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The sequential organisation of offers and acceptances in Saudi Arabic

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the sequential organisation of offers and acceptance in Saudi Arabic talk-in-interaction. This investigation is implemented through the use of the methodology of Conversation Analysis. Through analysing Saudi Arabic naturally-occurring data, I look at offer sequences as a whole, and not just the offer and its initial response. The data suggest that, mostly, Saudi offers are not immediately accepted; the acceptance happens only after turns of vigorous rejection and negotiation between the offerer and his/her recipient. As this is the first conversation analytic study of offers in Arabic talk-in-interaction, its aim is to investigate, through the use of naturally-occurring talk, the interactional significance of the delayed acceptance and how this action is ultimately accomplished in Saudi Arabic interaction.

Through the analysis, I examine these initial rejections that come as a response to Saudi offers, and how they are usually produced immediately and without delay. Furthermore, I investigate when offerers treat these initial rejections as just mere *pro forma* rejections that require negotiation compared to when they treat it as a definitive rejection. This ultimate outcome of the offer sequence is usually projectable due to the different use of offer formats: declarative, imperative or interrogative. Also, this outcome is related to the offerers' and their recipients' orientation to identity, such as membership categories and authority, and the role played by these in the recognisability of action.

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List of Abbreviations

CA	Conversation Analysis
TCU	Turn Constructional Unit
FPP	First Pair Part
SPP	Second Pair Part
MCD	Membership categorization device
IMP	Imperative
PRES	Present
V	Verb
FEM	Feminine pronoun
MASC	Masculine pronoun
SIG	Singular
PL	Plural
INAN	Inanimate
EXP	Expression

Transcriptions

Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL)

ṯ	voiceless interdental fricative
ḥ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
x	voiceless velar fricative
ð	voiced interdental fricative
š	voiceless palatal sibilant
ṣ	voiceless post-dental sibilant emphatic
ḍ	voiced post-dental emphatic stop
ṭ	voiceless post-dental emphatic stop
ḏ	voiced post-interdental emphatic fricative
ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
ġ	voiced uvular fricative
q	voiceless uvular stop
ʔ	voiceless glottal stop
ł	velarized alveolar lateral approximant
č	affricated /k/
a	low front short vowel
u	high back short vowel
i	high front short vowel
ā	low front long vowel
ū	high back long vowel
ī	high front long vowel

Chapter 1 **Introduction**

"The young man entered the house hesitantly, and immediately found himself sitting in front of a plate filled with food. Arabic traditions are consistent everywhere. The blood of ḥātimiṭṭāʔī [1] *is still running through our veins. I said to him:*

- *'Go on. Eat.'* "

(From the Arabic Novel 'Johnathan's Promise' by Ahmad Khalid)

1.1 Introduction

Through focusing on naturally occurring Saudi Arabic talk, the present thesis seeks to investigate some communicative and cultural constraints that shape the production and recognition of actions in interaction. I will focus in particular on offers and how they are eventually accepted or rejected in Saudi Arabic. In general, there has been much rich linguistic research into the Arabic language. This research started with linguists from the eighth century when early research produced findings in syntax, morphology and analysis of the phonological vernaculars of Classical Arabic. Over time, research was extended to examining the numerous dialects of Arabic. In recent years, this research on Arabic has become broader and more sophisticated. It involves research in theoretical linguistics, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, historical linguistics and computational linguistics (Bassiouney & Graham, 2012). However, little research has been done on Arabic talk-in-interaction, and even less research has been done on conversation analysis. In fact, the only published work in conversation analysis on Arabic is Clift & Helani (2010) on topic shift. So, this conversation-analytic study is one of the very few done on Arabic talk-in-interaction.

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[1] A historic figure known for his generosity

1.1.1 Why use conversation analysis to study Saudi Arabic offers?

The examination of the Saudi offer sequences in this study is done through the methodological principles of conversation analysis (CA henceforth). This domain examines the participants' social interactions; the management of actions between individuals. The term *interaction* itself means co-ordinated action, namely how the actions of two or more individuals can influence each other (Oxford English Dictionary Online, 2017)[2]. Participants coordinate their interaction through monitoring each other's talk to achieve meaningful conversation, because talk is an activity achieved through collaboration. For instance, accepting or rejecting of offers are actions that are only achieved through mutual collaboration between the offerer and his/her recipient. This chapter introduces two main concepts in CA, *action* and *sequence*. Actions are done through sequences; a participant makes an offer expecting the co-participant to give an appropriate response, whether it is an acceptance or rejection. In other words, each course of action is implemented across a sequence (Clift, 2016). Specifically, in English an offer sequence is routinely done through two turns, the offer and its response. This is the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction which I will present more thoroughly in the following chapter. Overwhelmingly, most of the work in CA is done on English, so I will be concentrating on the research hitherto carried out on English in the literature.

 One of the universal and consistent features of our social lives is that we need, seek and offer assistance from the smallest task (e.g., offering to clear up the dinner table) to the bigger ones (e.g., offering to help a friend financially) (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). Hence, offers are a pervasive phenomenon in interaction and are a very distinct action in themselves. Yet, when we look at the way *actions* have been studied in linguistics, predominantly we have speech act theory with its notion of "doing things with words" (Austin, 1962). It is one of the notions

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[2] Accessed 24/04/2017, 1:50, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/interaction

of pragmatics that does not treat utterances as just meaning-bearers but as a way to perform speech *acts*. Austin (1962) who developed this theory points out that utterances *do* things, and that speech acts can be paraphrased in the form of 'I hereby V_{performative}' which can be substituted with any verb, such as, promise, warn, introduce, order and so on. Also, the two main senses in which actions can be performed through utterances is, firstly, the "locutionary act" which stands for the verbalizing of the words with their intended meanings; secondly, is the "illocutionary act" which stands for the action itself, such as, warning, advising, requesting or offering (Levinson, 2017).

However, CA investigates actions within the fundamental organisation of talk in interaction, such as turn-taking and sequence organization. This focus on sequence and turns within them has led analysts to pinpoint actions that do not necessarily have vernacular names and are not produced through performative verbs (assessments, repair, and confirmation). These actions and others are only understood while looked at in their sequential position; in other words, where their position is in relation to the following and prior turns (Levinson, 2017: 203). Essentially, speech act theory did throw some light on the issue that, for example, an interrogatively formatted utterance 'Is that your coat on the floor?' can be heard as a directive to pick the coat up if said from a parent to a child (Clift, 2016:11). However, it still faces the conundrum in distinguishing between the form of the utterance and the action it implements. Pragmatics face this due to the fact that it attempts to link form to action which even if it works on some occasions it does not on others. Consider the example below,

(1) [Schegloff, 1996a: 204]

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1    M:    You talked abou' what happened at thee other hospital?
2    Pr:   I talked about what happened at thee other hospital.
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Except for the change of deictic pronouns and prosody, the two forms are basically similar. Yet, when looking at them in relation to their different sequential position it is clear that they are doing entirely different things. The first turn is a question and a proposal while the second

one is doing confirmation. The basic form of response to M's interrogative in (line 1) is with a 'yes' or 'I did' rather than a full repeat of the question. Thus, clearly P's repeat could constitute specific interactional practice of particular action, and is doing something specific; a kind of confirmation by repeating (Schegloff, 1996a). So, speech act theory, in trying to link forms to function, would have no comprehension that this form can mean two different things. Since the only thing that changed here, other than one pronoun and prosody, is sequential context which speech act theory does not investigate.

Moreover, speech act theory only takes as its premise an act and its consequence; for example, an offer and its response. While conversation analysts do not work on dyads, as they do not work on just the two utterances; they look at the sequence as a whole, no matter how long it is, to reach a decision of what type of action the utterance carries. Consider for example the utterance 'Don't' which appears to be a directive due to its form; it intuitively seems to be said by a speaker restraining someone from doing something. However, when it is looked at in its full context, it presents a different finding (Clift, 2016:11):

(2) [Parker, 2001]

(D: adolescent client; T: Therapist)
```
1      D:    I always behave in all of them but (0.3) in=English
2            Maths and Science and French (.) I can't.
3            (1.3)
4      T: -> Don't.
5            (0.8)
6      D:    Mm.
7            (0.5)
8      T:    Say to yourself (0.8)[It's not that I can't, it's that=
9      D:                         [Mm.
10     T:    =I don't.
11           (0.9)
12     D:    Mmm
13           (0.5)
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(Clift, 2016: 12)

David's 'Mm' in (line 6) makes it clear that he does not treat the therapist's 'don't' as a directive but as a proposal to substitute his 'can't' (line 2) with 'don't'. Also, the therapist in

her subsequent turns (lines 8 and 10) explicitly uses both the utterance 'can't' and 'don't' and counterpose them. Thus, this understanding of 'don't' is dependent on its position in a turn following 'can't', and this conclusion is reached by investigating the full sequence.Therefore, even though speech act theory acknowledges the orientation to actions in interaction, its emphasis on speech acts fails to recognize the actions' sequential nature beyond the utterance or utterance pair (Clift, 2016). By trying to map forms to function without any other comprehension of sequence or turn design as it is done in conversation analysis, speech act theory lacks the main tools in navigating action types. So, it is tempting that Speech act theory, faced with these difficulties, should hand over the torch to CA, which essentially investigates utterances in their sequential position (Levinson, 2017).

To reach full understanding of offers and their rejecting or accepting responses as courses of actions implemented through sequences, this thesis applies the conversation analytic method. The following are two examples of participants offering a drink. Despite the clear differences in the sequence trajectories, both offers are accepted; and in both cases, the outcome is that tea ended up being drunk together. Excerpt (3) is an example of an English offer:

(3) [Schegloff, 2017: 442]

```
1    Nel:  Y'wanna drink?
2    Cla:  Yeah
3    Nel:  Okay
```

The second offer sequence is taken from the collection of Saudi data that I will be working with in this thesis. Nader is at Lama and Ahmad's house. The sequence starts with Lama offering to get the tea (line 1). Please see section 2.4.1 and appendix A for transcription conventions and translation:

(4) [AbuAbah: 13-10-30V029: 19: 15]

```
1    L:      (      ) ?arūḥ       ?jyb=išš↑āhi
             (      ) I go        get the te↑a
             (      ) I('ll) go   get the t↑ea
2    N:      >la la< tijībīn            Šayy    tak[fe:n
             >no no< bring you(SIG.FEM)  thing   ple:[ase
             >no no< (don't) bring anything ple[ase
3    A:                                          [?illa      jībayy
                                                 [illa(EXP.do)bring you
                                                 (SIG.FEM) him(INAN.MASC)
                                                 [do bring it
4    L:                                          [šāhi
                                                 [tea
5            byālat³       Šāhī
             Byalah        of tea
             (just a) cup of tea
```

This Arabic offer sequence will be analysed in-depth in the following chapters, but for now we will look at this interesting phenomenon in general. As is clear here, Nader responds to the offer with an immediate refusal (line 2), and not just a refusal but with a vehement and multiplied *las* (=nos). So, from the first instance, we can see that something interesting is going on, because despite this immediate rejection, ten minutes later they are all having tea. So, clearly something has happened between the offer turn and its ultimate acceptance and this will be the main investigation of this thesis. Through this thesis as well, I show that since speech act theory does not study sequences, it will not cope with Saudi Arabic offers.

The following sections consist of first, an overview of the Arabic language with focus on Saudi Arabic. I also provide a brief history of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia focusing on what I see has affected the shaping of the observed interactional phenomenon. I also lay out some Arabic stereotypes while linking them to related Arabic and anthropological linguistic work. The second section addresses the few relevant studies done on Arabic offers. In the final section, I provide an organization of this study and generally introduce each of the following chapters.

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³ A small glass used to drink tea in

1.1.2 The Arabic language

This section of the chapter provides background on the Arabic language. I start with a brief introduction to Arabic, and then move on to the specific dialect spoken in the data I use.

Arabic is the most widely spoken Semitic language in the 21st Century. It is a branch of the South Semitic languages spread in the Middle East- throughout North Africa and southwest Asia[4].
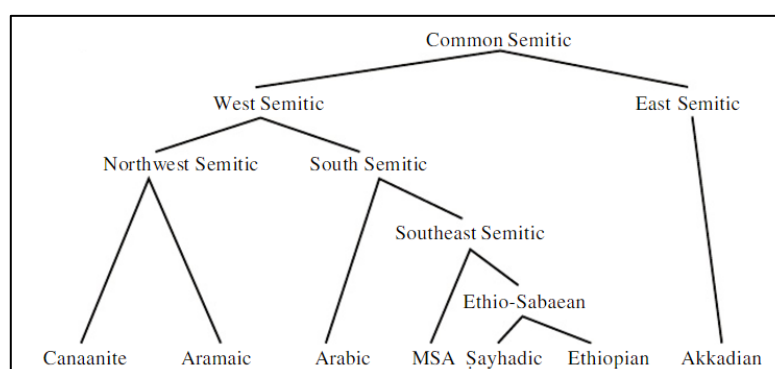
Figure 1.1 Tree of Semitic languages *(Faber, 1997)*

Arabic is spoken by two billion people around the world. Since classical Arabic is the language of the Quran, it is considered the religious language for Muslims around the world. Moreover, it is the uniform literary language for Arabs used in most written and professional media broadcasting[5]. Colloquial Arabic, however, has developed numerous dialects (see Figure 1.2). For example, Levantine Arabic which is a term that describes the dialect spoken by people in the Eastern Mediterranean Coast, such as, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Palestine. There is the Maghrebi Arabic spoken in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. Maghrebi Arabic is spoken in North Africa except for Egypt where people use Egyptian Arabic. Also, there is the Gulf Arabic which is spoken by people in the Arabian Gulf, such as, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Bahrain (Nassra, 2015). These dialects and their

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[4] Accessed 10/06/2017, 17:16, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Arabic-language

[5] Accessed 10/06/2017, 17:16, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Arabic-language

even more various sub-dialects are used in people's everyday interaction[6]. One of these dialects is Arabia, which is mostly used in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, a country that extends across the Arabian Peninsula. Saudi Arabic in itself is divided into five main dialects: 'Hijazi', spoken in the west along the Red Sea; 'Najdi', spoken in the central region; 'Janubi', spoken in the southern region bordering Yemen; the northern dialect, spoken in northern lands along the border with Iraq and Jordan; and the eastern dialect, spoken along the Arabian Gulf. The speakers of the current study are from different parts of Saudi Arabia. However, the differences in these dialects do not appear to have affected the way they treat and respond to actions in interaction, especially offers[7].
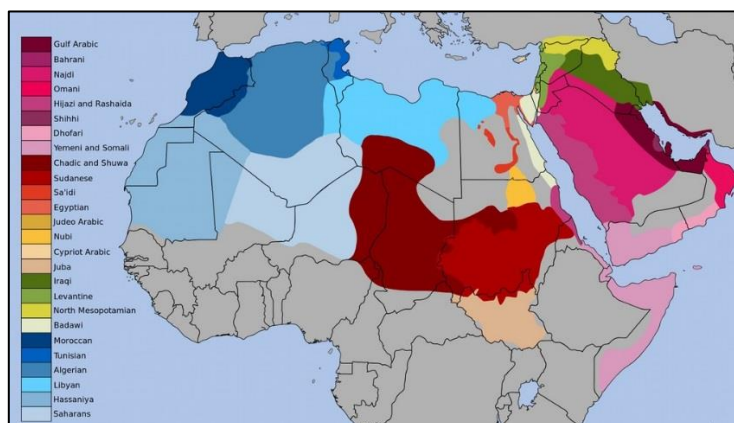
Figure 1.2 Map of Arabic dialects *(Lewis, 2011)*

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a conservatively Muslim country. It embraced, until the mid-twentieth century, a traditional lifestyle that changed only slightly over thousands of years. However, the kingdom has undergone striking changes within a century, with the discovery of oil and its growing petroleum wealth; not just economically but in the educational and social system. The kingdom's small towns have become more urban; Mecca

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[6] Accessed 10/06/2017, 17:16, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Arabic-language

[7] Restricting this data to Saudi Arabic is in the interests of consistency; thus I am not claiming that the findings are representatives of other Arabic dialects. Note, however, that the interaction, excerpt 11, in chapter four is a video recording between an Egyptian taxi driver and a Kuwaiti passenger, and their offer sequence and the way they treat the offer and its response works in parallel with my argument, and seems to conform to the findings for Saudi Arabic. Moreover, there is mutual intelligibility between most Arabic dialects, for the video has gone viral on Arabic social media, and which is more evidence that it is a recognizable phenomenon.

and Madina have grown into large cities, and Riyadh, the former small oasis town, has developed into a modern metropolis. Also, most of the Bedouins that roamed the desert for many years have settled in cities or agrarian communities[8].

1.1.2.1   Arabic stereotypes: hospitality, insincerity and persistence

This section discusses some of the common Arabic stereotypes, such as exceeding hospitality, insincerity and sometimes persistence. Formerly, I will link this to related anthropological linguistic work on the relation between host and guest, and the relation between insincerity and politeness.

In general, one of the stereotypes of Arabs is their exaggerated hospitality and generosity (Al-Adalleh, 2011). Many westerners who have been to an Arab country have written about the "famous Arab hospitality" and the "spirit of reciprocity they are looking for" [9]. The conduct of being exceedingly generous with one's guests may be universal, it is very salient in the Middle-East as "with Arabs, it is a way of life" (Al Saloom, 2012). Another stereotype of Arabs is that of their indirectness or insincerity of not explicitly saying what they want. For example, not immediately accepting a friend's invitation to come in his/her house in the fear of burdening them; or under the impression that the invitation is insincere[10]. Moreover, it is claimed that Arabs, while producing indirect responses, expect the other to be presenting an indirect response in return; this leads to them insisting and negotiating for the person in front of them to submit. For instance, there is a case that has gone public in the media where a group of Arabs are trying to change their drivers' licences in Estonia. One official who

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[8] Accessed 10/06/2017, 17:16, https://www.britannica.com/place/Saudi-Arabia

[9] For more on westerners views on Arabic hospitality see: http://www.arabbritishcentre.org.uk/middle-eastern-hospitality-by-caroline-muir/ ,and http://www.thenational.ae/lifestyle/well-being/in-the-arab-world-business-and-hospitality-look-a-lot-alike

[10] In Arabic, there is a famous phrase 'fishermen invitation'. It refers to a group of invitations that expect an immediate rejection. It historically originated from the fishermen of Alexandria. These fishermen, while passing other fishermen on their boats, would invite them to share their food. Yet, since they are all in their boats, an acceptance would not be possible and a rejection is the normative response (Clift, 2016)

analysed the situation claims "that Arabs don't understand the meaning of the word 'no'. They don't get that it really means that something is not possible. They seem to think that they just have to explain longer" and negotiate more for the thing they are asking to happen[11].

There are universal norms of hospitality routines shared in most cultures; for instance, hospitality is associated with the respect of the guest through fulfilling their needs. Universal hospitality can be understood mainly as a sense of duty from the host/ess to his/her guest (Wonicki, 2011). Along with this universality, there are some specific cultural norms and ideologies that influence the way offering hospitality are implemented in various cultural groups. In Arabic hospitality these ideologies are foregrounded in the hosts' persistence (Agha, 2007). Therefore, the appropriate conventions of Arabic hospitality require elaborate rituals of how hosts and guests perform and respond to offers of hospitality (Grainger et al., 2015). Consequently, there is a connection between hospitality and politeness in most cultures. Specifically for Arabs, the conduct and behaviours that are applied in offering hospitality indicate an Arab's general politeness status and demeanour. This is present in the etymology of the Arabic word 'ʔadab/politeness'; it proposes that hospitality was, and still is, the core of politeness in the Arab world (Grainger et al., 2015). In pre-Islamic times, the term 'ʔadab' used specifically to mean 'invitation' rather than its broader meaning of politeness now (Al-Oqally & Tawalbeh, 2012). Idress (1985) explains further that the ancient meaning of 'ʔadab' can mean generosity and hospitality. Emery (2000) points out that the importance of hospitality in the Arab world has been made legendary and memorialized in history through the deeds of famous men, such as, ḥātimiṭṭāʔī[12]. This historical figure is considered an icon of hospitality and generosity. One of his famous stories is when he gave away all the camels he was herding, all of his wealth, to a passing traveller who was in need.

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[11] Accessed 27/05/2017, 11:32, http://wernermischke.org/2009/11/25/understanding-the-culture-scale-directindirect-through-the-lens-of-honor-shame/,and http://ezinearticles.com/?Cultural-Differences-In-Communication-Style---Why-Arabs-Are-Not-Effective-Communicators-In-Estonia&id=5457401

[12] ḥātimiṭṭāʔī is the same historical figure referred to in the quote taken from the Arabic novel at the beginning of this chapter.

These traditions, such as, the insistence on hospitality and its initial rejection, originate from hundreds of years ago. They go under the law of protection between the tribes in the desert, so that whoever was travelling in the desert would not die of hunger. Thus, even if the traveller was an enemy, he will not be asked what he wants, or when he is leaving until after three nights of extreme hospitality (Shaheen, 1965). Nowadays, the use of the word 'ʔadab' has expanded to refer to hospitality, generosity, morality and politeness. Hence, this suggests that one way thst Arabs revalue politeness is through these reoccurring linguistic ideologies of offering in their interaction. This notion of Arabic hospitality is imbedded in tradition and shaped by Islamic teachings. These attitudes are usually made and evaluated as 'correct' by the dominant Arab culture; they are played out and perpetuated through various social and religious institutions (Grainger et al., 2015: 51).

An essential part, and a symbol, of Arabic hospitality is the Bedouin's offer of *gahwa ʕarabyyah* (=Arabic coffee) to the guest upon arrival. It is a serious ritual that is governed by its own etiquette and mannerisms. The coffee is served with a special pot named *dallah* in a small cup named *finjal*. As the finjal is served with the right hand, and never on a tray, the offerer would say *tfaḏḏal* (=please take it) or *samm* (=please pronounce the name of god). The first finjal must always be accepted when poured and offered to the guest with *ʕišt* (=may you live a long life) or *taslam* (=may you be healthy); and the second finjal can be either accepted or rejected with *bas* (=enough) (for more on the etiquette of Arabic coffee and order of finjals and their names see, Shryock, 2004). It is always expected that the youngest should serve the coffee, that is, a father should not serve while his sons are around and the eldest brother/s should not serve if the youngest is present.

In her paper on truthfulness in an Egyptian village, Harris (1996) links the Arabic inclination to be insincere to Grice's theory of conversational inference (Grice, 1975); where he aims to explain the indirect relationships between what the speakers say and what it may be taken to mean. Grice's maxim of quality states that "try to make your contribution [to the

conversation] one that is true"; and its sub-maxim "do not say that which you believe to be false". Harris points out that this Gricean maxim cannot be treated as universal for various intercultural differences. She finds that this maxim is not absolutely applied by the Arabic participants. Even though in principal there is a social norm against lying in Arabic, consideration of the ritual nature of politeness can dictate or permit insincerity and legitimate deviations from truthfulness (Harris, 1996). In other words, in the name of politeness, there are things that are insincere and negotiable. For example, out of politeness, inviting a friend in for a cup of tea while you are at the door out of politeness, when you are not sincere; you would be shocked if it were accepted straightaway. This is not restricted to Arabs, for it can also be applied universally in a different context. Consider telling a friend you will be over in two minutes, if you are not true to the minutes, you will usually not be held for it and called a liar.

In addition, Sacks (1992) points out that speakers produce their talk according to how it will be heard. Consider for example when you respond to 'how are you?' with 'fine' even if you are *not* fine. If this question is a part of a greeting ceremony and not a 'real' question, any response other that 'fine, will be inappropriate. Sacks also notes that if you answer 'truthfully' to this ceremonial question you may be described as a 'bore'. Whereas, if you 'lie', you are displaying concern of what one should properly do in a situation like this (1992: 562). In this lies a paradox; even though one should never lie, one can put his/her recipient in an undesirable position if he/she does tell the truth. Therefore, Sacks's (1975: 61) maxim "everyone has to lie" is highly appropriate on certain occasions (Silverman, 1998).

Consequently, after laying out the main features of the Saudi Arabic dialect and some of the relevant stereotypes, it is useful to present previous research that has been conducted on Arabic interaction that is relevant to this study.

1.1.3 Previous studies

In general, there is little CA research on Arabic (for a conversation analytic study on topic change in Levantine Arabic see Helani, 2008); and, specifically to Arabic offers, there has been no analysis done on them before this research. However, there have been some anecdotal studies of conventionalized linguistic practices on Arabic offers in relation to politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Offers, in both English and Arabic, are positive politeness strategies that establish the speaker's good intentions in satisfying the hearer's positive-face wants (125) These conventions of the politeness theory discuss the notion that what is known as the "correct behaviour" in the participants' interactional behaviour originates in their linguistic ideologies (Hill, 2008).

As a start, researchers state that Arabic belongs to the societies of positive politeness, as they address the wants of the positive face more than the wants of the negative face (Al-Khatib, 2001). One of the studies presents hospitality as an essential prerequisite to show politeness and build stronger social relations (Feghali, 1997). Also, Emery (2000) notes that offers have their own elaborated rituals. Another study by Grainger et al. (2015) focuses on offering hospitality in Libyan Arabic by focusing their analysis on the discursive approach of politeness, and by thinking in terms of conventionality and ritual. It finds that the Arabic culture establishes behavioural patterns that are usually expected. Also, they suggest that there are ideologies about what is considered appropriate and which is not; this is done through focusing on the participants' judgments of what they consider polite or impolite. They also claim that, since Arabic politeness is considered a part of the eastern tradition, it is mostly governed by conventions, and the participant's position in a social group. They note that offers have become conventionalized and ritualized, hence, if the speaker wants the interaction to be polite, he/she will have little or no choice but to use them. They suggest that "in Arab society the offering and accepting of hospitality has significance for social cohesion

that goes far beyond the immediate situation. Offers are seen as a way of showing cordiality towards others" (54).

Although these studies investigate offers, the work is still only anecdotal. It is in the paradigm of politeness theory and bases its findings on face and social rituals. Therefore, it is interpretive of speakers' intentions and what the participants understand to be polite or impolite. It is not sequential, for it does not look at sequences of action or the detail of turn design as a conversation analytic study would. Referring to participants' understanding of what is polite and what is not, is interpretive. Also, referring to these invisible concepts, such as positive and negative face, lacks the evidence presented in a conversation-analytic study such as this one. Widely used and complicated actions such as Arabic offers cannot be studied and interpreted only in relation to politeness. It does not capture the range of how complicated an Arabic offer sequence may be; its sequential development cannot be appreciated unless it is analysed as a full sequence no matter how long the interaction takes. Therefore, my study will be devoted to the development of Saudi Arabic offer sequences in real life interaction. Ultimately, it is hoped that this study will lay the foundation for conversation analytic research in preference organisation of Arabic offer sequence and how it is developed over the sequence. Furthermore, I hope to present, through empirical evidence of data and systematic observation of offers and their responses, some of the cultural specific features that participants orient to during the development of the sequence.

1.1.4 The organisation of the study

This thesis consists of six chapters. Following the introduction, the current chapter, the methodology chapter contains the theoretical background of the field and lays the foundation for the three analysis chapters. The chapter outlines some of the necessary methodological preliminaries for investigating the structure of offers: primary among these will be the notion of *preference* where one produces a structurally positive or structurally negative response in

various ways. It also describes the notions of *authority* and *membership categories* and how participants orient to them in interaction. In the second part, it contains an explanation of the dual-typed Arabic data that I use for the analysis and translation and transcription methods. The third chapter is the first analysis chapter where I present the preference organization of Saudi Arabic offer sequences. This is followed by chapters four and five where I present how orientation to identity, especially the participants' membership categories and their display of ownership and authority, is essential in the action recognition of an offer's response. In the conclusion, I pull the strings together having shown how CA is one of the best methods to investigate Arabic offers, unlike pragmatic research such as speech act theory or politeness theory. Also, I present how this form of Arabic interaction contributed to producing some perceived Arab stereotypes. Moreover, I show how these stereotypes are prominent enough for Arab speakers to refer to them in their interaction.

Chapter 2 **Methodology**

In this methodology chapter, I provide a general outline of some of the basic concepts in conversation analysis while describing the methods used in the current study. Then, I conclude with a description of the data I collected and analysed for this research.

2.1 Conversation Analysis

CA is an approach to studying naturally occurring talk and its social action. It was foreshadowed by the early investigative works of Harold Garfinkel and Erving Goffman on the organization of everyday conduct. In the 1960s, their perspective was articulated in Harvey Sacks's lectures and was later on developed into distinctive research by Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. The main focus of CA, essential to this research, is analysing actions through sequences. Moreover, one of Sacks's claims, related to Saudi Arabic offer sequences, is that individuals in any social group jointly build and share their own specific culture in a societal world. They use this world to understand and produce actions in talk-in-interaction (Heritage, 1995). This main focus of CA is achieved through the method of gathering regularly-occurring forms of organization that are produced by a range of speakers in naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction. Most importantly, the analyst analyses the data according to what he/she observes from the participants' behaviour; the analysis should not rely on the analyst's speculation as to what he/she expects the participants to hypothetically understand. This CA approach is about identifying and examining regularly occurring action patterns. However, it is not just about describing these patterns, it is also about showing that they are methodically produced and oriented to by the participants, since these regular occurrences do affect the participants' behaviour in interaction (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

Furthermore, conversations are context-shaped; a turn interacts and responds to the context it is created in (Heritage, 1984). Each bit of the talk is shaped for the context it occurs in and

is understood in the light of the turn that precedes it. Also, talk is context-renewing because each part of the talk constrains and affects the turns that follows it, and influences how the following verbal interaction will be understood. It is dynamic and renewed at every point; participants produce and design their speech to show their understanding of that which precedes it. Thus, these turns at talk between participants are perceived in CA as available displays of understanding.

Interaction is not just about producing language but people socialize and sustain their relationships through their conversations. So, a conversation is more than just the production of language; it is made up of eye gaze, body posture, silences and the real-world context where talk is produced. Language is not just for communication and exchanging information; when speakers are engaging in talk, they are engaging in socially organized interaction, for it is a tool to accomplish certain actions. In other words, talk is meaningful because participants share the same procedures for interpreting the talk and for designing it. Thus, CA seeks to understand these shared procedures that the participants use to produce and recognize meaningful actions (Liddicoat, 2007).

To be able to analyse the data in detail, conversation analysts record audio or video conversations. These CA recordings are rich sources of natural everyday conversations which are not in any way controlled. They are unlike other, more traditional, methods of data collection in which researchers necessarily manipulate or intervene in the participants' behaviour. They also depart from the use of interviewing techniques where the subjects' verbal reports are acceptable and treated as surrogates for observing the actual behaviour. These recordings are what make CA possible. They improve the accuracy of these detailed observations, for the analyst can repeat the recording and focus on what he/she believes is a significant action sequence in the tape (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984: 2-3).

There is always the question of how an analyst decides on the action he/she is going to investigate. This method usually begins with an observation of a reoccurring phenomenon in

the data. Yet, it is crucial at this stage that the analyst should not have a certain theory or assumption in mind while he/she is looking at the data, since it is the data that will lead him/her to a noteworthy reoccurring phenomenon. As the analyst set up notable examples, he/she will need to gather and form a large group of similar examples that suggests that this is a reoccurring pattern in the data, not a coincidence (Have, 2007). Heritage (1988) calls CA's analytic treatment of these first group of similar instances as *inductive*. For example, when an analyst is looking at invitation sequences and how they are accepted and rejected, he/she will begin by establishing regularities in the organization of positive and negative responses. At the same time, he/she demonstrates "that these regularities are produced and oriented to by the participants as normative organizations of action" (Heritage, 1988: 131). Therefore, the analyst gathers an essential collection of examples that present the phenomenon. It all begins with a vast group of examples that consists of excerpts that are not entirely similar. Later on, this general collection will assist the analyst in pointing out what may be going on in the excerpts he/she gathered. This is achieved when the analyst provides an explanation of why the excluded excerpts are different from the other ones that are left in the general collection. This explanation will help clarify the phenomenon even further (Schegloff, 1997a). Schegloff suggests that it may help the analyst to gain insight into the distributed rule is to look deeply at what might be involved in its viloation (1968: 1077). So, an essential way to achieve this is through an analysis of, what comes to be known as a deviant case. The analysis of this case explains why this specific piece is different from the pattern that has been established previously; it is not treated as an exception but as a way to support the earlier distributed rule. Deviant case analysis takes the explanation of the described phenomenon even further by validating its generality. It helps the analyst to confirm that his/her earlier observations and analysis is generally applied by participants by showing, in the analysis of the deviant case, that they orient to this sequence as a deviation from the norm (Schegloff, 1968). This structure is used in two of the three analysis chapters of this thesis. After establishing the normative pattern in Arabic offer sequences by presenting

three or more examples, I present a deviant case where the participants depart from this norm. The deviant case here is used to reinforce the established rule and is not treated as an exception.

In the following section, I set out some of the basic rules of the CA approach established by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in 1974. This paper, on the conventions of turn-taking organization, is crucial for comprehending CA method for analysing talk-in-interaction, since, in it, they sketch the systematics of the organization of turns-at-talk oriented to by participants.

2.2 Basic Principles of CA

The following section is divided into two subsections: turn-taking organisation and sequence organization. Each one presents the structural logic behind action organisation in talk-in-interaction.

2.2.1 Turn-taking Organisation

One usually finds most of humans' social life is present in their informal conversations (Schegloff , 2015). Methodologically, participants in an interaction understand an utterance by reference to its turn-within-sequence (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). It is central to CA that talk ensues on the basis of a turn-by-turn; "generally, a turn's talk will be heard as directed to a prior turn's talk, unless special techniques are used to locate some other talk to which it is directed" (Sacks et al., 1974: 728). One main characteristic of conversation is that the change between its speakers happens. This turn-taking system regulates participants' talk, as in, how talk is distributed among parties and shifted from one speaker to another (Sacks et al., 1974). In addition, as an evidence of its importance in social organisation, there is research which points to the universality of the system of turn-taking. Research done by Stivers et al. (2009) on ten languages records that all ten languages follow a similar system.

This is found especially in the time length between a turn and its response, for there is an inclination to minimize gaps and overlaps between turns. In the following, I lay out the systematics for the organization of turn-taking system for English conversations as it is presented in Sacks et al. (1974). I do that while using examples from my Arabic data when it is available.

The basic components that construct the participants' turn in talk-in-interaction are called turn constructional units (TCUs henceforth) (Sacks, et al., 1974). They can be single words, phrases, clauses, sentences, questions, etc. They constitute complete turns in and of themselves; this completion projects the moment of relevant transition in interaction to another speaker, termed transition relevant place (TRP henceforth) (Schegloff, 1996b). Ford and Thompson (1996) suggest that this projection of a TRP depends on syntax, intonation and pragmatic aspects. For example, the turn *yumma bnišīlmaʕa↑k (.) wišitsawwīn?* (=Mom we will carry with you↑(.) What are you doing?) is composed of three TCUs. The first TCU is *yumma* (=Mom), the second is *bnišīlmaʕa↑k* (=we will carry with you) where it comes to a grammatic, prosodic and pragmatic completion. These same reasons bring the third TCU, *wišitsawwīn* (=what are you doing), to a completion. This possible completion projects the TRP. In the following example, line 3 by Ali is a turn which makes a transition to another speaker relevant, and this is what happens when Sultan responds in the following turn (line 4):

(1) [ABYG2-DAY8-AFTR ASR: 17:26]

```
 1   S:         taġadaw                   ze:n warāna   šuġul
                Taghaddow (IMP.V for lunch) good after us work
                Eat lunch well we (have a lot of) work (to do)
 2   SUL:       wałłah              (.) wałłah lāzim
                Wallah (EXP. I swear) (.) Walla  must
                Wallah (.) Walla (we) must
 3   A:   ->    tištaġlū ʔe:š?
                Work     what?
                What work?
 4   SUL: ->    Warāna=lmaṭbax       yāše:x↓
                After us13 the kitchen o' sheikh↓ (exp. Man)
```

---

13 Comparing the work to a load on their backs.

```
                      We('ve to do) the kitchen man↓
```

However, if the same speaker carries on speaking after the occurence of TRP, the transition

of the next speaker will be relevant at the following TRP (Schegloff, 1996b). In the following

excerpt, line 6 consists of two TCUs: the first one is *meta betruḥīn,* (=when will you be

going,) and the second one is *ʔiṣṣabāḥ?* (=the morning?). So, there are two TRPs that come

after each TCU where Meera may produce her turn. She does not come in at the first TRP

but in the second TRP:

(2) [AbuAbah: 14-4-3: 34:50]

```
  6   K:   ->    meta betruḥīn,              ʔiṣṣabāḥ?
                 When will go you(SIG.FEM), the morning?
                 When will you go, The morning?
  7   M:         la la aaaa
                 No no aaaa
```

Sacks et al. (1974) present the model of the turn-taking organisation as two components. The

first is *turn-constructional components* which provides a definition of a TCU and its features,

such as that it is brought to a possible completion grammatically, prosodically and

pragmatically, and that its main property is projecting a TRP. The second component is *turn-*

allocational component; it covers two rules that govern turn construction and turn allocation

which participants implement in their talk:

Rule 1: at initial TCU's initial TRP: When the current speaker selects the next speaker, the

latter will take the turn at the TRP. In excerpt (3), Saleem directs his talk to Awwad, who

responds to him:

(3) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 1:02:48]

```
  1   S:   ->    fīh                laimūn? yā↑ aaa ʕawwād
                 In him(INAN.MASC) lemon?  o'↑ aaa Awwad
                 (There is) lemon? o'↑ aaa Awwad
  2   AW:        fīh                laimūn
```

```
In him(INAN.MASC)lemon
(There is) lemon
```

Alternatively, when the current speaker does not select the next speaker, self-selection for next speaker may happen. Also, the current speaker may, but does not have to, continue his talk unless someone else self-selects.

Rule 2: When none of the above procedures happens, Rule 1 becomes applicable again in the following TRP.

This shows that interaction is "locally managed, party-administered, interactionally controlled, and sensitive to recipient design" (Sacks et al., 1974: 696).

2.2.2 Sequence organisation

2.2.2.1 Adjacency pairs

Actions are accomplished across sequences of turns. These sequences are organized general patterns; they are courses of action that are implemented through talk (Schegloff, 2007b: 9). Usually, pairs, or what is known in CA as *adjacency pairs,* are a specialized form of action. For examaple, greeting-greeting, question-answer, request-acceptance/rejection, offer-acceptance/rejection, etc. (Schegloff, 1968, 2007b). Schegloff & Sacks (1973) sketch the features of adjacency pairs. First, it is composed of two turns that are each produced by different speakers; one produces the first pair part of the adjacency pair (FPP henceforth) and the other speaker the second pair part (SPP henceforth). Second, they are placed adjacently; one turn following the other. Third, they are relatively ordered; FPPs, such as, questions, requests or offers are turns that initiate talk, while SPPs, such as, answers, rejections or acceptances are responsives. Fourth, these pairs are related, for example, a SPP for a FPP greeting should be a greeting not a rejection. Fourth, after the production of the FPP, the SPP becomes conditionally relevant, for example, when a request is produced an

acceptance or rejection is expected. Schegloff (1968) notes that the SPP is "seen to be a second item to the first; upon its non-occurrence it can be seen to be officially absent" (1083).

Moreover, it is not uncommon for this basic adjacency pair to be expanded. An expansion may be above the FPP or below the FPP and SPP:

```
                              ←  Pre-expansion
 A: First pair part

                              ←  Insert expansion
 B: Second pair part

                              ←  Post-expansion
```
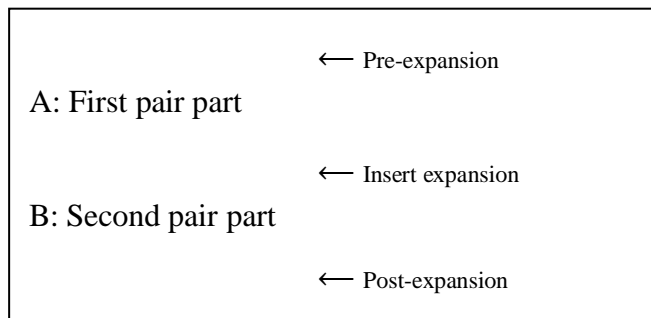
(Schegloff, 2007b: 26)

Pre-expansions, such as; pre-requests, pre-offers, pre-announcements project a coming FPP and create the base for it. They are designed to avoid trouble in the sequence that a prospective base FPP could initiate. For example, in excerpt (4), Emma's line 3 is a pre-request for the base FPP (lines 14-15):

(4) [Clift, 2016: 195]

```
1      Mar:    ...lo:, °hhuh°
2      Emm:    How'r you:.=
3      Mar:    =Well wuhdiyuh doin. Hh hnh                    <= FPP_pre
4              (0.5)
5      Emm:    .hhh (hhOh:) Margy?=
6      Mar:    =eeYeehuh.[a-
7      Emm:            [Oh: I'm jis sittin here with Bill'n Gladys'n
8              haa:eh fixin'm a drink they're goin out tih↓dinner: <=SPP_pre
9              (.)
10     Emm:    H[e's-
11     Mar:     [Oh::::. Oh.
12     Emm:    Why: whiddiyih want.
13             (1.0)
14     Mar:    hhuhh Well?h I wunnid um come down en I wannidju tuh <=FPP_b
15             call some numbers back to me <b't it'snot import'n
```

These pre-requests are designed to avoid a rejecting SPP, for instance, that this base FPP, the offer (line 6), is rejected in the SPP (line 7). The following example is initiated with a pre-request, which is when an answer is followed by an offer:

(5) [ABYG2-Day5-AFTRISHA2: 1:28:08]

(S: Saleem; SUL: Sultan)

```
 7    SUL:    fīh ḥimḏyyāt ḥim[ḏyyāt                 <= FPPpre
              In him (INAN.MASC) citrus cit[rus
              (There is) citrus cit[rus
 8    S:      mā↑fī °ḥimḏyyāt°                       <= SPPpre
              No↑t in him(INAN.MASC)°citrus°
              (There is) no citrus°
 9            (1.1)
10            ((S turns his gaze to the kitchen))
11    S:      ?adjīblik¿                             <= FPPb
              I bring for you(SIG.MASC)¿
              (Shall) I bring (some) for you¿
12            ((puts his glass down))
13    SUL:    xalāṣ xalāṣ ?ałłah yiʕāfīk             <= SPPb
              xalaṣ(EXP. Finish/alright)God yʕafy(PRES.V for makes well)
              you(SIG.MASC)
              Xalas xalas God (make) you (well)
```

I address this further in the following section, but for now move on to the insert-expansions. Alternatively, they are usually inserted between the two turns to repair an understanding of the FPP; and to point out that there are conditions for the FPP to be produced:

(6) [Schegloff et al., 1977: 368]

```
1     Bet:    was last night the first time you met Missiz Kelly? <=FPPb
2             (1.0)
3     Mar:    Met whom?                                <=FPPIns
4     Bet:    Missiz Kelly.                    <=SPPIns
5     Mar:    Yes.                                             <=SPPb
```

Post-expansions can either be closing implicative as in (line 3):

(7) [AbuAbah: 13-4-3: Voice 002: 01:04:06]

```
1      Kinda:  ke::f (.) >ʕaladjamalha?<              <=FPPb
               Ho::w (.) >on beauty her?<
               Ho::w (.) > (still as) beautiful?<
2      Lama:   ?yh mašallah                          <=SPPb
               Yes mašallah(EXP.said about something beautiful to not
               jinx it)14
3      Kinda:  ?y::h                                 <=Post exp.
               Ye::s
```

Or they can be a way to display the inadequacy of the SPP base as a sequence closure as in the following excerpt. The interrogative in line 10 displays the inadequacy of the rejection in the base SPP (line 5):

(8) [ABYG2-DAY5-AFTRISHA: 53:55]

(G: guest; S: Saleem)
(Saleem is offering a guest some tea)

```
 4     S:      fīh šāhi¿
               In him (INAN.MASC) tea¿                <=FPPb
               (There is)tea¿15
 5     G:      bas. bas.                              <=SPPb
               Bas. (EXP. enough) bas.
 6             ((S moves to the other side of the table and carries the
 7             teapot and pours tea anyway))
 8     G:      bas bas yā Salīm
               Bas bas o' Saleem
 9             ((G raises his LH then drops it to his side))
10     S:      mātibġa?                               <=FPPpost
               Not want?
               (You do)n't want?
11             ((S Raises his head and looks to his right where the guest
12             is sitting))
13     G:      ṣibhalwāḥid ṭāni ʕādi                  <=SPPpost
               Pour her (INAN.FEM) for one second alright
               Pour it for someone else (it's) alright
```

This leads to the conclusion that the position of the turn in a sequence is essential, because "utterances are in the first place contextually understood by reference to their placement and participation within sequences of actions" (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984: 5). With this, it is

---

[14] Similar to the phrase 'knock on wood'.
[15] Saleem refers to the tea he already has on the table in front of him

beneficial to discuss, in the following subsection, how the sequential position of an utterance is crucial for the participants' understanding of the action it carries.

2.2.2.2 Actions and position in interaction

When in CA we talk about actions getting done through turns-at-talk, how do we determine what kind of action is done in a TCU? How do we know whether a particular TCU is, for example, asking, answering, offering, or rejecting? What would make something a rejection? (Schegloff, 2007b).

Clift (2016) notes that CA is concerned with trajectories of action instead of composition of individual utterances taken out of their occurrences in the sequence. Analysts look at the turns that happened before and after the utterance they intend to analyse, since it is evident how *position* of an utterance in a sequence is critical for understanding what a turn-at-talk is doing. This section shows how what is being done in an interaction is based on its sequential position along with its linguistic properties. As is clear in the following examples, three ostensibly similar utterances will be understood differently by the participants due to their different position in a sequence. Take for instance, the utterance *what are you doing?,* which is formatted as an enquiry in excerpt (9). Nancy complains to Emma about a class she has been taking. In (lines 1-5) Emma does a display of sympathy with her idiom that brings the topic to a close. The utterance 'Wuddiyuh –<u>Do</u>in' is a separate unit and moves on to a new business:

(9) [Clift, 2016: 65]

```
1   E:      ...some a'that stuff hits yuh pretty ha:rd'n then: °yuh
2           thin:k we:ll d'you wanna be°
3           (0.7)
4   N:      hhhhhh[hh
5   E: ->        [PA:R:T of ut. w: Wuddiyuh -Doin.
6           (0.9)
7   N:      What'm I do[in ¿
8   E:                 [Cleani:ng?=
9   N:      =hh.hh I'm ironing wouldju belie:ve tha:t.
10  E:      Oh: bless it[s hea:rt.]
```

```
11 N:                    [In f a: c] tI:ire I start'd ironing en I:
12      d-I:(.)Somehow er another ir'ning js kind of lea:ve me:co:[ld]
13 E:                                                            [Ye]ah
14      (.)
15 Nan:   [Yihknow,]
16 Emm:   [Wanna c'm] do:wn 'av a bi:te'a lu:nch with me?
```

After a couple of turns following the enquiry, Nancy responds with 'ironing' (line 9); and in (line 16) Emma reveals the purpose of her enquiry is to invite Emma. On the other hand, in the following example, it becomes evident in lines 14-15 that Margy produces her enquiry (line 3) with the purpose of making a request. Her manifestation of disappointment in line 11 'Oh:::.Oh.', contributes to Emma recognizing that Margy is not just enquiring but producing the utterance as a lead for something else (line 12).

(10) [Clift, 2016: 66]

```
1     M:    ...lo:, °hhuh°
2     E:    How'r you:.=
3     M: -> =Well wuhdiyuh doin. Hh hnh
4           (0.5)
5     E:    .hhh (hhOh:) Margy?=
6     M:    =eeYeehuh. [a-
7     E:               [Oh: I'm jis sittin here with Bill'n Gladys'n
8           haa:eh* fixin'm a drink they're goin out tih ↓dinner:
9           (.)
10    E:    H[e's-
11    M:     [Oh:::::. Oh.
12    E:    Why: whiddiyih want.
13          (1.0)
14    M:    hhuhh Well?h I wunnid um come down en I wannidju tuh
15          call some numbers back to me <b't it'snot import'n
```

Both enquiries in these two positions are *pres* in the service of another action; in excerpt (9) it is a pre-invitation and in excerpt (10) it is a pre-request. However, in the following excerpt, the same turn has a different action as well. Cinzia describes what she is doing in line 1 while she and her sister are making a gnocchi dish. Lina comes in with the 'what are you doing' enquiry in line 3.

(11) [Clift, 2016: 67]

