FAVOR ASKING IN SAUDI ARABIC

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Abstract: This study investigated the speech act of asking for a favor in Saudi Arabic, in terms of both core strategy and modification. It examined whether degree of imposition, social distance, and power have an influence on the shape of the act. It also compared and contrasted favor asking in Saudi Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic, and American English. Data were collected using a written discourse completion test (DCT) in which 60 female native speakers of Saudi Arabic were asked to request a favor in 12 situations that varied the degree of imposition, social distance, and power. The findings revealed that favor asking was mostly direct and conventionally indirect in Saudi Arabic, although the participants slightly preferred more direct strategies. Nonconventional favor asking (i.e., hinting) was strongly disliked by the participants. It was found that core strategy use in favor asking in Saudi Arabic was significantly influenced by degree of imposition and social power, but not by social distance. Modification use was significantly influenced by degree of imposition, social distance, and social power. Favor asking in Saudi Arabic was found to be more similar to that in Kuwaiti Arabic than that in American English.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study explores how asking for a favor is performed in Saudi Arabic (SA). It describes the relationship between favor asking and degree of imposition, social distance, and power in the performance of 60 native Saudi Arabic speakers from Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The participants were all female university students who were randomly selected from four classes.

A number of researchers in the field of pragmatics have claimed that when we say something, we do something (Austin, 1962; Geis, 1995; Goffman, 1967; Hymes, 1972; Searl, 1969, 1979). According to Searle (1969), "speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, and so on…" (p. 16). As a result, performing a speech act involves not only the speaker, but also the hearer or the addressee. Austin (1962) stated that "saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons: and it may be done with design, intention, or purpose of producing them" (p. 101). Considerable research has been conducted to investigate the rules that govern performing different speech acts because "talking is performing acts according to rules" (Searle, 1969, p.22).

This chapter introduces the research on speech acts in general, and on requests and favor asking in particular. It also briefly discusses the theory of politeness, and reviews the literature on Arabic speech acts. The purpose of the study will then be presented. At the end of this chapter, I will talk about the organization of this thesis.

Research on Speech Acts

There are many studies investigating different speech acts in different languages, including apologies in Danish (Trosborg, 1987), English, Polish, and Hungarian (Suszczynska, 1999), and English and Korean (Jung, 2004); requests in Spanish (Koike, 1989), English (Li, 2000), English & Greek (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010), and Greek (Bella, 2012); refusals in English and Persian (Allami & Naeimi, 2011), English and Korean (Kwon, 2004), and Arabic (Morkus, 2009); compliments in Polish (Herbert, 1991; Jaworski, 1995), Spanish and British English (Lorenzo, 2001), German (Golato, 2002), and English (Cheng, 2011); and complaints in English (Boxer, 1993), and Japanese & English (Tatsuki, 2000). Studying speech acts is vital due to the fact that "culturally colored interactional styles create culturally determined expectations and interpretative strategies, and can lead to breakdowns in intercultural and interethnic communication" (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989, p.1).

Many researchers have either compared speech acts across two or more languages, or examined the speech acts performed by non-native speakers. For example, Felix-Brasdefer (2003) studied how invitations are declined among native Spanish speakers, native American English speakers, and American non-native speakers of Spanish. Another study was done by Weizman (1989) on the use of hints in requests, in Australian English, Canadian French, and Israeli Hebrew. There are few researchers who have focused only on one culture to describe a speech act by native speakers of one language (Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010; Chen & Yang, 2010; Goldschmidt, 1988). Paying attention to one speech act, e.g. favor asking, within a single speech community is important in order to understand the interactional style of that community (Al-Fattah & Ravindranath, 2009). It is also helpful in learning about the cultural values and norms in that society. In order to fill the gap and to enrich the field of intercultural pragmatics, this study is a description of how Saudis ask a favor in Arabic. It is hoped that this study would help to understand some aspects of the spoken language in Saudi society.

Favor asking was first explored by Goldschmidt (1988), who defined it as a directive speech act very similar to requests, in which "the motive or purpose behind the act itself is getting an addressee to do a specific task for the speaker" (p.129). It might be because of the similar purpose of both favor asking and requests that they are usually perceived as a single speech act. As a result, the literature is richer regarding requests than favor asking. However, Goldschmidt differentiated between those two speech acts, and encouraged others to examine requests and favor asking separately. Although requests and favor asking have similar goals, which are getting the hearer to do something, favor asking has a greater imposition. As a result, it is more linked to the notion of reciprocity (Goldschmidt, 1988). Speakers may feel obliged to return favors to show their appreciation to those who take the time and effort to do favors for them.

According to Geis (1995), language users in even one culture tend to perform speech acts differently. This is because any speaker has "a wide variety of ways of saying what he has to say at any given point in a conversation" (p.39). However, speakers are always concerned about social aspects of the relationship between interlocutors, such as social distance and power. Social distance concerns the degree of familiarity between the interlocutors. They could be close, as in the case with friends or relatives, or they could be distant, as in the case with acquaintances and strangers. Many studies have found that the differences in social distance between the speaker and the addressee influenced speech act performance (Chen, He & Hu, 2013; Hatfield & Hahn, 2011; Hussein, 1995; Le Pair, 1996; Lee, 2013; Vine, 2009; Vollmer & Olshtain, 1989; Wolfson, 1983). Social power refers to how much authority is possessed by the interlocutors. It is about the social and material resources that a person can command along with the capability of making decisions and influencing events (Guy, 1988). Speakers could have equal levels of power, as in the case of friends, or different levels, as between father and son or employer and employee. Numerous studies have found that power affects speech act performance (Blum-Kulka, Danet, & Gherson, 1985; Chejnová, 2014; Gajaseni, 1995; Jebahi, 2011; Kwon, 2004; Lundell & Erman, 2012; Takano, 2005; Trosborg, 1995).

Speech Acts in Arabic

Numerous studies have been conducted to investigate speech acts in different languages, but mainly in English. The number of studies focusing on speech acts in Arabic is relatively smaller, but is still increasing. Different speech acts have been explored in Arabic, including compliments (Al Falasi, 2007; Farghal & Al-Khatib, 2001; Migdadi, 2003), requests (Al-Fattah & Ravindranath, 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010), refusals (Al-Eryani, 2007; Al-Issa, 1998; Stevens, 1993) and apologies (Bataineh & Bataineh, 2006; El-Khalil, 1998; Soliman, 2003).

The research on speech acts in Arabic has mainly focused on specific dialects, including Jordanian, Egyptian, and Yemeni. There have also been a few investigations of speech acts in Saudi Arabic (Ansaif, 2005; Salameh, 2001; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012). To the best of my knowledge, little is known about favor asking. It has been studied in only three languages: American English (Goldschmidt, 1988), Korean (Lee & Park, 2011), and Kuwaiti Arabic (Alrefai, 2012). This in fact creates a gap in the literature regarding favor asking in general and Saudi Arabic specifically. As a result, this study is going to fill the gap and to be the first one to be conducted on favor asking in Saudi Arabic.

Theory of Politeness

Speech acts are often related to politeness strategies. Being polite is a result of knowing how to say something in a particular way without embarrassing or humiliating yourself and the other interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1987). According to Paltridge (2012), politeness choices are not universal and could be culture-specific and language-specific. He further stated that what may be polite in one culture may not be considered the same way in another.

One important component of politeness theory is the concept of *face*. It was defined by Goffman (1967) as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p.5). This concept explains the relationship between interlocutors in a conversation where speech acts are being performed. It explains a speaker's position that "if events establish a face for him that is better than he might

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have expected, he is likely to "feel good;" if his ordinary expectations are not fulfilled, one expects that he will "feel bad" or "feel hurt" " (Goffman, 1967, p.6).

In cross-cultural studies of speech acts, the notion of face is very important. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), the concept of face involves both the negative face, which is the desire to not to be imposed on, and positive face, which is the desire to be liked or approved of by others. Different cultures have different understandings of what constitutes a positive and negative face. Knowledge of speech acts in different cultures would help the interlocutors to maintain and respect the negative and positive face of others because each speech act has a degree of threat to the other's face (Wolfson, 1989).

Speech acts that pose a potential threat to either interlocutor's face are called face threatening acts (FTAs). Face could become threatened or lost by not giving the addressee options, imposing on the addressee, and making assumptions about the addressee's needs and interests (Paltridge, 2012). For example, requests are considered to be FTAs because of the imposition they have on the hearer — a threat to the hearer's negative face. In addition, what constitutes an FTA in one culture could be different in another. An example of how a speech act could be a face-threatening act in different cultures is seen in compliment responses (CRs). According to Tang & Zang (2009), a CR in Chinese could be an FTA to the speaker if the hearer directly accepts the compliment, because indirect acceptance of the compliment by self-denigration is the expected polite response from the hearer in Chinese. In contrast, a CR in Australian English could be an FTA to the speaker's positive face if the hearer rejects the compliment. Another potentially confusing FTA across cultures may arise in favor asking, as the favor could threaten the speaker's face if it were rejected (Goldschmidt, 1989). It would also threaten the hearer's face if the hearer perceived the favor as an imposition. This study examines how favor asking functions as an FTA in Saudi Arabic, and explores how interlocutors maintain positive and negative face.

Aim of the Study and Research Questions

This study investigates the speech act of favor asking in Saudi Arabic, and specifically examines whether performance of the act is affected by power, social distance, and degree of imposition. It is hoped that this study would help linguists and teachers of English and Arabic to become familiar with some of the sociopragmatic knowledge of native speakers of Saudi Arabic. To accomplish this, this study attempts to answer the following questions:

1) How is favor asking performed in Saudi Arabic?

2) Do degree of imposition, social distance, and power affect the performance of favor asking?

3) Is favor asking in Saudi Arabic different from that in other languages (e.g., Kuwaiti Arabic and American English)?

Overview of the Organization of the Thesis

The first chapter presents a general outline of the concepts related to the topic of the study. The second chapter reviews the literature on these topics, including speech acts, politeness theory, Arabic speech acts, and the speech acts of requests and favor asking. A discussion of the common data collection methods will also be given. The third chapter will describe the methodology, including participants, data coding, and the data collection instrument, a discourse completion test (DCT) in which participants were given open-ended questions about favor asking scenarios. The fourth chapter will present the results of the study, including speaker strategies and the effects of degree of imposition, social distance and power. It will discuss examples of the participants' responses. The fifth chapter will discuss the significance of the results, including an explanation of SA speakers' strategies when asking favors, and a comparison of these strategies to those used by speakers of Kuwaiti Arabic and American English. The sixth chapter will present a conclusion that includes the implications and limitations of the study, as well as recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the literature on topics relevant to the current study, beginning with the theory of speech acts. It then moves on to discuss politeness theory, as well as the speech acts of requests and favor asking. Studies on speech acts in Arabic will be discussed, followed by common data collection methods in the field of pragmatics. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the research gaps that this study intends to address.

Theory of speech acts

Speech acts were first explored by Austin (1962), who stated that the functions of an utterance are not limited to describing a state of affairs or to stating a fact. He referred to utterances that perform actions, such as by offering and inviting, as *acts* in which "there is something which is at the moment of uttering being done by the person uttering" (p.60). These acts are utterances that are not descriptions and could be neither false nor true.

According to Austin (1962), what we want to do with what we say goes beyond the literal meaning of our utterances, because each speech act has three layers of meaning. The literal meaning of an utterance is what he called the *locutionary act*, what the speaker intends to do with the utterance is called the *illocutionary act*, and the impact the utterance has on the hearer is the *perlocutionary act*. Austin emphasizes that all these acts occur together in every communicative situation. For example, if someone says "It is hot, don't you think?" the locutionary act would refer an individual's belief about the temperature and a question about the hearer's agreement or disagreement. In contrast, the illocutionary act might be a request to turn on the air conditioning. The perlocutionary act might be the result of the hearer turning on the air conditioning.

Searle (1969) discusses speech acts in depth, emphasizing the fact that "all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts" (p.16), and classifies speech acts into five kinds. Trying to get the hearer to do something for us is what he calls a *directive* acts, such as requesting, or even commanding. Describing a state of affairs is what he calls *assertive* act, such as informing. Committing to an action is *commissive*, such as promising, or vowing. Bringing a change to the status of some entity is *declarative*, such as naming. Expressing emotional states is *expressive*, such as congratulating.

Hymes (1972) claims that speech acts and extensions of that notion are crucial to the understanding of any conversation. He argues that all conversations involve a *speech situation*, a *speech event*, and a *speech act*. A speech situation is the culturally identifiable context in which a conversation takes place (e.g., a conference). A speech event is the activity that is done through language and governed by rules appropriate to the speech situation (e.g., a two-party conversation). A speech act is the minimal unit of the conversation that performs an act through speech (e.g., a greeting).

Many researchers believe that Hymes's work is valuable in analyzing *communicative competence* (Olshtain & Cohen, 1983). Hymes (1972) was the first to explain that communicative competence is all about social appropriateness. He argued that a speaker acquires communicative competence "as to when to speak, when not, and as what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" (p.277). He asserted that without the knowledge of the sociocultural rules that are present in every situation, our knowledge of grammatical rules would be useless.

Canale and Swain (1980) further added that communicative competence is composed of different components: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence. Grammatical competence is the knowledge of grammatical rules, and sociolinguistic competence is the knowledge of social appropriateness rules. Discourse competence is the knowledge of discourse rules in terms of cohesion and coherence, while strategic competence is the knowledge of communication strategies that are

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used in the case of a breakdown in one of the other competencies. Canale and Swain also stated that being communicatively competent in a language would be the result of the integration of all these components, not the result of the overemphasis on one component over the other.

In short, the study of speech acts has a great value in the field of pragmatics. According to Searle (1969), speech acts are important units of our communication. We always perform actions when speaking — asking questions, making requests, giving commands, and making promises. Examining speech acts is crucial, since linguistic structure and social structure are intimately related by them. People make linguistic choices that are determined by social context, and, consequently, understanding linguistic forms is a part of understanding the social behavioral norms of a community, because "nothing can be known if it is not known in a given social context — and out of the social, nothing can be known" (Ortega, 2009, p. 218).

Politeness

The discussion of speech acts is linked to politeness theory, because the performance of speech acts is determined by politeness choices, which Brown & Levinson (1987) discuss in terms of the concept of *face*. It is first defined by Goffman (1967) as "an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes - albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself." (p.5). He further states that this image is supported by other people's judgments. As a result, this image establishes a place for the image's owner in the social world.

The most influential work on politeness was done by Brown & Levinson (1987), who emphasize that politeness is important in making communication possible between parties that have the potential to annoy one another, fail to cooperate, or fall prey to other difficulties in the social order. They argue that the perception of what constitutes polite behavior is somewhat universal. Although they depend on Goffman's discussion of face, they go further and classify it into two kinds: positive and negative. Positive face refers to the desire that one's self-image will

be liked by other parties, while negative face refers to one's freedom of action, or freedom from imposition.

