'.

B. اي صح كلامج, اتمنى اساعدج بس ما اقدر هسه مستحيل لو جايتتني قبل الامتحانات جان ساعدتج.

'You are right; I wish I could help you but I can't now, impossible, if you had come before the exams, I might have helped you'.

A. اوكي مو مشكله شكرا استاذ.

'Ok no problem thank you Sir'.

B. اسف جدا واتمنالچ التوفيق والنجاح.

'I am so sorry; I wish you good luck and success'.

Iraqi Learners of English (ILEs)

RP1

(Male-Male)

A. Hi Wathiq, how are you

B. Hello Mr. Idress, I am ok and you?

A. fine thank you. Wathiq I decided to give you a promotion and a higher salary.

B. Oh, thank you so much.

A. But you should you should work in Baghdad not here.

B. What? Baghdad? I mean, I like living in Misan. My life is good here and I do not like Baghdad.

A. I understand, but you will be the head of the Department there

B. Even so, I am settled here, I am I am do you mean I move by this month?

A. Next month maybe

B. The family will not agree.

A. Ok, I will see another one , maybe, thank you

B. Thank you sir.

(Male-Female)

A. Hello Sara, How are you?

B. good and you?

A. me too, Sara I have a good news for you.

B. Good Inshalla (God willing)

A. I will pay you more money and you will get a promotion, but but you in fact should work in Baghdad.

B. go to Baghdad? why? you have seen how good my work is.

A. Yes, I know, I mean this is why I chose you

B. I can't, sorry, I think my husband will not agree on moving to Baghdad by God and I can't leave my friends.

A. Ok, think about this chance and

B. No, no my family lives here in Misan and my mother is sick...I refuse, sorry

A. ok, ok, ok thank you Sara

B. Ok, sir thank you.

(Male-Female)

A. Al Salam Alyakum (peace be upon you) Ameera

B. walilaykum Al salam (peace be upon you)

A. Ameera, if your boss ask you for something, will you do it?

B. yes, of course, but but what is that thing?

A. Ameera I want you to go to Baghdan and work there and I will pay you a good salary.

B. Ok, but Baghdad is dangerous, you know and

A. Yes I know but they need you there.

B. I really do not know if my family will accept this suggestion

A. You will be safe there, I think, it is a safe area.

B. yea, but but it is difficult. Changing the life of the family is not easy, I think you undersatand my position. I am so sorry.

A. Yea I do

B. and by God my mum is old and sick and I take care of her.

A. ok, ok, ok

B. sorry, I like to but you know I need to consult my family.

A. Do not worry

B. ok, bye sir

RP2

(Female-Male)

A. Hello Ihab, are you free tomorrow?

B. Hello Hyfaa', mmmm I don't know. what do you need?

A. I want you, if if you can, come to the party prepared by the student union.

B. Oh, you want me to turn up tomorrow?

A. Yes , please.

B. Tomorrow I can't actually, I have a paper to work on.

A. yea ok, but you can do it latter?

B. no no later no I 've been late I mean I'd like to but , I hope you understand?

A. Yes, how about coming for only few minutes?

B. I can't sorry.

A. Come and have some fun.

B. I like to but I work I I help my father in the shop

A. Your brother can help him, no?

B. Yes I mean he only depends on me and after work I do my papers.

A. ok see you later

A. see you

(Female-Female)

A. Hi suhad

B. Hi Mrs. Noor.

A. There is a party tomorrow. can you come with other colleagues and friends?

B. No, I can't, in fact I am not able to, I have many assignments tomorrow.

A. it is in the morning, so come please.

B. Tomorrow? I do not know, not sure let me ask my father if it is ok for him to go to the party.
You know he is my father so you understand me.

A. Ok

B. I apologise

A. Do not worry

RP3

(Male-Male)

1.A. Haydar, we want your help, we want you to work 2 extra hours today from 3to 5

2.B. Thank you, Sir, nice to see you

3.A. Nice to see you too

4.B. How are you?

5.A. Thank God, good

6.B. All is well?

7.A. All is well

8.B. I am a student now and I study every day, this is the first week in the month and I, with your permission, will not be able to work at this hour because of I have to study at that time. Can I help you at some other time?

9.A. At some other time? You know, a large volume of products has to be ready today. God willing, I mean, can't you work today and study tomorrow, or?

10.B I don't have time, this is a problem, I, I love working with you, but this week is very important for me because of I want the course to start well.

11.A Of course, of course, of course, OK, can you stay for only one hour?