```
1    Cinzia:      Ora noi li facciamo un pochino::(0.8)artigianali.
2                 now make them a bit (0.8) amateurishly/free-style
3                 (0.4)
4    Lina:  ->    beh::no-(.) ma cosa ↑fa:i? (looking down at the dough)
                  Wellno- (.) but what are you doing
5    Cinzia:      >gli gnocchi!<
                  >gnoochi<
6                 (0.6)
7    Lina:        ↑ma ascolta! (.)ma-gua-=guard ache vanno la meta di=
                  ↑but listen (.) but loo-look they must be the half of=
8                 que::lle::!
                  Those!
9    Cinzia:      =no:::::!
```

Clearly, here Lina is complaining about the way her sister is cutting the gnocchi dough. They have an argument about the best way to prepare it. Cinizia states the obvious as a response to her sister's enquiry and with this she holds her ground (line 5). Even when Lina instructs her on how it is supposed to be made (line 7), she still disputes it (line 9).

Therefore, 'what are you doing' is a pre that is there to set up a subsequent invitation as in excerpt (9), or a request as in excerpt (10). It can also do something different, a challenge as in excerpt (11). So, it is clear that these turns perform different actions according to their immediate and contiguous sequential context. All three enquiries occur in sequential environment, in both excerpts (9) and (10), they are topic-initial and are unconnected with the preceding action sequence, while the enquiry in excerpt (11) is in the next position to the turn where Cinzia tells Lina what she is doing (line 1). This sequential positioning is one element of action recognition of a turn, for as we will see in the following sections there are more elements that participants orient to in order to recognize certain actions.

In addition, similar to what happens in a reply to a ceremonial greeting, such as, 'how are you?' with 'fine', when one speaks he/she does more than just confirming or emptying the contents of his/her mind. Instead, what a person says is heard in terms of its position in the conversational space - that is according to its preceding turn or according to what will possibly be its next turn (Silverman, 1998). For instance, when you are ordering from a

restaurant from a menu you would say 'I'm going to have X' and the person with you responds with 'Well I just had that so I'll have Y', or you could say 'I'm going to have X' and the other person responds with 'I don't like that'. He/she here are dealing with your choice as if you are proposing it to him/her (Sacks, 1992: 791). Even though you are addressing the waiter, your co-participant hear your turn as relevant to him/her, and it is his/her turn next. Therefore, these choices from a menu, as greetings, are cooperatively accomplished (Silverman, 1998). The following example from Sacks (1992) highlights this more. When you are invited for a meal at a restaurant and your host says 'why don't you have the roast beef it's great here?', this does not mean you are obliged to order the beef. Yet, you treat it as a way to set the price limit of your order, for you cannot have the roast beef while your host is only having a bowl of soup.

The following subsection presents two concepts: preference and repair, which are crucial for the organization of actions in conversation.

2.2.2.3   Preference organisation

From the previous section, it appears that pre-sequences are mostly designed to head off trouble in the sequence. Yet, what prospective problems could a FPP initiate? In English, the most potentially problematic case that may develop in an adjacency-pair based sequence is a disagreeing/disconfirming SPP. The speaker and the recipient of this SPP- in most adjacency pairs, *not* all- try to avoid these rejections and declinations, or what is called "*dispreferred responses*" (Schegloff, 2007b:58).

There are some types of adjacency pairs, such as, greetings and farewells that have only one main SPP. A greeting, for instance, can only be responded to with a return greeting, such as, 'Hi', 'Howarya' and 'Howyadoin'. However, these types of sequences are the exception, because most of the other types do have alternative SPPs that are not generally of an equal status (Sacks, 1987 [1973]); Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). For

instance, in an offer sequence, the FPP offer can be either accepted as in excerpts (12) and

(13) or declined as in excerpt (14):

(12) [Clayman & Heritage, 2014: 9]

```
1      G:     .hh 'n ah have the ↑paper here I thought chu might
2             li:ke tih ↓have it.↓.hhhh[h
3      E: ->                            [thank you.
```

(13) [Owen: 8B15 (A):31-33]

```
1      B:     Well actually if[ever  you  do ]::want to borrow money=
2      A:->                    [Oh that's good,]
3      B:     =again, uh::m (0.2) I c'n wolz prob'ly lend ju some
4             fr'm heuh.
5      A:     That's 'n i[dea, °Okay,°
```

(14) [Davidson, 1984: 127]

```
1      A      you wan' me bring you anything
2             (0.4)
3      B:->   No: no: nothing.
4      A:     AW: kay
```
(Schegloff, 2007b: 76)

These alternative-type responses of rejections and acceptances are not equivalent. The

recipient does not simply choose between them as he/she does between greeting response

forms, since each responding turn embodies a different action that either accomplishes the

activity of the FPP, or does not. Thus, they are not symmetrical alternatives (Schegloff &

Sacks, 1973:314). These alternative turns in a sequence are the vehicles to accomplish a

certain activity. The response to a FPP which displays and does the accomplishment of this

activity is the favoured one. This type of aligning response is what is termed in CA, a

"preferred response" (Schegloff, 2007b). For example, the offer sequence in English, as in

excerpts (12) and (13), is designed to establish the alignment between the offer and its

preferred accepting response. It is the preferred response because it accomplishes the activity,

and aligns with the offer. Both acceptances, excerpt (12) in line 3 and excerpt (13) in line 5,

come with no delay at all in their delivery. They embody what the sequence is designed to

do as it displays the alignment of the accepting responding turn with its offer. In contrast, a

rejection of the offer does not align with the action of the FPP, as in excerpt (14) where the offer in line 1 is rejected and is produced after a delay of 0.4 seconds. This rejection embodies an interactional problem that hinders the accomplishment of the offer activity. Therefore, in English, acceptances after an offer are preferred and rejections are dispreferred. These different "values" are embodied in the different practices by which these alternative responses are formed. As I show below, these alternative turns and dispreferred responses are developed differently in a sequence. Each response follows certain practices that identify it as either a preferred or a dispreferred response (Schegloff, 2007b: 58).

Alignment is an essential issue in preference organization. It is when a second responding action stands to a first action, "and the alignment in which recipients take towards a FPP by the SPP which implements their response" (Schegloff, 2007b: 59). Generally, these different alignments are of two types, "plus (+) and minus (–)". For example, for FPPs, such as offers and invitations, +responses are the formulation of acceptances, and –responses are rejections or declinations. Thus, the +response displays an alignment with the FPP and the –response displays a distance from it. However, it is not about the distancing from the speaker of the FPP him/herself or the alignment with him/herself, but with the project of the FPP and the course of action it is designed to implement. Therefore, in general, these interactional projects and courses of actions are applied in the organization of the sequence in a certain way in that +responses, such as acceptances and agreements, are preferred and –responses, such as rejections and declinations, are dispreferred (60). Nevertheless, there are some exceptions to this structure of preference that I discuss at the end of this section.

It is important to establish that the term '*preference*' refers to a range of interactional phenomena. Despite the term's verbal connotations, it is not intended to reference personal and psychological desires or disposition (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984: 53). It is an interactional feature with which participants display their orientation through their production of the different preferred and dispreferred actions. To draw a clearer image,

Schegloff (2007b) gives an example of a commonly occurring situation: when preparing for a party, many have been in a situation when they had to invite someone that they did not want to be there, but he/she must be invited. Sometimes the invitee him/herself might dislikes the people who invited him/her and prefer not to be at their party. However, the day of the party comes and he/she is there, because the host invited him/her and he/she has accepted that invitation. Accordingly, what the participants prefer to do or not to do has no relation to the preference organization discussed in this chapter. Thus, this inviting action, once it has been issued, will have a dynamic of its own. In the interactional sequence, invitations prefer acceptance and disprefer declination as their structural relationship of the sequence part. It has nothing to do with the personal likings of the participants for the event at issue.

Levinson (1983) notes that, in one way, the notion of preference is close to the linguistic concept of markedness because when there is an opposition between two members, one is seen to be more usual and more normal than the other. In morphology, these are called unmarked categories and have less material, while the opposing categories are marked and have more material. In a similar way, *preferred* (and thus unmarked) responses usually have less material than *dispreferred* (marked) responses. Yet, further than that, they have little in common. On the other hand, preference organization is about the structural relationship of parts in the sequence. It mainly derives from the participants' selection of one action over the other; where an "asymmetry of relevant action alternatives is realized through practices that produce systematic advantages" for preferred actions over the dispreferred ones (Lerner, 1996: 304). Consider the following pair of invitations from Atkinson & Drew (1979) and their opposing responses:

(15) [Atkinson & Drew, 1979: 58]

```
1    A:    Why don't you come and see me some[times
2    B: ->                                   [I would like to
3    A:    I would like you to
```

(16) [Atkinson & Drew, 1979: 58]

```
1    B:       Uh if you'd care to come over and visit a little while this
2             morning i'll I've you a cup of coffee.
3    A: ->    hehh well that's awfully sweet of you, I don't think I can
4             make it this morning .hh uhm I'm running an ad in the paper
5             and- and uh I have to stay near the phone.
```

Comparing these two examples, we see that the accepting SPP has a simple design. The recipient responds immediately when their response is preferred; the accepting turn (line 2) comes in partial overlap with the invitation. On the other hand, in excerpt (9), the invitation is declined. This rejection carries a number of the typical features of a dispreferred response (Levinson, 1983). For instance, it is constructed with a hearable delay 'hehh' (Clift, 2016) and is followed by the particle 'well' which standardly prefaces dispreferred turns (Pomerantz, 1984:72). Also, the speaker produces the appreciation 'that's awfully sweet of you' (line 3), which is an upgrade to counter the interpretation of their rejection as unappreciated. Her appreciation is followed by the mitigation 'I don't think I can' instead of an abrupt 'no', while ending her turn with an account for her rejection (lines 4-5). This account- that she needs to stay by the phone in case someone calls to ask about her ad- points to a contingent impediment that obstructed the acceptance of the offer that would not have been foreseen by the inviter (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2014: 215). In the acceptance of the invitation, B produces his turn with no delays, as he aligns with the *action* of inviting and promotes affiliation. On the other hand, in excerpt (16), the rejection delays the progression of the invitation action, and so does the opposite of pursuing affiliation (Clift, 2016: 143). Rejections are delayed to display reluctance in performing this instance of the action; and to minimize the damage it does to an invitation in an English environment (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2014).

 This participants' selection of one action over the other reflects an existing ranking of alternative actions (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). As an example, generally it has been found that in ten languages there is a preference for *yes* answers over *no* answers (Stivers et al.,

2010) [16]. Also, it has been suggested in the English literature that actions such as acceptances and agreements are *preferred*, while rejections and declinations are usually *dispreferred*. I offer examples to clarify this point further. However, before moving on to the examples, it is advantageous to summarize the preference organization principles that participants follow and which are related to this thesis. In addition to the structural aspect of preference organization, Levinson (1983) gives the first principle for production of speech which is mostly an interactional norm. He remarks that participants "try to avoid the dispreferred action- the action that generally occurs in dispreferred or marked format" (333). In addition, Pomerantz & Heritage (2014) takes this principle, which is presumably thought to be shared culturally, further by specifying a type of dispreferred action, namely that participants try to "avoid or minimize rejections if possible" and that these rejections, when produced, are minimized and delayed (215). Since I am investigating offers in this study, I will try to focus on how research done on English offer sequences shows that English participants usually apply these three principles when responding to offers.

In order to simplify the following sections, the examples below are divided into two main parts. Preference organization with respect to adjacency pairs, has come to distinguish between the features of (1) *responding action turns* or what are known as SPPs (such as, acceptance, agreement, rejection, declination), and (2) *initiating action turns* which are FPPs (such as, offers, invitations and requests).

2.2.2.3.1   **Responding actions:**

Responding turns are produced as the SPP of the adjacency pair. Namely, what comes next in a sequence is usually heard in the light of the FPP which precedes it. English participants, through choosing the preferred accepting responses to offers, are displaying acts of "*social solidarity*", while the production of a dispreferred declining response opposes it. Thus, one

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[16] Arabic not being one of them. The languages they studied: Akoe Haillom (Namibia), Danish, Dutch, English, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Tzeltal (Mexico), and Yeli Dnye (Papua New Guinea)

of the main reasons that participants go through this is to avoid conflict and achieve social

solidarity (Heritage, 1984a: 219). They achieve it through following the principle that

operates when English participants respond to offers: minimize, or even avoid, a stated

rejection, and, if possible, include an agreement or other supportive action in the same SPP

(Pomerantz & Heritage, 2014). Consider the following two offer sequences; the first offer is

accepted and the second one is rejected:

(17) [Clift, 2016: 144]

(Gordon is Lesley's son.)
```
1    L:    .hh Okay I'll ↑get Gordon to tell you the ↓na[me.
2    J:->                                              [yes.
3    J:    Alright the:n tha[nks a lot Lesle[y
```

(18) [Clift, 2016: 145]

(S's wife is not well.)
```
1    H:    And we were wondering if there's anything we can do
2          to help
3    S:    [Wel'at's]
4    H:    [I  mean ] can we do any shopping for her or something
5          like tha:t?
6          (0.7)
7    S:->  Well that's most ki:nd Heatherton hhh at the moment no:.
8          because we've still got two bo:ys at home.
```

Comparing these two examples, we see that the accepting SPP has a simple design. The

recipient responds immediately when the response is preferred. The accepting turn (line 2)

comes in partial overlap with the offer. On the other hand, when the offer is rejected, the

format is different. This rejection carries a number of the typical features of a dispreferred

response (Levinson, 1983). For instance, after a delay of 0.7 seconds, the recipient produces

the particle 'well', the standard preface to dispreferred turns (Pomerantz, 1984:72). An

appreciation 'that's most ki:nd', which is an upgrade to counter the interpretation of their

rejection as unappreciated and then produces the rejecting 'no:' (line 7) followed by an

account. This account- that they have still got two boys at home- points to a contingent

impediment that obstructs the acceptance of the offer that would not have been foreseen by the inviter (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2014: 215). In the acceptance of the offer, J produces her turn with no delays, as she aligns with the action of offering and promotes affiliation. On the other hand, in excerpt (18), the rejection delays the progression of the offer action, and does the opposite of pursuing affiliation (Clift, 2016: 143).

From these examples, it is clear that there are certain features that shape preferred and dispreferred responses. These features do not all appear in one turn and on some occasions do overlap. The most recurrent and central dispreferred features are the ones that compromise the adjacency of the FPP and SPP and their contiguity by intervening between them. Since a preferred SPP is usually delivered after a single beat of silence with no turn internal delays (as in 17), this beat of silence is observably considered the normal transition space between turns. On the other hand, a dispreferred response (as in 18) is usually not done contiguously (Sacks, 1987 [1973]). There are several practices that speakers use to break the contiguity of the FPP and the SPP. The first one is the use of the inter-turn gap. The transition space between the FPP and the dispreferred SPP is overlong, as the speaker takes a longer time in producing the dispreferred SPP. This delay can come in the form of a gap between the two turns, and this silence breaks the contiguity, for he/she does not start the responding turn "on time" (line 6). The second practice to break the contiguity is done through the turn-initial delay of the dispreferred turn, where the beginning of the response turn becomes occupied with 'something' other than the SPP itself, for example, pre-pausals ('uh', 'um' and '.hhh') as in excerpt (18) in (line 7), or hedges ('I don't know', 'sort of' and 'maybe'), or discourse markers ('well', 'although' and 'however') in (line 7). Although it may seem as a small addition, these delays are a sign of dysfluency which signifies that these instances of the action are reluctantly performed; and they foreshadow a coming dispreferred response (Schegloff, 2007b:67). They are designed "to head off the disaffiliative implications of what is being done" (Clift, 2016: 146).

Another feature is when the dispreferred SPPs are accompanied by anticipatory accounts, appreciations and excuses; these also break the contiguity between the two turns as they are regularly positioned early in the SPP as in the account 'because we've still got two bo:ys at home' in excerpt (18). The production of an account is a form of implicit rejection that sometimes removes the need for any other components of declination. The speaker may only report his/her alternative commitment in an account without rejecting the action explicitly. Thus, the production of an account provides more than just breaking the contiguity between the first and second pair part, as it also serves as a signal of an upcoming dispreferred SPP. Therefore, we can say that, in English, accounts occur in the offers sequence as "*pre-disagreements*", or as projections of a coming "minus (-) response" (Schegloff , 2007b).

Another feature of dispreferred responses is that usually they are mitigated as in excerpt (18) above. The recipient phrases the rejection to be as weak as possible, and holds it off till the end of the turn (Sacks, 1987 [1973]). Her appreciation 'that's awfully sweet of you' is followed by the mitigation 'I don't think I can' instead of an abrupt 'no'. Moreover, in some cases, the mitigation can be carried out to the extent that the dispreferred response is not articulated at all. See, for instance, the following excerpt where Don's car is stalled and he calls Marcia:

(19) [Schegloff, 2007b: 64]

```
1     Don:    Guess what .hh
2     Mar:    What.
3     Don:    .hh My car is sta::lled.
4             (0.2)
5     Don:    ('n) I'm up here in the Glen?
6     Mar:    oh::.
7             [(0.4)]
8     Don:    [.hhh ]
9     Don:    A:nd .hh
10            (0.2)
11    Don:    I don' know if it's po:ssible, but [.hhh/ (0.2) see
12            I haveta open up the ba:nk .hh
13            (0.2)
14    Don:    a:t uh: (.) in Brentwood?hh=
15    Mar:->  =Yeah:- en I know you want- (.) en I whoa- (.) en I
16            Would, but- except I've gotta leave in aybout five
```

```
17              min(h)utes. [(hheh
```

Marcia finally responds in (lines 15-17), yet, there is no explicitly articulated rejection. It has been mitigated to a vanishing point, only expressed through the account at the end (line 16) (Schegloff, 2007b: 64).

With regards to preferred responses, one of their main features is that they are usually treated as "the response of reference" or the default response to the FPP. Thus, a dispreferred turn can start off as a preferred response, then amount in the end to the dispreferred response. For instance, the term *pro forma agreements* refers to the early placed preferred responses and the delayed dispreferred ones. This relation allows them "to be combined in a not uncommon package of *agreement + disagreement"*; its most common form being 'yes but…'. This placement of the preferred agreeing response before the dispreferred response to delay its production breaks the contiguity between the two turns. When this format is used, the "real (i.e., the interactionally consequential)" dispreferred SPP is done as only a modification or as an exception of the initial preferred response (Schegloff, 2007b: 70). For instance, in the following excerpt, the emphatic, preferred, agreeing response 'not a word, uh-uh. Not-not at all' precedes the dispreferred response 'Except- Neville's mother got a call'- in example (20). A is asking B if she has heard anything about her deserting husband:

(20) [Sacks, 1987 (1973): 63]

```
1    A:    'n they haven't heard a word huh?
2    B:->  Not a word, uh-uh. Not- not a word. Not at all.
3          Except- Neville's mother got a call...
```

The turn initial response which is negated with 'not a word' confirms the negated question in (line 1) (Raymond, 2003). Thus, B is confirming the question as a *pro forma* agreement, but at the end of the turn she mentions the exception that is 'Neville's mother'. Schegloff (2007b) states that these *pro forma* agreements- no matter how forceful they may be- are "rendered equivocal objects" (70). They serve as preferred responses and as turn-initial

components that come between the FPP and the dispreferred SPP intervening this way to break the contiguity between the latter and its FPP (Schegloff, 2007b). On the other hand, in English, there is what Schegloff (1988:454) calls a *pro forma rejection* which refers to unmitigated rejection of certain offers in English. Despite the fact that there is a lot of data which suggest that English offers disprefer a rejection, the offer 'Would you like the last piece of pie?' is usually met with an immediate rejection (and sometimes only accepted after insistence). Similarly, in English, the second serving of food at the dinner table is routinely rejected. This rejection is usually accepted after subsequent insistence (Schegloff, 2007b: 60). Even though this initial rejection is only an exception in English, in other communities, such as, Persian, it is a prominent phenomenon named *ta'arof.* It is when, routinely, in formal settings, recipients initially reject offers and invitation (for more on Persian ta'arof see, Taleghani-Nikazm, 1998; Asdjodi, 2001)

With this, I conclude this section on responding actions and their preferred and dispreferred features and how they are navigated in interaction. What follows is the preference organization in relation to the preferred and dispreferred initiating actions, where I specifically present the methods participants display to avoid the dispreferred requests and pursue the preferred offers.

2.2.2.3.2   Offers as preferred initiating actions

Some initiating actions are preferred over others, such as, offers are preferred over requests (Schegloff, 2007b)[17]. For instance, on first acquaintances there is more preference for one to offer his/her name over someone requesting it. Also, it is displayed in the preference that you will open the door for a person who is holding two cups of coffee over waiting for him/her to ask you to open it (Clift, 2016). In this section, I will focus my discussion on how participants avoid explicitly making dispreferred requests and how they act to solicit an offer

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[17] This claim by Schegloff has been challenged (see, Kendrick and Drew, 2014 and Clift, 2016). However, as the examples in this study are in parallel with Schegloff's observation I will discuss his claim more in this thesis.

from the recipients. These pre-sequences are somewhat in parallel with Levinson's (1983) pragmatic notion of indirect requests. In CA, namely, it is about the idea of primacy, agency and independence that are found in an action which appears in first position. So, when granting a request, a recipient is merely submitting to the requester's agency as he agrees to apply a solution suggested by the requester. On the other hand, when the recipient of a display or a report of trouble voluntarily offers his/her help, he gets to choose the way this offer of assistance is implemented and the way it may be fixed; "thereby exercising a greater degree of agency over the course of action" (Kendrick & Drew, 2014:111).

Participants follow different strategies to avoid making a request, and a common way to solicit offers is highlighted by Curl (2006). She discusses how an offer may be solicited through reporting a certain problem. The offer in some situations is interactionally generated from the preceding talk. In other words, the recipient of the problem may issue an offer after anticipating the speaker's need from the previous interaction. She calls them sequences of *offers of assistance*. The offer sequence is produced to satisfy the other participant's needs, or to assist in resolving a difficulty he/she may be having. In excerpt (21) Lottie's offer comes as a direct response to the recipient's prior description of the problem:

(21) [Curl, 2006: 1271]

```
1    Emm:->  w'l anyway tha:t's a'dea:l so I don't know what to do
2            about Ba:rb'ra (0.2) c'z you see she was: depe[nding
3            on: him takin'er in to the L A=
4    Lot:                                              [(°yeh°
5    Emm:    =deple s:- depot Sunday so [he siz]
6    Lot:                               [I:'ll] take her in: Sunday
```

Lottie offers to take Emma's daughter to the bus depot. The offer here is produced as a response to the detailing of the problem. Therefore, relationships between offers and requests originate especially from specific circumstances of need, and thus it is a way for the participants to be solicitous and avoid requests. They do this by anticipating others' needs

and offering them assistance instead of waiting for the request to be produced. "This symbiotic relationship is one aspect of social solidarity and social cohesion, but it is a contingent relationship, built upon particular circumstances" (Kendrick & Drew, 2014: 12).

Also, participants may solicit an offer of assistance through asking for information (Gill, 2005). In the following example, a patient tries to elicit an offer of assistance without having to explicitly request it. She proposes an additional type of blood test (named SMAC) by asking for information; she explicitly asks if the clinic performs it or not:

(22) [Gill, 2005:458-9]

```
1    Dr:     Lemme check your blood count [before you do that
2    Pt:                                   [O:kay
3            (0.3)
4    Pt: ->  An= >also< do you-? Do they do: uh >what is it-< (.) uh
5            Doctor Winoker called it thuh sma:c,
6            (0.3)
7    Dr:     S M A C ((spells it out))
8            .hh A lotta times we do: n' if somebody is having a lot
             of extra: fati:gue (0.3) I do
```

Gill (2005) notes that when participants ask for information this is usually one of the strategies that they use to try to obtain the kind of service they need from the other participant.

Consequently, both strategies, *asking for information* and *presenting a problem*, are used by speakers to display that they are in need of a service. They give the recipient an opportunity to offer his/her services and display *agency* in initiating this offer of assistance. Hence, it allows offerers to present themselves as the agents of this problem-resolving activity, and allows the recipients to avoid the dispreferred request (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2014). Hence, pre-expansions, such as pre-requests in excerpt (22), in addition to being directed towards minimizing rejections, they are also a way to avoid dispreferred initiating actions. So, speakers may withhold requests to give the co-participants a chance to offer their assistance themselves.

This idea of primacy and independence found in the relation between requests and offers, and this preference for agency is taken further by Kendrick & Drew (2016) who introduced the term *recruitment*. They show that first position is the place in talk where speakers express agency. When granting a request, a recipient is merely submitting to the requester's agency as he agrees to apply a solution suggested by the requester. Whereas, if one voluntarily offers after a preceding display or a report of a problem, he/she gets to choose the way this offer of assistance is implemented. Thus, the offerer exercises a stronger degree of agency over the chosen course of action. They define the term *recruitment* in a sequence as the various ways through which a person can solicit help from someone else. It also includes how these participants give indirect or sometimes embodied indications of their need for assistance. Moreover, it presents, through these offers of assistance, the other's anticipation of someone's need for help and how they offer this assistance without being explicitly asked (2). One way to do this is through the use of *reports of difficulties, or troubles.* They do not establish an obligation for the recipient, only an opportunity for him/her to offer his/her assistance voluntarily. In the following excerpt, Kerry complains as she and her friends are cooking dinner (lines 1-2):

(23) [Kendrick & Drew, 2016:6]

```
1     KER: ->  the one thing (0.3) I dislike, with this camera being
2               on is that I have to eat my dinner in front of it.
3               (0.6)
4     KER:      like fee[d myself.
5     JAM:             [yeah should we put it off now.
6               (0.2)
7     JAM:      for a bit.
8               (0.2)
9               ((lowers hands))
10    JAM       put it back on in like twenty minutes.
11              ((wipes hands. Walks towards camera))
```

Kerry reports a difficulty she is facing, that she dislikes to eat her dinner with the camera on. She reformulates her complaint in (line 4) as she does not receive a response the first time; in her repair she upgrades the complaint by casting her actions as animalistic. Her upgrade

receives an offer to turn the camera off in an overlap (line 5), James walks to the camera to act out his verbal offer (line 11). Hence, Kerry's complaint recruits James to offer his help, because it provides him with the opportunity to perform an offer of assistance. In contrast to direct offers, her complaint does not request a specific solution and it is not mandatory that the recipient should give a solution, as the requests 'put off the camera' or 'could you put off the camera?'.

Another form of recruitment is done through *trouble alerts* that include interjections ('oh', 'oops', tongue clicks 'tsk') and imprecations ('damn it', 'oh man'). They give an alert for an existing trouble but do not state what kind of difficulty it is. In what follows, Kevin hands a pen to Travis to sign a form. Travis takes the pen and places the paper on his knee so he can sign:

(24) [Kendrick & Drew, 2016: 6]

```
1      T:      Uhm
2              (2.4) ((TRA looks around, then prepares to sign))
3      T:->    right. =oh god.
4              (0.8)
5              ((KEV turns head, gazes at paper, leans forward
6              and holds out stack of papers))
7      K:      you want that,
8              ((lowers it))
9      T:      no. (0.5) I'll cope.
```

After Travis puts the paper on his knee, he moves his gaze around then returns it to the paper form (line 2); he leans forward and begins to sign and marks the beginning of this action with 'right' and alerts Kevin of the difficulty he is in with 'oh god' (line 3). Kevin looks at Travis's form positioned on his knee and leans forward to pass him a stack of paper with a plastic cover to use as a surface, and also offers it to him verbally (lines 5-8). This trouble alert in (line 3) recruits Kevin to assist Travis because they routinely solicit other's attention. Yet, similarly to reports of trouble, they do not establish an obligation for the other participant to

assist; and they are sequence-initiating actions that create the opportunity for others to volunteer (8).

The last form presented by Kendrick & Drew is when the co-participant anticipates a trouble in a course of action before it happens and acts to pre-empt it; even though the participant does not report or display trouble. These cases of anticipatory assistance displays the projectability of courses of action. In excerpt (25), a group of friends are playing a board game. The sequence starts when the phone rings from another room; Becky announces that it is for her and stands up to leave the room. She starts to move towards Shannon, whose chair is blocking the way, and Shannon pulls her chair forward to make way for Becky to pass:

(25) [Kendrick & Drew, 2016: 9]

Figure 2.1 Frame representing Becky standing up and walking around the corner of the table (Kendrick & Drew, 2016: 9)

```
1              ((Phone rings))
2       B:     oh =that's my phone.
3       S:     okay
4       B:     sorry ((stands up))
5              (0.6)
6       S:     It's always a tough one ((to Rachel about game))
7              ((BEC walks forward))
8              ((Figure 2.1))
9              (0.1)*(0.5)
10      B:     sorr[y
11      S:         [*sorry
12                  ((*slides chair forward))
13             (0.7)
14      S:     can you get pa[st?
15      B:                   [↑yeah.
16      S:     yep.
```

The ringing of the phone along with Becky's announcement project in advance a certain course of action: that Becky will walk around the table to get to the phone in the other room. At the same time, Becky begins to realize this course of action, and stands up and takes a step towards the corner of the table, Shannon obviously comes to recognize the imminent trouble: her chair is in Becky's way. She holds on to the sides of her chair and slides it forward as Becky apologizes for the presumable inconvenience (line 10). Also, Shannon apologizes in an overlap (line 11). It is crucial to point out that Becky's apology happens after Shannon has begun moving her chair forward; line 9 shows that the preparation of moving the chair forward begins 0.5 seconds before Becky's apology. Hence, this apology in itself is not the solicitation of assistance, only a response to it. In this sequence there is no request, no report of trouble, no alert, and no difficulty display. Shannon anticipates trouble in Becky's upcoming course of action that involves her, and acts preventively to avoid it.

Kendrick & Drew's (2016) recruitment continuum is illustrated as such,
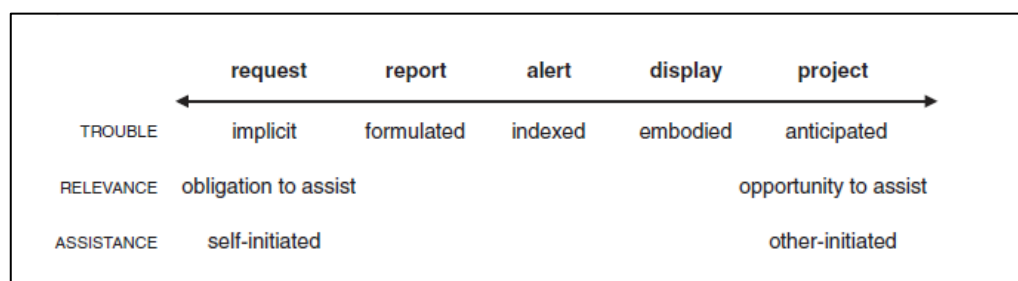
Figure 2.2 Recruitment continuum (Kendrick & Drew, 2016: 11)

The figure puts both offers and requests in a relation that is systematic, where alternative actions are initiated to recruit assistance in trouble. It starts with a direct request that puts an obligation to assist on the recipient; and at the other end of the spectrum there is the projected trouble which comes with an opportunity to assist. Also, in the request the assistance is self-initiated but as it moves further down the spectrum it becomes other-initiated.

In addition to this, Floyd's, et al. (2014) multimodal data show how recruitments recur cross-linguistically, and can be done in a more subtle way. They suggest that if the participants are

in the same place and available to each other visually, recruitments can be done non-linguistically and through bodily movements (such as pointing, or holding out an object). Therefore, in sum, the relationship between an offer and a request is derived mainly from specific needs between the participants. In some situations, these needs are embodied in a direct request, however, at other times it is to be solicitous and "anticipate the needs of others, by offering assistance. This symbiotic relationship is one aspect of social solidarity and social cohesion, but it is a contingent relationship, built upon particular circumstances" (Kendrick & Drew, 2014: 12).

2.2.2.3.3   Generalizing Preference Across Action Categories and Cross-linguistically

Pomerantz and Heritage (2014) note that preference phenomena are complex. It is risky to treat entire classes of actions, for example, rejections and acceptances, as either preferred or dispreferred. Meanwhile, the data shows that participants do make distinctions within gross categories of actions, and they do not treat them all the same (223). In relation to this, it would be an error to assume the same preference for all instances in an action. For example, even though there is a large amount of data which suggests that English offers disprefer a rejection, the offer 'Would you like the last piece of pie?' is usually met with an immediate rejection (and sometimes only accepted after insistence). The preference of this response is contingent on the context and formulation of the offer by describing it as 'the last'. Hence, actions should be established empirically for each case (Schegloff, 2007b: 60). Similarly, at the dinner table, the initial offer of a second helping is routinely rejected. This unmitigated rejection which is usually accepted after subsequent insistence is called a *pro forma rejection* (Schegloff, 1988: 454).

The following section provides a brief overview of main issues in the domain of repair, since this is a part of the procedural infrastructure of interaction (Schegloff et al., 1977).

2.2.2.4   Repair

Schegloff et al. (1977) explain that repair is a way that speakers implement to address a problem they may face in interaction, such as, problems in speaking, hearing or understanding. Thus, any source of trouble in interaction may be "reparable" (Schegloff, 1987: 210). Schegloff et al. (1977) propose that there are four main types of repair:

Self-initiated self-repair: this is when the speaker of the problem indicates the problem, and resolves it by repairing it. For example, M is talking about an unsliced pizza:

(26) [AbuAbah: 13-11-25_04: 9:10]

```
2   M:    ḥinna nga-ʔagaṭṭiʕhā=
          We cut-   I cut her (INAN.FEM)=
          We cut- I cut (it)=
3         =lik             hā:↑tīha                    hā:tīha
          =for you(SIG.FEM)gi↑:ve you(SIG.FEM)her(INAN.FEM)gi:ve you her
          =for you gi↑:ve (it) give (it)
```

She cuts off the production of *ngaṭṭeʕha* (=we cut it) to repair it the singular subjective pronoun *ʔgaṭṭeʕha* (=I cut it).

Self-initiated other-repair: is when the speaker of the problem indicates the problem, but the recipient resolves it. For example, in excerpt (29), AB is having trouble remembering a name; F completes the repair by providing the answer (line 4)

(27) [AbuAbah: 13-04-05_Voice 020: 2:35]

```
1   AB:    mā  >timil          majlisih<    ʔabadd
           not >you(SIG.MASC)bored company his< never
           Never >(will) you(feel) bored (at) his company< never
2          (.)
3          ʔu  yitiġāyar hū  wyyā:::  a[:::
           and he teases him with::: a[:::
           and he tease(s)::: a[:::
4   F: ->                     [ʔubūī
                              [father mine
                              [My father
```

Other-initiated self-repair: is when the recipient of the problem indicates the problem, but the speaker resolves it him/herself. In excerpt (30), AB initiates a repair with *hah?* showing that an element of F's turn was not heard properly. In (line 3), F carries out the repair. The repair in (line 2) is called next turn repair initiator.

(28) [AbuAbah: 13-04-05_02: 2:30]

```
1   F:      Yišbih=iddiktūr        hū yibah?
            He similar the doctor he dad?
            (Does) he (look) similar (to) the doctor dad?
2   AB:->   hāh?
3   F:      Yišbah      li=ddiktūr?
            He similar to the doctor?
            (Does) he (look) similar (to)the doctor?
4   AB:     ?īh
            Yes
```

Other-initiated other-repair: is when the recipient of the problem indicates the problem, and resolves it. For example in excerpt (31), A's turn identifies that Ahmad is in his second year of high school (line 2) and not in his third as N says in (line 1):

(29) [AbuAbah: 13-10-30_Voice 030: 7:34]

```
1   N:      ?aḥmad=il?ān fī=ṯāliṯ ṯana[wī
            Ahmad   now   in third hi[gh
            Ahmad now (is) in third (year of) hi[gh (school)
2   A: ->                                  [ṯānī
                                           [second
                                           [Second (year)
3   N:      mmm.
```

I have laid out the basic principles of CA and its analytic method I use in this thesis and I have offered definitions of the terminology that are relevant for this research. Before moving on to the description of the data, I present the notion of a key topic in CA relevant to this research, which is *identity*. A solid basis has been established for the participants' orientation to identity in talk-in-interaction. For instance, orientation to membership categories and authority play a critical role in recognizing certain actions.

2.3 Identity

CA presents that participants have been shown to orient to identity in their talk, hence identities are highly relevant and are constructed in everyday talk. This has been first addressed by Sacks in the 1960s when he was analysing data from the Suicide Prevention Centre. During that time, he developed his *apparatus of membership categorization device* (MCD henceforth) in which he suggested that it is a device that organizes members' knowledge. Sacks's analysis treats a participant as having different identities which he/she moves in and out of (Schegloff, 2007a). So, in a conversation, a participant may be a man, a parent, a host at a party or a taxi driver and so forth. Nevertheless, the relevance of one identity may be more salient than the others in a conversation. This relevance of a particular category will lead to it being invoked by the participants. To make this clear, Schegloff gives an example:

> "*In data Chuck Goodwin collected on an oceanographic research vessel, someone appears on deck with a complicated piece of equipment and says, 'Where next?'. In the discussion of how to characterize the action this turn was doing – 'request for instructions' or 'offer of further help' – the issue was recurrently made to turn on who the speaker and addressee, respectively were, in hierarchical structure terms. If we could stipulate to the identity of the parties, we could get a solution to the characterization of the action*" (2007a: 473)

Therefore, identities are important in action recognition. Sacks's MCD, which will be discussed further in the following section, is an "apparatus for generating recognizable actions" (Sacks, 1992: 226) and how culture is an "inference-making machine" (119).

Identity is essential in our social life and interaction. It is found in the most common-sense knowledge people invoke, such as 'being an ordinary person'. Sacks (1984) makes an observation about what it is to be an ordinary person in the world. He points out that we should not think of an ordinary person as some person, but as someone having a job. "Doing being ordinary" is a constant preoccupation; because it is not that someone is ordinary, but it

is what his/her business is. It is "the way somebody constitutes oneself, and in effect, a job that persons…may be cooperatively engaged in to achieve that each of them…are ordinary persons" (414-15). Some of the ways you go about doing being ordinary is to spend your time in usual ways. For example, to be an ordinary person is to turn on the television in the evening. It is essential to point out that it does not just happen that you are doing what lots of other ordinary people are doing, but is that you *know* this is the way to do "having a usual evening". You have not just decided to watch television, but you make a job of finding the answer of how to do being ordinary that evening (415). It is noteworthy to see people's effort to achieve the state that what is going on is usual, and the sense of "nothing happened" of a catastrophic event. An example of this, is when the witnesses' initial reports of the assassination of President Kennedy was of hearing backfires instead of gunshots (419).

In additon, Sacks (1992) remarks that during an earthquake in California, people who had guests over found themselves apologizing about it. This apology happened because the hosts were in a relationship of responsibility with their guests. It is not restricted to this circumstance, for a host/ess finds him/her self in need to apologize as he/she is held responsible when the weather is bad, there is a fire or even the restraunt he/she has chosen turned out to be lousy. This apology happens while he/she is is in the position of doing "being a host". In this situation, the host/ess views the world by reference to that responsibility towards the guests (296).

The following is divided into three sub-sections. The first section is on Sacks's membership categorization device, followed by a section on authority and then a section on epistemics.

2.3.1 The Membership Categorisation Device

In his lectures, published in (1992), Harvey Sacks introduces the apparatus through which participants organize their knowledge of categories and generate social inferences about them; what he calls the membership categorization device. He finds that our cultural

background is a device for producing recognizable actions; it is a way that analysts examine sequences through displaying how this orientation to identity is accomplished across sequences.

At the beginning, he notes that recognition of action may be grounded in an understanding of the speaker's identity. In the following therapy session between some teenagers and their therapist, knowing that the speaker in line 1 is a 'therapist' could be essential to the recipients hearing the turn as a hint to ending of their session:

(30) [Sacks, 1992: 595]

```
1    Ther:      Well, what's new, gentlemen?
2    Al:        That's a hint we must get outta here before he gets
3               mad at us.
4    Roger:     We adjourn to lunch now.
```

The therapist does not announce that the session is over but produces what is hearable as a hint. Thus, in some sequences, an essential interpretative resource is to generate an identity category; for this excerpt, it is occupation. There are numerous types of categories. Along with the universal 'age' and 'gender' categories, there are the demographic categories of family status (for example, parent, child), ethnicity, nationality, and occupation (taxi driver, waiter, shopkeeper, etc.) as in the previous example There are also countless other categories that might be used; as in, if one is a host or guest in a situation.

Sacks (1992) also developed the idea that these categories are inference rich; they display common sense knowledge when presented in a sequence (41). The following example is a phone call made by B. After he answers the question about his age, he counters the assumption that A might reach by applying the common-sense characteristics of a person who is close to fifty and past their prime. He produces characteristics in an attempt to provide that what may be assumed about any member of this category is not to be said about him, such as, not being ambitious, idealistic or inventive:

(31) [Sacks, 1992:44]

```
1    A:    How old are you Mr. Bergstein?
2    B:    I'm 48, I look much younger. I look about 35 and I'm
3          quite ambitious and quite idealistic and very inventive
4          and conscientious and responsible.
```

B treats it as if it is natural that A infers these characteristics from just the mention of his age. Sacks undertook in his lectures to develop the apparatus of membership categories, by describing its resources and practices while illuminating the common-sense understandings behind it. His MCD consists of collections of categories and rules for their application.

2.3.1.1 Categories and collections of categories

Categorization can be varied: a 'stranger' can be characterized as a 'therapist'; 'a forty-eight-year-old man' could be characterized as a 'caller', a 'parent', or a 'taxi driver' and so on. Selecting one of the categories over the other; for example, choosing to call someone a 'daughter' rather than a 'doctor', or someone choosing to call himself a 'taxi driver' rather than a 'host', displays different domains of knowledge and experience. Also, it clearly reproduces the ideologies of a culture (Clift, 2016). There are specific cultural inferences about every category. For example, a 'guest's' reaction to a simple offer may differ according to the culture they are from: this is relevant to what may be inferred and expected of the conduct appropriate to them, whether it is appropriate for a guest initially to refuse an offer of, for example, second helpings at dinner. Also, being categorised as 'older' or 'younger' has its own different common-sense knowledge applied in interaction in relation to its culture that follows the inferences we draw.

With these categories come *category bound activities*; they shape the inferences one has of a certain category. For instance, B categorising herself as a 'Catholic' is hearable as an account:

(32) [Silverman, 1997]

(A: HIV clinic counsellor; B: patient)
```
1    A:    How long have you been with him?
2    B:    Six months.
3    A:    Six months. (0.3) When were you last with anyone before
4          that?
5    B:    About thr(h)ee years. Hhh=
6    A:    About three yea[rs.
7    B:->                 [hhh I'm Catholic. =heh he [h.hhhhh
8    A:                                              [Right.
```
(Clift, 2016: 190)

B produces the account with laughter to indicate delicacy (Jefferson, 1984); it might be to display her understanding of the general perception that 'three years' is a long time between relationships. This categorization of herself is offered as an account that is accepted by A with 'right' (line 8). This "turns on the commonly held assumption invoked by the category label – what anyone might be expected to know about someone who is a Catholic with respect to sexual behaviour. That this is commonly available, and thus, invokable, cultural knowledge is evident by considering how substituting other possible labels (e.g. 'Protestant', 'lorry driver' 'Sagittarius') would not do the work of accounting in the same way" (Clift, 2016: 190). This *richness in inference* is considered only the first characteristic of Sacks's MCD. The other, however, is that they are *protected against induction*. This means that if there is an exception to the category it does not change the common-sense knowledge that is inferred in this category; it is simply viewed as an exception to the rule. So, whatever is known about a category is strong and does not change no matter how many exceptions there are. What is known about 'Catholics', 'hosts' or 'forty-eight-year old men' does not change even if there are people in these categories who do not implement the same characteristics (Sacks, 1992: 71).

Moreover, categories formulate collections, for example: the categories 'therapist' and 'teacher' descend from the larger collection 'occupation'; 'mother', 'daughter' and 'baby' from the collection 'family' and so on. In addition, a category may belong to different

collections. For example, if the fragment 'The baby cried. The mommy picked it up' is said by a child, you as a recipient will understand that both 'baby' and 'mommy' belong to the collection 'family'. Yet, in the context 'he's a real baby', baby here is heard to belong to the collection 'stage of life'; it has the categories of 'baby', 'child', 'adolescent' and 'adult' that come in order of development. It is a "*positioned* category…where one member can be said to be higher or lower than others" (Sacks, 1992:595). Actions are tied to categories – 'he's a real baby' is, therefore, a criticism, just as 'you're very grown up' is a compliment when spoken to a child (Clift, 2016: 67).

2.3.1.2 The Rules of Application

There are two rules when applying membership categories to a person: (1) the "*economy* rule", and (2) the "*consistency* rule" (Sacks, 1992:246). The first one means that a category may be enough, for example, the category 'daughter', 'parent', 'host', 'guest' or even a 'taxi-driver'. Yet, it does not mean that you cannot use more than one in a sequence a 'taxi-driver' who presents himself as a 'host' and his 'passenger' as his 'guest'. So, one should ask why the speaker chooses to use the two categories instead of one especially if that one is enough.

The second rule, consistency, means that if you categorize an individual by reference to a certain collection, the other individual in the same context should be categorized in the same collection. For example, 'mother' and 'daughter' are both heard as categories from the same collection, 'family', in the same way that 'host' and 'guest' would be heard as from the same collection, or 'old' and 'young' as from the same collection. Thus, this rule underlies our first judgments of things we see at a glance. As in, when a woman leaves a supermarket with the baby who is not hers and no one intervenes. It is not abnormal, hence, it is "not seeable" (Sacks, 1992: 254). Sacks calls these relationships (husband-wife, parent-child, host-guest, taxi driver-passenger) *standardised relational pairs*. These are categories related to each other through the activity of giving help, and so bonded by responsibility (1972: 37). In the

following sequence, the applied pairing is host-guest. Emma does a self-repair in the formulation 'sittin here with Bill 'n: Gladys'n haa:' from what may be 'having a drink' to 'eh fixin'm a drink':

(33) [Clift, 2016: 195]

```
1    M:     ...lo:, °hhuh°
2    E:     How'r you:.=
3    M: -> =Well wuhdiyuh doin. Hh hnh
4           (0.5)
5    E:     .hhh (hhOh:) Margy?=
6    M:     =eeYeehuh. [a-
7    E:                [Oh: I'm jis sittin here with Bill'n Gladys'n
8           haa:eh* fixin'm a drink they're goin out tih ↓dinner:
9           (.)
10   E:     H[e's-
11   M:      [Oh::::. Oh.
```

Emma formulates her relationship with 'Bill' and 'Gladys' as their host. If she has articulated 'having a drink' it shows no responsibility for them, but 'fixin'm a drink' does the opposite. It displays her as a 'host' with duties towards her guests. Thus, the question of her availability in (line 3) is answered. The 'host' category implication here has sequential implications which are hearable in Margie's deflated 'oh' (line 11) (Clift, 2016). This sense of responsibility from the host/ess to the guest is also illustrated earlier with Sacks's (1992) observation of the hosts apologizing for the earthquake. There is "seeability" of standardised relational pairs in these types of host-guest sequences As will become clear in the coming chapters, Arabic speakers orient to membership categories, such as, 'host', 'guest' and 'age', which appeal to invoke certain actions recognition in the sequence in relation to responses to offers.

On a last note, before moving on to the following section, I conclude with Schegloff's (1997b) statement about how these orientations may sometimes be evident in the text. He refers to the features that can be made clear in the interaction. Consider the following example, it is a conversation between Michael, Nancy, Shane and Vivian:

(34) [Schegloff, 1997b: 181-2]

```
1    S:          [.hehh huh .hhhh Most wishful thinkin
2         hey hand me some a dat fucking budder will you?
3         (0.8)
4    S:   °°Oh::yeah°°
5         (1.1)
6    N:   C'n I have some t[oo
7    M:                    [mm-hm[hm:
8    N:                         [hm-hm- hh[m  [he-ha-]ha hehh]
9    V:                                   [Ye[h[I wa]nt[some too]
10   S:                                       [N[o:. ]  [(   )
11   S:   No.
12        (0.2)
13   S: -> Ladies la:st.
```

Shane's request the butter (line 2) from Michael. The latter passes Shane the butter. Then, Nancy and Vivian both request the butter from Shane (lines 6 and 9). Shane's jocular rejection of the requests in lines 10 and 11 is justified with 'ladies la:st' (line 13). Schegloff notes that the utterance 'ladies last' in line 13 makes the category gender relevant here, also, it is oriented to by being explicitly verbalized by the participants and not just inferred.

Nevertheless, membership categories are still only one aspect to the picture of identity in interaction. The following section maps out how authority and knowledge over the matter influence participants' action recognition. This, then, is a review of how these two areas of identity and their territories are implemented in talk-in-interaction.

2.3.2 Authority and knowledge

2.3.2.1   Authority in Interaction

Clift (2016) presents the following story that illustrates how identity may be a resource for interpreting utterances:

> "*The late MP Neil Marten used to tell the story of a tour he took around the Palace of Westminster with his Banbury constituents. Touring through the maze*

of corridors they turned a corner and met Lord Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, wearing the full regalia of his office.

Recognizing his Parliamentary colleague in the midst of the Banbury constituents. Lord Hailsham boomed 'Neil.'

Not needing to be told again, the tour party fell to their knees with some haste. (Marten, n.d.)" (185)

A possible reason behind the misunderstanding of a group of people of the *summoning* action 'Neil' as the *directive* 'Kneel!', is the authority visible in the pomp of the Lord Chancellor's ceremonial dress. This example goes in parallel with the below literature on authority which examines knowledge systems underlying participants' social inferences about each other, and how the speaker's identity affects action recognition. Hence, there is a clear orientation from the tour party to Lord Chancellor's relative deontic status, and it shapes their action recognition (Clift, 2016). Sacks (1992) states that "if the same procedures are used for generating as for detecting, that is perhaps as simple a solution to the problem of recognisability as is formulatable" (226).

The term "*authority*" as used here is not about commanding another person but it is about a person's acceptance and obedience of authority (Wild, 1974). It encompasses the exercising of this power, and that the subject of this authority understands it to be legitimate (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). It still has its limits, however, for it is only linked to certain areas of knowledge and actions, it is not binary to one person who has authority over other individuals who have none (Bochenski, 1974; Lukes, 2005). Although this deontic dimension is separate from the epistemic dimension, the two are still interrelated. They overlap under the notion; '*we both know our plans and decide about them*'. A person may be in authority in either a certain field of knowledge or in a certain position that comes with its rights to set rules. For instance, a doctor has more knowledge and authority in his field than people who have no medical expertise. In addition, deontic authority changes from one person to the other in different domains. For example, a university professor has the right to choose what kind of

questions to put in the exam, yet, he/she has not got the right to choose how the students get to class on the day of the exam whether by foot, car or bus (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012).

Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2012) suggest that participants make claims about the rights of the distribution of deontic authority when making joint future plans and decision-making in proposal sequences. Negotiation plays a major role in this distribution of deontic authority, because the recipient can either accept the suggestion about their joint future or resist it. The three main points they define have different meanings, but they do overlap and form a unique case for every sequence. The first one is "*deontic authority*" which is a person's right to determine another person's future action, and it can be accepted or resisted. The second is "*deontic congruence*" which is when the coparticipant aligns with the deontic rights allocated to them by the speaker. In the following excerpt, the cantor in a church tells the pastor about the name of the flute band that will play in an upcoming event (line 1). Since it is the cantor's responsibility to know the music that will be performed during the event, his assertion embodies his deontic rights to decide about the matter:

(35) [Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012: 303]

```
1    C:   ->      <consenso> huiluyhtye on siina soittamassa,
                  Name       flute+band is in+there playing
                  The flute band <O Consenso> will be laying there
2                 (0.3)
3    P:           aha?
                  I see?
4    C:           ⁰ja:,⁰  (2.3) ⁰sit,⁰
                  ⁰a:nd,⁰  (2.3) ⁰then,⁰
5                 (2.0)
```

After 0.3 seconds pause, the recipient utters an information receipt where she accepts the cantor's access to knowledge. Thus, the cantor's deontic and epistemic authority overlap here and it influences the sequence and the achievement of the deontic congruence. On the other hand, the co-participant may resist the suggested distribution of these deontic rights and this

is called "*deontic incongruence*". In the following example, the pastor makes a proposal related to music (line 3):

(36) [Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012: 314]

```
3     P:   ->      kävis      hyvin ninku, .hhhh ↑tavallaan
                   would+fit well  like   in+a+way
                   what would fit here kind of like, .hhhh ↑in a way are
4                  ne, (0.4) ne  laulut.
                   those, (0.4) those songs.
5     C:           .HH no    ↑ne (.) ↑onkin      sitten varmaan tähän.=
                   well they are+indeed then probably here
                   .HH well ↑they'll (.) indeed be here then probably.=
6     P:           =nii.=
                   =yea.=
7     C:           =ne,
                   =these,
8                  (0.6)
9     P:           seittemännel[jäviis ja,   ] (0.5) pääsiäis=
                   seven-four-f[ive and,    ] (0.5) Easter=
10    C:                       [se kopio.  ]
                               [the copy.  ]
11    P:           =joo.  (.)  kyllä. se  moniste.
                   =yea. (.) yes.    the handout.
12                 (1.8)
13                 .thh ne   on   ninku tähän   pääsiäisjaksool
                       They are like to + this Easter + period
                   .thh they are like related with this Easter
14                 liittyviä nii, (0.3) ni [se,  ]
                   related  so so  it
                   period so,   (0.3) so [it, ]
15                                        [juu.]
                                          [yea.]

