

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

SPEECH ACT OF CONGRATULATION IN LEBANESE
ARABIC AND ENGLISH AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
IN LEBANON

by

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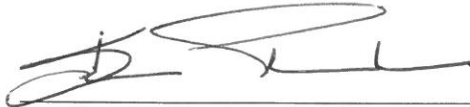
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Speech acts have been of great interest to researchers, and although they are universal, the production and perception of a speech act is highly dependent on culture and language. This study investigated the linguistic politeness strategies used by university students in Lebanon when expressing congratulation in Lebanese Arabic and English. It also examined the influence of gender, power, and social distance on their choices of strategies. Data were collected by means of Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT), which was administered to 49 students (25 males, 24 females), enrolled in English 203 (Academic English) at the American University of Beirut (AUB). The DCT was written in both languages, Lebanese Arabic and English. It consisted of 6 items related to happy news, where the participants had to respond as if they were found in those specific situations. Data was coded and analyzed based on Elwood's (2004) taxonomy of congratulation strategies.

The results showed that Lebanese students generally used 13 types of congratulatory strategies to congratulate people in English and Arabic. In the English data, Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID), expression of happiness, expression of validation, and offer of good wishes were the most frequently used strategies. Meanwhile, in the Arabic data, IFID, invocation of God's name, expression of validation, and request for information were preferred. The findings indicated that Lebanese students had both collectivistic as well as individualistic tendencies (Ayyash-Abdo, 2001), which was evident in their choice of strategies in both languages. On a macro level, this might be attributed to Lebanon being a part of Arab world, yet also having a multilingual and cosmopolitan nature. Moreover, on a micro level, as students of one of the best English-medium universities in the Middle East, this might also be attributed to the participants having successfully internalized the pragmatics and communication styles of English culture.

Since this study also explored the influence of gender, power, and social distance on the participants' selection of strategies, Chi-square tests were conducted to check if these variables were statistically significant factors. The findings showed that all three factors were statistically significant in both language groups, except for gender, which was only significant in the Arabic data. The results showed that, in case of gender, the factor determining the use of congratulatory strategies was not only related to the gender of the speaker, but, in large part, it was related to the gender of the hearer. Furthermore, the pattern of preference in strategies indicated that stereotypes related to the speech characteristics of males and females were still valid in the Lebanese students' perception of the opposite gender's speech as well as their own. In what relates to power and social distance, the data analysis indicated that even though the two factors were complimentary to one another, the degree of influence of social distance on the selection of strategies outweighed that of power.

TABLES

Tables

1: Examples of the strategy types as mentioned in Elwood's(2004) taxonomy	16
2: Distribution of strategy types in English and Lebanese Arabic	31
3: Distribution of strategy types by gender in English.....	42
4: Distribution of strategy types by gender in Arabic	43
5: Distribution of strategy types by power in English.....	46
6: Distribution of strategy types by power in Arabic	48
7: Distribution of strategy types by social distance in English	50
8: Distribution of strategy types by social distance in Arabic.....	52

FIGURES

Figures

1: Distribution of strategy types in English and Lebanese Arabic	33
2: Distribution of strategy types by situations in English	37
3: Distribution of strategy types by situations in Arabic.....	38

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
A. Speech Act Theory.....	4
B. Politeness.....	5
C. Politeness in the Arab World.....	8
1. Non-linguistic Politeness.....	8
2. Linguistic Politeness.....	9
D. Communication Styles and Cultural Differences.....	11

E. Speech Act of Congratulation in Different Contexts.....	13
III. METHODOLOGY.....	24
A. Context of Study.....	24
B. Participants.....	24
C. Instrument.....	25
D. Procedure.....	26
E. Data Analysis.....	27
F. Limitations.....	29
IV. RESULTS	30
A. Analysis by Strategy Type and Situational Settings	30
B. Influence of Gender on Choice of Strategy.....	41
C. Influence of Power and Social Distance on Choice of Strategy.....	45
1. Power	46
2. Social Distance	50
V. DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION.....	54

A. Strategy types in English and Lebanese Arabic	54
B. The Influence of Gender, Power, and Social Distance.....	69
1. Gender	69
2. Power	71
3. Social Distance	73
C. Linguistic Features	77
D. Conclusion	80
REFERENCES.....	84
Appendix	
I. DISCOURSE COMPLETION TASK – ENGLISH.....	89
II. DISCOURSE COMPLETION TASK – ARABIC.....	91
III. ARABIZI TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE.....	93

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Human beings are social animals whose survival depends to a great extent on interacting and communicating with one another, and where different situations induce the production of different modes of interaction. A fundamental part of the socialization process is learning both linguistic and non-linguistic features that are appropriate in a specific culture and society. Proficient speakers, who have mastered the pragmatic aspects of a certain language, will be able to use the language in accordance with the norms of communication of that particular social group. The field of linguistic politeness is specifically concerned with studying the different aspects of this phenomenon (Kasper, 1990).

Many research studies have examined the relationship between culture and linguistic politeness. Such studies have successfully represented the culturally unique ways in which different cultures understand and apply the concept and protocols of politeness during social interactions. Moreover, they also portray how these interactions mirror a community's social conventions in general, and accepted linguistic politeness norms, in particular (e. g. Blum-Kulka, 1987, 1992; Ide 1989; Gu 1990; Ide et al. 1992; Fukushima 2000; Koutsantoni 2004; Ruzickova 2007 as cited in Schnurr & Chan, 2009). Concerning the relation between culture and politeness, Schnurr and Chan (2009) have stated:

“... cultures are characterized at least in part by their distinctive notions of what constitute polite or politic behaviours: cultural expectations influence interactive norms,

and by regularly drawing on these particular norms, members at the same time enact, reinforce and shape culture-specific notions of politeness” (Schnurr & Chan, 2009).

Linguistic politeness is mainly associated with speech acts. The most common speech acts are: requests, apologies, compliments, greetings, congratulations. Speech acts have been of great interest to researchers, and even though they are found in every culture, the understanding of a speech act is highly dependent on culture and language; they are very much culture-specific, and since rules of interaction vary from one culture to another, in many instances, misunderstandings and frictions might arise between individuals of different cultures. For example, in many societies, it is a common act for a person to express joy and good thoughts to a friend or acquaintance who has accomplished a certain achievement; hence, failing to do so would actually be seen as an indicator of unfriendliness and maybe jealousy. Consequently, in such joyful situations, speakers try to demonstrate their happiness through employing different patterns and expressions of congratulation (Elwood, 2004). This is referred to as the speech act of congratulation.

This study investigates the linguistic politeness strategies used by university students in Lebanon when expressing congratulation in Lebanese Arabic and in English with respect to six situational settings: graduating from university, obtaining a scholarship, getting a promotion, getting engaged, getting married, and having a baby. It also examines whether gender, power, and social distance are factors in the speakers’ choice of strategy.

The motivation for conducting this study is to gain insights into the interrelationship between culture, language and linguistic politeness with respect to the speech act of congratulation, in the Lebanese context. In other words, the researcher intends to study how

the Lebanese culture creates and shapes ways of congratulating, and, in return, how the cultural conventions are reflected in the strategies used for congratulating.

Lebanon is a multilingual country with a consociational political system composed of many ethno-religious communities. This population composition, marked by religious and linguistic diversity, could naturally generate variations in congratulatory linguistic behavior. As the present research study could not cover all languages and all forms, the researcher will narrow the focus of the research specifically to educated Lebanese adolescents and analyze the similarities and differences in their expression of the speech act of congratulation, both in their native language, Arabic, and first or second foreign language, English. The choice of participants in the study was made on the basis of two factors: education level and age. The level of education of university students is likely to equip them with better linguistic skills than pre-university students; their experiences and age are likely to provide them with a better understanding of the politeness rituals in the Lebanese culture than pre-university students.

Finally, this research study will add to the body of knowledge on politeness. More specifically, the study addresses an issue not studied adequately, namely, the speech act of congratulation. Moreover, to the researcher's best knowledge, the number of studies related to this field is null in the Lebanese context. Hence, this study aims to address this gap in literature.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Speech Act Theory

Pragmatics is a subfield of linguistics that “deals with how language can be used to do things and mean things in real-world situations” (Cameron, 2001, p.68). One of the aspects of pragmatics is the speech act. Austin first introduced the speech act theory in 1962, according to which, language is defined as a series of actions, i.e. speech acts are identified as utterances that are actions in themselves. He argued that statements such as “I now pronounce you husband and wife” do not only say or describe things, but also actively do them (Austin, 1962).

Austin further explained that these utterances can be viewed in three ways: locutionary act, which is the act of stating (e.g. the factual assertion, “It’s cold in here!”); illocutionary act, which is the action that the speaker is performing by uttering a phrase (e.g. when saying, “It’s cold in here!”, the speaker is requesting the hearer to close the window); and perlocutionary act, which is the outcome of the locutionary act (e.g. upon hearing the utterance, “It’s cold in here!”, the hearer gets up and closes the window).

Later on, Searle (1976), building on Austin’s theory, classified speech acts into five categories: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives. Assertives are acts that commit the speaker to represent the state of affairs (e.g. statements). Directives commit the hearer to perform an action for the speaker (e.g. requests). Commissives commit the speaker to perform an action for the hearer (e.g. promises). Expressives express the

speaker's mental state and attitude toward a certain situation (e.g. apologies), and declaratives are acts that change the state of the world in an immediate manner (e.g. declarations of war).

According to the above-mentioned categorization, the speech act of congratulation is an illocutionary act that fits into the category of expressives since it is a speech act through which the speakers express their feelings towards the hearers' good news (Searle, 1976). Searle (1969) set the following rules for congratulation: 1) There is some event related to the hearer; 2) The event is in the hearer's interest and the speaker believes the event is in the hearer's interest; 3) The speaker is pleased at the event; 4) It counts as an expression of pleasure at the event (Searle, 1969, p. 67).

Politeness

The terms "polite" and "politeness" may seem similar on the surface, but it is important to realize that the embedded meanings, which they carry in linguistic politeness, are not the same. Ide (1989) differentiates between the two terms. She gives a more positive connotation to the term "polite": "having or showing good manners, consideration for others, and/or correct social behavior". However, she explains that politeness carries a somewhat impartial meaning, which does not necessarily entail the state of being polite: "...when we talk about linguistic politeness, we refer to a continuum stretching from polite to non-polite" (Ide, 1989, p. 225).

In linguistics, politeness can be analyzed in different ways; however, there is a general consensus among different scholars that the analysis of politeness is done through focusing on three main factors: the wants of the addressee, the wants of the speaker, and the

wants of the wider social group where the interlocutors have been socialized (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 86).

Many frameworks have been developed for analyzing linguistic politeness; however, the one devised by Penelope Brown and Steven Levinson (1987) has been the most prominent one in the field so far. Brown and Levinson's approach regards the notion of "face" as the basis of their theory. This concept was first mentioned by Goffman (1967), who used the term to refer to a personal "attribute", which each individual aims to guard or improve (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 88). In accordance with this, Brown and Levinson suggest that people aim to protect their face from any damage that might result from different social interactions. Accordingly, they distinguish between two kinds of faces:

"negative face: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others.

Positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others".
(Brown and Levinson 1978 as cited by Laver, 1981)

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson propose that there are certain speech acts which might threaten one or both faces of the addressee or the speaker. They refer to these conversational acts as "Inherently Face Threatening Acts" (FTA). Accordingly, their framework focuses on five different politeness strategies which people may adopt to mitigate the FTA: Don't do the FTA, off-record (hint), negative politeness, positive politeness, and bold on-record.

Firstly, not doing the face-threatening act is considered to be the most polite strategy that a speaker can choose; this can be done through remaining silent or exercising self-control. Secondly, off-record FTA is an act where the speaker commits the act through hinting and being vague. Thirdly, when the speaker does the FTA and redresses the threat to one of the two faces, s/he commits either positive or negative politeness. Positive politeness is a “redress directed to the addressee’s positive face”, and negative politeness is a “redressive action addressed to the addressee’s negative face” (Brown and Levinson, 1978 as cited by Laver, 1981). Finally, bold on-record FTA is considered to be the least polite strategy, whereby the speaker overtly commits the act without redressing to face (Meyerhoff, 2011).

According to Brown and Levinson’s Politeness theory, people’s choices of the different politeness strategies are based on three main factors: power, social distance, and rank. The first one is the degree of power difference in the relationship between the addressee and the speaker. As for social distance, it is the familiarity between the interlocutors. Finally, rank is the degree of social infraction (Ide, 1989).

From the standpoint of the politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson (1987), the speech act of congratulation can be considered to be a positive politeness strategy as it is adhered to the addressee’s positive face wants. The linguistic understandings of positive politeness are perceived as representatives of the linguistic behavior between interlocutors. In other words, these strategies “are used ‘as a kind of social accelerator where S [a speaker], in using them, indicates that he wants to ‘come

closer' to H (a hearer)'" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.101 as cited in Al-Shboul & Huwari, 2016, p. 82).

Even though it is a seminal model in the field of politeness, Brown and Levinson's theory has received criticism mainly for being more fit to be applied in Western societies. It has been criticized for centralizing individualistic tendencies, accordingly, disregarding collectivistic cultures. In fact, Brown and Levinson's Politeness theory has been accused of concentrating entirely on the speech act utterance. Watts (2003) argues that utterances themselves as an entity do not possess any inherent politeness value. Instead, he represents the idea of "politic behavior", which is the linguistic and non-linguistic behavior that is created and deemed appropriate by the interactants involved in a social interaction. Accordingly, people join the social interaction with previous knowledge related to the suitable way in which they should behave i.e. the politic way to behave. This politic behavior is internalized by the interactants; it becomes a part of their ingrained habits and acts as a guideline for enacting the regularized politic behavior. However, part of its essential pillars is that those with certain symbolic power can challenge and recreate the expected politic behavior and construct one that suits them.

Spencer-Oatey (2008) put forth an alternate approach to the field of politeness, which is the rapport management approach. This approach is interested in establishing and upholding rapport and harmony in social interactions. Spencer-Oatey readdresses the concept of face management as rapport management; this approach focuses on appraising the way in which language is used as a tool to create, preserve, and/or compromise social relationships; however, it also emphasizes the management of sociability rights and interactional purposes. She argues that while Brown and Levinson's facework theory has a

narrow, self-oriented scope, the rapport management approach proposes a better balance between self and other (Spencer-Oatey, 2008).

Overall, speech acts have been commonly linked to linguistic politeness, and even though speech acts are universal, the understanding of a speech act is highly dependent on the politeness norms of a certain setting.

Politeness in the Arab World

Non-linguistic Politeness

Cultural values regarding linguistic politeness cannot be effectively discussed without a solid reference to the culture's characteristics of non-linguistic politeness. Feghali (1997) tackles the issue of non-verbal characteristics of communication in the Arab World, which need to be effectively employed to avoid any type of friction during social interactions (Feghali, 1997).

Feghali argues that eye contact is a major communicative feature for Arabs. When interacting with one another, making eye contact with a same-sex interlocutor is an indicator of truthfulness and engagement, while failing to do so is an indicator of submissiveness. Moreover, lowering your gaze is regarded as a sign of politeness in cases where religious figures are addressing strangers from the opposite sex, and when children are being scolded (Feghali, 1997).

In Arab communities, making frequent physical contact is a commonly accepted act. However, it must be noted that physical contact often occurs between members of the same sex; physical contact with those of the opposite sex is less common. Nydell (1987)

has stated that, with respect to interaction between men and women, display of public affection and intimacy “is strictly forbidden by the Arab social code, including holding hands or linking arms or any gesture of affection such as kissing or prolonged touching” (Nydell, 1987, p.53 as cited in Feghali, 1997, p. 365). Therefore, in any community of practice, it is essential to attend to the characteristics of non-linguistic politeness, in addition to linguistic ones, when socializing with others.

Linguistic Politeness

In his study, Samarah (2015) compiled a list of nine situations where it is essential to be polite, while interacting in Arabic (Samarah, 2015):

- 1- when you want to express sociability
- 2- when you want to express gratitude
- 3- when you want to express benevolence and felicitation
- 4- when you want to express guilt
- 5- when you want to ask for permission
- 6- when you want to express your appreciation of the others' actions, positions, relatives and friends, even the other person's culture and language, and everything related to the interlocutor
- 7- when you want to express hospitality and generosity
- 8- when you want to express your respect for the other
- 9- when you want to start a conversation.

The third situation, which is related to benevolence and felicitation, fits the scope of this study. Samarah (2015) explains that although there is a similarity between benevolence and felicitation, benevolence refers to situations where “you wish luck to someone concerning a future action, happening, etc.” and felicitation refers to “a specific actual situation like, birthdays, graduating, travelling, etc.”. For example, in Arabic, when expressing benevolence speakers might say, “الله يوفقك” or “الله يعطيك العافية/القوة” (“may God help you”), which is used when wishing someone good luck, meanwhile, when expressing felicitation they utter the phrase, “مبروك” (“congratulations”), which is used to congratulate someone for their marriage, engagement, graduation, etc. (Samarah, 2015).