12.B. I think this is not suitable for me, this is not because of I don't love you, you are my friend, and I love to work with you but I don't have the time

13.A. OK, Haydar, no problem, maybe some other time, you said some other time, maybe tomorrow, for example

14.B That's possible, possible

15.A. Possible tomorrow

16.B. God willing

17.A. Thanks

(Male-Male)

1.A. Salah, I need your help, we want you to work 2 extra hours today God willing

2.B. Sorry, but this is not possible

3.A. Why not possible?

4.B. I have, I am busy a lot and now I need, I need a break

5.A. You can take a break tomorrow

6.B. No, tell it to the bear!

7.A. tell it to the bear!

8.B. I need a break now.

9.A. OK, I mean, is one hour only possible?

10.B. No, I work a lot and I am very tired and I have a lot of homework too and this is important in my life, sorry.

11.A. So, I mean this is not possible at all?

12.B. No, not possible by God.

13.A. OK, Salah, no problem, I can talk with Ali

14.B. Yes, maybe he will help you

15.A. I will talk with Ali, no problem, thanks Salah

(Female-Female)

A. We are busy this week Huda and and I want you to work late.

B. Not today I have an appointment after work directly.

A. Your job is more important right?

B. Yes, I love to help you, but I am tired and I want to go home and today is my sister's wedding. Isn't there someone else that can work extra hours? I mean I hope you understand.

A. no noone today

B. I understand you are in a trouble but what can I do? I have school and exams so sorry.

And tonight I plan to see my friend, my old friend

A. Ok ok.

B. sorry.

RP4

(Female-Male)

A. Hello Imad, I need your help today

B. Hell Alyaa, what help?

A. I lately did not attend classes and I I haven't taken notes, and I ask you please to lend me yours

B. yes, I have not seen you lately, but why don't you attend? I think your presence at class is important for you.

A. You know I had a problem at home and...

B. I have some problems as well, I need the notes to study, you know,

A. I just photocopy them.

B. I do not have the notes right now the notes are in my dad's house, I put them somewhere and I do not know where they are, but sorry, we all have problems.

A. Right we all have problem but I think I am I am different.

B. I do not think I can.

A. please I explained my.. my

B. Listen. why do not you have a look at my notes or you study with me. I mean we can study together.

A. ok ok good idea.

B. thank you.

Female-Male

1. A. Yousif, How are you?

2. B. I am good.

3. A. That's good, Ok, Yousif I need your help in something. I need the lecture notes because I did not attend yesterday.

4. B. Do you mean the lecture notes of Biology?

5. A. Yes, I have a family problem so...

6. B. no, not possible, sorry.

7. A. Why, Yousif you know we have an exam.

8. B. no, I mean I always attend but you donot.

9. A. You know I have special circumstances.

10. B. What problem, with your dad again?

11. A. Yes, you know my dad left his job and...

12. B. I mean this is not possible, sorry.

13. A. Is it possible for only a day?

14. B. Oh no no no.

15. A. not even for an hour.

16. B. sorry, impossible.

17. A. Ok Yousif I may ask Ahmed or Salma

18. B. OK, OK

19. A. thank you Yousif

20. B. OK

RP5

(Male-Female)

A. Inas, have you finished your food?

B. Yes, thanks God, I finished

A. Ok, it is the dessert now

B. no I can't eat anymore

A. why?

B. I am so full by God, I am out of breath, thank you.

A. it is delicious. try it

B. I can't by God, impossible. there is no room, and I will be fat.

A. I thought you will eat this is why I bought it

B. Thank you very much, I will just taste it and leave it maybe maybe later I appreciate.

A. Ok, I'll put it in the fridge if you want

B.ok, thank you

(Female-Female)

A. Did you like the dessert?

B. what dessert sorry?

A. That one. you did not eat.

B. I do not want to, I I am full I am trying to keep on a diet here. I can't.

A. Come on, try one piece

B. Impossible, I am trying to lose weight. Leave it later possibly.

A. just this this small one

B. no no no sorry, give it to others.

A. hhh it seems that you are on a very strict diet

B. yea, I am determined (laugh) thanks

A. ok

RP6

(Female-Male)

A. Zaid, can I borrow your laptop for a while please, mine is, it seems, broken down just now?

B. No, sorry, I can't I need to finish my work.

A. please for only few minutes, I am almost done.

B. yes, but I can't I lent you my laptop before, and and you do not know how to use computers properly.

A. ok, I think I need to get it fixed very soon.

B. I am busy now. I apologise. I can do it later but but you can see an IT.

A. yea I will try.

B. thank you for understanding.

B. thank you.

(Female-Female)