16    C:           ni ↑sit [te,  ]
                   so ↑the[n, ]
17    P:                   [ja ] hyvin kyllä? sopii.
                           and well indeed fits
                           [and] they will indeed be very appropriate.
```

The cantor does not give an approving response of congruence. Instead, in line 5, she announces her own decision about the songs 'well ↑they'll (.) indeed be here then probably'. The pastor presents many efforts to pursue the cantor's approval (lines 13-14), but she withholds her evaluation of the matter. She can decide without exposing the rationale behind her decision to the Pastor; she presents her deontic authority through not having to present accounts for her decisions. Therefore, one reason to exercise authority is not to have to offer reasons, but simply to be obeyed because of the speaker's authority over the matter. This

means that he/she does not need to account for his/her decision. Besides, when a speaker gives an account, it downgrades his/her authority claim (Heritage, 2005; Peräkylä, 1998).

The following section gives an overview of the orientation to participants' territories of knowledge along with their display of ownership. Also, it navigates the way offers are formatted in relation to participants' territories.

2.3.2.2   Territories of knowledge in interaction

In the literature there are various pieces of work that shed light on and explain the idea of the participants' territories of knowledge in talk-in-interaction. In CA it is referred to as epistemics; it is "the distribution of rights and responsibilities regarding what participants can accountably know, how they know it, whether they have rights to describe it and in what terms…" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005: 16) In the following section, I sketch some of the research on how speakers position themselves with respect to *what* they know and *their rights* to know it. Thus, explaining the way this epistemic knowledge is one of the basic aspects of the social relations between humans in their everyday life. The orientation to the participants' rights and responsibilities which are related to their territories of knowledge is found in various sequences, such as, question-answer sequences and assessments. The origin of this term is in Labov & Fanshel's work (1977) where they present a distinction between: (1) A-events which are known to A but not to B; (2) B-events which are known to B but not to A; and (3) A-B events which are known to both. Yet, still these all come in degrees that are subject to variation. These epistemic domains form the base for the basic two notions of epistemics in interaction: epistemic status and epistemic stance.

Epistemic status is the idea that each one of the participants in any sequence has his/her own territories of information. Therefore, any specific element of knowledge that is produced in the sequence can fit into any of them, but usually to different degrees (Heritage, 2013: 374). The epistemic status is about the participants' territories of information; it focuses on the

epistemic gradient, so that even if they share the same information participants will differ in their amount of knowledge. One can be (K+) which is more knowledgeable or he/she can be less knowledgeable (K-). Also, such knowledge can vary from deep to shallow on the epistemic gradient (Heritage, 2010; Heritage, 2013). This positioning is relevant, and it differs as it can vary from total inequality to total equality. For example, Lottie claims absolute epistemic advantage: she knows everything about the house while Emma is completely unknowing of what is going to be described:

(37) [Heritage and Raymond, 2005: 17]

```
1     L: ->  [h h] Jeeziz Chris' you sh'd see that house E(h)mma
2             yih'av ↓no idea.h [hmhh
3     E:                        [I bet it's a drea:m.
```

On the other hand, the speaker and the recipient might have the same access to knowledge:

(38) [Heritage and Raymond, 2005: 17]

```
1     J:    T's tsuh beautiful day out isn't it?
2     L:    Yeh it's jus' gorgeous...
```

Even though it may be difficult to evaluate epistemic status in the different information domains for different participants, it is generally known that a person's thoughts, feelings, friends, jobs, personal appointments, body and all his/her possessions are treated as their own (Heritage and Raymond, 2005). As Kamio (1997) stresses, a person can not only claim these possessions but include this definite possession of information with the rights to possess them and articulate them. The following examples give evidence that "what each party can accountably know, how they know it, whether they have rights to articulate it are presented in talk-in-interaction" (Heritage, 2013: 377)

The second notion of epistemics is the epistemic stance. It is concerned with the moment-by-moment expressions of these relationships, and the way they are managed in the turn-taking

design. It focuses on the propositional content and its grammatical realizations, and how they express epistemics authority. For example, turns may have the same propositional content but because of their different grammatical structure, they convey different epistemic stance:

1. "Are you married?"
2. "You're married, aren't you?"
3. "You're married."

All three questions ask for particular information that lies in the epistemic domain of the recipient but their grammar is different. The first question suggests that the speaker has no knowledge of the marital status. It illustrates steeply sloping epistemic gradient between an unknowing questioner (K-) and a knowing recipient (K+). In contrast, the other two questions suggest the likelihood of the recipient's marital status so the questioner is eliciting a confirmation of what he/she already knows. So, this indexes shallow epistemic gradients between (K-) and (K+) (Heritage, 2010). Therefore, speakers do not rely on epistemic status and epistemic stance independently, but try to preserve the consistency and congruence between the epistemic stance in their turn-at-talk and the epistemic status that the participants occupy (Heritage, 2013). The following illustration displays the epistemic stance that is represented in terms of epistemic gradient:
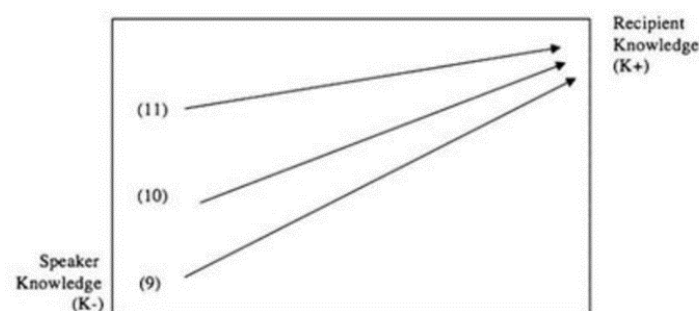
Figure 2.3 Epistemic gradient (Heritage, 2010)

Looking at offers and the recurrent language practices used by the speakers, when it is formulated as a question, the offerer addresses that the acceptance and resistance are in the domain of the recipient. The recipient here has primary rights to his needs and wants.

Therefore, the offerer displays a steeply sloping epistemic gradient between the unknowing offerer and the knowing recipient. For instance, the offerer may formulate his/her participant's interest in the nominated action. In this part, the offerer focuses on the reference to the participants' needs and preferences for the action implemented through a set of practices (Clayman & Heritage, 2014). Consider the following offer examples from my data:

(39) [AbuAbah: 14-4-3: 34:50]

```
 4    K:    tabīnniy              Ɂarūḥ  maʕak=iddiktūr?
            You(SIG.FEM) want me  go     with you(SIG.FEM) the doctor?
            (Do) you want me to go to the doctor with you?
```

(40) [ABYG2-Day7-Duhur: 12:20]

```
 4    R:    Tabī=ntā                tūt?
            Want you (SIG.MASC) you berry?
            (Do) you want berry (juice)?
```

This interrogative format is formatted as *tabī*...(=do you want…).These forms are other-attentive. They carry an *"epistemic downgrade"* considering that recipients know their own wants and needs more than the offerer (Clayman & Heritage, 2014:6). Furthermore, an offer can be produced as a question, but without the reference to the recipient's want or needs:

(41) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 1:02:48]

```
 6    AW:   Ɂajīblik            laimūn              tgaṭʕuh?
            I get for you(SIG.MASC) lemon you(SIG.MASC)cut him(INAN.MASC)?
            (Shall) I get you lemon (to) cut?
```

(42) [ABYG2-Day5-AFTRISHA2: 1:28:08]

```
11    S:    Ɂadjīblik¿
            I bring for you(SIG.MASC)¿
            (Shall) I bring (some) for you¿
```

(43) [ABYG2-DAY8-AFTR ASR: 17:26]

```
 5    A:    nsāʕidkum?
```

```
                              We helṗ you(PL.MASC)?
                              (Shall) we help you?
```

This form of question will take the same form as a corresponding statement, the only difference being that it comes with a rising intonation (Cvrk, 2013), which in the classic CA Jeffersonian transcription conventions is indicated with (¿) or (?) (see Appendix A for transcription conventions). As will be explained in the translation section below, I put the auxiliary verb 'shall' in parenthesis in the translation because it is not in the original Arabic format. With respect to the format of the offer, there is no difference between this group of interrogatives and the following group of declarative formats but the rising intonation. For example,

(44) [AbuAbah: 13-10-30V029: 19:15]

```
1    L:        (       ) ?arūḥ      ?jyb=išš↑āhi
              (       ) I go        get the te↑a
              (       ) I('ll) go   get the t↑ea
```

(45) [ABYG2-DAY4-ASR: 02:18:07]

```
 5   S:        ?ašīl   ʕannek,
              I carry for you (SIG.MASC),
              I('ll) carry (it) for you,
```

The intonation is not rising, hence, it is heard as informative rather than interrogative. Also, offers can be formatted as an imperative which expresses commitment that the recipient will accept the offer and these can be represented by an increasingly shallow epistemic gradient, as the offerer is not other-attentive and does not carry an epistemic downgrade as the interrogatives. The offerer, with the use of these declaratives or imperatively formatted offers, does not display his/her considerations that the recipients know their own wants and needs more than him/her:

(46) [ABYG2-DAY5-AFTRISHA2: 05:52]

```
 7   M:        taʕaššā maʕnā,
              Dine    with us,
```

(47) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 6:51]

```
 12  K:        hāt  hāt  hāt  Ɂana  Ɂagaššir
               Give Give Give I    peel
```

Additionally, the use of imperatives invokes deontic status because it displays a high degree of entitlement; for instance, Kent (2012) finds that parents use them on their children, for example, 'give me this', 'go to bed', 'sit down', 'come here', etc.

In addition, Clayman & Heritage (2014) discuss how utterances with a certain linguistic format can be recognized as a certain action in relation to who is the agent of this action and who is the *beneficiary*. They cite Ervin-Tripp's (1981) observation. She paints a scenario where you imagine yourself cutting carrots, and a child says to you 'can I help?'

> *"If you consider yourself the beneficiary of the assistance of a well-trained Montessori-taught carrot slicer, you may hear this as an offer. If you doubt the skill or even safety of the help, you may consider it a plea for permission… The difference here is that in the case of permission requests the speaker, as principal beneficiary, wants the action more than the bearer… (Ervin Tripp, 1981: 196-7 in Clayman & Heritage, 2014).*

A distinction between what Clayman & Heritage call benefactive stance and status is clearly relevant. Benefactive stance is when the speaker's action is encoded in the linguistic format. It conveys an issuing of costs and benefits related to an action in the future. On the other hand, benefactive status is about various conditions that underlie the action. Such as, if the service is beneficial for the recipient, if the performer is able/willing to do the service, if the cost of this service is high or low, and if it is going to be performed immediately (proximal) or later (distal). Usually, these conditions are in the construction of offers so that benefactive stance and status are aligned with each other. However, sometimes they are out of alignment. The benefactive stance of offers is usually associated with the configurations of the speaker being the benefactor and the

recipient being the beneficiary. The distribution of benefits and formulation of the proximal/distal action is initiated in the sequence through different language practices; and can be determined on a case-by-case basis. The offerer may formulate the agent and the recipient during the action formation of his offer. He/she specifies through the linguistic format who will be the performer of the action and who will benefit from it (Clayman & Heritage, 2014).

(48) [ABYG2-DAY7-ASR: 02:20:23]

```
 5   K:        =baṣib            ʕa↑nk              ⁰ʔawwād⁰
                =will pour instead of y↑ou (SIG.MASC) ⁰Awwad⁰
                =(I) will pour instead of y↑ou ⁰Awwad⁰
```

This practice of detailing of the agent and recipient bears re-emphasis and is optional; it is "contingent on the granularity with which the contemplated action is being formulated" (Clayman & Heritage, 2014: 7). The full detail in the linguistic turn when the action is offering to pour coffee instead of the recipient, here Awwad, '(I) will pour instead of y↑ou', could have been reduced to a nominalized *activity* ('why don't I pour'). By choosing this linguistic form, the offerer is choosing to reference the agent and the benefactor. Thus, he/she claims a benefactive configuration that may have been otherwise implicit or obscure. Actions, such as offers, carry the redistribution of time, effort, or material resources. Hence, speakers make relevant in the action formation of the turn the benefactive stance and status, with varying degrees of self-consciousness and explicitness. Likewise, this benefactive dimension comes with other underlying dimensions such as both recipients' epistemic authority and deontic authority, which become explicit as the arrangements for the fulfilment of the offer is brought to an end (Clayman & Heritage, 2014).

Clayman & Heritage cite Jeremy Bentham who introduced the concept of "felicific calculus" 1789) which is a method to determine the moral quality of an action. These felicific actions are when personal benefits exceed personal costs. Clayman & Heritage indicate that this

concept resonates with the practices that the speakers apply while offering, since in their pursuit of acceptance, English speakers formulate their offers in a way that maximizes the benefits and minimizes the costs. In the following excerpt, Gordon does not drive, and Dana offers to come over his house and pick him up:

(49) [Clayman & Heritage, 2014: 10]

```
9     Dan:          [Ri:ght so I'll poh- eh w'l- (.) D'you wan'
10    Dan:       [me t' pop over.
11    Gor:       [.p.hhhhh
12    Gor:       Please.
13               (0.3)
14    Dan:       Okay, 'bout what ti[me.
```

Dana uses the term 'pop' to describe her offer, which minimizes the burden of the offer. The same formulations is frequent in offers of assistance when doctors offer to visit a sick person at night, for example, 'I'll pop in I'll be with you in about twenty (0.2) minutes' (Drew, 2006).

As a final note, it is crucial to point out that orientation to both epistemic and deontic authority is prominent between doctors and patients, specifically when patients resist medical authority. This happens not only in the medical environment and its institutionalized setting, but also when doctors orient to their medical experience outside the medical environment (Athreya, 2010). In this type of situation, epistemics provides an ethical foundation for the doctor to recommend treatment, while the patient's deontic authority reinforces his/her rights to accept or reject treatments (for more on patient agency in health care interaction read, Peräkylä, 1998, 2002; Robinson, 2003; Bergen & Stivers, 2013). Lindström & Weatherall (2015) find that, epistemically, there is a distinction between the doctors' medical expertise and the patients who have limited access to it. Nevertheless, they find that doctors treat patients' resistance as legitimate, which is consistent with their patient-centered approach. On the other hand, deontically, the doctors' authority and rights to offer a treatment occur from their epistemic authority as experts in medicine. However, the ultimate deontic authority

is with the patients as they have the rights to refuse the treatment on the basis that they understand the expert knowledge behind the offered treatment. In the following chapters there is specific focus on how orientation to authority and membership categories is relevant to the way offers are responded to in Saudi Arabic.

Before moving on to the data section, it may be beneficial to map out the main points in forming interrogatives, declaratives and imperatives in Arabic and compare it to English. Most Arabic questions are formed with interrogatives particles that are equivalent to Wh-questions in English. These question particles start the question sentence and sometimes can be preceded with a preposition (Faisal, 2011). The following question particles are found in my Saudi data:

The question particle 'man/who', as in:

```
(50) [AbuAbah: 13-4-4_Z02: 10:26]
 1   N:      lā ya še:x, £man=elli=ḥāṭṭah?£
             No o' man,  £who that put him (INAN.MASC)?£
             No man,     £Who put (it)?£
```

There is also the question word 'mata/when' which comes initially in an interrogative, however, it is not translatable here as the connective adverb meaning 'when' (Ryding, 2005: 403):

```
(51) [AbuAbah: 13-4-4_Z02: 02:40]
 1   N:      meta=weṣalt?
             When arrive you (SIG.MASC)?
             When (did) you arrive?
```

There is also 'we:n/where', as in the following example,

```
(52) [AbuAbah: 13-4-4_Voice 008: 20:15]
 1   AZ:     we:n  maḥalluhum fīh?
             Where shop their (PL.MASC) in?
             Where (is) their shop?
```

'le:š/why' is another question particle in Saudi Arabic:

(53) [AbuAbah: 13-10-30V029: 01:10]
```
 1    L:      le:š=aḥmar tāxið?
              Why red take (MASC,SIG)?
              Why (do you) take red?
```

'Kam/how much' is a question particle which is followed by a singular indefinite noun in the

accusative case[18] (Ryding, 2005: 403). For example,

(54) [AbuAbah: 13-3-200031: 14:57]
```
 1    L:      kamm =  xaðtīhin=bih?
              How much took you (SIG.FEM) them (INAN.FEM) for?
              How much (did) you buy them for?
```

'kayf/how' is an interrogative word that may either be followed by either a noun as in excerpt

(55):

(55) [AbuAbah: 13-4-4_Z02: 40:16]
```
 1    N:      ke:f ʕlāqtik =ibsamīr =  int?
              How  relation with Sameer you(SIG.MASC)?
              How (is your) relationship with Sameer?
```

, or a verb as in the following:

(56) [AbuAbah: 13-3-21_200031: 23:27]
```
 1    M:      ke:f=išaġġall?
              How  turned (INAN.SIG.MASC)?
              How (is) it turned (on)?
```

There are more question particles that are used in classical Arabic that are not found in my

Saudi data such as, 'ayna/where', 'ayyun/which;what', 'ma-matha/what', 'limatha/why, and

'hal' or 'a' which are both "prefixed to statements in order to overt them to 'yes/no'

questions" (Ryding, 2005: 405). Both 'hal' and 'a' are equivalent in their functional meaning,

---

[18] The accusative which comes after 'kam' is considered an accusative of specification
which is a form of tamyiiz. For more on tamyiiz, see (Ryding, 2005).

but have different distribution. For instance, 'hal' is used "with a wide range of construction; 'a' is restricted in that it is not used before a noun with the definite article or words that start with /a/ such as /anta/you'" (405). Moreover, neither words are translatable to English, for to form a yes/no question in English is implemented through shift in word order (405). In the Saudi data used in this research there are few times where the particle 'hal' is used, while 'a' is never used.

```
(57) [AbuAbah: 13-10-30_030: 34:52]
  1   N:      bas (.) hal= il?umm    tişīr  >maḥram =  ilwaldha?
              But (.) hal  the mother become >chaperone for son her?
              But (.)(does)the mother become >(a)chaperone for her son?
```

Earlier in this section (p.63-65) I discuss declaratives and how they are heard as an interrogative according to their rising intonation (Cvrk, 2013), which in the classic CA Jeffersonian transcription conventions is indicated with (¿) or (?) (see Appendix A for transcription conventions). They can be negatively or positively formed questions. Negatively formed questions are considered exceptional structures. In many languages, as in Danish and Arabic, the questioner can design them in a way that can prefer either a positive or a negative answer; that both can be considered confirming responses. So, in both English and Arabic data, the negative question can receive both, a positive or a negative response. A main factor that determines the negative polar question is portrayed for a 'yes' or 'no' response, is the speaker's own knowledge and what kind it is and how much he has access to. Heritage (2002) states that, in English, negative interrogatives usually expresses the questioner's position. For example, stating an assertion or an assessment. "Whether a negative interrogative prefers a 'yes' or a 'no' response appears to be dependent on whether the speaker producing the negative interrogative is displaying an assumption that what is being referred to is or isn't true." (Heinemann, 2005:392).

(58) [Heinemann, 2005:392]

```
1    A:          This-chemotherapy (0.2) it won't have any

2                lasting effects on having kids will it?

3                (2.2)

4                It will?

5    B:          I'm afraid so.
```

Similar in Arabic, a yes/no question can be positively or negatively formatted:

(59) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 01:02:48]

```
6    AW:    ʔajīblik                laimūn              tgaṭʕuh?
            I get for you(SIG.MASC) lemon you(SIG.MASC) cut him(INAN.MASC)?
            (Shall) I get you lemon (to) cut?
```

(60) [AbuAbah:14-04-17_02:09:12]

```
6    N:     yūm šaʕrik              yitsāġaṭ mā  ġālūlik=
            Day hair your(SIG.FEM) falling  not say them(MASC) you(SIG.FEM)=
            When (you were) loosing your hair (did)n't they say (to) you=
7           =ʔilḥadīd?
            =the iron?
            =(it was)iron (deficiency)?
```

Moving on to imperatives, Ryding (2005) states that the "imperative or command form of the word in Arabic is based on the imperfect present tense verb in the jussive mood. It occurs in the second person (all forms of you), for the most part, although it occasionally occurs in the first person plural ('let's) and the third person (let him/her/them)" (622). Moreover, "the general rule for forming the imperative is to take the second person form the jussive verb and remove the subject marker (the ta or tu prefix)" (624). For example, 'tufassir/explain' is changed to the imperative 'fassir/explain'. English imperatives are formatted with base form of the verb and with no grammatical subject. Yet, 'you' whether singular or plural is the understood subject. Also, when a speaker needs to add himself in the imperative he/she uses 'let's' at the beginning of it. For example, 'sit down' or 'let's sit down' (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002:46). Arabic imperatives usually require initial helping words, either /i/ or /u/. The type of helping vowel is determined by the stem vowel of the present tense. That is, if

the stem vowel is *fatha /a/* or *kasra /i/*, the help in vowel is *kasra /i/* (Ryding, 2005: 625), for example, 'ʔiftaḥ/open', 'ʔirfaʕ/lift', 'ʔismaḥ/allow'; if the stem vowel is *damma /u/*, the helping vowel is *damma /u/*", for example, 'ʔunḏur/look', 'ʔudxul/enter'.

After this overview, I now move on to introduce the origins of the data used in this study and explain its methods of transcription and translation.

2.4 Data

The data used in this thesis is divided into two types: the first is from audio-recordings that I set up for family and friends; the second is from a popular reality television show aired in 2013 on the Arab Satellite.

The audio-recordings consist of 21: 55: 08 hours of naturally occurring Saudi Arabic conversations between family and friends. The participants vary in age and gender; their age range varies from nineteen to seventy-eight at the time of the recordings between March 2013 and March 2015. All the speakers are native speakers of Arabic living in Riyadh, the capital city of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Although at the time of the recordings the participants were all living in Riyadh, they do have ancestry from Shaqra, a small city in the central region of the kingdom. The recordings took place at weekly family gatherings and dinner parties, or at separated women and men's gatherings in coffee shops[19]. Most of the data used in the following chapters is taken from excerpts where the participants are assisting each other after or during a family gathering, sitting around dinner tables, or during the time family and friends are having conversations in the living room. Participants signed their consent before the recording started and were asked to sign an approval giving the analyst the permission to record (see the consent form in Appendix D). If someone new came to the gathering I asked for his/her signature and consent before he/she was recorded. The consent form is in English

---

[19] I was not able to be at these all-male coffee shops; hence, I asked my partner and my father to be responsible for the recordings during these segments

and most of the participants were able to read it, however, I had to translate it for three of the elderly participants who do not speak English. Moreover, to achieve a more relaxed environment, the participants are assured of complete anonymity and the use of pseudonyms in the written research. These audio recordings are divided into sixteen events: twelve are during a weekly family gathering, four in coffee shops (one from a ladies' café and three in a men's café).

It has been difficult to get consent for video recordings from most of the participants who agreed only on audio recording, so for the first year of my research I relied only on audio recordings. Fortunately, by the beginning of the second year of my research, I found series of a reality TV shows on YouTube. Hence, I worked around my lack of video data by downloading episodes of the second season of a popular reality television show called *ʔilbīt yidjmaʕnā* (=The House Brings Us Together) from You Tube. It aired in 2013 for forty-five days, specifically from the 28th of August 2013 until 11th of October 2013 on Bedayah Channel. It is a show which is loosely modelled on the widely-popular English show: 'Big Brother'. The Saudi reality show involves ten male contestants that are all kept together in a house competing for the position of a television presenter on the channel. During the time they are staying in the house, the contestants are monitored by live camera while wearing personal microphones. They are scored on their interviewing ability, as every day they get a chance to present the news. Also, they are marked on their communication skills, script writing and editing. The show starts with ten contestants and each week one is nominated to leave until they reached the finale with only three left to compete for the job. Their age varies from twenty-one to twenty-six. The show is broadcast live from 11 a.m. to 11 p.m, only stopping for commercials. There is no obvious editing, and the cameras are all over the house, even in the bedrooms.

The total number of cases gathered and how many of them are used in the thesis are illustrated in the following figure:

Total number of cases	57	Used: 25
Total number of cases from Reality show	38	Used: 20
Total number of cases from my audio recordings	19	Used: 5

Figure 2.4 Figure representing total number of cases

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there is always the question of how an analyst decides on the action he/she is going to investigate. How did I get to focus on offers and not any other action that I may have collected during the time I was transcribing? In this thesis, I followed the CA method by beginning with observation of a reoccurring phenomenon in the data. Also, I knew how crucial it is at this stage that as an analyst I should not have a certain theory or assumption in mind while I am looking at the data. In parallel to this technique, I approached my data with no certain action in mind or a sequence trajectory that I am trying to prove. I started my search by going back to the basics, I looked at question-answer sequences; I followed the data and I did all the gathering and grouping and decided on it after I compiled a sufficient amount of excerpts. It was known to me as a conversation analyst that these question-answer sequences are a vast group that contains a large group of actions and their responses. I set up notable examples and formed sub-groups of different actions, such as, confirmation, apologies, greetings, requests, invitations and offers. The analytic treatment of CA calls these first groups of similar instances as *inductive* (Heritage, 1988). For example, when an analyst is looking at invitation sequences and how they are accepted and rejected, he/she will begin by establishing regularities in the organization of positive and negative responses. At the same time, he/she demonstrates "that these regularities are produced and oriented to by the participants as normative organizations of action" (Heritage, 1988: 131). Therefore, I simply let the data lead me to a noteworthy reoccurring phenomenon.

During my first year of research I came across the tea offer excerpt mentioned in the introduction (see section 1.1.1 exerpt 4) and noticed the immediate production of the multiple 'las' and linked it to Sack's claim about rejection of offers and invitations being dispreferred. I presented the excerpt, and few others, in a weekly data session that my supervisor holds

with the attendance of other students with different languages and backgrounds. I noted they pointed out it is uncommon in their languages to vehemently reject a tea offer then eventually accept it. Therefore, this became the start for me to focus on collecting more offer sequences that suggests that this excerpt is not a coincidence but a reoccurring pattern in the data. It started as a vast group of examples that consists of excerpts that are not entirely similar. This general collection assisted me in pointing out what is going on in the excerpts. Then I divided them to sub-categories according to their sequence trajectory, such as, offers that are ultimately accepted, offers partially accepted and offers ultimately rejected. Also, I divided them according to the initial response whether it is immediately rejected or immediately accepted. I also sub-categorized them according to participants' identities, such as, participants being host and guest and age oriented sequences. I also had a sub-category for sequences that seemed as deviant cases (see section 2.1). This is all achieved from spending the time of examining the data and following its lead with no earlier assumptions or theories to prove.

In consequence, to show that the categories this thesis is examining are a phenomenon and not a coincidence I used three examples for each situation. Moreover, as I analysed more excerpts of the two data sources I have, that is, the audio recordings of family and friends and the video clips from the reality TV show, I moved more toward using the video data. The latter provided me with beneficial analysis of the participants' use of eye-gaze and body placement during the production of the offer or any of the subsequent actions.

Total number of cases gathered	57	Used 25
Total number of cases from Reality show	38	Used:20
Total number of cases from My audio	19	Used:5
Categories according to their initial response		
Initially-rejected offers	49	20
Immediately accepted	2+6	2 + 3
Categories according to participants' identities		

Hospitality oriented sequences	8	4
Age oriented sequences	4	3
Categories according to their sequence trajectory		
Offers ultimately accepted	25	10[20]
Offers partially accepted	4	4
Offers ultimately rejected	16	4
Deviant cases	6	4

Figure 2.5 Figure representing details of data collected

In addition, video data has given this thesis huge advantage. It helped to transcribe the embodiment of the participants, especially with respect to analysing actions such as recruitment, rejecting and insisting. Having the ability to analyse the participants' body movement and eye gaze along with the talk, with the addition of frame by frame shot provided the thesis with the advantage of being more detailed and provided further evidence of some of the instances where insistence or rejection happens. This advantage in video data led me to focus more on it. Especially, when I find that the audio will be missing crucial part of the embodiment which in contrast will show more evidence if it is videoed. For instance, in the following two excerpts (61) is an audio recording of a group of my friends, while (62) is a video excerpt from the show:

(61) [AbuAbah: 13-11-25_04: *9:10*]

(A group of ladies are at a restaurant. Deema and Mayar are sisters. The waiter sets down the food. After he leaves, Deema complains that he did not slice the pizza which is set in front of her. It is noteworthy that in this gathering the ladies are sharing the food on each other's plates, so the pizza is not for Deema. It was only put in front of her by the waiter)

```
1   D:      mā  gaṭṭaʕhā           (1.0) le:teh,  gaṭṭaʕhā
            Not cut her(INAN.FEM) (1.0) wish he, cut her (INAN.FEM)
            (He did) not cut (it) (1.0) (I) wish (he had) cut (it)
2   M:      ḥinna nga-ʔagaṭṭiʕhā=
            We cut-   I cut her (INAN.FEM)=
            We cut- I cut (it)=
```

---

[20] There is an overlap between the excerpts. For example, in the initial categorization of the data a group of sequences will fall under the category of 'initially-rejected offers' and will also fall under 'age oriented sequences'.

```
3   M:    =lik            hā:↑tīha                    hā:tīha
          =for you(SIG.FEM)gi↑:ve you(SIG.FEM)her(INAN.FEM)gi:ve you
          her
          =for you gi↑:ve (it) give (it)
4   D:    >lala< ʕādi    °°ʔiṣbirī°°
          >nono< normal °°wait you (SIG.FEM)°°
          >nono< (it's) alright °°wait°°
5   M:    ʕā↑dī   hā↑ti=rro:l              lā tabrid
          No↑rmal gi↑ve you(SIG.FEM) the roll21 no be
          her(INAN.FEM)cold
          (It's) alri↑ght gi↑ve(me) the roll (so it won't) be cold
6         (5.0) 22
```

This excerpt is provides a strong evidence to the phenomenon. The verbal turns are clear and shows an offer (lines 2-3), its rejection (line 4) and the insistence (line 5). However, in line 6 I have to explain in the footnote how the insistence is successful and give evidence that Mayar does take the knife from Deema. The following excerpt is a video excerpt from the television show:

(62) [ABYG2-DAY21-ASR: 56:17]

(Mohammad is standing with four men, some of whom are sitting. He is holding the dallah with his left hand and holding the finjals with the other ready to pour.)


```
1          ((M moves to the seated men with the dallah and finjal in
2          his hands))
3   K:     >xalha           xalha             xalha<
           >Leave her(INAN.FEM) leave her(INAN.FEM) leave
           her(INAN.FEM)<
           >Leave it leave it leave it<
4          ((K stands up and put his hand forward to take the dallah
5          from M. M pulls it to his left side away from K;Figure 2.6))
```

---

[21] Pizza cutter

[22] This is an audio data, hence, the lack of visuals. However, it is evident that Mayar does take the roll and cut the pizza through her turn in later lines when she complains to the waiter when he returns to the table:
```
    44 M:   mafrū::ḏinniKimga↑ṭṭiʕhā↑ mātšū:fni kinni ʔagaṭṭiʕ ðibīḥa↑h
             Shou::ld you cu↑t he↑r (fem.sig) not see: me like I cut steak
             You shou::ld('ve) cu↑t it (do)n't(you)see: me(it's)like I('m)cut(ting a large piece
             of)steak
```

```
 6   M:        tigahwa, tigahwa,
               tegahwa, (IMP.V for coffee)
               Drink coffee, drink coffee,
 7   K:        ʕannik                 ?aṣeb, [ʕannek::      yā↑ še:↑x
               Instead from you(SIG.MASC)I pour,[away from you: o'↑shei↑kh
               Instead of you I pour, [instead of you: o'↑ shei↑kh²³
 8   M:                                [tigahwa,=
                                       [tigahwa,(IMP.V for coffee)=
                                       [drink coffee,=
 9             =ṫayyib (.) xall=agahwī:k¿
               =then   (.) let  I gahwy:(PRES.V for coffee)you¿
               =(alright) then (.) let me (pour) yo:u coffee¿
10   K:        ?alḥīn ?ant           ?akbarna              tiṣib
               Now    you (SIG.MASC) oldest us you (SIG.MASC) pour
               Now you (are the) oldest (and) you pour
11             ((M gives K the dallah; Figure 2.6))
12   M:        ?ana ?aṣġarkum            yārajul
               I    youngest you (PL.MASC) o' man
               I (am the) youngest (one of) you man²⁴
13             (.)
14             bas tara      ?iššaʕar ṭāleʕ   men=iyūm=innī=ṣiġīr
               but tara (EXP) the hair came out from day that young
               but tara (this) hair came out since (I was)young
15             ((M moves to the table, gets the dates and sits down))
16             ((K pours the coffee for the men))
```


Figure 2.6 Frame representing Khalid taking the dallah from Mohammad

This excerpt follows the same trajectory as the earlier excerpt, however, it is clearer due to the video images that come along with it. Figure 2.6 is a frame that represents insitance and the struggle that precedes an adherence of the offer. In the last shot we can also see Khalid holding the pot in his hand.

On another hand, there is a problem I did face with the video data which occurs in two of the excerpts I used. In two of the videos the people behind the montage of this live broadcast will be airing the living room where my participants are talking. However, when the participants

---

²³ An Arab chief, ruler, or even sometime a royal figure. It is used as a term of respect
²⁴ A joke

leave the room the broadcast does not follow them and the camera is still on the shot of the living room and the other contestants. For example, in the following excerpt, which I use in chapter four, the two men (Mohammad and the guest) move down the hall and out of the living room (Figure 2.7). When they do that, they move out of sight of the camera so we lack the visual access; but there is a cut to the kitchen camera 9 seconds later (Figure 2.8). It restarts in line 26 with the guest asking about what type of food they are eating, and accepting a glass of juice offered to him (Figure 2.9):

(63) [ABYG2-DAY5-AFTRISHA2: 05:52]

Figure 2.7 Participants in living room

Figure 2.8 Participants move down the hall

Figure 2.9 Participants in the kitchen

```
1   G:      yalla             nšūfkum
            Yallah(EXP. Alright)we see you (PL.MASC)
            Yallah we (will) see you (later)
2           ((G turns around to leave and waves briefly at the group
3           behind him and turns to leave))
4   H:      yā nā↑ṣir
            O' NA↑SIR²⁵
5           ((M moves hastily towards the guest, and G turns his head
6           to look at him ))
7           taʕaššā maʕnā,   ṭayyib
            Dine    with us, then
8   G:      la la ʔałłah yikaṭṭir xe:rik
            No no god    add      goods your (SIG.MASC)
            No no god add (to) your goods
9           ((G talks from the hall))
10  H:      ṣidg  wałłah¿
            Truth wallah (EXP. I swear)¿
            Seriously wallah (I mean it)¿
11  G:      la la
            No no
12  H:      wałłah šu:f=iššabāb  yijahzūn=ilʕaša
            Wallah look the guys prepare  the dinner
            Wallah look the guys (are) prepare(ing) dinner

            ((OMITTED LINES))
```

²⁵ The guest's name

```
       ->      ((During the omitted lines, G moves further into the
               hallway as H is still insisting on his offer until they
               move away from the range of the camera))
               ((Camera cuts to kitchen, where the following takes place
               9 seconds later))

26  G:         ʕašakum                 wuššū?
               Dinner yours (PL.MASC) what?
               What (is) your dinner?
27  H:         Kil=šayy.   (.) mnawwaʕ      (0.2) burgar (.) tūnah
               Everything. (.) diversified (0.2) burger (.) tuna
28             ((Someone passes the guest a glass of juice, he takes it
29             and sits down at the dinner table; Figure 2.9))
```

The channel describes itself as entertainment for conservative Muslims. Hence, there are no women contestants. Also, even though it has not been stated as a rule, there are topics that are clearly off-limits for the contestants, such as, politics and sex. Living with the contestants in the House, is a father figure called *Abu Abdulkareem.* He is there to keep them on track and make sure they follow the schedules given by the producers. In the first episode, he gives them certain rules they have to follow. For example, that this is their house, and if someone comes from the outside he is their guest and *lāziminʕāmlah kaḏe:f* (=must be treated like a guest)[26]. Also, there is a cooking and cleaning schedule of lunch and dinner that they need to follow; it is laid out as a pre-scheduled plan where two chosen contestants will cook and three different ones will clean up after them. This helps them to divide jobs equally and so does not hold up a lot of the contestants' conversations. Most of the data that is used in the following chapters is taken from excerpts where the contestants are dealing with an outsider/guest who comes into the house, assisting each other in the kitchen or cleaning up, sitting around the dinner table, or relaxing in the living room. It is an exceedingly well-known show in Saudi Arabia, and, according to their official website, they won first position in the Arabic channels in relation to the numbers of viewers[27]. Therefore, since most of these

---

[26] For the full speech on episode one see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wznInz7HC0M&t=32s
[27] Accessed 25/01/2017, 15:47, http://www.bedaya.tv/section/2/About.bedaya

contestants are "celebrities" now in the Arab world, I use the real names in the data, and their faces are clear in the images inserted in the thesis.

2.4.1 Transcription and Translation

Since the data is not in English, the transcription of each excerpt consists of three lines, and I use the form of transcription used by Clift & Helani (2010) as a guide for the three-line transcription of my data. The first line follows a system of transliteration which is the process of converting Arabic sounds to Latin letters. There are sounds in Arabic that do not have an orthographic representation in English, therefore, in order to transcribe them, I use the Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL) presented in a schedule at the beginning of the thesis in p.viii. In addition, 'tašdīd/gemination' is represented with doubling the consonant, such as, *xallah* (=leave it). The second line is a gloss of the literal word-for-word translation in English. It is there to basically explain the grammar of the sentences. The third line is an idiomatic translation to English. It follows the Jeffersonian transcription conventions; it has specific symbols that draw attention to details in interaction that may be unnoticed, such as, the prosody of an utterance (see Appendix A). Moreover, in the first line of transliteration, and in an attempt to achieve a similar level of the Jefferson system of transcription notation, I have indicated sound stretches with ::: in the transliteration line as well. For instance,

(64) [AbuAbah: 13-4-3: Voice 002: 01:04:06]

```
1      Kinda:   ke::f (.) >ʕala=djamalha?<
                Ho::w (.) >on   beauty her?<
                Ho::w (.) > (still as) beautiful?<
```

Due to the fact that transcriptions for conversation analysis aims not just to indicate what is said but the way it has been said, there are deviations from word based transcriptions. In other

words, I use the = sign to represent where distinct syntactic words form a single phonological

word. It denotes latched speech and that talk is continuous.

(65) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 15:24]
```
 20  A:       yaʕnī=anaḏḏif maʕkum=anā?
              Mean  I clean with you(PL.MASC) I?
              (This) mean(s) I (shall) clean with you?
```

Also, in the third line, words that only occur in the English translation and are not in the

original Arabic utterance are in parentheses.

The main translation challenge is the difference in grammar between the two languages. For

instances, Arabic is a pro-drop language where the subject in the declarative sentence may

come before the verb as in excerpt (62), it may be deleted as in excerpt (63), or the subject

can be known from the verb conjugation *ʔa* (=I) who the subject is as in excerpt (64):

(62) [ABYG2-DAY7-ASR: 02:20:23]

```
 9   AW:      =ʔana baṣiblek              waxxer   ʔistireḥ  ʔist[ireḥ=]
              =I    will pour for you(SIG.MASC)go away relax    r↑e[lax=]
              =I will pour for you go away relax r↑e[lax=]
```

(63) [ABYG2-DAY7-ASR: 02:20:23]

```
 5   K:       =baṣib            ʕa↑nk              ᵒʔawwādᵒ
              =will pour instead of y↑ou (SIG.MASC) ᵒAwwadᵒ
              =(I) will pour instead of y↑ou ᵒAwwadᵒ
```

(64) [ABYG2-DAY21-ASR: 56:17]

```
 7   K:       ʕannik              ʔaṣeb,
              Instead from you(SIG.MASC)I pour,
              Instead of you I pour,
```

Also, some Arabic nouns have verb forms that are not found in English. For instance, the

noun *gahwah* (=coffee) may occur in the following verb forms. For example, it may be

produced as a present verb with an added masculine prefix *yitgahwa* translatable to (=he

drinks coffee), present verb with a feminine prefix *titgahwa* translatable to (=she drinks coffee), a present verb *ʔatigahwa* with the first person singular prefix *ʔa*, a present verb *ʔagahwīk* with the first person singular prefix *ʔa* and the singular masculine second-person pronoun suffix *k* translatable to (=I pour coffee for you); imperative verb with a second person masculine *tigahwa*, imperative verb with a second person feminine *tigahwayy*; consider the following:

(65) [ABYG2-DAY21-ASR: 56:17]

```
8    M:                          [tigahwa,=
                                 [tigahwa,(IMP.V for coffee)=
                                 [drink coffee,=
9         =ṫayyib (.) xall=agahwī:k¿
          =then   (.) let  I gahwy:(PRES.V for coffee)you¿
          =(alright) then (.) let me (pour) yo:u coffee¿
```

Here, the verb comes in two forms; initially it is formed as the imperative verb *tigahwa* (=drink coffee) for the second person masculine, and the present verb *agahwīk* (=I pour you coffee) which is preceded with the first person singular prefix *a* (=I) and the singular masculine second-person pronoun suffix *k* (=you). To reach a similar meaning in English, I translate it to the imperative verb 'drink coffee', and the present verb 'I pour you coffee'.

Another difference in translation is that, similar to Romance languages, inanimate objects must be either masculine or feminine. For instance, 'tray' is feminine and uses the subject pronoun *hī* (=she) and the object pronoun suffix *hā* (=her), while, a 'roll of paper towel' is masculine and uses the subject pronoun *hū* (=he) and the object pronoun suffix *h* (=him). Another example is in the following turn, Deema talks about the waiter not slicing her pizza before serving it:

(66) [AbuAbah: 13-11-25_04: 9:10]

```
1    D:    mā  gaṭṭaʕhā            (1.0) le:teh,  gaṭṭaʕhā
           Not cut her(INAN.FEM) (1.0) wish he, cut her(INAN.FEM)
           (He did) not cut (it) (1.0)(I) wish (he) cut (it)
```

In the following Awwad is talking about the lemon which is masculine:

(67) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 1:02:48]

```
6    AW:       ?ajīblik              laimūn          tgaṭʕuh?
               I get for you(SIG.MASC) lemon you(SIG.MASC)cut him(INAN.MASC)?
               (Shall) I get you lemon (to) cut?
```

Additionally, to translate an offer which is produced in an interrogative question from Arabic to English, I add the appropriate auxiliary verb to the English translation:

(68) [AbuAbah: 14-4-3: 34:50]

```
4    K:        Tabīnniy              ?arūḥ  maʕak=iddiktūr?
               You(SIG.FEM) want me  go     with you(SIG.FEM) the
               doctor?
               (Do) you want me to go to the doctor with you?
```

(69) [ABYG2-DAY8-AFTR ASR: 17:26]