Brown & Levinson also propose two kinds of politeness: positive and negative politeness. Positive politeness is associated with the interlocutor's positive face, which is the desire to be appreciated by others. As a result, positive politeness involves exchanging the approval of each other's personality. One positive politeness technique would be using in-group identity markers (e.g., buddy, brother, guys, etc.) that would help insure the interactants' in-group membership and maintain their positive face.

On the other hand, negative politeness is more related to interlocutors' negative face, that is, their desire not to be imposed on. Negative politeness is based on respecting the interactant's negative face by avoiding or minimizing the imposition that a speech act might have. One negative politeness strategy would be the use of indirect speech acts, such as using modals to make an indirect request, by saying "would you please open the door?" instead of just "open the door". This shows that the speaker respects the hearer's negative face by not bluntly ordering the hearer to do the act. This would consequently maintain the hearer's freedom from imposition.

In their in-depth discussion of politeness, Brown & Levinson also present four kinds of face threatening acts (FTAs). They include what threatens both the speaker and the hearer, and what threatens positive and negative face. The first kind includes those acts that threaten the hearer's positive face by showing that the speaker does not consider the addressee's feelings. Complaining, for example, could be an FTA of this kind if a speaker directly shows annoyance about one or more of the hearer's personal characteristics. The second kind involves acts that threaten the hearer's negative face, by indicating that the speaker imposes on the addressee's freedom of action. For instance, advising could be an FTA to the hearer's negative face, when a speaker clearly gives no options and indicates that the hearer ought to perform a specific act. The third kind of FTA threatens the speaker's positive face, as can be seen in apologies. When speakers apologize or regret doing something bad, they are actually damaging their own positive

face. The fourth kind threatens the speaker's negative face, as can be seen in promising. Promising could be an FTA to a speaker's negative face if the speaker feels committed to a future action despite not wanting to. According to Brown & Levinson (1987), both parties in a communicative situation should choose the appropriate polite behavior in order to reduce the seriousness of these FTAs. For each speech act, this choice is based on culturally and socially defined factors: degree of imposition, social distance, and social power.

Brown & Levinson's claim that the concepts of face and FTAs are universal has been found to be problematic by some researchers. For example, Wierzbicka (1991) believes that Brown & Levinsion's theory has a strong Anglo-centric bias, and their discussion of face is inadequate to explain the different interpretations of face in other cultures. For example, some requests appear to be FTAs in American English but not in Israeli Hebrew (Blum-Kulka et al., 1985). Direct requests threaten the hearer's negative face in American English, while they do not in Hebrew. That is because the interpretation of negative face in American English is different from that in Hebrew. Negative face in American English involves the hearer's high level of freedom of action maintaining his/her personal autonomy. On the other hand, negative face in Hebrew involves a low level of freedom of action expressing social solidarity. As a result, it is not a matter of politeness, but the different interpretations of what is socially acceptable in a given culture (Wierzbicka, 1991).

Leech (2007) proposes another way of looking at politeness. He presents two kinds of politeness. The first kind is *semantic* politeness in which we could rate the politeness of an utterance out of context based on word choices. For example, using modals in requests as in "Could you give me a hand?" is more polite than just saying "Help me!" The other kind of politeness is *pragmatic* politeness. Unlike semantic politeness, pragmatic politeness depends heavily on context. We rate the pragmatic politeness of an utterance by referring to the social norms that are present in a situation. Therefore, what constitutes a pragmatic polite utterance differs in different contexts. For example, "Could I possibly interrupt?" could be considered

pragmatically unacceptable because it would be *too polite* if spoken to friends. But it could be considered appropriate if spoken to colleagues in a work meeting.

Arabic Speech Acts

Research on speech acts has typically focused on English and other European and Asian languages. But researchers recently have started to focus more on Arabic speech acts, including refusals (Morkus, 2009; Nelson, Carson, Batal & Bakary, 2002), compliments (Ansaif, 2005; Migdadi, 2003; Nelson, AlBatal & Echols, 1996) and apologies (Al- Zumor, 2003; Bataineh & Bataineh, 2006). This research has either focused on them exclusively, or compared them to speech acts in English in order to show cross-cultural differences, or examine the communicative competence of Arabic learners of English.

Few studies have examined the speech act of requests in Arabic only. For example, Al-Fattah and Ravindranath (2009) look at how requests are performed in a single variety, Yemeni Arabic. They find that Yemenis make direct requests among friends or people of equal status, whereas they use indirect requests with superiors. A similar study was done by Al-Marrani and Sazalie (2010), who examined the strategies employed by Yemeni Arabic speakers in making requests in male-male and male-female interactions. The study describes the influence of social distance, social power, and degree of imposition. The results show that Yemeni Arabic speakers tend to use direct strategies in requests in male-male interactions, but that they prefer to use indirect requests in male-female interactions. It is also found that a high degree of imposition encourages participants to make indirect requests. Moreover, social power and distance have effects on making requests similar to the findings in Al-Fattah and Ravindranath (2009), i.e., that speaking to friends or people of an equal status causes Yemeni speakers to make direct requests, whereas speaking to people of a higher status makes them use indirect requests.

There have also been cross-cultural studies that focused on requests in both Arabic and English. For example, Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily (2012) examined the level of directness of requests in terms of power, distance, and rate of imposition in Saudi Arabic and American

English. Requests in American English are found to be always indirect even with people of lower social status, while requests in Saudi Arabic are indirect with those of higher status, and direct with those of lower status. Another example was Alaoui's study (2011) on requests and other speech acts in English and Moroccan Arabic, which focused on the politeness techniques used in making requests in both languages. It was found that English speakers tend to use modal verbs in performing indirect requests in the interrogative form instead of the imperative form. Similarly, Moroccan Arabic speakers use modals to make indirect requests. However, they tend occasionally to perform requests in the form of imperatives with the use of lexical religious markers.

A number of studies have considered the non-native communicative competence of Arabic learners of English in making requests. For instance, Sattar, Lah and Suleiman (2009) examined how Iraqi learners make requests in English, and found that they use indirect requests, which validates the results of previous studies on requests in English. Al-Momani (2009) also studied requests in English made by Jordanian EFL learners and native speakers of English, and compared these to requests in Arabic made by native speakers of Jordanian Arabic. Although the standard strategy of making requests in English is indirection, Jordanian EFL learners use direct requests in English because of the influence of their native language.

Making Requests

According to Searle (1979), a request is considered to be a kind of directive in which the illocutionary act tries to get the hearer to do something for the speaker. Unlike other speech acts (e.g. apologies), requests are pre-event acts. They are made to cause an event or change one (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Any request is considered to be an FTA, with the potential to damage the hearer's negative face. Hearers might interpret a request as an imposition on their freedom of action, or as an exercise of power (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Therefore, politeness techniques are essential to redress the effects of requests (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

To accomplish this redress, requests are not always direct (Searle, 1979). This is because a speaker might utter a sentence with an illocutionary act that is not related to the locutionary meaning. Speakers might mean more than what they say. Direct requests are made when the locutionary meaning exactly matches the illocutionary act, which is the desire to get the hearer to do something for the speaker (Searle, 1979). For example, when a speaker asks, "Move your car" the locutionary meaning, which is an imperative command to move the car, exactly matches the illocutionary act, which orders the hearer to move his/her car. On the other hand, indirect requests are made when a speaker utters a sentence that triggers another illocutionary meaning (Searle, 1979). The same request in the previous example could be delivered in a form of a statement, as in "I can't seem to get my car out of this space." The locutionary meaning is a description of the speaker's inability to perform an action, but it can be interpreted as a request for the hearer to move his/her car.

The use of requests could vary due to the effect of social parameters such as gender, age, and frequency of interaction (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Social distance and power have been found to be the most important social factors in determining the directness of speech acts, including requests (Wierzbicka, 1991). Moreover, the effect of those two parameters on requests might be subject to cultural variation.

Many researchers have concentrated on how requests are made in different languages and cultures, making requests the most studied speech act in the field of pragmatics, because of their frequency of use and face-threatening nature, which is difficult to define in different cultures due to the different politeness standards (Bella, 2012). Some researchers have investigated requests in one language, while others have conducted cross-cultural studies comparing two languages. For instance, Félix-Brasdefer (2005) explored requests among native speakers of only Mexican Spanish and found that indirect requests are more common in Mexican Spanish when the hearer has more social power and distance, while direct requests are more used when the hearer has less social power and distance. Blum-Kulka's (1987) cross-cultural study examined how requests are

made in two languages, Hebrew and English, and focused on the level of directness of requests. As outlined above, unlike requests in Hebrew, English requests were found to be characterized by a low level of directness.

Furthermore, a number of studies have the specific purpose of examining the directness of requests and the effects of social distance and power. For instance, Le Pair (1996) analyzed the speech act of requests performed by native speakers of Spanish and Dutch learners of Spanish. Spanish native speakers were found to make more direct requests than Dutch non-native speakers of Spanish. However, native speakers of Spanish seem to be sensitive to social distance, using indirect requests in situations of high social distance. In another study, Rue, Zhang and Shin (2007) investigated requests in Korean made by native speakers in terms of social power. They found that social power that the hearer has over the speaker influences the nature of requests: the higher the rank of the hearer, the more indirect requests are made.

Favor Asking

Favor asking is a type of request (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989); however, Goldschmidt (1988) refines that belief by providing in-depth discussion of how favors are different. Unlike requests, favors are characterized by their higher degree of imposition, meaning that a speaker would ask for an act that is beyond what is usual, requiring greater time and effort. Moreover, requests usually place a specific obligation on the hearer, while favor asking, due to its asking for something beyond expectations, is different. According to Goldschmidt (1988), unlike requests, favor asking is extremely imposing and "the addressee is not obligated by role to accomplish the task in question" (p.133). This leads to identifying another major characteristic of favors: they always involve reciprocity. Those who ask favors are aware of their imposing nature, and therefore feel obliged to return the favors to show appreciation.

Goldschmidt's study (1988) was the first to examine favor asking. It was an empirical study focusing on American English. She discussed many examples of favors, establishing their distinctive features. In one of the examples about how favors constitute high imposition,

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Goldschmidt observed a woman asking her father, who had just come back from another city that night, to take her to the train station the next morning. In another example showing how favors may require great time and effort, Goldschmidt described a speaker asking a friend to take his daughters home from school because his friend's husband had a surgery and needed to be in the hospital all day with her. Goldschmidt also discussed examples that showed the hearer is not under any obligation when it comes to favors. She noticed that many people responded to favors with "if I can," "if time permits," and "if I am able to." This shows that the addressee has more freedom in complying with favors than requests. A speaker would not say something like "if I can" in response to a request for borrowing a pen. She also gave examples of how favors are characterized by reciprocity, as in " I owe you," articulated by many speakers who ask for a favor.

Goldschmidt concludes that favor asking is always accompanied with strong feelings because people ask favors only when they need help. This need makes speakers vulnerable in that they should be ready to respond to a future favor by the addressee. As a result, speakers are usually careful about whom they ask favors of and whom they want to be obligated to. According to Goldschmidt (1988), people carefully ask favors because "they don't want to be vulnerable to just anyone" (p.135).

In a follow-up study, Goldschmidt (1989) further studied how a favor is asked in American English. It was a qualitative study based on field observations in Philadelphia, and explored favor asking in terms of degree of imposition, age, gender, status, and social distance. The results indicated that the more imposition a favor has, the more use of modifiers is necessary. Goldschmidt found that women tend to elaborate more in asking a favor than men, and that social status and distance force many speakers to modify the way they ask a favor. No differences were found regarding age. She also suggested that favor asking is used to build social relationships and to increase solidarity.

Later, Goldschmidt (1996) investigated the hearer's attitude toward imposition in favor asking in a survey study of the attitudes of two hundred speakers of American English from Philadelphia. The survey consists of 12 situations in which participants are asked to rate favors for imposition. The results reveal that people generally find considerable imposition in situations where family time is interrupted, and, in general, in favors asking for a great deal of time and effort.

After those three studies conducted by Goldschmidt, the speech act of favor asking is not investigated until two studies in 2011 and 2012. Lee and Park (2011) investigated the preferred politeness strategies in favor asking in two languages: Korean and American English. They found that Koreans tend to apologize when asking a favor, in order to minimize the threat to the speaker's positive face, while Americans prefer to thank when asking a favor to reduce the threat to the hearer's positive and negative face. Alrefai (2012) studied favor asking in Kuwaiti Arabic, and found that her participants always prefer to use indirect strategies. She also noticed that performing favor asking in Kuwaiti Arabic is influenced by social power, but not social distance.

Methods of Data Collection

Designing a research method that would elicit data on speech acts is difficult, due to the fact that "the complexity of speech act realization and of strategy selection requires careful development of research methodology" (Cohen, 1996, p.23). There is considerable debate about the best way to collect data on speech acts. This is because "the study of speech acts in different languages is a complex endeavor, with many factors that could influence the outcome of the research if not carefully attended to" (Demeter, 2007, p.83). For example, any problem in coding or analyzing data could be solved through reexamining the data; however, problems with the instrument can result in flawed data, and this is usually beyond repair (Kasper & Dahl, 1991). The most commonly used methods in data collection are observation, role-play, and discourse completion tests (DCT). In the following section, I will discuss the benefits and problems of these methods and provide the reasons for choosing a DCT to collect data for this study.

Observation

This method involves collecting naturally occurring data. It provides information about the setting, location, and interactants, thus giving information about the linguistic and social factors controlling the use of a speech act (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). Many researchers argue that ethnographic observation is more reliable in collecting authentic and spontaneous data, since the interlocutors are not aware of being observed (Manes & Wolfson, 1981; Wolfson, Marmor & Jones, 1989).

One strategy that is usually used in observation is taking field notes, about both verbal data (speech) and non-verbal data (e.g., facial expressions, gestures, body movement). However, some researchers argue that the data collected through field notes is constrained by human cognitive capacities (Yuan, 2001). Observers could lose attention in recording a long interaction, and therefore some details would be missed. They would also find it difficult to retrieve some information about an interaction due to short-term memory. A number of researchers have used audio recordings in order to solve this problem. However, others argue that non-verbal data would not be captured in an audio record. As a result, video recording the interactions has been suggested for full comprehension (Kasper, 2008).

Although many researchers support the use of observation because of the naturalness of the data, other researchers argue that this method has many problems. First, observation is time-consuming. Waiting to observe the desired speech acts might take years, because the occurrence of a speech act is unpredictable (Houck & Gass, 1996). Second, many researchers argue that observation is unsystematic because it is difficult to control all the social variables, including ethnic background, gender, power, and status (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2013). There are also problems related to the research site. Kasper (2008) argues that a researcher could have difficulty gaining access to the research site for a long time, and being allowed to video or audio record. Others argue that observation could be unethical method, since the participants are not informed

about being observed. In this study, observation was considered to be impractical due to the great time it consumes.