A. Is your computer working?

B. yes, why?

A. I need it urgently, if you do not mind?

B. but where I mean how about yours?

A. mine does not work. what a bad luck, I have many assignments.

B. ok, but the software is not working by God I mean my software. Really sorry.

<p>A. Oh, really?</p> <p>B. yes, and my work's not done yet, sorry</p> <p>A. I know that you are a good person and you you always help me, and this time will be the last, I promise.</p> <p>B. I can't, I do not know I am so sorry but I refuse to lend it, do not be upset.</p> <p>A. no no thank you.</p> <p>B. you welcome.</p>
<p>RP7</p> <p>(Female-Male)</p>
<p>A. oh sorry i broke your statuette i do not mean to (0.4) i will pay its value (putting her hand in her pocket to take money out)</p> <p>B. do not apologise. it happens. we still have two more left (he laughs) put your money back?</p> <p>A. but but i will not feel <u>comfortable</u> if you do not {take the money<.</p> <p>B. {no. never mind . } it is not a PRECIOUS one</p> <p>A. i don't know i am embarrassed. It is only 5000 (Iraqi dinar)</p> <p>B. no i REFUSE to take money.</p>
<p>(Male-Male)</p>
<p>A. Oh, Mr. Ali I broke this statuette, I mean, it was an accident, I am sorry.</p> <p>B. it is ok, do not worry, It is cheap. no problem at all.</p> <p>A. yes, but I think I should pay its price.</p> <p>B. no no it is cheap, it is it is nothing at all, do not worry.</p>

A. please accept my money, I am embarrassed I I am not...

B. I can't, I told you I do not need it by God never mind , I'll buy a new one, not a big problem

A. ok thanks.

B. it is ok, just just clean the office please and forget it ok no problem.

A. yea yea I will do that now.

RP8

(Male-Male)

A. Excuse me sa'ad, can you help me in fixing that PC it is not working

B. no, listen, I am waiting for your brother, so I do not have time now by God later later.

A. I know but but you are good in computers and I do not, it it will not take long

B. yea, I like to help you, but because you misuse your computer you break it down

A. I know I know I am a bad user, but just this time?

B. I know that you need it so badly but not now, maybe maybe later when I come, because we are late now and I don't have good experience in computers.

B. ok Sa'ad thanks

A. welcome.

(Male-Female)

A. Hello Aseel

B. Hello Majid. How are you?

A. I am good thank you and you?

B. I am good too.

A. Aseel, I don't know what is what is wrong with my laptop.

B. what is wrong?

A. It suddenly stopped.

B. Oh, why?

A. don't know, and and I need to finish my school work

B. sorry to hear that

A. Can you have a look at it please?

B. well, listen is it necessary to do it now?

A. yes, you know, as I told you I I need it for my work.

B. And by God I do not have experience in computers, it is not my major, you know and and we are in a hurry. Sorry.

A. yes, I know.

B. You better ask someone with experience.

A. ok, ok no problem.

B. ok sorry.

RP9

(Female-Female)

A. Hello doctor

B. Hi Nisreen.

A. I wonder if you can write a reference for me in in order to use it for my application.

B what application, sorry?

A. Master degree.

B. ok ok erm look I'll tell you something, I am, well I am not very good at writing reference letters.

A. Bu I heard you are good.

B. you can ask someone else, maybe may they could do it, because I can't and I am busy so..

A. ok, thank you doctor.

B. Thank you, thank you and my best wishes.

(Male-Female)

A. Hello Miss Suha, today I am going, I mean I will apply for Master programme and you as my teacher, I want a letter, I mean reference letter.

B. Oh, good step, but it is not good time now I am preparing for students' students' test.

A. Yes I know it is mid-term exams I can come to you later maybe maybe next week?

B. I know that you have been a very good student and I'd like to help but I wrote a reference letter already I remember last month.

A. Yes, I in fact lost it sorry.

B. I am busy now, I can't I reject you you can find someone free, sorry and I am not a good referee you can ask Dr. Alaa or come to me later later.

A. Ok miss no no problem.

B. ok good luck.

A. thank you.

British English Speakers (BEs)

R1

(Female-Male)

A. erm i'd like to talk to you about a fantastic opportunity that coming up i think you've done really well in the last two months and erm you i am impressed so i'd like to promote you and give you more responsibility and also a pay rise erm i think it is really well deserved erm the only problem is that you will be working in tesco in york i think it is really fantastic opportunity for you.