```
5    A:        nsāʕidkum?
               We help you(PL.MASC)?
               (Shall) we help you?
```

2.4.1.1   Religious conviction

In general, in Arabic there is frequent use of 'religious invocations'. It is widespread in Arabic interaction irrespective of its religious affiliation or the speaker's (Abboud, 1988; Gilsenan, 1983 in Clift & Helani, 2010: 358). So, Arabic is "saturated with a rich variety of expressions invoking Allah explicitly or implicitly" (Morrow, 2006: 45 in Clift & Helani, 2010: 358).

Clift & Helani (2010) point out that although a religious invocation such as *inshallah* (=God willing) is recurrently appended to any future-related statement to hopes for the future, its interactional usage goes beyond this. Meanwhile, according to the sequential context that this utterance occur, the deployment of inshallah may be that of a topic shift (358). Similarly, in the Saudi Arabic data used in this thesis, some religious invocations appear to occur as responses to offers. Despite their English translation which gives a general idea of what the

utterance is used for, what they *do* is dependent on their sequential context. Therefore, when an utterance comes as a response to an offer, it is according to its position in the sequence and the type of sequence it is in that it may be hearable as acceptance or rejection.

 Below is a list of all the religious invocations that occur in the thesis as responses to offers whether they come immediately after an offer is verbally produced or after it has already been implemented:

Religious expressions invoking Allah	
ʔałłah yeʕṭīkelʕafyah A	God give you (SIG) wellness
ʔałłah yiʕāfīk	God make you (SIG) well
ʔałłah lāyhīnik	God (don't) humiliate you (SIG)
ʔałłah yikattir xeːrik	God add (to) your (SIG) goods
jazākałłāh xer	God reward you (SIG)
jazākumulłāh xer	God reward you (PL)
bārakałłāh fīk	God bless you (SIG)
bayyadałłāh wajhik	God (have) whiten your (SIG) face
ʕišt.	May you (SIG.MASC) live a long life
taslam	May you (SIG.MASC) be healthy

Figure 2.10 Religious expressions invoking Allah

Consider for example, the utterance *jezākumałłāh xer* (=god reward you) can either be an acceptance of the offer as in the following:

(70) [ABYG2-DAY5-ASR: 15:53]

(G: guest; A: Ahmed)
```
1          ((A offers the guest juice and water on a tray and G takes
2          it))
3   G: ->  Jezākum           ʔałłāh xer=uw    mā=gaṣṣartū
           Reward you(PL.MASC) god    good and not slacked you(PL.MASC)
           God reward you and you (have) not (been) slack(ing)
```

It may also be implicated in rejection:

(71) [ABYG2-DAY4-ASR: 02:18:07]

(SUL: sultan; G: guest)
```
1          ((G is packing up his laptop and papers in his suitcase
2          after the seminar ended))
3          ((S comes in from the left and his right arm points forward
4          as he moves closer to G))
5   S:     ?ašīl   ʕannek,
           I carry for you (SIG.MASC),
           I('ll) carry (it) for you,
6          ((S is close to G. His hand points to the suitcase))
7   G:     ?isterīḥ¿ ?isterīḥ¿
           Relax¿    relax¿
8          ((S's arm is still pointing towards the bag))
9   G: ->  Jazāk                ?ałłāh xer
           Rewards you (SIG.MASC) god   good
           God reward you
```

The utterances in both line 3 in excerpt (70) and line 9 in excerpt (71) are similar only for the change in pronoun. However, they are doing two different actions according to their position in the sequence and the type of sequence they are in. This will be discussed more thoroughly later on.

Having laid out the methodology used to conduct this study, I proceed to the analysis of Arabic offers and their responses.

Chapter 3 **Preference Organization in Arabic Offer Sequences**

Figure 3.1 Caricature from Makkah Newspaper (Jaber, 2014)[28]

3.1 Introduction:

In the previous chapter, I presented the established findings of preference organization in English which are, broadly, that *positive answers come fast while negative answers come slowly*. This is not just applicable for English as there is preference for *yes* answers over *no* answers in another ten languages (Stivers et al., 2010). Nevertheless, the data presented below provides evidence that preference structure for Arabic does not follow the same patterns as English preference organization. A similar sequence to the Arabic data may be seen in English in the *pro forma* rejection of a second serving at the dinner table, or during the negotiation which happens during the payment of a restaurant bill.   Figure *3.1* is a caricature by a Saudi artist; it illustrates in a comic way the Saudi Arabic conduct during a bill payment at a restaurant. The two customers are fighting over who will pay the bill; during their struggle, the waiter comes in and offers that the restaurant will pay the bill this time.

---

[28] Published in Makkah Newspaper 25th February 2014. Translation of the caricature:
* Man1: 'I'll pay'
** Man2: 'I swear you won't pay'
*** Waiter: 'It's alright gentlemen. Today it's on the house'
**** Man1: 'I'll pay'
***** Man2: 'I swear you won't pay'

The bottom shot shows the two customers strangling the waiter while insisting on paying the bill themselves. Although this is an extreme exaggeration of the phenomenon, it still captures a more realistic situation, which will be evidenced in this study.

In this chapter, I present a group of offer sequences to initially analyse their preference organisation. Through them, I clarify how a Saudi Arabic offer is usually met with initial resistance and sometimes vigorous refusal; this rejection usually happens whether the offer is subsequently accepted or not. At this stage of the study, I mainly focus on the preference features of the responses of the offers. In the following chapters, using the same examples below in addition to others not analysed here, I move the analysis forward and look at the sequence in more detail. I do this through analysing the sequential outcomes of these offer sequences as a whole, and through looking at the formats of the offers themselves I will further categorize them in subcategories. Yet, initially, the sequences in this chapter are divided into two main sections, offers that are initially *rejected* and offers that are initially *accepted*.

3.2 Initially-rejected offers

3.2.1 Pro forma rejections

We saw the first example below in the introduction chapter. Lama, who is the hostess, offers her son-in-law Nader some tea (line 1). The offer is met with an immediate multiple rejection (line 2), whereupon the co-host, Ahmed, insists in overlap by means of the imperative to his wife (line 3). Lama, then, reissues the offer by minimizing it (lines 4-5) *byālat šāhi* (= (just a) cup of tea):

(1) [AbuAbah: 13-10-30V029: 19:15]

(Nader is a guest at his in-laws house, Lama and Ahmed)

```
1    L:        (         ) ?arūḥ        ?jyb=išš↑āhi
                (         ) I go         get the te↑a
                (         ) I('ll) go  get the t↑ea
2    N: ->     >la la< tijībīn              šayy     tak[fe:n
                >no no< bring you(SIG.FEM)   thing    ple:[ase
                >no no< (don't) bring anything ple[ase
3    A:                                               [?illa        jībayy
                                                      [illa(EXP.do)bring you
                                                      (SIG.FEM) him(INAN.MASC)
                                                      [do bring it
4    L:                                               [šāhi
                                                      [tea
5              byālat        šāhī
               Byalah        of tea
               (just a) cup of tea
6    N:        £šāhi ḥaḍremi wella£
               £Tea  Hadremy or not£
               £Hadremy tea or not£
7    L:        £ lā:↑ £
               £ no:↑ £
               £ re:ally↑ £
8    N:        Thhhheeehh hh h[hh
9    A:                       [ʕadani
                              [Adeni
10   N:        ʕad- ?īh ʕada[ni hhhh]hheh
               Ade- yes Ade[ni hhhh]hheh
```

Nader's rejection, done through the use of the emphatic multiple *las* (=nos) (Stivers, 2004).
This rejection is produced with all the features of a preferred response (which of course in
English would accompany not a rejection, but an acceptance): it is produced immediately and
without mitigation. It has all the features of a preferred response: (1) there are no prefaces,
the *las* are produced immediately and turn-initially; (2) there are no accounts as it is not
elaborated, it has explicitly stated components that are short and to the point; (3) it comes
immediately after no gap. Both of the insistent turns (lines 3-4) occur immediately in terminal
overlap with Nader's plea. Ahmed, the co-host, presses Lama's offer by using *?illa* which is
an expression translatable as 'do'. Lama's turn insists by minimizing the amount of things
she is bringing just a cup of tea; the implication being that it is just *byālah* (=cup) of tea it is
not hard work and she will not be bothered by it.

Moreover, the acceptance of the offer at the end of the sequence is treated as the dispreferred response, for it is not explicitly produced. There is also no acceptance of any form such as, for example, thanking the offerer with *šukran* (=thanks) or *maškūr* (=thank you) and so on which are understood to be acceptances. Nader simply makes a joke about the type of tea Lama is getting (line 6). She responds with a receiving token *la* that may be translated as the English 'really↑', and Nader laughs. Several lines later, there having been no further reference to tea, Lama goes to prepare it[29].

Another example that shows initial resistance to an offer is when one of the contestants, Khalid, offers to pour coffee instead of another contestant, Awwad. The offer (line 4) is met by a rejection delivered in a highly preferred manner. Before the launch of the offer, the contestants enter the living room where the coffee pot is on the table. Khalid sits down while Awwad picks up the coffee pot. The former springs off the couch he is sitting on and offers to pour instead (lines 4-5):

(2) [ABYG2-DAY7-ASR: 02:20:23]


```
1              ((AW bends down and takes the dallah and finjal off the table.
2              He turns to the left to pour for K. K springs off the couch and
3              moves quickly towards AW, his arm pointing to the dallah))
4    K:   >xallah.            xallah.<=
              >Leave him(INAN.MASC).leave it(INAN.MASC).<=
              >Leave it. leave it.<
5         =baṣib              ʕa↑nk              ºʔawwādº
              =will pour instead of y↑ou (SIG.MASC) ºAwwadº
              =(I) will pour instead of y↑ou ºAwwadº
6              ((AW moves his torso slightly to move the dallah from K's reach
7              but K puts his hand on it))
```

---

[29] This is audio data, hence, the lack of nonverbal transcription. However, there is proof of the hostess bringing the tea in the recording (clinking sound of the glass cups 'byalahs', and Lama apologizing for only having 'nuts' to offer along with her tea)

```
 8   AW: ->   >la↑ la↑<=
               >No↑ no↑<=
 9             =?ana başiblek                waxxer   ?istireḥ  ?ist[ireḥ=]
               =I    will pour for you(SIG.MASC)go away relax      r↑e[lax=]
               =I will pour for you go away relax r↑e[lax=]
10   K:                                                         [hāt= ]
                                                               [Give=]
11   AW:       [=ţayyib           ?abaşib-   ?abaşib   ?ilfinjā↑l=]
               [=tayeb(EXP.alright)will pour- will pour the finj↑al=]
               [=tayeb (I) will pour-  (I) will pour the finj↑al= ]
12   K:        [hāt      hāt     hāt       ?abaşiblik=              ]
               [give     give    give       will pour for you(SIG.MASC)=]
               [give     give    give      (I)will pour for you= ]
13   AW:       >?abaşib   ?ilfi[njāl<
               >will pour the fi[njal<
               >(I) will pour the fi[njal<
14   K:                         [?abaşib=
15             =lik
                                 [will pour=
               =for you(SIG.MASC)
                                 [(I) will pour=
               =for you
16   AW:       yā gałbī       [ tikfa   ] tikfa
               O' heart mine [ please  ] please
               O' my  heart  [ please  ] please
17   K:                       [ᵒ?istirīḥᵒ]
                              [ ᵒrelaxᵒ ]
18             ((K takes the dallah and A's LH drops to his side and gives the
               finjal as well))
19   K:        ᵒᵒ?istirīḥᵒᵒ
               ᵒᵒRelaxᵒᵒ
20             ((K pours a finjal for AW and gives it to him))
```

The offer (lines 4-5) is immediately met with an emphatic resistance of multiple *las* (=nos)

(line 8) and nonverbal resistance as Awwad moves his torso away from the offerer (line 6).

Again the rejection is as emphatic as its imperatively formatted offer. The recipient rejects

the offer with marked, immediate *las* (=nos) that come without delay, and produces an

imperative format to order the offerer to *waxxer* (=go away) and *?istireḥ* (=relax). The

rejecting response in line 8 has all the features of a preferred response. It has no prefaces, no

accounts and it is immediate, with no gap between the offer and the rejection. This preferred

SPP has no form of turn-initial delay as the rejection comes first, and there is no type of

elaboration on it either. Subsequently, Khalid does not accept the rejection and does not wait

for an acceptance, as he takes the pot from the recipient's hand (line 18). Likewise, the

acceptance of the offer is not explicitly produced so it is treated as a dispreferred response. The recipient lets go of the coffee pot but does not produce an acceptance in any way. It is implicitly done by the nonverbal movement of letting go of the pot, which is done with visible reluctance.

Similar to excerpts (1) and (2), the following sequence displays a rejected offer that is eventually implemented. The offer (lines 2-3) is met with an immediate rejection (line 4):

(3) [AbuAbah: 13-11-25_04: *9:10*]

(A group of ladies are at a restaurant. Deema and Mayar are sisters. The waiter sets down the food. After he leaves, Deema complains that he did not slice the pizza which is set in front of her. It is noteworthy that in this gathering the ladies are sharing the food on each other's plates, so the pizza is not for Deema. It was only put in front of her by the waiter)

```
1   D:      mā  gaṭṭaʕhā            (1.0) le:teh,  gaṭṭaʕhā
            Not cut her(INAN.FEM) (1.0) wish he, cut her (INAN.FEM)
            (He did) not cut (it) (1.0) (I) wish (he had) cut (it)
2   M:      ḥinna nga-ʔagaṭṭiʕhā=
            We cut-   I cut her (INAN.FEM)=
            We cut- I cut (it)=
3   M:      =lik            hā:↑tīha                    hā:tīha
            =for you(SIG.FEM)gi↑:ve you(SIG.FEM)her(INAN.FEM)gi:ve you
            her
            =for you gi↑:ve (it) give (it)
4   D:->    >lala< ʕādi    °°ʔiṣbirī°°
            >nono< normal °°wait you (SIG.FEM)°°
            >nono< (it's) alright °°wait°°
5   M:      ʕā↑dī   hā↑ti=rro:l                 lā tabrid
            No↑rmal gi↑ve you(SIG.FEM) the roll³⁰ no be her(INAN.FEM)cold
            (It's) alri↑ght gi↑ve(me) the roll (so it won't) be cold
6           (5.0)³¹
```

---

³⁰ Pizza cutter

³¹ This is an audio data, hence, the lack of visuals. However, it is evident that Mayar does take the roll and cut the pizza through her turn in later lines when she complains to the waiter when he returns to the table:

```
   44 M:    mafrū::ḍinniKimga↑ṭṭiʕhā↑ mātšū:fni kinni ʔagaṭṭiʕ ðibīḥa↑h
            Shou::ld you cu↑t he↑r (fem.sig) not see: me like I cut steak
            You shou::ld('ve) cu↑t it (do)n't(you)see: me(it's)like I('m)cut(ting a large piece
            of)steak
```

Mayar offers to slice the pizza instead of her sister. Deema refuses the offer to help with an immediate doubled *la* (=no). Like the previous examples, her resistance is produced in a preferred manner. It is produced turn-initially and without mitigation and has all the features of a preferred response. It has no accounts as it is not in any way elaborated, it has explicitly stated components that are short and to the point. In turn, the offerer in line 5 insists on the offer by minimizing the effect the offer has on her by producing ʕā↑dī (=it's alri↑ght). The acceptance of the offer at the end of the sequence is treated as the dispreferred response, for it is not explicitly produced. There is also no acceptance of any form from the recipient. Mayar does take it, cut it and starts to pass slices to the other people on the table.

This initial examination of the data shows that there are a number of differences in the preference organization of offers in English and Saudi Arabic. Furthermore, that what is considered as a single case in English, such as the initial refusal of an offer of the last piece of cake, is actually a recurrent phenomenon in Arabic. From this data set it appears that Saudi offers are initially resisted, and this resistance is produced in a preferred manner: directly and without delay. Also, the offers in these sequences are insisted upon with a reissuing of the offer verbally (Lama reissuing her offer by minimizing it), or both verbal and nonverbal insistence (Khalid insisting on taking the coffee pot from Awwad), or simply just doing what is offered (Mayar taking the pizza cutter from her sister). Even after this insistence, the offers are only accepted implicitly and reluctantly, because an immediate acceptance with no form of resistance would often be perceived as inappropriate in Arabic. As my data show, there may be still an orientation to accept the offer overall, but only after strongly rejecting it at first.

In all three examples, the offerers do not adhere to the rejection. They insist on it and eventually do what they offered. The rejection is treated as a *pro forma* rejection which requires insistence, since in all three cases, offerers do *not* back down in the face of this emphatically expressed resistance. The rejection is treated as the default response for the

recipient of the offer which is produced with preferred features. While the acceptance is produced with dispreferred features it is done implicitly or even never produced. Hence, this *pro forma* rejection delays the inappropriate immediate acceptance and disrupts contiguity with the offer. This is similar to what Schegloff (2007b) calls "a not-uncommon package of agreement +disagreement". In Arabic, however, it is the opposite; it is the package format of *disagreement + agreement* as a way of breaking contiguity. When Arabic recipients do this, and use this format of immediate emphatic rejections as a response to an offer, the acceptance, that is the "real (i.e., the interactionally consequential)" SPP (70), is done as only a modification or as an exception to the initial preferably produced rejection. Consequently, they only accept the offer after having vigorously rejected it.

The other group of rejected offers in my dataset are ones that are similarly resisted initially with preferred features, and are even insisted upon just like the latter group. However, there is a key difference, the rejection is eventually adhered to and the offer is not performed.

3.2.2 Definitive rejections

I will start this section off with an example of a rejected offer where we see Kinda's offer in line 4 is met with a flat-out rejection with multiplied *las* (=nos) (line 5). The features of preferred responses are similarly prominent in this rejection: it is unmitigated, unelaborated, and comes after a single beat of silence:

(4) [AbuAbah: 14-4-3: 34:50]

(Meera had surgery and her friends are over to visit. Fairly early in the visit Meera mentions that she has a check-up appointment tomorrow. This sequence occurs while Kinda, one of the visitors, is getting ready to leave after checking on her friend)

```
 4   K:     Tabīnniy              ?arūḥ  maʕak=iddiktūr?
            You(SIG.FEM) want me  go     with you(SIG.FEM) the doctor?
            (Do) you want me to go to the doctor with you?
 5   M:->   la la la
            No no no
 6   K:     meta betruḥīn,        ?iṣṣabāḥ?
            When will go you(SIG.FEM), the morning?
            When will you go, The morning?
```

```
7    M:->   la la aaaa
            No no aaaa
8    K:     tara     mā ʕindi    šayy  ʔashā::r=ʔale::n=ilfajir
            Tara(EXP)not with me thing I sta::y up till dawn
            Tara I (have) nothing (to do) I stay up till dawn
9           (.)
10          sabiʕ(.)t̲imān
            seven (.) eight
11   M:     la bukra    madrī   šiftī (.)          nādir byidji
            No tomorrow not know see you(SIG.FEM)(.)Nadir will come
            No tomorrow (I don't) know you see (.) Nadir (is) coming
12   H:     yū:m=inkum  btasharūn le:š=itrūḥūn?
            DAY YOU(PL) stay late why  go you(PL)?
            SINCE YOU(are)staying (up)late why(are) you leaving (then)?
```

The rejection in both turns (lines 5 and 7) has features of preferred turns. The way it is produced - with immediate rejecting *las* (=nos)- is similar to the *pro forma* rejection discussed above. This leads the offerer to push back in the face of rejection and insist on helping her friend. She displays her insistence on the offer by moving on to ask about what time the appointment is (line 6). Yet, this candidate answer question is responded to again with the same form of rejection: a singular TCU of multiple *las* (line 7). This declination has all the features of preferred response due to its directness, contiguity, and because it is followed with no form of elaboration. Yet, Kinda insists on her offer (line 8); and in pursuit of acceptance she formulates her insistence by minimizing the costs by giving reference to that she is free. This third try gets a single no and an expansion in the form of an account by mentioning that her husband, Nadir, will be there with her (line 11). After this account, the offerer withholds her insistence and the following turns carry no more reference to the offer[32].

Similarly, in the following sequence, the offer is initially rejected with multiple *las* (=nos) and as the sequence unfolds the rejection is adhered to by the offerer. It is between two contestants who are working together in the kitchen:

---

[32] A third party intervenes (line 10) and complains about Kinda leaving so early. I left this in the transcript to show that there are no more insistence turns.

(5) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 6:51]

(Two men are in the kitchen cooking. Awwad *is at the sink peeling carrots. Khalid just finished what he is doing at the cooking pot, closes the lid and looks at* Awwad*. Khalid moves in really close with his arm stretched to take the carrot peeler from* Awwad*)*


```
12  K:      hāt  hāt  hāt  ?ana ?agaššir hāt [hāt    hāt
            Give Give Give  I    peel      give [give give
13  AW->                                      [la↑ kammil=
                                              [no↑ finish=
                                             [no↑ finish=
14          =kammil=ixyārik        ?ant
            =finish cucumber yours you (SIG.MASC)
            =you finish your cucumber
15          ((AW moves his shoulder forward protecting his carrot plate
16          and then gives K more cucumbers))
17  K:      bāgī?
            Left?
            (There are some) left?
18  AW:     ?ī::h bāgi
            Ye::s left
            Ye::s (there are some) left
19          ((K takes the cucumbers and starts cutting them))
```

Khalid offers to help Awwad in peeling the carrots in line 1. His offer is produced in a multiplied, imperative format that will be examined in depth in the following chapters. The recipient rejects it with an immediate *la* which is produced alongside of the nonverbal, as the recipient blocks the offerer's movements with his shoulder as he, the offerer, moves in to grab the peeler from him (lines 4-5). Yet, the rejection is not formed of just a stand-alone *la*. Since, in the same turn, 'la' is followed with a request of the offerer's help to cut the cucumbers instead (lines 2-3). Despite this request, the rejection itself is produced in a preferred manner. Similar to what happens in excerpt (4), the offerer does not insist any further; he simply accepts the rejection as it is and does not treat it as a *pro forma*.

Features that denote this kind of emphasis in both initial rejection and the subsequent insistence is portrayed by the participant through a number of features whether verbal or nonverbal. For instance, emphasized turns can occur immediately and usually in overlap with the previous turn, they can sometimes be produced faster than their surroundings, or they can produced as repeated dual TCUs or even sometimes multiplied more than three times. Also, emphasis can be shown through the participants' nonverbal behaviour. This is clear when an offerer diplays his/her insistance through moving in towards the recipient to take an item from his/her hand.

Rejection turns in this subsection are treated as definitive rejections, whether they are insisted upon (excerpt 4) or not (excerpt 5), the offerer ceases to insist at some point in the development of the sequence. Unlike the previous subsection of *pro forma* rejections, he/she does not just do the offer without waiting for a verbalized acceptance. In the section on *pro forma* rejections, we find that the offerers negotiate, insist on their offers and implement them regardless of this emphatic rejection. Yet in this section, although they may at the beginning treat it as a *pro forma* rejection and insist, they do *not* implement their offer regardless of the resistance they face. They do not view the rejection here as *pro forma* which should not be adhered to; they treat it as an actual rejection that stops their insistence on the offer. In the following two chapters, I will explain the difference between these two types of sequences; especially *when* and *how* offerers treat these displays of resistance as either a *pro forma* rejection or an actual, definitive rejection. However, before moving on to this, I need to present the very rare instances where an offer is verbally accepted with no initial resistance preceding it. In this data, I find that resistances produced with preferred features is the most recurrent pattern, while initial acceptances are, by contrast, extremely rare.

3.3 Initially-accepted offers

Immediate acceptances after offers are rare. Also, when they *do* occur, they are produced
with dispreferred features. For instance, in the following offer sequence, Ahmad is making
burgers and offers to make Hamad one:

(6) [ABYG2-DAY15-AftrIsha1: 01:23]

*(Ahmad is making himself a burger since most of the contestants said they do not want to
have dinner. While he was making it, Hamad comes along and and points out that he,
Hamad, made Ahmad a burger the other day. He says this in an audibly jocular way and
his comment initiates an offer from Ahmad)*


```
 1          ((A pulls tissues and wipes the wet frying pan))
 2   H:     ehheh hh w=anā msawwī::lik            ðī:kilmarrah↑
            Ehheh hh and I ma::de for you (SIG.MASC) tha:t once↑
            Ehheh hh and I ma::de (one) for you tha:t (other) time↑
 3          ((A stops pulling tissues and looks at H who looks at him;
 4          Figure 3.2))
 5   A:     >tabī            wałłah?<
            >Want you(SIG.MASC) wallah (EXP. I swear)?<
            >(Do) you want wallah (I mean it)?<
 6          (1.5)
 7   A:     tabī?
            Want you (SIG.MASC)?
            (Do) you want?
 8          ((H moves his gaze to the frying pan. A pulls another tissue
            and resumes his wiping))
 9          (0.5)
10   A:     tabī::?            ʕa↑š[a:nasawwīlik
            WANT YOU::(SIG.MASC)? s↑[o I make for you(SIG.MASC)
            (DO) YOU:: WANT? s↑[o I(can) make for you
11          ((A removes the tissue to the right of the counter))
12   H: ->                    [aaa
13      -> ʔī:: aa ʔīh sawwlī    saww- hāða wīššū hāða?
            ye:: aa yes make for me ma-   this what  this?
            ye:: aa yes make for me ma- what (is) this?
14          ((H points at something in the frying pan))
```

Figure 3.2 Frame representing Ahmad looking at Hamad, line 3-4

The first offer in line 5 is met with a significant delay of 1.5 seconds pause, during which the recipient is looking directly at the offerer without replying (lines 3-4; Figure 3.2). In pursuit of a response, Ahmad initiates repair twice. Firstly, in line 7 by dropping the utterance *wallah* but still keeping the format of the interrogative offer *tabī?* (=do you want?). Secondly, in line 10, which is an upgraded phonetic form; it is higher in volume and has an elongated subject pronoun suffix *tabī::* (=DO YOU:: WANT) (line 10). The first two offers (lines 5 and 7) are both met with silence; it is only at the third offer (line 10) that Hamad produces an audible response (lines 12-13). This silence is a form of delay used by speakers to break the contiguity of the FPP and the SPP. Since a preferred SPP is usually delivered after a single beat of silence with no turn internal delays, this beat of silence is considered within the norm for transition between turns. In contrast, a dispreferred response is usually not done contiguously (Sacks, 1987 [1973]); a delay can come in the form of a gap between the two turns and breaks the contiguity because he does not start the responding turn "on time" (Schegloff, 2007b:67). Similarly here, Hamad's response is not given contiguously; the transition space between the FPP and the SPP is overlong (line 6 and 9), as he takes longer time in producing his acceptance.

Meanwhile, the beginning of this delayed turn, which is not produced until after the third offer, is produced in this format: *aaa ʔī:: aa ʔīh* (=aaa ye:: aa yes). First, it is occupied with the pre-pausal *aaa* that comes in overlap (line 12). Its position at the beginning of the turn delays the acceptance with the fully formed *ʔīh* (=yes). Second, when the acceptance is produced, the *ʔī::h* (=yes) component is auditorily obscured, because the *ʔī::* (=ye::) is

missing the *h* sound at the end. So, it is only after the second pre-pausal *aa* that the fully-formed *ʔīh* (=yes) is audible. With the production of the pre-pausals, Hamad displays another practice that breaks contiguity. It is done through the turn-initial delay of the turn where the beginning of the response turn becomes occupied with 'something' other than SPP itself. Although it may seem a small addition, these delays are a sign of dysfluency which signifies that these instances of the action are reluctantly performed (Schegloff, 2007b:67)[33].

In the following excerpt, the contestants are in the living room and Abu Abdulkareem (the boss) is in the kitchen. Days earlier, they were told by the host of the show that one of their upcoming challenges would be to mount an anti-smoking campaign. Mohammad, in line 1 raises the question of whether the campaign is set for this week. He directs his question to Sultan by summoning him before launching his question. It is crucial to report that Sultan has been assigned to be the leader for today by Abu Abdulkareem. Thus, ideally, as leader for the day and Abu Abdulkareem's deputy, Sultan should be in the know if there is actually a campaign this week and when it is scheduled to be but he does not give a straight answer (lines 3-6).

(7) [ABYG2-DAY15-AFTR ISHA1: 13:25]


```
1   M:   ʔubuḥme::d (.)fīh                  ḥammlah? (.) hāða=lʔusbū::ʕ?
         AbuHme::d  (.)in him (INAN.MASC) campaign?(.)this  the wee::k?
         AbuHme::d³⁴ (.) (there is a) campaign? (.) this wee::k?
2        ((M points downwards with his index finger as he says 'this week'))
3   S:   ʔīh (.)a::: madri                  yi::: ʔū:: *a:::*=
```

```
         Yes (.)a::: madri (EXP. I don't know) yi::: an::d *a:::*=
         Yes (.)a::: madri yi::: an::d *a:::*=
4        =ʔil::a:: *a::* ba:gi  mā:  kallamna  fī:hā        ʔabuʕabdilkirīm
         =the::e:: *a::* sti:ll no:t talked us i:n her(INAN.FEM)AbuAbdulkareem
         =the::e:: *a::*sti:ll we(have)no:t talked(about)it(with)AbuAbdulKareem
5        (.)
6        ḥamlat  hāða=lʔusbūʕ      mā=kallā[mnah
         campaign of this the week not talked [us him
         this week('s)campaign we(have) not talked [[(to) him
7    M:                                           [ṭayyib=
                                                  [Alright=
8        =sajjil=ilʔirbiʕa    ḥamla    ʕindik=ušūf=
         =schedule Wednesday campaign at you(SIG.MASC)and see=
         =schedule (the) campaign (for) Wednesday and see if=
9        =ʔabuʕabdilkirīm ʔiðā [yasmaḥ willa
         =Abu Abdulkareem if   [allow  or no
         =Abu Abdulkareem (would) [allow (it) or not
10   S:                       [ʔilirbiʕa?
                              [Wednesday?
11       (.)
12   M:   willa xalnī::   ʔana: barūḥ  ʔasʔaleh [ ( )
         or    let me::  I     will go ask him  [(  )
13       ((M hits his knees gently with his open palms as he stands up;
14       Error! Reference source not found.))
15   S:   *ṭay-*              aa jaī  jaī ʔabuʕabdilkirīm ja-
         *ṭay-(EXP. All right)* aa come come Abu AbdulKareem ja-
         *ṭay-* aa(he will be)along (in a minute) Abu AbdulKareem ja-
16       ((M leaves the room))
```


Figure 3.3 Frame representing Mohammad standing and leaving the room, lines 16-17

Sultan is the leader for the day, so this is why he is appealed to by Mohammad to answer the question in line 1. However, Sultan does not give a direct answer because he produces a turn-initial agreement token *ʔīh* (=yes) which is expanded with an audible *a:::* that leads to a self-initiated self-repair when he produces the word *madri* (=I don't know). It also becomes clearer that progressivity has come to a halt when he produces incomplete utterances, such as, *yi::: ʔū:: *a:::* =ʔil::a:: *a::** (for more on preference for progressivity in English interaction see Stivers & Robinson, 2006). He finally accounts for his lack of answer by

saying he has not yet talked to Abu Abdulkareem about it (lines 4-6). This lack of information given to Mohammad is not a good sign for Sultan of the efficiency and scheduling skills the contestants are rated for. According to the rules of the program, one of the leader's tasks is to keep track of the schedule and its activities. It can also be said that Mohammad's question has put Sultan in a difficult position as he has failed to answer. As a response to this hesitation from the leader, Mohammad proposes that Wednesday should be the date for the campaign (lines 7-8). However, the proposal is met with a potential resistance with Sultan's next-turn repair initiator (line 10). In the face of this resistance, Mohammad repairs out of his proposal by using *willa* (=or) which modifies the course of the action. This or-prefaced repair substitutes one action for another (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2015), that is, the substitution of the proposal action (line8) to an offer action (line 12).

The offer in this sequence is in the imperative format *xalnī::* (=let me::). Mohammad proposes himself as the benefactor, and Sultan, the struggling leader, as the beneficiary as he takes it upon himself to go and ask Abu Abdulkareem for the answer which eventually will assist in resolving Sultan's dilemma. It is potentially a response to a struggle Sultan is facing. Although it also may be in the offerer's self-interest as he is the one who initiated the talk about the campaign in the first place, it is still an offer to assist Sultan in his struggle in producing the answer. In addition, the offer is produced verbally and nonverbally in a way which does not wait for a response; since, when he produces his offer, Mohammad does not wait for an acceptance before he stands up to leave the room and asks Abu Abdulkareem (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

Similar to the prior example, this offer is not met with immediate rejection. Alternatively, the recipient initiates a repair on the turn-initial word *ṭay-* that is headed to the word *ṭayyb* (=alright). He repairs out of an immediate acceptance and produces the pre-pausal *aa*. After the delay with the pre-pausal, he does not reproduce an accepting term. However, he repetitively points out that Abu Abdulkareem is coming any minute now which is a form of

resistance nonetheless. He cuts off the third repeated verb at the end of the turn *ja-* as the offerer leaves the room despite the resistance (line 16; **Error! Reference source not found.**). So, this repair from an immediate acceptance shows that recipients may try to avoid outright initial acceptances of an offer. The pre-pausal delays the production of the turn; however, even with this, an explicit acceptance is never produced. Also, the offerer himself does not wait for an explicit acceptance and simply leaves the room before its production. In other words, what goes on in response to the offer in line 18 is the start of an acceptance which the speaker first backs out of and then shifts to a *pro forma* rejection which is not adhered to by the offerer.

This chapter attempts to illustrate, through the analysis of talk-in-interaction, that although there are some cross-cultural similarities between Arabic and English in the preference organization of offers, there are also dissimilarities. Universally, it is relevant that an offer is responded to with either an acceptance or a rejection. Also, despite the initial rejection in Arabic, accepting an offer is ultimately preferred overall, similarly to English. So, the general norms for the promotion of affiliation between the FPP and SPP appear to be universal (Clift, 2016: 167). Where the dissimilarities occur is in the organization of these responses to the offers. Since the established findings for English suggest that, put crudely, positive answers come fast while negative answers comes slowly, the findings for Arabic are somewhat different. Recurrently in this Arabic data we see that initial resistance mostly vehement in its production, is regularly preferred as a response to offers despite ultimately being accepted. Therefore, the preference structure for Arabic is different; the empirical skewing is socially towards immediate rejection. In an Arabic context, offers are mostly:

1. Resisted initially before being accepted after insistence
2. Resisted initially but not accepted (even after insistence)

In both situations, the rejection is initial in its production and performed in a preferred manner. While acceptances-if they do occur- are done reluctantly and implicitly.

This study examines different Saudi Arabic sequential trajectories and recurrent patterns of offer sequences. Unlike the offer action itself, responses to offers, whether acceptance or rejection, have not been studied in depth. In his lecture on preference for agreement, Sacks (1987 [1973]) lists offers in a group of actions that prefer an agreement. Moreover, Schegloff, (2007b) states that acceptances after an offer are preferred and rejections are dispreferred. He present that this is embodied in the different practices by which these alternative responses are formed. However, he presents a single case in English where an initial refusal of an offer is preferred, that is, when a recipient rejects an offer for the last piece of pie. Therefore, my data gives evidence that what is considered as a single case in English is actually a recurrent phenomenon in Arabic. Saudi offers are initially resisted, and this resistance is produced in a preferred manner: directly and without delay. The offers in these sequences are insisted upon and even after this insistence, they are only accepted implicitly and reluctantly, because an immediate acceptance with no form of resistance would often be perceived as inappropriate in Arabic. This is presented in the comparison between the few numbers of instances where an offer is initially accepted to the relatively larger number of cases where offers are met with an initial rejection (see section 3.3). Moreover, in the cases where immediate acceptances do occur, my data shows that the acceptance is produced with dispreferred features and delayed in its response (excerpt 6 section 3.3), and in excerpt (7) in section3.1 the immediate acceptance is never fully produced as the recipient does a self-repair on the acceptance and does not subsequently accept the offer explicitly.

The initial rejection in a Saudi Arabic offer is treated as a *pro forma* rejection which requires insistence; offerers do *not* back down in the face of this emphatically expressed resistance. The rejection is treated as the default response for the recipient of the offer which is produced with preferred features. While the acceptance is produced with dispreferred features it is done implicitly or even never produced. Hence, this *pro forma* rejection delays the inappropriate immediate acceptance and disrupts contiguity with the offer. This is similar to what Schegloff

(2007b) calls "a not-uncommon package of agreement +disagreement". In Arabic, however, it is the opposite; it is the package format of *disagreement + agreement* as a way of breaking contiguity. When Arabic recipients do this, and use this format of immediate emphatic rejections as a response to an offer, the acceptance, that is the "real (i.e., the interactionally consequential)" SPP (70), is done as only a modification or as an exception to the initial preferably produced rejection. Consequently, they only accept the offer after having vigorously rejected it.

In Arabic it is clear that acceptances are ultimately preferred. For example, the offered tea is drunk (excerpt 1), the coffee is poured by the offerer (excerpt 2), and the pizza is sliced by the offerer (excerpt 3). All of this is done without an explicit SPP of verbal acceptance. Yet, this implicit acceptance is move fostering social solidarity as it promotes the progressivity of the sequence despite its implicitness. Furthermore, acceptance produced in a dispreferred manner *is* a solidary move; it is not being produced with preferred features which would be inappropriate in the Saudi community. Consequently, with the production of the initial resistance which carries most features of preferred responses, the Saudi Arabic speaker is also maintaining the act of social solidarity by following the preference organization of Arabic offer sequences. Therefore, both participants display orientation to the preference organization followed in Arabic offer sequences. They treat this initial rejection as an invitation to re-offer (see Taleghani-Nikazm, 1998 for Persian); a *pro forma* rejection that will eventually lead to the ultimately preferred acceptance. That is, by meeting the offer with rejection, the Arabic speaker is maintaining the act of social solidarity as it is perceived in their culture.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, sequences are the vehicles by which participants accomplish a certain activity; and in English, an immediate acceptance of the offer displays and favours the accomplishment of this activity. Hence, it is the preferred response because it is designed to establish the alignment between the two turns (Schegloff, 2007b). However,

in Arabic, there is also an alignment in the immediate rejection through which the recipient displays that he/she does not want to burden the offerer in any way. At the same time, he/she gives the offerer a chance to insist on his/her offer or simply performing it. This chance to insist is beneficial as it is a way for the offerer to display his/her generosity. Thus, the production of an immediate and explicit acceptance opposes this social solidarity. This is clear in the two examples that lack an immediate rejection: the accepted offer in excerpt (6) is produced with dispreferred features and delayed in its response, or as in excerpt (7) the immediate acceptance is never fully produced as the recipient does a self-repair on *ṭay-* and does not subsequently accept the offer explicitly.

The data chosen gives an overview of the way offers are responded to in a Saudi Arabic speech community. On the whole, these rejections are produced not just in a preferred manner, but are emphatic in their production, as in examples (1) to (5). Most Arabic offers are met with immediate rejection. Yet, after the immediate rejection it is negotiable whether it is indeed a definitive rejection or a *pro forma* rejection. Thus, it is up to the offerer to *insist* and do his/her offer despite the rejection (examples 1 to 3), or accept the rejection and withhold his/her insistence at some point in the sequence (examples 4 and 5). How does this happen? How can we explain the rationale behind these different trajectories? What does the offerer orient to in the context that allows for the treatment of the rejection as *definitive* or simply *pro forma*?

To answer these questions, I need to reintroduce the concept of sequential position and how turns are constructed within sequences. The relationship between the two parts of the adjacency pair is essential to understanding the type of action. Since the offer is the FPP of the adjacency pair it expects a response from the recipient, and the response is standardly produced as a rejection with the features of preferred turns. The offerer is then in the position of accepting the rejection or re-issuing an offer. Sacks (1992) notes that the relationship of adjacency between utterances is the basic structural position; the speaker's current turn shows

his/her analysis of the prior turn. Sacks's observation "provides some essential traction on the notion of sequential position" (Clift, 2016: 69). The formats of these initial rejections are similar, whether or not they are ultimately revealed to be *pro forma* rejections or definitive rejections. The following table charts the five rejections used in this chapter. The first three are the ones treated by the offerers as *pro forma* rejections, while the following two are actual rejections. The resistance turn is similarly formed by multiple and single *las* (=nos), and gives no indication of how the rejection will be treated:

	The Offer	The Response
1	*ʔarūḥ ʔjybišš↑āhi* (=I'll go get the t↑ea)	>*la la*< (=>no no<)
2	>*xallah.*< *baṣib ʕa↑nk* (=>Leave it.< I will pour instead of y↑ou)	>*la↑ la↑*< (=>No↑ no↑<)
3	*ʔagaṭṭiʕhā lik hā:↑tīha* (=Ӏ cut it for you gi↑:ve it)	>*lala*< (=>Nono<)
4	*tabīnniyarūḥ maʕakiddiktūr?* (=Do you want me to go to the doctor with you?)	*La la la* (=No no no)
5	*hāt hāt hāt ʔana ʔagaššir hāt* (=Give give give I peel give)	*la↑* (=no↑)

Therefore, the identifying whether a rejection is a *pro forma* or not, is negotiated across the ensuing sequence, and it becomes clear by means of its sequential position. This strengthens the point that actions are constructed across a sequence rather than hosted in a single turn (Clift, 2016). Likewise the sequential context makes the utterance '*What are you doing*' an invitation, request or a challenge despite the similar form (for further details see section 2.2.2.2). So, it is clear that these turns which consist of single or multiple *las* perform different actions according to their sequential environment. This sequential environment enables the Arabic offerer to hear the recipient's rejection either as a *pro forma* which is negotiable or as a definitive rejection which is final.

In this Saudi Arabic context, this subsequent negotiation after an offer is contingent on certain elements. The coming chapters explains how these elements affect the way participants manage an offer in Arabic: first, by examining the role of the participants' identities and how they categorize themselves by orientating to membership domains; and second, by discovering how these participants display their distribution of authority and ownership. Both

identity distinctions are achieved by sub-categorizing the data according to the sequential position of the offer itself and the way it is formatted; whether declaratively, interrogatively or imperatively.

Chapter 4 **Membership categories in identity construction**

4.1 Introduction

A solid basis has been established for the notion of orientation to identity in analysing talk-in-interaction earlier in this thesis; for this orientation to identity is a resource for interpreting utterances. In this chapter, I examine orientations to identity categories; one relating to hosting and one relating to age, and we can see that orientation to particular identity categories is more salient in Arabic interaction than in English. This is in line with Sacks's work on membership categories which examines various social inferences and the knowledge systems that underlie them. In this chapter I examine a number of interactional fragments that relate to the positioning of participants as host and guest respectively, and I will refer to them here in short as *host-guest sequences*. Another category of sequences that I examine is age-related sequences, which deal with seniority, and I will refer to them here as *age-oriented sequences*. Through these two categories, I will show how orientation to identity categories shapes action recognisability and how Saudi Arabic participants accomplish this across sequences.

As has been established in the methodology, membership categorization varies; a 'stranger' can be characterized as a 'therapist'; 'a forty-eight-year-old man' could, for example, be characterized as a 'caller', a 'parent', or a 'taxi driver'. Selecting one of the categories or attributes over the other clearly reproduces the ideologies of a culture (Clift, 2016). For example, choosing to treat someone as a 'guest' rather than a 'son-in-law', or choosing to call someone 'older' rather than a 'fellow contestant' display different domains of rights and obligations specific to this culture. There are specific cultural inferences about every category. For example, a '*guest's*' reaction to a simple offer may differ according to the

culture they are from due to what may be inferred about, and expected from, the conduct appropriate to them. For instance, whether it is appropriate for a guest to initially refuse the offer in general, as in Arabic, or just refuse an offer of second helpings at dinner, as in English. Also, being categorized as '*older'* or '*younger'* has its own different common-sense knowledge that is applied in interaction in relation to its culture that follows the inferences we draw.

4.2 Offers in host-guest sequences

This group of Saudi Arabic offer sequences are found in what may be called host-guest sequences. It is when the host displays his/her hospitality in various ways, as in offering to bring his/her guests food or drink, or to help them in general (e.g., carry their bag to the door or take their coat). The offer in the following excerpt is used in the previous chapter and analysed with respect to Nadir's immediate rejection and implicit acceptance of the offer. Yet, here in this section, I take the analysis further by looking more closely at the participants involved.

(1) [AbuAbah: 13-10-30V029: 19: 15]

(Nader is a guest at his in-laws' house (Lama and Ahmed). Lama here offers to bring the

```
1   L:     (       ) ?arūḥ      ?jyb=išš↑āhi
           (       ) I go        get the te↑a
           (       ) I('ll) go   get the t↑ea
2   N:     >la la< tijībīn              šayy     tak[fe:n
           >no no< bring you(SIG.FEM)   thing    ple:[ase
           >no no< (don't) bring anything ple[ase
3   A:                                           [?illa      jībayy
                                                 [illa(EXP.do)bring you
                                                 (SIG.FEM) him(INAN.MASC)
                                                 [do bring it
4   L:                                           [šāhi
                                                 [tea
5          byālat³⁵      šāhī
           Byalah        of tea
           (just a) cup of tea
6   N:     £šāhi ḥaḍremi wella£
```

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³⁵ A small glass used to drink tea in

```
              £Tea  Hadremy or not£
```
£Hadremy tea or not£
```
7    L:      £ lā:↑ £
              £ no:↑ £
```
£ re:ally↑ £
```
8    N:
```
Thhhheeehh hh h[hh
```
9    A:                  [ʕadani
```
**   [Adeni**
```
10   N:      ʕad- ʔīh ʕada[ni hhhh]hheh
```
Ade- yes Ade[ni hhhh]hheh

This sequence is initiated in the middle of the visit, after the guest (Nader) has already finished his coffee. The hostess in line 1 offers to bring him some tea[36]. Nader rejects the offer with a hasty multiple *las* (=nos), yet, both hosts insist on it. Both insisting turns (lines 3-4) come in early overlap with the rejection which is very significant in displaying the hosts' insistence, and they present two participants aligning to do something. The couple work together to display a binary distinction between hosts and guests, which is resisting the guest's multiple *las*.

The offer *ʔarūḥ ʔjybišš↑āhi* (=I'll go get the t↑ea) is in the declarative form. The offerer is not asking for the recipient's permission and it is not produced as a question FPP that is in need of a response. In this positive declarative way, it is produced as an informing that Nadir treats as an offer. Also, Lama's production of what the guest treats as an offer may be an accounting for her leaving the room (Goodwin, 1987). Therefore, Lama's report can be treated as both an informing or, as the guest treats it, as an offer that is appropriately met in Saudi Arabic with an immediate rejection. In other words, Lama has to inform her companions why she is suddenly leaving the room, yet, with this informing, and by merely mentioning the tea, she has given her guest the possibility to refuse her hospitality. Verbalizing the offer suggests the possibility that the guest may leave without drinking tea;

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[36] It is a common ritual in Saudi Arabia, especially in the central region, that it is proper to first serve coffee to guests upon their arrival, then it may be followed by any other form of hospitality (e.g. a different type of drink, or meal). This is also done on Saudi Airlines flights, where the flight attendants are obliged to pour a finjal of Arabic coffee to the passengers as they settle down in their seats.

and in Arabic culture "a genuine invitation should never include admission of any such possibility" (Harris, 1996:44). As I have shown in the previous chapter, an immediate rejection is routinely the response for an offer, whatever format it happens to come in; and in this situation, it comes in as an informing that does not ask for the recipient's answer. It is a situation where obligations counter obligations, for interactional conventions must be fulfilled; such as, Lama having to account for her leaving the room and Nader having to reject what is hearable as an offer to serve him tea. The rejection here is not accepted or treated as an actual rejection; Lama only insists once, and after responding to the guest's joke, she leaves the room to carry out her offer. The guest's rejection is treated by both hosts as *pro forma* rejection.

The same happens in the sequence below, between a contestant in the show and a guest of the show who has come from outside The House. The following exchange occurs at the end of the visit, as the guest waves and says his goodbyes (line1). Mohammad, one of the contestants, summons the guest by his name (line 4) and offers him dinner with them (line 7). Although this is *not* a 'real house', per se, it is a house nonetheless, conforming to the norms of a standard domestic setting. The contestants are living there, and are therefore responsible for the guests who visit them[37]. Mohammad, being the leader for the day, takes it upon himself to offer the guest to join them at dinner time, thus, positioning himself as a host in this sequence.

(2) [ABYG2-DAY5-AFTRISHA2: 05:52]

(H: Mohammad (host/contestant); G: the guest)
(The guest in this context is an interviewer who comes in to the house and each day he interviews a different contestant. Here, it is the end of his visit, and he is standing at the door of the living room to leave. Around him, are a number of contestants asking him questions about his most recent interview of a fellow contestant.)

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[37] As mentioned in the methodology, the contestants were also given a long speech by Abu Abdulkareem (the boss) in the house about the importance of guests and their hospitality towards them on the first episode. On each day, the boss chooses a contestant and assigns him as a leader who, amongst other duties, is in charge of dealing with outside guests appropriately.