Role-play

Role-playing has been defined as an activity in which "participants 'take on' and 'act out' specified 'roles' often within a predefined social framework or situational blueprint (a scenario)" (Crookall & Saunders, 1989, p.15). There are two kinds of role-plays: closed and open (Kasper & Dahl, 1991). In closed role-plays, participants are given a situation and are required to respond with a single-turn speech act (Houck & Gass, 1996). In this kind, the researcher always plays the role of the initial interlocutor. In open role-plays, a researcher might not participate in acting out the situation. The participants would be given prompts describing the situational context, and would be asked to jointly produce the interaction without any interference from the researcher (Beebe & Cummings, 1996). Open role-plays have been shown to be more efficient than closed role-plays in eliciting a valid sample of discourse (Halleck, 2007).

Many researchers claim that role-plays are very close to naturally occurring interactions. However, using closed role-plays does not generate a free range of answers, and consequently data will suffer from the possibility of being limited in scope compared to naturally occurring data (Houck & Gass, 1996). Furthermore, in all kinds of role-plays, participants might think that they should answer with what the researcher is expecting them to say, resulting in unnatural behaviors (Jung, 2004).

Some researchers claim that role-plays are the best method of data collection, since they provide oral data instead of written data (Demeter, 2007). A researcher would have the chance to focus on the prosodic and non-verbal aspects of oral interactions, and audio or video tape the role-play. However, some participants might be uncomfortable about audio or video recording, which would result in undesirable data (Cohen, 1996). A number of researchers believe that role-plays are systematic, since the researcher can give the participants a description of a situation controlling all social variables (Rintell & Mitchell, 1989). However, role-plays are time-

consuming in their administration, transcription, and analysis (Kasper & Dahl, 1991). In this study, role-plays were not used because of the researcher's limited access to a sufficient number of willing participants. Some people seem reluctant to act out the scenarios proposed by an unknown researcher.

Discourse Completion Test (DCT)

Discourse completion tests (DCTs) are written questionnaires that produce offline responses, meaning that respondents are not currently engaged in the described activities (Kasper, 2008). Cohen (1996) identifies two kinds of DCTs. One kind uses dialogues that include one turn as an open slot in which participants should answer. The other kind allows the participants to answer in an open-ended form. Both kinds have many items that describe different situations, and the participants are asked to respond appropriately to each situation. However, they differ in the amount of data elicited from the participants.

It is believed that there are problems in using DCTs. Some researchers claim that they miss non-verbal information (Yuan, 2001). Others also find it time-consuming, in that respondents take more time in writing their answers than in oral responses (Demeter, 2007). As a result, some respondents might find it easier to write short answers that might not reflect their real reaction to the situation (Beebe & Cummings, 1996).

However, the advantages of using DCTs outweigh the disadvantages, making this method the most widely used method in pragmatics research. Many studies on different speech acts have used DCTs in collecting data, including requests (Al-Momani, 2009; Bella, 2012; House, 1989; Jalilifar, 2009; Sattar et al., 2009; Tabar, 2012), refusals (Al-Eryani, 2007; Al-Issa, 1998; Allami & Naeimi, 2011; Nelson et al., 2002), apologies (El-Khalil, 1998; Bataineh & Bataineh, 2006; Bergman & Kasper, 1993; Olshtain, 1989), complaints (Kraft & Geluykens, 2002; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Tanck, 2002), and compliment responses (Al-Falasi, 2007; Ansaif, 2005; Chen & Yang, 2010; Lorenzo-Dus, 2001; Salameh, 2001). Using DCTs saves time in collecting a large amount of data from a large number of people, in a short period of time (Beebe & Cummings,

1996). This method has been proven to help in creating a quick initial classification of semantic formulas and ascertaining the structure of the speech act being investigated (Cohen, 1996). There is also consistency in using DCTs, since a researcher could easily control social variables such as age, gender, power and social distance (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2013). The DCT used in this study is outlined in the next chapter.

Importance of the Study

As shown in the literature review, further investigation is needed on Arabic speech acts in general, and on favor asking in Saudi Arabic in particular. Moreover, although research has focused on Arabic speech acts in comparison with English speech acts, and on the communicative competence and linguistic transfer among Arabic learners of English, there is little known about speech acts and social communicative standards in a single dialect of Arabic. The goal of this study is to fill these gaps and add to the existing literature on speech acts, by exploring the speech act of favor asking in Saudi Arabic.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methods used in the study. First, a description of the participants will be given. Second, a discussion of the data collection method will be presented. The chapter will end with an explanation of the data coding procedures.

Participants

The study participants (N=60) were Saudi female students randomly selected from four classes in English department at a university in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. They were all undergraduate students majoring in English, native speakers of Saudi Arabic. They ranged from 19-24 years of age.

Recruiting participants was done in three steps. First, the researcher contacted the dean of the English department by email (see Appendix B) asking for permission to distribute the DCT among the department's students. The email included a scan of the approval letter from the Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board (see Appendix A). Second, after getting the dean's permission, the researcher spoke with four teachers in the department in order to allow the researcher to distribute the questionnaire in their classes, during the last 15 minutes of the class period. Third, on the day the questionnaires were distributed in each class, the researcher first read a script (see Appendix C) in English that asked students to participate. The purpose of the study was not completely revealed, but students were given a consent form to sign before completing the DCT. Those who agreed to participate were asked to answer the questions anonymously.

One limitation of the study is that all the participants were female. The researcher is a graduate student in the US, and went to Saudi Arabia on a short trip to recruit participants. However, the researcher could not have had access to male students without the assistance of a male researcher, because the Saudi education system is gender-segregated. As a result, the researcher did not have the opportunity to recruit a male assistant in recruiting male participants. Eventually, it was decided that the study would focus only on female participants.

Instrument – Discourse Completion Test (DCT)

The data were collected using a written discourse completion test (DCT) in which the participants were asked to answer 12 questions. Each question was a description of a situation in which a favor needs to be asked. The participants were required to ask a favor in each of these situations, similar to what they would do in real situations. The DCT was administered in Saudi Arabic, not Modern Standard Arabic (see Appendix D for Arabic DCT, and Appendix E for the English translation). This is because using Saudi Arabic would get more natural and sincere answers, since it is the language of daily life conversations.

Many researchers argue that an investigator should have cultural and social knowledge of the community under investigation in order to design an effective DCT (Al-Fattah & Ravindranath, 2009; Alrefai, 2012; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012). As a native speaker of Saudi Arabic (SA), the researcher in this study relied on her knowledge of Saudi cultural and social standards in order to carefully construct the DCT to elicit answers as natural as possible. Moreover, in order to enhance the content validity of the DCT, five native SA speakers were consulted to ensure that each situation reflected the cultural and social norms of Saudi society. Based on their feedback, the DCT was revised accordingly.

The DCT illustrated every possible interaction between the three social variables considered most influential factors in performing speech acts: degree of imposition, social distance, and social power (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Wierzbicka, 1991). The degree of imposition (I) that a favor might have could be either high (+I) or low (-I). Social distance (D)

refers to how much the speaker is familiar with the hearer. Familiar interactants are referred to as (+D), and unfamiliar interactants are referred to as (-D). Social power (P) refers to the speaker's rank, and it could be higher (+P), lower (-P), or equal to that of the hearer (=P). A description of each situation is given in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Situations in DCT

Situation	Social Variables	Description
1	+I, =P, -D	A woman asks her friend to borrow money
2	-I, =P, -D	A woman asks her friend to take care of her kids
3	+I, =P, +D	A teacher asks her colleague for help in proctoring an exam
4	-I, =P, +D	A student asks her classmate to use her laptop
5	+I, +P, +D	A professor asks her student to bring coffee
6	-I, +P, +D	A professor asks her student to return a book to the library
7	+I, -P,+D	A student asks her professor for a make up exam
8	-I, -P, +D	A student asks her professor for time extension
9	+I, +P, -D	A mother asks her son for a ride to a mall
10	-I, +P, -D	A mother asks her son to buy dinner
11	+I, -P, -D	A woman asks her mother to take care of her children for 3 days
12	-I, -P, -D	A girl asks her mother to cook dinner

The data were coded using the scheme that was developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) in their Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP). They were the first to design a significant coding scheme for requests, which has been widely used in the literature. This coding scheme assesses the request's core strategy and any modifying linguistic devices. It is used to analyze favor asking in this study because there are similarities in the strategies used in favor asking and requests (Al-Fattah & Ravindranath, 2009; Alrefai, 2012; Goldschmidt, 1988; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012).

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), the part of an utterance that has the request itself is called the *head act*, which is defined as "the part of the sequence which might serve to realize the act independently of other elements" (p.17). The core strategy can be direct, conventionally indirect, or nonconventionally indirect. There are 5 direct strategies, 2 conventionally indirect strategies and 2 nonconventionally indirect strategies, as illustrated in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Core strategies used in making requests[1]

Type	Strategy	Definition	Example from CCSARP
Direct Strategies	Mood derivable	The grammatical mood of the verb indicates the illocutionary act.	*'Leave me alone'*
	Performative	The illocutionary act is explicitly named.	*'I am asking you to clean up the mess'*
	Hedged performative	The naming of the illocutionary act is modified by hedges.	*'I would like to ask you to give your presentation a week earlier than scheduled'*

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[1] (Blum-Kulka et al.,1989, p.18)

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	Obligation statement	The obligation of the hearer to carry out the act is stated.	*' You will have to move that car'*
	Want statement	The speaker states his/her desire that the hearer carries out the act.	*' I really wish you'd stop bothering me'*
Conventionally Indirect Strategies	Suggestory formulae	A suggestion is made to carry out the act.	*'How about cleaning up?'*
	Query preparatory	A reference to ability or willingness is made using a modal verb.	*' Would you mind moving your car?'*
Nonconventionally Indirect Strategies	Strong hints	Partial reference to object needed for completing the act	*'You have left the kitchen in a right mess'*
	Mild hints	No reference to the object of the act is made. But it is interpreted as a request by context.	*' I am a nun' in response to a persistent hassle.*

The modification devices could occur either before or after the head act. Sometimes they occur in both places, and combinations of several modifiers are possible to occur. In this study, the focus was on lexical modifiers in order to have an initial understanding of favor asking in Saudi Arabic. They could be alerters, downgraders, upgraders or supportive moves. An alerter functions to get the hearer's attention, as seen in Table 3. Downgraders function to soften the imposition of the request, by making internal changes on the head act using lexical and phrasal elements, as shown in Table 4. Upgraders function to enhance the force of the request, as illustrated in Table 5. A supportive move is an external element that would occur either before or after the head act. It functions to mitigate the impact of the request as displayed in Table 6. Unlike the core strategies, modifications are optional.

Table 3

Alerter modifiers to core request (CCSARP)[2]

Alerter	Example
Title/role	*Professor, waiter*
Surname	*Johnson*
First name	*Judith*
Nickname	*Judy*
Endearment term	*Honey*
Pronoun	*You*
Attention getter	*Hey, excuse me, listen*

Table 4

Downgrader modifiers to core request (CCSARP)[3]

Downgrader	Definition	Example
Politeness marker	Expressions to get the hearer's compliance	Clean the kitchen, *please.*
Understater	Adverbial expressions to under-represent the element of request	Could you tidy up *a bit?*
Hedge	Adverbial expressions to avoid specification	It would fit much better *somehow* if you did your paper next week.
Subjectivizer	Elements to express the speaker's opinion in order to reduce the force of the request	*I'm afraid* you're going to have to move your car.
Downtoner	Propositional modifier to mitigate the impact of a request	Could you *possibly/ perhaps* lend me your

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[2] (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p.277)
[3] (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p.283)

		notes?
Cajoler	Lexical items used to increase harmony between interlocutors	*You know,* I'd really like you to present your paper next week.
Appealer	Element to get the hearer's understanding	Clean up the kitchen, dear, *will you? /okay?*
Consultative device	Evoke the hearer's opinion	*What do you think?*

Table 5

Upgrader modifiers to core request (CCSARP)[4]

Upgrader	Definition	Example
Intensifier	Adverbial item to intensify the request	The kitchen is in a *terrible/ frightful* mess.
Commitment indicator	Items indicating the speaker's commitment to the element of request.	I'm *sure/certain/surely/certainly* you won't mind giving me a lift.
Time intensifier	Expressions of time	You'd better move your car *right now/ immediately!*
Lexical uptoner	A negative connotation is given to the element of request.	Clean up that *mess*!
Determination marker	Items indicating a determination on the part of the speaker	I've explained myself *and that's it!*
Repetition of request	A request is repeated literally or by paraphrase.	Get lost! *Leave me alone!*

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[4] (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p.285)

Emphatic addition	Lexical collocations providing additional emphasis	*Go* and clean that kitchen!

Table 6

Supportive moves (CCSARP)[5]

Supportive move	Definition	Example
Preparator	A phrase preparing the hearer for the request by checking his/her availability or asking his/her permission	*I'd like to ask you something …* *May I ask you a question …*
Getting a precommitment	An attempt to get the hearer's commitment	*Could you do me a favor? …*
Grounder	Giving reasons, explanations or justifications that either precede or follow for a request	Judith, *I missed a class yesterday.* Could I borrow your notes?
Disarmer	Avoiding any potential refusal	*I know you don't like lending out your notes*, but could you make an exception this time?
Promise of reward	Announcing a reward due on fulfillment of the request	Could you give me a lift home? *I'll pitch in on some gas*.
Imposition minimizer	Reducing the imposition of a request	Would you give me a lift, *but only if you're going my way*.

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[5] (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p.287)

The data were coded according to this coding scheme. Statistical analyses were performed using the Statistical package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and the Excel software program. The results are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter starts with a summary of the findings regarding the participants' use of core strategies and modifications. It also includes a discussion of each of the different levels of power (=P, +P, -P) in relation to the different levels of imposition (+I, -I) and distance (+D, -D). Moreover, each of the 12 situations is individually discussed and coded, including four sample responses for each situation.

Core Strategy Use

By looking at the results, we can see that direct strategies (324 tokens out of 720 responses) and conventional indirect strategies (315 tokens out of 720 responses) were more frequent than nonconventional indirect strategies (81 tokens out of 720 responses). Female speakers of Saudi Arabic preferred direct strategies slightly more than the conventional indirect strategies. A closer look at the different dynamics of each factor gives us a better explanation.