B. erm ok but why me?

A. erm because you've done i am really impressed with with what you've been done so far and i think you'd work well with more responsibility.

B. to york? it is gonna be little tough

A. erm i appreciate that but it is it is a pay rise as well so i am sure there is you know options that you could you could pursue that it will enable you to move and take advantage of this great opportunity.

B. ok erm the thing is i've just bought a house and my family is here in manchester. i just had my parents move here so i could i could be closer to them.

A. erm oh gosh that is a shame congratulations on your house and buying a house. york and manchester are not that far you know you could commute potentially to york erm erm and you may open up a promotion you could move back to manchester in the near future and take on that high role.

B. erm i also got some friends here and my fiancé has a job here.

A. again can you think of work it is not yea it is not too far you know you could take the train there is good train links and not too expensive.

B. (no answer)

(Male-Female)

A. ((clears throat)) so emily (.) good news (.) i know you have been working very hard lately and er now you've been putting a lot of loads in there but hh there is a promotion coming in York. I know it is quite far away Emily we are in manchester but. it is a great opportunity. I RECOMMENDE YOU and th th they said you can have the position IF you want it(.)

B. er no, thanks (.) I do not think I can accept that just because it is too far away, I'd rather stay around {manchester}

A. {think about the opportunity}?

B. but it is too far away, because all my family lives around here.

(Male-Male)

A. err hhh ok we have good news for you (.) er we can offer you er a promotion and a significant {pay rise}

B. {oh great}

A. the only thing to bear in mind or to take into account is that this job involves moving to YORK.

B. ok err we are flattered by that (.) and this is that is good news in general but i don't think i'll be able to relocate at the time.

R2

(Male-Male)

A. hi luke err i've just been err having a chat with the people from the student union (.) and err i must to ask you you know as your lecturer err that you should come and attend a party that we are

organising at the student union tomorrow night

B. err i'd really like to but err i've got a paper due in by tomorrow it is a deadline and i've got quite few other things on at the moment so <i am not gonna be able to make it<

(Male-Male)

A. Ok so erm it's been a party that it's been organised by the student union and I was wondering if you'd like to attend tomorrow

B. Sorry, but I've been got a (not audible) I haven't finished it i need to do it

A. ok

(Male-Female)

A. Hi i've got a bit of favour in need to ask from you. there is a party that's been organised by the student union tomorrow and i need you to go if possible

B. oh erm thank you for the offer but i've i've got a part time job erm at school and erm i am working a shift then.

A. oh no erm is there any way you can go it's been organised by a group of students i really wait to try and support.

B. erm i got other assignments as well erm i need to finish erm i really i really don't think it is gonna work for me i think it would be really tricky to get to

A. ok i appreciate that i could i could erm obviously move some of your assignments around and help you out with those and maybe give some of your work to other people if you could go.

B. surely you understand i mean you are a professor erm you understand if students have homework i've just got mountains and and a part time job. i just i really can't i really sorry it does

sound like lots of fun i am sure that will be someone else that could go.

A. erm no of course yea i i wouldn't ask if it was not important but it is quite impotant.

B. i mean i am in a hurry now so i do not wanna give you the wrong answer but erm i am ganna go (she laughs).

R3

(Male-Female)

A. er, helen we are really busy at the minute as you know er but it means that we got some more hours for you to work if you if you would like it (.) but what I am looking for really is that you work other couple of hours today? er and <we'll pay a bit more maybe?<

B. i can't sorry today i've got a guide group that i run afterwards i've gonna get back for that

A. are you are you sure that you can't {do it?}

B. { i can't}{.} i'll be letting down thirty little girls i can't do that sorry

A. mmm ok never mind. maybe maybe some other point this week you could work?

B. well if you let me know the days outside of work but probably not to be fair(.) i do quite a lot of stuff outside work.

(Male-Male)

A. hi Will sorry to ask. Would you be able to work for two more hours this week?

B. i don't know i've worked quite lots of extra time recently erm maybe i could stay for one hour

erm i've got lots of classes to prepare for uni and things so maybe not

A. it is just erm this week only we're really busy so we really need those extra two hours i asked you to help us out you are obviously be paid for it

B. yea sorry iam i am really busy iam i've gonna do my homework and then i've planned a study session as well so i'd like to help but i can't

A. so absolutely no way you could just work for one extra hour other than what you've just to complete .

B. you know i am just i am just exhausted at the moment erm today is my friend's birthday as well if i was going to do anything apart from studying i'd go meet them , i've got to go to meet some old friends.