```
1   G:      yalla              nšūfkum
            Yallah(EXP. Alright)we see you (PL.MASC)
            Yallah we (will) see you (later)
2           ((G turns around to leave and waves briefly at the group
3           behind him and turns to leave))
4   H:      yā nā↑ṣir
            O' NA↑SIR38
5           ((M moves hastily towards the guest, and G turns his head
6           to look at him ))
7           taʕaššā maʕnā,   ṭayyib
            Dine    with us, then
8   G:      la la ʔałłah yikaṭṭir xe:rik
            No no god    add      goods your (SIG.MASC)
            No no god add (to) your goods
9           ((G talks from the hall))
10  H:      ṣidg  wałłah¿
            Truth wallah (EXP. I swear)¿
            Seriously wallah (I mean it)¿
11  G:      la la
            No no
12  H:      wałłah šu:f=iššabāb  yijahzūn=ilʕaša
            Wallah look the guys prepare  the dinner
            Wallah look the guys (are) prepare(ing) dinner

            ((OMITTED LINES))
            ((During the omitted lines, G moves further into the
            hallway as H is still insisting on his offer until they
            move away from the range of the camera))
            ((Camera cuts to kitchen, where the following takes place
            9 seconds later))

26  G:      ʕašakum              wuššū?
            Dinner yours (PL.MASC) what?
            What (is) your dinner?
27  H:      Kil=šayy.  (.) mnawwaʕ    (0.2) burgar (.) tūnah
            Everything. (.) diversified (0.2) burger (.) tuna
28          ((Someone passes the guest a glass of juice, he takes it
29          and sits down at the dinner table; Figure 4.1))
```

---

38 The guest's name

Figure 4.1 Frame representing the guest sitting down at the dinner table, line 28-29

Similar to the previous example, the guest refuses immediately with a doubled *la* followed by a religious idiom, *ʔałłah yikaṯṯir xe:rik* (=god add to your goods) (line 8). The offer here is not issued with a declarative format, but with an even more persistent imperative format *taʕaššā maʕnā* (=dine with us) (line 7). He also insists on this offer in line 10, and that is met with another rejection (line 11). As in the last example, the emphatic rejections in both turns are not accepted by the host, instead he insists with a recognizable action of minimizing the burden that the offer represents. With an imperative form *šu:f* (=look) and present verb *yijahzūn* (=preparing), Mohammad establishes that the work and the action of food preparation is underway whether he, the guest, was there or not (line 12); with this, the offerer establishes that the guest will not be a burden to them. Unfortunately, part of the sequence is missing as the two participants move down the hall and out of the living room, where the camera is located. The participants move out of sight of the camera so we lack the visual access but there is a cut to the kitchen camera 9 seconds later. The sequence resumes in line 26 with the guest asking about what type of food they are eating, and in line 29 (Figure 4.1) he accepts the offered juice glass and sits at the dinner table to join them for dinner. The guest does not verbalize the agreement but implicitly accepts the offer by asking what is for dinner and sitting at the table with a glass of juice.

Neither offer in this sequence is a *fait accompli*, as there is no tea (excerpt 1) or food (excerpt 2) that is ready on the table. So, both offers relate to something that is not yet produced; the dinner is still being cooked and not served at the table, and Lama's tea is not on the table but

needed to be made in the kitchen. In both sequences, the offer is met with an immediate rejection produced in a preferred manner and the offer is accepted only after insistence. However, as will be clear from the following examples, in these type of sequences the element of contingency (for more on contingency and entitlement in English requests see Curl & Drew, 2008) seems to have *no* effect on them. The following examples are contingent offers, and follow the same trajectory of implicitly accepting an offer only after the offerer insists on it. Consider the following example; one of the contestants, Sultan, offers to carry a suitcase for their guest. Yet, while the visible actions from the outset project that the offer will be taken up, there is still initial verbal resistance from the recipient:

(3) [ABYG2-DAY4-ASR: 02:18:07]

(SUL: sultan; G: guest)
(The guest is getting ready to leave the building and packing his papers and laptop. One of the contestants, Sultan, comes in and offers to carry the guest's laptop bag)


```
1           ((G is packing up his laptop and papers in his suitcase after
2           the seminar ended))
3           ((S comes in from the left and his right arm points forward as
4           he moves closer to G))
5    S:     Ɂašīl   ʕannek,
            I carry for you (SIG.MASC),
            I('ll) carry (it) for you,
6           ((S is close to G. His hand points to the suitcase))
7    G:     Ɂisterīḫ¿ Ɂisterīḫ¿
            Relax¿    relax¿
8           ((S's arm is still pointing towards the bag))
9    G:     Jazāk                    Ɂałłāh xer
            Rewards you (SIG.MASC) god   good
            God reward you
10          ((S leans forward and his hand is moving to the zipper, but the
11          guest zips it up himself; Figure 4.2))
12   G:     Bārak=ałłāh fīk¿
            Bless god   in you (SIG.MASC)¿
            God bless you¿
13          ((G puts his down away from the bag; Figure 4.2))
14          šukran, Ɂałłah yeʕṭīk=elʕafyah yeʕṭīk=elʕafyah
            Thanks, god   give you(SIG.MASC)     wellness
```

```
            Thanks, god give you wellness give you wellness
15          ((S takes the bag. Then he invites the guest to walk in front
16          of him; Figure 4.2))
17   G:     Jazākumu=llāh           xer
            Reward you (PL.MASC) god good
            God reward you
```


Figure 4.2 Frame representing Sultan taking the bag from the guest

This host-guest sequence happens at the end of the event. Sultan, one of the contestants, offers to carry the guest's case (line 5). Although it is not met with a clear rejection of *las*, the doubled imperative *ʔisterīḥ* (=relax) (line 2) is resistant nonetheless. Sultan puts his hand forward on the case displaying his insistence (line 8). The guest resists this nonverbal insistence as well, and continues zipping his case (line 11). Only by line 17 does Sultan get to perform his offer as the guest implicitly accepts with *ʔłłah yeʕṭīkelʕafyah* (=god give you wellness) and steps away from the case (lines 13-15; Figure 4.2).

The offer is done in the declarative format, as in excerpt (1). The offerer is merely informing the guest that he will carry his bag for him; he is not asking for his permission. Also, the host does not give the guest a chance to reject beyond his initial rejection. The resistance is treated as mere *pro form*a rejection that is not listened to, and the offer is implemented despite its production. Furthermore, this offer is contingent and proximate unlike the previous examples, yet similar to the above, it is rejected and accepted only after insistence. By tracking the embodiment of the guest in line 13 in contrast to the verbalized resistance in line 12, the recipient is doing implicit acceptance by not physically blocking the offerer from taking the bag. At the same time, he is still resisting with *bārakałłāh fīk¿* (=God bless you¿). In other words, talk is doing one thing while the body entirely another. The embodiment in this sequence, projects the outcome of the negotiation. The way that the recipient deals with

the offerer's intrusion to his territory shows no emphatic protective move, such as blocking the offerer with his shoulder or keeping his hand on the bag. He resists verbally but simply moves out of the offerer's way and lets him carry the bag. Similarly to the previous two sequences, the resistance of the offer is not adhered to. The offerer insists on his offer through the nonverbal and he holds his ground and stands very close to the recipient until the latter steps away.

Insisting on the offer and displaying hospitality can go even further, as in the following example, where the guest rejects both choices of coffee and tea, yet still is given one.

(4) [ABYG2-DAY5-AFTRISHA: 53:55]

(G: guest; Saleem: contestant 1/host 1, Rashid: contestant 2/host 2)
(A guest has just arrived into the building and Saleem offers him tea or coffee. On the table, there is a freshly made pot of tea and a coffee pot. However, only tea cups, byalahs, are ready on the table not the coffee cups, finjals)


```
1              ((G sits on a sofa in the middle of the living room))
2    S:    gahwah willa šāhi?
           Coffee or    tea?
3    G:    >la la< maby     la šahy¿ wala gahwah,
           >No la< not want no tea¿ or   coffee,
           >No no< (I do)n't want tea¿ nor coffee,
4    S:    fīh              šāhi¿
           In him (INAN.MASC) tea¿
           (There is)tea¿³⁹
5    G:    bas.             bas.
           Bas. (EXP. enough) bas.
6          ((S moves to the other side of the table and carries the
7          teapot and pours tea))
8    G:    bas bas yā Salīm
           Bas bas o' Saleem
9          ((G raises his LH then drops it to his side ))
10   S:    mātibġa?
           Not want?
           (You do)n't want?
```

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³⁹ Saleem refers to the tea he already has on the table in front of him

```
11              ((S Raises his head and looks to his right where the guest
12              is sitting))
13   G:         ṣibha=lwāḥid              ṭāni   ʕādi
                Pour her (INAN.FEM) for one second alright
                Pour it for someone else (it's) alright
14              ((S finishes pouring and gives the byalah to one of the
15              contestants.
16              ((R, the other contestant, leaves the living room in
17              haste; Figure 4.3))

                ((LINES OMITTED))

34              ((R comes back to the living room with finjals. He moves
35              towards G and pours a cup and offers it to him))
36   G:         dāmek                 ṣabbe:tha
                Since you (SIG.MASC) poured her (INAN.FEM)
                Since you poured it
37              ((The camera returns back to G and we see that he is
38              holding the finjal in his RH; Figure 4.4))
```


Figure 4.3 Frame representing Rashid leaving the room, line 16-17

In this excerpt, the offer in line 1 is achieved through a question. However, it is not about the

recipient's needs or wants, such as *tabi gahwah?* (= do you want coffee?), hence, it is not a

matter of asking for confirmation. It is done through an alternative question where the host

offers the guest a choice of either 'coffee or tea'. This alternative question is not a question

about the guest drinking or not, it only gives him the choice of which beverage to drink. The

offer is proximate; both tea and coffee are on the table. Yet, the offer is rejected with an

emphatic *la* blocking it (line 3) and the offerer insists on him accepting (line 4). Again the

guest rejects it with the stronger ritualistic rejection of *bas* (=enough) (line 5). Nevertheless,

as before, the host acts and pours the tea anyway and does not wait for the acceptance to be

verbalized (lines 6-7).

In this sequence, the guest produces another rejection while the offer has already been implemented (pouring the tea) (lines 6-8); this is unlike the previous excerpts where the guests display implicit forms of acceptance. In excerpt (1) Lama goes to get the tea without waiting for an acceptance and the guest does not stop her but *initiates a new sequence*; in excerpt (2) the guest does not accept verbally but does so by *asking what is for dinner* and *sitting at the dinner table*; and in excerpt (3) Sultan carries the bag of the guest who implicitly accepts through body language (stepping away from the case) and producing a religious phrase of appreciation. This rejection (line 8) - that comes parallel to the pouring action (line 7) - is again formed with the stronger version *bas* (=enough) instead of *la* (=no). Saleem raises his head (line 11) and orients it to the guest; he treats this rejection as a trouble-source turn when he comes in with the other-initiated repair *mātibġa?* (=you don't want?). Since this repair initiation comes after a SPP (the rejection after the offer), it constitutes the beginning of a post-expansion. Because such a repair initiation is itself a FPP and makes a responsive SPP conditionally relevant next, it constitutes the beginning of one type of non-minimal post-expansion (Schegloff, 1996b:149). It is a polar question with a negative polarity *mā* (=not) with the grammatical preference for a *la* (=no); the SPP produced for the questioning FPP is not type-conforming and does not use multiple *las* (=nos) (for grammatical preference in English see Raymond, 2003)). The guest responds by means of an imperative to the host and redirects the poured tea to someone else (line 13). Also, the offerer does not insist further and gives the full byalah to one of the contestants. In line 16 (Figure 4.3), Rashid, another contestant, leaves the room and comes back by carrying a clean set of finjals (line 34). He pours one and offers it to the guest[40] who accepts it with *dāmek ṣabbe:tha* (=since you poured it) and takes the finjal from him (lines 36-38). There appears thus to be a paradox between the two situations: when Saleem pours the tea, the guest still

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[40] Unfortunately in the video you can see the host moving towards the guest with a full finjal, then the camera is on someone else, however you can hear the guest's acceptance of the offer clearly. Also, the camera will get back to them after 3.1 seconds, when we see the guest holding the finjal.

rejects it (line 7-8), but when Rashid pours the coffee the guest accepts it with an utterance that displays mildly forced acceptance (line 36). So, he makes his acceptance of the imposed coffee warrantable with an account. With this acceptance coming after the post-expansion in (lines 10-13), this sequence follows the similar sequential pattern- an offer, rejection, insistence, followed by an implicit acceptance.

Figure 4.4 Frame representing the guest holding the finjal, lines 37-38

This sequence, and the previous ones, point to the fact that, in Saudi Arabic host-guest sequences, if one is *doing being a good host* (Sacks, 1992: 296), he/she should not let a rejection override his/her offer. Saleem's (the first host) acceptance of the rejection, and his not insisting more than he does in line 4 and in line 10, is not the norm. Nevertheless, the examination of this specific data gives us evidence of the rationale behind this lack of insistence from Saleem. There is a key element in which this sequence differs from the others, which is the lexical formation of the offer. The alternative question gives the recipient a choice between two drinks; it is not asking for a yes/no response. As has been established, in talk-in-interaction one turn may shape the production of what comes next. So, it seems that the form of the offer question (line 2) does not change the recipient's rejection response, but it does shape the host's insistence. The existence of the element of the second choice shapes the host's conduct and he does not move in closer to give the tea to the guest; because when the guest refuses the tea that the host has poured (line 13), there still is the coffee that he may implicitly accept (lines 36-37). Thus, the lack of insistence here can be the cause of the rejection of the tea choice *not* the offer as a whole. Alternatively, this has been fixed by the other host, Rashid, when he offers him the coffee. In interactional terms, the guest's use of

the rejecting emphatic *la* (=no) instead of simply choosing between the two drinks possibly "serves as a resource for such interactional business as the proferring of identity of self and situation" (Jefferson, 1974). It can convey, in a Saudi context, that it is not merely a guest rejecting hospitality, but that this is the sort of guest who does not bother his host by not even choosing from the two contingent drinks in front of them and rejecting them. One can propose that the guest is displaying the notion that 'I hear you asking me to choose between two drinks. I will reject both. I will reject the first one, although it has been poured, then I will accept the second choice when it is poured for me, as this is the appropriate thing to do'.

All in all, this sequence displays how there is very little room for negotiation in host-guest offer sequences. Although commonly it is met with vigorous refusal, this refusal is met with equally vigorous insistence from the offerer and so the refusal is standardly overridden. The offering host treats the rejection as *pro forma* carrying all the features of a preferred response. This rejection precedes the eventual acceptance which is not explicitly articulated after the hosts' insistence. It is proved in the guests not accepting the offer explicitly in all four prior examples: in excerpt (1) the guest initiates a new sequence, in excerpt (2) he asks what is for dinner as he sits at the dinner table, in excerpt (3) he steps away from the case as he produces a blessing-type formula, and in excerpt (4) he does not even choose but strongly rejects the first offer then accepts the second offer while providing an account for his acceptance.

This analysis shows that participants demonstrate their orientations to particular categories in both their action and interactional positioning. They are all *host-guest* sequences; they are sequences in which someone positions themselves as a host and their recipient positions themselves as a guest. It is where offers are imposed and their ultimate acceptance is nonnegotiable. This is foreshadowed as soon as the offer is produced, for we see the offer is produced either declaratively or imperatively. For example, *ʔarūḥ ʔjybišš↑āhi* (=I'll go get the tea) (excerpt 1), *taʕaššā maʕnā* (=dine with us) (excerpt 2), and *ʔašīl ʕannik* (=I'll carry it for you) (excerpt 3). These forms are presented in a way to display the offerer's intention

of insistence before even the production of the refusal. The format of the offers show they are not contingent on the recipient's response, for whether it is rejected or not the informing offer will be performed. Thus, as in the above excerpts, the vigorous refusal does not succeed in preventing the offer from being acted upon. As for the recipient, regardless of his/her emphatic verbal refusal, he/she displays his/her orientation that the offer will be carried out through his/her nonverbal. There is a clear contrast between the verbalized resistance and the nonverbal conduct; the embodiment - just like the formatting of the offer - project the outcome of how the negotiation will unfold. As can be seen in excerpt (3), where the recipient resists verbally but simply moves out of the offerer's way and lets him carry the bag. Thus, these Saudi Arabic offer sequences are minimally subjected to negotiation, and little attention is paid to the vigorous rejection; since definitive rejection is not an option, and ultimately guests *must* have something to drink despite that rejection. Therefore, all of this is an orientation to the rules of culture and the common knowledge invoked when the offerer and the recipient are acquiring the 'host' and 'guest' identities.

In addition, we can detect the workings of Harvey Sacks's membership categorisation device, through which we organize our knowledge of categories and generate social inferences about them. Since, as Sacks (1992: 226) notes, "culture is an apparatus for generating recognizable actions", it is one of the ways in which analysts examine sequences; displaying how this orientation to identity is accomplished across these host-guest sequences. It may be the reason behind the offerers' treatment of the rejection as just *pro forma*. One interpretation is that it is the status of the offerer visibly being a host through his hospitality toward a guest who arrived at the house. Besides, with his/her rejection, a guest displays that he/she does not want to burden his/her host. He/she produces a type of *pro forma* rejection which delays the acceptance response. This ultimate accepting SPP gets done as an exception or a modification of an initial rejecting response. So, it is as if this rejection is a convention upon being offered something. Consequently, as Sacks (1992: 595) puts it, its seeability as a *pro forma* rejection

turns on the possibility of seeing him/her as a 'guest' for that activity. Hence, in these sequences, it is an essential interpretative resource to generate a category of identity. In the Saudi Arabic culture, these two categories, the 'host' and 'guest', are inference rich. When they are applied to a sequence, this produces a knowledge of common-sense that one is expected to have. Some of these inferences are:

- A host offers his/her hospitality to his/her guest
- The guest rejects the offer, so as not to burden the host
- The host has to insist on his/her offer
- The host does not wait for an explicit acceptance, but acts on his/her offer
- It is improper not to force the offer on the guest[41]

Sacks's rule of consistency in MCD states that if a participant is categorized as an individual by reference to a certain collection, the other participant in the same context should be categorized in the same collection. For example, 'host' and 'guest' are both heard as categories from the same collection. This follows our first judgment when one sees, in the previous examples, the co-participant offering the guest as a host. Additionally, these are, as have been mentioned in the methodology, "relational pairs" (Sacks, 1972:37); they are related to each other through the activity of giving help, and this bonds them with responsibility. In the Saudi host-guest sequences, when a participant offers, he/she formulates their relationship with the other participant as his host/ess. Also, if he/she accepts the guest's rejection, it shows no responsibility for him/her, but insisting on it and acting on his/her offer does the opposite. It displays them as a 'host' with duties towards their guests.

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[41]A lot can happen if one is not familiar with this common-sense knowledge in Saudi Arabic culture. An incident happened when I first got married and started having guests over. A middle-aged lady came over and I offered her tea, and she rejected the offer. I, being young and inexperienced, accepted her rejection, sat down and started a conversation. After a while, my mother came in and exclaimed "why does the guest not have a drink?", and the guest complained by responding to my unimpressed mother, "she is not eager to offer me anything"

4.2.1 Offers in host-guest sequences which prefer acceptance

Before moving on to the second membership category which affects the recognition of the SPP rejection in the offer sequence, it might be advantageous to know that there is an exception to guests' immediate rejection of the offer. In Arabic host-guest offer sequences there is a situation in which the offer is standardly immediately accepted. So, in general, as shown in the previous section, in Arabic host-guest sequences the norm is to refuse offers immediately and not accept them unless preceded with an insistence. However, in a minority of cases, in certain contexts and under certain conditions, acceptance is produced with preferred features and with no delay. They are not rare- I find many examples of them, yet they are restricted to a singular context and are not found elsewhere. These offers are *fait accomplis*; they are both contingent and proximate, as the offerer is already standing up over the guest and is non-verbally offering him/her a glass/cup of drink. The host offers the drink non-verbally, and the guest accepts it with blessing-type formulae (*jazākałłāh xer* (=God reward you), *taslam* (=may you be healthy), *ʕišt* (=live you), etc.). In these forms of offers lies the welcome drink of coffee presented by Saudi Airlines as the guests board the flight. In the coming two excerpts (5) and (6), the offerer, is standing up with a ready-poured finjal in his right hand, and dallah in his left hand in front of the guests who are sitting. All the guests accept the offer immediately. Note that the verbal acceptance in these examples is given by the recipients after they have accepted the drink with their hands.

(5) [ABYG2-DAY41-MGR: 23:52]

(G1: guest 1, G2: guest 2; M: Mohammad)
(The two guests have just arrived at the house and Mohammad, one of the contestants, is standing in front of them and pours the coffee for them.)

Figure 4.5 Frame representing the guests taking the finjals

```
1            ((M while standing offers G1 the finjal and G1 takes it;
2            Figure 4.5))
3   G1: ->   ʕišt.
             Live you (SIG.MASC).
             (May) you live (a long life)


             ((OMITTED LINES))

11           ((M offers G2 the finjal and G2 takes it; Figure 4.5))
12  G2: ->   ʕišt.
             Live you (SIG.MASC).
             (May) you live (a long life)
```

(6) [ABYG2-DAY9-AFTRISHA1: 30:25]

(G: guest; A: Ali)
(Ali, one of the contestants, is standing up with a ready-poured finjal in his right hand and dallah in his left hand in front of the guest who is sitting.)


```
1            ((A, standing in front of the guest offers him the finjal
2            and G accepts it))
3   G: ->    taslam
             Be healthy
             (May you) be healthy
```

The following sequence follows the same trajectory, only the drink is different- juice instead of coffee:

(7) [ABYG2-DAY5-ASR: 15:53]

(G: guest; A: Ahmed)
(The guest has just arrived and Ahmed, one of the contestants, is standing in front of him with a tray that has a glass of juice on it.)

Figure 4.6 Frame representing the guest taking the juice

```
1              ((A offers the guest juice and water on a tray and G takes
2              it; Figure 4.6))
3   G: ->   Jezākum              ?ałłāh xer=uw   mā=gaṣṣartū
              Reward you(PL.MASC) god    good and not slacked you(PL.MASC)
              God reward you and you (have) not (been) slack(ing)
```

So, as shown in this section, the host's offer is usually met with an immediate acceptance, where the following conditions are fulfilled:

1. the offer is proximal; as in, the drink is already poured and given to the guest

2. the offer is non-verbal and is not produced through a verbalized question about the host's needs and wants or he/she is not even given a choice between different types of drinks

As noted in the introduction, this uniqueness of offer has historical Bedouin roots. It is a fact that, even in modern Saudi life, handing a poured drink to the guest upon arrival is governed by its own etiquette and mannerisms. The first finjal must always be accepted when poured and offered to the guest. Therefore, a rejection in this type of sequence is highly unlikely and will be highly dispreferred for rejecting something in the act of being delivered would be highly unsolidary[42]. Henceforth, comparing this group with the previous one, it is clear that

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[42] I did not find one instance where it was actually rejected, although it may possibly be found in insult sequences

these are the main two differences; in comparison to the hosts in the first category (as in excerpts 1, 2, 3 and 4) where they verbalize the offer and initiate a FPP whether through a declarative or an imperative format. Moreover, it is important to point out that by verbalizing the offer instead of just performing it, the offerer is merely suggesting the possibility of the guest actually rejecting it. In a Saudi Arab community the emphatic rejection of an offer and its equally emphatic insistence are a significant sign of social unity. They are the participants' way to display affiliation towards each other. Hereafter, it can also be taken further by noting that when an offerer verbalizes his/her offer, he/she gives the guest a chance to display his/her lack of greed (that is he/she is not there for the food and drink) or that he/she wants for nothing. At the same time, the rejection gives the host an opportunity to show his generosity and hospitality by insisting on his/her offer. Furthermore, notwithstanding the contrast between the verbalized offer in the previous section and the nonverbalized offer in this section, the declaratively and imperatively formatted offers still foreshadows it is non-negotiability.

The following section consists of the second membership category that is shown to shape the recognition of the SPP rejection in the offer sequence, namely, *seniority*. The sequences follow the now familiar trajectories in Arabic offers:
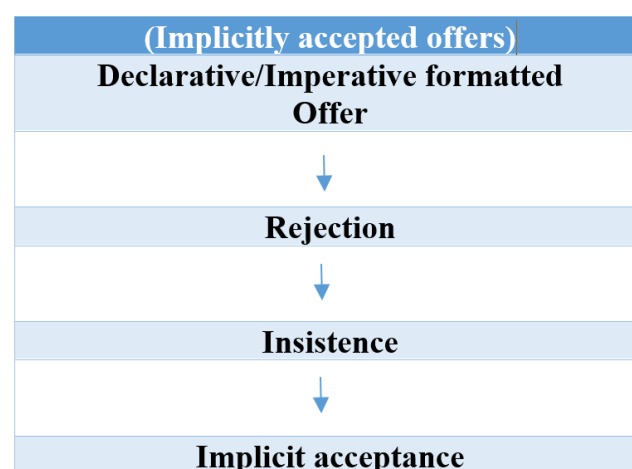
Figure 4.7 Trajectory of implicitly accepted offers

However, in this context, both offerer and recipient are contestants, who have been living together for more than a month, thus, categorizing each other as 'host' or 'guest' would not be the case here.

4.3 Offers in age-oriented sequences

The first sequence occurs when Mohammad carries the dallah to pour coffee for his fellow contestants. Khalid springs off the couch to offer to pour it instead of him; his line 3 is addressed to Mohammad:

(8) [ABYG2-DAY21-ASR: 56:17]

(Mohammad is standing with four men, some of whom are sitting. He is holding the dallah with his left hand and holding the finjals with the other ready to pour.)


```
1            ((M moves to the seated men with the dallah and finjal in
2            his hands))
3    K:      >xalha            xalha             xalha<
             >Leave her(INAN.FEM) leave her(INAN.FEM) leave
             her(INAN.FEM)<
             >Leave it leave it leave it<
4            ((K stands up and put his hand forward to take the dallah
5            from M. M pulls it to his left side away from K;Figure 4.8))
6    M:      tigahwa, tigahwa,
             tegahwa, (IMP.V for coffee)
             Drink coffee, drink coffee,
7    K:      ʕannik            ʔaṣeb, [ʕannek::      yā↑ še:↑x
             Instead from you(SIG.MASC)I pour,[away from you: o'↑shei↑kh
             Instead of you I pour, [instead of you: o'↑ shei↑kh43
8    M:                              [tigahwa,=
                                     [tigahwa,(IMP.V for coffee)=
                                     [drink coffee,=
9            =ṭayyib (.) xall=agahwī:k¿
             =then   (.) let  I gahwy:(PRES.V for coffee)you¿
             =(alright) then (.) let me (pour) yo:u coffee¿
10   K: ->   ʔalḥīn ʔant          ʔakbarna              tiṣib
             Now    you (SIG.MASC) oldest us you (SIG.MASC) pour
             Now you (are the) oldest (and) you pour
```

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[43] An Arab chief, ruler, or even sometime a royal figure. It is used as a term of respect

```
11              ((M gives K the dallah; Figure 4.8))
12   M:         ?ana ?asġarkum          yārajul
                I    youngest you (PL.MASC) o' man
                I (am the) youngest (one of) you man44
13              (.)
14              bas tara      ?iššaʕar ţāleʕ    men=iyūm=innī=şiġīr
                but tara (EXP) the hair came out from day that young
                but tara (this) hair came out since (I was)young
15              ((M moves to the table, gets the dates and sits down))
16              ((K pours the coffee for the men))
```

Figure 4.8 Frame representing Khalid taking the dallah from Mohammad

In this excerpt, the offerer (line 10) explicitly makes reference to age and the appropriateness of the younger person deferring to the older. Therefore, the context of this offer is that someone who is *not* the youngest, Mohammad, is standing up and getting ready to pour the coffee for everybody. Khalid, being one of the younger contestants, immediately offers to pour instead (line 3). He is very insistent and uses the multiplied imperative form *xalha* (=leave it) as the lexical choice for the offer. Also, he emphasizes it with bodily movements as he moves in to seize the pot from Mohammad (line 4-5; Figure 4.8). The recipient blocks the offer with an equally emphatic imperative form *tigahwa* (=drink coffee) that is repeated three times to echo the preceding offer (line 6). In (line 7), Khalid shows no signs of giving up. Instead, he reformulates the form of his offer from an imperative to one that displays him as the benefactor *?aşeb* (=I pour), and Mohammad as the beneficiary *ʕannik* (=instead of you). He also adds the turn-final term of address *še:↑x* as further underscoring sincerity (Clayman, 2012), and to display his respect for this contestant who is trying to pour the coffee for them. Although his reissued offer is not in the imperative, it is in the declarative format, it still shows finality as he is not asking for the recipient's permission in any way. The recipient's

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[44] A joke

response comes in overlap with another refusal (line 8). In the same TCU he, first, echoes the prior turn but by presenting himself as the benefactor and Khalid as the beneficiary. This is clear through the use of the prefix pronoun *a* (=I) at the beginning of the original verb *agahwī:k* (=let me pour <u>yo:u</u> coffee), and the use of the suffix objective pronoun *k* (=you). Second, he bargains for only accepting part of the offer, which is, only pouring for the offerer. This is clear in the use of the singular objective pronoun *k* (=you) instead of the plural.

In line 10, for more insistence on his offer, Khalid invokes a category *ʔantakbarna* (=you are the oldest); it is heard as part of the collection, 'stages of life'. It is a subset of "positioned categories", where the members in this category can be higher or lower in their status than each other (Sacks, 1992: 595). This category is inference rich; it generates a collection of common-sense knowledge that a Saudi member of the community is expected to know. Here, the offerer, having mentioned the recipient's age, works to counter the recipient's rejection, for, according to Sacks, particular categories are attached to "category-bound activities". It forms the particular inferences a person draws about a category, henceforth, the *older*-labelled category is proffered as a complaint. It turns on the commonly held assumptions related to the category in relation to the action of pouring coffee. One could say, 'the common sense knowledge in a Saudi Arabic context is that an *older* individual should not pour whilst a younger individual is present'. With that, Mohammad lets go of the coffee pot (line 11); and makes a joke in line 11 about him being the *youngest* and that his facial hair makes him look older than he actually is.

This example has an explicit orientation to age; it is a clear example of an explicit, verbalized orientation to a category where the issue of age gets topicalised. The following is an example used in the previous chapter. It has a similar offer sequence as the example given before for it starts when Awwad, who is not the youngest in the room, stands up to pour the coffee:

(9) [ABYG2-DAY7-ASR: 02:20:23]


```
1              ((AW bends down and takes the dallah and finjal off the table.
2              He turns to the left to pour for K. K springs off the couch and
3              moves quickly towards AW, his arm pointing to the dallah))
4    K:        >xallah.            xallah.<=
               >Leave him(INAN.MASC).leave it(INAN.MASC).<=
               >Leave it. leave it.<
5              =baṣib              ʕa↑nk              ᵒʔawwādᵒ
               =will pour instead of y↑ou (SIG.MASC) ᵒAwwadᵒ
               =(I) will pour instead of y↑ou ᵒAwwadᵒ
6              ((AW moves his torso slightly to move the dallah from K's reach
7              but K puts his hand on it; Figure 4.9))
8    AW:       >la↑ la↑<=
               >No↑ no↑<=
9              =ʔana baṣiblek              waxxer  ʔistireḥ  ʔist[ireḥ=]
               =I    will pour for you(SIG.MASC)go away relax     r↑e[lax=]
               =I will pour for you go away relax r↑e[lax=]
10   K:                                                        [hāt=  ]
                                                               [Give=]
11   AW:       [=ṭayyib          ʔabaṣib-  ʔabaṣib  ʔilfinjā↑l]
               [=tayeb(EXP.alright)will pour- will pour the finj↑al]
               [=tayeb (I) will pour-  (I) will pour the finj↑al= ]
12   K:        [hāt    hāt    hāt      ʔabaṣiblik=              ]
               [give   give   give      will pour for you(SIG.MASC)=]
               [give    give    give     (I)will pour for you= ]
13   AW:       >ʔabaṣib  ʔilfi[njāl<
               >will pour the fi[njal<
               >(I) will pour the fi[njal<
14   K:                        [ʔabaṣib=
15             =lik
                               [will pour=
               =for you(SIG.MASC)
                               [(I) will pour=
               =for you
16   AW:       yā gałbī      [ tikfa   ] tikfa
               O' heart mine [ please  ] please
               O' my  heart  [ please  ] please
17   K:                      [ᵒʔistirīḥᵒ]
                             [ ᵒrelaxᵒ  ]
18             ((K takes the dallah and A's LH drops to his side and gives the
               finjal as well; Figure 4.9))
19   K:        ᵒᵒʔistirīḥᵒᵒ
               ᵒᵒRelaxᵒᵒ
20             ((K pours a finjal for AW and gives it to him))
21   AW:       ʔałłah lā yhīnik
               Allah  no humiliate you (SIG.MASC)
               God (don't) humiliate you
```

22   ((AW takes the finjal))

Figure 4.9 Frame representing Khalid taking the dallah from Awwad

In lines 4 and 5, the second offer for this section is also formatted with an imperative form *xallah* (=leave it), and a declarative that details it *baṣib ʕa↑nk* (=I will pour instead of y↑ou). Khalid states himself as the agent and the recipient as the beneficiary. Khalid's offer is enhanced when it comes in coordination with the bodily movement: he leaps up from the couch (lines 2-3) and swiftly heads to Awwad with his arm pointed forward to grab the dallah (lines 6-7). As in the previous example, this imperative form is viewed as an offer by Awwad for he resists it. The resistance in (line 8) is done through, first, using multiple *las* (=nos). Second, he mirrors the offerer's turn as he adds on the declarative sentence _ʔana baṣiblek_ (=I will pour for you), where he states the agent as himself and Khalid as the beneficiary. Subsequently, Awwad in line 11 negotiates and asks to be the agent of at least the first round of pouring. Khalid does not accept the counter offer by repeating his orders *hāt* (=give me) (line 12). By line 16, the recipient uses a term of endearment to Khalid and a doubled plea, but he does not succeed in resisting the offer as he lets go of the coffee pot (line 18).

This sequence is similar to the previous one except that there is no explicit account that relates to age, and seniority is oriented to but not brought to the surface. However, as there are category-bound activities that are attached to certain categories, the offerer's emphatic insistence on pouring draws the activity of 'pouring the coffee' to himself- 'the *younger'* individual in the sequence. It generates the store of common-sense knowledge about the proper person to serve. Similar to Sacks's (1992) Catholic lady example in section 2.3.1.1 where he takes it as 'generally known' that being a Catholic has certain expectations in

respect to sexual behaviour, whether or not this is empirically the case. This explains that the offerer's insistence is there to apply this shared knowledge, yet, the recipient's rejection stands against it. The appeal to the notion of 'category-bound activities', and its generation of common knowledge, lead to the conclusion that the recipient's rejection of the offer in both sequences, as in the host-guest sequences, is just *pro forma*. In the host-guest sequences it is to display the recipient as doing being a good guest in not burdening his host, whilst in this context, it is a way for the recipient to display himself as not wishing to burden the younger offerer, that is, the recipient is mainly returning respect. He rejects the offer of the individual who is displaying his respect to him in the first place by offering to pour the coffee instead of him (the older recipient).

The next sequence is slightly different and shorter than the previous two, for there is no negotiation between the offerer and the recipient. The recipient follows the norms of preference in the Saudi offer sequences and responds with a rejection. The offerer also treats it as simply a *pro forma* rejection and acts on her offer without waiting for an acceptance.

(10) [AbuAbah: 14-4-14_01: 2:58]

(The mother is cleaning up the coffee table after she has finished having tea with her friends. Meera, her daughter, has arrived late and missed coffee time with her mother and friends. The recording starts with Meera offering to help her mother who is cleaning the table. Also, before the sequence starts Meera's three-year-old daughter had asked her grandmother for some water.)

```
1 Meera:  yumma bnišīl        maʕa↑k              (.) wišitsawwīn?
         Mom    will us carry with yo↑u (SIG.FEM) (.) What do you (SIG.FEM)?
         Mom we will carry with yo↑u What (are) you (doing)?
2 Mom:   ?an=ajmaʕlukum            ?īh ?ajmaʕlukum            la la=
         I   collect for you(PL.MASC) yes collect for you(PL.MASC) no no=
         I (am) collecting (it) for you yes collecting (it) for you no no=
3        =ʕašān=alaðāk titgahwuw:n                        sawa      la=
         =because then tetgahwuw:n(PRES.V for coffee)you(PL.MASC)together no=
         =because (when it's time) you can drink coffee together no
4        =tsanek gimtī          ?adjal=
         =if     stood you(SIG.FEM)then=
         =(since) you stood (up) then=
5        ʕaṭī            bnayytik          mūyah
         give you(SIG.FEM)daughter your(SIG.FEM) water
         give your daughter (some) water
```

```
6                ((M takes the tray from her mother's hand and takes it to the
7                kitchen))
```

In this short sequence, Meera offers to help her mother tidy up the table (line 1). Her turn

consists of three TCUs: *yumma* (=mom), the offer *bnišīlmaʕa↑k* (=we will carry with yo↑u)

which is similar to the previous two in the declarative utterance, followed by the interrogative

wišitsawwīn? (=What are you doing). The mother is clearing the coffee table in front of

Meera, so, the interrogative, *wišitsawwīn?* (=what are you doing?), is clearly not asking for

information. It is similar to Lina's gnocchi example, when she complains through the enquiry

ma cosa ↑fa:i? (=what are you doing?) (Clift, 2016: 67) (for further details see excerpt 11,

section 2.2.2.2). Similarly, in making this enquiry, Meera is plainly doing a mock complaint

about why the mother is clearing up the table while her daughter is there. It orients to the *age*

membership category even further. Meera's enquiry is hearable as a complaint. The mother

initially responds to the complaint before rejecting the offer. This delay in the production of

las (=nos) is *not* a feature of a dispreferred response; it is only delayed to produce the

response for her daughter's inquiry first. Therefore, Mom's response to the turn-initial

complaint is to preserve contiguity (Sacks, 1987 [1973]). Also, she treats the complaint as an

information question by directly giving an explanation of what she is doing *ʔanajmaʕlukum*

(=I am collecting it for you). After this response, she produces the multiplied declination of

the offer *las* (=nos) which is done in a clear, preferred way. Then, it is followed by an account

that carries an element of defense for why she is doing what she is doing *ʕašānalaðāk*

titgahwuw:n sawa (=because when it's time you can drink coffee together). Finally, she

formats her turn as an imperative proposal for Meera to redirect her to do something else

instead *tsanek gimtī ʔadjal ʕaṭī bnayytik mūyah* (=since you stood up then give your daughter

some water). Using an imperative proposal to direct a mother to give *her own* little girl some

water is an attempt from the recipient to pull deontic rank in this situation. However, it does

not succeed in stopping the offerer, for Meera sequentially deletes the rejection by taking the

tray from Mom (lines 6-7).

The offerer treats the rejection as *pro forma* by not responding to the rejection or the imperative proposal. She does not even insist verbally (as in the previous examples), but acts on her offer and carries the tray instead. With this action, Meera performs her offer and she does not back down from it. Also, it suggests she is treating her mother as a member of the 'older' category and gives her seniority. This summons the common-sense knowledge (that is clear to native Saudi Arabic speakers of the language): a parent cleaning/pouring/working in the presence of offspring is entirely unacceptable. An immediate acceptance of the offer would often be produced in a highly dispreferred manner even in a mother-daughter relationship. The negotiation by the older recipient is unsuccessful. She tries to redirect the offerer at the end of her turn by producing an imperative proposal *ʕaṭī bnayytik mūyah* (=give your daughter some water) (line 5), yet, it does not succeed in rejecting the offer.

The data selection in this section has the same sequence trajectory as that followed in the previous host-guest section. In both, the offer rejection is treated by the offerer as just *pro forma* to delay an acceptance. The offers in this section are also formatted in both declarative and imperative form: *xalha* (=leave it) and *ʕannek ʔaṣeb* (=instead of you I pour) in excerpt (8), *xallah.< baṣib ʕa↑nk* (=leave it.< (I) will pour instead of y↑ou) in excerpt (9), and *bnišīlmaʕa↑k* (=we will carry with yo↑u) in excerpt (10). These two formats foreshadow the way the sequence will develop, where the offer will be carried out despite the rejection. They are produced by the offerer as a way to display that he/she is not backing down, and also to display their commitment to the action. The implementation of the offer is not contingent on the recipient accepting it, for it is not produced as an interrogative in any one of the offers in this chapter. Both formats are basically an informing of what will happen. Also, as is clear from the examples, the offerer does not adhere to any form of resistance, whether it is an explicit refusal with multiple *las* (in excerpts 9 and 10), a redirecting imperative proposal such as *ʕaṭī bnayytik mūyah* (=give your daughter some water) (excerpt 10), or nonverbal resistance such as the recipient moving the pot away from the offerer's outstretched hand

(excerpts 8 and 9). None of these types of resistance succeed in stopping an offerer who displays his orientation to *perform* his/her offer in the way he/she chooses to format that offer. These formats, when used in a Saudi Arabic offer, carry some kind of elimination of the recipient's needs and wants; they do not display orientation to them. Instead, this sets the scene for the upcoming subsequent sequence, and how it will eventually unfold. Subsequently, the recipient initially meets the offerer with equally emphatic rejection but eventually he/she accepts the offer.

In this second section, the participants cannot be categorized as host and guest. So, the reason behind the understanding and treatment of the rejection as *pro forma* by the offerers is different. One interpretive resource, which has also been verbalized by the offerer in excerpt (8), is that it is the age difference between the offerer and the recipient. As mentioned in the methodology, Harvey Sacks observes that the interpretation of an utterance may be grounded in an understanding of the speaker's identity (for further details see section 2.3.1). And, basically, an essential part of a person's identity is his gender and *age* that Sacks records as the baseline features of his MCD. He notes that gender and age are the two categories applicable to all. In all three sequences, the participants had access to the other person's age (or at least who was older or who was younger in the sequence). It is one of the positioned categories which belongs to the collection "stage of life…where one member can be said to be higher or lower than others" (Sacks, 1992:595). This is similar to Sacks's analysis of the teenage patients: their knowing the speaker of the turn 'Well, what's new, gentlemen?' is a 'therapist' is essential to them hearing it as a 'hint' to end their session, not as an 'announcement' (Sacks, 1992:595). In the Arabic data, the recipient does not accept the offer but produces what is hearable by the offerer as a *pro forma* rejection. This seeability of the recipient as *older* and the fact that these categories are inference rich, producing a knowledge of common-sense that one is expected to have (Sacks, 1992:41), contribute to seeing his rejection as not sincere. It also applies to the offer and its insistence whether the age category

is mentioned (as in 8) or inferred (as in 9 and 10). In excerpt (8), the offerer mentions the recipient's age category *ʔantakbarna tiṣib* (=you are the oldest and you pour); so, he straightforwardly applies the common-sense knowledge surrounding his offer and his insistence on it. Yet, this is not common and it is specific to this case; as is seen in excerpts (9) and (10), the age is never explicitly mentioned. It is inferred in the assumption that the recipients should reach by applying the common-sense knowledge of why the offer is produced in the first place, because 'an older individual should not pour or clean while a younger one is present'. "Category bound activities" come with this common-sense knowledge; they shape the inferences one has of a certain category. For instance, treating the rejection of the offer as *pro forma* and either: insisting on it *then* performing the offer (excerpt 8 and 9), or just performing the offer without even insisting on it (excerpt 10). Subsequently, this insistence lengthens or shortens accordingly; it relies on the participants' implementation of the membership categories and the activities that are bound to them in the sequence. In these examples, it is achieved through two ways. First, mentioning the category, as in excerpt (8) when the offerer complains that the recipient is *older* and pouring for them. Second, invoking the activities that are commonly known to be restricted to a certain category; for example, in excerpt (9) when the younger contestant insists on his offer to take the pot despite the recipient's pleas to leave it with him, and in excerpt (10) the younger daughter not responding to the older parent's resistance and just acting out her offer.

4.4 A deviant case

The following excerpt is a deviant case where a passenger accepts a taxi driver's *pro forma* rejection of payment, and does not (as would be normative) insist on paying him. This excerpt is taken from a video of a Kuwaiti tourist in Cairo which has gone viral since October 2015. He plays a practical joke on the driver which is based on the idea that Egyptian taxi drivers initially reject the passenger's offer to pay with the initial rejecting turn *xalli* (=leave it). It can be explained as 'leave the payment this time. I drove you for free and that your trip this

time is on me'. In this prank, the offerer/passenger does not treat the rejection as just *pro forma*. He simply treats it as sincere rejection and straightforwardly accepts it, and opens the car door to get out of the taxi without paying. With this response, an interactional breakdown occurs. However, before moving on into the data, it is important to clarify that the common response in this situation would have been for the passenger to keep insisting that the taxi driver tell him how much he owes until the taxi driver does so[45].

(11) [Egyptian Taxi Driver]
    (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zj1NMFbdkRc 14/10/2015, 23:19)

(D: Taxi Driver; P: The Passenger)
(The following is a trending video on twitter. The passenger, who is a Kuwaiti tourist, is videoing his chat with an Egyptian taxi driver. The excerpt starts when they had reached their destination and the passenger asks for the price)


```
1   P:          hāh↑ čamm=iᐤleḥsāb?ᐤ              [>čamm=eḥsābek?<
                Hah↑ how much ᐤthe price?ᐤ [>how much price you?<
                hah↑ how much(is)ᐤthe price?ᐤ [>how much(is)your price?<
2   D:                                          [ʔuʔmur  yā bāšā
                                                [order46 o' Basha47
3               xallī yā bāšā
                LEAVE o' Basha
                LEAVE (it) o' Basha
4   P:          hah?
5   D:          xallī.
                Leave.
                Leave (it).
6   P:  ->      xa↑llī xalāṣ=
                lea↑ve khalas (EXP.finish)=
                lea↑ve (it is) done (then)=
7               ((P moves his body to the right to leave the car))
```

---

⁴⁵ On a trip to Egypt in January 2015, I recorded the fact that eight taxi drivers used the term 'xally' every time I offered to pay them

⁴⁶ Similar to the English 'I'm at your disposal'

⁴⁷ "Basha" comes from the Turkish honour title, Pasha, and it is similar to "Lord" in English. In the early twentieth century, it was given to military officials and wealthy businessmen as an honorary title. Nowadays, it is used in Egypt similarly to the English "Sir".
(from https://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090920164030AAvpaks accessed 20/10/2015, 15:45)