However, statements of this sort in relation to politeness, whether verbal or non-verbal, do not always fit within all Arab societies because there is no one Arab culture that is distinctive of Arabs all over the world; variations across regions and countries might have an impact on politeness norms of those particular cultures. In fact, Al-Batal (1988) argues that Arab countries such as Lebanon, Tunisia and Morocco are considered to be more westernized when compared with other countries of the Arab world, such as Gulf countries (Al-Batal, 1988). Hence, Lebanon’s cosmopolitan nature leads to having different social conventions and communication norms when compared to other Arab countries of different lifestyles. Investigating these politeness rituals - both verbal and non-verbal - in the Lebanese context will add to the literature on this topic.

Communication Styles and Cultural Differences

Face and facework are present in the use of speech acts in every language, which is why they are universal concepts, yet their enactment varies across cultures (Ting-Toomey, 1998).

This is related to the differentiation made between individualistic and collectivistic societies. According to Hofstede, these two tendencies represent a spectrum that signifies the “relationship between the individual and the collectivity which prevails in a given society” (Drake, 2001, p. 320).

Collectivistic societies are the “we” cultures that emphasize on the group over the individual while individualistic societies are the “I” cultures that focus on autonomy. These two dimensions are responsible for the different communication styles present across cultures (Ting-Toomey, 1998). Furthermore, these two tendencies can be further separated into high and low context cultures. The concept of high and low context range refers to the amount of information available in communication (Kowner, 2002). Low-context communication is related to individualistic societies that prefer individual needs over group needs and goals. Countries such as North America and Europe appreciate autonomy, competition, fortitude and the practice of self-interests. Alternatively, high-context communication is related to collectivistic societies that prefer group needs and objectives over individual ones. Social responsibility and collaboration with other people of the in-group are highly appreciated and encouraged. Consequently, relations are upheld and developed when members are attentive to other people’s needs and objectives. The Arab world, Asia, and South America are, in varying measures, part of this category.

As for the Arab world, Nelson et al. (2002) describe the Arab culture as a high-context and collectivistic culture. Opposite to the Americans’ individual-centered

tendencies, the Arab world values in-group goals over individual ones (Nelson et al., 2002). Arab culture commonly acknowledges that the insiders are preferred to the outsiders and directness is avoided as it could be offensive; Arabic appears to support circumlocution, where what is inferred is more important than what is actually said. In fact, the American style of communication has been described as vivid and straightforward; this is considered as “Tough Talk”. This is the opposite of the Arabic style, which is identified as “Sweet Talk”. The function of “Musāyara” or “Sweet Talk” is related to humoring the hearer; It manifests solidarity and avoids indiscretions (Katriel 1986). Another relevant fact is that Arab societies are categorized as being more rank-conscious than westerners; they tend to emphasize their acknowledgement of the addressee’s higher power. Accordingly, status plays a fundamental role in Arab relationships. In unequal power interactions, low-power speakers resort to using “Musāyara” with the high-power hearer to respectfully maintain the power difference between the individuals (Feghali, 1997).

A study conducted by Ayyash-Abdo (2001), investigated the case of individualism and collectivism (I-C) in Lebanon. She studied whether people with different individualistic and collectivistic traits speak different languages, belong to different religious groups, and are of different gender. The data was collected from 517 university students in Lebanon, where, due to its multilingual and cosmopolitan aspect, both traits coexist. Abdo also explained that these two concepts can occur as multidimensional constructs rather than being polar opposites of a single dimension. When measured, these two tendencies seem to be uncorrelated; hence, as researchers have claimed, individualism and collectivism can coexist within individuals and cultures (Kagitcibasi and Berry, 1989; Kagitcibasi, 1990; Kashima, 1987 as mentioned in Ayyash-Abdo, 2001).The Twenty Statement Test, Triandis'

Attitude items, and ten of Schwartz's Value items were used to gather the data and test the I-C tendencies.

In the study, the participants had the choice to respond to the questionnaire in either Arabic, English, or French. It should be noted that those who preferred to respond to the questionnaire in Arabic were students at either the Lebanese University or Arab University. In the same way, those who chose to respond in French or English were students at St. Joseph and Kaslik universities or Lebanese American University. The results show that language plays a fundamental role in orientations; those who preferred to use English or French are less collectivistic than those who chose Arabic. Religion also was shown to have an influence on the individuals' orientations in certain domains, but not consistently. However, in general terms, among Muslims, Christians, and Druz, Muslims appear to be the most collectivistic. As for gender, although it did not appear to be of significance in I-C orientation, females seem to be high on both tendencies while males seemed to be more individualistic.

Speech Acts of Congratulation in Different Contexts

The speech act of congratulation functions as a tool for rapport-maintenance; accordingly, it helps maintain in-group harmony. In fact, as Behnam and Amizadeh (2011) state, it is identified as a speech act that is used “to grease the social wheels and thus to serve as social lubricants that create or maintain rapport.” (Behnam and Amizadeh, 2011, p. 65 as mentioned in Pishghadam and Moghaddam, 2011, p. 137).

In the first study that examined the speech act of congratulation from a cross-cultural perspective, Murata (1998) investigated the misunderstanding arisen in the analysis

of a letter sent by the Prime Minister of Japan to the Prime Minister of Britain on the 50th anniversary of the end of the World War II. While the document was interpreted as an apology letter by the British prime minister, in reality, it was meant to be a congratulatory letter recognizing the anniversary. This study highlights the importance of culture in the understanding and conceptualization of speech acts.

In another study, Al-Khatib (1997) examined the cultural and communicative functions of the speech acts of thanking and congratulating appearing in Jordanian newspapers. The announcements included in the newspapers were those that refer to festive situations, such as graduation, promotion, wedding, birth of a baby, etc. These congratulatory messages were analyzed in relation to the linguistic strategies used as well as the difference in utilization of these strategies during different situations. Based on the results of the study, Al-Khatib (1997) states that these two speech acts fulfill the purpose of forming and sustaining relations between people. This is reflected in the way the speaker adheres to the face needs of the hearer through praising or endorsing a certain deed or accomplishment. Moreover, Al-Khatib suggests that the speech act of congratulation serves the purpose of motivating the hearer to achieve more and, at the same time, it also motivates others to follow the hearer's example.

Elwood's (2004) study is a seminal research in this field, mainly due to the taxonomy of congratulating strategies which Elwood proposed. In the study, 45 American students writing in English, 45 Japanese students writing in English, and 45 Japanese students writing in Japanese, were asked to fill out a written Discourse Completion Task (henceforth DCT) that consisted of 7 situations, three of which were related to happy news

(grant, wedding, promotion). The data was analyzed based on the taxonomy which was proposed by the researcher herself (Elwood, 2004):

Congratulation Strategies	Examples
1. Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)	“Congratulations.”
2. Expression of happiness: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Expression of personal happiness b. Statements assessing the situation positively 	“I am so happy for you.” “That’s exciting.”
3. Request for information <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Specific questions b. General requests for information 	“Who’s the lucky man/woman?” “So tell me about it.”
4. Expression of validation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Statements indicating the situation was warranted b. Praise c. Statement of prior certainty 	“You really deserved the position.” “Great job!” “I knew that you would get it!”
5. Encouragement	“From now on, please continue your wonderful research.”
6. A suggestion to celebrate	“This calls for a celebration.”
7. Offer of good luck	“Good luck on your research.”

8. Offer of good wishes	“Have fun with that.”
-------------------------	-----------------------

Table 1: Examples of the strategy types as mentioned in Elwood's(2004) taxonomy

The findings show that American and Japanese students use different patterns in their responses to good news. While Japanese students are more likely to make comparisons and self-related comments, in Japanese and English, American students tend to request information and ask questions. In addition, the results of the study show that in situations of promotions, the “Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)” is the most frequently used type of response, whereas in situations of wedding and grant, the “Expression of happiness” is the mostly employed type of response. Also, the findings show that three concerned groups who participated in the study prefer to use the “Expression of validation” in the situation of grant, but in the situation of wedding, it is only employed by the American students. “Request for information” is the dominant type of response used by all three participating groups, but it is most frequently used by the American students, particularly in the wedding situation. Moreover, the other responses uttered by the participants, in the three situations, include the following categories: “Encouragement”, “A suggestion to celebrate”, “Offer of good wishes”, “Offer of good luck” (Elwood, 2004).

In a comparative study, Dastjerdi and Nasri (2012) studied the cross-cultural differences in relation to the strategies used in the speech act of congratulation. The participants were categorized into three groups: 48 American speakers, 50 Persian speakers, and 44 speakers of Syrian Arabic; they were asked to respond to parallel materials in their own languages. Data were collected using a written DCT, which consisted of 4 situations of good news. The results reveal that the most dominant strategy, which was used by all three

groups, was the “Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)”. Moreover, the findings indicate that both Persian and Syrian Arabic speakers prefer to use “Offer of good wishes” as a congratulating strategy, while Americans, similar to Elwood’s findings, preferred to use “Request for information”. As for the main difference between the three concerned groups, the findings reveal that Arabs use “Offer of good wishes” strategy more than Americans do (Dastjerdi & Nasri, 2012). However, although this study is a worthwhile piece of research that adds to the field, the small number of DCT situations might be considered to be a weakness.

Through referring to Elwood’s (2004) taxonomy of congratulation strategy, Allami and Nekouzadeh (2011) studied the usage of the speech act of congratulation by Iranian Persian speakers. Fifty participants filled out a DCT, which consisted of 9 situations related to good news. In accordance with Dastjerdi and Nasri’s (2013) findings, concerning the most frequently used strategies for congratulating, the data analysis reveals that the dominant types of strategies used for congratulating were: “Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)” and “Offer of good wishes”. However, “Expression of happiness” was also identified as a dominant strategy in performing the speech act of congratulation (Allami & Nekouzadeh, 2011).

Similarly, Al-Shboul and Huwari (2016) investigated the strategies used by 30 male native Jordanian EFL postgraduate students for expressing happiness in congratulating others. Dastjerdi and Nasri’s (2012) adopted version of DCTs were used for collecting data, which was analyzed in terms of the taxonomy proposed by Elwood (2004). In line with the results obtained from Allami and Nekouzadeh’s (2011) study, the results of the study show that the dominant strategies used for congratulating are: “Illocutionary Force Indicating

Device (IFID)”, “Expression of happiness” and “Offer of good wishes” (Al-Shboul & Huwari, 2016). However, as mentioned above, in this study, the researchers adopted the DCTs used by Dastjerdi and Nasri (2012), who had used a very few DCT situations. Hence, this might have influenced the outcome of the study. Another shortcoming of the study is that it examined only male students. In Ghaemi and Ebrahimi’s study (2014), the researchers investigated the use of congratulatory strategies by Persian speakers. There were 50 participants who came from different areas of Iran (Isfahan, Tehran, Dezful, etc.). The findings of the study show that the most frequently used strategies were: IFID, expression of happiness, and offer of good wishes.

The study conducted by Nasri et al. (2012) compared the strategies native Americans employ for offering congratulations with the ones used by Armenians and Iranians. Data were collected through DCTs, which was filled out by 40 native speakers of Persian, 40 native English speakers, and 40 native Armenians; the participants were between the ages of 19 and 30. The results reveal that Americans mainly use IFID, request for information, and offer of good wishes. Meanwhile, Armenians and Persians use more similar strategies; in case of Armenians IFID, offer of good wishes, and expression of happiness are used, while in case of Persians IFID, offer of good wishes, and request for information are preferred.

In case of Pishghadam and Moghaddam (2011), the study mainly focused on the speech act of congratulation as used in Persian and English. To gather the data, 100 movies (50 in Persian and 50 in English) were chosen; the corpus included 1039 congratulatory expressions (502 in Persian 537 in English). Using Elwood’s taxonomy as a basis, the researchers created a new model for classifying congratulatory strategies. Six categories were identified as the model of analysis: offering congratulation, mentioning the occasion,

blessing wish, expressing feeling, divine statement, and complimenting. According to the outcome of the study, the three most frequently used strategies in Persian movies are: offering congratulation, blessing wish, and divine statement. Meanwhile, in English, the preferred strategies are: mentioning the occasion, expressing feeling, and blessing wish.

In what relates to politeness and the different aspects of the realization of speech acts in Lebanese context, there are only three unpublished master's theses that have investigated the employment of the speech acts of refusals (El-Harake, 2005), compliments (Zantout, 2011), and requests (Khouja, 2015). Moreover, as another unpublished thesis, one study has examined the interrelationship between politeness and power present in the discourse of the Internal Security Force in Lebanon (Francis, 2018).

El-Harake's (2005) research study explored the use of refusal strategies in Lebanese Arabic and English, both oral and written, by students at the American University of Beirut. The study also examined the influence of status and gender on strategy choice. The data was collected via discourse completion tests, which was adapted by Nelson et al. (2002) in their study that was conducted in the Egyptian context. The participants were 24 subjects (12 males, 12 females); the oral data yielded 350 refusals while the written data yielded 344. The findings reveal that direct and indirect strategies employed in both languages are almost identical. In both languages, indirect strategies are used more frequently than direct ones. Moreover, the results display that responses differ based on the status of the hearer. In addition, in case of gender, the findings show that while males use direct refusals more commonly than females in the English responses, females use them more than males in the Arabic responses. Finally, El-Harake suggested that, as shown in the data analysis, the participants might have not internalized English culture and communication style, instead

they are transferring Arabic cultural communication patterns onto their responses El-Harake's (2005).

Zantout's (2011) study investigated the compliment response behavior of Lebanese students at the American University of Beirut (AUB). It also studied the role of gender in influencing the participants' preference in use of strategies. In addition, the Lebanese participants' belief in the evil eye, a superstition that is widespread in the Arab region, was also examined. The data was gathered via Discourse Completion Tests (DCT) which was distributed to 50 undergraduate students (25 males, 25 females). The compliments in each situation were offered on four attributes: appearance, possession, trait, and skill. The participants were asked to respond to the DCTs in both English and Arabic. 400 compliment responses were collected, 391 verbal responses and 9 non-verbal ones. These verbal responses were categorized into two levels: macro (accept, reject, and evade) and micro (sub-strategies used in each macro level). As for the analysis, the frequency of occurrence of the different compliment strategies were calculated as well as the effect of gender of the complimenter and complimentee on the use of these strategies. In case of the Arabic responses, the frequency of occurrence of utterances related to the belief in the evil eye were calculated.

The results reveal that, in most cases, Lebanese participants favor to accept compliments. This is followed by evasion, and then rejection. Acceptance is mainly used with compliments related to appearance while evasion is used with those related to traits. In addition, it was also discovered that the participants utilize the "appreciation token" micro-strategy recurrently and conjoin it with other micro-strategies. As for evasion, a new micro-strategy, "hoping", which is not present in other studies, was employed by the participants.

In what relates to the effect of gender, the findings show that both males and females prefer to accept compliments, especially when it's related to appearance. However, in case of evasions, while compliments related to possession and skill, given by males to female complimentees, are not rejected or evaded, males evade compliments related to possession when they are produced by females. Regarding the use of micro-strategies, Zantout explains that when the compliments are related to skill and are given by female complimenters, both genders use "encouraging/giving help or advice"; on the other hand, when the complimenter is male, both genders use "hoping". Lastly, the findings corroborate the utilization of invocations and eyeing utterances, which indicate the belief in the evil eye. In fact, the data shows that these utterances are mainly addressed to male complimenters.

In fact, the results reveal different cultural norms that are valued in Lebanese context. As evident in the data, Lebanese participants invoke the name of God in their responses to indicate that future events are dependent on God's will. Such statements are also apparent in their use of invocations and eyeing utterances; in addition to confirming their belief in evil eye, this also reveals that they depend on God to protect them against the evil eye. Moreover, the analysis shows that males, in contrast to some gender studies, have a positive attitude towards compliments and they accept them in high frequencies even when given by male complimenters in relation to their appearance. However, Lebanese participants, both males and females, still hold some stereotypes on males' perception of compliments as well as each other's speech, in general.

Khouja (2015) studied the politeness strategies utilized when making requests in English and Lebanese Arabic. The study examined the effects of gender and status on the selection of strategies. To collect the data, Discourse completion tests (DCT) were distributed

to 51 students in English classes, Sophomore Rhetoric, at the Lebanese American University. The DCTs included six items where the participants had to respond as if they were in that specific situation. They participants responded in both English and Arabic, after which the data was coded and analyzed in reference to the coding scheme suggested by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1989). The strategies were first categorized into macro strategies: direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect; afterwards, they were separated into the 9 subcategories.

The findings show that the participants favor conventionally indirect strategies, followed by direct strategies. Hints are not used by the participants; this is attributed to an inclination towards transparency. In addition, gender proves to be an influential factor. While females favor conventionally indirect strategies, male participants also employ conventionally indirect strategies more than the other categories, but less than females. However, a Chi-Square test reveals that gender is not a statistically significant factor. As for status, it is not proven to be influential; in fact, social distance is found to be more influential than status. The more the social distance between the hearers and the speakers, the less direct the speakers are in their requests. Chi-square test reveals that status is statistically significant for the English responses, but not for the Arabic ones. Moreover, code-switching is detected in a few of the Arabic responses; it is suggested that this might be interpreted as the respondents' lack of proficiency in Arabic or their aim to mitigate the cost of the request. Accordingly, code-switching is regarded to be a face-saving strategy, as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), a positive politeness strategy.