R4

(Female-Male)

A. er you know the lecture notes that you've been doing in the last few weeks?

B. yea?

A. could i POSSIBLY borrow them?

B. hhh i haven't really finished them yet so i don't i don't wanna give you the wrong the wrong information because i am not really (0.3) .hh i am not really sure that everything is right in it so i don't wanna give you the { wrong information }

A. { maybe } we could go to the library and i can have a look over what you have done so far?

B. maybe maybe later(.) maybe maybe some point next week(.) but at the minute i don't really i don't really feel comfortable showing them to anyone?

A. do you know someone else that might?

B. emm maybe maybe ask EMILY maybe

A. ok i'll try her then

B. ok.

(Male-Female)

1.A. So, again, I really appreciate all the help you've given me in the past. erm, I was hoping I could get your lecture notes from this these past couple of weeks.

2.B. erm, yeah, I don't know I need them to be honest erm

3.A. I mean, obviously, I'm not going to be copying anything word for word. I won't – I won't photocopy your notes. I just would really like them to fill in the pieces of

4.B. Yeah, I know, you really haven't been to class, and I put a lot of time in taking down the notes and

5.A Well, I've been I've had a lot I've kind of been a mess lately. hhh, my girlfriend broke up with me, so I've really, um, I've been late; I've been sleeping late. It's really just messed up my schedule. erm, so maybe, this one time, hhh, you've helped me in the past and your notes are incredible. They're always really great. erm, really kind of supplement all of; you know, the notes that I have taken, so –

6.B. Yeah, I know. I – I feel bad saying no, but it's I don't really feel like I should this time.

7.A. Is there any way you can help me out, just this one time?

8.B No. No.

9.A. This will be the last.

10.B I'm sorry, I need them.

11.A. Okay. But, Okay. Thanks. Thank you very much anyways. Good luck on the exam.

12.B Thanks. You too.

<p>R5</p> <p>(Male-Male)</p>
<p>A. ok. right there are still there are still dessert left (0.3) but you got to have some more no, no letting you stay here ((joking)) ((laughing))</p> <p>B. no i am all right thanks i am fine</p> <p>A. i can't have food wasting in my house</p> <p>B. i am full (.) i am full i am all right thank you very much.</p>
<p>(Female-Female)</p>
<p>A. erm can i can i get you some dessert?</p> <p>B. oh gosh i can't eat anything erm am</p> <p>A. [oh come on you you can find space iam sure]</p> <p>B. no iam about to explode i've been sacrificing doing diet</p> <p>A. no no i insist we worked hard on this dessert and i really like to have some</p> <p>B. well that is great if i'd known earlier i would have eaten it first i could try it but honestly there is no way i could eat this right now</p> <p>A. are you are you sure you could i mean this is really really good</p> <p>B. honestly my cholesrol level is high and i just feel like this dessert might make it worse but i really appreciate you making it.</p>
<p>R6</p> <p>(Male-Male)</p>

A. (inaudible) using it ?

B. i'm sorry man i really i can't i need it

A. erm hhhh but not even for a MINute?

B. no i i've really got to get this work done(.) i i i absolutely have to keep using it

A. all right.

(Female-Male)

A. oh you are not gonna believe this i've got an assignment that needs to be in tonight and my computer is broken and it is really impotent one and i am desperate i need computer would you mind? just for an hour.

B. Wendy you are awkward. really?

A. why? what is the problem?

B. This weekend i can lend you my computer.

A. no no no it has to be today it is gonna be if it is not gonna be today i am gonna fail the course

B. Wendy you need to be careful with your lap top.

A. what? i do no what happened actually i just think there is something wrong with the laptop then i think that something i actually i did and you know if you know me for years how often does this happen

R7

(Male-Male)

A. Hi erm excuse me I am sorry to bother you but i 've just been cleaning your office and while i

was there i knocked over your little statue and broken i really feel bad about this can i erm please let me pay for it?

B. it doesn't matter it is a present from an old girlfriend.

A. well i mean even so i mean i feel so bad about it maybe i should give you money or you should take it out of my wages though i want make it make it right.

B. it is not something special from family or anything

A. well if you sure i mean erm i still i would like to pay for it. it looked it looked niceerm i feel bad about it because i should i should be more careful in your office.

B. it is fine. to err is human (he haughs).

(Female-Male)

A. I really sorry i just knocked down this statue and it is broken i really want to pay for it but will you let me pay for it?