```
8   P:           =maškūr [yałłah      yiʕţīK=(ilʕa-)
                 =thanked [yallah (EXP) give you(the-)
                 =thanks  [yallah (God) give you(the-)
9        ->      ((P puts his arm on the door handle to open the door but D
                 grabs it strongly with his right hand))
10  D:                   [ya:: ʕam   mašku:r=
                         [O':: UNCLE THANKED=
                         [O':: UNCLE WHAT (DO YOU MEAN BY)THANKS=
11               =ʔe:h ya ʕam
                 =WHAT O' UNCLE
                 =WHAT (IS THAT) O' UNCLE
12               ((D turns his head to the right and looks directly at P and
13               does not let go of his arm))
14  P:           ʔint=itgūllī [xallī
                 You  tell me [leave
                 You tell me (to) [leave (it)
15  D:                        [xallī=
                              [LEAVE=
                              [WHAT LEAVE (IT)=
16               =ʔe:h ʔu  mašku:r  ʔe:h
                 =WHAT AND THA:NKED WHA:T
                 =AND WHA:T THA:NKS
17               ((D let go of P's arm to do a 'what' gesture))
18  P:           Šunu radde:t      ʔibkalā::mik?
                 What returned you with ta::lk your?
                 What you returned (back) with your ta::lk?48
19  D:           a a a maʕališš          dā  [taksī
                 A A A MA'LISH(EXP.sorry) THIS [TAXI
                 A A A MA'LISH(BUT) THIS (IS A)[TAXI
20               (( D points with his RH to the dashboard and P tries to get
21               out again ))
```

The offer is issued in a form of a question about the price (line 1) and a highly preferred

rejection is issued (line 3). However, the *insistence* on the offer which is relevant here is not

issued. Instead, in line 6, an interrogative which pushes back against the rejection and is a

disagreement implicative is produced. In addition, and in the same TCU, the term *xalāṣ* (=it

is done then) is added as a sequence closing. He emphasizes this finality in his lexical

production with bodily movements by holding the door handle and starting to get out of the

taxi (lines 7 and 9).

Accepting the rejection that comes after an offer is different from the general systematic

patterns of the offer sequences mentioned above; especially when the membership categories

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[48] Similar to the English "You changed your mind?"

that are implicit in the sequence are 'host' and 'guest'. Before moving further in the analysis, it is important to clarify that an Egyptian taxi driver usually considers his car as his house, where he is the host, and his passengers (especially the tourists) are his guests. As there is an orientation to hospitality with the common knowledge shared by Arabic speakers that 'a guest does not want to burden his host by accepting his offer instantly', there is also the common knowledge that a 'host does not accept his guest's offer to help immediately but prefers a rejection at first'. Hence, the commonly used *pro forma* rejection term *xallī* (=leave it) used by Egyptian taxi drivers.

The absence of the insistence from the offerer/passenger and, more importantly, the acceptance of its rejection are seen to be very interactionally problematic in this sequence. It leads to an aggressive reaction from the taxi driver (he grasps the passenger's arm to prevent him from getting out of the taxi (lines 9-13). Although this was done as a joke by the passenger, it still shows that, in this particular context, the inferential framework portrays a distinction between what people say and what they mean. The inferential framework of the offer in this institutional context suggests that *xallī* (=leave it) cannot have real force. A taxi ride is a commercial transaction and it is never for free. It is testing the limits of what is at the surface in an interaction and taking it at surface value. When a taxi driver refuses the passenger's offer to pay, it is appropriate that the offerer deletes it sequentially. So, by not doing that, the results are catastrophic.

On another note, according to Sacks's economy rule in the application of categories in MCD, one category may be enough. For example, a person can be categorized as a 'taxi-driver'. Yet, at the same time, a 'taxi driver' is one instance of a host relationship, just like, e.g. a restaurateur, a hotelier and a shopkeeper. So, taxi drivers are also hosts; and the category 'host' is subsumed within the category 'taxi driver' in some sense. Similar to when a woman is viewed by her family members as a 'mother', she is also viewed as, say, a 'cook', a 'nappy changer', 'diary keeper', etc.; all these categories and many more are folded in the larger

category 'mother'. So, a 'taxi driver' is enfolded in 'host' and a 'taxi passenger' is enfolded into the category 'guest'. There are also elements of hostiness to the maître d' in a restaurant where he/she puts your comfort first. Thus, elements of hosting are invoked in a taxi driver; for example, if someone tries to kidnap you while you are riding a taxi, it is the driver's job to defend you, for you are in his care and on his territory[49]. And it is in the binary nature of 'maître d'/customer', 'shop owner/shopper', taxi driver/passenger that we can see elements of 'host/guest'. In this sequence, the driver shifts from 'host' who initially rejects an offer (line 3), to a 'taxi driver' who requests a payment (line 25) and responds to the passenger's offer to pay with the price in line 31. Also, he uses the plural pronoun *ʔintū* (=you) to describe the tourist passenger in *ʔintūgāyyī:n tiṭallaʕū ʕalīna* (=you come to get out these things on us) (line 29). He does not use the masculine singular *ʔinta* (=you). This suggests that he is talking about the category 'tourists' who are treated as 'guests' in Egypt. These categories of 'host' and 'guest' have been inferred with the *pro forma* rejection in line 3. Yet, it is invoked in line 29 when the sequence escalates and the driver displays his frustration with all tourists. Moreover, in line 19, he states the obvious by saying that this is a commercial transaction; hence, he is a 'taxi driver' *not* his 'host'. Both host-guest and taxi driver-passenger are standardised relational pairs (Sacks, 1972:37); they are categories that are bonded together with responsibility and obligation. At the beginning of the sequence, by rejecting the offer, the taxi driver formulates his relationship with the passenger as his 'host'. If he articulates the price of the ride as a first response to the offer, it will show him as a 'driver' with no responsibility for the passenger; rejecting the offer does the opposite. It displays him as a 'host' with a responsibility to not ask anything of his guests. On the contrary, if he accepts

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[49] During a terrorist attack in Paris on January 2015, a shopkeeper made sure to hide his customers into a basement cold store. He made sure they were safe before escaping to alert the police. As with to the taxi driver and the maître d', the shopkeeper shows responsibility towards his costumers by presenting elements of hostiness – here, in a critical situation. During which it is clear who has responsibility for whom, who is in the other's territory, and who has a responsibility to protect (from www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-30847333 accessed 01/02/2017, 10:47)

the offer by responding with the price of the ride, it displays him as a 'driver' and shows the 'passenger's' obligation to pay him.

The crucial issue here is the notion of *recognition;* realizing what is real and what is not, and what is a sincere action and what is mere lip-service. For, unless you are in an Arabic speaking community or familiar with the norms of that culture, you would not understand that this rejection is just *pro forma*. A rejection, whether it is a 'guest' rejecting a 'host's offer for a drink, a 'host' rejecting a 'guest's' offer to help, an 'older' recipient rejecting a 'younger's' offer to pour, or a 'parent' rejecting a 'daughter's' help, will lead to a problematic trajectory if this *pro forma* rejection is adhered to. As with the taxi driver and his passenger in Cairo, what is being said is completely at odds with what is being done; first rejecting the offer of money, then grasping at the offerer viciously when he does not force his offer on him. This problematic sequence does not resolve itself until line 34 when the offerer initiates his offer again. And this time the response is a conforming one of an amount of fifty Egyptian pounds (line 35) and the passenger offers him a credit card (line 39).

This section suggests that, in some offer sequences, Arabic speakers have an orientation to membership categories, such as host, guest and age that appear to invoke certain actions recognition in the sequence. Identity is key here: it is central in Arabic in a way that it is found in many aspects in the sequences. A Saudi offerer produced his offer in a way that may seem to disregard another's wishes; it appears emphatic and sometimes aggressive. This is seen from the beginning of the initiating offer. It comes either as a declarative which is merely informing the recipient of what will happen, or an imperative which directs the recipient to what to do. Also, a Saudi guest's reaction to an offer is equally emphatic, where he/she highly rejects it. However, despite the guest's verbal refusal, the nonverbal conduct may, similarly to the formatting of the offer, foreshadow the upcoming acceptance of the offer. This conduct presents the upcoming acceptance by not strongly blocking the offerer in contrast to the emphatic verbal rejection that is produced.

Nevertheless, this is still only one part of the picture of Arabic offers in talk-in-interaction. In the following chapter, I look at sequences that do not have the elements of host/guest or age. So, in that chapter, participants can be seen to orient to other aspects which are associated with the construction of identity, such as authority and ownership. The upcoming analysis is about how these two areas of identity and their territories are implemented in Arabic offers and their negotiation. Since in this thesis, I try to bring together action, sequence and orientation to identity, it is relevant to explain the idea of the territories of authority and ownership in action in talk.

Chapter 5 **Ownership and authority in identity construction**

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a better understanding of the immediate rejections of offers and their dynamics in Arabic interaction. To achieve this, it identifies the interrelated relationships between epistemic and deontic reasoning in the treatment of offer rejections and their courses of action. In this chapter, I examine a number of interactional fragments which carry no orientation to respective membership categories. In these offer sequences, participants relate to the positioning of the offer as a responding action more than as an initiating action. Offers in this chapter are produced as a response to a preceding problem.

In the methodology, I establish how conversation analysis studies such as those by Gill (2005), Curl (2006) and Kendrick & Drew (2016) study the ways these problems occur prior to the launching of the offer of assistance. These offers of assistance are solicited-type offers and, as Curl (2006) terms it, interactionally generated. That the offer is in direct response to the problem can be seen from previous turns in the talk. The offers are placed very close sequentially to the recent problem; even if that problem is latent or has merely a potential existence. Similarly to the Kendrick & Drew (2016) data which I presented earlier, these offers relate to both an overt problem they offer to remedy or to an educed problem. As in the situation, for instance, when you open the oven door for someone who is holding a hot sauce pan without his explicit request. Therefore, a relationship between an offer and a request is derived mainly from specific needs between the participants. In some situations, these needs are embodied in a direct request, however, at other times the offerer is solicitous and "anticipate(s) the needs of others, by offering assistance. This symbiotic relationship is one aspect of social solidarity and social cohesion,

but it is a contingent relationship, built upon particular circumstances" (Kendrick & Drew, 2014: 12). Thus, pre-requests, reports of troubles, trouble alerts, the anticipation of a problem in a course of action, and bodily movements give the complying speaker a great degree of agency over the action when he/she offers voluntarily. This preference for agency is important to participants. It is the reason behind the preference of '*My car is stalled'*, in excerpt (19) in the methodology, over directly soliciting help (for further details see section 2.2.2.3). It is also displayed in the preference that you will open the door for someone holding two cups of coffee over waiting for him/her to ask you to open it (Clift, 2016: 230).

As a whole, offers in this chapter are not initial actions, for there is a sequence or an action, verbalized or embodied, that precedes them and which results in an offer being made (Curl, 2006; Kendrick& Drew, 2016). First, the offers are in some cases solicited from the previous talk; it comes after a report of trouble or what the offerer deals with as a pre-request. Hence, the problem here is in the *recipient's territory*; and these offers are only produced due to the preceding interaction. Second, offers, in other cases, solicited from an embodied action or difficulty that the offerer tries to resolve. Both types of offers are met with immediate rejection, but eventually some are implemented and some are not. In the following sections, I analyse such offer sequences; ones which follow a problem. My analysis examines offers in two categories; ones which are *successfully rejected*, and those which are *partially rejected*. Subsequently, I present three deviant cases; each of the three analyzed to show why it differs from the two patterns I establish. It is hoped that my analysis of these three deviant cases will provide further support for the general rules I illustrate in the two preceding patterns and, further, that they will even extend understanding by validating that generability.

5.2 Offers successfully rejected

The offers in the following examples are interactionally generated, namely they come

after a problem which may be a turn that is heard as a pre-request. In the following excert,

used earlier in section 3.2.2, Meera has had surgery and her friends are over to visit. Fairly

early in the visit Meera mentions that she has a check-up appointment the next day. This

sequence occurs while Kinda, one of the visitors, is getting ready to leave after checking on

her friend.

(1) [AbuAbah: 14-4-3: 34:50]

```
 1   M:    meta betrūḥīn           ?ilbe:tik
           When going you:(SIG.FEM) to house your(SIG.FEM)
           When (will) you: go to your house⁵⁰
 2   K:    Bukra=nšāłłah     bas barūḥ    ?il=ṣidīgātī
           Tomorrow inshallah just I will go to  friend mine
           Tomorrow inshallah but I will go to my friend's (first)
 3         (0.2)
 4   K:    Tabīnniy             ?arūḥ  maʕak=iddiktūr?
           You(SIG.FEM) want me  go     with you(SIG.FEM) the doctor?
           (Do) you want me to go to the doctor with you?
 5   M:    la la la
           No no no
 6   K:    meta betruḥīn,            ?iṣṣabāḥ?
           When will go you(SIG.FEM), the morning?
           When will you go, The morning?
 7   M:    la la aaaa
           No no aaaa
 8   K:    tara    mā ʕindi  šayy ?ashā::r=?ale::n=ilfajir
           Tara(EXP)not with me thing I sta::y up till dawn
           Tara I (have) nothing (to do) I stay up till dawn
 9         (.)
10         sabiʕ(.)t̲imān
           seven (.) eight
11   M:    la bukra    madrī   šiftī (.)          nādir byidji
           No tomorrow not know see you(SIG.FEM)(.)Nadir will come
           No tomorrow (I don't) know you see (.) Nadir (is) coming
12   H:    yū:m=inkum  btasharūn le:š=itrūḥūn?
           DAY YOU(PL) stay late why  go you(PL)?
           SINCE YOU(are)staying (up)late why(are) you leaving (then)?
```

---

⁵⁰ Kinda has come from out of town and is living at her parents' for a couple of days

Speakers try to avoid requests through asking for information (Schegloff, 2007b). Hence, Meera's first turn is recognized by Kinda as a possible pre-request conveying trouble Meera is having; the difficulty comes from Meera not having someone to go with her to the hospital appointment. This is the projected course of action. The form *meta betrūḥīnilbe:tik* (=when will you: go to your house) is in the interrogative. This enquiry is responded to by Kinda as a mere question, and adds a more detailed explanation of her whereabouts (line 2). After a 0.2 second pause, Kinda initiates an interrogative about Meera's wants *tabīnniyarūḥ maʕakiddiktūr?* (=do you want me to go to the doctor with you?). Hence, Kinda is displaying that she recognizes line 1 not simply as an enquiry but as a pre-request; she recognizes the prior turn as a way of disguising a dispreferred request, and offers to help in what she views to be her friend's dilemma: 'needing someone to go with her to her hospital appointment'. In such types of recruitment, the participant leaves the difficulty implicit and they do not report the problem *per se* (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). Similarly in this sequence, Meera does not say *ʔana ʔaḥtaj ʔaḥad yurūḥ maʕayy* (=I need someone to go with me) or *ma maʕayy ʔaḥad yurūḥ maʕay* (=I don't have anyone to go with me). If she did express her need for someone to go with her before the offer had been issued, it would signify "a difficulty in the realization of a practical course of action" on behalf of the offerer (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). This pre-request solicits assistance from Kinda for it initiates an offer sequence (line 4) where offering to go with her friend is relevant as an upcoming action.

The syntactic format of the offer is about the needs and wants of the recipient, for it starts with *tabīnni* (=do you want me); it foregrounds the recipient by making her a subject ('you'), thus, casting her (the recipients) as the agent of the verb '*tabī* (=want). This format gives epistemic primacy to the recipient through referencing her needs or preference for the nominated action. This type of formulation is a "straightforward method of constructing a distribution of benefits that the action will deliver" (Clayman &Heritage, 2014: 6). They are embedded in the interrogative form to show the epistemic downgrade of the offerer and the

epistemic upgrade of the recipient. A hospital appointment is very personal and it lies in the recipient's territory; the offerer's choice to use the interrogative format displays that as well. This interrogative formatting foreshadows the way the sequence develops. Unlike the declarative and imperative format shown in the previous chapter, it is based on the needs and wants of the recipient. Since, despite the offerer's insistence after the initial rejection, the offer is not performed regardless; it is still contingent on the recipient's acceptance, even if it is an implicit acceptance.

The offer is met with a flat-out rejection with multiplied *las* in (line 5). Similarly to the host-guest offer sequences, the offerer pushes in the face of rejection, showing that she deals with it as a *pro forma* rejection. In enquiring about the time of the appointment, she shows her commitment to, and insistence on, her offer of assistance (line 6). This candidate-answer question is responded to as well with the same form of rejection: a singular TCU of multiple *las* to block it again. It is clear that this is not a response to the prior candidate answer question, but a response to the insisting action in progress. Earlier in the gathering, not shown in the data above, Meera does state that her appointment is in the morning; so, it is more likely that she is still rejecting the offer than that she is disagreeing with the information. Kinda, on her part, insists more (line 8-9) as she refers to her free morning schedule. Clayman & Heritage (2014) note that, to avoid a rejection, an offerer may clearly construct the offer to show that the assistance will hardly cause a change in routine; Kinda's turn illustrates this. In the aftermath of flat-out rejections and insistence, Meera brings the sequence to an end by producing an account (line 11) that her husband (Nadir) will be there with her at the appointment. This reference to her husband is a sustained relevant and consequential account to stop Kinda's insistence, as is clear from the following lines[51]

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[51] A third party intervenes (line 10) and complains about Kinda leaving so early. I left it in the transcript to show that there are no more insistence turns.

An important element here, assisting in this change in the trajectory of these types of offer sequences, is that what is offered lies within the recipient's *territory*. It is Meera's appointment. Kinda's offer is only interactionally generated from what is understood to be a pre-request. Each participant has her own territory of information; Meera, the recipient, clearly has more epistemic authority over her own appointment, and who she chooses to have there. And this is displayed in Kinda's behaviour when she does not insist on her offer after the recipient's production of the account. Thus, the offerer, gives the recipient primary rights to decide *who* she needs to have at the hospital with her. Although this epistemic dimension is separate from the deontic dimension, they are interrelated. They overlap under the notion that "we both know our plans and decide about them" (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012: 298). Therefore, along with the epistemic authority that is clear by this point in the analysis, an orientation to the deontic authority is relevant here. Kinda's offer is not valid if Meera does not *want* her to go. The whole issue is in Meera's epistemic and deontic territory since the offer is about her body and her hospital appointment. The offerer has no authority over her and the rationale behind her offering in the first place is only due to the first enquiry (line 1) that Kinda deals with as a pre-request. Unlike the collection from the previous chapter, the offerer is not in a place to implement the offer against the recipient's wishes, or to carry on insisting on it after the recipient gives the account. The lack of an account in (lines 5 and 7) is indicative of a flat rejection which invites insistence from the offerer (lines 6 and 8). So, this flat-out rejection is treated by the offerer as only an Arabic *pro forma* rejection; indicating that an insisting action is relevant next. Her insistence only stops with the production of an account from a recipient who claims deontic authority over the matter.

The following excerpt gives further evidence of this type of sequence trajectory, where a flat-out refusal is met with the offerer's insistence in return, and it is only upon the production of an account that the offerer surrenders and stops his insistence:

(2) [ABYG2-DAY8-AFTR ASR: 17:26]

(The offerer: A: Ali)
(The recipients: S: Saleem; SUL: Sultan; Y: Yousef)
(It is reaching the end of the lunch which Ali has cooked. Some of the contestants, such as Ali, have just finished eating and are standing around. Others, such as Saleem, Sultan and Yousef are still eating and are also scheduled to clean the kitchen.)


```
 1   S:       taġadaw                          ze:n warāna   šuġul
              Taghaddow (IMP.V for lunch) good after us work
              Eat lunch well we (have a lot of) work (to do)
 2   SUL:     wałłah             (.) wałłah lāzim
              Wallah (EXP. I swear) (.) Walla  must
              Wallah (.) Walla (we) must
 3   A:       tištaġlū ?e:š?
              Work     what?
              What work?
 4   SUL:     Warāna=lmaṭbax       yāše:x↓
              After us⁵² the kitchen o' sheikh↓ (exp. Man)
              We('ve to do) the kitchen man↓
 5   A:       nsāʕidkum?            widdanā ništiġil mā=ʕindanā  šayy
              We help you (PL.MASC)?Want us work     not have us thing
              (Shall) we help you? We want (to) work we (do) not have
              (any)thing (to do)
 6   Y:       la [la::
              No [no::
 7   SUL:       [la la [aaa
                [no no [aaa
 8   A:               [ʕadī=
                      [normal=
                      [(it's)alright=
 9   A:       =wałłah               yaʕ[ni?
              =wallah(EXP. I swear) me[an?
              =I swear (I) me[an?
10   Y:                        [la la
                               [NO NO
11   S:                        [?antā         bayyaḍ=ałłāh=
                               [You(SIG.MASC) whiten Allah=
                               [You God (have)whiten=
12   S:       =wajhik           fi=lġada      mā=gaṣṣart
              =face your(SIG.MASC)⁵³in the lunch not shortening⁵⁴you(SIG.MASC)
              =your face with lunch  you (have done enough)
13            (5.0)
```

---

⁵² Comparing the work to a load on their backs.

⁵³ A compliment to someone who has done their job very well.

⁵⁴ Another compliment to someone who has done a fine job that it is not lacking in any way; somewhat similar to the English 'you have done more than enough'

Saleem's announcement (line 1) initiates the sequence as Ali (who will produce the offer in line 5) asks what the 'work' is that he is talking about. Sultan responds to his question with a formulation that is hearable as a report of trouble (line 4), because he casts the kitchen as a load of work on their backs that is a heavy burden; and covertly pursues an aligning response (Bolden et al, 2012). This type of reporting difficulty and troubles practice are recruitments in their own right, as they do not oblige the recipients to assist but only create an opportunity for them to volunteer to assist (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). Sultan's report (line 4) provides an assistance occasion to Ali, who cooked and so is not scheduled to clean up today, to offer them his services. In effect, it recruits Ali to assist in that it creates an opportunity for him to perform an action that would help resolve the difficulty. For, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, these types of difficulties complaints do not specify a solution and do not direct the recipient to provide a specific solution in response (Kendrick & Drew, 2016).

Ali, for his part, treats Sultan's turn as a report of trouble coming up and he offers his assistance in the interrogative form of *nsāʕidkum?* (=Shall we help you?) similar to excerpt (1). This utterance comes with a rising intonation which pursues a response. So, it is different from the offers in the membership categories chapter. First, it is not formatted with a declarative that has a falling intonation, such as, *nsāʕidkum* (=I help you). Hence, this offerer awaits a response before acting out his offer; it does *not* merely inform the recipient of what he will do. Second, it is not produced with an imperative formatting that directs the recipient, such as, *xalni ʔasawīh* (=let me do it). The interrogative offer is not as imposing, for it is not acted upon without the recipient's acceptance. It foreshadows what may happen as the sequence unfolds, because it will be unlikely for the offerer to ask for the recipient's permission and then to carry out his offer despite its rejection. Therefore, from the beginning of the sequence, the offer highlights that the sequence would follow a different trajectory with its own norms.

In the same turn as the offerer (line 5), in the second TCU, Ali, minimizes the effect of the offer on him in that he *wants* (=widdanā) to work, and that he has nothing else to do. Consequently, this offer is met with a response which is an emphatic rejection from both participants (lines 6-7) with flat-out multiple *las* that are produced in overlap. Yet still, the offerer pursues an acceptance as he insists again (lines 8-9). His turn-final religious oath *wałłah yaʕni* (=I swear I mean) comes as an overlap of both a flat-out rejection from Yousef (line 10) and an assessment (line 11) from Saleem. Saleem then follows this with an account (line 12) that Ali has already done enough for today by cooking a perfect meal. The offerer accepts the rejection after the initiation of the account, and does not insist any further. This is an offer of assistance; it is produced as a way to assist in resolving a problem that is indicated in this sequence through a report of it. It is immediately rejected by all three recipients, and only after the production of the account does the offerer yield and accept the rejection. The job of cleaning the kitchen has been assigned to the recipients not the offerer; it is their territory and their assigned job. The offerer does not insist or force his offer on them as he lacks the deontic authority in the matter, which lies completely with the recipients.

The following sequence is slightly different, as the recipient issues the account immediately after the rejection. Saleem is sitting at the kitchen table cutting vegetables and preparing salad for lunch, while Awwad is standing in the kitchen behind the counter. The sequence starts with Saleem asking Awwad about the availability of lemons and cumin, commonly added to the salad:

(3) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 1:02:48]


```
1   S:      fīh              laimūn? yā↑ aaa Ɛawwād
            In him(INAN.MASC) lemon?  o'↑ aaa Awwad
            (There is) lemon? o'↑ aaa Awwad
2   AW:     fīh              laimūn
            In him(INAN.MASC) lemon
            (There is) lemon
3   S:      fīh              aa kammūn?
            In him(INAN.MASC) aa cumin?
            (There is) aa cumin?
4   AW:     kammūn fyh            kammūn
            Cumin  in him(INAN.MASC) cumin
            Cumin (There is) cumin
5           (3.0)
6   AW:     ʔajīblik             laimūn              tgaṭƐuh?
            I get for you(SIG.MASC) lemon you(SIG.MASC) cut him(INAN.MASC)?
            (Shall) I get you lemon (to) cut?
7           la la:: xallīh              li=
            No no:: leave him(INAN.MASC) for me=
            No no:: leave it for me=
8   S:      = >ʔabġāh             finnihāya=llaimūn<
            = >I want him(INAN.MASC) in the end the lemon<
            = >I want it at the end the lemon<
9           (1.5)
            [No reference to lemons or cumin after this point]
```

There are two contestants behind the counter; Saleem selects the next speaker by calling Awwad by name when he directs his talk to him. His choice of Awwad as next speaker could be because Awwad is not engaged in another activity at that time, while Khalid is stirring the pot on the stove. First, Saleem asks about the availability of lemons in the kitchen (line1). Awwad responds to this turn as a mere yes/no question. Yet, does not respond with a simple *ʔīh* (=yes) but chooses to confirm the question by partially repeating *fīh laimūn* (=There is lemon). When they come as responses to yes/no questions, this type of response is used for a confirmation action rather than a simple agreement (Raymond, 2003; Heritage and Raymond, 2005: 26). A similar response is given when Saleem asks about *kammūn* (=cumin) (lines 3-4).

When speakers ask for information, specifically, questions about "the existence of goods" it is usually responded to by recipients as pre-requests (Levinson, 1983:364). Hence, Saleem's first turn is recognized by Awwad as a pre-request that conveys trouble Saleem is having; the difficulty comes from him not having lemons to finish his salad. This is the projected course of action. Moreover, this form '*fīh laimūn?* (=is there lemon?), is in an interrogative form; it does not assume the availability of lemons. Yet, Ahmed recognizes it as a pre-request which delays the main requesting action of a missing object (Fox, 2015; Rossi, 2015). In such types of recruitment, the participant leaves the difficulty implicit and they do not report the problem per se (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). Similarly in this sequence, Saleem does not say *Ɂana Ɂaḥtaj laimūn* (=I need lemon for the salad) or *mā ʕindī laimūn* (=I don't have lemons). If he did express his need for lemons, it would signify "a difficulty in the realization of a practical course of action" (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). This pre-request solicits assistance from Awwad for it initiates an offer sequence (line 6) where the delivery of the lemon is relevant as an upcoming action. Offers are standardly preferred over requests, as agency matters to participants. After an approximate 3.0 second pause, in line 6, Awwad asks if he can get Saleem some lemons. With this formulation, Awwad displays his understanding of the preceding questions as a pre for the dispreferred request action. Thus, offering here is his way of helping to resolve the trouble Saleem is in. Yet, Saleem rejects the offer with a multiplied *la* and gives an account that he will get it himself later (lines 7-8).

Again, the important element here, assisting in this change in the trajectory of these types of offer sequences, is that what is offered lies within the recipient's territory. The salad making is assigned to Saleem from a schedule written at the beginning of the week. Thus, as he is fully in charge of the salad, he has all the knowledge of what his needs are. Awwad's offer is proposing a way of making Saleem's preparations easier, and happened as a result of what he displays to be understood as a pre-request. So, Saleem's rejecting response (line 7) orients to this proposed helpfulness by immediately accounting for why he does not need help. It is

up to him to decide when to cut the lemon, and when he says that he will leave it to the 'end' he implies that it is too early now. Each participant has his own territory of information; their epistemic status differs even if they, to some extent, share the same information. Under these circumstances, Awwad, the offerer, knows more about the *availability* of lemons and cumin in the kitchen (because he is in charge of cooking lunch). This can be seen in his marked confirming response (lines 2 and 4), instead of simply agreeing with Saleem's interrogatives (Raymond, 2003). Also, Saleem is the one responsible for the salad in this situation. This is displayed in Awwad's behavior when he does not insist on his offer after Saleem's production of the account. Thus, the offerer, here, gives the recipient primary rights to decide *when* the lemon should be brought and added to the salad. Furthermore, the offerer displays deontic congruence when he aligns with the recipient's account (line 7) by not insisting. Instead the offerer brings the sequence to a close by simply not saying anything after the account.

Similar to excerpts (1) and (2), the offerer orients to the recipient's authority over the matter by producing the offer with an interrogative format. He asks for the permission of the participant in authority of the matter, for his offer is conditional on Saleem's acceptance. This authority, along with the immediate production of the account, works in stopping the verbal insistence all together. Even though the beneficiary stance displayed by the linguistic form of the offer shows Awwad as the agent and Saleem as the beneficiary *ʔajīblik* (=shall I get you), it does show that the act of cutting is happening from Saleem himself *tgaṭʕuh* (=to cut) *not* Awwad, the offerer.

Before moving on to the second pattern of offer sequences, it may be helpful to present an instance where a recipient - in a similar situation - does *not* produce an account after his flat-out rejection. Saleem is standing by two jugs, each containing different types of juice. Sultan summons him (line 4), and asks about the availability of citrus juice (line 7).

(4) [ABYG2-Day5-AFTRISHA2: 1:28:08]

(S: Saleem; SUL: Sultan)
(The contestants are having dinner at two tables. Saleem stands up from his chair and moves from his table to the other, which has the drinks)


```
 1          ((S pours himself some berry juice. When his glass is full,
 2          he puts the jug down and begins to turn around back to his
 3          table))
 4   SUL:   salīm salīm
 5          ((S turns his head and looks at him. SUL holds up his empty
 6          glass. S turns around and put his hand on the berry juice
            jug again))
 7   SUL:   fīh                ḥimḏyyāt ḥim[ḏyyāt
            In him (INAN.MASC) citrus   cit[rus
            (There is) citrus cit[rus
 8   S:     mā↑fī                   °ḥimḏyyāt°
            No↑t in him(INAN.MASC)°citrus°
            (There is) no citrus°
 9          (1.1)
10          ((S turns his gaze to the kitchen))
11   S:     ?adjīb=lik¿
            I bring for you(SIG.MASC)¿
            (Shall) I bring (some) for you¿
12          ((puts his glass down))
13   SUL:   xalāṣ xalāṣ=
            xalāṣ xalāṣ(EXP. Finish/alright)=
14          =?ałłah yiʕāfīk
            =God    yʕafy(PRES.V for makes well) you(SIG.MASC)
            =God (make) you (well)
15          ((S moves to the kitchen))
16   SUL:   xalāṣ
17          ((S carries on walking to the kitchen. SUL follows him with
18          his gaze))
19          (1.1)
20          ((SUL turns his gaze back to the dinner table))
21          (3.0)
22          ((SUL turns his head back to the kitchen))
23          (2.0)
24          ((S comes back with the citrus juice. He opens the lid and
25          pours some in SUL glass))
```

Saleem responds to this turn as yes/no question; he disconfirms the question by partially repeating *mā↑fī °himₔyyāt°* (=There is no °citrus°) (line 8). Sultan avoids requesting citrus juice by asking for information (Schegloff, 2007b). His turn is recognized by Saleem as a pre-request that delays the main requesting action for a missing object (Fox, 2015; Rossi, 2015) and conveys his need for citrus juice. Sultan recruits Saleem in a way that leaves the difficulty implicit, for his recruitment does not report the problem per se by explicitly requesting (e.g. *ṣibblī lau samaḥt* (=pour for me please). This pre-request solicits assistance from Saleem and initiates an offer sequence (line 11) where the delivery of the citrus juice is relevant as an upcoming action. After an approximate 1.1 second pause, Saleem asks if he can get Sultan some juice (line 9). With this formulation, Saleem displays his understanding of the preceding questions as a pre for the dispreferred request action and he offers to help. Yet, Sultan resists the offer with a doubled *xalāṣ* (lines 13-14). The offerer's insistence is displayed through the nonverbal as he walks to the kitchen where he will get more juice (line 15). Sultan rejects again (line 16), but Saleem does not stop. In (lines 24-25) the offerer comes back with the juice and pours Sultan some.

Also, here the offer is formulated as an interrogative *ʔadjīblik¿* (=shall I get you some) (line 11), which, although rejected twice, Saleem still carries it out. However, his rejection is flat out rejection (lines 13 and 16). It is not followed by an account as in previous examples. This flat-out rejection after an offer of assistance prompts the offerer's insistence and the actual performance of the offer (lines 24-25). With this type of response, the recipient chooses to accept the offer by not producing an account for his insistent rejection, and the offerer gets to carry out the offer on which he insisted. The recipient brings the sequence to a close by simply accepting the juice.

The data in this section follows the sequence trajectory of the data analysed in the previous chapter, for offers are met with immediate rejections (as in 1, 2, 3 and 4). Also, these initial

flat-out rejections are countered with the offerer's subsequent insistence as he/she treats it as only a *pro forma* rejection that will be accepted after an insistence (as in 1, 2 and 4). However, the production of the account succeeds in stopping both the offerer's insistence and his assistance. Also, the immediate production of an account after the rejection (as in 3) succeeds in that an insisting turn is not produced at all.

The matter is all in the authority of the recipient. The offerer does not produce his/her offer until he/she deals with the preceding report of trouble (excerpt 2) or the interrogative which is dealt with as a pre-request (excerpts 1 and 3), as the recipients' way to solicit their help. The examples give further evidence of the preference for offers over requests. Although the assistance is actually rejected, it is clear that the offerers insist on it and claim agency in their offering of help. Their insistence seems to be a cautionary measure in the face of a commonly-used rejection by the Saudi recipient. Even though it is an offer of assistance and the matter is epistemically and deontically in the recipient's territory, the Arabic offerer shows no orientation towards avoiding rejections. Unlike English offerers, it is clear that Saudis do not commonly produce a pre-offer. Offers in English may require a pre that is far more attentive to the recipient rejection. See for instance excerpt (9) in the methodology, where Emma produces the pre 'what are you doing?' before inviting her friend (for further details see 2.2.2.2). The Arabic offers in the preceding examples are upfront, such as *tabīnniyarūḥ maʕakiddiktūr?* (=do you want me to go to the doctor with you?). There is no orientation towards avoiding rejections, for rejections are the highly preferred answers an offer will get, not an acceptance. At the same time, the offers in this collection are in interrogative form, which leaves it open for the recipient to accept or reject. It is a question that requires a yes/no answer; it is neither a declarative statement, as an announcement of what the offerer will be doing, nor an imperative with the sense of finality. The interrogative format, regardless of the insistence that follows, does give the recipient latitude to choose his preference; and sometimes it also gives reference to the recipient's needs and wants as in excerpt 1.

In this section, the recipient's deontic authority is clear in that it is Meera's appointment (excerpt 1), the recipients are scheduled for cleaning for this time slot (excerpt 2) and it is Saleem's job to prepare the salad (excerpt 3). The one in charge in the sequence, is the one who claims ownership. And the one in whose domain the offer lies has authority over the offer and over its subsequent acceptance or rejection, regardless of the offerer's insistence. However, this self-determination is not always as clear as I have shown in this section. We will see in excerpt (9) in the deviant case at the end of this chapter, where the negotiation is much longer, more complicated and is not resolved as easily as here.

5.3 Redirected Offers

This collection of offers of assistance, unlike those in the previous section, are done through the multiple emphatic, imperative format. They are usually a result of the offerer seeing and treating the recipient as one who is in need of assistance right *now*. Yet, similar to the previous section, the offer to assist is not considered absent or missing if the offerer decides not to offer. These embodiments are a form of minor actions performed by the recipient of the upcoming offer to possibly do it- what the offerer sees as a sign of need- independently and without assistance. Consider the following excerpt, while Sultan is setting the dinner table, he spills juice over the table and begins to wipe it up.

(5) [ABYG2-DAY5-AFTR ISHA2: 46:57]

(Sultan spills juice on the dinner table. As he starts to clean it up with a roll of paper towel which he uses as a kitchen towel, Rashid comes in and sees him. There are two other people sitting around the table (Abu Abdulkareem and Yousef), but Yousef is the only one referenced briefly in the sequence as he laughs (lines 14-15).)

```
1          ((R comes in, his back to the camera, and sees the spilt juice
2          and S trying to clean it up with paper towels, and stops))
3    R:    Oh oooh ooh
4    S:    yā:: še::::x
           O':: sheikh
           O':: man
5          ((S still wiping))
6    S:    .hhhh le::tni mā  madde::t yaddi     yā še:x
           .hhhh wish I  not point   hand mine o' sheikh
           .hhhh (I) wish I (had)n't interfered man
7          (1.0)
8    S:    |⁵⁵
           Tsk
9          (1.1)
10         ((The other people on the table start to laugh. R puts down a
11         glass he is carrying))
12   S:    Tehh [heh
13   Y:         [hhhh
14         Hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh .hhh heh
15   S:                          [aaahhyy
16         Hhh hh
17         ((S moves out of the range of the camera. R follows him))
18   R:    ʕaṭ ʕaṭ ʕaṭ ʕaṭnīy ʔašūf      ʕaṭniy=ašū:f
           give give give give me I see      give me I see
19   S:    laḥda  laḥda  xalnī  aaa ʔana ʔanaḏḏif
           Moment moment let me aaa I    clean
20   R:    ʕaṭnī   šwayy ʕašān=inxałłeṣ=ibsirʕah hah
           Give me some  to we finish   quickly  hah
           Give me some (so) we (can) finish quickly hah
21         ((R follows S, who is pulling more paper towels for himself,
22         and waits for S to hand him the roll of paper towel. S heads
23         to the table and R walking closely behind him; Figure 5.1))
24         Sīl   maʕay  ʔilʔakil bas
           Carry with me the food just
           Just carry the food with me
25         ((S gives R the the roll of paper towel. R moves the plates
26         from the table with the roll in hand; Figure 5.1))
```


Figure 5.1 Frame representing Rashid moving in to take the roll of paper towel.

Sultan is holding a roll of paper towel and is cleaning up the mess he has caused (line 2), as

Rashid comes in the kitchen and produces a multiplied sympathetic receipt *Oh oooh ooh* in

(line 3). During that time Sultan produces the imprecation *yā:: še::::x* (=o' man) in line 4 but

---

⁵⁵ Dental click

none of the men gets up to assist. He then produces a complaint (line 6) and a tongue click in line 8. Both are forms of trouble alerts that include interjections ('oh', 'oops', tongue clicks 'tsk') and imprecations ('damn it', 'oh man'); they give an alert for existing trouble but do not state what kind of difficulty it is (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). Undeterred by this, the two men sitting at the table laugh but do not get up to help, while Rashid leans forward and puts his glass down (lines 10-11), offering his assistance to take the roll of paper towel from Sultan to wipe the table (line 18). The trouble alerts in lines 4 and 8 recruit Rashid to assist Sultan because they routinely solicit others' attention to one's need of help. Yet, similar to reports of trouble (Curl, 2006), they do not establish an obligation on the other participant to assist; and they are sequence-initiating actions which create the opportunity for others to volunteer.

After putting down a glass that is in his hand (lines 10-11), Rashid initiates an offer to take the roll from Sultan to help him wipe (line18). His offer is produced in an imperative format; it is a cut-off where the imperative verb *ʕaṭ* (=give) is produced without the object pronoun suffix *nī* (=me). He produces it as a full form only after a three repetitions of the cut-off form in turn-initial position which presents haste and insistence in the offer. The recipient does not produce *la* to reject the offer but it is a form of resistance nonetheless (line 19). His resisting turn consists of two TCUs: in the first TCU he uses the imperative form *xalnī* (=let me) with the object pronoun suffix *nī* ('translatable as me') to ask Rashid to let him clean up his *own* mess; in the second TCU he uses the separate pronoun *ʔana* (=I) in *ʔana ʔnḏ̣ḏ̣ef* (=I clean) to display himself as the benefactor in this situation. Even with that, the offerer does not accept the rejection and insists on his offer (line 20). Sultan holds his ground in showing resistance by not passing on the roll as the offerer follows him around very closely with his arm pointing at the roll (line 21-23; Figure 5.1). This goes on until Sultan redirects the offer by means of an imperatively formatted request that he helps him remove the food from the wet table instead *šīl* (=carry) (line 24). With this, the offerer does not insist any further but instead he begins to assist by removing the food from the wet table as the offerer requested.

Unlike the previous section, where the offerer gives himself a lower status by using an interrogatively formatted offer, here he displays high authoritative status in forming his offer as an imperative demand with the use of the attached subject pronoun *a* (=I) in *ʕaṭniyašūf* (=give me I will see) (line 18). Moreover, through the action formation he displays the benefactive stance of his offer by presenting himself as the benefactor. Consequently, the recipient does not accept the status that the offerer gives himself, for, in addition to rejecting the offer, he matches the imperative format to his own redirecting proposal, and uses the phrase *maʕay* (=with me) in *šīl maʕayilʔakil* (=carry the food with me) which emphasizes a subsidiary role for the offerer (line 24). In adhering to the redirection, the offerer displays an orientation towards the participants' authority over the matter. The recipient here has the right to determine the future action of the offerer by rejecting his offer and redirecting the assistance despite the offerer's insistence.

Rashid's first offer of assistance (line 18) and the following insisting turns (lines 20-23) are very interceptive, since his first move is to offer to take the roll of paper towel from Sultan's hand, not to help in removing the plates from the wet table, for instance. The recipient's counter proposal indicates that he rejects this disruption of his course of action (taking the roll from his hand while he is wiping). Yet, he is making use of the offer of assistance in general by specifically directing the offerer to clear the table. The matter is in the recipient's hands from the beginning; he spilt the juice and he is wiping the table. The offerer's choice of imperatively offering to take the roll from his hand is disrupting his work. The recipient rejects it as it is insistently invading his territory at a time he is working to fix a problem that he has done. With his rejection, the offerer's insistence turns becomes more of a form of plea for permission, and "in the case of permission requests the speaker… wants the action more than the bearer" (Ervin Tripp, 1981: 197 in Clayman & Heritage, 2014).

It is clear that the main goal of Rashid's offer is to serve and assist Sultan. Yet, this initial offer is still met with an immediate rejection while the offerer insists. This suggests that the offerer treats the flat-out rejection as *pro forma* which requires insistence to eventually lead to an implicit acceptance. This only stops when the recipient produces a redirection. The following examples further clarify more how redirection works with these forms of imperative offers of assistance. However, due to the immediate production of the redirection TCU after the rejection TCU, there is no insisting subsequent turns as in excerpt (5). Consider excerpt (6), for example, where two contestants are making dinner for all of the contestants; there is *no* main chef or sous chef. Awwad is at the sink peeling carrots while Khalid has just finished what he is doing at the cooking pot.

(6) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: *6:51*]


```
 1          ((A is peeling carrots while K carries the lid from the
 2          counter to cover the pot on the stove. The edge of the lid
 3          hits the pot with a light sound))
 4          ((A turns his head to K, and stops peeling))
 5          xallu              yʔ- y:
            Leave him (INAN.MASC) ya- y:
            Leave (it) ya- y:
 6          ((turns his head back to carrots and resumes peeling
 7          swiftly))
 8          ya↑ġlī hū          ʔalḥī::↑n
            Boil he: (INAN.MASC) no::↑w
            (To) boil no::↑w
 9          ((K settles the lid on the pot))
10          ((sound of peeling carries on for (1.1) seconds))
11          ((K looks at A's hands and moves in close to him;Figure 5.2))
12   K:     hāt  hāt  hāt  ʔana ʔagaššir hāt [hāt   hāt
            Give Give Give  I   peel      give [give give
13                                              [la↑ kammil=
                                                [no↑ finish=
                                                [no↑ finish=
14   AW:    =kammil=ixyārik         ʔant
            =finish cucumber yours you (SIG.MASC)
            =you finish your cucumber
15          ((AW moves his shoulder forward protecting his carrot plate
16          and then gives K more cucumbers; Figure 5.2))
```

```
17  K:      bāgī?
            Left?
            (There are some) left?
18  AW:     ʔī::h bāgi
            Ye::s left
            Ye::s (there are some) left
19          ((K takes the cucumbers and starts cutting them))
```


Figure 5.2 Frame representing Khalid moving in to take the carrot peeler

Awwad is peeling carrots while Khalid is finishing up what he is doing at the stove and starts to cover the pot (line 1). The edge of the lid hits the pot (lines 2-3); Awwad turns his head to it (line 4), stops his peeling and produces the proposal *xallu yʔ- y: ya↑ġlī hūalḥī::↑n* (=leave (it) ya- y: (to) boil no::↑w) in lines 5-8 which engages Khalid's attention. Awwad goes back to peeling the carrots (line 6) as Khalid covers the lid (line 9). Although the peeling has been going on from the beginning of the sequence (line 1), Khalid turns his head to it when he puts down the lid (lines 8-10). The covering of the lid is sequence closing as it initiates that he looks for something else to do in the kitchen. During this state of Khalid's studied attention, Awwad is peeling the carrots swiftly for 1.1 seconds (line 10). The sound of peeling carrots and seeing Awwad working on them is recognizable to Khalid, who orients to it as an occasion for assistance. However, there is evidence that, for Awwad, his action of peeling the carrots is not designed to ask for assistance. Since he has been doing it from the start of the sequence, he is not showing any sign of difficulty with the way he is peeling it, and he does not accept Khalid's offer to help in the subsequent turns. He continues peeling the pile of carrots in front of him for 1.1 seconds. This gives an audible sign that allows Khalid to look at Awwad and realize his bodily actions (line 9), and thus offer his assistance (line 11). This action of peeling can thus be regarded as a subsidiary one, through which Awwad continues peeling the pile of carrots by himself. There are no signs that warrant an

interference of help from Khalid, yet, he offers to assist and treats it as trouble. As presented in Kendrick & Drew (2016), Khalid comes to recognize his co-participant's trouble or need and acts to resolve it.

The offer is an emphatic direct imperative that is multiplied six times *hāt* (=give me). This direct repeated form, along with Khalid's bodily movements, such as moving very close to the recipient with his arm pointing to the carrot peeler (Figure 5.2), shows his commitment to his offer. Similarly to Rashid's offer of the roll of paper towel, Khalid's offer is very interceptive of the recipient's course of action. The recipient, before the offer, was not displaying any sign of difficulty; he is in the middle of peeling. In addition, he states the agent as himself with the pronoun *Ɂana* (=I) in *Ɂana Ɂagaššir* (=I peel) (line 12) even though the benefactive status of this situation is different from what is stated in the offer. It is double-edged; it is offered to relieve the recipient from a task but at the same time it disrupts the progressivity of the recipient's action. The offer is rejected with an immediate *la* that is carried out with the nonverbal, as the recipient blocks the offerer's advancement on him with his shoulder (lines 13-15; see Figure 5.2). In the same turn, the recipient produces a direct imperative format himself (line 13-14) proposing that the offerer finishes up the cucumbers instead. In doing so, Khalid enacts a highly preferred acceptance of the proposal which initiates an adjacency pair with an obligation for assistance. Also, he displays his acceptance of this redirection and does not impose himself on the recipient any longer. Awwad's turn in lines 13-14 accomplishes two actions: a rejection *la*, and a proposal *kammilixyārik* (=finish your cucumber). Both are used to redirect the offer by means of a proposal. This might explain why Awwad uses a strong imperative form to request that Khalid cut the cucumber instead. This imperative request echoes the imperative format of the offer and requests a specific solution from Khalid which puts him in a second position. So, Khalid is obliged to accept the request from Awwad. This aligns with the benefactive status of his situation by proposing a different way for Khalid to help.

Moreover, the imperative format of the offer claims higher deontic and epistemic status than the offerer actually has in this situation. Going back further than the shown sequence, both Awwad and Khalid are responsible for doing something in the kitchen: the act of peeling the carrots is Awwad's task that he chooses to do at the beginning of the cooking segment. Thus, peeling them lies in his, the recipient's, territory; he has first access to the knowledge of whether he needs assistance or not. So his rejection with only a solo *la* delivered without equivocation or qualification, asserts his right to reject the offer on the basis of direct access to the matter. Originally, Awwad was in this position first. Although Khalid's offer is to assist, its imperative repetitive format *hāt* (=give me) is trespassing on Awwad's territory. The recipient rejects it immediately and makes a display of possession of the carrots with his shoulder (lines 14-15; Figure 5.2) while at the same time passing the cucumbers to Khalid. Through blocking Khalid with his shoulder, the recipient is strongly presenting his ownership of the carrots. Yet, he only chooses to reject the help in his own area (the carrot peeling) not assistance in general, as he proposes help in a different territory (the cutting of cucumbers). Also, the notion of who owns what in this sequence is emphasized in the recipient's turn in line 14 when he says *xyārik* (=your cucumber) not just *ʔilxyār* (=the cucumber). On his behalf, when Khalid produces his disruptive offer in this first position imperative, he is implicitly claiming his own right to work on the matter. This is not accepted by Awwad as he directs the offerer to another matter in which he can assist. On the other hand, by accepting the redirection, the offerer shows a strong degree of respect to who has the priority to reject here, and how he sees the following, relevant help. Khalid displays an orientation of his understanding of Awwad's authority in this sequence, and that he, Awwad, has primary rights in this situation. Deontic authority and epistemic authority are interrelated here as well. Khalid's offer presents him as having deontic authority which gives him the right to determine Awwad's future action (by peeling the carrots instead of him). The deontic authority the offerer gives himself here can be accepted or resisted; and Awwad resists this suggested distribution of deontic rights by presenting his own. He claims his own deontic

rights over the matter when he imperatively requests Khalid to do another chore instead. In return, Khalid shows his deontic congruence when he aligns with these deontic rights allocated to him by Awwad.

The following sequence has the same trajectory of an imperative repeated offer which is met with a rejection and a redirection. It is between two contestants, they have both eaten and are both scheduled to clear out the table and kitchen. Awwad carries a couple of plates off the dinner table, and Ali moves towards him with both arms stretched and offers to take the two plates to help him. Awwad rejects this (line 17) and redirects his fellow contestant to help in another way by *picking up a different plate* from the one he is already carrying (line 20), and Ali does so.

(7) [ABYG2-DAY5-AfterIsha2: 01:30:44]

(A: Awwad; L: Ali)
(The contestants have just finished eating dinner. Awwad, *after thanking the men who cooked, starts to clear the table: he stands up, carries his plate and moves around the table to carry more)*