A binomial test was performed on the frequency number of direct and conventional indirect strategies to see if there are significant differences in their distribution between +I and -I scenarios, +D and -D scenarios, and =P, +P and -P scenarios. Nonconventional indirect strategies were not included in this test because their frequency number was very low. There were some significant differences in the distribution of core strategies across the different kinds of scenarios. It was only across P scenarios in which the differences in the distribution of all core strategies were consistently significant (see Tables 7, 8, and 9). For example, Table 7 shows that direct strategies were significantly different in +I from -I (P-value= 0.0397).

Another binomial test was performed on the frequency number of only direct and conventional strategies in order to see if they are significantly different from one another in each different dynamic of I, D, and P. This test showed that degree of imposition, distance, and power had no significant effects on the core strategy use except in +P scenarios (see Tables 7, 8, and 9). Table 8, for example, shows that there is no significant difference between direct strategies, conventional indirect strategies when the distance is high (P-value=0.198), and also when the distance is low (P-value=0.073). Similarly, the strategies are not significantly different from one another in +I scenarios, -I scenarios, =P scenarios, and -P scenarios. However, there was a significant difference between the strategies in +P scenarios (P-value=0.026).

Table 7 shows that in the first binomial test, direct strategies were significantly distributed across +I and –I scenarios (P-value=0.0397). Nonconventional indirect strategies were similarly significant across the two scenarios (P-value=0.0267). It was only the conventional indirect strategies that were not significantly distributed across +I and –I scenarios (P-value=0.367). When looking at the strategies all together in each individual kind of scenario, we can see the participants used one kind of core strategies more than the others. However, the difference in their use was not significant as the second binomial test shows. Conventional indirect strategies (166 tokens) were preferred in +I scenarios over direct strategies (143 tokens), but this preference was not significant (P-value=0.211). Direct strategies (181 tokens) were preferred in -I scenarios over conventional indirect (149 tokens), but the test shows the difference between them is not significant (P-value=0.0878). It is noteworthy that nonconventional indirect strategies were the least preferred strategies in the two levels of imposition.

Table 7

Core strategy use in +I and -I scenarios

Strategy	All Scenarios (N=720)	+I Scenarios (N=360)	-I Scenarios (N=360)	Exact binomial calculation
Direct strategies	324	143	181	0.0397
Conventional indirect strategies	315	166	149	0.367
Nonconventional indirect	81	51	30	0.0267
Exact binomial calculation[6]	0.752	0.211	0.0878	

Table 8 shows that each core strategy was not significantly distributed across +D and –D scenarios in the first binomial test. For instance, conventional indirect strategies were not significantly distributed across +D and –D scenarios (P-value=0.115). Moreover, the core strategies were not significantly different from one another in each individual kind of scenario as the second binomial test shows. Conventional indirect strategies (172 tokens) were more frequent than direct (148 tokens) in +D scenarios, but this was not significant (P-value=0.198). Direct strategies (176 tokens) were preferred over conventional indirect (143 tokens) in -D scenarios, but this preference was not significant (P-value=0.073).

Table 8

Core strategy use in +D and -D scenarios

Strategy	All Scenarios (N=720)	+D Scenarios (N=360)	-D Scenarios (N=360)	Exact binomial calculation
Direct strategies	324	148	176	0.133
Conventional indirect strategies	315	172	143	0.115
Nonconventional indirect	81	40	41	1.000
Exact binomial calculation[7]	0.752	0.198	0.073	

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[6] Nonconventional indirect excluded in Column
[7] Nonconventional indirect excluded in Column

In terms of power, each core strategy was significantly distributed across all different levels of power, as the first binomial test shows. For example, conventional indirect strategies were significantly distributed across +P, -P, and =P scenarios (P-value=0.049). In the second binomial test, there was a significant effect on the use of core strategies only in +P scenarios (P-value=0.026), but not in –P and =P scenarios. In +P scenarios, where the speaker is more powerful, direct strategies (134 tokens) were preferred over conventional indirect (99 tokens) and nonconventional indirect strategies (7 tokens). In -P scenarios, conventional indirect strategies (122 tokens) were preferred over direct strategies (95 tokens), but this was not significant (P-value=0.077). In =P situations, both direct (95 tokens) and conventional indirect strategies (94 tokens) were preferred, although the difference between these two strategies was not significant (P-value=1.000). All different power scenarios showed that the nonconventional indirect strategies were still the most disliked strategies by the participants. See Table 9 for details.

Table 9

Core strategy use in +P, -P, and =P scenarios

Strategy	All Scenarios (N=720)	+P Scenario (N=240)	-P Scenario (N=240)	=P Scenario (N=240)	Exact binomial calculation
Direct strategies	324	134	95	95	0.003
Conventional indirect strategies	315	99	122	94	0.049
Nonconventional indirect	81	7	23	51	0.000
Exact binomial calculation[8]	0.752	0.026	0.077	1.000	

In terms of direct strategies, the most preferred two strategies in this category across all scenarios were want statements (e.g., I need you to take care of my kids) (131 tokens) and mood derivables (e.g., Help me proctor my students) (128 tokens). Hedged performatives (e.g., I would like to use your laptop) came third with 60 tokens. The least used direct strategy was performatives (e.g., I am asking you for more time) (5 tokens). The direct strategy of obligation

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[8] Nonconventional indirect excluded in Column

statements was not used by the participants in any of the 12 scenarios. Therefore, this strategy has been omitted from all the following tables.

Conventional indirect strategies consisted only of query preparatory (e.g., Can you lend me 5000 riyals?) (315 tokens), whereas suggestory formulae were not used at all by the participants across all scenarios. Query preparatory turned out to be the most used strategy in this study. It was the most common strategy across all categories of core strategies and all 12 scenarios. Moreover, nonconventional indirect strategies consisted primarily of strong hints (e.g., Are you in the mood to cook?) (81 tokens), while mild hints did not occur in the data. Therefore, suggestory formulae and mild hints have also been excluded from the following tables.

Modifier Strategy Use

A t-test was performed to determine the effect of degree of imposition on the use of modifier strategies. As shown in Table 10, there was a significant difference between their use of modifiers in +I and -I scenarios (P-value=0.002). The respondents used more modifiers in the low imposition scenarios than in the high imposition situations.

Table 10

Modifications per favor in terms of degree of imposition

	Modifications per response (mean)	Standard error per group
All +I Scenarios	7.51	0.95
All -I Scenarios	10.38	1.15
T value = 3.175		
df= 203		
p<0.05 (0.002)		

Another t-test was performed to specify the effect of distance on the use of modifications per favor. Table 11 below shows that there was a significant difference between +D and −D situations in terms of modifications (P-value = 0.001). Participants used larger numbers of

modifiers in situations in which the interactants were less socially distant from each other (e.g., mother-son). They used smaller numbers of modifications when the interlocutors were socially distant from each other (e.g., professor-student).

Table 11

Modifications per favor in terms of distance

	Modifications per response (mean)	Standard error per group
All +D Scenarios	7.07	0.92
All −D Scenarios	10.81	1.17
T value =3.434 df=203 p<0.05 (0.001)		

An ANOVA F-test was performed to determine the effect of power on the participants' use of modifications. Table 12 shows that there was a significant difference between +P, -P, and =P in terms of modifier strategy use (P-value= 0.05). The scenarios with the most modifications were those in which the speaker had less power than the addressee (-P). Modifications were least used in situations in which both interlocutors had equal amounts of power (=P).

Table 12

Modifications per favor in terms of power

	Modifications per response (mean)	Standard error per group
All +P Scenarios	9.39	1.36
All -P Scenarios	10.41	1.45
All=P Scenarios	7.03	1.04
F value from ANOVA =1.797 df=2 p>0.05 (0.05)		

There were certain modification strategies that were more preferred than the others across all 12 scenarios. The most used categories among modifiers were supportive moves (2271 tokens) and alerters (733 tokens). The least used modifiers were upgraders (277 tokens) and downgraders (416 tokens). Study participants also used modifiers that were not mentioned in Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) coding manual. Those were religious marker, appreciation, small talk, apology, affective appeal, and sweetener. They were all considered supportive moves (see Table 13). These were also found in favor asking in Kuwaiti Arabic (Alrefai, 2012). The most common modification strategies in this study were religious markers (515 tokens), grounders (372 tokens), and politeness markers (299). The least common modifiers were subjectivizers (6 tokens), downtoners (11 tokens), and understaters (19 tokens). Some modifiers mentioned in the literature were not used in any of the scenarios: alerters (surname, first name, nickname, pronoun), downgraders (hedge, cajoler), upgraders (commitment indicator, lexical uptoner, determination marker, emphatic addition), and supportive moves (getting a precommitment). Therefore, they have been omitted from all subsequent tables.

Table 13

Supportive moves found in this study

Supportive move	Definition	Example
Religious marker	A phrase includes a reference to God as a sort of a prayer to get the hearer's compliance	*May Allah help you* *May Allah protect your kids* *May Allah give you wealth*
Appreciation	Expressing gratitude	*I would be thankful*
Small talk	Starting a conversation with informal discourse exchange	*How are you?* *How are your kids?*
Apology	A statement of regret for imposing on the	*I am sorry for interrupting you*

	hearer	
Affective appeal	Engaging the hearer's feelings	*You are the only one I trust*
Sweetener	Complementing the hearer	*You have a beautiful office*

A chi-square test was performed in order to determine if there was a significant difference between the different levels of degree of imposition, distance, and power in terms of the frequency of individual modifiers. For each modifier, Tables 14, 15, and 16 show the degree of significant difference between their use in +I and –I, +D and –D, and +P, -P and =P scenarios. Power significantly influenced the frequency of 21 out of 23 individual strategies, and distance significantly influenced the frequency of 19 out of 23 strategies. However, degree of imposition had a significant effect on the frequency of just 13 out of 23 strategies. The significant differences in the following tables are bolded.

Table 14

Significant difference between modifier and +I/-I [9]

Modifier	+I scenarios (N=360)		-I scenarios (N=360)		Significant?		
	No	%	No	%	Yes/No	X^2	P-value
Religious marker	287	79.7	228	63.3	**Yes**	72.14	**0.000**
Grounder	243	67.5	129	35.8	**Yes**	72.82	**0.000**
Apology	156	43.3	43	11.9	**Yes**	88.67	**0.000**
Appreciation	149	41.4	122	33.9	**Yes**	4.31	**0.038**
Endearment term	144	40.0	139	38.6	No	0.15	0.730
Politeness marker	135	37.5	164	45.6	**Yes**	4.81	**0.028**
Title	132	36.7	142	39.4	No	0.59	0.443
Affective appeal	118	32.8	11	3.1	**Yes**	108.12	**0.000**
Promise of reward	111	30.8	17	4.7	**Yes**	83.96	**0.000**

---

[9] Fisher exact test 2 tailed

Imposition minimizer	110	30.6	103	28.6	No	0.33	0.568
Intensifier	105	29.2	56	15.6	**Yes**	19.21	**0.000**
Small talk	91	25.3	93	25.8	No	0.03	0.864
Sweetener	80	22.2	29	8.1	**Yes**	28.12	**0.000**
Attention getter	79	21.9	97	26.9	No	2.44	0.119
Disarmer	53	14.7	59	16.7	No	0.51	0.473
Consultative device	36	10.0	19	5.3	**Yes**	5.69	**0.017**
Repetition of request	36	10.0	25	6.9	No	2.17	0.141
Preparator	15	4.2	24	6.7	No	2.20	0.138
Appealer	13	3.6	13	3.6	No	0.00	1.000
Downtoner	11	3.3	0	0.0	**Yes**	12.20	**0.000**
Understater	8	2.2	11	3.1	No	0.49	0.485
Time intensifier	4	1.1	51	14.2	**Yes**	43.21	**0.000**
Subjectivizer	0	0.0	6	1.7	**Yes**	-	**0.031***

Table 15

Significant difference between modifier and +D/-D [10]

Modifier	+D scenarios (N=360)		-D scenarios (N=360)		Significant?		
	No	%	No	%	Yes/No	X^2	P-value
Religious marker	225	62.5	290	80.55	**Yes**	34.37	**0.000**
Grounder	201	55.8	171	47.5	**Yes**	5.01	**0.025**
Appreciation	182	50.6	89	24.7	**Yes**	51.18	**0.000**
Politeness marker	116	32.2	183	50.8	**Yes**	25.68	**0.000**
Apology	114	31.7	85	23.6	**Yes**	5.84	**0.016**
Imposition minimizer	84	23.3	129	35.8	**Yes**	13.5	**0.000**
Title	75	20.8	199	55.3	**Yes**	90.59	**0.000**
Attention getter	71	19.7	105	29.2	**Yes**	8.69	**0.003**
Promise of reward	64	17.8	64	17.8	No	0.00	1.000

---

[10] Fisher exact test 2 tailed

Disarmer	63	17.5	49	13.9	No	1.77	0.183
Endearment term	52	14.4	231	64.2	**Yes**	186.54	**0.000**
Small talk	49	13.6	135	37.5	**Yes**	53.99	**0.000**
Preparator	37	10.3	2	0.6	**Yes**	133.21	**0.000**
Intensifier	35	9.7	126	35.0	**Yes**	66.25	**0.000**
Sweetener	26	7.2	83	23.1	**Yes**	35.12	**0.000**
Consultative device	21	5.8	34	9.4	No	3.33	0.068
Repetition of request	12	3.3	49	13.6	**Yes**	24.52	**0.000**
Understater	10	2.8	9	2.5	No	0.05	0.816
Time intensifier	4	1.1	51	14.2	**Yes**	43.49	**0.000**
Affective appeal	1	0.3	128	35.6	**Yes**	152.32	**0.000**
Appealer	0	0.0	26	7.2	**Yes**	26.97	**0.000**
Downtoner	0	0.0	11	3.1	**Yes**	8.47	**0.004**
Subjectivizer	0	0.0	6	1.7	**Yes**	-	**0.031***

Table 16

Significant difference between modifier and +P/-P and =P

Modifier use	+P scenario (N=240)		-P scenario (N=240)		=P scenario (N=240)		Significant?		
	No	%	No	%	No	%	Yes/No	X^2	P-value
Religious marker	185	77.0	192	80.0	138	57.5	**Yes**	37.49	**0.000**
Endearment term	135	56.3	116	48.3	32	13.3	**Yes**	104.9	**0.000**
Appreciation	109	45.4	82	34.2	80	33.3	**Yes**	9.314	**0.009**
Politeness marker	107	44.6	115	47.9	77	32.1	**Yes**	13.77	**0.000**
Title	97	40.4	177	73.8	0	0.0	**Yes**	273.7	**0.000**
Imposition minimizer	94	39.2	50	20.8	69	28.8	**Yes**	19.48	**0.000**
Grounder	90	37.5	129	53.8	153	63.8	**Yes**	33.74	**0.000**

Disarmer	88	36.7	24	10.0	0	0.0	**Yes**	128.0	**0.000**
Small talk	88	36.7	63	26.3	33	13.8	**Yes**	33.22	**0.000**
Attention getter	68	28.3	71	29.6	37	15.4	**Yes**	15.99	**0.000**
Intensifier	64	26.7	56	23.3	41	17.1	**Yes**	6.544	**0.038**
Time intensifier	51	21.3	0	0.0	4	1.7	**Yes**	95.0	**0.000**
Repetition of request	49	20.4	12	5.0	0	0.0	**Yes**	70.1	**0.000**
Affective appeal	48	20	49	20.41	32	13.33	**Yes**	14.33	**0.000**
Preparator	34	14.2	0	0.0	5	2.1	**Yes**	54.82	**0.000**
Appealer	13	5.4	0	0.0	13	5.4	**Yes**	13.87	**0.001**
Apology	7	2.9	106	44.2	86	35.8	**Yes**	214.2	**0.000**
Promise of reward	0	0.0	60	25.0	68	28.3	**Yes**	78.75	**0.000**
Sweetener	0	0.0	76	31.66	33	13.75	**Yes**	86.67	**0.000**
Consultative device	0	0.0	27	11.3	28	11.7	**Yes**	29.8	**0.000**
Understater	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	7.9		-	
Downtoner	0	0.0	11	4.6	0	0.0	**Yes**	18.8	**0.000**
Subjectivizer	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	2.5		-	

Social power was found to be the most affecting variable on both core strategies and modifiers. Thus, the participants' responses to the DCT are classified and analyzed as =P, +P, and -P scenarios in the following sections.