B. it is totally fine don't don't worry about it

A. but i feel really guilty i feel like i should

B. no it it totally fine i did not even like it it was it was like a present from someone i don't i don't remember who they were. it is it is fine.

A. well can i erm

B. [no please i insist don't]

A. there is no way i can repay you not just even with money i can i can do some extra hours for free or something like that

B. no that is that is fine yea things break eventually like erm it is not it is not a problem

A. you don't want me to get you a new one or anything

B. no

A. or anything i can i could do

B. no it is ok i don't even miss it it it was cheap forget about it

R8

(Female-Female)

A. my computer just broke half way through the assignment. can you please have a quick look at it for me?

B. i can't do i am not that good at computers.

A. oh please just a look i got an assignment i need to do it tomorrow

B. i am going out in a minute she is nearly ready we are going to a party we have to get there for a certain time.

A. you've done it before it is just waiting

B. i know but it is a surprise party if we are not there then we can't go surprise can we?

No i am not doing it i am going now bye.

(Female-Male)

A. hi how are you?

B. yea fine thanks

A. erm i am a bit have a nightmare day i am afraid i 've got the assignment due tomorrow

B [right]

A. i need to print it out somewhere

B [ok]

A. erm but me printer broke down this morning i am a bit of situation, i really do not know what to do erm because i've got to print it out and it's due tomorrow. did you say you are quite good with computers?

B. erm i can do some stuff with computers yea

A. do u think i can ask you a favour to maybe see if you could fix it?

B. erm well i helped you before when i fixed your computer. why don't you have ago at fixing it yourself?

If you want something done right, you should do it yourself.

A. well i've tried myself that is the only thing and i really can't do it so i remember that you were good last time.

B. erm well i'd love to help you but i am not i am not really skilled in computers so that is that is why

A. ok erm i just spoke i spoke to my friend who is good with computers and they are on holiday so i really

B [yea]

A. struggling to find someone so if you could spare a moment

B. well i am a bit in a hurry so i do not wanna not fix it for you properly. you wouldn't want me to damage it for you?

A. no well i think i've already done that myself actually erm well i just don't know what to do i mean it is gonna be in tomorrow maybe i could do something in return for you.

B. could i not fix your computer tomorrow? i mean i could do it for you after the party?

A. after the party tomorrow?

B. mmmm

A. what time is the party?

B erm six p.m

A. ok i think that might do thank you very much

B. thanks

R9

(Female-Female)

A. hi mrs grieves iam just coming in it really need a reference but i am gonna apply for master

degree. is there any chance erm because i really need it.

B. oh really sorry i can't it is not gonna be possible to do it today

A. well can you can you do it later on

B. erm you must understand how busy i am during final exams i am i am really not able to do it i am afraid.

A. no but i am desperate because it is a certain time line and i have to do it within that time line

B. if i wasn't busy testing the students maybe i'd be able to but i've got exams i've got to do the tests i am afraid i am really sorry i won't be able to do it for you.

A. not even tomorrow?

B. i still got exams sorry i've really got to go i have an exam starting

A. ok all right thanks.

(Male-Female)

A. hi so erm as you know i am graduating this summer

B. [yea]

A. and i 'd really like to go on to the master program at the university

B. [ehm great]

A. erm what i need is a recommendation letter that i can submit with the application given you my academic advice, would you be able to supply that for me?

B. yea i mean that is definitely within my rule and i really like to help you but as you probably know we got midterm exams coming up next week so i am really quite pushed of time at the moment.

A. yea i'd i'd understand that but i'd i would be grateful if you could make a very little bit of time and i am sure it does not need to be like a long flowery letter just just something which would recommend me for the for the course.

B. yea well i would really like to help you like a i said i mean you have been a very good student

this year so erm i'd love to help you get on to the master program but yea i really iam busy with the exams at the minute so erm i am just pushed with the time.

A. erm yea

Appendix (14): Other (less frequent) refusal strategies distributed by contextual factors.