```
 1   A:      kaṯṯar=ałłah     xe:::rkum,                   yāʕiyā↑l
             ADD GOD          goo:::dness your(PL.MASC), o' gu↑ys
             GOD ADD(TO) your goo:::ds,⁵⁶ o' gu↑ys
 2           ((A stands up from his chair, pulls his shirt down))
 3           (1.5)
 4           ((starts to move to the other side of the table carrying
 5           his plate in his RH))
 6   L:      ʔīh wałłah              xal- ʔīh bilʕa-    kil=wāḥid=
             Yes wallah (EXP. I swear) lea- yes with well- every one=
             Yes wallah lea- yes with well- each person=
 7           ((L comes from the right following A lifting his arms to
 8           chest-level, and his hands with open palms are towards A.
 9
```

```
10              This open-arm gesture displaying that he is aiming to
                carry the plates that are in A's hands))
11   L:         =yišīlel::   aa >hāt  hāt<
                =carry the:: aa >give give<
12              (0.2)
13   A:         Hm::?
14              ((A carries another plate))
15   L:         hā::tha
                Gi::ve them (PL.FEM)
                Gi::ve them(to me)
16              ((L putting his hands forward to take the plates ))
17   A:         la. bas jib=
                No. but get=
18              ((A slightly tilts his torso to the right to avoid L's
19              hands; Figure 5.3))
20   A:         =ṣaḥna:: aaalbe:ḍ
                =pla::te aaa the eggs
                =the:: aaa egg plate
21              ((A points with his LH and with a slight chin thrust
22              upwards to a plate with eggs in it. Ali turns his eye
23              gaze towards it then moves towards it as A moves past him
24              to the kitchen; Figure 5.3))
25              ((L carries the egg plate))
```


Figure 5.3 Frame representing Ali moving in to take the plates

Another means of recruitment is when the co-participant anticipates a trouble in a course of action before it happens and acts to preempt it, even though the participant does not report or display trouble. These cases of anticipatory assistance displays the projectability of courses of action (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). As we see in this sequence, Awwad's movement with his empty plate to the other side of the table instead of the kitchen sink, projects in advance a particular course of action, namely one in which he will pick up more plates from the other side of the table. At the same time, Ali comes to recognize this; he moves in from the right, his hands stretched, and offers to assist Awwad verbally and nonverbally (lines 6-10; Figure 5.3). He displays his recognition of this act as an occasion for help and projects that his co-participant is in need of assistance through offering it. Similar to the data used in this chapter, it carries no obligation for Ali to assist. Yet, it does recruit him to help even though

it is recognizable as an action taken by Awwad to perform without assistance. Curl (2006) states that these types of offers are "brought out or developed from a condition of latent or merely potential existence" (1265). Hence, the production of this solicited offer draws the attention to the existence of a problem. So, before the offer is made, the educed problem is not treated by the recipient as something that needs fixing. In other words, when Ali attempts to resolve what he recognizes as a recruitment, he exposes the trouble to public view. So, while it may require assistance, the lack of the offer of assistance here would not have been problematic. The act of carrying the plates is done by Awwad to attend to the matter at hand independently, without assistance. However, Ali chooses to offer his assistance agentively and voluntarily (Kendrick & Drew; 2016), for he is not granting a request for assistance.

It is worth mentioning that, originally, Awwad himself starts to carry the plates after dinner while Ali is still in the kitchen. There is no particular rationale behind this other than that he has started doing it first. Ali's offer of assistance starts with taking the plates from the recipient's hands (lines 7-10). His offer is emphatic and repetitive; also, it is combined with embodiment which is very distinctive. He comes in with stretched arms that he keeps there until the production of the redirection. Also, similarly to the two previous examples (excerpts 5 and 6), he moves in very close to the recipient displaying he is ready to do what he offers. It indicates some kind of proximity of the offer and its nonverbal insistence. This hold in line 16 is a form of insistence; it displays that he is not giving up on his offer and he will not take no for an answer. He is not assisting in clearing out the table in general which would have been acceptable as we see in the redirection of the offer (lines 17-20). The two plates are in the recipient's hands, they are within his territory; he has authority, as he has them first, and he does not accept the offerer taking them from his hands. Due to this, he successfully declines Ali's offer relatively fast: he rejects it with a *la* (line 17), moves the plates to the right, away from the offerer's outstretched hands. With this he displays ownership by

removing them from the offerer's reach (line 18-19; Figure 5.3), and redirecting his assistance to another plate on the table (line 20). Therefore, this strong display of ownership of rejection (line 17), shoulder swivel (line 18) and imperative request (line 20) is a response to the equally salient offer and its embodiment. With the redirection, the recipient displays his understanding of Ali's offer to help, for he chooses not to reject it entirely but only rejects the offer that is emphatically trespassing on his territory. He changes the situation from Ali offering to take the plates from his hands, to a request where he asks for Ali's help with something else. Ali treats this request as a FPP that strongly *prefers* granting; he shifts his body from insisting on taking the plates from Awwad to granting the request (lines 21-23; Figure 5.3).

There is an orientation towards the participants' authority, for it is part of an individual's identity and his/her relative rights and responsibilities that are made relevant in the sequence. In this sequence, Awwad has got to the plates first and they are in his hands; he claims his right to stick to the action he has projected and decide what to do about them. Hence, due to his authority in this turn design, his rejection is not viewed by the offerer as mere *pro forma* rejection. He actually accepts not just the rejection, but also grants the direct request that comes along with it. Similar to the previous examples (excerpts 5 and 6), the offerer displays deontic authority through his emphatic offer which is resisted by the recipient who views himself as in a position of authority here. However, after this resistance from the recipient, and with him shielding the plates from the offerer (lines 17-19), the offerer displays his acceptance of the recipient's authority in this situation in the redirection of the offer. He aligns with the deontic rights allocated to him by the recipient when he grants his request and carries the other plates from the table (lines 21-23). The grammatical structure of the direct imperative, of both the offer *hāt* (=give me) in (line 11) and the request *jib ṣaḥna:: aaalbe:d* (=get the:: aaa egg plate) in (line 17) display high entitlement to implement the action, as this form has the idea of primacy and the speaker expresses agency. Thus, when Ali grants the request at the end, he is merely submitting to Awwad's chosen agency, and he agrees to

apply his suggested solution. When Ali voluntarily offers his help (line 11), and chooses the

way in which he offers his assistance (taking the plates from the recipient's hands) he

exercises a great degree of agency. Yet, this choice of assistance is rejected by the recipient

who is in a position of authority in this sequence. Instead of his choice of assistance, Ali

acquiesces and grants the specific solution given to him by Awwad.

Thus, in offers of assistance, the redirection of an offer (as in the production of an account in

the previous section) succeeds in stopping the offerers' subsequent insistence. In contrast, a

delay of the production of the redirecting request or its absence can cause the offerer to deal

with the rejection as *pro forma* and to perform the offer. The following excerpt gives further

evidence of this. Deema and Mayar are at a restaurant; Deema reports a difficulty she is

having: that the waiter, who has already left, did not slice the pizza before serving it (line 1):

(8) [AbuAbah: 13-11-25_04: 9:10]

(A group of ladies are at a restaurant. Deema and Mayar are sisters. The waiter sets down the food. After he leaves, Deema reports that he did not slice the pizza. At this gathering the ladies are sharing the food on each other's plates)

```
1   D:      mā  gaṭṭaʕhā            (1.0) le:teh,  gaṭṭaʕhā
            Not cut her(INAN.FEM) (1.0) wish he, cut her (INAN.FEM)
            (He did) not cut (it) (1.0) (I) wish (he had) cut (it)
2   M:      ḥinna nga-ʔagaṭṭiʕhā=
            We cut-  I cut her (INAN.FEM)=
            We cut- I cut (it)=
3   M:      =lik            hā:↑tīha                     hā:tīha
            =for you(SIG.FEM)gi↑:ve you(SIG.FEM)her(INAN.FEM)gi:ve you
            her
            =for you gi↑:ve (it) give (it)
4   D:      >lala< ʕādi   °°ʔiṣbirī°°
            >nono< normal °°wait you (SIG.FEM)°°
            >nono< (it's) alright °°wait°°
5   M:      ʕā↑dī  hā↑ti=rro:l              lā tabrid
            No↑rmal gi↑ve you(SIG.FEM) the roll⁵⁷ no be her(INAN.FEM)cold
            (It's) alri↑ght gi↑ve(me) the roll (so it won't) be cold
6           (5.0)
```

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⁵⁷ Pizza cutter

Deema's turn (line 1) receives an offer to cut the pizza for her (lines 2-3), as Deema's report of the difficulty recruits Mayar to offer her help. The offerer initiates her turn with a plural pronoun *ḥinna* (=we) then she indicates a problem in *ḥinna* (=we) and resolves it as she self-initiates a self-repair to the singular prefix pronoun ʔ (=I). She formulates her offer as an imperative *hā:↑tīhā* (=gi↑:ve it) displaying high authoritative status as she presents herself as being the benefactor with ʔ (=I). Consequently, the recipient accepts the offer implicitly for she rejects the offer with a flat-out rejection and does not produces a redirection (line 4). The offerer insists by asking Deema for the pizza cutting wheel. There is silence of 5.0 seconds where Deema gives Mayar the wheel and the latter starts slicing the pizza. Mayar in line 4 insists on the offer by minimizing its effect on her, producing *ʕā↑dī* (=it's alri↑ght). This insistence is a response to a flat-out rejection. The offerer's pursuit of an acceptance with her insistence turn is successful as she treats it as a *pro forma* rejection. This suggests that rejecting this highly authoritative offer without accounting for the rejection, or redirecting the assistance away from the recipient's territory, will lead to the offer being carried out despite its emphatic rejection.

These redirected offers are double-edged in nature– at once potentially disruptive but also affiliative. First of all, the offerers in all three excerpts are disrupting a course of action. For example, in (excerpt 5), the offerer moves in to take the roll of paper towel from the recipient who is wiping the table instead of simply clearing the wet table; in (excerpt 6) the offerer moves in to take the carrots the recipient is peeling instead of just doing something else in the kitchen; in (excerpt 7) the offerer moves in to take the two plates that are in the recipient's hands although there are more plates on the table to collect. This, potentially disruptive move of an already happening course of action and its multiplied imperative format, is an aligning

action. The offerers still do it emphatically although there is a high chance that it will be equally emphatically rejected[58]

Following these displayed troubles, speakers choose to use the imperatively formatted offers which display different benefactive stances from the interrogatively formatted offers used in the first group. This choice of linguistic format encodes the offer action differently. Looking at the *first* group of offers of assistance, the speakers use an interrogative format, as in, *tabīnniyarūḥ maʕakiddiktūr?* (=do you want me to go to the doctor with you?) in (excerpt 1), *nsāʕidkum?* (=shall we help you?) in (excerpt 2) or *ʔajīblik laimūn tgaṭʕuh?* (=shall I get you lemon to cut?) in (excerpt 3). This formulation gives authority to the recipient through asking about their needs or preference for the nominated action. Besides, it is associated with the speaker being the benefactor and the recipient being the beneficiary. These offers are embedded in the interrogative form to show the epistemic downgrade of the offerer and the epistemic upgrade of the recipient. They also display their orientation to authority because the matter in these types of sequences lies in the recipient's territory. On the other hand, with the imperative formulation the offerers, as shown here, claim higher authority than they actually have; they choose to use a direct offer conveying a multiplied direct imperative format, such as, *hāt* (=give me) in (excerpts 6, 7 and 8), or *ʕaṭnī* (=give me) as in (excerpt 5). This use of imperatives invokes deontic status as it displays high degree of entitlement to the speaker; as stated in the methodology in chapter two, Kent (2012) find that it is used by parents to their children. The offerer is not waiting for an agreement before coming in nonverbally to grab the item from the recipient, the bodily movement is done simultaneously with the verbal offer.

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[58] FN (Field Note): I have witnessed a similar situation myself that unfortunately I was not recording. A lady was vacuuming the room. Her relative comes in close and offers to take the vacuum from her while using the imperative verb 'hāt' but with the feminine suffix 'ī' to produce *hātīhā* (=give it to me). The first lady resists the offer by holding on to the vacuum stick and she produces the imperative request *rattbīlmaxaddāt* (=tidy the cushions).

This repetition of the imperative is doing reassurance that this is what the offerer has chosen to do. Also, it is a way to mitigate offence that will occur if the utterance is produced just once, such as, *hāt hāt hā::tha* which is more common than a singular *hāt* that may sound more problematic. Furthermore, the nonverbal, embodiment of the offerer is done through, for example, coming close to the recipient's personal space while pointing his arms at the relevant item. Through this embodiment they are proving they are ready to assist and this is highly affiliative. In other words an offer of assistance, produced as a response to the offerer *seeing* the recipient going through a situation, is a consolidation of different features presented verbally and nonverbally. In this situation, an offer of assistance produced verbally without the embodiment may be characterized as insincere especially as it is bound to be initially rejected. From this it is clear that offers which are not produced - both verbally and nonverbally – will not be heard as actual offers in Saudi Arabic. Ostensibly, this is usually how one does an Arabic offer of assistance, with forced embodiment which interferes with the recipient's space and trajectory of action.

Therefore, there appears to be a priority towards offering assistance in this way. Even if the initial choice of assistance is incorrect (cutting the carrots, taking the plates, wiping the juice), it is still a means by which the offerer is directed to help in a different way (cut the cucumber, carry another plate, remove the wet food from the table). This offer initiates a redirection of assistance without the risk of appearing insincere inherent in the offerer simply asking how they can help. Therefore, this type of disruptive offer may be the preferred way in Arabic over just saying *wišasawwī?* (=what can I do?) or *wiš tabīnyasawwī?* (=what do you want me to do?) as will be seen in my analysis of the deviant case (excerpt 11). Imperative and proximate bodily offers of assistance may also be a way of suggesting that the offerer is ready to help and ready for instruction from the recipient, who is treated as a participant in trouble. The offers in this section recall Clayman & Heritage's (2014) reference to Jeremy Bentham's (1789) "felicific calculus"- referred to in the methodology in chapter two – when the personal

benefits of a certain action are more than its costs. The offerers work out if it is better to offer help and emphatically disrupting the recipient's course of action than to face the risk of doing nothing to assist. Since an offer of assistance, whether it is disruptive or not, will mostly be met with an initial rejection, the avoidance of initial rejection is not a priority as it would be in English.

In addition, there is evidence that this preference for halting the progressivity of a course of action is common in Saudi Arabic offer data. Through it, the offerer is showing alignment and affiliation; there is an emphatic display of how much he/she is willing to do to assist. It is not enough to simply ask how one can help, and yet this format of repetitive imperatives shows a willingness to do something specific. It also gives the person a sense of how much the offerer is willing to help, similar to Sacks's observation referred to earlier in the methodology (section 2.2.2.2) about the situation when you are invited to dinner. Once you are given the menu, you check what your host is going to eat first, for if he is having a bowl of soup you cannot have the veal steak. It is common that one works out how much the other person is willing to spend on this invitation before you choose what you are going to eat. This is similar to the offers here; for example, the offerers are trying to display how much they are planning to assist the recipient by offering to do exactly what he is doing. Hence, the recipient's proposals after the rejection are from a similar domain. For instance, in (excerpt 6) cutting cucumbers is similar to peeling carrots, for Awwad does not ask Khalid to take out the bin or wipe the floor.

The embodied resistance of the offer, on the other hand, is done differently from the resisting embodiment we saw in the previous chapter even though the recipients face similar territorial intrusion. An example is the embodiment in (excerpt 3) in the previous chapter, where the host is offering to take the guest's bag. The guest's verbalized resistance contrasts his embodiment where he does not physically block the offerer from taking the bag. The talk is doing one thing and the body another. Whereas in this section, the rejecting embodiment

aligns with the verbalized resistance. The protective body movements of the shoulder swivel in (excerpts 5, 6 and 7) projects the outcome of definitive rejection of the stated offer, and the lack of the protective move in (excerpt 3) projects the outcome of rejection that is just *pro forma*. In consequence, the SPP rejection echoes the emphatic FPP. The imperative repeated offer is met with an imperative request that in any other position would be unlikely, because speakers try to avoid dispreferred direct requests through pres and asking for information. Specifically, other than under certain conditions, such as after a disruptive imperative offer, a direct imperative request is not regularly produced. Recipients use imperative requests in response to disruptive offers as a way to reject and redirect them, for they are dispreferred and unlikely to be produced as a FPP.

The following section consists of three deviant cases I analyse to show why they differ from the two patterns I established.

5.4 Deviant cases

The trajectory of the first two categories can be illustrated as such:

(Rejected/redirected offers of Assistance)	
Problem	Problem
↓	↓
Interrogatively formatted offer	Imperatively formatted offer
↓	↓
Rejection	Rejection
↓	↓
Insistence	Insistence
↓	↓
Rejection + An account for the rejection	Rejection + Redirection of the offer
↓	↓
Definitive rejection	Partial rejection
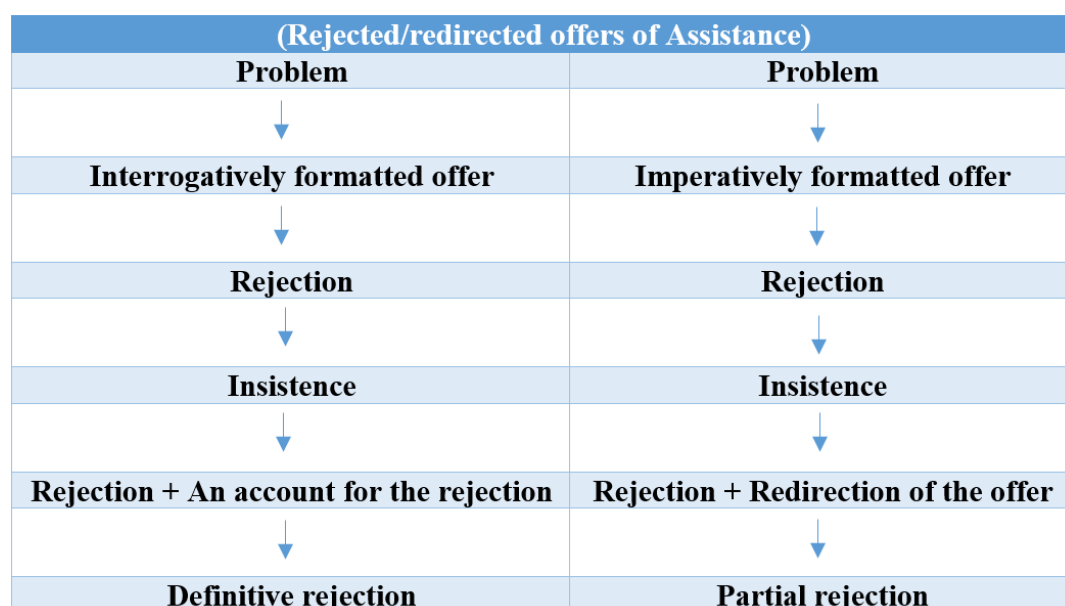
Figure 5.4 Sequence trajectory of rejected/redirected offers of assistance

This is the common form of trajectory in offers of assistance. However, under different circumstances, these trajectories are not followed in the deviant cases to be described here.

The following are three very long, problematic sequences where the rejection and the offerer's insistence takes longer to be resolved. In the first sequence the authority of the matter is not as clear as in the earlier examples. The second becomes problematic when the offerer does not adhere to the recipient's rejection after he gives an account. Then the third is where the offerer does not insist on a flat-out rejection and uses an interrogatively formed offer instead of an imperative. The analysis of these three sequences will aid further understanding of the main two types of sequences established earlier in this chapter.

5.4.1 No clear authority

This is an offer sequence following a complaint which becomes very problematic; the insistence and rejection continue for three minutes and forty-nine seconds, and it is only resolved when a third party, Sultan, gets involved. For simplicity, owing to its length, I will analyse this sequence in sections. The initial segment of the sequence starts as Mohammad complains about his arm with his announcement of the problem (line 1). He follows it with the affect-laden sound object *ooof* (line 4) which is a trouble alert drawing the attention of the other participants to his pain. By itself, this trouble alert formulates neither a solution to the difficulty he is facing nor the difficulty itself (Kendrick & Drew, 2016), but here Mohammad issues the problem announcement in line 1. This draws Awwad's attention as he gets up and issues his offer (lines 5-6).

(9) [ABYG2-DAY 44-ISHA3: 23:38-27:55]
(AW: Awwad (offerer); M: Mohammad (recipient); SUL: Sultan)
(Earlier in the morning, during exercise, Mohammad has hurt his elbow. Awwad, as a doctor in civilian life, put some ice on it immediately. However, late in the evening, where this extract takes place, Mohammad complains about the pain.)[59]

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[59] This is a very long sequence. It has been reduced as much as possible without jeopardizing the comprehension of it. See Appendix B for full transcript.

```
1   M:      yāxī      fīh                ?alam hina lalḥīn
            O'brother in him(INAN.MASC) pain  here till now
            O'brother (there is) pain here till now
2           ((Moves his arm up and down and holds his right elbowwincing))
3           (1.1)
4   M:      Ooof⁶⁰
5   AW:     xal xal=lajīb=ilmarham     wi=nliffahā            ?lḥīn
            let let I bring the cream and wrap her(INAN.FEM) now
            let let me bring (some) cream and we('ll) wrap it now
6           ((AW sprints up from the couch but M grabs his arm to stop
            him; Figure 5.5))
7   M:      la la la la [ la ] la la xalāṣ xalāṣ
            NO NO NO no [ no ] no no done  done
            NO NO NO no [ no ] no no (it's) done (it's) done
8   AW:                 [?illā]
                   [Illa (EXP.I will)]
9           ((M let go of AW arm. AW stands there looking at M who is
10          rubbing his painful elbow))
11  M:      wałłah=
            Wallah (EXP. I swear)=
12          =mālī=xilgahā         mālī=xilgahā         ?abad ?abad=
            =not feel her(INAN.MASC)not feel her(INAN.MASC) ever  ever=
            (I do)n't feel (like) it I (do)n't feel(like) it ever ever=
13  AW:     =xal=nīyaliffahā          lik            ?alḥīn
            =let us wrap her(INAN.MASC) for you(SIG.MASC) now
            =let us wrap it for you then (right) now
14          ((He points at M's elbow and leaves the room))
```


Figure 5.5 Frame representing Mohammad grabbing Awwad's hand

The recipient rejects the offer with multiple *las* which is intensified by his swift hand grip as

he pulls the offerer back (lines 6-7; Figure 5.5). Awwad insists by using *ʔillā* (translatable as

'I will') in line 8.This strong bodily rejection (gripping the offerer's arm) does hold Awwad

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⁶⁰ A sound made when one is in pain. Similar to 'ouch' in English

back for approximately 2.5 seconds. Yet, when Mohammad lets go of his arm, he starts to
rub his elbow again, in direct contradiction to his assertion that he is not feeling any pain
(line 9-12). Awwad offers to wrap his arm again and leaves the room (line 13-14).

The second part of the sequence starts when Awwad comes back with the muscle cream and
bandages. Mohammad sees him and resumes his emphatic rejection:

```
15  M:    Mā=yiḥtāj mā=yiḥtāj mā=yiḥtāj ṣaddignī
          No need   no need   no need   believe me
16  AW:   ʔijlis ʔijlis
          Sit    sit
17  M:    Mā=yiḥtāj wałłah?
          No need   wallah (EXP. I swear)?
18        ((M backs up and AW moves closer to him and sits down on the
19        couch))
20  AW:   ʔij[lis
          Si[t
21  M:      [wałłah
            [wallah (EXP. I swear)?
22        Mā=yiḥtāj ʔabu[ḥme:d
          No need   Abu[Homaid61
23  AW:              [ʔijlis=
                     [sit=
24        =ʔagūl=
          =I say=
          =I said=
25        ((M moves away from the couch even more;
          Figure 5.6))
26  M:    =xallah   xallah   bas  xallah
          =leave it leave it just leave it
27  AW:   taʕā↑l taʕāl
          co↑me   come
          co↑me (here) come (on)
```


Figure 5.6 Frame representing Mohammad backing away from the couch

---

61 Nickname for Awwad

Awwad issues the imperative form *ʔijlis* (=sit) ordering the recipient to sit down (line 16). In return, Mohammad keeps on repeating his rejection and swears to his sincerity (line 17). The insistence sequence carries on for approximately 1.5 minutes of *ʔijlis* (=sit) and *taʕāl* (=come) imperatives from the offerer and rejections from the recipient. There is a strong nonverbal resistance from the recipient, as he backs up and moves away from the couch where the offerer is sitting (line 18 and 25;

Figure *5.6*).

However, nothing of this holds the offering doctor back as he pursues an acceptance; he even starts unwrapping the cream as a display of intent[62]. It is clear by this point that the sequence has become somewhat conflictual, as Mohammad, with infiltrating laughter has indicated the delicacy of the matter (Jefferson, 1984) and accused Awwad of acting 'as his mother'[63]. Also, further on, he teases Awwad that he is *ṭabīb fāšil* (=a loser doctor)[64] because he treats patients against their will. This goes on and Awwad asks Mohammad a *le:š* (=why) questions showing an orientation to the lack of an account (line 91):

```
91   AW:   Fik=alkabak   ṭayyib (.) le:š ṭayyib? (.) le::š xāyif?
           Open the cuff then  (.)  why  then?  (.)  why scared?
           Open the cuff then (.) why then?(.)why (are you) scared?
92   M:    ʔafṣaxlik            ṭūbī?
           Take for you(SIG.MASC) my thobe⁶⁵?
           Take (off) my thobe (for) you?
93   AW:   Hāðā (.)hāðā yiwaggif kiðā=
           Him  (.)him  stand   like this=
           Him  (.)he stand(s) like this=
94   AW:   =yisawwi kiðā yastir- yastirnā kiðā
           =do like this cover-  cover us like this
           =do(ing) like this cover- cover(ing) us like this
95         ((AW  says it while pointing at SUL and miming a person
96         standing with a curtain cover))
97   M:    billah?
           Billah (EXP. Swear to god)?
           Seriously?
98         ((AW takes M's arm))
99   M:    [ʔiṣbir ʔiṣbir] >yaby=irūḥ  yaby=irūḥ<
```

---

[62] Line 55 in deleted part (see Appendix B for full transcript of the sequence)
[63] Line 48 in deleted part (see Appendix B for full transcript of the sequence)
[64] Lines 75 and 77 in deleted part (see Appendix B for full transcript of the sequence)
[65] The white traditional clothes he is wearing

```
          [wait    wait]   >want to go want to go<
          [wait wait] >(it'll) go (it'll) go<
```

In line 92, Mohammad gives the first hearable account for why he is rejecting the offer. Even with that, Awwad offers him a solution and pulls his hand, trying again to put on the cream. This time this continues for longer until the third party, Sultan, comes in with a summons, calling Awwad by name (line 109) and indicating that it is not his business (line 112).

```
109  SUL:                       ʕawwād?
                                [Awwād?
110          ((AW turns to SUL))
111  AW:     =foltarīn
             =Voltarene
             =(It's) Voltarene
112  SUL:    xallah     yabnilḥalāl      (1.5) wiš ʕale:k
             Leave him o' son of halal (1.5) what for you(SIG.MASC)
             Leave him o' son of halal (1.5) what (is in it) for you
113          ((SUL moves his hands sarcastically))
114  AW:     waɫɫah                  yimkin aaa rud̲ad̲   ʔaw=šayy
             Wallah (EXP. I swear) maybe  aaa bruises or something
             Wallah maybe aaa (it's a) bruise or something lets
115          (.)
116          Xan=nt̲abtah
             let us hold him(INAN.MASC)
             let's hold it
117  SUL:    aaa ʔiða yibġa   gāl  taʕāl yāʕawwād [aaaa
             Aaa if  he want said come  o'Awwad  [aaaa
             Aaa if he want(s he'll) say come o'Awwad [aaa
118  AW:                                          [weš   ʕugbah
                                                  [after what
                                                  [[(it will be too late then)
119  SUL:    aaa xallah    ʕayya   wiš=insawwī=bih
             Aaa leave him refused what do us   for him
             Aaa leave him (he) refused what (can) we do for him
120  M:      Xafīf=alḥīn        māfīhā               ʔalam guwi
             waɫɫah
             Light her(INAN.MASC) now not her(INAN.MASC) pain strong
             wallah
             (It's just) slight (pain) now (there is) no strong pain
             wallah
121          (.)
122  M:      Gabl=iššwayy  magdar  aaat̲nīhā
             before little not can aaabend her(INAN.MASC)
             (a) little (while ago I) couldn't  aaabend it
123          ((M moves his hand as proof ))
124  SUL:    baṣīṭah yārajjāl baṣīṭah yāmā          t̲iḥt aaaa
             Easy   o' man    easy    how many times fell aaaa
             (It's) easy man easy how many times (have) I  fallen aaaa
125          ((SUL opens a new topic and AW starts putting the cream and
126          band aids away))
```

In this long sequence, the offerer invokes his identity as a doctor, as he is very insistent on treating someone he views as a hurt patient, while the recipient strongly rejects this offer. Looking at the participants as merely two contestants, it is the recipient's body and he has authority to reject help. This is also pointed out by the third party (Sultan) in line 117 where he adds the conditional clause *ʔiða yibġa gāl taʕāl yāʕawwād* (=if he wants he'll say come o' Awwad). In this turn, Sultan clearly states the recipient's needs and preference which are crucial in this sequence. Moreover, he adds that if Mohammad has refused, it is him to blame not the offerer (line 119). With Sultan's words, Awwad yields and puts everything away (lines 125-126).

Similarly to the previous examples, this is an offer of assistance sequence that is interactionally generated. It is initiated through a report of a problem (line 1) and a trouble alert (line 3). Although it is rejected similarly to the other offers: with an emphatic group of *las* (line 7) and accompanied with accounts in lines 11-12 and 92, there is a lengthy delay in accepting the rejection. The main issue of difference is that the territory borders are not as clear. Since, although Mohammad is the one who is hurting and has the right to decide if he wants cream or not, there is still a clear orientation to the doctor's identity here. One may hear in Awwad's insistence his warrant as a medical professional. He treats the report of trouble as a recruitment of his medical skills (and his medical kit that he keeps in his room); he does not treat it as a regular complaint to a co-contestant or a friend. So, this is when the situation becomes slightly problematic before being solved. Awwad gives himself the *authority* to insist on treating Mohammad despite Mohammad's account. He is a professional, and he has his own access to the knowledge of how to heal a painful elbow, and how any delay in treating it will be too late (line 118). On the other hand, Mohammad does not accept this enforced authority, as it is his body and he claims the right to choose whether

to bandages his elbow or not. This clash is only resolved when a third party gets involved and sides with the recipient over the insisting offerer.

Orientation to both epistemic and deontic authority is very prominent in situations where patients resist medical authority. This happens not only in medical environment and its institutionalized setting, but even when doctors orient to their medical experience outside the medical environment as well (Athreya, 2010). In this type of situation, epistemics provides an ethical foundation for the doctor to recommend treatment. While simultaneously, the patient has epistemic and deontic authority which reinforces his right to accept or reject the treatment because he is the one experiencing the pain (for more on patient agency in health care interaction please read, Peräkylä, 1998, 2002; Robinson, 2003; Bergen & Stivers, 2013). Lindström & Weatherall (2015) find that, epistemically, there is a distinction between the doctors' medical expertise and the patients who have limited access to it. Nevertheless, they find that doctors treat patients' resistance as legitimate, which is consistent with their patient-centered approach. On the other hand, deontically, the doctors' authority and rights to offer a treatment occur from their epistemic authority as experts in medicine. However, the ultimate deontic authority is with the patients as they have the rights to refuse the treatment on the basis that they understand the expert knowledge behind it. It is about the self-determination of both the doctor and the patient. The deontic authority over the matter intersects with the epistemic authority here; it is his domain and he has rights over it. It is the patient's life experience versus the doctor's knowledge and expertise. It is a clear clash between these two forms of knowledge of 'I have the pain and it is my body and my decision' against 'I am the doctor and I have got the expertise'.

5.4.2 Not Adhering to the Account

(10) [ABYG2-DAY7-Dhuhur: 01:34:42]

(Saleem has cut his finger and it is bleeding. Yousef, one of the contestants, offers to take him to the boss, Abu Abdulkareem, who has a special spray for cuts in his room.)


```
1    S:        yaddī:::==njarḥat=
               Hand mine::cut her(INAN.MASC)=
               My ha::nd it (was) cut=
2              ((Y  walking to him))
3    Y:        =ʔīh waḷḷah              marrah=ṯānyah?
               =Yes wallah (Exp. I swear) once   second?
               =Yes oh god a second time?
4    S:        mā  aa (dammat)              min  ʔawwal
               Not aa (bled) her(INAN.MASC) from first
               Not aa ((it's still) bleed(ing))from last time
5              ((Y finished washing the glasses))
6    Y:        ʔabuʕabdilkirīm
               ABU ABDULKAREEM⁶⁶
7              ((Y Turns talking to S))
8    Y:        taʕāl taʕāl
               Come   come
9    S:        la la la
               No no no
10   Y:        ʕindū    [ʕindū=
               Have him [have him=
               He has    [he has=
11   S:                 [la la
                        [no no
12   Y:        =baxxā↑x [ʕindū
               =SPRA↑Y  [have him
               =SPRA↑Y  [he has
13   S:                 [>mābġa    baxxāx<=
                        [not I want spray=
                        [I (do)n't want (a) spray
14             =xalāṣ  laṣagah yāxī       tkaffī
               =finish bandaid o' brother enough
               (it's) done the band aid (is) enough o' brother
15   Y:        jib  hāðā=šwayy
               Give this little
               Give (me) this (for a) little (bit)
16             ((Y puts his hand on S's band aid, that is wrapped over his
17             bleeding finger, trying to take it))
```

---

⁶⁶ Calling the boss who is in his room

```
18   S:       Wiš==tibġa=fīh?
              What want  in him(INAN.MASC)?
              What (do you) want with it?
19            (0.5)
20            >la la< mābġa    ʔubuʕabdilkirīm
              >no no< not want Abu Abdulkareem
              >no no< (I do)n't want Abu Abdulkareem
21            ((Y puts his arm around S shoulder and guides him))
22   S:       la la yāxi
              No no o'brother
23            ((S ducks under his arm and runs away from him))
24   Y:       ʔagūl=imš
              I say come
25            ((Y holds him back; Figure 5.7))
26   S:       la la yinxariʕ ʕalayya
              No no scared   on me
              No no (he will get) scared
27            ((Y goes back to AK room, and talks to him while standing at
28            the door))
29            ʔabuʕabdilkirīm tarāh=
              Abu Abdulkareem tara (EXP)=
              Abu Abdulkareem tara=
30   Y:       =ʕayya   la yijīk               (.) ṣubʕu       bahðalū
              =refused no come you(SIG.MASC) (.) finger him bother him
              =(he) refused to come (.) his finger is bothering him
31   S:       |  šū↑f  rāḥ ʕallam=abuʕabdilkirīm yāʔałłā:::::h
              Tsk lo↑ok gone told Abu AbdulKareem  o' go:::::d
              Tsk lo↑ok(at that he's)gone(and)told Abu Abdulkareem oh
              go:::::d
32            ((Saleem raises his right arm then lets it fall to his
33            side))
```


Figure 5.7 Frame representing Yousef attempting to pull Saleem, lines 33-35

In this sequence, the trouble starts with Saleem's report (line 1) which initiates the offer.

Again the offer (line 8) - to take Saleem to the Boss, who has a special spray for cuts- is

rejected with multiplied *las* (line 9). The offerer insists even with the production of the

account in lines 13-14. In the aftermath of insistence and rejection, where even at some point

the offerer attempts to pull Saleem into the room (lines 21-25; Figure 5.7), the recipient

produces another account that the Boss *yinxariʕ ʕalayya* (=will get scared) (line 26).

Yet, the recipient's accounts do not stop Yousef and he acts on his offer: he goes to the boss's room and tells him about his fellow contestant's finger (lines 27-28). Saleem reacts to this with the affect-laden paralinguistic dental click *tsk* (Reber, 2012) that shows a highly marked negative affective stance, and an exasperated throw of the arm (line 31-33). Although Saleem's complaint is the cause of the offer, the injured finger is *his* and, unlike the preceding example, the offer is completely in the recipient's territory. The rationale behind the offerer's lengthy insistence, which carries on even after the account is produced, is not justified. Thus, when the recipient claims deontic and epistemic authority, for he is responsible for his own body and his needs and wants are crucial, the offerer should adhere to his/her account of the rejection. Also, if he does not, the consequences are problematic, as is marked in the recipient's maddened response (lines 31-33).

These categories of selected offers are ultimately grounded in territories of knowledge and authority. They are being invoked in the talk, so a speaker's identity (what they own and if they have the right to reject it) is crucial in the projectability of action recognition. It is clear that the element of authority is the ultimate rationale for recognizing if a rejection is sincere or just *pro forma*, if an offerer should insist on his offer or accept the rejection after the production of an account or even a redirection. The final deviant case here concerns an offerer who does not insist after his initial offer is just met with a flat-out rejection which lacks any form of account or redirection:

5.4.3 Offerer ceding to a flat-out rejection

(11) [ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 15:24]

(Awwad and Khalid are cooking lunch. Ali comes in while the two are looking for something in the cupboards, and he offers to help out.)


```
1    A:        hāh yāḥmad  ?sāʕīdkum?           (bšayy)
               Hah o'Ahmad I help you(PL.MASC)? (with something)
               Hah o'Ahmad (shall) I help you?  (with anything)
2    AW:       laɂ tamām
               Noɂ good
               Noɂ (we're) good
3    A:        °marrah°  (.) yaʕnī ?aglib wajhī?    [hh hh
               °Totally° (.) mean  I flip face my?67 [hh hh
               °Totally° (.) so (shall) I flip my face? [hh hh
4    AW:                                        [?am:::d=
                                                [a::: not=
                                                [a (do:::)n't=
5              =rī   wałłah¿              (.) bādir
               =know wallah (EXP. I swear)¿ (.) initiate
               =know wallah¿ (.)(you) initiate
6              ((Awwad goes to work. Ali scratches his head and stands
7              there for 20 seconds68, while the two are still working))


               ((OMITTED LINES))

11             ((A is still standing there, AW looks at him and points to
12             some dishes on the counter; Figure 5.8))
13   AW:                       [ḥamlat=iklīn?   ḥamlat=iklīn?=
14             =ḥamlat=iklīn?
                              [Campaign clean? campaign clean?=
               =campaign clean?
                              [Cleaning campaign? cleaning campaign?=
               =cleaning campaign?
15             ((A moves forward to the plates, and AW returns his gaze
               to the sink he is working at))
16   AW:       ḥamlat=iklī:::n
               CAMPAIGN CLE:::AN
               CLE:::AN(ING) CAMPAIGN
17   A:        ?abšir
```

---

67 A phrase similar to 'throw myself out of the room'

68 At this time, Ali does not assist but takes slice of cucumber that K was cutting. When K sees him they both smile, and K takes a sliced piece himself.