Equal power scenarios (=P)

There were four scenarios in which the speaker and the addressee had equal levels of power (scenario 1, 2, 3, and 4). In terms of the core strategies, the respondents preferred both direct (95 tokens) and conventional indirect strategies (94 tokens). They employed more nonconventional indirect strategies than they did in +P and -P scenarios (51 tokens). The frequency of their use of the core strategies is displayed in Figure 1. In terms of modifications, the participants applied an average of 7.03 modifiers per favor. They mostly used supportive moves (697 tokens) and downgraders (143 tokens). The least used modifiers were upgraders (45 tokens) and alerters (69 tokens). The modifiers across all =P scenarios are shown in Table 17. There were kinds of modifications that the participants did not employ in all four scenarios, so they have been eliminated from the subsequent tables.

Figure 1
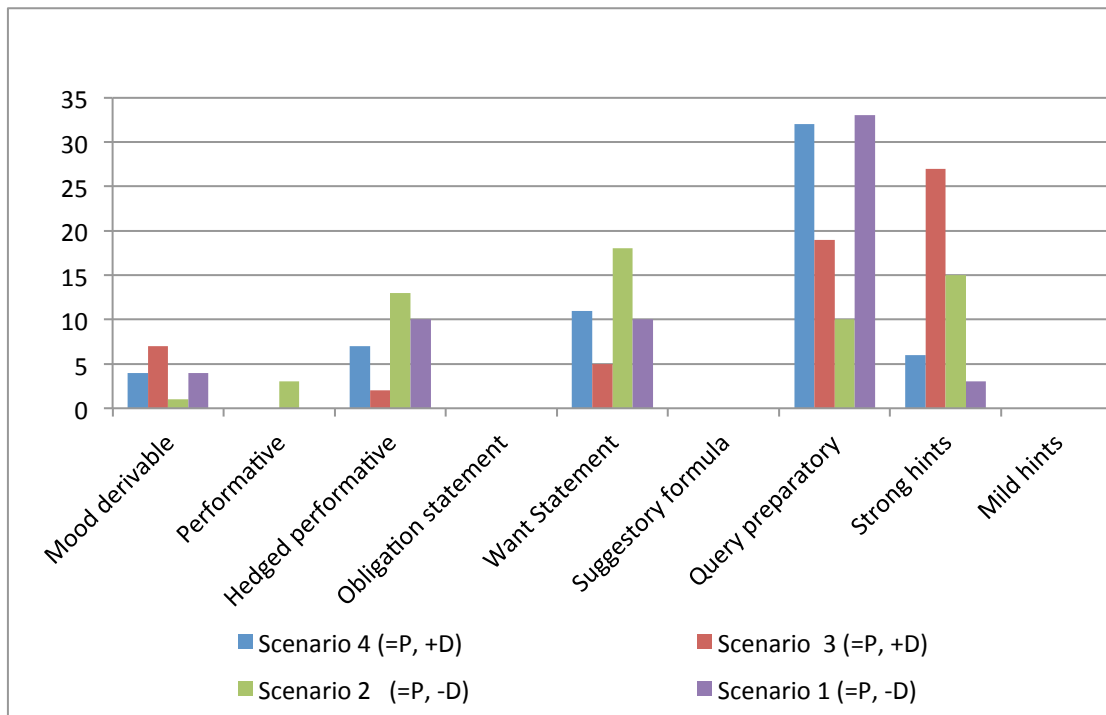
Core strategy use in =P scenarios

Table 17

Modifier use in =P scenarios

Type of modification	Scenario 1 (+I, -D) (N=60)	Scenario 2 (-I, -D) (N=60)	Scenario 3 (+I, +D) (N=60)	Scenario 4 (-I, +D) (N=60)	Significant?		
					Yes/No	X^2	P-value
Religious marker	41	41	33	23	**Yes**	14.90	**0.002**
Grounder	38	18	55	42	**Yes**	50.80	**0.000**
Apology	35	12	39	0	**Yes**	75.46	**0.000**
Sweetener	33	0	0	0	**Yes**	114.80	**0.000**
Appreciation	31	12	25	12	**Yes**	20.60	**0.000**
Imposition minimizer	24	23	4	18	**Yes**	20.70	**0.000**
Politeness marker	22	13	26	16	**Yes**	7.86	**0.049**
Affective appeal	20	11	1	0	**Yes**	38.37	**0.000**
Small talk	17	5	0	11	**Yes**	22.90	**0.000**
Endearment term	14	9	7	2	**Yes**	10.67	**0.014**
Intensifier	13	11	0	17	**Yes**	18.70	**0.000**
Attention getter	10	5	4	18	**Yes**	15.70	**0.001**
Promise of reward	0	17	51	0	**Yes**	142.30	**0.000**
Consultative device	0	19	9	0	**Yes**	39.80	**0.000**
Understater	0	9	8	2	**Yes**	13.43	**0.004**
Appealer	0	13	0	0	**Yes**	41.20	**0.000**
Subjectivizer	0	6	0	0	**Yes**	18.46	**0.000**
Preparator	0	2	3	0	No	5.50	0.135
Time intensifier	0	0	4	0	**Yes**	12.20	**0.007**
Total	**298**	**226**	**269**	**161**			
All modifications	**954**						

Scenario 1: Speaker of equal power and lower distance (=P, -D) asking a favor of higher imposition (+I)

Q1. You want to ask a friend of yours to lend you 5000 riyals. Although this would be the second time you asked your friend for money, you would ask him/her for help anyway. How would you ask your friend?

In this scenario, the participants employed more conventional indirect strategies than direct strategies and nonconventional indirect strategies (see Table 18). The only conventional indirect strategy that occurred was query preparatory. The direct strategies were primarily hedged performatives and want statements. The nonconventional indirect strategies consisted only of strong hints. In terms of modification usage, the participants used 12 kinds of modifications out of 23. They mostly used supportive moves: religious markers, grounders, and apologies. Table 19 has examples for each modifier used in this scenario.

Table 18

Core strategies in scenario 1 (+I, -D, =P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	4	*Lend me 5000 riyals*
Hedged performative	10	*I would like to ask you to lend me 5000 riyals*
Want statement	10	*I need you to lend me 5000 riyals*
Query preparatory	33	*Can you lend me 5000 riyals?*
Strong hints	3	*If I could just find someone who would lend me the money*
Total	**60**	

Table 19

Modifiers in scenario 1 (+I, -D, =P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Religious marker	41	*May Allah give you wealth*
Grounder	38	*Circumstances did not permit me to return the money that I borrowed from you before*
Apology	35	*Sorry*
Sweetener	33	*You are a true friend*
Appreciation	31	*Thank you so much*
Imposition minimizer	24	*I will return the money as soon as I can*
Politeness marker	22	*If this is not embarrassing for you*

Affective appeal	20	*You are the only one I can ask her something like this*
Small talk	17	*How have you been?*
Endearment term	14	*Dear*
Intensifier	13	I am going through *terrible* time
Attention getter	10	*Hey*
Total	**298**	

Example response 1 (Scenario 1):

قاعده امر بوقت عصيب. القى عندك ٥٠٠٠ ريال؟ معليش مابعد رجعت لك الفلوس اللي تسلفتهم منك قبل. الله يجزاك خير.

I am going through a hard time [grounder]. Can I find 5000 riyals with you? [query preparatory]

I am sorry I have not returned the money that I borrowed from you before [apology]. May Allah

help you [religious marker].

Example response 2 (Scenario 1):

معليش. ابغاك تسلفيني ٥٠٠٠ ريال. اوعدك راح ارجعهم لك مع الفلوس اللي تسلفتهم قبل بأسرع وقت ممكن. الله يغنيك.

I am sorry [apology]. I would like you to lend me 5000 riyals [hedged performative]. I promise I

will return them with the money that I borrowed from you before as soon as I can [imposition

minimizer]. May Allah give you wealth [religious marker].

Example response 3 (Scenario 1):

شكراً لانك سلفتيني فلوس الشهر اللي راح. معليش باقي ماقدر ارجعهم لك. بس ابغاك تسلفيني ٥٠٠٠ ريال زياده. ماكنت بطلبك
لو ماكنتي صديقتي الوحيدة اللي تفهمني و تقدر ظروفي اللي امر فيها.

Thanks for lending me money last month [appreciation]. I am sorry I still cannot return them

[apology]. But I want you to lend me 5000 riyals [want statement]. I would not ask you if you are

not the only friend who understands and knows what I am going through [affective appeal].

Example response 4 (Scenario 1):

اهلين. كيف حالك؟ بغيت اشتري فستان و اشياء ثانيه امس بس ماكان معي فلوس تكفي. اعجبني الفستان مره. تعرفين احد يقدر

يسلفني ٥٠٠٠ ريال؟

Hey [attention getter]. How are you [small talk]? I wanted to buy a dress and other things

yesterday but I could not afford them [grounder]. It was a beautiful dress [intensifier]. Do you

know someone who would lend me 5000 riyals [strong hint]?

Scenario 2: Speaker of equal power and lower distance (=P, -D) asking a favor of lower

imposition (-I)

Q2. You are planning to attend a wedding. You don't have a nanny and you cannot take your kids

with you because it is not allowed. You need to ask a friend of yours to take care of your kids

while you are gone for the whole night. What would you say to that friend?

In terms of core strategies, direct strategies were the most used strategies in this scenario

(see Table 20). Nonconventional indirect strategies were preferred over conventional indirect

strategies. The direct strategies consisted primarily of want statements. The nonconventional

indirect strategies consisted only of strong hints. The conventional indirect strategies comprised

only query preparatory. Respondents used 18 kinds of modifiers out of 23. Supportive moves

were the most used modifiers: religious markers, disarmers, and imposition minimizers.

Examples of the modifiers used in this scenario can be found in Table 21.

Table 20

Core strategies in scenario 2 (-I, -D, =P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	1	*Watch my kids*
Performative	3	*I ask you to watch my kids*
Hedged performative	13	*I would like to ask you to watch my kids*

Want Statement	18	*I need you to take care of my kids*
Query preparatory	10	*Would you mind taking care of my kids?*
Strong hints	15	*I wish I could find someone to help me*
Total	**60**	

Table 21

Modifiers in scenario 2 (-I, -D, =P)

Type of modification	**F**	**Example**
Religious marker	41	*May Allah protect your kids*
Disarmer	28	*I know this may be a lot to ask*
Imposition minimizer	23	*I won't be late*
Consultative device	19	*What do you think?*
Grounder	18	*Children are not allowed to attend the wedding*
Promise of reward	17	*I will take care of your kids if you needed me*
Politeness marker	13	*If this would not be tiring for you*
Appealer	13	*Okay?*
Appreciation	12	*I won't forget your help*
Apology	12	*I apologize*
Affective appeal	11	*You are the only one I trust*
Intensifier	11	It is an *important* wedding
Endearment term	9	*Sweetheart*
Understater	9	*Just for three hours*
Subjectivizer	6	*I feel overwhelmed to ask you this*
Attention getter	5	*Listen*
Small talk	5	*How are your kids?*
Preparator	2	*Are you free tonight?*
Total	**226**	

Example response 5 (Scenario 2):

الله يعطيك العافيه. ادري اني بثقل عليك بطلبي، بس فيه عرس لازم احضره الليله. بغيتك تمسكين عيالي. اوعدك راح امسك
عيالك اذا احتجتيني.

May Allah give you health [religious marker]. I know what I am going to ask may be a lot for you [disarmer], but I have to attend a wedding tonight [grounder]. I want you to take care of my kids [want statement]. I promise I would take care of yours if you asked me [promise of reward].

Example response 6 (Scenario 2):

زواج وحده من صديقاتي الليله. ابي احضر بس يمنعون حضور الاطفال. عندك شي الليله؟ ما راح اتأخر في الزواج. الله لا يهينك.

There is a wedding of a friend of mine tonight [grounder]. I would like to attend it, but they do not allow kids to attend the wedding [grounder]. I was wondering if you are free tonight? [strong hint]. I will not be late [imposition minimizer] May Allah help you [religious marker].

Example response 7 (Scenario 2):

حبيبتي. ابغى اطلب منك تنتبهين لعيالي الليله. وش رايك؟ الله يجزاك خير.

Sweetheart [endearment term]. I would like to ask you to take of my kids tonight [hedged performative]. What do you think [consultative device]? May Allah bless your kids [religious marker].

Example response 8 (Scenario 2):

عادي تنتبهين لعيالي الليله؟ اذا ماعليك كلافه. اضمنهم معك. راح اكون شاكره لك.

Would you mind watching my kids tonight [query preparatory] if this is not difficult for you [politeness marker]? I trust you with my kids [affective appeal]. I would really appreciate it [appreciation].

Scenario 3: Speaker of equal power and higher distance (=P, +D) asking a favor of higher imposition (+I)

Q3. You are a teacher. You are going to give your students a final exam. You need to ask someone to help you proctor during the exam. You only find a colleague teacher but she is stuck with a pile of papers to correct. You would ask her anyway because the rest of the teachers are proctoring other exams. How would you ask her?