Table (1): Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Requests
by refuser's status

	Refusers' Status	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
1.	Lower	Avoidance	16.6	5	31.2	5	25	3	IA=ILE>BE
	Higher	Avoidance	73.3	22	50	8	50	6	ILE=BE>IA
	Equal	Avoidance	10	3	18.7	3	25	3	IA=ILE=BE
2.	Lower	Alternative	33.3	5	40	6	100	2	ILE>IA>BE
	Higher	Alternative	26.6	4	33.3	5	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
	Equal	Alternative	40	6	26.6	4	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
3.	Lower	Chiding	11.1	3	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Higher	Chiding	48.1	13	0	0	1	0	IA>BE>ILE
	Equal	Chiding	40.7	11	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
4.	Lower	Conditionals	16.6	1	16.6	1	0	0	IA=ILE>BE
	Higher	Conditionals	66.6	4	83.3	5	100	4	ILE>IA=BE
	Equal	Conditionals	16.6	1	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE

Table (2): Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Requests

by refuser's distance

	Social distance	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
1.	Low	Avoidance	33.3	10	50	8	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	High	Avoidance	20	6	37.5	6	0	0	ILE=IA>BE
	Acquainted	Avoidance	46.6	14	12.5	2	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
2.	Low	Alternative	20	3	26.6	4	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
	High	Alternative	40	6	46.6	7	100	2	ILE>IA>BE
	Acquainted	Alternative	40	6	26.6	4	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
3.	Low	Chiding	63	17	100	1	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	High	Chiding	0	0	0	0	0	0	IA=ILE=BE
	Acquainted	Chiding	37	10	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
4.	Low	Conditionals	33.3	2	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	High	Conditionals	50	3	66.6	4	100	4	BE=ILE>IA
	Acquainted	Conditionals	16.6	1	33.3	2	0	0	ILE>IA>BE

Table (3): Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Requests by refuser's gender

	refuser's Gender	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
1.	Female	Avoidance	43	13	50	8	33	4	IA>ILE>BE
	Male	Avoidance	57	17	50	8	67	8	IA>ILE=BE
2.	Female	Alternative	26.5	4	20	3	50	1	IA>ILE>BE
	Male	Alternative	73.4	11	80	12	50	1	ILE>IA>BE
3.	Female	Chiding	44	13	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Male	Chiding	56	15	100	1	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
4.	Female	Conditionals	83.3	5	66.6	4	50	2	IA>ILE>BE
	Male	Conditionals	16.6	1	33.3	2	50	2	ILE=BE>IA

Table (4): Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Requests by requester's gender

	refuser's Gender	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	

1.	Female	Avoidance	60	18	12.5	2	58.3	7	IA>BE>ILE
	Male	Avoidance	40	12	87.5	14	41.6	5	ILE>IA>BE
2.	Female	Alternative	53.3	8	75	10	100	2	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	Alternative	46.6	7	25	5	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
3.	Female	Chiding	67.8	19	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Male	Chiding	32.1	9	100	1	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
4.	Female	Conditionals	33.3	2	50	3	50	2	ILE>IA=BE
	Male	Conditionals	66.6	4	50	3	50	2	IA>ILE>BE

Table (5): Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used by same/opposite gender

Semantic formula		Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)											
		IA				ILE				BE			
		same		opposite		same		opposite		same		opposite	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	Direct No	37	60.6	24	39.3	68	80.9	16	19	4	66.6	2	33.3
2	Avoidance	13	43.3	17	56.6	4	25	12	75	4	33.3	8	66.6
3	Alternative	3	20	12	80	6	40	9	60	2	100	0	0
4	Chiding	18	62.9	10	37	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Conditionals	3	50	3	50	2	33	4	66	1	25	3	75

Table (6): Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Offer

by refuser's status

	Refusers' status	Semantic Formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No	%	No	%	No	
1	Lower	Let off the hook	62.5	5	62.5	5	48.8	21	BE>IA=ILE
	Higher	Let off the hook	37.5	3	25	2	23.2	10	BE>IA>ILE
	Equal	Let off the hook	0	0	12.5	1	27.9	12	BE>ILE>IA
2	Lower	It is my treat	71.4	5	57.1	4	50	1	IA>ILE>BE
	Higher	It is my treat	28.5	2	42.8	3	50	1	ILE>IA>BE
	Equal	It is my treat	0	0	0	0	0	0	IA=ILE=BE
3	Lower	Chiding	0	0	0	0	0	0	IA=ILE=BE
	Higher	Chiding	100	3	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Equal	Chiding	0	0	0	0	0	0	IA=ILE=BE
4	Lower	Putting the blame	100	24	100	16	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	Higher	Putting the blame	0	0	0	0	0	0	IA=ILE=BE
	Equal	Putting the blame	0	0	0	0	0	0	IA=ILE=BE
5	Lower	Alternative	76.9	20	62.1	41	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
	Higher	Alternative	15.3	4	19.6	13	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
	Equal	Alternative	7.6	2	18.1	12	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
6	Lower	Principle	15	3	20	3	0	0	ILE=IA>BE