```
              Absher (EXP. I will do what makes you happy)
              I will do what makes you happy
    18        (.)
    19  A:    yaʕnī=anaddif maʕkum=anā?
              Mean I clean with you(PL.MASC) I?
              (This) mean(s) I (shall) clean with you?
    20  A:    ʕādi,              ʕādī, ʕādī,
              a'adi,(EXP. No problem) a'adi, a'adi,
              no problem, no problem, no problem,
    21        ((A goes around the counter and starts tidying up))
```


Figure 5.8 Frame representing Awwad pointing at the mess on the counter

The offer is met with the rejection *la* and a positive assessment of the situation. Although Ali

insists with a low voiced *marrah* (=totally), he also produces a phrase that may be translated

as 'shall I throw myself out then?' (line 3). The recipient produces his next turn in overlap,

and with the imperative form invites the offerer to initiate help (line 4-5). Yet, even after this

open invitation Ali does not initiate assistance, he stands there for approximately 20 seconds

(line 7). He does not initiate assistance until the recipient comes in with a repeated

announcement that it is time for a cleaning campaign as he is looking at the offerer and

pointing at the mess on the counter (lines 11-14; Figure 5.8).

Ali does not forcefully insist until he is met with an account or redirection, which is what

usually happens in Arabic offers. In contrast to all the other cases, the offerer stands doing

nothing. He does not disrupt their course of action, as in, (excerpts 5, 6 and 7), nor does he

insist after the flat out rejection, as in (excerpts 5 and 8).This is a display of passivity since,

as we have seen standardly, there is comeback with the insistence; yet here, in contrast, there

is nothing. This lack of insistence results in the production of the imperative turn *bādir*

(=initiate) from the offerer (line 5). The recipient does indeed reject but it is a flat-out

rejection which lacks an account or a redirection. This solo rejection may be an indication that assistance is indeed required and that the recipient's rejection is *pro forma* so just delaying the acceptance in Arabic.

The grammatical structure of this offer shows that from the beginning Ali is displaying low epistemic entitlement through his downgraded format. The two recipients are making dinner, and they present that they are having trouble (searching for things, the kitchen is a mess, and the counter is filled with dirty dishes). Yet, it is their assigned day to cook, not Ali's turn. Hence, his mitigated offer of assistance, as he relinquishes epistemic authority of this matter. The offer preserves consistency between the epistemic stance Ali encodes in the turn-at-talk and the epistemic status he occupies relative to the topic, while at the same time he is in congruence with the expression of that status and the epistemic status of his recipients (Heritage, 2013: 378). Moreover, the offerer does give the recipient deontic authority as he gives him the right to determine his future action, for example, whether he should come in the kitchen and help or not.

Ali, therefore, does not treat the rejection as a flat-out *pro forma* rejection, despite the fact that it is not followed by an account. Given that the recipient, first, invites the offerer to initiate his assistance (line5), before he specifies what the offerer should do (pointing at the dirty counter (lines 11-14), it is apparent that he is indeed in need of assistance. This kind of misaligned recognition of the action may be that the offerer does not "wish to seem over-eager [invasive]" (Curl, 2006: 1069), and that the absence of an emphasized insistence sequence (except for the word *marrah* (=totally) in line 3 is revised to be more circumspect. His lack of insistence and his displayed act of passivity prompted the recipient to request help (lines 13 and 15). Even though it is not a direct request, as in *naḏḏif* (=clean), it is a request nonetheless. It takes the idea of primacy and independence that Ali would have claimed if he has initiated the assistance himself and not waited for Awwad to ask him to clean up. First positioned offers or requests are the place in talk where speakers express *agency*. For when

granting a request, a recipient is merely submitting to the requester's agency as he agrees to apply a solution suggested by the requester. Yet, after a display of a problem the offerer-to-be voluntarily offers his help and claims the preferred agency. He gets to choose the way this offer of assistance is implemented and the way it may be fixed; "thereby exercising a greater degree of agency over the course of action" (Kendrick & Drew, 2014:111). Hence, in this sequence, Ali, with his offer, claims agency, but his lack of insistence made him a subject to Awwad's claimed agency as he ends up asking for the offerer's help. Also, he does not directly request assistance with the imperative format warranted after a disruptive imperative offer. He issues the request in an implicit dispreferred manner by announcing that there is a cleaning campaign (lines 13-16).

Furthermore, in the category of redirected offers, it is clear that there is preference for intervening in the recipient's course of action. In this excerpt, the offerer's practice seems feeble; it would have been more appropriate if it were other-directed. So, Ali should have been tracking his co-contestants' work and specifically offering to do something, for instance, offering to lay the table, or, in a more preferred disruptive manner in Arabic coming in closer and offering to help them look for the missing pan. His choice of offer format *ʔsāʕīdkum? bšayy* (=shall I help you? with anything) is a way of offering help but it seems that an offer of assistance is more appreciated if it nominates a specific item. In Arabic it is preferred if it is disruptive of the course of action and displays the offerer's willingness to do the work instead of the recipient. Likewise, the recipient's turn in lines 4 and 5 shows his orientation towards a preference for a disruptive offer. He does not let the offerer leave but proposes that he should *bādir* (=initiate), which may seem an upfront imperative. Thus, Awwad treats the lack of insistence after his flat-out rejection as relevantly absent, and the offerer complying to his immediate rejection with no insistence as something completely inappropriate.

In general, participants in a conversation struggle towards an alignment which is a further aspect of social solidarity and social cohesion. This cooperative relationship is contingent; it

is built on circumstances where when a participant faces a difficulty and needs assistance, a fellow participant will step in to help (Kendrick & Drew, 2016:2). In Arabic, participants achieve this social solidarity through producing an upfront offer, whether it is an interrogative or imperative. The equally emphatic rejection of this offer is a way of achieving this alignment; indeed, for an offer to be immediately accepted is highly dispreferred. It is usually accepted implicitly and after several turns of insistence. Rejecting an offer is the participant's way of returning the favour of the offerer, that is, *you displayed your respect to me by offering to help me, so I will show you respect by rejecting this offer to display that I do not want to burden you.* Offerers standardly insist as a way of reassurance that the rejection is not just a *pro forma.* It is also a way to see if his/her insistence will get an account or a redirection to stop the insistence or, if they do not get them, to simply execute the offer. In all the data shown here, the offerer does not wait for an explicit agreement, and one is never produced.

Chapter 6 **Conclusion**

The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate the standard initial rejection of offers and the delayed acceptances in naturally occurring Saudi Arabic talk. I have examined the preferred features in which these recurrent initial rejections are produced, while exploring the real-life consequences of these rejections and the subsequent negotiating turns. In this concluding chapter, I give an overview of the findings of this thesis. I follow up with an interpretation of these results and how they provide evidence to the notion that CA does advance on speech act theory, politeness theory and Grice's maxims in fully understanding Saudi offers. Then, I present the social implications of understanding this phenomenon in everyday Arab life. First, I show how these patterns in Arabic interaction generate some existing stereotypes. Second, I illustrate how awareness of this phenomenon may occur in Arabic everyday talk-in-interaction. I then conclude by suggesting ways in which this study may be developed in the future.

6.1 The findings of the study

6.1.1 Preference for initial rejection of an Arabic offer

Opposing the established principle of preference organization in English, that participants try to avoid or minimize rejections if possible (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2014), the empirical skewing in Arabic clearly prefers immediate rejection for offers. However, the general norms for the promotion of affiliation between this FPP and its SPP appear to be universal for, despite the initial rejection in Arabic, accepting an offer is ultimately preferred. Where the dissimilarity lies is in the fact that an English offer adjacency pair is implemented through two turns: the offer and its acceptance/rejection, while in Arabic it is implemented through a sequence. Time and again in Arabic, resistance, if not emphatic refusal, is routinely preferred

as an initial response to offers, with acceptance implicitly happening after the offerer's insisting turns. A Saudi Arabic offer sequence usually follows these two trajectories:

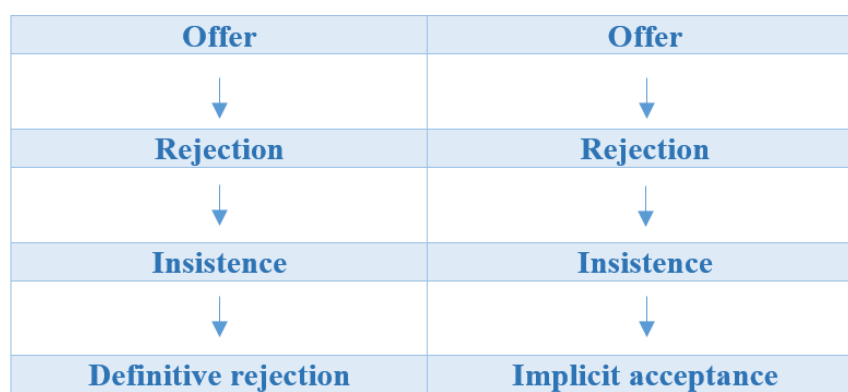| Offer	Offer
↓	↓
Rejection	Rejection
↓	↓
Insistence	Insistence
↓	↓
Definitive rejection	Implicit acceptance

Figure 6.1 Sequence trajectories of rejected offers and implicitly accepted offers

Regardless of how the sequence unfolds, the initial rejection in both is emphatic and performed in a preferred manner, while initial acceptances, if they do occur, are reluctant and implicit. Moreover, delaying an acceptance, and instead immediately producing a rejection, is the Arabic speaker's way in maintaining social solidarity. There is an affiliation in the immediate rejection, through which the recipient displays that he/she does not want to burden the offerer in any way. At the same time, he/she gives the offerer a chance to insist on his/her offer or simply to carry it out. This chance to insist is beneficial as a way for the offerer to display his/her generosity. Thus, the production of an immediate and explicit acceptance opposes this social solidarity.

This immediate rejection is also found in English. In the methodology section 2.2.2.3, I presented Schegloff's (1998:454; 2007b: 60) example of the *pro forma* rejection of the last piece of pie and the second serving of food at the dinner table, however, in English this is still an exception. This contrasts with other Arab communities, where it is a prominent phenomenon. Therefore, these alternative findings of responses to Saudi Arabic offers, may lead to two conclusions. First, members of some cultural groups appear to weigh preference principles differently to others; meaning that culturally-specific studies, such as this thesis, are crucial to expand analysts' knowledge of preference principles. Second, there is the aspect

of community appropriacy. Hence, participants make "determinations about the appropriateness/inappropriateness of agreeing, disagreeing, accepting and rejecting" (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2014:226) in their own cultures. So, these studies of preference principles rely on how the participants of other cultures relate to each other, and view each other. Research, such as this study, on preference organization in other languages is in its early stages. Therefore, it is clear that analysts have not established the extent to which the findings for English are universal.

These rejections are produced not just in a preferred manner, but are emphatic in their production. After its immediate production, the rejection is usually negotiable as definitive or *pro forma*. So, the offerer can insist and carry out his/her offer despite the rejection, or accept the rejection and withhold insistence at a later point in the sequence. I have established through various examples that the formats of these initial rejections are similar, whether they are ultimately revealed to be *pro forma* rejections or definitive rejections. This also makes clear the difficulty of analysing these utterances of *las* as a single turn when they do perform different actions, depending on their sequential environment. This is what enables the Arabic offerer to hear the recipient's rejection as a *pro forma* or not.

Consequently, I present that this subsequent negotiation after an offer is contingent on the construction of the participants' identities and how they define themselves by orientating to membership categories, and their display of ownership and authority.

6.1.2 Orientation to membership categories for action recognisability

Participants display their orientations to identity categories, and specifically to ones relating to hosting and age. Here, I show how the orientation to these identity categories is far more salient in Arabic interaction than in English interaction. Through these two categories of

'host/guest' and 'old/young', I present how orientation to identity categories shapes action recognisability and how Saudi Arabic participants accomplish this across sequences.

Speakers choose between two main formulations which embody a similar offer action; declaratively formatted offers and imperatively formatted offers. Both formulations foreshadow the following course of action. Through both these formulations, the offerer does not ask for the recipient's permission; announcing the offer to the world rather than waiting for a response. Unless under some exceptional circumstances, the offer sequence in the category will follow this trajectory:
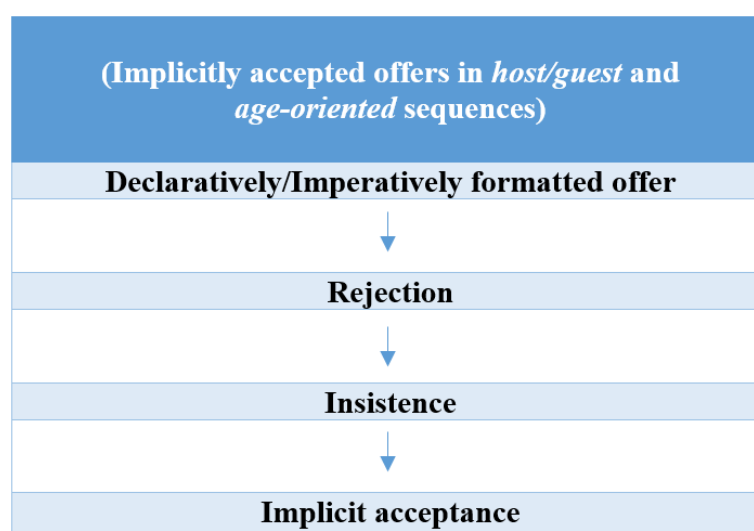
Figure 6.2 Sequence trajectory of implicitly accepted offers in host/guest and age-oriented sequences

In addition, there are specific cultural inferences about every category. For example, an Arabic guest's reaction to a simple offer is different from an English guest's, an Arabic host's response to this rejection is different from an English host's. There are notions which may be inferred from, and expected of, the conduct appropriate to them according to their culture. Also, being categorized as 'older' or 'younger' has its own different common-sense knowledge which is more salient in Arabic talk-in-interaction. The idea behind interpreting

an utterance could be grounded in an understanding of the speaker's identity during a sequence. Therefore, when a recipient is treated as a guest or person of seniority, usually the offerer will treat their rejection as a *pro forma* which is not adhered to.

6.1.3 Orientation to ownership and authority for action recognisability

In other offer sequences, where the offer is categorized as an offer of assistance, I identify the interrelated relationships between ownership and deontic reasoning in treatment of initial rejections and their courses of action.

These offers of assistance come in two main formulations, each of which encodes the offer action differently. In the first group, offerers use an interrogative format. This gives authority to the recipient through asking about their needs or preference for the nominated action and is associated with the configurations of the speaker being the benefactor and the recipient being the beneficiary. It also shows the epistemic downgrade of the offerer and the epistemic upgrade of the recipient. Further, these interrogative formats display the offerers' orientation to authority because the matter in these types of sequences lies in the midst of the recipient's territory. In the second group, the offerers claim higher authority by choosing to use an imperative format. This does not give authority for the recipient to reject or accept; it is emphatic and highly disruptive of the ongoing course of action. These imperative formats are more upfront, and are performed in a way which displays the offerer as having more authority over the matter because he/she does not ask about the recipient's needs.

Generally, in these sequences, the recipient has higher authority and has the right to display ownership in the situation. They use this right to ownership to stop the coming insistence from the offerer by producing an account or a redirection. The offerer's invocation of the clear deontic and ownership territories of the recipient is essential to him/her adhering to the

account or the redirection. Since, if it is not clear, an account alone does not help in resolving the negotiation as we saw in the doctor/contestant and patient/contestant example (in section 5.4.1). The possible trajectory of this sequence found in my data can be illustrated as follows:

(Implicitly accepted offers of Assistance)	
Problem	Problem
↓	↓
Interrogatively formatted offer	Imperatively formatted offer
↓	↓
Rejection	Rejection
↓	↓
Insistence	Insistence
↓	↓
Implicit acceptance	Implicit acceptance

(Rejected/redirected offers of Assistance)	
Problem	Problem
↓	↓
Interrogatively formatted offer	Imperatively formatted offer
↓	↓
Rejection	Rejection
↓	↓
Insistence	Insistence
↓	↓
Rejection + An account for the rejection	Rejection + Redirection of the offer
↓	↓
Definitive rejection	Partial rejection

Figure 6.3 Sequence trajectories of offers of assistance

Thus, offers of this type are still met with an immediate resistance, but unlike those illustrated in the previous section, they hold more space for negotiation. In the host-guest offer sequences and the age-related sequences, the actual rejection of an offer is highly unlikely. While here, it mostly lies in the hands of the recipient; he/she can reject or accept the offer of assistance despite the emphatic offer and it subsequent insistence.

Even though it is an offer of assistance and the matter is epistemically and deontically with the recipient, the Arabic offerer shows no orientation towards avoiding rejections. Unlike English offerers, it is clear that they do not produce a pre-offer. Offers in English may require a pre which is far more attentive to the recipient rejection; for instance, in excerpt (9) in the methodology section 2.2.2.2, where Emma produces the pre 'what are you doing?' before inviting Nancy for lunch. Even though the Saudi Arabic offers highlighted here may be interrogatively formatted in some cases, they are still upfront, such as *tabīnni…* (=do you want me…) or *nsāʕidkum?* (=Shall we help you?). They indicate no orientation towards avoiding rejections, and this may be for the reason that rejections are usually the default responses to an offer. The second group of offers are even more emphatic for they are imperatively formatted and disrupt the course of action. They clearly indicate the lack of pre-offers in Saudi Arabic. They may also seem to a non-Arabic speaker as confrontational and brusque, to some extent. Their multiplied, imperative format and the proximity of the embodiment of the offerer may present vehemence and forcefulness of both the offer and its resistance. However, in a situation where the offerer actually *sees* the recipient in a problem, this type of disruptive and imperative offer may be the preferred way in Arabic over just saying *wišasawwī?* (=what can I do?) or *wiš tabīnnyasawwī?* (=what do you want me (to) do?), as in the deviant case (excerpt 11) in the previous chapter. Lack of pres is highly affiliative to Arabic participants, and not offering in this manner may be oriented to as being a display of passivity and insincerity. It may also be slightly problematic; the production of these upfront offers and their display of insistence are carried out more routinely in the other cases. There seems to be preference for interrupting the trajectory of a course of action. The Arabic offerer is doing affiliation by showing how much he/she is willing to do to assist. It is a way of suggesting that the offerer is ready to help and ready to hear the instruction from the recipient, who is treated as a co-participant in trouble. Also, through their embodied and verbal insistence, the offerers are displaying their readiness to assist and this is highly affiliative. So, in order for it to appear genuinely helpful, an Arabic offer has to be other-

attentive; in a sense, disrupting the trajectory is more affiliative than waiting for the offer to be accepted or even in helping in something further. Also, due to these routine rejections, the Arabic offerer is required to emphatically insist on his offer to show the recipient their care in assisting them.

On a further note, the data help in finding that multiparty conversations or conversation between two people work in parallel in offer sequences. Since although there are cases I present in this thesis that are multiparty while others are between two participants the outcome of the sequence is not affected by it. In other words, in these multiparty cases participants' responses come simultaneously, and in one of the cases have the same lexical items with similar features. For example, in excerpt (1) section 3.2.1, the excerpt consists of three participants, one guest and two married couple that are also doing being hosts. When Nader rejects the offer with hasty *las* (=nos), both hosts come simultaneously in overlap displaying their shared insistence. These two responses from the two hosts present two participants aligning to do something; the couple work together to display a binary distinction between hosts and guests, which is resisting the guest's multiple *las*. Another case, excerpt (2) section 5.2, shows how four participants (Ali, Saleem, Sultan and Yousef) come together to form the now-familiar offer sequence trajectory of immediately rejecting an offer. Ali's offer is met with a response which is an emphatic rejection from both Yousef and Sultan (lines 6-7) with flat-out multiple *las* that are produced in overlap.

According to the data presented in this thesis, sequences with more than two participants does not seem to show any alteration in the overall sequence trajectory. These two subsets of data show that participants display the same actions, such as, immediately rejecting an offer or insisting on it. Multiparty cases, which are four out of twenty-one cases in this thesis, provide further evidence that this sequence is not just applicable to talk between two participants. It extends further for participants align together to do an action in overlap and sometime with the same lexical turns.

Multiparty (4)	2 people (21)
[ABYG2-DAY 44-ISHA3: 23:38-27:55]	[AbuAbah: 14-04-17_04: 12:34]
[ABYG2-DAY8-AFTR ASR: 17:26]	[ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 15:24]
[ABYG2-DAY5-AFTRISHA: 53:55]	[ABYG2-DAY7-Dhuhur: 01:34:42]
[AbuAbah: 13-10-30V029: 19: 15]	[AbuAbah: 13-11-25_04: 9:10]
	[ABYG2-DAY5-AfterIsha2: 01:30:44]
	[ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 6:51]
	[ABYG2-DAY5-AFTR ISHA2: 46:57]
	[ABYG2-Day5-AFTRISHA2: 1:28:08]
	[ABYG2-DAY2-ASR: 1:02:48]
	[AbuAbah: 14-4-3: 34:50]
	[Egyptian Taxi Driver]
	[AbuAbah: 14-4-14_01: 2:58]
	[ABYG2-DAY7-ASR: 02:20:23]
	[ABYG2-DAY21-ASR: 56:17]
	[ABYG2-DAY5-ASR: 15:53]
	[ABYG2-DAY9-AFTRISHA1: 30:25]
	[ABYG2-DAY41-MGR: 23:52]
	[ABYG2-DAY4-ASR: 02:18:07]
	[ABYG2-DAY5-AFTRISHA2: 05:52]
	[ABYG2-DAY15-AFTR ISHA1:13:25]
	[ABYG2-DAY15-AftrIsha1: 01:23]

Figure 6.4 Figure representing number of multiparty and dual conversations

6.2 Interpretation of the results

This research has examined the organisation of human action through looking at the interactional activities which Saudi Arabic participants implement in their daily interaction. Specifically, it has examined the way participants responds to offers and their subsequent negotiation. The distinctiveness of this research is based on the fact that it is the first to investigate Saudi Arabic talk-in-interaction. Furthermore, by using CA methodology, it adds to previous research and advances on speech act theory, politeness theory and Grice's maxims.

Arabic offers are a worthy CA study as they are not simply done as an offer/accept-reject. They are different and so, I present here, a phenomenon of interest. As I have established in this thesis, Saudi Arabic offers and their resolution take far more than just two turns and their ultimate responses are a product of negotiation. Therefore, speech act theory and its work on dyads is insufficient to analyse this phenomenon. CA is more appropriate as it investigates

this offer action across its whole sequence. To simply look at Arabic offers as an action and its initial response would lose an essential part of the phenomenon; the subsequent negotiation leading to the ultimately preferred acceptance. Speech act theory is insufficiently attentive to sequences; it does not investigate sequences at all. So, to see the whole picture, one needs to examine at the whole sequence which surrounds the action. Consider Goodwin's (1995) stroke patient example where the patient is only able to produce three words: 'yes', 'no' and 'and'. In the following example the nurse and his wife are offering him food:

```
(1) [Goodwin, 1995: 239-40]
31    Nurse:            English muffin?
32                      (3.4)
33    Husband:          Ye:S.
34    Nurse:            A:[nd what would you like on it.
35    Wife:               [Just one.
36                      (0.8)
37    Nurse:            Jelly?
38                      (1.8)
39    Husband:          No:
40                      (0.8)
41    Wife:             Butt[er?
42    Nurse:                [Butter?
43                      (0.3)
44    Husband:          Yes.
45                      (0.6)
46    Nurse:            Okay.
```

So, from this case one can argue that everything is negotiable; 'yes' brings an end to the guessing while 'no' invites more options of choice to be presented. This gives further evidence that even utterances as short as 'yes' and 'no' do not stand alone but are situated in a sequential environment. There are actions which are achieved across sequences of turns, not just one or two. Saudi Arabic offers prove that acceptances are not done in the initial turn, but ultimately in a sequence. From this, it is clear that CA is the best means to examine Saudi Arabic as it is uniquely set up to see the shape of offers in a whole sequence. Saudi Arabic consolidates the CA notion that actions are implemented across sequences as one of the best examples of a coordination of actions.

Besides, looking at Arabic offers in terms of CA presents what is gained by going beyond assumptions of politeness of communities, which is a top down notion of face and territoriality. Grainger et al. (2015) looked at Arabic offers in terms of politeness and hospitality, but did not examin the sequence technically using CA. What CA offers is indigenous; its participants orientation to particular aspects of identity such as membership categories and authority. Similarly to speech act theory, the problem of applying politeness theory for Arabic offers is that it is not sequential; so, it is an unwieldly tool. CA looks at the format of a turn and how this format is sequentially relevant and has its implications for the subsequent turns: as when the use of declaratively formatted offers foreshadows an unnegotiable offer while an interrogatively formatted offer foreshadows a negotiable one. CA helps us to see, too, how the use of an imperatively formatted offer is preferred over an interrogative in some situations; for example, when Ali in the deviant case (excerpt 11) stands there asking instead of producing an imperatively formatted offer. These imperative offers, highly preferred in Saudi Arabic, if directly translated to English, with no consideration of their sequence or orientation to identity, may seem aggressive or sound presumptuous. So, this is not a matter of politeness but of preference and sequentially of the turn.

In addition, the issue with Grice's maxim of quality and its sub-maxim "do not say that which you believe to be false", is that it is not universal and is context-sensitive (Harris, 1996). Since it is not absolutely applied by the Saudi Arabic participants. For instance, the gap between the official utterance, which is here is the multiplied 'las/nos', and its off-record aspect is the main difficulty with the Gricean approach to truthfulness. Therefore, even though there is a social norm against lying in Arabic, consideration of the ritual nature of Arabic can dictate or permit insincerity and legitimate deviations from truthfulness in principle (Harris, 1996). In other words, utterances such as these *pro forma* rejections are insincere and not supposed to be sincere, thus, they are negotiable.

The following section is about the social implications of understanding this phenomenon in everyday Arab life. Initially, I present how these patterns in Arabic interaction generate some given stereotypes. Then, I follow up with showing how speakers' awareness of this phenomenon may occur in Arabic everyday talk-in-interaction.

6.3 The social implication of the research

This interactional activity, deployed in Saudi Arabic everyday interaction, points to the root of some Arabic stereotypes. These stereotypes capture the features of Arabic communication style analysed in this thesis. I refer back to the example I present in the introduction section 1.1.2.1; the non-Arab, Estonian government official describing the Arabs he dealt with when they were renewing their driver's license. In his report he mentions that Arabs do *not* understand the word 'no' and they seem to think that they need to negotiate more for the rejection to change. This attempt, to negotiate after the direct 'no' from a government official, presents that the Arabs' use of *pro forma* rejections are deep in Arabic interaction that it may also be applicable to institutionalized settings. Also, this phenomena, *to not immediately accept an offer from an Arab,* is recurrently mentioned on online cultural blogs and Arabic social media[69]. This provides evidence that Arabic speakers may be aware of these stereotypes and conscious of initial resistances of offers. The stereotypical persistence, hospitality, indirectness and insincerity all are in some part connected to Arabic talk-in-interaction.

A rejection after an offer is met with insistence; the rejection is not adhered to but emphatically negotiated to reach acceptance. The famous Arabic hospitality also originates from this stereotypical persistence disregarding any given rejection. As is clear from the data, this persistence is not just found in the host-guest sequence, but also occurs in age-related

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[69] For mention of th phenomena on social media see: http://maged-sobhy.blogspot .co.uk/2011/10/blog-post.html http://www.arabbritishcentre.org.uk/middle-eastern-hospitality-by-caroline-muir/ ,and http://www.thenational.ae/lifestyle/well-being/in-the-arab-world-business-and-hospitality-look-a-lot-alike

sequences and offers of assistance. Offers are usually preferred to be produced in an imperatively, emphatic turn with parallel nonverbal movements which invades the recipient's territory and does not take a 'no' for an answer. This also originates from what is commonly known to be the Arabic spirit of reciprocity. In response to the emphatic offer one expects a rejection that allows him/her to insist even further and display how generous he/she is. At the same time, in response to the rejection, one expects insistence to display the offerer is sincere and caring.

As for the stereotype of the insincerity and indirectness of Arabs, it is important to make clear that there is an explicit injunction against lying in general; one can hear the common phrase of *ʔilkiðb ḥarām* (=lying is sinful) in the Arabic world. Also, accusing someone of *kiðb* (=lying) raises issues of honour, because calling someone a liar is highly insulting and so, a serious matter. However, the Arabic community has the concept of "*kalām*/(mere) words", similar to the English one of 'white lies' (Harris, 1996: 40). It is used sometimes to describe statements where truthfulness is not to be expected; the statement is only 'kalām' and is expected to be untruthful. If a participant labels an utterance as kalām, he/she withdraws the recognition of it as truth. Since it is acknowledged that it occurs in a wide range of situations, Arabs need to be sensitive to issues of truthfulness and the concomitant sanctions, and to where truthfulness is and is not to be expected. So, the use of legitimate false assertions fundamentally relates to the set of norms that are socially imposed interaction (Harris, 1996: 43). Therefore, participants display orientation that the *pro forma* initial resistance is only kalām where truthfulness of the utterance is not to be expected. There are choices to be made by the speakers. They need to balance "power to constrain the future course of the conversation and perhaps of actions beyond it against the transparency of falsehood" (Harris, 1996: 40).

So, Arabs may portray themselves as not presenting the truth directly. This understanding of themselves is clear when the villagers of an Egyptian village would recurrently tell an English

woman who lived amongst them: '*the English don't lie*' (Harris, 1996:43). They present their awareness of these features of insincerity in their talk. Consider, for instance, the following excerpts between two sisters, Sara and Nora. Sara has an appointment with her midwife at the hospital but she has not got a driver to take her there, while Nora has. The sequence starts with Sara's pre-request in line 1:

(2) [AbuAbah: 14-04-17_04: 12:34]

```
1    S:   tabīn          sawwāgik           bukra?  (.)?iṣṣibḥ,
          Wantyou(SIG.FEM  driver your(SIG.FEM)  tomorrow?(.)the morning
          You want your driver tomorrow?(.)(in)the morning
2    N:   lā::=nšāłłah
          No:: inshallah (EXP. In God's willing)
3    S:   Bala           ?by:h      ʕenndy  mawʕed        ṣaraḥah
          Because        I want him  have me appointment     honestly
          (It's)because I want him I have (an) appointment honestly
4    N:   ?iṣṣibḥ    badrī::?
          The morning early::?
          Early:: (in) the morning?
5    S:   ?ī:h wałłah              badrī
          Ye:s wallah(EXP. I swear)early
          Ye:s wallah early
6         (0.2)
7    S:   ʕala tisʕah(.)    tisʕa=ūnuṣṣ.    bass bataḥarrak=
          on nine (.)        nine and half.  But  will move=
          (around) nine (.)nine and half. But (I) will go (there)=
8    S:   =ṯimān=illā↑   ribiʕ   inšāłłah
          =eight to↑     quarter inshallah(EXP. In God's willing)
          =(at)eight to↑ quarter inshallah
9    N:   ?inšāłłah (EXP.God's willing)

          ((OMMITED lines))

12   N:   tabīnni                ?arūḥ    maʕ[ak?
          Want you(SIG.FEM) me   go       with [you(SIG.FEM)?
          (Do) you want me (to) go with [you?
13   S:                                    [la=
                                           [no=
14        =la wałłah            ałłah [yʕāfīk
          =no wallah(EXP.I swear)God   [well you (SIG.FEM)
          =no walla God [(make) you well
15   N:                                    [ṣidg      wałłah¿
                                           [Truth     wallah (EXP. I swear)¿
                                           [Seriously wallah (I mean it)¿
16   S:   la yizʕdjū::nik        ?ilbanā::t   baʕde:n=
          No anno::y you(SIG.FEM) the gi::rls  la:ter=
          No the gi::rls⁷⁰ (will) anno::y you later=
17        =la ?ałłah     yiʕāfīk
          =la God        well you(SIG.FEM)
          =no God(makes)you well
18   N:   la ḥinnā [tawwnā] bāgīlnā=ssbūʕ        tarā
          No we    [still] left for us week      tara(EXP)
          No we    [still]('ve got a) week left tara
19   S:            [aaa]
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[70] Nora's students at the university will be annoyed with her if she misses one of her academic advisory sessions

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20   N:    la  ṣidg  tarā      waɫɫah                fāḏyah māʕinndi šayy
           No truth tara(EXP)wallah(EXP.I swear) free not have thing
           No truly tara wallah (I'm) free (do) not have (any)thing
21   S:    mit?akkdah      [marrah?
           Sure you (SIG.FEM)[really?
           (Are) you really  [sure?
22   N:                    [?īh
                           [yes
23         ta↑ġalle::hhhhn:: hhhh                          ʕalayy?
           taġallay:n(PRES.V for 'making yourself precious)hhhh on me?
           (Are you trying to make yourself)preciouhhhhs::hhhh for me?
24   S:    la hhhhhh bas  kiðā hhhh ḥakī:: hhhhh
           No hhhhhh just this hhhh ta::lk hhhhh
           No hhhhhh (it's) just hhhh ta::lk hhhhh
```

After establishing that Sara will borrow her sister's driver (lines 1-9), Nora launches her offer of assistance to go with her sister to the midwife (line 12). The offer is in the interrogative format *tabīnni ?arūḥ maʕak?* (=do you want me to go with you?). Sara rejects the offer in immediate overlap (lines 13-14); and Nora insists with *ṣidg waɫɫah¿* (=seriously wallah I mean it¿) that comes in overlap with the rejection as well (line 15). Sara rejects again and reports that if Nora accompanies her to the hospital, she, Nora, will miss work and be in trouble with her students (line 16). Nora insists again by accounting that the university is closed. After this, Sara asks for confirmation with the interrogative *mit?akkdah marrah?* (=are you really sure?), and Nora responds in overlap with the agreement token *?īh* (=yes) (line 22). Subsequently, Nora produces, in an audibly jocular manner with infiltrated laughter, the interrogative *ta↑ġalle::hhhhn:: hhhh ʕalayy?* (=are you trying to make yourself preciouhhhhs:: hhhh for me?). Hence, commenting on the manner in which Sara responded to the offer. Nora identifies this initial rejection by her sister and the time it took to negotiate it as someone making themselves valuable. Someone who people need to beg, not for her service, but to serve *her*. Sara disagrees with the interrogative FPP in the following turn which, similarly to its prior, is infiltrated with laughter. She describes her prior talk as *bas kiðā ḥakī::* (=it's just ta::lk). The term *ḥakī*, clearly from the third line translation, is another synonym of *kalām*. So, by producing this utterance, the recipient displays a clear orientation that her initial resistance is untrue or simply a 'white lie'.

In addition, in the Saudi Arabic community there is the word 'talzīm' that may be translated to the term 'insistence'. It is generally used to describe the insistence that an offerer usually do after the highly expected rejection. In the first stage of data gathering, I find that it also occurs in invitation sequences and instances of gift giving. The phenomenon is known to the Saudi community, hence, the existence of the term and the fact that it is used as something to be exaggerated about in magazines (see Figure 3.1).

Through investigating naturally occurring Saudi Arabic data, this thesis navigates 'talzīm' on many levels. Therefore, as a consequence of my research, I established that the initial resistance of an offer are performed in a preferred manner. The analysis shows how it is produced immediately and without mitigation. It is not preceded with prefaces, or followed with elaborations or accounts. The lack of examples where recipients initially accept an offer, and how when the do occur they come with dispreferred features enforce the idea of 'talzīm'. Consequently, my research looks in detail at the sequential position of this rejection. It strengthens the point that the single turn of multiplied las/nos perform different actions according to their sequential environment that enables the offerer to hear it as a negotiable *pro forma* that needs 'talzīm' or as a definitive rejection that is final.

Moreover, my research sheds light on the notion that this 'talzīm', or this subsequent negotiation and insistence, is contingent on participants' identities. I establish that participants categorize themselves by orienting to membership domains, such as, host and guest, or age differences. Also, participants, through their turns in a sequence, display their distribution of authority and ownership in a situation. Therefore, although there is a common knowledge in a Saudi community that is taken for granted about the idea of 'talzīm', this research contributes to clarifying the phenomenon even further. It does so by not just looking at the offer action alone, but also by analysing the features this resistance is produced and looking at the participants' identities.

6.4 Directions for further study

The aim of this research is to shed light on an aspect of conversational activities Arabic participants use in their everyday talk-in-interaction, and to do so through specific focus on the responses of offers. This study contributes to the research done on preference organization in English and other languages, and to the understanding of Saudi Arabic talk-in-interaction. It is beyond the scope of this study to cover all the various forms and aspects of Saudi Arabic offer sequences and so it is by no means exhaustive. We still need additional research to add to the analysis and knowledge of the domain. Thorough investigation of greater amounts of data is needed to be able to provide more accurate findings about the social organisation of Saudi Arabic naturally occurring talk-in-interaction.

The findings of this research are from everyday talk, so this study could logically be expanded to institutional settings, such as hospitals and government buildings. This expansion would help us gain more understanding of the importance of the linguistic and socio-cultural idiosyncrasies of Saudi Arabic talk. Additionally, although I have produced a basic analysis of the nonverbal in the instances I examined, a far more in-depth account of, for instance, the participants' use of eye-gaze and body placement during the production of the offer or any of the subsequent actions is needed. It would be of interest, too, to investigate the way participants manage action production during the absence of talk in a sequence.

Moreover, I am particularly interested in further exploring the organization of preference in Arabic; particularly in the confirming and disconfirming SPP. Stivers et al. (2009) cross-linguistic study finds that confirmations are delivered faster than disconfirmation in ten languages. However, what I found in Arabic is different; Arabic recipients asked for confirmation do not produce their rejecting *las* with dispreferred features. The general anecdotal evidence that I have seen in the Saudi data shows that questions seem to be met with highly preferred disconfirming emphatic *las*.

In general, conversation analysts are interested in understanding human interactional behaviour. As a result, they investigate preference organisation across languages which has given evidence to be an arable land in explaining some aspects of this behaviour. Cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies, such as this one, assist in providing an answer to the recurrent question of whether languages share universal features or whether each language has its own culturally-specific features. So, following insights afforded by CA, I believe that this thesis makes an important contribution to our understanding of social interaction.

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Appendix A

Transcription Conventions

[ ]	Two square brackets are used when speakers' talk are speaking at the same time. The brackets indicates when the overlap begins and ends
(.)	A dot between parentheses indicates a very short pause, a tenth of a second. Time longer than tenth of a second is timed and is written between parenthesis, such as, (0.2), (0.5), etc.
(word)	A problem in hearing the talk is transcribed between parentheses. When the transcriber cannot guess what is said, the parentheses is left empty
((word))	Description of the nonverbal movements is between double parentheses
^{o}word^o	A degree sign indicates a softer sound or a whispered voice in contrast to the surrounding
^{oo}word^{oo}	An even softer voice
WORD	A louder voice
>word<	An utterance between > and < indicates a talk that is faster than the surrounding
<word>	An utterance between < and > indicates a talk that is slower than the surrounding
word	A line under a word or a letter indicates stress or emphasis
wor–	Abrupt cut off
=	An equal sign comes at the end of a turn and the beginning of another to indicate there is no interval between them
:	A colon after a letter indicates prolonged, lengthened sound. More colons indicates longer stretch
.	A falling intonation
?	A rising intonation
,	A slightly rising intonation
↑	A rise in pitch

↓	A fall in pitch
£	A pound sterling before and after an utterance indicates a smiley voice
h	Breathy voice or laughter within talk
h.	Audible out breathing
.h	Audible in breathing

Appendix B

Complete transcription

[ABYG2-DAY 44-ISHA3: 23:38-27:55]

(AW: Awwad (offerer); M: Mohammad (recipient); SUL: Sultan)
(Earlier in the morning, during exercise, Mohammad has hurt his elbow. Awwad, as a doctor in civilian life, put some ice on it immediately. However, late in the evening, where this extract takes place, Mohammad complains about the pain.)


```
1    M:    yāxī fīh ?alam hina lalḥīn
           O' brother in it pain here till now
           O' brother (there is) pain here till now
2          ((Moves his arm up and down and holds his right elbow
           wincing))
3          (1.1)
4    M:    Ooof⁷¹
5    AW:   xal xallajībilmarham winliffahālḥīn
           let let I bring it cream and wrap us now
           let let me bring (some) cream and we('ll) wrap it now
6          ((AW sprints up from the couch but M grabs his arm to stop
           him))
7    M:    la la la la [ la ] la la xalāṣ xalāṣ
           NO NO NO no [ no ] no no done done
           NO NO NO no [ no ] no no (it's) done (it's) done
8    AW:            [?illā]
                    [Illa (EXP.I will)]
9          ((M let go of AW arm. AW stands there looking at M who is
10         rubbing his painful elbow))
11   M:    wałłah mālīxilgahā mālīxilgahā ?abad ?abad ?abad
           Wallah (EXP. I swear) not feel it not feel it ever ever ever=
           Wallah (I do)n't feel (like) it I (do)n't feel(like) it ever
           ever ever=
12   AW:   =xalnīyaliffahā likalḥīn
           =let us wrap her for you then now
           =let us wrap it for you then (right) now
13         ((He points at M's elbow and leaves the room))
```

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⁷¹ A sound made when one is in pain. Similar to 'ouch'

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        ((UNRELATED LINES))

14          ((AW comes back with the cream and bandages; M was standing))
15   M:     Māyiḥtāj māyiḥtāj māyiḥtāj ṣaddignī
            No need no need no need believe me
16   AW:    ʔijlis ʔijlis
            Sit sit
17   M:     māyiḥtāj waɫɫah?
            No need wallah (EXP. I swear)?
18          ((M backs up and AW moves closer to him and sits down on the
19          couch))
20   AW:    ʔij[lis
            Si[t
21   M:        [waɫɫah
22          māyiḥtāj ʔabu[ḥme:d
               [wallah
            No need Abu[Homaid⁷²
23   AW:              [ʔijlis
24          ʔagūl
                     [sit
            I say=
                     [sit
            I said=
25          ((M moves away from the couch even more))
26   M:     =xallah xallah bas xallah
            =leave it leave it just leave it
27   AW:    taʕā↑l taʕāl
            co↑me come
            co↑me (here) come (on)
28   M:     xallah māḥtājih w[aɫɫah] waɫɫah mālīxilgha
            Leave it not I need it w[allah]wallah(EXP.I swear)not feel it
            Leave it I(do)n't need it w[allah]wallah(I do)n't feel(like)
            it
29   AW:                                    [taʕāl]
                                            [come]
30   AW:    taʕāl
            come
31   M:     māfīʔalam waɫɫah [guwi] māfīʔa[lam
            Not there pain wallah [strong] not there pa[in
            There (is) no [strong] pain wallah there (is) no pa[in
32   AW:                    [taʕāl]                    [taʕāl
                             [come]                     [come
33   M:     ʔalam māfīh
            Pain [not there
            Pain [there (is) none
34   AW:        [taʕāl
                [come
35   SUL:   Hhhh hh haaa hhh
36          ((AW taps on the couch as in come sit next to me))
37   SUL:   ʔant dā-ʔant jayib maʕak ṣaidalyah, willa wiš waḏʕikant?
            You da- you brought with you pharmacy, or what situation you?
            You da- you brought (a) pharmacy with you, or what (is)your
            situation?
```

---

⁷² Nickname for Awwad

38	M:	Yabīdahhnnī:: ġaṣb
		He want cream (V. for put cream) me:: force
		He want(s to put the) cream (on) me:: (BY) FORCE
39	AW:	ʔijlis
		Sit
40	M:	xaffilʔalam
		less the pain
		The pain (is) less
41	AW:	ʔijlis ṭayyib
		Sit then
42	M:	xaffyabnilḥalāl
		less o' son of halal
		(it is) less o' son of halal
43		**((AW taps on the couch every time he says 'sit'))**
44	AW:	ṭabijlis
		Then sit
45		**(1.5)**
46	AW:	ʔijlis
		sit
47		**((M comes forward))**
48	M:	Yaxū::i ʔummiant? [hhhhhhhh hhhhhh]
		O' brother:: mother mine you? [hhhhhhhh hhhhhh]
		O' brother:: (are you my) mother? [hhhhhhhh hhhhhh]
49	Aw:	[ʔijlis]
		[sit]
50		**(0.5)**
		taʕāl
		come
51	M:	yaḥubbīlik [ʔant] ðakkartnibxūfummi ʕalaī
		O'love mine to you [you] reminded me of fear mother mine on me=
		O'my love to you [you] reminded me of my mother('s)fear for me=
52	AW:	[taʕāl]
		[come]
53	M:	=[wałłah xalāṣ yabnilḥalāl
		=[wallah done o'son of halal
54	AW:	[taʕāl taʕāl taʕāl ʔijlis
		[come come come sit
55		**((Aw unwraps the cream pack))**
56	AW:	xallaliffahā ṭayyib
		Let I wrap her (FEM.SIG) then
		Let me wrap it then
57	M:	marrah mālī xilgahā
		Totally not feel I her (FEM.SIG)
		Totally I (do) not feel (like) it
58	AW:	Wišlūn mālik xilgahā?
		What colour (EXP. What do you mean) not you feel her?
		What do you mean you (do) not feel (like) it?
59	M:	fīh ʔalam baṣīṭ šwayyuyirūḥ
		In it pain simple little and go
		(There is a) little pain (a) little (bit) and (it will) go
60		**((M sits down back in his place on the couch))**
61	AW:	>hāt hāt< yidik
		>give give< hand your
		>Give (me) give (me)< your hand

```
62   M:     mtaʔaṭṭir bilmistašfant?
            Affected with the hospital you?
            You (are) affected with the hospital?
63   AW:    fik fik [yidik
            Open open [hand your
            Open open [your hand
64   M:            [tʕālidj=
65          =ilmarḍa bil[gwwah?
                   [you heal=
            =the patients by force?
66   SUL:              [maʕak ṣayydalyyah?=
                   [with you pharmacy?=
67   AW:               [mḥassissan-
                   [make me feel that-
68   SUL:   =wiš waḍʕak?
            =what situation your?
            =what (is) your situation?
69   AW:    ʔīh maʕayy ṣayydalyyah
            Yes with me pharmacy
            Yes with me (a) pharmacy
70   SUL:   ḥbūb (.) marāhim (.) kul šayy
            Pills (.) creams (.) everything
71          (0.5)
72   SUL:   šāš
            bandages
73   M:     Fik fik fikalkabakk
            Open open open the cuff
74          ((AW moves his arm forward to grab M's arm))
75          ṭabīb fāšilint
            Doctor loser you
            You('re a) loser doctor
76   AW:    fikalkabakk
            open the cuff
77   M:     ṭabīb fāšilint
            Doctor loser you
            You('re a) loser doctor
78   AW:    Fikalkabakk ṭayyib
            open the cuff just
            Just open the cuff
79   M:     Hah?
80   AW:    Fikalkabakk
            open the cuff
81          (2.0)
82          ((AW moves his arm in again))
83   M:     ṣaddignī xaffat °xaffat°
            Believe me less °less°
            Believe me (it's) less °less°
84   AW:    ṣaddignī wałłah xal-[xalnarbiṭih
            believe me wallah (EXP. I swear) let-[let tie it
            believe me wallah let-[let us tie it
85   SUL:                        [ʕādi ʕādi
86           xallah xallah yimken tirtāḥ šwayyah
                                 [normal normal
            let him let him maybe you relax little
                                 [(it's) alright (it's)
            alright
```

		let him let him maybe you('ll)relax (a) little
87	M:	ţabişbirišwayy le::n baʕdilhawā yimkenilwadʕixif zyādah (0.5)
88		yimken (.) tihdā witrūḥ
		Alright wait little ti::ll after the air maybe the situation lessen more (0.5) and maybe(.)she(FEM.SIG.INAN)calm and go away
		Alright wait (a) little ti::ll after the air maybe the situation (will) calm (down) more (0.5) and maybe (.) it('ll) calm (down)and go away
89		(2.5)
90		**((M smiles and hits AW hand gently))**
91	AW:	fikalkabak ţayyib (.) le:š ţayyib? (.)le::š xāyif?
		Open the cuff then (.) why then? (.)why scared?
		Open the cuff then (.) why then?(.)why (are you) scared?
92	M:	ʔafşaxlik ţūbī?
		Take for you my thobe[73]?
		Take (off) my thobe (for) you?
93	AW:	hāðā(.)hāðā yiwaggif kiðā yisawwi kiðā yastir- yastirnā kiðā
		Him(.)him stand like this do like this cover-cover us like this
		Him(.)he stand(s) like this do(ing) like this cover-cover(ing) us like this
94		**((AW says it while pointing at SUL and miming a person**
95		**standing with a curtain cover))**
96	M:	billah?
		Bellah (EXP. Swear to god)
		Seriously?
97		**((AW takes M's arm))**
98	M:	[ʔişbir ʔişbir] >yabyirūḥ yabyirūḥ<
		[wait wait] >want to go want to go<
		[wait wait] >(it'll) go (it'll) go<
99	AW:	[laḥdah laḥdah]
		[moment moment]
		[one moment one moment]
100	M:	bitrūḥ
		Will go
		(it'll) go
101	AW:	Xalladhannhā
		Let me cream it
		Let me (put) cream (on) it
102		**((M Pulls his hand away from AW))**
103	M:	bitttīb bitttīb
		will cure will [cure
		(it'll be) cured [(it'll be) cured
104	AW:	[ţiʕ šūrī
		[obey advice mine
		[obey my advice
105	M:	bitttīb
		will cure
		(it'll be) cured
106	AW:	ţiʕ šūrī=
		obey advice mine=
		obey my advice=
107	M:	=bitttīb

---

[73] The white traditional clothes he is wearing

```
            =will cure
            =(it'll be) cured
108   AW:   wałłah[ilʕaḏīm=
            And god [the greatest=
            (I swear on)god [the greatest=
109   SUL:               ʕawwād?
                         [Awwād?
110         ((AW turns to SUL))
111   AW:   =foltarīn
            =Voltarene
            =(It's) Voltarene
112   SUL:  xallah yabnilḥalāl (1.5) wiš ʕale:k
            Leave him o' son of halal (1.5) what for you
            Leave him o' son of halal (1.5) what (is in it) for you
113         ((SUL moves his hands sarcastically)
114   AW:   wałłah yimkin aaa ruḍaḍ ʔawšayy (.) xannṭabtah
            Wallah (EXP. I swear) maybe aaa bruises or something (.) let
            us hold it (masc.sig)
            Wallah maybe aaa (it's a) bruise or something lets (.) let's
            hold it
115   SUL:  aaa ʔiða yibġa gāl taʕāl yāʕawwād [aaaa
            Aaa if he want said come o' Awwad [aaaa
            Aaa if he want(s he'll) say come o'Awwad [aaa
116   AW:                                     [weš ʕugbah
                                              [after what
                                              [(it will be too late
            then)
117   SUL:  aaa xallah ʕayya wišinsawwībih
            Aaa leave him refused what do us for him
            Aaa leave him (he) refused what (can) we do for him
118   M:    xafīfalḥīn māfīhā ʔalam guwi wałłah (.)gabliššwayy magdar
119         aaaṯnīhā
            Light now no there pain strong wallah (.) before little not
            can aaabend it
            (It is just) slight (pain) now (there is) no strong pain
            wallah (.)(a) little (while ago I) couldn't  aaabend it
120         ((M moves his hand as proof ))
121   SUL:  baṣīṭah yārajjāl baṣīṭah yāmā ṭiḥt aaa
            Easy o' man easy how many times fell aaaa
            (It's) easy man easy how many times (have) I  fallen aaaa
122         ((SUL opens a new topic and AW starts putting the cream and
123         band aids away))
```

Appendix C

Metadata

March/April 2013

Recording	Place	Number of Participants	Length of recordings
13-3-21 200750	Riyadh (family gathering)	2	00:15:52
13-3-21 200031	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:03:38
13-3-22_01	Riyadh (family gathering)	6	00:01:48
13-3-22_02	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:11:25
13-3-22_03	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:19:32
13-3-22_04	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:58:14
13-3-23_01	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:11:13
13-3-23_02	Riyadh (family gathering)	2	00:01:26
13-3-23_03	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:01:03
13-3-23_04	Riyadh (family gathering)	6	00:17:40
13-3-27_01	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:01:47
13-3-27_02	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:52:17
13-3-27_03	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:04:00
13-3-27_04	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:13:55
13-3-29 134841	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:18:25
13-3-29 142113	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:01:31
13-3-29 131814	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:29:34
13-4-2 Voice 001	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:01:39
13-4-2 Voice 002	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:12:00
13-4-2 Voice 003	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:16:06
13-4-2 Voice 005	Riyadh (men's cafe)	5	00:15:10
13-4-3 Voice 001	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:45:51
13-4-3 Voice 002	Riyadh (family gathering)	7	01:19:56
13-4-3 Voice 006	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:08:20
13-4-4 Voice 007	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:14:42
13-4-4 Voice 008	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:23:07
13-4-4 Voice 009	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:05:58
13-4-4 Voice 010	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:05:40
13-4-4 Voice 011	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:04:27
13-4-4 Voice 012	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:09:35
13-4-4 Voice 013	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:03:19
13-4-4 Voice 014	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:02:05
13-4-4 Voice 015	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:08:25
13-4-4 Voice 016	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:00:58
13-4-4 Voice 017	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:08:03
13-4-4 Voice 018	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:00:12
13-4-4 Voice 019	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:02:46
13-4-4 Z02	Riyadh (men's cafe)	2	01:04:03

| 13-4-5 Voice 020 | Riyadh (family gathering) | 5 | 00:30:02 |
| 13-4-5 Voice 021 | Riyadh (family gathering) | 5 | 00:11:01 |

July 2013

13-07-01_03	Colchester (family gathering)	4	00:01:44
13-07-11_01	Colchester (family gathering)	4	00:15:50
13-07-11_02	Colchester (family gathering)	4	00:07:54
13-07-11_03	Colchester (family gathering)	5	00:02:05

October/November 2013

13-10-14_01	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:02:05
13-10-30 Voice 028	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:19:31
13-10-30 Voice 029	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:19:38
13-10-30 Voice 030	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:27:49
13-11-25_01	Riyadh (women's café)	7	00:23:22
13-11-25_04	Riyadh (women's café)	7	01:34:07

April 2014

14-04-03_01	Riyadh (family gathering)	6	00:35:58
14-04-10_01	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:31:54
14-04-14_01	Riyadh (family gathering)	6	02:05:07
14-04-14_02	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:03:40
14-04-14_03	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:19:25
14-04-14_04	Riyadh (family gathering)	4	00:19:56
14-04-17_01	Riyadh (family gathering)	7	00:23:41
14-04-17_02	Riyadh (family gathering)	7	00:35:25
14-04-17_03	Riyadh (family gathering)	5	00:49:45
14-04-17_04	Riyadh (family gathering)	3	00:15:57

December 2014

14-12-29 Voice 001	Riyadh (men's cafe)	3	00:06:23
14-12-29 Voice 002	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:17:15
14-12-29 Voice 003	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:00:57
14-12-29 Voice 004	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:25:05
14-12-29 Voice 005	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:40:18
14-12-29 Voice 006	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:01:28
14-12-29 Voice 007	Riyadh (men's cafe)	4	00:04:02

Appendix D

Consent form

Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form
Project: Claiming Epistemic Authority in Arabic

What is the project about?
This project studies the naturally occurring interaction in Arabic.

What does participating involve?
The instruments used in this project are qualitative research methods. People from Saudi will be audio recorded in their everyday interactions. Then the conversations will be transcribed and analysed.

Please tick the appropriate boxes

Taking Part
Yes No

I have read and understood the project information given above.	☐	☐
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	☐	☐
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being audio-recorded.	☐	☐
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.	☐	☐

Use of the information I provide for this project only

I understand my personal details such as name, email address and phone number will not be revealed to people outside the project.	☐	☐
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.	☐	☐

Use of the information I provide beyond this project

I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐
I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐

_____   _____ _____
Name of participant   Signature   Date

_____ _____ _____

Researcher   Signature   Date

Project contact details for further information:

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