Francis (2018) explored politeness present in the discourse of the Internal Security Force in Lebanon, where she investigated the influence of social distance, rank, setting, and

imposition on the participants' speech. Her study examined how politeness interrelates to the politic behavior, which is the rank-conscious type of communication that is expected of the members of the institution. To collect the data, 42 personnel from various ranks were interviewed; they were asked about the way they address each other as well as the directives, advice, and criticism they use with their subordinates, peers, and superiors. Parallel to the interviews, field observations were conducted in different settings and contexts.

The results show that there is a polite code, which is regarded to be the normative rules of speech within the institution. However, social distance is the most dominant factor that prevails the rank-based polite code; low social distance is the most important variable that allows those in higher power to defy the polite code and create a discourse type that is different from the type expected. Moreover, in certain cases, the nature of the setting seems to have a higher impact than social distance, especially in strict settings, such as trainings.

In conclusion, the realization of speech acts varies from one context to another. Moreover, it is evident through existing research that studies related to the speech act of congratulation are limited in number in the Arabic context, and null in the Lebanese context. Hence, this research study aims to address this gap in the literature through answering the following research questions:

- 1- What are the different strategies used by Lebanese university students to express congratulation in Lebanese Arabic and English?
- 2- How does gender of the hearer and the speaker influence these choices?
- 3- How do power and social distance influence these choices?

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Context of Study

Multilingualism has always been a vital part of the Lebanese identity and culture. In Lebanon, each active language is associated with certain domains: Arabic is the language of everyday communication, national identity, and school education; English is the language of higher education, banking, business, trade, science and technology; and French is the language of foreign language education, cultural events and entertainment (Shaaban & Ghaith, 2002). Moreover, Lebanese are introduced to English and French as a first foreign language at the same time they are introduced to Modern Standard Arabic, which is why they have similar proficiencies in these languages. Consequently, they do not only learn to use French and English grammatically, but also appropriately; hence, they also master the pragmatic aspects of the languages.

This Multilinguistic image of Lebanon is reflected through the universities of different media of education. There are universities that are mainly English-medium (e.g. American University of Beirut (AUB) and Lebanese American University (LAU)), French-medium (e.g. Université Saint-Joseph (USJ) and Holy Spirit University of Kaslik (USEK)), Arabic-medium (Lebanese University and Arab University), and Arabic-English-French medium (Balamand University and Antonine University). Data collection for this study took place at the American University of Beirut (AUB), which was founded in 1866, and is a private, non-sectarian institution of higher education.

Participants

49 AUB students participated in this study, 25 males and 24 females. The subjects were all native speakers of Arabic and fluent, non-native speakers of English. The participants were undergraduate students, who were enrolled in the ENG 203 course (Academic English) at AUB. Hence, the level of proficiency was controlled and the chosen group was, up to a certain degree, a homogeneous one. Moreover, age as a variable was also controlled as participants belonged to a similar age group (18-20).

Instrument

The Discourse Completion Task (DCT) is the instrument selected for this study. It is a role play type of questionnaire that elicits responses from participants through exposing them to real-life situations and asking them to answer the way they would if they were found in that particular situation (Brown, 2001).

Developed by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), DCT is considered to be a practical way for data collection; it has been characterized by its facility for use, efficiency to collect large data, and ability to detect cross-cultural variations (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). Another advantage of the DCT is that it provides researchers with the capability to have control over the variables (Golato, 2003). However, Golato (2003) claims that even though DCTs have many advantages and are a widely used tool for data collection, they “explicitly require participants not to conversationally interact, but to articulate what they believe would be situationally appropriate responses within possible, yet imaginary, interactional settings” (Golato, 2003, p.92).

To address these criticisms, Billmyer and Varghese (2000) suggest presenting the participants with prompts that are rich in context. In fact, they conducted a research study that investigated the effects of adding contextual information in the DCTs (place, time, etc.), and their findings show that this manipulation resulted in having more elaborate responses, similar to those uttered in a natural setting (Billmyer and Varghese, 2000). The following is an example of a context-enriched DCT situation which was used in this study: “It’s your best friend’s graduation day. You know she has worked so hard over the last three years, and she is so happy that her hard work has finally paid off. After the graduation ceremony, she sees you in a crowd full of people and runs towards you. You hug her and say:”

For this study, each situation was presented in English followed by its Arabic equivalent; in other terms, the participants answered the question in English and then the same one in Arabic, before moving on to the next one. In case of the Arabic data, as the participants were not specified to write in a particular script, the responses included answers written in Arabic script and ones written in Arabizi (Arabic chat language)¹. The DCT consisted of items related to happy news (wedding, engagement, graduation, etc.). The situations took into consideration two manipulated variables: social power and social distance. Social power refers to the power factor present in the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. It is represented in two levels: high (e.g. student-professor) and equal (e.g. student-student). Social distance, on the other hand, refers to the degree of

¹ A brief guide for Arabizi transcription is presented in the appendix.

intimacy between the hearer and the speaker. It is represented in two levels: formal (e.g. student-professor) and informal (e.g. friend-friend).

Procedure

Prior to the administration of the DCT, ethics approval for the DCTs was sought from the AUB IRB. Afterwards, the head of the communication skills program was contacted, and emails were sent to the instructors of ENG 203 classes. After having a few instructors agree to take part in the study, the classes were visited. The study was presented to the students and the criteria of inclusion were explained; the DCTs were then distributed to those who agreed to participate. Moreover, as an incentive, a draw for a \$100 voucher from ABC mall was performed at the end of the data collection process.

Data Analysis

DCT responses resulted in 690 instances of congratulating expressions in English and 648 instances in Lebanese Arabic. The Data were encoded and analyzed based on Elwood's (2004) taxonomy of congratulation strategies. The taxonomy includes different strategies; the four main ones² are the following:

First, "Illocutionary Force Indicating Device" (IFID)³ is the basic and the most direct form of a speech act; it is indicated through lexical indicators that explicitly signify the illocutionary force of the concerned speech act (Condoravdi and Lauer, 2011). In

² In her study, Elwood identified these strategies as the four patterns that were found to be the most basic types of congratulation responses.

³ IFID is conventionally represented as a linguistic element that indicates or delimits the illocutionary force that is performed by an utterance. Typically, there are three main categories of linguistic IFIDs: Lexical indicators, which can take the form of explicit performatives - mainly verbs, adverbs, and expressions; Syntactic indicators, which is mostly associated with the verbal mode; Prosodic indicators, which include stress, pitch, intonational contour, and other suprasegmental factors. This study focuses on lexical indicators.

Elwood's study, the IFID is in the form of "congratulations" or "congrats". Second, "Expression of happiness" is further divided into two sub-strategies: "Expression of personal happiness", through which the speakers convey their personal feelings, and "Statements assessing the situation positively", through which they evaluate the situation in a positive way. Third, "Request for information" includes two further sub-strategies: "Specific questions" and "General requests for information". These strategies are used to acquire information about a certain situation; while the former fulfills that in a specific manner, the latter does it in a more general form. Fourth, "Expression of validation" is composed of three sub-strategies: "Statements indicating the situation was warranted", "Praise", and "Statements of prior certainty". "Statements indicating the situation was warranted" is a strategy used to convey the idea of earning and/or deserving through acknowledging the hearer's effort in contributing to the situation, "praise" is used to express admiration for the interlocutor, specifically for the achievement that is being celebrated, and "Statements of prior certainty" is used to convey the speaker's assurance of the person's accomplishment.

The remaining strategies are classified by Elwood as "others". "Jokes" is one of these strategies; it includes sarcastic, funny, and sometimes humorously offensive expressions. "Related comments" are also included in this category. As suggested by the phrase, this strategy is in the form of expressions targeting a certain aspect of the interlocutor's good news; it includes comments that concern the particular situation, as well as compliments that are directly related to the occasion. "Offer of good wishes" is used to express hope for the occurrence of good things in the interlocutor's life. Another strategy

that is employed in the responses is “Expression of pride”; this strategy is used to convey the idea that the speaker is proud of the interlocutor’s actions. Finally, “Expression of exclamation” is also used; it includes various statements that express the emotion of exclamation in its different forms, such as surprise, shock, excitement, etc.

To answer research question 1, the data were first coded. Afterwards, frequency was calculated based on the strategies used in Arabic and English, with respect to each situational setting, namely: graduation, scholarship, grant, engagement, wedding, baby's birth. To answer research questions 2 and 3, the data were further analyzed according to the three variables examined in the study: gender, power, and social distance. Cross-tabulations were constructed for each strategy by gender, power, and social distance for each language group and descriptive statistics were calculated. Finally, Chi-square test for independence were conducted to determine if gender, power, and social distance were statistically significant factors.

Limitations

This study will be a worthwhile piece of research that adds to the field, but it has two limitations: First, the participants of the study are all students from the same university; hence, the findings are not representative of all Lebanese university students, especially considering the communal and linguistic differences. Second, the data collected through DCTs are essentially responses that the participants believe they would say rather than what they actually say in real situations.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter presents the outcome of this empirical study, which was conducted for examining the politeness strategies employed in congratulating in English and Lebanese Arabic. Analysis of the results involved tabulating responses from the DCTs, coding, and classifying them into the set of strategies proposed by Elwood (2004); the frequencies of the occurrences of these strategies were then calculated and Chi-square test were conducted to test if gender, power, and social distance were statistically significant variables.

Analysis by Strategy Type and Situational Settings

The following section presents the total distribution of the strategies by percentage in English and Lebanese Arabic.

Strategies	IFID	Expression of Happiness *	Request for Information **	Expression of Validation ***	Related Comment	Offer of Good Wishes	Expression of Pride	Expression of Exclamation	Joke	Divine Statement	Marriage Wishes	Expression of Love	Expression of Future Support
English	29.28%	14.20%	9.13%	14.06%	5.65%	9.71%	3.62%	7.39%	2.46%	0.87%	0.87%	1.88%	0.87%
Arabic	33.33%	6.48%	9.41%	10.96%	4.78%	8.64%	0.77%	5.56%	3.55%	12.65%	1.85%	0.77%	1.23%

*Expression of Happiness	Expression of personal happiness	Statements assessing the situation positively
English	55.10%	44.90%
Arabic	71.43%	28.57%

**Request for Information	Specific question	General requests for information
English	66.67%	33.33%
Arabic	62.30%	37.70%

***Expression of Validation	Statements indicating the situation was warranted	Praise	Statements of prior certainty
English	45.36%	24.74%	29.90%
Arabic	57.75%	26.76%	15.49%

Table 2: Distribution of strategy types in English and Lebanese Arabic

In the English data, as shown in table 2, the strategy that is most repeatedly used is the IFID, with a percentage of 29.28%. The used IFID is mainly “congrats!”⁴ or “congratulations”. The second most occurring strategy is the expression of happiness, which has a percentage of 14.2%, where the participants are more prone to using utterances related to their personal happiness (55.1%), such as “I’m very happy for you, you made my day”, rather than referring to the situation itself (44.9%), such as “That’s really great”.

In a similar percentage, expression of validation is frequently used with an occurrence of 14.06%, out of which statements indicating the situation was warranted are employed the most (45.36%), followed by statements of prior certainty (29.9%), while

⁴ The provided examples are written in the same way as mentioned in the responses.

those of praise are used the least (24.74%). The following are examples of expressions of validations that are used in the English responses in same order of the sub-strategies mentioned above: “I know you worked very hard, you truly deserve this”, “You surely will have countless more successes ahead of you”, and “You are amazing”.

Another strategy that occurs recurrently in the English data is the offer of good wishes, which includes statements, such as “I hope you succeed in your future”; this strategy constitutes 9.71% of the total strategies used. The participants also used request for information as a strategy to congratulate; with a total percentage of 9.13%, this strategy is of two kinds: specific question (66.67%), such as “When’s the wedding then?”, and general requests for information (33.33%), such as “So tell us about your future plans”. While specific questions are used independently, general requests for information are almost always followed by specific questions. Expression of exclamation is also widely used in the responses, at a percentage of 7.39%. This strategy is constituted of statements expressing feelings of surprise, shock, and excitement, such as “Finally”, “Oh”, “Yuhu”, etc.

The rest of the strategies, which are classified as “others” in Elwood’s (2004) taxonomy, are used at a lower percentage than the above-mentioned ones: 5.65% of the strategies fall under the category of related comments, which includes statements related to the different aspects of the concerned situation, for example, complimenting a person’s appearance at their engagement party, “Looking pretty!”; 3.62% of the total strategies are expression of pride, such as “I am super proud of your accomplishments”; 2.46% are jokes, for example “Hopefully the future babies look more like her than you”.

In addition to the strategies presented in Elwood’s taxonomy, this study yielded four new strategies that do not occur in Elwood’s study: “Invocation of God’s name”, which is composed of expressions of good wishes that include any form of reference to God; “Marriage wishes”, which are used to express hope for a person to get married; “Expression of love” and “Expression of future support”, which are used to express feelings of affection and future assistance, respectively.

In the English data, expression of love, such as “Love you so much!” occurs at a percentage of 1.88%. As for the remaining three strategies, they are the least utilized strategies in the English responses (0.87%): marriage wishes, “Hopefully we get to see you both married”, expression of future support, “I will always support you in everything you do”, and invocation of God’s name, “May God bless your baby”.

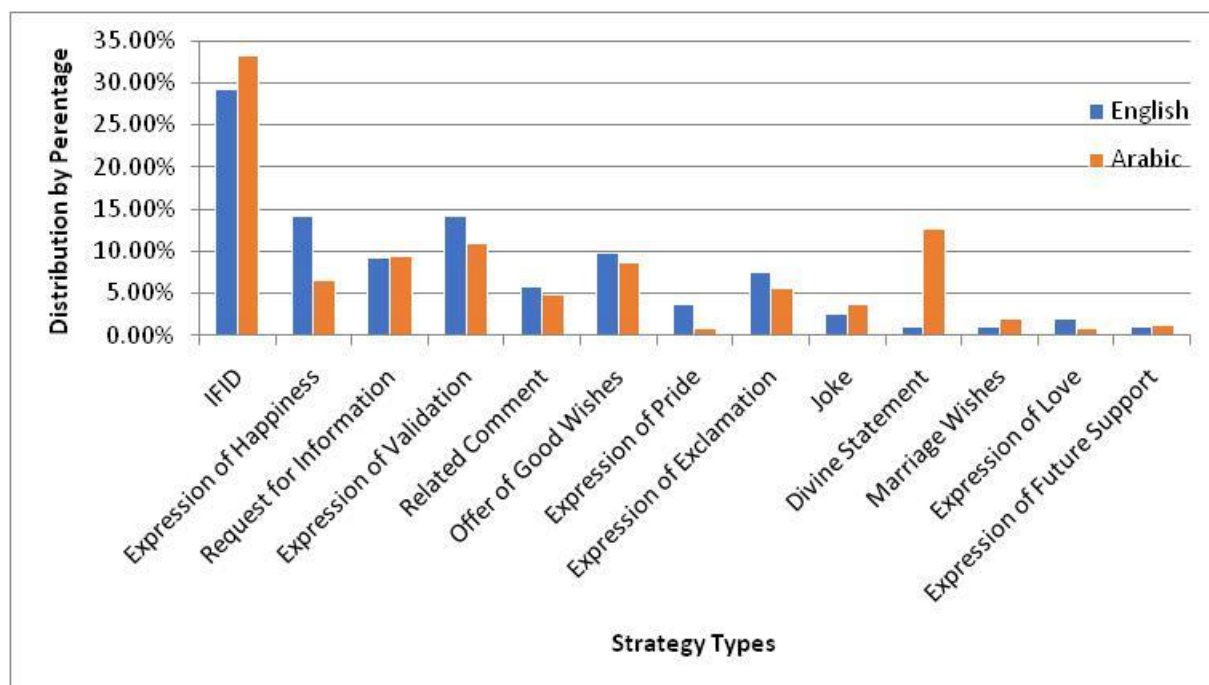


Figure 1: Distribution of strategy types in English and Lebanese Arabic

In the Arabic data, similar to the English data, the strategy that is most repeatedly used is the IFID, which has a percentage of 33.33%. The used IFID is “مبروك” (“congratulations”). In addition, a recurrent form of IFID is “ألف مبروك”, which means “thousand(s of)f congratulations”. This is a routinized expression that is very common in Lebanese Arabic and is used to emphasize the participants’ happiness for the interlocutor.

With a very sharp difference between the two languages, the second most frequently used strategy in Lebanese Arabic is invocation of God’s name with a percentage of 12.65%; this strategy includes statements such as “الله يخليك ياها” (“may God keep her for you”), “Nshallah deyman btdallo mabsoutin” (“God willing, may you always be happy”), and “Elhamdelah 3al saleme” (“Thank God for your safety”). This has occurred at such a high frequency because it is a culturalized convention in Lebanese Arabic to use routinized religious expressions; such phrases are used by Lebanese in their daily conversational routines. In fact, it’s related to the belief that everything is in the hands of God, and whatever is done by man cannot happen without God’s will.