In their responses to this question, the participants mostly used nonconventional indirect strategies, which consisted only of strong hints (see Table 22). They used conventional indirect strategies more than direct strategies. The participants used only query preparatory of the conventional indirect strategies. The direct strategies were primarily mood derivable. In terms of their modification usage, the participants used 14 kinds out of 23. They primarily used supportive moves: grounders, promises of reward, and apologies. Table 23 below shows examples from the data for each of the modifiers used in this scenario.

Table 22

Core strategies in scenario 3 (+I, +D, =P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	7	*Help me proctor my students*
Hedged performative	2	*I would like to ask for your help in proctoring my students*
Want Statement	5	*I want you to proctor my students with me*
Query preparatory	19	*Would you mind proctoring my students with me?*
Strong hints	27	*Aren't you bored?*
Total	**60**	

Table 23

Modifiers in scenario 3 (+I, +D, =P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Grounder	55	*Everyone is busy*
Promise of reward	51	*I will help you in correcting your papers*
Apology	39	*I apologize for interrupting you*
Religious marker	33	*May Allah help you*
Politeness marker	26	*If your time permits*
Appreciation	25	*I would be grateful*
Consultative device	9	*What do you think?*
Understater	8	*Just for a little while*
Endearment term	7	*Darling*
Imposition minimizer	4	*It won't take long*
Time intensifier	4	*Right now*
Attention getter	4	*Hey*
Preparator	3	*I want to ask you something*
Affective appeal	1	*You are the only one I have*
Total	**269**	

Example response 9 (Scenario 3):

الله يعطيك العافيه. ماودك تتركين مكتبك شوي؟ براقب على طالباتي عندهم اختبار نهائي. بساعدك في تصحيح اوراقك.

May Allah give you strength [religious marker]. Do you want to leave your office [strong hint]

just for a little while [understater]? I am about to proctor my students during their final exam

[grounder]. I will help you correcting your papers [promise of reward].

Example response 10 (Scenario 3):

عذرا على المقاطعه. مالقيت احد يساعدني. عندي لك عرض مغري. تقدرين تساعديني في مراقبة طالباتي؟ و بساعدك في

تصحيح اوراقك. وش رايك؟

I apologize for interrupting you [apology]. I could not find someone to help me [grounder]. I have

a tempting deal for you [preparator]. Can you help me out in proctoring my students? [query

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preparatory] and I will help you out in correcting your papers [promise of reward]. What do you think? (consultative device]

Example response 11 (Scenario 3):

مرحبا. ابغاك تساعديني في مراقبة طالباتي. مالقيت احد يساعدني. تكفين.

Hey [attention getter], I need you to proctor my students with me [want statement]. I did not find anyone to help me [grounder]. Please [politeness marker].

Example response 12 (Scenario 3):

حبيبتي، تعالي راقبي معي طالباتي. راح اكون شاكره لك. بساعدك في تصحيح الاوراق بعد مانخلص.

Dear [endearment term], come and proctor my students with me [mood derivable]. I would be thankful [appreciation]. I will help you in correcting your papers afterward [promise of reward].

Scenario 4: Speaker of equal power and higher distance (=P, +D) asking a favor of lower imposition (-I)

Q4. You have a presentation in class. You forgot your laptop and your Power Point file is accessible only by a Mac laptop. You know a colleague in class who has a Mac laptop. You are thinking of asking her if you could use it to present in class. What would you say to her??

In terms of core strategies, conventional indirect strategies were more employed than direct strategies and nonconventional indirect strategies (see Table 24). The conventional indirect strategies consisted only of query preparatory. The direct strategies were mostly want statements. The nonconventional indirect strategies were only those of strong hints. Regarding the use of modifications, the respondents used 10 kinds out of 23. They mainly employed supportive moves: grounder, religious marker, and imposition minimizer. Table 25 gives examples from the data for each of the modifiers used in this question.

Table 24

Core strategies in scenario 4 (-I, +D, =P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	4	*Let me use your laptop*
Hedged performative	7	*I would like to use your laptop*
Want statement	11	*I need you to give me your laptop*
Query preparatory	32	*Would you mind using your laptop?*
Strong hint	6	*Are you going to use your laptop today?*
Total	**60**	

Table 25

Modifiers in scenario 4 (-I, +D, =P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Grounder	42	*I forgot my laptop at home*
Religious marker	23	*May Allah give you joy*
Imposition minimizer	18	*I will only use it for my presentation*
Attention getter	18	*Excuse me*
Intensifier	17	*Now*
Politeness marker	16	*Please*
Appreciation	12	*Thanks*
Small talk	11	*How are you?*
Endearment term	2	*Sweetheart*
Understater	2	*Just for a little bit*
Total	**161**	

Example response 13 (Scenario 4):

الله يجزاك خير. نسيت لابتوبي في البيت، و عندي عرض اليوم. عادي اقدر استخدم جهازك؟

May Allah help you [religious marker]. I forgot my laptop at home, and I have a presentation

today [grounder]. Can I use your laptop [query preparatory]?

Example response 14 (Scenario 4):

الله يعطيك العافيه. اتمنى تسمحين لي استخدم لابتوبك. نسيت حقي في البيت. برجعه لك اول ما اخلص عرضي.

May Allah give you strength [religious marker]. I hope you would allow me to use your laptop [want statement]. I forgot mine at home [grounder]. I will return it as soon as I am finished with my presentation [imposition minimizer].

Example response 15 (Scenario 4):

كيفك؟ ابغاك تخليني استخدم لابتوبك عشان عندي عرض. تكفين. راح اكون شاكره لك.

How are you [small talk]? I would like you to let me use your laptop for my presentation [hedged performative]. Please [politeness marker]. I would be grateful [appreciation].

Example response 16 (Scenario 4):

لو سمحتي. راح تعرضين شي اليوم؟

Excuse me [attention getter], are you presenting today [strong hint]?

Higher power scenarios (+P)

There were four scenarios in which the speaker had higher power than the addressee (scenarios 5, 6, 9, and 10). In those situations, the respondents used more direct strategies for the core favor (134 tokens) than conventional indirect strategies (99 tokens) and nonconventional indirect strategies (7 tokens). The distribution of the core strategies that the participants used is illustrated in Figure 2 below. In terms of their use of modifications to the core favor, the participants used an average of 9.39 modifiers per favor. They mostly used supportive moves (743 tokens) and alerters (300 tokens). Downgraders (120 tokens) and upgraders (164 tokens) were less common. The frequency of modification strategies across all +P scenarios is shown in Table 26 below. The participants did not use all kinds of modifiers in all four scenarios. Thus, the table shows only the modifiers that they used and excludes those that did not occur in these scenarios.
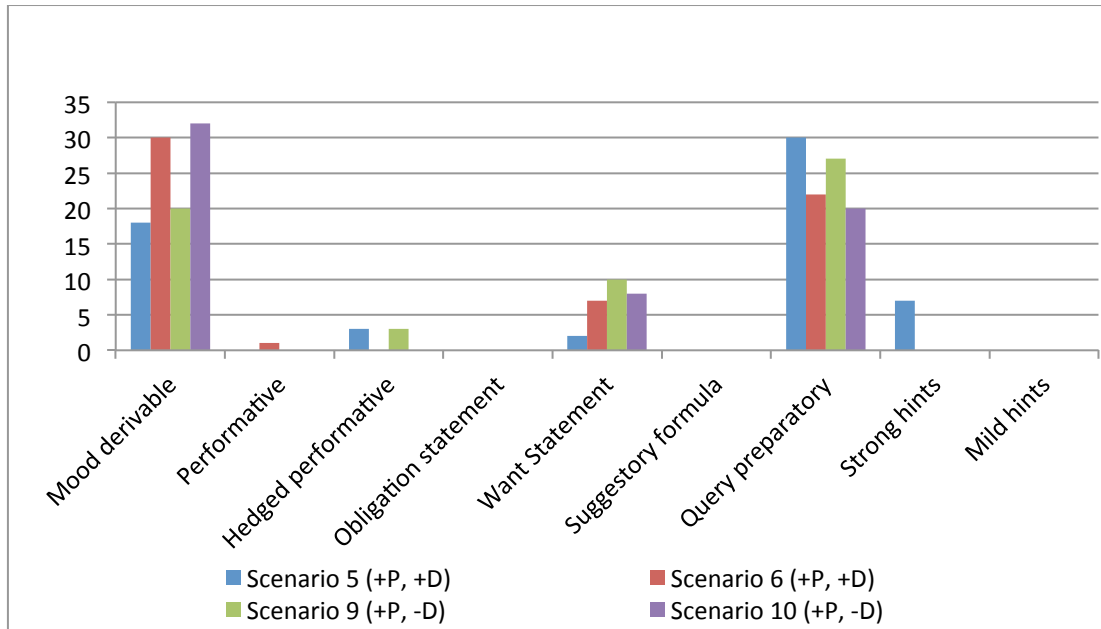
Figure 2

Core strategy use in +P scenarios

Table 26

Modifier use in +P scenarios

Type of modification	Scenario 5 (+I, +D) (N=60)	Scenario 6 (-I, +D) (N=60)	Scenario 9 (+I, -D) (N=60)	Scenario 10 (-I, -D) (N=60)	Significant?		
					Yes/No	X^2	P-value
Religious marker	53	29	53	50	Yes	38.00	**0.000**
Imposition minimizer	37	23	18	16	Yes	18.80	**0.001**
Disarmer	28	33	0	27	Yes	47.80	**0.000**
Grounder	24	6	42	18	Yes	48.00	**0.000**
Appreciation	20	43	32	14	Yes	33.50	**0.000**
Endearment term	13	17	57	48	Yes	98.50	**0.000**
Politeness marker	13	29	24	41	Yes	27.30	**0.000**
Preparator	12	22	0	0	Yes	46.00	**0.000**
Attention getter	11	11	23	23	Yes	11.80	**0.008**
Title	0	0	47	50	Yes	163.10	**0.000**
Small talk	0	0	39	49	Yes	142.50	**0.000**
Intensifier	0	0	36	28	Yes	90.00	**0.000**
Time intensifier	0	0	0	51	Yes	90.00	**0.000**
Repetition of request	0	0	24	25	Yes	61.60	**0.000**
Affective appeal	0	0	48	0	Yes	96.00	**0.000**
Appealer	0	0	13	0	Yes	33.00	**0.000**
Apology	0	7	0	0	Yes	19.35	**0.000**
Total	**211**	**220**	**456**	**440**			
All modifications	**1327**						

Scenario 5: Speaker of higher power and distance (+P, +D) asking a favor of higher imposition (+I)

Q5. You are a university professor. You need a coffee but the coffee shop on campus is very far from your office. You are talking to a student of yours and you are thinking of asking her to go to that coffee shop. How would you give her the money and ask her to go buy you coffee?

In this scenario, the participants used more conventional indirect core strategies than direct strategies and nonconventional indirect strategies (see Table 27). The conventional indirect strategies consisted only of query preparatory. The direct strategies were primarily mood derivables. The nonconventional indirect strategies comprised only strong hints. In terms of

modification usage, the participants used 9 kinds of modifiers out of 23. They mainly used

supportive moves: religious markers, imposition minimizers, and disarmers. Table 28 shows

examples from the data for each of the modifiers used in this scenario.

Table 27

Core strategies in scenario 5 (+I, +D, +P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	18	*Get me some coffee*
Hedged performative	3	*I would like you to buy me coffee*
Want statement	2	*I need you to buy me some coffee*
Query preparatory	30	*Would you mind buying coffee for me?*
Strong hint	7	*Are you going to the coffee shop?*
Total	**60**	

Table 28

Modifiers in scenario 5 (+I, +D, +P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Religious marker	53	*May Allah give you joy*
Imposition minimizer	37	*If it is on your way*
Disarmer	28	*Maybe you do not have time for this*
Grounder	24	*I cannot leave my office right now*
Appreciation	20	*I appreciate it*
Politeness marker	13	*Please*
Endearment term	13	*Darling*
Preparator	12	*Are you going to the building that is next to the coffee shop?*
Attention getter	11	*Excuse me*
Total	**211**	

Example response 17 (Scenario 5):

عزيزتي. عندي شغل بالمكتب. تقدرين تشترين لي قهوه؟ راح اقدر لك ذلك.

My dear [endearment term], I have some work to do in my office [grounder]. Can you buy me

some coffee? [query preparatory] I will be thankful for that [appreciation].

Example response 18 (Scenario 5):

و لا عليك امر، الله يعطيك العافيه. جيبي لي قهوه.

If you do not mind [imposition minimizer], may Allah give you health [religious marker]. Bring

me coffee [mood derivable].

Example response 19 (Scenario 5):

ادري انك مشغوله لكن بغيتك تشترين لي قهوه. ممكن؟

I know you might be busy [disarmer], but I would like you to buy coffee for me [hedged

performative]. Please [politeness marker].

Example response 20 (Scenario 5):

شوفي، الله يجزاك خير. مشغوله؟

 Look [attention getter], May Allah help you [religious marker], are you busy [strong hint]?

Scenario 6: Speaker of higher power and distance (+P, +D) asking a favor of lower

imposition (-I)

Q6. You are a university professor. You are talking to a student of yours who is saying she is

going to the library. You remember that you need to return a book. You think of giving her that

book to return to the library. How would you ask her to do so?

In scenario 6, the respondents used more direct core strategies than conventional indirect

strategies (see Table 29). They never used nonconventional indirect strategies. The direct

strategies mainly consisted of mood derivables. We see again that the conventional indirect

strategies comprised only query preparatory. Regarding their use of modifiers, the participants

used 10 kinds of modifiers out of 23. They mostly used supportive moves (appreciation and

disarmer) and downgraders (politeness markers). Examples for each of the modifications used by

the respondents in this scenario are shown in Table 30.

Table 29

Core strategies in scenario 6 (-I, +D, +P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	30	*Return this book*
Performative	1	*I ask you to return this book for me*
Want statement	7	*I hope you could return this book for me*
Query preparatory	22	*Would you mind returning this book for me?*
Total	**60**	

Table 30

Modifiers in scenario 6 (-I, +D, +P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Appreciation	43	*Thank you*
Disarmer	33	*I know this would be a responsibility*
Religious marker	29	*May Allah give you strength*
Politeness marker	29	*If this is okay*
Imposition minimizer	23	*Since you are going to the library*
Preparator	22	*It is good that you are going to the library*
Endearment term	17	*Darling*
Attention getter	11	*Hey*
Apology	7	*Sorry*
Grounder	6	*I borrowed a book from the library*
Total	**220**	

Example response 21 (Scenario 6):

الله يسعدك. خذي هذا الكتاب معك للمكتبه رجعيه. ممكن؟

May Allah give you joy [religious marker]. Take this book with you and return it for me [mood derivable]. Please [politeness marker].

Example response 22 (Scenario 6):

لو سمحتي. عندي كتاب مستعيرته من المكتبه امس. ادري ان هذا ممكن يكون مسؤوليه عليك لكن تقدرين ترجعينه لي؟ راح اكون شاكره لك.