1	Female	Let off the hook	62.5	5	50	4	32.5	14	BE>IA>ILE
	Male	Let off the hook	37.5	3	50	4	67.4	29	BE> ILE>IA
2	Female	Alternative	50	13	50	33	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	Alternative	50	13	50	33	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
3	Female	Chiding	25	1	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Male	Chiding	75	2	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
4	Female	Putting the blame	50	12	56.2	9	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	Male	Putting the blame	50	12	43.7	7	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
5	Female	Principle	50	10	46.6	7	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	Male	Principle	50	10	53.3	8	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
6	Female	It is my treat	57.1	4	57.1	4	50	1	IA=ILE>BE
	Male	It is my treat	42.8	3	42.8	3	50	1	IA=ILE>BE
7	Female	Invoking God	54.5	12	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Male	Invoking God	45.4	10	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE

Table (9): Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used in Refusals of Offer

by refuser's gender

	refuser's gender	Semantic formula	Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)						Pattern
			IA		ILE		BE		
			%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
1	Female	Let off the hook	75	6	62.5	5	72	31	BE>IA>ILE

	Male	Let off the hook	25	2	37.5	3	27.9	12	BE>ILE>IA
2	Female	Alternative	30.7	8	63.6	42	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	Alternative	69.2	18	36.3	24	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
3	Female	Chiding	33.3	1	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Male	Chiding	66.6	2	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
4	Female	Putting the blame	79.1	19	68.7	11	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
	Male	Putting the blame	20.8	5	31.2	5	0	0	IA=ILE>BE
5	Female	Principle	15	3	40	6	0	0	ILE>IA>BE
	Male	Principle	85	17	60	9	0	0	IA>ILE>BE
6	Female	It is my treat	14.2	1	50	4	50	1	ILE>IA=BE
	Male	It is my treat	85.7	6	50	4	50	1	IA>ILE=BE
7	Female	Invoking God	77.2	17	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE
	Male	Invoking God	22.7	5	0	0	0	0	IA>ILE=BE

Table (10): Frequency of Semantic Formulae Used by same/opposite gender

Semantic formula		Frequency (percentages of responses containing formulae)											
		IA				ILE				BE			
		same		opposite		same		opposite		same		opposite	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Alternative	12	46.1	14	53.8	19	28.7	47	71.2	0	0	0	0

2.	Let off the hook	5	62.5	3	37.5	4	50	4	50	16	37.2	27	62.6
3.	Invoking the name of God	7	31.8	15	68.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Chiding	2	75	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Principle	12	60	8	40	5	33	10	66	0	0	0	0
6.	It is my treat	1	14.2	6	85.7	5	71.4	2	28.5	2	100	0	0
7.	Putting the blame	3	12.5	21	87.5	7	43.7	9	56.2	0	0	0	0

Appendix (15): Refusal strategies according to the (im) politeness superstrategies

Table 1: Total frequency of strategies according to the (im) politeness superstrategies.

	Strategy Type	Refusals of Requests (DCT)	Refusals of Offers (DCT)	Role Plays	Total
Positive Politeness	Indicate Unwillingness	-----	186	-----	186
	Statement of Positive Opinion/Agreement	264	33	22	319
	Gratitude/Appreciation	-----	145	23	168
	Statement of Empathy/Concern	-----	----	10	10
Total		264	364	55	683 (16.4%)
Negative Politeness	Negated Ability	263	291	33	587
	Let Off the Hook	-----	59	23	82
	It is my Treat	-----	16	---	16
	Regret/Apology	397	190	40	627
	Invoking the Name of God	95	22	33	80
Total		755	578	129	1462 (35.1%)
Bald on Record	Performative Refusals	-----	-----	6	6
	Direct No	167	243	45	455

Total		167	243	51	501 (12%)
Off Record	SIE	560	487	70	1117
	Counter-Factual Conditionals	16	-----	6	22
	General Principles	15	35	6	56
	Alternative	32	92	16	140
	Avoidance	58	-----	32	90
	Putting the Blame on a Third Party	-----	40	7	47
	Request for Information	-----	-----	25	25
	Request for Understanding	----	-----	14	14
	Negative Consequences	-----	-----	6	6
Total		681	654	182	1517 (36.4%)
Overall number of strategies					4163

Figure 1: Overall Use of the (im) politeness superstrategies by the three groups in this study.