Similar to the English responses, the third most occurring strategy is the expression of validation, which is used with an occurrence of 10.96%, out of which statements indicating the situation was warranted are employed the most (57.75%), followed by statements of praise (26.76%), while statements of prior certainty are used the least (15.49%). The following are examples of expression of validations that are used in the Arabic data in the same order of the subcategories mentioned above: “بتستاھلي ھيك واكثر” (“you deserve all this and more”), “kil omrik shatra wa moutafawika” (“you’ve been

hardworking and smart your entire life”) , and “كنت عارفه رح توصلي لهل محل بيوم من الايام” (“I knew that you would reach to this level of success someday”).

The participants also used request for information as a strategy to congratulate; with a total percentage of 9.41%, specific questions, such as “كيف كانت السفره” (“how was the trip?”), make up 62.3% of the total figure, while general requests for information, such as “شو رح تعمل هلا؟” (“what are you going to do now?”), make up 37.7% of it. Another similarity with the English data is the usage of offer of good wishes, for example, “3a2bel marateb a3la⁵” (“Looking forward to your attainment of higher positions”); this strategy constitutes 8.64% of the total strategies used.

At a much lower occurrence than the English data, expression of happiness has a percentage of 6.48%; however, similar to the English responses, the participants are more prone to using utterances related to their personal happiness (71.43%) rather than the situation itself (28.57%). For example, to express their personal happiness, the participants responded to the situations with such statements, “Shou bheb shoufak mabsout heik” (“how I love seeing you happy like this”), while to assess the situation positively they said, “shou helo” (“how amazing”). Expression of exclamation is used in the responses at a percentage of 5.56%. Similar to the English data, it includes statements expressing the feelings of surprise, shock, and excitement, such as “أخيراللا” (“finally”), “khayy” (an exclamation indicating relief), “yallaa” (“come on”), etc. This is followed by a related comment at percentage of 4.78%. Similar to the English data, this strategy includes comments relevant to the concerned situation as well as compliments, such as “...Kteer helo ken el graduation

⁵ A brief guide for Arabizi transcription is presented in the appendix.

ceremony” (“the graduation ceremony was so beautiful”) and “Mbayyan mtl el khaweja” (“you look like a gentleman”).

The rest of the strategies are used at a lower percentage: 3.55% are jokes, for example, in case of graduation, a participant wrote this response “...man fik tel3ab bel nhar hal2 ta tkoun l2it cheghel, bteftah da2 tarneeb” (“... man, now you can play in the mornings until you find a job, you can play tarneeb”(name of the game)); 1.85% are marriage wishes, for example “3a2bel el 3ers (“wishing for your wedding”); 1.23% are expression of future support, such as “ha dalne 3atoul haddik la tousale la kel shi baddik yeh” (“I will always be by your side until you achieve all that you aspire”). The least used strategies, which are used at a percentage of 0.77%, are expression of love and expression of pride. These strategies are used through such examples “bhebbik ktir” (“I love you so much”) and “أنا كثير فخره فيكي” (“I am very proud of you”), respectively.

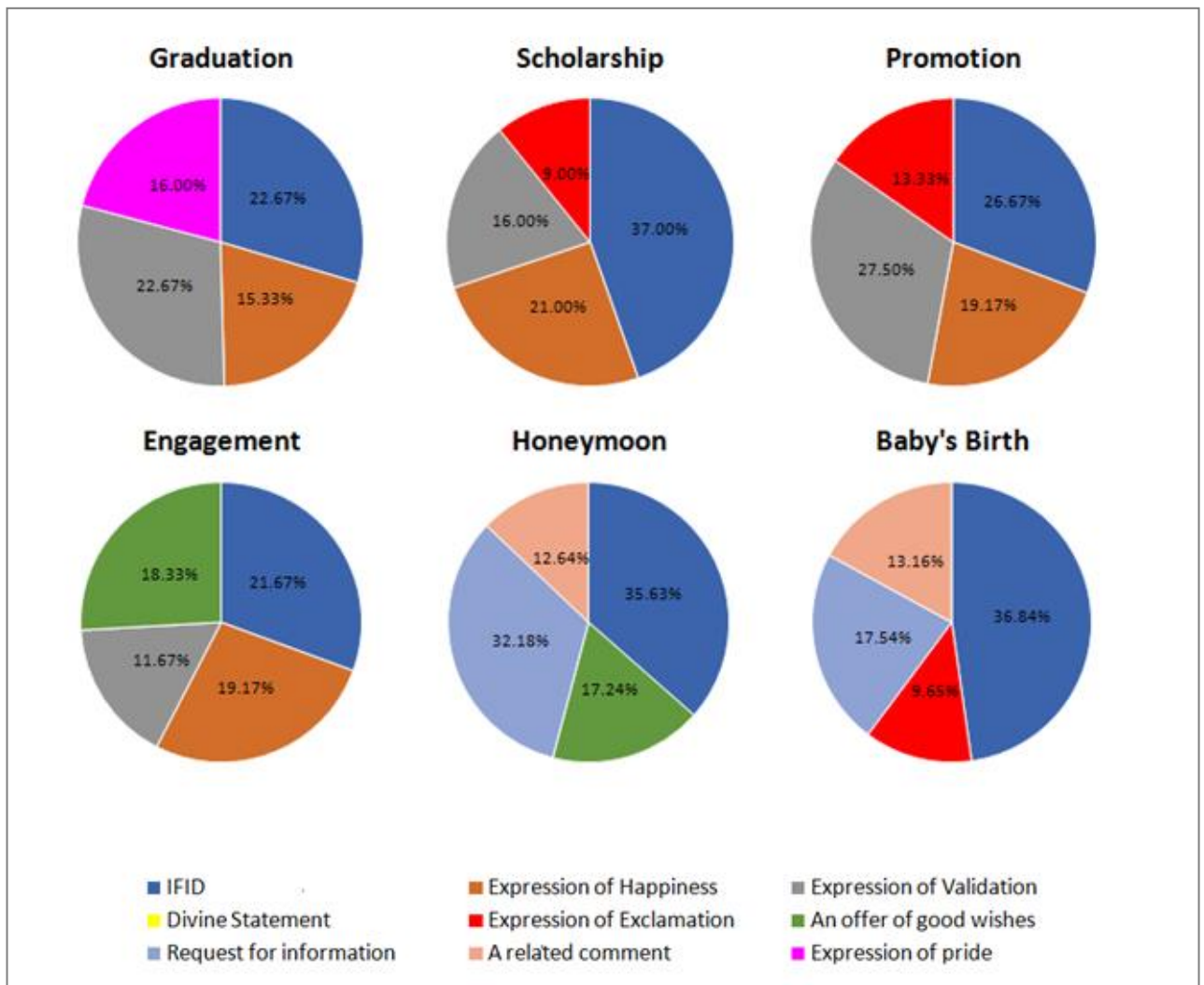


Figure 2: Distribution of strategy types by situations in English

Figures 2 and 3 represent the four most frequently used strategies in English and Arabic with respect to the six situational settings mentioned in the DCTs. The occasions mentioned in the situations as well as the language of use were significant factors in determining the participants' selection of different congratulatory strategies.

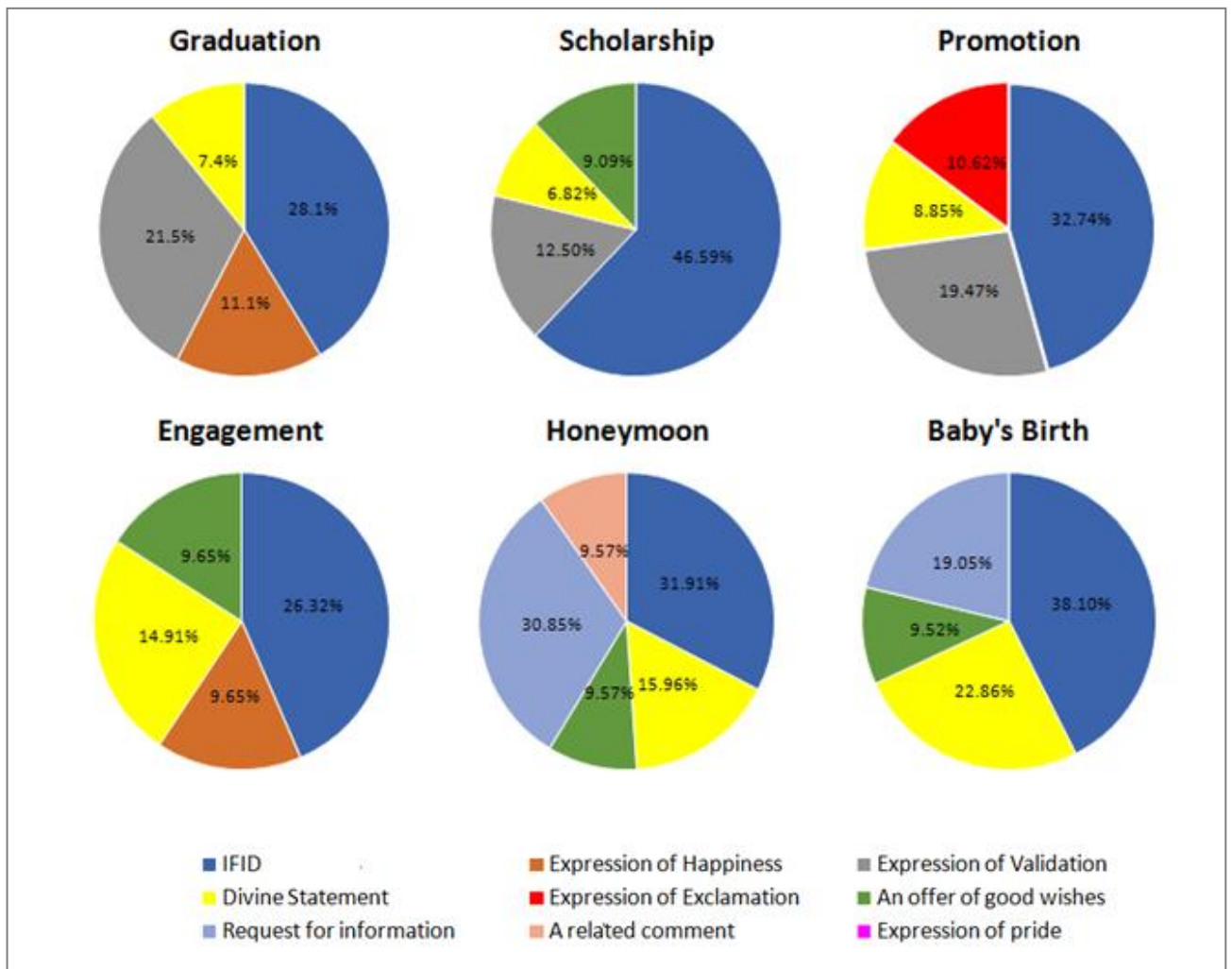


Figure 3: Distribution of strategy types by situations in Arabic

In the first situation, the participants are asked to respond to a scenario where their best friend is graduating from university. In this case, the majority of the responses include IFID, “congrats”, and expression of validation, “You earned it!”, both at an equal percentage (22.67%). Moreover, this situation also includes expression of pride (16%) – which only occurs at a significant rate in this particular situation – and expression of happiness (15.33%). While the former strategy includes “I’m so proud of your success”, the latter includes “I’m happy your hard work paid off”. Similarly, in the Arabic data, the first

situation yields somewhat comparable strategies to the English data: IFID (28.1%), expression of validation (21.5%), such as “تعبتي واشتغلتي وهلق لقيتي نتيجة تعبك” (“You worked very hard and now you’re getting the results of your hard work”), and expression of happiness (11.1%), such as “كثير مبسلك” (“I’m very happy for you”). The only exception is the fourth strategy, invocation of God’s name (7.4%), which is a recurring strategy in all six situations in Arabic, but a rarely used one in English; it occurs in the form of “انشالله بنتوفي” “بكل شي بتعملي” (“God willing, may you find luck in all that you do”).

The second situation, where a friend of a friend has just received a full scholarship, includes similar congratulatory strategies used in the previous situation in the English data: IFID (37%), expression of happiness (21%), such as “This is amazing”, and expression of validation (16%), such as “We knew you’ll be able to get it”; however, instead of expression of pride, expression of exclamation (9%) is a frequent strategy in this case, and it includes such examples: “yey!” and “wow”. While the English data include a high percentage of IFID, the Arabic responses generate an even higher percentage (46.59%); an example of this strategy is “مبارك المنحة” (“Congratulations on the scholarship”). They also include expression of validation (12.5%), offer of good wishes (9.09%), and invocation of God’s name (6.82). These strategies include the following examples, respectively: “أكيد” “تعبتي لتوصلي لهيدي المرحلة بحياتك” (“I’m sure you worked really hard to get to this phase in your life”), “موفق” (“Good luck”), “انشالله سوف نراك في التخرج مع علامات عالية” (“God willing, we will see you graduating with high grades”).

Similarly, in the third situation, where an associate professor is getting promoted to a full professor, the strategies that occur in the English data are the same as the previous

situation: expression of validation is used the most (27.5%), even at a percentage higher than IFID (26.67%); it includes statements in the following form: “You deserve this”. This strategy is followed by expression of happiness (19.77), for example “That’s fantastic”, and expression of exclamation (13.33%), for example “OMG”. Meanwhile in the Arabic data, IFID is used at the highest percentage (32.74%). This is followed by expression of validation (19.47%), expression of exclamation (10.62%) – which is only used in this particular situation in the Arabic responses – and invocation of God’s name (8.85%); these strategies include the following examples, respectively: “بتستحقني هيدي المرتبة” (You deserve this position), “عن جد؟؟” (“Really??”), “انشالله تكون هالترقية باب للعديد من الفرص الحلوة” (“God willing, may this promotion open the door to better opportunities”).

In the fourth situation, where the respondent’s best friend is getting engaged to his long-time girlfriend, the four most frequently used strategies in the English responses include IFID (21.67%), “Congratulations!”, expression of happiness (19.17%), “I’m so happy things worked out for you two”, an offer of good wishes (18.33%), “I hope you will always stay together, happily”, and expression of validation (11.67%), “I knew you guys would end up together”. As for the Arabic data, IFID occurs at a higher percentage (26.32%); this is followed by a high percentage of invocation of God’s name (14.91%) as well as offer of good wishes and expression of happiness, both of which are used at an equal percentage (9.65%). Invocation of God’s name occurs in the data in the following form: “انشالله منشوف ولادكن” (“looking forward to seeing your children”). Meanwhile, offer of good wishes and expression of happiness include the following examples, respectively:

“أتمنى لكم الأفضل والسعادة المطلقة” (“I wish you the best and absolute happiness”) and “Ana ktir mabsouta!!” (“I’m so happy!!”).

However, in case of the fifth situation, the same strategies are utilized in both languages apart from invocation of God’s name, which is exclusively used in the Arabic responses. In this situation, the participants are required to respond to a scenario where their brother’s friend, who recently got married, is back from his honeymoon and is visiting their brother at home. Accordingly, the English data include the following strategies: IFID (35.63%), request for information (32.15%), “How was the honeymoon?”, an offer of good wishes (17.24%), “May your future be full of joy and happiness”, and a related comment (12.64%), “Married life suits you, you look good”. On the other hand, the Arabic data include the same strategies but at a lower percentage: IFID (31.92%), request for information (30.85%), “كيف كانت الرحلة؟” (“How was your trip?”), invocation of God’s name (15.96%), “Nshallah deyman btdallo mabsoutin” (“God willing, may you always be happy”), and offer of good wishes, “بتمنالک حياة سعيدة مع الشخص اللی خرتو” (“I wish you a happy life with the person you chose to spend your life with”) /A related comment (9.57%), “Ntrin el walad” (“We’re waiting for the baby”).

Finally, the sixth situation represents a case where the student goes into their advisor’s office to ask him a question and finds out that his wife has just had a baby. The English data include the following strategies: IFID (36.84%), request for information (17.54%), “Oh! Can I see some pictures?”, a related comment (13.16%), “I had no idea!”, expression of exclamation (9.65%), “Aww!”. Meanwhile the Arabic data include a higher percentage of IFID (38.1%), invocation of God’s name (22.86%), “Allah yekhallilak

bentak” (“May God keep your daughter for you”), a higher percentage of request for information (19.05%), “شو سميتوها؟” (“What did you name her?”), and offer of good wishes (9.52%), “Terba bi3ezkon w dalelkon” (“May she be raised with your fondness and affection”).

Influence of Gender on Choice of Strategy

The second research question aims to address the role of gender in the students’ selection of congratulating strategies. In most of the studies reported in the literature, gender is regarded to be an influential social variable that affects how people congratulate

others in different social situations.