Excuse me [attention getter]. I have a book that I borrowed from the library yesterday [grounder]. I know this would be a responsibility [disarmer], but can you return it for me? [query preparatory] I would appreciate it [appreciation].

Example response 23 (Scenario 6):

حبيبتي. رجعي هالكتاب حقي. الله يجزاك خير.

Dear [endearment term], return this book for me [mood derivable]. May Allah bless you [religious marker].

Example response 24 (Scenario 6):

بما انك رايحه للمكتبه، ابغاك ترجعين هالكتاب اللي استعرته منهم. شكراً.

Since you are going to the library [imposition minimizer], I need you to return this book that I borrowed from them [want statement]. Thanks [appreciation].

Scenario 9: Speaker of higher power and lower distance (+P, -D) asking a favor of higher imposition (+I)

Q9. You are a mother of a married son who has three kids. He lives on the other side of the city. You know he is busy most times. You remember that he would be caught in traffic before he would reach you. However, you need to ask him to give you a ride to the mall because there is shopping that needs to be done this week. How would you ask him?

The third +P scenario is question 9. Direct core strategies were more preferred by the participants over the conventional indirect strategies (see Table 31). Nonconventional indirect strategies never occurred in this scenario. The participants primarily used mood derivables in the category of direct strategies. The most used conventional indirect strategy was query preparatory. By looking at the kinds of modifiers that occurred in this scenario, we can see that the respondents used 13 kinds out of 23. The most used modifier was an alerter, which was an endearment term. The second and third most used modifiers were supportive moves: religious markers and affective appeals. See Table 32 for examples.

Table 31

Core strategies in scenario 9 (+I, -D, +P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	20	*Give me a ride to the mall*
Hedged performative	3	*I would like you to take me to the mall*
Want statement	10	*I want you to take me to the mall*
Query preparatory	27	*Would you mind giving me a ride to the mall?*
Total	**60**	

Table 32

Modifiers in scenario 9 (+I, -D, +P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Endearment term	57	*Honey*
Religious marker	53	*May Allah keep your children for you*
Affective appeal	48	*You are the only one I have*
Title	47	*Son*
Grounder	42	*I need to buy some things*
Small talk	39	*How are your kids?*
Intensifier	36	I have a list of *important* things to buy
Appreciation	32	*Thank you*
Politeness marker	24	*If your time permits*
Repetition of request	24	*Finish your work early*
Attention getter	23	*Listen*
Imposition minimizer	18	*It will not take long*
Appealer	13	*Okay?*
Total	**456**	

Example response 25 (Scenario 9):

ياعسل، الله يحفظك. ودني للسوق.

Honey [endearment term], May Allah protect you [religious marker]. Take me to the mall [mood derivable].

Example response 26 (Scenario 9):

ياقلبي، ماعندي احد غيرك. ابغى اشتري كم غرض ضروري، فهل تقدر توديني للمول؟ ممكن؟ الله يخليك لي انت و عيالك.

My heart [endearment term], I have no one but you [affective appeal]. I need to buy some things [grounder], so can you take me to the mall [query preparatory]? Please [politeness marker]. May Allah keep you and your children for me [religious marker].

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Example response 27 (Scenario 9):

<div dir="rtl">ياولدي حبيبي. ابغاك توصلني للسوق. خلص شغلك بدري. طيب؟ الله يخليك لي.</div>

Son [title]. My dear [endearment term]. I need you to give me a ride to the mall [want statement].
Finish your work early [repetition of request]. Okay [appealer]? May Allah keep you for me
[religious marker].

Example response 28 (Scenario 9):

<div dir="rtl">مرحبا حبيبي. شلونك؟ بغيت اطلبك توديني للسوق. فيه اشياء ضروريه لازم اجيبها. مشكور.</div>

Hello [attention getter], my dear [endearment term]. How are you [small talk]? I would like to ask
you to give me a ride to the mall [hedged performative]. There are important things that I need to
buy [intensifier]. Thanks [appreciation].

**Scenario 10: Speaker of higher power and lower distance (+P, -D) asking a favor of lower
imposition (-I)**

*Q10. You have a son who is used to seeing his friends every night. They rent an apartment where
they hang out together. You see him going to them to see a soccer game. You need to ask him to
buy dinner before he goes to his friends. What would you say to him?*

The last +P scenario is question 10. The respondents used more direct core strategies than
conventional indirect strategies (see Table 33). Nonconventional indirect strategies were never
employed in this question. Mood derivable was the most used direct strategy. Query preparatory
was the only used strategy of conventional indirect strategies. Moreover, the participants used 13
kinds of modifications out of 23. The most used modifier was an upgrader (time intensifier). The
second and third most employed modifications were an alerter (title) and a supportive move
(religious marker). Examples are mentioned in Table 34.

Table 33

Core strategies in scenario 10 (-I, -D, +P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	32	*Buy dinner*
Want statement	8	*I need you to buy dinner*
Query preparatory	20	*Would you mind buying dinner for me?*
Total	**60**	

Table 34

Modifiers in scenario 10 (-I, -D, +P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Time intensifier	51	*Now*
Religious marker	50	*May Allah give you health*
Title	50	*Son*
Small talk	49	*Who is playing tonight?*
Endearment term	48	*My heart*
Politeness marker	41	*If you do not mind*
Intensifier	28	I am *really* hungry
Disarmer	27	*I know you are in a hurry*
Repetition of request	25	*I feel hungry*
Attention getter	23	*Wait*
Grounder	18	*Your dad is sleeping*
Imposition minimizer	16	*From the closest restaurant*
Appreciation	14	*Thanks*
Total	**440**	

Example response 29 (Scenario 10):

<div dir="rtl">

ياولدي. قبل ماتروح، مر على مطعم و اشتر لنا عشا. الله يفوز فريقك.

</div>

Son [title]. Before you leave [time intensifier], stop by a restaurant and buy dinner for us [mood derivable]. May Allah help your favorite team win [religious marker].

Example response 30 (Scenario 10):

<div dir="rtl">

حبيبي، تقدر تجيب لنا عشا اللحين؟ الله يعطيك العافيه.

</div>

Sweetheart [endearment term], can you buy dinner for us [query preparatory] now [time intensifier]? May Allah give you strength [religious marker].

Example response 31 (Scenario 10):

<div dir="rtl">

ياولیدي اسمع. اشتر لي عشا. ابوك نايم. احس اني جوعانه. على فكره من اللي يلعب اليوم؟

</div>

Son [title], listen [attention getter]. Buy dinner for me [mood derivable]. Your dad is sleeping [grounder]. I feel hungry [repetition of request]. By the way, who is playing tonight? [small talk]

Example response 32 (Scenario 10):

<div dir="rtl">

ابغاك تروح و تجيب لنا عشا و لا عليك امر. ادري انك مستعجل عشان تشوف المباراة لكن امك أولى. بدعي لك ان فريقك يفوز.

</div>

I want you to go and buy dinner [want statement], if you do not mind [politeness marker]. I know you are in a hurry to see the game [disarmer], but your mother is more important [intensifier]. I will pray for your team to win [religious marker].

The DCT had four scenarios in which the speaker had lower power than the addressee (scenarios 7, 8, 11, and 12). In those scenarios, the participants preferred conventional indirect strategies for the core favor (122 tokens) over the direct strategies (95 tokens) and nonconventional indirect strategies (23 tokens). The usage of the core strategies by the participants is shown in Figure 3. Regarding their usage of modifiers with the core favor, the respondents used an average of 10.41 modifiers per favor. Supportive moves (831 tokens) and alerters (364 tokens) were the most preferred categories of modifications. Upgraders (68 tokens) and downgraders (153 tokens) were less common among the participants. The frequency of modifiers across all -P scenarios is shown in Table 35. Modifiers that did not occur in all four scenarios have been omitted from the following tables.

Figure 3

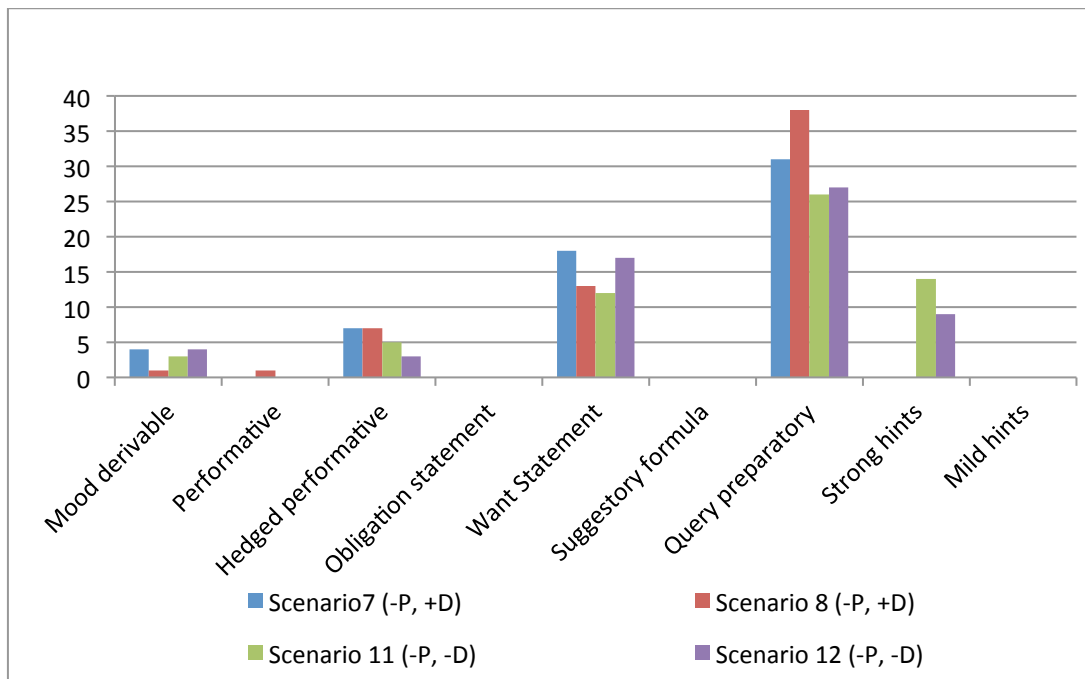*Core strategy use in -P scenarios*

Table 35

Modifier use in -P scenarios

Type of modification	Scenario 7 (+I, +D) (N=60)	Scenario 8 (-I, +D) (N=60)	Scenario 11 (+I, -D) (N=60)	Scenario 12 (-I, -D) (N=60)	Significant?		
					Yes/No	X^2	P-value
Religious marker	53	34	54	51	**Yes**	27.70	**0.000**
Apology	44	24	38	0	**Yes**	77.50	**0.000**
Grounder	42	32	42	13	**Yes**	37.59	**0.000**
Appreciation	41	41	0	0	**Yes**	124.00	**0.000**
Title	34	41	51	51	**Yes**	17.80	**0.000**
Sweetener	26	0	21	29	**Yes**	39.60	**0.000**
Intensifier	18	0	38	0	**Yes**	91.68	**0.000**
Promise of reward	13	0	47	0	**Yes**	131.40	**0.000**
Repetition of request	12	0	0	0	**Yes**	31.50	**0.000**
Consultative device	12	0	15	0	**Yes**	31.17	**0.000**
Attention getter	11	16	20	24	No	7.42	0.060
Small talk	10	28	25	0	**Yes**	44.00	**0.000**
Endearment term	3	10	50	53	**Yes**	137.00	**0.000**
Imposition minimizer	2	0	25	23	**Yes**	53.90	**0.000**
Disarmer	1	0	23	0	**Yes**	71.50	**0.000**
Affective appeal	0	0	49	0	**Yes**	184.70	**0.000**
Politeness marker	0	32	50	33	**Yes**	87.30	**0.000**
Downtoner	0	0	11	0	**Yes**	34.59	**0.000**
Total	**322**	**258**	**559**	**277**			
All modifications	**1416**						

Scenario 7: Speaker of lower power and higher distance (-P, +D) asking a favor of higher imposition (+I)

Q7. You are a student and you missed an exam. You are the only one who missed it. You know that your professor does not accept any excuses. You need to ask her to write a makeup exam for you because your total is too low. You know also that she is busy because she is going to a conference at the end of the same week. What would you say to her?

In their responses to this question, the respondents preferred conventional indirect strategies over the direct strategies (see Table 36). They did not use any nonconventional indirect strategy. They only employed query preparatory of the conventional indirect group. The most used direct strategy in this scenario was want statement. Regarding the modifiers used with the core favor, there were 15 kinds of modifiers used in this scenario out of 23. The most used modifiers in this scenario were supportive moves (religious markers, apologies, and grounders). Examples of those modifications can be found in Table 37.

Table 36

Core strategies in scenario 7 (+I, +D, -P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	4	*Give me a makeup test*
Hedged performative	7	*I would like to ask for a makeup test*
Want statement	18	*I need you to give me a makeup test*
Query preparatory	31	*Would you mind giving me a makeup test?*
Total	**60**	

Table 37

Modifiers in scenario 7 (+I, +D, -P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Religious marker	53	*May Allah help you*
Apology	44	*I apologize*
Grounder	42	*I have been going through difficult time*
Appreciation	41	*I would appreciate it*
Title	34	*Professor*
Sweetener	26	*You have a beautiful office*
Intensifier	18	It is *important* to me
Promise of reward	13	*I will do anything you ask me to do*
Consultative devise	12	*What do you think?*
Repetition of request	12	*I need your help*

Small talk	10	*How are you?*
Attention getter	11	*Excuse me*
Endearment term	3	*Dear*
Imposition minimizer	2	*I am ready for any time that works for you*
Disarmer	1	*I know you are busy*
Total	**322**	

Example response 33 (Scenario 7):

استاذه، انا غبت عن الاختبار. اعتذر عن ذلك. كنت مريضه. ادري انك مشغوله لكن هل تقدرين تعطيني فرصه ثانيه؟ بسوي اللي تامرين عليه. وش رايك؟

Professor [title]. I missed the exam [grounder]. I apologize [apology]. I was sick [grounder].

I know you are busy [disarmer], but can you give me a makeup test? [query preparatory] I will do

anything you want from me [promise of reward]. What do you think? [consultative device]

Example response 34 (Scenario 7):

بروفسوره، الله يقويك على حضور المؤتمر. ابغى اختبار بديل. معدلي نازل. ساعديني اللي يساعدك.

Professor [title], may Allah help you in the conference that you are going to attend [religious

marker]. I want a makeup exam [want statement]. My total is low [grounder]. Help me [repetition

of request]. May Allah help you [religious marker].