Strategies - English	IFID	Expression of Happiness *	Request for information **	Expression of Validation ***	Related Comment	Offer of Good Wishes	Expression of Pride	Expression of Exclamation	Joke	Divine Statement	Marriage Wishes	Expression of Love	Expression of Future Support
M-M	29.93%	10.20%	17.01%	4.76%	7.48%	14.97%	0.00%	5.44%	3.40%	2.04%	4.08%	0.68%	0.00%
F-M	31.61%	9.20%	14.94%	4.02%	10.92%	13.79%	0.57%	6.90%	4.02%	1.72%	0.00%	2.30%	0.00%
M-F	29.41%	18.24%	4.71%	27.65%	1.76%	4.71%	4.71%	7.06%	0.59%	0.00%	0.00%	0.59%	0.59%
F-F	26.63%	18.09%	2.01%	18.09%	3.02%	6.53%	8.04%	9.55%	2.01%	0.00%	0.00%	3.52%	2.51%

*Expression of Happiness	Expression of personal happiness	Statements assessing the situation positively
M-M	73.33%	26.67%
F-M	81.25%	18.75%
M-F	35.48%	64.52%
F-F	52.78%	47.22%

**Request for Information	Specific question	General requests for information
M-M	68.00%	32.00%
F-M	65.38%	34.62%
M-F	75.00%	25.00%
F-F	50.0%	50.0%

***Expression of Validation	Statements indicating the situation was warranted	Praise	Statements of prior certainty
M-M	42.86%	28.57%	28.57%
F-M	0.00%	57.14%	42.86%
M-F	44.68%	27.66%	27.66%
F-F	55.56%	13.89%	30.56%

Table 3: Distribution of strategy types by gender in English⁶

In the English data, to test if there are any associations between gender and choice of strategy, the Chi-Square statistic was calculated. Invocation of God's name, marriage wishes, and expression of future support were excluded from the chi-square analysis due to having an expected value of less than 5 tokens. The results show that gender is not a

⁶ In tables 3 and 4, where gender as a factor is represented, the first part of Male-Male (or M-M) signifies the gender of the participant while the second part signifies the gender of the hearer mentioned in the DCT.

statistically significant factor in the English data since $p > 0.05^7$ ($p = 0.070032$, $\chi^2 = 15.85224$, with 9 degrees of freedom).

Strategies - Arabic	IFID	Expression of Happiness *	Request for Information **	Expression of Validation ***	Related Comment	Offer of Good Wishes	Expression of Pride	Expression of Exclamation	Joke	Divine Statement	Marriage Wishes	Expression of Love	Expression of Future Support
M-M	31.94%	1.39%	20.83%	2.78%	4.86%	11.81%	0.00%	3.47%	3.47%	13.89%	4.86%	0.69%	0.00%
F-M	31.95%	6.51%	13.61%	2.96%	7.10%	7.69%	0.00%	3.55%	2.96%	21.30%	1.78%	0.59%	0.00%
M-F	34.97%	6.75%	2.45%	23.31%	3.68%	6.13%	1.23%	6.75%	4.29%	6.75%	1.23%	0.61%	1.84%
F-F	34.30%	10.47%	2.33%	13.95%	3.49%	9.30%	1.74%	8.14%	3.49%	8.72%	0.00%	1.16%	2.91%

*Expression of Happiness	Expression of personal happiness	Statements assessing the situation positively
M-M	100.00%	0.00%
F-M	81.82%	18.18%
M-F	36.36%	63.64%
F-F	83.33%	16.67%

** Request for Information	Specific question	General requests for information
M-M	63.33%	36.67%
F-M	60.87%	39.13%
M-F	75.00%	25.00%
F-F	50.00%	50.00%

***Expression of Validation	Statements indicating the situation was warranted	Praise	Statements of prior certainty
M-M	75.00%	0.00%	25.00%
F-M	20.00%	60.00%	20.00%
M-F	60.53%	28.95%	10.53%
F-F	58.33%	20.83%	20.83%

Table 4: Distribution of strategy types by gender in Arabic

In case of the Arabic data, the Chi-Square statistic was also calculated. Expression of pride, expression of love, and expression of future support were excluded from the chi-square analysis due to having an expected value of less than 5 tokens. The results show that

⁷ The standard p-value required in the humanities and social sciences is 0.05 (Litosseliti, 2015).

gender is a statistically significant factor in the Arabic data since $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.040148$, $\chi^2 = 17.59694$, with 9 degrees of freedom).

The results also show that the interlocutor's gender matters more in determining the usage of strategies than that of the speaker's⁸ gender. When the interlocutor is male, IFID is used in the same percentage with both speakers: male to male (31.94%), such as “مبروك” (“Congrats brother”), and female to male (31.95%), such as “mabrouk!”. This is followed by the second most frequently occurring strategy: in male to male responses, it is request for information (20.83%) with the subcategory of specific questions and in female to male responses, it is invocation of God's name (21.3%). However, the outcome is the opposite in what relates to the third most commonly occurring strategy, where, in case of male to male responses, invocation of God's name is preferred (13.89%), “حمدالله على السلامة” (“Thank God for your safety”), and in case of female to male responses, request for information (13.61%), mainly specific questions, is preferred, “فبي شوف صور إذا ما بتتضايق؟” (“Can I see pictures if you don't mind?”).

Meanwhile, the strategies used are very different in responses addressed to female interlocutors. Typically, IFID is the most commonly used strategy in case of both male to female (34.97%) and female to female interactions (34.3%); in addition, as noticed, they are of somewhat equal percentage as well. As for the second most frequently occurring strategy, it is expression of validation in both male to female (23.31%) and female to

⁸ The term “speaker” refers to the participant while the term “interlocutor” refers the addressee mentioned in the DCT situation.

female (13.95%) responses, although the percentages vary drastically. In the same way, in both cases, the sub-category that is mostly preferred is statements indicating that the situation was warranted, “بتسناھلي كل خير” (“You deserve all good things”): 60.53% for male-female and 58.33% for female-female. However, the pattern for third most frequently used strategy is somewhat distinct. In case of female to female interactions, the third most commonly used strategy is expression of happiness (10.47%), with the statements mainly being related to personal happiness (83.33%), “مبصوتتلك كثير” (“I’m so happy for you”). However, in case of male to female interactions, there are three strategies that are of equal percentage (6.75%): expression of happiness, expression of exclamation, “Khay khay” (an exclamation of relief), and invocation of God’s name, “انشالله كل إيامك فرح” (“God willing, may all your days be filled with happiness”). In addition to this variation, unlike female to female responses, the most commonly occurring sub-category of expression of happiness is statements assessing the situation positively (63.64%), “Shou hal khabar el helo!” (“This is such great news!”).

Influence of Power and Social Distance on Choice of Strategy

The third research question is concerned with the effects of power and social distance in choosing congratulatory strategies. Power and social distance are important factors involved in the process of congratulating others since they threaten the face needs of both the hearer and the speaker. For the purpose of this study, social power can be defined as the power difference present in the relationship between the speaker and the hearer; it is

represented in two levels: high and equal⁹. Social distance, on the other hand, refers to the degree of intimacy between the hearer and the speaker; it is represented in two levels as well: formal and informal¹⁰.

⁹ In the DCT used for this study, high power is represented in situations where the participants are addressing a professor (situations 3 and 6), while in case of equal power, they are addressing either their best friend, a friend's friend, or a sibling's friend (situations 1, 2, 4, and 5).

¹⁰ In the situations mentioned in the DCT, formal relationship is represented through situations that require the participants to address a professor or an acquaintance, in which case, it is specifically mentioned that they are not in a close relationship with the interlocutor (situations 2, 3, 5, and 6). Meanwhile, in case of informal situations, the participants are required to address their best friend (situations 1 and 4).

Power

Strategies - English	IFID	Expression of Happiness *	Request for Information **	Expression of Validation ***	Related Comment	Offer of Good Wishes	Expression of Pride	Expression of Exclamation	Joke	Divine Statement	Marriage Wishes	Expression of Love	Expression of Future Support
High	31.76%	12.88%	9.87%	14.16%	7.73%	6.44%	0.00%	11.59%	2.58%	2.15%	0.43%	0.00%	0.43%
Equal	28.01%	14.88%	8.75%	14.00%	4.60%	11.38%	5.47%	5.25%	2.41%	0.22%	1.09%	2.84%	1.09%

*Expression of Happiness	Expression of personal happiness	Statements assessing the situation positively
High	50.00%	50.00%
Equal	57.35%	42.65%

**Request for Information	Specific question	General requests for information
High	65.22%	34.78%
Equal	67.50%	32.50%

*** Expression of Validation	Statements indicating the situation was warranted	Praise	Statements of prior certainty
High	51.52%	30.30%	18.18%
Equal	42.19%	21.88%	35.94%

Table 5: Distribution of strategy types by power in English

Table 5 presents the distribution of strategies according to power in the English responses. Power as a factor has shown to have influence on the speakers' selection of congratulating strategies. The above table reveals that in case of high power, the most frequently used strategies are: IFID (31.76%), expression of validation (14.16%), and expression of happiness (12.88%). In case of expression of validation, the most commonly occurring subcategory is statements indicating the situation was warranted (51.52%), "Your hard work and perseverance have paid off", while in case of expression of happiness, both subcategories are of equal percentage (50%): personal happiness, "I'm really happy to hear this great news", and statements assessing the situation positively, "That's great".

Meanwhile, in case of equal power level, the most frequently used strategies are: IFID (28.01%), expression of happiness (14.88%), and expression of validation (14%). In case of expression of happiness, personal happiness (57.35%) is the subcategory that is used at a higher percentage, “I’m so excited and happy for you right now!”, while in case of expression of validation, the most commonly occurring subcategory is statements indicating the situation was warranted (42.19%), “You deserve everything good and every bit of success”.

The exception between both levels is that in case of low power level, expression of happiness is more commonly used by the participants than expression of validation. In addition, IFID is used at a lower percentage. No preferences are detected in case of expression of validation as it is at a somewhat equal occurrence in both levels.

To test if there are any associations between power and choice of strategy, the Chi-Square statistic was calculated. Invocation of God’s name, marriage wishes, expression of love, and expression of future support were excluded from the chi-square analysis due to having an expected value of less than 5 tokens. The results show that power is a statistically significant factor in the English data since $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.000344$, $\chi^2 = 28.8$, with 8 degrees of freedom).

Strategies - Arabic	IFID	Expression of Happiness *	Request for Information **	Expression of Validation ***	Related Comment	Offer of Good Wishes	Expression of Pride	Expression of Exclamation	Joke	Divine Statement	Marriage Wishes	Expression of Love	Expression of Future Support
High	35.48%	5.07%	11.52%	10.14%	2.76%	8.76%	0.00%	6.45%	2.30%	15.67%	0.46%	0.00%	1.38%
Equal	30.27%	8.74%	8.52%	12.11%	4.93%	8.07%	5.38%	4.48%	3.36%	8.52%	2.02%	2.24%	1.35%

*Expression of Happiness	Expression of personal happiness	Statements assessing the situation positively
High	90.91%	9.09%
Equal	61.54%	38.46%

**Request for Information	Specific question	General requests for information
High	60.00%	40.00%
Equal	63.16%	36.84%

***Expression of Validation	Statements indicating the situation was warranted	Praise	Statements of prior certainty
High	59.09%	36.36%	4.55%
Equal	46.30%	16.67%	37.04%

Table 6: Distribution of strategy types by power in Arabic

Table 6 presents the distribution of strategies according to power in the Arabic data. As shown in the table, in case of high-power level, the most common strategies are: IFID (35.48%), invocation of God's name (15.67%), such as "انشاء الله ديماً بالنجاح والتوفيق" ("God willing, may you always find success and good luck"), and request for information (11.52%). In case of the latter, specific questions (60%) are preferred over general requests for information, such as: "Ken deyman baddik hal shi yseer sa7?" ("You always wanted this to happen, right?").

In case of equal power level, IFID is the most frequently used strategy (30.27%); in fact, this is the only similarity shared with the results obtained from high power interactions. However, unlike high power level, in low power level situations, the

participants prefer to use expression of validation (12.11%) and expression of happiness (8.74%). In case of expression of validation, the most commonly occurring subcategory is statements indicating that the situation was warranted (46.3%), “Shtaghalte kteer w btestehale kell la7za mn hal yom” (“You worked very hard and you deserve every second of this day”) while in case of expression of happiness, expressions of personal happiness are preferred (61.54%), “Mabsoot 3ankon ad il dine” (“I’m extremely happy for you”).

To test if there are any associations between power and choice of strategy, the Chi-Square statistic was calculated. Joke, marriage wishes, expression of love, and expression of future support were excluded from the chi-square analysis due to having an expected value of less than 5 tokens. The results show that power is a statistically significant factor in the Arabic data since $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.00095$, $\chi^2 = 26.26$, with 8 degrees of freedom).

The preferred strategies in both levels are of the same pattern in English and Arabic. In both languages, students use more IFID in case of high-power relationships. This is similar in cases of invocation of God’s name and request for information, where in case of the latter, the students prefer to use specific questions. However, expression of happiness is mainly preferred in case of equal power relationships, specifically expressions related to one’s personal happiness. Moreover, in case of expression of validation, even though statements indicating the situation was warranted were used more than the rest of the subcategories, the pattern of preference is not linear: while this strategy was used more in high power relationships in the English responses, it has a higher percentage in equal power relationships in the Arabic data.

Social Distance

Strategies - English	IFID	Expression of Happiness *	Request for Information **	Expression of Validation ***	Related Comment	Offer of Good Wishes	Expression of Pride	Expression of Exclamation	Joke	Divine Statement	Marriage Wishes	Expression of Love	Expression of Future Support
Formal	33.81%	12.38%	13.10%	11.67%	7.62%	8.81%	0.00%	8.57%	1.90%	1.19%	0.24%	0.00%	0.71%
Informal	22.22%	17.04%	2.96%	17.78%	2.59%	11.11%	9.26%	5.56%	3.33%	0.37%	1.85%	4.81%	1.11%

*Expression of Happiness	Expression of personal happiness	Statements assessing the situation positively
Formal	44.23%	55.77%
Informal	67.39%	32.61%

**Request for Information	Specific question	General requests for information
Formal	67.27%	32.73%
Informal	62.50%	37.50%

***Expression of Validation	Statements indicating the situation was warranted	Praise	Statements of prior certainty
Formal	55.10%	28.57%	16.33%
Informal	35.42%	20.83%	43.75%

Table 7: Distribution of strategy types by social distance in English

Table 7 presents the distribution of strategies according to social distance in the English data. Social distance is another factor that affects the speakers' selection of congratulating strategies. As shown in the above table, in case of formal relationships, the most frequently used strategies are: IFID (33.81%), request for information (13.10%), and expression of happiness (12.38%). In case of request for information, the most commonly occurring sub-strategy is specific questions (67.27%), "How is the baby doing?", while in case of expression of happiness, it is statements assessing the situation positively (55.77%), "I'm glad to hear that!".

In case of informal situations, the most frequently used strategies are: IFID (22.22%), expression of validation (17.78%), and expression of happiness (17.04%). In case of expression of validation, the most commonly preferred subcategory is statements of prior certainty (43.75%), “See, I always knew that you guys were meant to be together”, meanwhile, in case of expression of happiness, expressions of personal happiness are preferred (67.39%), “I can’t even express my happiness!”.

The exception between both levels is that in case of formal situations, students prefer to use request for information, while in case of informal situations, they prefer to use expression of validation. Moreover, in case of informal instances, IFID is used less, and expressions of happiness are used more.

To test if there are any associations between social distance and choice of strategy, the Chi-Square statistic was calculated. Invocation of God’s name, marriage wishes, and expression of future support were excluded from the chi-square analysis due to having an expected value of less than 5 tokens. The results show that social distance is a statistically significant factor in the English data since $p < 0.05$ ($p < 0.001$, $\chi^2 = 103.89$, with 9 degrees of freedom).

Strategies - Arabic	IFID	Expression of Happiness *	Request for Information **	Expression of Validation ***	Related Comment	Offer of Good Wishes	Expression of Pride	Expression of Exclamation	Joke	Divine Statement	Marriage Wishes	Expression of Love	Expression of Future Support
Formal	37.09%	4.01%	13.53%	8.27%	5.01%	9.02%	0.00%	5.26%	2.26%	13.78%	0.25%	0.00%	1.50%
Informal	27.31%	10.44%	2.81%	15.26%	4.42%	8.03%	2.01%	6.02%	5.62%	10.84%	4.42%	2.01%	0.80%

*Expression of Happiness	Expression of personal happiness	Statements assessing the situation positively
Formal	75.00%	25.00%
Informal	69.23%	30.77%

**Request for Information	Specific question	General requests for information
Formal	62.96%	37.04%
Informal	57.14%	42.86%

***Expression of Validation	Statements indicating the situation was warranted	Praise	Statements of prior certainty
Formal	60.61%	30.30%	9.09%
Informal	55.26%	23.68%	21.05%

Table 8: Distribution of strategy types by social distance in Arabic

Table 8 presents the distribution of strategies according to social distance in the Arabic responses. As shown in the table, in case of formal situations, the most common strategies are: IFID (37.09%), invocation of God’s name (13.78%), and request for information (13.53%). In case of the latter, specific questions (62.96%) are preferred over general requests for information; an example of this sub-strategy is: “Kif ken l honeymoon?” (“How was the honeymoon?”)

In case of informal relationships, IFID is the most frequently used strategy (27.31%). This is followed by expression of validation (15.26%) and invocation of God’s name (10.84%), “Nshalla bterfa3ilna rasna aktar w aktar” (“God willing, may you make us even prouder”). In case of expression of validation, the most commonly occurring

subcategory is statements indicating that the situation is warranted (55.26%), “بتستاهلي كل”، “ثشي حلو” (“You deserve all the best”). The difference between both levels is that, in case of formal situations, speakers prefer to use IFID and invocation of God’s name more abundantly; moreover, while expression of validation is preferred in case of informal situations, request for information is more commonly used in case of formal ones.

To test if there are any associations between social distance and choice of strategy, the Chi-Square statistic was calculated. Expression of pride, expression of love, and expression of future support were excluded from the chi-square analysis due to having an expected value of less than 5 tokens. The results show that social distance is a statistically significant factor in the Arabic data since $p < 0.05$ ($p < 0.001$, $\chi^2 = 60.8435$, with 9 degrees of freedom).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The previous chapter presented the results of this empirical study, which was conducted for investigating the politeness strategies employed when congratulating in English and Lebanese Arabic. This research project also explored the role of gender, power, and social distance on choice of strategy. Three research questions were examined via an open-ended survey, and the data were coded and analyzed quantitatively. In this chapter, the results of the study will be reviewed and discussed in light of other findings in the literature. It will also delve into the different linguistic features that were prominent in the responses.

Strategy types in English and Lebanese Arabic

The findings of the study show that the choice of strategies differs from one language to another. In the Arabic data, the most recurrent strategies are: IFID, invocation of God's name, expression of validation, and request for information. However, in the English responses, the most frequently used strategies are: IFID, expression of happiness, expression of validation, and offer of good wishes.

In both languages, Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID), i.e. "congrats" or "مبروك", is the most repeatedly used strategy. Even though the speech act of congratulation is not realized by IFID alone, among all the strategies, it is the one that directly indicates the intended speech act; hence, it is considered to be the most formulaic expression

employed for the purpose of congratulating someone. This high frequency in utilization of IFID confirms the results presented in other similar studies: Elwood (2004), Allami and Nekouzadeh (2011), Pishghadam and Moghaddam (2011), Nasri et al. (2012), Dastjerdi and Nasri (2013), Ghaemi and Ebrahimi (2014), Al-Shboul and Huwari (2016). In all these studies, regardless of the investigated language, IFID proved always to be the most recurrent strategy. However, on a general basis, in this study, the students resort to using IFID at a higher rate when responding in Arabic (33.33%) than in English (29.28%).

The preference in using certain strategies in one language and not in another is evident in the data. To start with, in the Arabic data, invocation of God's name is one of the strategies that is used at a high percentage. In fact, the difference in usage of invocation of God's name varies drastically between the two languages: while it is the second most used strategy in the Arabic responses with a percentage of 12.65%, it is the least frequently used one in English data with a percentage of 0.87%.

Invocation of God's name, as a strategy, is not part of Elwood's taxonomy. However, due to the abundance of good wishes that include a reference to God in the Arabic data, "invocation of God's name" was introduced as a category differentiative of Elwood's "offer of good wishes". In the Arabic data, invocation of God's name has occurred at such a high frequency because it is a cultural convention in Lebanese Arabic to use routinized religious expressions; it's an article of faith. In the Lebanese culture people consider God to be the source of everything; He has the ultimate authority over things and all things happen only if He wills them to happen. Welji (2012) explains that it is very common to come across phrases that include a reference to God in Arabic conversations;

phrases that include “Allah” or “Ilah” (meaning “God”) can occur recurrently as interjections, or in greetings, statements of gratitude, and even curses. Accordingly, as part of pragmatics of Arabic language, language learners acquire these phrases as well as the way to properly use them in suitable contexts (Welji, 2012). Similarly, when it comes to occasions, as identified by Dastjerdi and Nasri (2012), Arabs have their own culturally-specific, God-related expressions that they employ when wishing someone well (Dastjerdi and Nasri, 2012). In this study, while in the English responses invocation of God’s name always appears in the form of “God bless X”, in the Arabic data, it takes different forms: the expressions are mainly good wishes that include a reference to God, except for a few instances that include expressions thanking God.

In case of wishes, the structure of these statements either include the terms “Allah” (”الله”) or “Insha’Allah”/ “Nshallah”¹¹ (”انشالله”). In relation to “Allah”, which means “God”, the following examples are used: “الله يحميكي” (“May God protect you”), “Allah yewaf2ak!” (May God grant you good luck), “الله يخليك ياها” (“May God keep her for you”), etc. As for “Insha’Allah”/ “Nshalla”, the following are a few examples that are used: “انشالله بتضلكن” (”انشالله بتتوفق بحياتك”) (If God wills it, may you be lucky in your life), “Nshallah btshoufouwa b2a3la almarateb” (“If God wills it, may you witness her in the highest of positions”), etc. “Insha’Allah”, which means “if God wills it”, is utilized as a reply to positive wishes for the future. As Welji (2012) states, “In sha’llah” generally occurs in discussions about future events, ideologically rooted in an

¹¹ The colloquial variant of “Insha’Allah”.

acceptance of the human inability to predict the future, and instead recognition that only God can know.” (Welji, 2012, p. 7).

Although the instances are very few, invocation of God’s name also includes expressions related to thanking God, which include the phrase, “Al-hamdu li-llah” (”الحمد لله”). “Al-hamdu li-llah”, which is literally translated as “all praise be to Allah” (Welji, 2012, p. 67), is associated with a context-specific connotation. It can be employed as a response to “How are you?” to convey the message that the person is doing well. Additionally, it can be used after a good deed has occurred, or a harmful one has been prevented, to express thankfulness for the good outcome. Moreover, it is even used after eating a meal, and it implies that the speaker is done eating and thanks God for the food¹². As noticed, the term “al-hamdu li-llah” can be used in different contexts, and in each particular situation, its conveyed meaning is identified depending on the concerned context. However, in all cases, the ideological belief behind the phrase is that “as good things are a result of God, thanks are due to Him”. (Welji, 2012, p. 2). The examples used in this study convey the second meaning, where “al-hamdu li-llah” is employed to express thankfulness for the occurrence of a good deed, as it is in the case of a baby’s birth, “Elhamdelah 3al saleme”(“Thank God for your safety”), or acceptance of a scholarship, “الحمد لله قبلوك ياها” (“Thank God they accepted your application”).

On the other hand, in the English data, the second most frequent strategy is expression of happiness. While it occurs with a percentage of 14.2% in the English data, it

¹² Thanking God for food is a religious tradition in Lebanon. In Islam, for example, they say “بسم الله” (In the name of God) before eating, and, in Christianity, they thank God before eating through saying Grace.

only occurs with a percentage of 6.48% in the Arabic data. However, in both languages, the participants tend to use more expressions related to their personal happiness than ones related to the situation itself. For example: “It is as if I’m graduating. I’m so happy for you”, “كثير مبسوطاتك” (“I’m so happy for you”).

As for the third most frequently used strategy, in both languages, this strategy is expression of validation; however, when compared, this strategy is used at a higher percentage in the English responses (14.06%) than in the Arabic ones (10.96%). Nonetheless, in both languages, the sub-strategy that was preferred is statements indicating the situation was warranted: “Well deserved!”, “Eshtaghalte ktir w btstehaliya” (“you worked very hard and you deserve it”).

The fourth most frequently used strategy in the Arabic data is request for information. This strategy is more commonly used in the Arabic data, though with a similar percentage (9.41% in Arabic and 9.13% in English); however, it is a recurrently used strategy in both languages as it is the fifth most frequent one in English. Moreover, in both cases, the sub-category that is employed most when using this strategy is specific questions. General request for information as a sub-category is also used, but at a lesser percentage; in fact, while specific questions are used independently, general requests for information are almost always followed by specific questions, such as: “Eh, khabrina. Bi shou hesse?” (“So, tell us. How are you feeling?”).

On the other hand, in the English data, offer of good wishes was the fourth most commonly used strategy; it is used 9.71% of the time. It includes statements such as “May your love last a lifetime.”, “I hope you’ll achieve more”, etc. However, this strategy is the

fifth most frequently used one in the Arabic responses; it is used 8.46% of the time. The expression includes wishes, such as “بتمنالک حياة کلها سعادة” (“I wish you a life full of happiness”), and ones that include the term “3a2bel”/ “عقبال”¹³, such as “عقبال مراتب أعلى” (“Looking forward to you achieving even higher positions”), “3a2bel el afrah yelle jaye” (“Looking forward to more happy events”). The difference in percentage between the two languages might have occurred because when responding in Arabic, invocations of God’s name are preferred more than regular good wishes. Noticeably, however, this shows how intricate the habit of exchanging wishes in Lebanese Arabic is.

As for the other strategies, although they were not employed as frequently as the above-mentioned ones, they were still reflective of the participants’ preference in using certain strategies in one language and not in another.

Jokes, as a congratulatory strategy, is used in Arabic (3.55%) more than in English (2.46%): “You got engaged before me, but meh, congrats”, “مبروک انشاء الله عطول بتلاقي الفرح”, “بحياتک. أو عی تعذیبا بس إیه ؟” (“Congratulations, if God wills it, may you always find happiness in your life. But don’t you dare give her a hard time, okay?”). This is similar to other studies, where jokes are used by Arabs and Persians (Dastjerdi and Nasri, 2012), as well as Armenians (Nasri et al., 2012) more than Americans. In the same way, in line with the findings obtained by other studies (Allami and Nekouzadeh, 2011; Al-Shboul and Huwari, 2016), the strategy of jokes is not a highly preferred one in the data.

¹³ “3a2bel” (عقبال), which means “looking forward to ...” is another routinized expression that occurs in Lebanese Arabic.

This is also manifested in the participant's use of marriage wishes, which appear more in the Arabic responses (1.85%) than in the English ones (0.87%). This strategy is not part of Elwood's (2004) taxonomy; in fact, it is a newly added one to the list of strategies that occur in this study. It is a known cultural practice to wish someone marriage and family in the Lebanese culture. In the English data it occurs in the form, "I already can't wait for your wedding!". Meanwhile, in the Arabic data, this congratulatory strategy takes either a straightforward form, such as "عقبال العرس" ("Looking forward to your marriage"), or an ambiguous one, such as "3a2bel el farha l kbire" ("Looking forward to your attainment of ultimate happiness"). In case of the latter, the meaning of "el farha l kbire" ("the ultimate happiness") refers to marriage.

Even though marriage wishes are more recurrent in the Arabic data, they only occur at a percentage of 1.85%. It is mainly used in the situation where the students have to congratulate their interlocutor for getting engaged, and this might be regarded as a natural response since the step following an engagement is marriage. However, marriage wishes are also sometimes followed by a wish to have children as well: "عقبال العرس والولاد" ("Looking forward to your marriage and kids"). This is a popular cultural convention in Lebanon, which reflects the importance of the concept of family, especially starting one's own. In fact, the Lebanese culture, such as all Arab cultures, is a family-oriented one. Family is the center of life in Arab societies; hence, wishing someone marriage, fertility, and family is considered to be a genuinely good wish (Rashad et al., 2005).

"3a2bel el farha l kbire" ("Looking forward to your attainment of ultimate happiness") is a customary wish in Arabic; it may be considered fit to be uttered in almost

any celebratory occasion, especially by those older in age. In the Lebanese culture, this wish is especially addressed to females whenever they achieve an accomplishment. Moreover, the message it conveys is that the ultimate happiness in life is marriage and the speaker wishes the hearer to achieve it; accordingly, when one achieves anything such as graduation, employment, etc. the wish that follows it is marriage. In fact, there's a cultural worry about females, in particular, getting married. After a certain age, unmarried males are also regarded to be worrisome, however, generally, this concern is more valid in case of females than males since females are perceived as burdens on their families. In this study, there are only two instances where this expression is used to entail such a meaning. In both cases, the statement is uttered by male participants, one in the situation related to the birth of a baby girl, and another one in the situation of graduation of the participant's female best friend. Nonetheless, the low occurrence of this strategy, specifically in situations other than engagement, might be because the mindset of equating one's ultimate happiness in life to marriage has become outdated. However, age is an important factor in this case: while university students might not still use such phrases, elders still do. Also, the participants of the study are all students from the same university; hence, the findings are not representative of all university students in Lebanon.

Expressions of future support also occur more in the Arabic data, where participants congratulate their friends through promising them their future support, such as "I will always be there for you", "شو ما تقررّي تعملي أنا حدك", ("No matter what you decide to do, I'm here for you"). Similar to invocation of God's name and marriage wishes, this strategy is a new one that occurs in the data aside from the ones mentioned in Elwood's taxonomy.

However, this strategy is used at a very low percentage in both languages (1.23% in Arabic, 0.87% in English); this shows that students do not favor to use expression of future support as a congratulatory strategy.

As for the English data, expression of exclamation is one of the strategies that is preferred more when responding in English (7.39%) than in Arabic (5.56%). This expression is usually employed at the beginning of the sentences before IFID. While the Arabic data includes “Khay” (“I’m glad”) and “yalla” (“come on”), the English ones include “Oh” and “yay”.

Related comments are used in both languages though they are slightly preferred more in English (5.65%) than in Arabic (4.78%). This strategy is in the form of expressions targeting a certain aspect of the interlocutor’s good news; it includes comments that concern the particular situation, as well as compliments that are directly related to the occasion: “You two were meant to be together”, “kente betjannene” (“You looked stunning”).

Similar to expression of exclamation, in case of expression of pride, the difference in the occurrence rate between both languages is very obvious. The participants prefer to use this strategy more while responding in English (3.62%) as opposed to Arabic (0.77%); in fact, this is the least used strategy in Arabic.

The case is the same in the use of expression of love, where even though the usage rate is low in both languages, it still occurs more in English (1.88%) than in Arabic (0.77%); the examples include “I love you to the moon and back”, “Bhebbik” (“I love

you”). This may be attributed to the observation that in Western cultures, where there is an independent view of the self, emotions are overtly expressed while in Eastern cultures openly declaring such emotions is not as common (Markus and Kitayama, 1994). In fact, this strategy is a new one that is used by the participants in this study and, hence, does not belong to the taxonomy that Elwood had suggested. However, the low percentage in both languages shows that, in general terms, the participants do not prefer using this expression as a congratulatory strategy.

In this section, the results of this research project will be discussed in light of other studies that have investigated the speech act of congratulation in different contexts and languages:

To start with, in Elwood’s study (2004), 45 American students writing in English, 45 Japanese students writing in English, and 45 Japanese students writing in Japanese were asked to fill out DCTs related to happy news (grant, wedding, promotion). The results obtained are similar to the findings of this study; the major types of congratulating patterns that are used by the participants are IFID, expression of happiness, request for information and expression of validation. Moreover, while Japanese students are more likely to make comparisons and self-related comments, in Japanese and English, American students tend to ask questions. In this sense, Lebanese participants use patterns similar to Americans; while self-related comments are not evident in this study, asking questions is a recurrent strategy in both languages, especially in the Arabic data.

In the study conducted by Allami and Nekouzadeh (2011), the researchers investigated the congratulatory strategies used by Persian speakers in Iran. The participants

were asked to respond to DCTs presenting different situations, some of which were similar to those used in this study: graduation, promotion, wedding, and baby's birth. Analogous to this study, in Iranian context, the major types of strategies that are utilized are the following: IFID, expression of happiness, offer of good wishes, request for information, expression of validation (Allami and Nekouzadeh, 2011). As can be seen, the strategies are similar to the ones used in this study in both English and Arabic responses; however, they are particularly similar to those employed in the English data, except for expression of validation, which occurs at a higher percentage in this study.

In a comparative study, Dastjerdi and Nasri (2012) studied the cross-cultural differences in relation to the strategies used in the speech act of congratulation. The participants were: 48 American speakers, 50 Persian speakers, and 44 speakers of Syrian Arabic. The results reveal that the most dominant strategy, which is used by all three groups, is the "Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)". Moreover, the findings indicate that both Persian and Syrian Arabic speakers prefer to use "offer of good wishes" as a congratulating strategy, while Americans, similar to Elwood's findings, prefer to use "request for information". As for the main difference between the three concerned groups, the findings reveal that Arabs use "offer of good wishes" strategy more than Americans do (Dastjerdi & Nasri, 2012). In this study as well, offer of good wishes as a strategy includes statements related to God; this is similar to the results obtained in this study, where in the Arabic responses both invocation of God's name and offer of good wishes are two of the most frequently used strategies. However, in case of request for information, it is a more frequent strategy in the Arabic responses, though it is also recurrent in the English ones.

The study conducted by Nasri et al. (2012) compared the strategies native Americans employ for offering congratulations with the ones used by Armenians and Iranians. Data were collected through DCTs, which were filled out by 40 native speakers of Persian, 40 native English speakers, and 40 native Armenians. The results show that Americans mainly use IFID, request for information, and offer of good wishes. Meanwhile, Armenians and Persians use more comparable strategies; in case of Armenians, IFID, offer of good wishes, and expression of happiness are used, while in case of Persians, IFID, offer of good wishes, and request for information are used. As the findings show, in terms of recurrence, the strategies are similar to the most frequent ones used in this study. However, in case of order of preference, the pattern used by Americans is similar to the one used in the Arabic responses, while the one used by Persians is similar to the one used in the English responses. As for the strategies used by Armenians, they are similar to the ones used in the English responses though they occur with a different pattern of preference.

In case of Ghaemi and Ebrahimi (2014), the researchers also investigated the use of congratulatory strategies by Persian speakers. The outcome of this study shows that the most frequently used strategies are: IFID, expression of happiness, and offer of good wishes. This pattern is very similar to the strategies used in the English responses of the Lebanese participants. Nonetheless, it must be noted that in Ghaemi and Ebrahimi's study, offer of good wishes also includes invocation of God's name, which is not specified as a separate category by itself. Moreover, the researchers attribute these expressions to the Iranians' religious beliefs. Thus, it can be suggested that, with the exception of expression

of happiness, the strategies are somewhat similar to the ones used in the Arabic data as well.

These are identical to the results obtained by Al-Shboul and Huwari (2016) as well, who investigated the strategies utilized when congratulating others by 30 male Jordanian EFL postgraduate students. In line with the results obtained in Ghaemi and Ebrahimi's (2014) study, the findings of the study show that the dominant strategies used for congratulating are: "Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)", "expression of happiness" and "offer of good wishes" (Al-Shboul & Huwari, 2016). Hence, their choice of strategy is very similar to the strategies used in the English responses of the Lebanese participants. However, it must be noted that, alongside Al-Shboul & Huwari (2016), Dastjerdi & Nasri (2012) and Nasri et al. (2012) identify "asking for sweets" as a congratulatory strategy that is used by Arabs and Persians in their studies: "You must bring me some sweets". In Arab culture, when a joyous event takes place, such as graduation, a baby's birth, etc., those who are announcing the good news distribute sweets among their families and loved ones. Even though this is a deeply-rooted cultural habit in Lebanon, it did not occur in this study.

In case of Pishghadam and Moghaddam (2011), the study mainly focused on the speech act of congratulation as used in Persian and English. To gather the data, 100 movies (50 in Persian and 50 in English) were chosen. According to the outcome of the study, the three most frequently used strategies in Persian movies are: offering congratulation, blessing wish, and invocation of God's name. Meanwhile, in English, the preferred strategies are: mentioning the occasion, expressing feeling, and blessing wish. It must be

noted that similar to this research study, among all the empirical studies reported in the literature, this is the only one where invocation of God's name is categorized as a strategy by itself. The strategies used in Persian are very similar to the ones used in the Arabic data of this study, where IFID - which is the equivalent of offering congratulation -, invocation of God's name, and offer of good wishes are all listed within the five most frequently used strategies in Arabic. Comparably, in case of the English data, expression of happiness and offer of good wishes are two of the most frequently used strategies. In addition, in the English data only, in cases of wedding and child birth, the participants mention the occasion, such as "congrats on the baby!" and "congratulations on your wedding"; this is another similarity shared with Pishghadam and Moghaddam's English data.

In conclusion, in relation to the speech act of congratulation in Arabic, the high percentage of IFID, which is the strategy that indicates the presence of an occasion to be congratulated, shows that Lebanese culture has more congratulatory occasions than English-speaking societies. As also shown in the results, Arabic as a language is an elaborative language (Feghali, 1997). In fact, American style of communication has been described as vivid and straightforward; it is identified as "Tough Talk". This is the opposite of "Sweet Talk" or "Musāyara" used by Arabs, which is related to humoring the hearer since it manifests solidarity and avoids indiscretions (Katriel, 1986).

This is also evident in the recurrent usage of wishes in Arabic. This quality is embedded in the language, as apparent in the terminology used for offering wishes; in Arabic language there are specific terms dedicated specifically for exchanging good wishes, such as "3a2bel" and "Insha'Allah", while such terms do not exist in the English language.

Even though offer of good wishes occurs at a higher percentage in English than in Arabic, an overall observation shows that, in the Arabic responses, the participants use more well wishes than in the English ones; the frequent use of both invocation of God's name and offer of good wishes confirms this claim. Accordingly, due to the high recurrence of IFID and good wishes, Lebanese culture can be classified as a more pragmatically traditional culture.

All of these are qualities of a collectivistic society. In fact, the high occurrence of invocation of God's name in the Arabic responses is another one of these qualities that makes Arab culture a collectivistic one. Pishghadam and Moghaddam (2011), who investigated congratulatory strategies used by Persian and English speakers, detected the abundant use of invocation of God's name by Persian speakers in their study. They argue that employment of invocation of God's name is a source of unification and shows that the given society is a collectivist society; on the other hand, they attribute the low usage of this strategy in the English data to their individualistic nature (Pishghadam and Moghaddam, 2011).

To further strengthen their claim regarding the individualism in Western societies, Pishghadam and Moghaddam argue that English speakers tend to commonly use self-expressive strategies that reflect their feelings. This is in line with the results obtained from this study since the students are prone to expressing their personal happiness for the interlocutor's good news when responding in English more than Arabic. Pishghadam and Moghaddam contribute this to the individualistic trait of Western societies (Hofstede's (1984) and Schwartz & Sagiv (1995) as mentioned in Pishghadam and Moghaddam, 2011).

In accordance with this claim, the high occurrence of expression of happiness, expression of validation (higher usage in English than Arabic), expression of exclamation, expression of pride, and expression of love in the English data are all indicators of this individualistic trait. In addition, asking questions is a directive speech act and is another characteristic of an individualistic society as well.

However, even though the percentage of occurrence of request for information is very similar in both languages, it is more commonly used in the Arabic data. This is in opposition with the findings obtained from the congratulatory speech of other Arab speakers (Nasri et al. ,2012; Dastjerdi and Nasri, 2012; Al-Shboul and Huwari, 2016) as well as the tendencies associated with collectivism. In the same way, when responding in English, offer of good wishes is used at a high percentage, it is even preferred more than request for information , which is in contrast with the findings obtained from studies related to the use of congratulatory strategies by native English speakers as well as the traits associated with individualism (Elwood, 2004; Nasri et al. ,2012; Dastjerdi and Nasri, 2012).

This shows that even though Lebanese students have embodied the collectivistic nature of the Lebanese culture, they have also internalized the pragmatics and communication styles of English culture, which, in turn, allows them to embrace individualistic tendencies as well. This is in line with studies conducted on individualism and collectivism, which show that these two concepts can occur as multidimensional constructs rather than being polar opposites of a single dimension. When measured, these two tendencies seem to be uncorrelated; hence, as researchers have claimed, individualism

and collectivism can coexist within individuals and cultures (Kagitcibasi and Berry, 1989; Kagitcibasi, 1990; Kashima, 1987 as mentioned in Ayyash-Abdo, 2001). Accordingly, as it is the case in bilingual situations, it can be further added that, even though there are variations in the participants' use of congratulatory strategies when congratulating in Arabic versus in English, in certain cases, the strategies may be borrowed from L2 to L1, and vice versa. Hence, Lebanese students end up transferring English cultural communication patterns on to their Arabic responses and, in the same way, Arabic cultural communication patterns on to their English responses.

The Influence of Gender, Power, and Social Distance

Gender

The second research question addresses the influence of gender in selecting a congratulating strategy. The Chi-square test results showed that gender as a factor is statistically significant only in the Arabic data. This is an important point in itself; this outcome might be attributed to the possibility of students internalizing the pragmatics of the English-speaking culture, where, arguably, gender roles are less traditional.

The results show that, when males are addressing males, the three most frequently used strategies are: IFID, request for information, and invocation of God's name. As previously mentioned, the sub-strategy that is always preferred when using request for information is specific questions. General request for information as a sub-strategy is also used, but at a lesser percentage; in fact, while specific questions are used independently, general requests for information are almost always followed by specific questions.

However, when the interlocutor is a female, male speakers prefer using different strategies. The recurrent strategies in this case are: IFID, expression of validation, and expression of happiness/ expression of exclamation/ invocation of God's name (all three used at the same percentage). Nonetheless, expression of happiness is diverted towards the situation and away from the self. The sub-strategy that is preferred is the one related to less emotions: assessing the situation positively instead of utilization of expressions of personal happiness.

In relation to female speakers, when addressing females, the following strategies are employed: IFID, expression of validation, and expression of happiness. Similar to the male-female category, in case of expression of validation, the sub-strategy that is employed is statement indicating that the situation was warranted. Moreover, in case of expression of happiness, unlike male-female interactions, the sub-strategy that is employed most is expression of personal happiness. This contributed more to the claim that females use statements related to their emotions more than males, mainly when addressing females. On the other hand, when the addressee is male, the most commonly utilized strategies are: IFID, invocation of God's name, and request for information.

As can be noticed from the preferred strategies, the factor determining the preference in strategies is not only related to the gender of the speaker, in large part, it is related to the gender of the interlocutor. Females are almost always associated with being emotional and males are described as being more direct. As argued by Holmes (1995), while males' speech is associated with being assertive and self-oriented, females' speech is characterized as being cooperative and other-oriented. In addition, females use their speech with a purpose of practicing positive politeness and upholding social harmony (Holmes,

1995). While male speech is regarded to be brief with concrete diction, female speech is identified as affiliative speech, which is evident in the words they use, such as “sweet”, “lovely”, “charming”, etc. (Lakoff, 2004, p.45).

Since males and females are associated with a certain stereotypical image, the findings showed that this perception played a major role in determining the choice of strategies in relation to the gender of the hearer more than the speaker. As seen in the data, females use congratulatory strategies that are reflective of their feelings and emotions when addressing females; this corroborates the findings obtained in Ghaemi and Ebrahimi’s study (2014). However, when addressing males, females choose to use more assertive strategies, which are very similar to the ones used in the male-male category. In the same way, males use strategies that are less emotive and expressive when addressing male interlocutors. Nonetheless, when addressing females, males use expressions of happiness, exclamation, and validation, all of which are linguistic strategies associated with females. However, even though males are portrayed as being straightforward and inexpressive with their male counterparts, due to their collectivistic nature, in this study, they did employ a high percentage of invocation of God’s name as well as offer good wishes. Nonetheless, in general terms, they still did prefer to use strategies that are more unequivocal than females.

Accordingly, it can also be deduced that male and female speakers use these strategies to adhere to the face wants of their addressees (Brown and Levinson, 1987). It should be noted that, in case of expression of happiness, even though males used this strategy to adhere to the face needs of the female addressee, they still preferred to express their happiness through referring to the situation instead of their personal emotions.

Accordingly, they used such statements: “This is great!”, “shou helo” (“how amazing”); their selection of the less “emotional” sub-strategy shows that they also adhere to their own face wants and are self-oriented (Holmes, 1995).

This pattern of preference indicates that stereotypes related to the speech characteristics of males and females are still valid in the Lebanese participants’ perception of the opposite gender’s speech as well as their own. This is in line with the findings obtained in Zantout’s (2014) study on the compliment response behavior of university students in Lebanon, where the results showed that stereotypes on males’ and females’ speech, in general, still linger in the Lebanese participants’ perception of what characterizes each gender’s discourse (Zantout, 2014).

Power

The third research question addresses the influence of power and social distance in selecting a congratulatory strategy. In the English data, in case of high-power level, the most frequently used strategies are: IFID, expression of validation, and expression of happiness. Moreover, the sub-strategy used in case of expression of validation is statements indicating the situation was warranted, while in case of expression of happiness, both sub-strategies are used at an equal percentage: expressions of personal happiness and statements indicating the situation was warranted. Meanwhile, in case of Arabic responses, the preference in strategies is different; in this category, the recurrent strategies are: IFID, invocation of God’s name, and request for information.

As for equal-power level, in the English data, the most frequent strategies are: IFID, expression of happiness, and expression of validation. Along the same lines, in the Arabic data, the strategies are the same, but the order of occurrence is different: IFID, expression of validation, and expression of happiness. As for the sub-strategies, in both languages, in case of expression of happiness, expressions of personal happiness are preferred, and in case of expression of validation, statements indicating the situation was warranted are employed.

In both languages, IFID as a strategy is used the most in case of high-power level; this is because it is the most formulaic congratulatory expression and it fulfills the basic rules of politeness involved in congratulating others. In the Arabic data, in high power level, the participants prefer to employ strategies related to exchanging wishes that are related to God as well as asking questions. According to the findings obtained in other studies, Americans and Persians (Nasri et al. ,2012), similar to Lebanese Arabs, use offer of good wishes with individuals of a higher power while Armenians (Nasri et al. ,2012), Syrian Arabs (Dastjerdi and Nasri, 2012), and Jordanians (Al-Shboul and Huwari, 2016) use it to sympathize with those of lower power. On the other hand, when responding in English, the participants use strategies that involve more statements related to emotions and applause.

In case of equal level responses, the strategies involved include more references to validation and happiness, specifically personal happiness. The difference in language is also evident in this category as well, whereby participants have used expressions of happiness and validation at percentages higher in English than in Arabic overall; moreover,

participants prefer to talk about their feelings more in English than in Arabic since expression of happiness is the second most used strategy in English and the third in Arabic.

One possible interpretation for this pattern is that, in certain cases, low-high relationships might be informal as well; high power does not always equate to formality. Furthermore, it may also be deduced that when responding in Arabic, the participants refer to their collectivistic nature and are more sensitive to the status of the hearer, yet when responding in English they refer to the individualistic side of their personas. In fact, Al-Shboul and Huwari (2016) argue that Arab societies are categorized as being more rank-conscious than westerners. As people, they tend to emphasize their acknowledgement of the addressee's higher power; accordingly, they consider using this mode of communication as a way of acting politer towards the addressee and displaying respect to a greater extent.

Social Distance

As for social distance, this study shows that social distance is more influential than power in determining the choice in congratulatory strategies. To start with, in the English data, when the social distance level is formal, the most frequently used strategies are: IFID, request for information, and expression of happiness. Moreover, in case of the latter, statements indicating the situation was warranted are employed as a sub-strategy. Meanwhile, in case of Arabic, the preference in strategies is different; in this category, the recurrent strategies are: IFID, invocation of God's name, and request for information.

However, when the social distance level is informal, in the English data, the most frequent strategies are: IFID, expression of validation, and expression of happiness. As for

the Arabic data, the most common strategies are: IFID, expression of validation, and invocation of God's name. In case of expression of happiness, expressions of personal happiness are employed the most. As for expression of validation, statements of prior certainty are preferred in the English responses, and statements indicating the situation was warranted in the Arabic ones.

Similar to the power factor, IFID is used at a higher percentage in formal relationships and its occurrence is higher in the Arabic data. In the same way, in the Arabic responses, invocation of God's name is favored, meanwhile, in English, the occurrence of expression of happiness is preferred. Additionally, while expression of validation is employed in both languages, it is preferred more in English. This pattern of strategies validates the claim that participants practice more formality in Arabic than in English, which can be related to the collectivistic nature of the Arabic language. In case of equal power level, while expressions related to personal happiness and validation are used in English, in Arabic, in addition to expression of validation, invocation of God's name is employed.

It may be deduced that using invocation of God's name, as a cultural norm, serves the purpose of maintaining the social relationship in both formal and informal interactions. However, though infrequent in English, in both language groups, invocation of God's name is used at a higher percentage in formal interactions. This may be attributed to the fact that, as a collectivistic culture, status and power play a crucial role in Arab societies. In accordance with Feghali's (1997) theory, in unequal power interactions, low-power speakers resort to using such statements as a form of "Musāyara" ("sweet talk") with the

high-power hearer to respectfully maintain the power difference between the individuals (Feghali, 1997).

To further analyze the dynamics of social power and social distance, it is essential to compare the strategies used in an interaction that is informal and of an equal power to one that is formal and of equal power: the first situation mentioned in the DCT, where the participants are addressing their best friend, constitutes an example of the former, while the second situation, where the participants are addressing a friend of a friend, is an example of the latter.

As seen in figures¹⁴ 2 and 3, IFID is used less with the best friend and more with the acquaintance. However, expression of validation is used more with the best friend since this strategy validates the person of being deserving of their achievement; hence, a certain level of closeness i.e. a low social distance is required. This is the same in case of expression of pride, which is used in the first situation, but not in the second situation. In addition, even though expression of happiness is used more in the second situation, the statements used are related to the situation rather than the speaker's personal happiness, which is the case in the first situation. In the same way, the outcome is the same in Arabic as well, where IFID is used less in the first situation and expression of validation is used more. Moreover, while in the first situation expressions of personal happiness and invocation of God's name are used, in the second situation, invocation of God's name is used at a lesser percentage and offer of good wishes is favored more.

¹⁴ Refer to pages 39-40.

The impact of formality is apparent in case of high-power interactions as well. In case of high power, two situations are presented, one where the participants' advisor, who they work with as a research assistant, gets promoted, and another where their advisor has a baby¹⁵. Both cases are high-power level and supposedly formal; however, in certain cases, students referred to the first situation as an informal interaction. This might be attributed to the fact that it is stated in the DCT that they work with the professor; hence, the students considered social distance to be less. While in the first situation, as part of congratulatory strategies, such jokes are used: "Congrats, did I get promoted too?" or "Mabrouuk, yaane baddik tzabtilna l 3lemet?!" ("Congrats, are you going to fix the grades?"), in the second situation, with the intention of not disturbing their addressee, such questions are employed: "Congrats! Would you like me to pass by later?".

The findings are in line with the results obtained in Khouja's (2015) study, where she studied the speech act of request used by university students in Lebanon. In her study, she claimed that social distance is more influential as a factor than status; the more the social distance between the hearers and the speakers, the less direct the speakers are in their requests (Khouja, 2015). Furthermore, this also confirms the findings revealed in Francis' study (2018), who investigated politeness in the discourse of the Lebanese Internal Security Force. Her results reveal that there is a polite code, which is regarded to be the normative rules of speech within the institution. However, social distance is the most dominant factor that prevails the rank-based polite code; low social distance is the most important variable that allows those in higher power to defy the polite code and create a discourse type that is

¹⁵ Situations 3 and 6 in the DCT, respectively.

different of what is normatively expected (Francis, 2018). Hence, it can be concluded that in formal discourse, high linguistic structuring takes place at a higher extent than in informal ones. However, in what relates to power and distance, they are complimentary to one another, yet, as shown in the data, the degree of influence of social distance on the selection of strategies outweighs that of power.

Linguistic Features

There are many prominent linguistic features that are present in the data. To begin with, terms of endearment are one of these features; these are used exclusively with interlocutors who are close, and inherently of equal power (Allami and Nekouzadeh, 2011; Al-Shboul and Huwari, 2016). In English, although a few, the terms of endearment included: “love”, “my dear”, “man”, “bro”, etc. Similarly, in the Arabic responses, “bro” and “man” were used recurrently; this is because in Lebanese Arabic they are commonly used, especially by the younger generation. In Lebanese Arabic, terms of endearment were used more frequently than in English; these terms included: “habibi”/ “habibti” (“my love”), “hayete” (“my life”), “يا قلبي” (“my heart”), “khayye” (“my brother”), etc. The employment of such phrases is considered to be a positive politeness strategy. These terms are regarded as in-group identity markers since they show solidarity through adhering to the positive face wants of the hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

Another example of a positive politeness strategy is exaggeration (Allami and Nekouzadeh, 2011; Al-Shboul and Huwari, 2016). In this study, exaggeration is manifested in different forms. One mode of exaggeration is evident in the recurrent form of IFID as “ألف مبروك”, which means “thousand(s of) congratulations”. This is a routinized expression

that is very common in Lebanese Arabic and is used to emphasize the participants' happiness for the interlocutor. This is in accordance with Dastjerdi and Nasri's (2013) study, who claim that unlike Persians and Americans, only Arabs use intensifications with IFIDs. In fact, to further amplify their happiness, some participants used the term "alf" (thousand) multiple times, such as "Alf alf mabrouk".

A different form of exaggeration is witnessed in the use of intensifiers such as: "I'm so so so proud of you!". In this case, since "so" is an adverb of degree, its repetitive use serves the function of exaggerating and emphasizing. This is the same in Arabic as well: "كثير كثير كثير مبسطاتك" ("I'm so so so happy for you"). Another noticeable discursial element that occurred in the responses is the utilization exclamation marks for the purpose of emphasis; in many cases, two or three exclamation marks were even used: "Wow!! Congratulations! You should be very happy! Keep going!!". In certain cases, they were even used with Arabic phrases "مبروك!" ("congrats!").

Another type of exaggeration and emphasis is evident the use of word extension or letter multiplication. This is a quality of chat language, where the words are purposely misspelled to emphasize its meaning; the duplicated letter is usually a vowel, but consonants may be duplicated as well (Dong et al., 2006). This phenomenon was more frequent in English than in Arabic, however, the Arabic data included a few as well, which were written in both Arabizi and Arabic calligraphy. It is usually the first word of the response that is subjected to this extension and this is reflective of the speaker's excitement for the interlocutor's good news. It may also be reflective of the tone and intonation of the speaker in spoken discourse since the DCTs require them to respond as if they are in that specific

situation. Accordingly, it mainly occurred in the English data in such examples, “Congratssss”, “woow”, “my loveee”, etc. As for the Arabic data, it has occurred in the form of “mabrouuuk”/ “مبروووك” (“congrats”), “Khayyy”, “habibiiii”/ “حبيبي” (“my love”), etc. As noticed, the extended phrases are either IFIDs, expressions of exclamation, or terms of endearment.

Moreover, “OMG” is another chat language characteristic that occurred in the data, exclusively in the English one: “OMG, you did it!”. “OMG” is an equivalent of “oh my God”; it does not necessarily show a reference to God, in many cases, it is merely used as an expression of exclamation (Tagliamonte, 2016). Similarly, in one of the responses, even a smiley face was used, which is another quality of chat language: “rock it up :)”.

Another linguistic feature that has occurred in the data is code-switching. Code-switching cases were detected in the Arabic data, where the participants code-switched to English in certain cases: “Nice, mabrouk!” (Nice, congrats!), “mballash helo hal week eh?” (“The week has started beautifully, right?”). The results show that participants also used universal words, such as “wow” (“واو”) and “wuhu” (“وهو”), which are not commonly used in Arabic. On the other hand, code-switching was done once in English as well: “I am so happy for you. Ehhhh! Yallaaa!”. Unlike “wow” and “wuhu”, “Ehhhh” (similar to “yes” or “yeah” exclamations in English, which are used when something is successfully achieved) and “Yallaaa” (“come on”) are frequently used in the Lebanese culture; their function is to encourage the hearer and show excitement.

In addition, although it has occurred once, there was also a code-switching instance to French; however, this only occurred when responding in Arabic, such as “Mabrouk,

Allah yewaf2ak! Courage!”. This is a commonly used term in Lebanese Arabic, even those who do not speak French, use this term in the Lebanese culture along with other widely used phrases, such as “ça va”, “déjà”, etc. Furthermore, this response was accompanied by a side note that says “(I know it’s in French!)”, which shows that the participant couldn’t find the needed term in Arabic to convey her idea and consciously code-switched to French.

In fact, in what relates to the phenomenon of code-switching in the Arab World, it has been seen to occur by Arabic speakers in various contexts, such as: radio, TV, universities, business practices, and others (Hussein, 1999). In Lebanon, in particular, people are always fascinated and in contact with western ideologies and cultures; thus, this has led to identifying Lebanon as a multilingual country. Moreover, code-switching has always been a vital part of the Lebanese culture: “CS between Arabic, English and French is one of the most distinctive features of the Lebanese culture, and I have never seen it practiced to such an extent in any other culture” (Grosjean, 1982, p. 148). In fact, as identified by Brown and Levinson (1987), code-switching is a positive politeness strategy as it adheres to the positive face wants of the addressee.

On the other hand, in certain cases, the participants used standard Arabic to respond to the DCT. The term “مبارك” (“congratulations”) also appeared in the data, which is the standard Arabic version of “مبروك”. Another example is:

(“Congratulations, I know you worked really hard all these years to get to where you are today, and you deserve this”). “مبروك، أعرف أنك عملت بجد طوال هذه السنين لتصلي لهذا المركز”.
’وتستحقين ذلك’

Finally, another discursial feature that has occurred in the responses is the inclusion of side notes that provide information about the participant's body language. For example, in the occasion of baby's birth, where the participant needs to address his advisor, the following response occurred: "Congrats to you and your wife! (with an awkward smile). Similarly, in the occasion of engagement, such a response was used in Arabic: "... ana ktir mabsouta ("ma3a basme kbire 3ala wojje)" ("I'm so happy (with a big smile on my face)").

Conclusion

This study investigates the linguistic politeness strategies used by university students in Lebanon when expressing congratulation in Lebanese Arabic and English. It also examines the influence of gender, power, and social distance on their choices of strategies. Data is collected by means of Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT), which is administered to 49 students (25 males, 24 females), enrolled in English 203 at the American University of Beirut. The DCT is written in both languages, Lebanese Arabic and English. It consists of 6 items related to happy news, where the participants have to respond as if they are found in those specific situations. Data is coded and analyzed based on Elwood's (2004) taxonomy of congratulation strategies.

The results show that politeness is a highly context-dependent social phenomenon. Lebanese participants generally use 13 types of congratulatory strategies to congratulate people in English and Arabic. In the English data, IFID, expression of happiness, expression of validation, and offer of good wishes are the most frequently used strategies. Meanwhile, in the Arabic data, IFID, invocation of God's name, expression of validation, and request for information are preferred. The findings indicate that Lebanese students have

both collectivistic as well as individualistic tendencies (Ayyash-Abdo, 2001), which is evident in their choice of strategies in both languages. On a macro level, this may be attributed to Lebanon being a part of Arab world, yet also having a multilingual and cosmopolitan nature. Moreover, on a micro level, as students of one of the best English-medium universities in the Middle East, this may be attributed to the participants' internalization of the pragmatics and communication styles of English culture. Accordingly, as it is the case in bilingual situations, it can be further added that, even though there are variations in the participants' use of congratulatory strategies when congratulating in Arabic versus in English, in certain cases, the strategies may be borrowed from L2 to L1, and vice versa.

Since this study also explores the influence of gender, power, and social distance on the participants' selection of strategies, Chi-square tests were conducted to check if these variables are statistically significant factors. The findings show that all three factors are statistically significant in both language groups, except for gender, which was only significant in the Arabic data. The results show that, gender differences were observed in both languages. As seen in the data, females use congratulatory strategies that are reflective of their feelings and emotions when addressing females. However, when addressing males, females choose to use more assertive strategies, which are very similar to the ones used in the male-male. In the same way, males use strategies that are less emotive and expressive when addressing male interlocutors. Nonetheless, when addressing females, males use expressions of happiness, exclamation, and validation, all of which are linguistic strategies associated with females. This shows that the factor determining the use of congratulatory

strategies is not only related to the gender of the speaker, but, in large part, it is related to the gender of the hearer. Furthermore, the pattern of preference in strategies indicates that stereotypes related to the speech characteristics of males and females are still valid in the Lebanese students' perception of the opposite gender's speech as well as their own. In what relates to power and social distance, the data analysis reveals that the participants are more rank-conscious when responding in Arabic than English. However, even though both power and distance are complimentary to one another as influential factors, the degree of influence of social distance on the selection of strategies outweighs that of power. Finally, a discursal analysis of the collected responses shows that there are different prominent linguistic features used in the data.

To conclude, speech acts have been of great interest to researchers, and although they are found in every culture, the production and perception of a speech act is highly dependent on the given culture and language. Compared to other types of speech acts, the speech act of congratulation has been studied only in a limited number of studies. Moreover, research related to this field in the Lebanese context has not been conducted, though other aspects of politeness, such as compliments, refusals, and requests have been studied. Hence, this study aims to address this gap in literature; it also contributes to the literature on a non-Western culture. Accordingly, in what relates to future research, as shown in the study, the Lebanese culture has more congratulatory occasions than English-speaking societies, which is evident in the excessive use of wishes and invocations of God's name and blessings; this is even apparent in the Arabic language, where there are specific terms used when exchanging wishes, such as "عقبال" ("Looking forward to ...") and

“Insha’Allah”. Future studies could examine this terminology as well as its use within the culture, using ethnographic methods for a more authentic data. Moreover, additional research can focus on Lebanese people’s response behavior as they are congratulated, as well as their attitudes towards the interrelationship between politeness and the speech act of congratulation. Moreover, age as a factor would also be an interesting factor to examine; elders’ use of this speech act differs from that of the youth. In this case, the use of “عقبال
الفرحة الكبيرة” (“Looking forward to your attainment of the ultimate happiness) as a reference to marriage can be examined as well. Additionally, teaching of the pragmatic aspects of politeness in relation to the speech act of congratulation in L2 would be another area worthy of investigation.

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APPENDIX I

DISCOURSE COMPLETION TASK – ENGLISH

I- Background Information:

Age: _____

University Level: Freshman_____ Sophomore_____ Junior_____ Senior_____

Sex: _____

First Language: _____

First Foreign Language: _____

II- Instructions: Six situations, in which you have to express congratulations, are described below. Write down what you are most likely to answer in each situation.

- 1- It's your best friend's graduation day. You know she has worked so hard over the last three years, and she is so happy that her hard work has finally paid off. After the graduation ceremony, she sees you in a crowd full of people and runs towards you. You hug her and say:

- 2- You're hanging out at the university cafeteria with your friend. She tells you that she is waiting for her friend, who you are not close with. She also tells you that she is nervous because her friend is at a meeting with her professor to see if she has got the scholarship she really worked hard for.
After a while, your friend's friend enters the cafeteria with a wide smile.
Your friend: So? How was the meeting? Did you get the scholarship?
Your friend's friend: Yes, yes I did! I'm ecstatic!
Your friend: Wow, you did?
You say to your friend's friend:

- 3- You are your advisor's research assistant. On a Monday morning, you go to her office for work, and she tells you with a wide smile that she has been promoted to full professor. You say:
- 4- One of your closest friends has just got engaged to his girlfriend of 6 years. You're at the engagement party, you walk up to him and say:
- 5- Your brother's friend, who you are not very close with, has recently got married and is back from his honeymoon. He is visiting your brother at your home. You see him sitting in the living room, you greet him and say:
- 6- The semester has just started. You go to your advisor's office to ask him about a course you'd like to take. While you're there, another professor, Dr. X, sees the door open and enters.
Dr. X: I just heard your wife gave birth to a baby girl! Congratulations, may God bless her.
Your advisor: Thank you, dear!
Dr. X: I'll pass by later to see the pictures.
After Dr. X leaves, you say to your advisor:

APPENDIX II

DISCOURSE COMPLETION TASK – ARABIC

I - معلومات شخصية:

العمر: _____

السنة الجامعية: Freshman _____ Sophomore _____ Junior _____ Senior _____

الجنس: _____

لغة الأم: _____

لغة الأجنبية الأولى: _____

II - تعليمات: تجد/تجدين ادناه ست حالات مختلفة يجب أن تعبر/ تعبرين فيها عن التهنئة. اكتب/ اکتبي الاحتمال الأقرب لما قد تقوله/ تقوليه في مثل هذه حالة.

- رايح / رايحة عتخرُج رفيقتك، يللي أكثر شي قريبة منك. بتعرف/بتعرفي إنو شاغلة كتير بهل ثلاث
وكتير مبسوطه إنو عمبتشوف نتيجة كل هالتعب. بعد الحفلة بنتشوفك من بعيد بين كل العالم ١ سنين
وبتركض لعندك. بتغمر/بتغمر يا وبتقول/بتقول:

- قاعد/قاعدة بكافتيريا الجامعة مع رفيقتك وبتقلقك إنو ناطرة رفيقتا. وبتخبرك كمان إنو
هما لرفيقتا، لأن هي بميتنغ مع البروفسور تتعرف إذا أخذت الإسكولرشيب يللي ٢ كتير عتلانا
كتير إشتغلت كرمال تاخدا. بعد شوية وقت بتجي رفيقتا عالكاقتيريا.
رفيقتك: شو ؟ كيف كان الميننغ؟ أخذتي الإسكولرشيب ؟
رفيقة رفيقتك: إيه إيه أخذتا! طيارة من الفرحة!
رفيقتك: واو، عنجد؟
بتبتسم/بتبتسمي وبتقول/بتقول:

- إنت الرئيسر تش اسيسنانت لبروفسرك. تنين الصبح، بتروح/بتروحي للشغل بالأوفس تبعاً.
بتستقبلك ببسمة عريضة عوجاً وبتقالك إتو ترقت لفولّ بروفسر. وبتقول/بتقوللي: ٣

٤- رفيك، يللي من أعز أصحابك، رح يخطب صحبتو يللي صرلو 6 سنين معاً، إنت بحفلة الخطبة،
بتروح/بتروحي لعندو وبتقول/بتقوللي:

- رفيق خيك، يللي مش كثير صحبة معو تجوّز جديد وراجع من شهر العسل، إجي عبيتك
خيك بتشوفو/بتشوفيه قاعد بقوضة القعدة بتسلم/بتسلمي عليه وبتقول/بتقوللي: ٥ تيزور

٦- السيمستر بعد مبلش جديد، بتروح/ لعند الأديزر، تتسألو/تتسأليه عن شي صف بدك تخذو/تخديه.
إنت وهونيك، بيجي برفسور تاني، دكتور ج، بشوف الباب مفتوح وبفوت لجوا.
دكتور ج: هلاً قالولي إنو مرتك ولدت وصار في عندكن بنوت صغيرة. مبروك، الله يحميها ويخليها.
الإديزر: إيه، إيه. مرسى كثير.
بعد ما يفل دكتور ج، بتقول/بتقوللي للإديزر:

APPENDIX III

ARABIZI TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE

2 = glottal stop [ʔ]

3 = voiced pharyngeal fricative ʕ

7 = voiceless pharyngeal fricative ʁ