Example response 35 (Scenario 7):

مرحبا. هاه مستعده للمؤتمر؟ ابغى اطلبك تختبريني اختبار بديل. مستعده اخذه في اي وقت تحبين. راح اكون شاكره لك.

Hello [attention getter], are you ready for the conference [small talk]? I would like to ask for a

makeup test [hedged performative]. I am ready to take it any time you choose [imposition

minimizer]. I would be grateful [appreciation].

Example response 36 (Scenario 7):

<div dir="rtl">الله يجزاك خير. عطيني اختبار بديل.احتاج لهذا الاختبار ضروري.</div>

May Allah bless you [religious marker]. Give me a makeup test [mood derivable]. I really need this test [intensifier].

Scenario 8: Speaker of lower power and higher distance (-P, +D) asking a favor of lower imposition (-I)

Q8. You are supposed to submit a paper to your professor today. You cannot meet this deadline. Your professor is going to deduct two points for each day you postpone the submission. You are thinking of asking her if you could submit it tomorrow without deducting points. How would you ask her?

In this scenario, conventional indirect strategies were more used than direct strategies (see Table 38). Nonconventional indirect strategies were not used in this scenario as well. In terms of the conventional indirect strategies, the participants only used the strategy of query preparatory. They mostly used the direct strategy of want statement. In terms of modifier usage, the respondents used 9 kinds of modifiers out of 23. They were primarily alerters (titles) and supportive moves (appreciation and religious markers). Table 39 contains examples for each modifier.

Table 38

Core strategies in scenario 8 (-I, +D, -P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	1	*Give me more time until tomorrow*
Performative	1	*I am asking you for more time*
Hedged performative	7	*I would like you to give me one more day*
Want statement	13	*I need you to give more time*
Query preparatory	38	*Can I submit my paper tomorrow?*
Total	**60**	

Table 39

Modifiers in scenario 8 (-I, +D, -P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Appreciation	41	*Thank you*
Title	41	*Professor*
Religious marker	34	*May Allah give you health*
Politeness marker	32	*Please*
Grounder	32	*I would like to submit a perfect paper*
Small talk	28	*How are you?*
Apology	24	*I am sorry*
Attention getter	16	*Hello*
Endearment term	10	*Dear*
Total	**258**	

Example response 37 (Scenario 8):

استاذه. الله يجزاك خير. خلصت بحثي لكن حابه اضيف له نقاط مهمه اعتقد انها حتدعم البحث اكثر. تقدرين تشوفين بحثي
اللحين اذا تبين. تعطيني فرصه لبكره؟ راح اكون شاكره لك.

Professor [title], may Allah be with you [religious marker]. I have finished my paper but I would
like to add some things that I think they would improve it [grounder]. You can see my paper now
if you want [grounder]. Will you give me a chance until tomorrow? [query preparatory] I would
really appreciate it [appreciation].

Example response 38 (Scenario 8):

بروفسوره كيف حالك؟ عندي ظروف و ممكن اتأخر في تسليم البحث. اتمنى لو تعطيني فرصه لبكره بدون ماتنقصيني درجات.
شكراً.

Professor [title], how are you? [small talk] I have things going on and I might be late in
submitting my paper [grounder]. I wish you would allow me to submit it tomorrow without
deducting points [want statements]. Thanks [appreciation].

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Example response 39 (Scenario 8):

لو سمحتي دكتوره. بغيتك تخليني اسلم بحثي بكرا.

Excuse me [attention getter], professor [title]. I would like you to let me submit my paper

tomorrow [hedged performative].

Example response 40 (Scenario 8):

اعتذر ما اقدر اسلم بحثي اليوم. عطيني وقت لحد بكره. تكفين؟

I am sorry I cannot submit my paper today [apology]. Give me some time until tomorrow [mood

derivable]. Please [politeness marker].

Scenario 11: Speaker of lower power and distance (-P, -D) asking a favor of higher

imposition (+I)

Q11. You have a conference that you need to attend in Dubai. You need someone to take care of

your children while you are gone for three days. You are thinking of asking your mother, who

also has a job, to take care of your children. What would you say to her?

The respondents employed slightly more conventional indirect strategies than direct

strategies and nonconventional indirect strategies (Table 40). Unlike in the previous two -P

situations, participants did use some nonconventional indirect strategies in this situation. The

conventional indirect strategies were limited to query preparatory, and the direct strategies were

mainly want statements. The nonconventional indirect strategies consisted only of strong hints.

Regarding their use of modifications, the respondents used 16 kinds of modifiers out of 23. They

mostly used supportive moves (religious markers), alerters (titles, endearment terms), and

downgraders (politeness markers). All modifiers used in this scenario are included with examples

in Table 41.

Table 40

Core strategies in scenario 11 (+I, -D, -P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	3	*Watch my kids*
Hedged performative	5	*I would like you to take care of my kids*
Want statement	12	*I need you to watch my kids*
Query preparatory	26	*Can you watch my kids?*
Strong hints	14	*Do you have a lot of work next week?*
Total	**60**	

Table 41

Modifiers in scenario 11 (+I, -D, -P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Religious marker	54	*May Allah keep you for me*
Title	51	*Mom*
Endearment term	50	*Dear*
Politeness marker	50	*If you do not mind*
Affective appeal	49	*You are the only one I trust*
Promise of reward	47	*I will bring anything you want from Dubai*
Grounder	42	*I need to attend a conference*
Apology	38	*I am sorry*
Intensifier	38	I *really* have to attend it.
Imposition minimizer	25	*The nanny will help you out*
Small talk	25	*How are you?*
Disarmer	23	*I know you may have no time for this*
Sweetener	21	*You are the best mother*
Attention getter	20	*Listen*
Consultative devise	15	*What do you think?*
Downtoner	11	Could you *possibly* take care of my children?
Total	**559**	

Example response 41 (Scenario 11):

ماما الله يعطيك العافيه. ابغى احضر مؤتمر و ابي اخلي بزاريني عندك لين ارجع اذا ماعليك كلافه. انتي الوحيده اللي اثق فيها.

Mother [title]. May Allah give you health [religious marker]. I would like to attend a conference

[grounder] and I want you to take care of my kids when I am gone [want statement] if this is okay

[politeness marker]. You are the only one I trust [affective appeal].

Example response 42 (Scenario 11):

امي ياقلبي انتي. فيه مؤتمر لازم احضره الاسبوع الجاي. عيالي مايقدرون يروحون معي. الله يخليك لي. انتي مشغوله الاسبوع

الجاي؟

Mom [title]. My heart [endearment term]. There is a conference that I have to attend next week

[grounder]. My kids cannot go with me [grounder]. May Allah keep you for me [religious

marker]. Will you be busy next week? [strong hint]

Example response 43 (Scenario 11):

اميمتي. عادي اخلي عيالي عندك اذا بروح دبي؟ الشغاله بتساعدك. معليش بس لازم احضر مؤتمر هناك.

Mom [title]. Would you mind taking care of my kids while I am in Dubai [query preparatory]?

The nanny will help you out [imposition minimizer]. Sorry [apology], but I really need to attend a

conference [intensifier].

Example response 44 (Scenario 11):

يابعد عمري يا احسن ام في الدنيا. بغيت اسألك اذا تقدرين تنتبهين لعيالي لاني بحضر مؤتمر في دبي. اطلب اي شي تبين من

دبي و بجيبه لك. الله يعطيك العافيه.

Sweetheart [endearment term], the best mother one could have [sweetener]. I would like to ask

you to watch my kids while I am attending a conference in Dubai [hedged performative]. Ask for

anything you want from Dubai [promise or reward]. May Allah give you health [religious

marker].

Scenario 12: Speaker of lower power and distance (-P, -D) asking a favor of lower

imposition (-I)

Q12. You don't know how to cook. You are going to have a friend over for the night. This friend

does not eat out. You are thinking of asking your mother to cook something for both of you. How

would you ask her?

      In terms of core strategies, the participants used conventional indirect strategies slightly

more than direct strategies (see Table 42). The nonconventional indirect strategies occurred in

this scenario as well. Like the previous three -P scenarios, the only conventional indirect strategy

employed by the participants was query preparatory. Moreover, want statements were the most

frequent direct strategy in this scenario. Like the previous -P situation, only one nonconventional

indirect strategy occurred which was strong hints. Participants used 8 out of 23 kinds of

modifiers, mainly alerters (endearment terms and titles) and supportive moves (religious

markers). Examples from the data on all modifiers that occurred in this scenario are mentioned in

Table 43.

Table 42

Core strategies in scenario 12 (-I, -D, -P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Mood derivable	4	*Cook something for us*
Hedged performative	3	*I would like you to cook dinner for us*
Want statement	17	*I need you to cook something for us*
Query preparatory	27	*Would you mind cooking dinner for us?*
Strong hints	9	*Are you in the mood to cook?*
Total	**60**	

Table 43

Modifiers in scenario 12 (-I, -D, -P)

Type of modification	F	Example
Religious marker	51	May Allah keep you for me
Title	51	Mother
Endearment term	53	Sweetie
Politeness marker	33	If this is not tiring for you
Sweetener	29	You are the best cook
Attention getter	24	Listen
Imposition minimizer	23	I will help you out
Grounder	13	I don't know how to cook
Total	**277**	

Example response 45 (Scenario 12):

اسمعي حبيبتي. تقدرين تطبخين لنا الليله عشا انا و صديقتي؟ بساعدك في المطبخ. الله يخليك لي.

Listen [attention getter], my dear [endearment term]. Can you cook dinner for my friend and me

tonight? [query preparatory] I will help you out [imposition minimizer]. May Allah protect you

[religious marker].

Example response 46 (Scenario 12):

امي حبيبتي. صديقتي بتجي الليله. اتمنى لو تطبخين لنا عشا و لا عليك كلافه. الله يسعدك.

Mom [title]. Sweetheart [endearment term]. My friend is going to visit me tonight [grounder].

I hope if you would cook dinner for us [want statement], if this would not be tiring for you

[politeness marker]. May Allah give you joy [religious marker].

Example response 47 (Scenario 12):

يمه. قلت لصديقتي انك احسن طباخه. اطبخي لنا شي الليله. تكفين؟

Mom [title]. I told my friend you are the best cook [sweetener]. Cook something for us tonight [mood derivable]. Please [politeness marker].

Example response 48 (Scenario 12):

يمه، الله يجزاك خير. لك خلق تطبخين لنا كبسه؟ صديقتي بتزورني الليله.

Mom [title]. May Allah help you [religious marker]. Are you in the mood to cook Kabsa [strong hint]? My friend is going to visit tonight [grounder].

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The chapter starts with a discussion of the results in terms of the participants' use of core strategies and modifiers. There is a discussion of the effects of the different dynamics of social power in relation to degree of imposition and social distance on the participants' choices of core strategies and modifications. There is also a comparison of Saudi favor asking to Kuwaiti Arabic and American English favor asking.

Core strategy use in the current study

Saudi female speakers showed an overall preference for direct and conventional indirect strategies over nonconventional indirect strategies in all scenarios (see Table 44). Binomial tests showed that both degree of imposition and social power significantly affected core strategies, but social distance did not (see Tables 7, 8, 9).

Table 44

Core strategy use in the current study

Strategy	All Scenarios (N=720)
Direct strategies	324
Conventional indirect strategies	315
Non-conventional indirect strategies	81

In terms of degree of imposition, conventional indirect strategies were more preferred in high imposing scenarios, whereas direct strategies were strongly preferred in low imposing situations (see Table 45). This suggests that being indirect is expected in Saudi culture when asking a high-imposing favor, and being direct is acceptable when asking a favor with low imposition. This preference can be explained by referring to the extreme imposing nature of favor asking (Goldschmidt, 1988). This speech act is very imposing in a sense that it is not guaranteed that the hearer would be able to comply with it. Thus, it is an FTA to the hearer's negative face. The speaker would be imposing on the hearer's freedom from action unless the speaker minimizes the imposition by using negative politeness strategies, such as indirect favor asking, to respect the hearer's negative face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). This is consistent with results of studies on other languages regarding different speech acts, such as Chinese requests (Chen, He & Hu, 2013) and Korean favor asking (Lee & Park, 2011). For example, Yemeni Arabic speakers were found to prefer using indirect requests in high-imposing situations, whereas they preferred using direct requests when the imposition was low (Al-Fattah & Ravindranath, 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010).

Table 45

Core strategy use in relation to degree of imposition

Strategies		+I Scenarios (N=360)		-I Scenarios (N=360)	
		No	%	No	%
Direct	Mood derivable	56	15.6	72	20.0
	Performative	0	0.0	5	1.4
	Hedged performative	30	8.3	30	8.3
	Want Statement	57	15.8	74	20.6
Conventional indirect	Query preparatory	166	46.1	149	41.4
Nonconventional indirect	Strong hints	51	14.2	30	8.3

Frequency of core strategies was influenced by high distance (+D) and low distance (-D). The participants preferred conventional indirect strategies in high distance scenarios, and direct strategies in low distance scenarios (see Table 46). Politeness theory explains part of this pattern (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Because favor asking is an FTA to the hearer's negative face, the speaker would choose the appropriate strategy to redress its seriousness. This choice is based on social factors such as distance. The preference by Saudi female speakers of using indirect strategies when asking a favor from distant hearers can be seen as a politeness strategy in which they respect the hearers' negative face. This preference of performing an indirect speech act with distant hearers was also found among speakers of other languages when performing different speech acts, such as Mexican Spanish refusals (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008), Korean apologies (Hatfield & Hahn, 2011), and Spanish requests (Le Pair, 1996).

On the other hand, participants' preference of direct strategies with close hearers suggests that it is expected to directly ask favors from relatives and friends in Saudi culture. This cannot be explained by politeness theory, since it is apparent that Saudi speakers have a different interpretation of hearers' negative face in low distance situations. Researchers have argued that performing a direct speech act in low distance situations is not considered to be impolite in some cultures, but a sign of closeness and affiliation (Blum-Kulka et al., 1985; Economidous-Kogetsidis, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1991). Based on my knowledge of Saudi society as a native speaker, and on research by Saudi researchers such as Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily (2012), I can say that Saudi society prefers group identity over individual autonomy. Thus, performing a direct speech act, such as favor asking, with a relative and a friend is seen as a sign of solidarity and positive politeness. Many participants in the current study commented in some low distance scenarios that they would directly ask a favor, since the hearer is a friend.

Table 46

Core strategy use in relation to social distance

Strategies		+D Scenarios (N=360)		-D Scenarios (N=360)	
		No	%	No	%
Direct	Mood derivable	64	17.8	64	17.8
	Performative	2	0.6	3	0.8
	Hedged performative	26	7.2	34	9.4
	Want Statement	56	15.6	75	20.8
Conventional indirect	Query preparatory	172	47.8	143	39.7
Nonconventional indirect	Strong hints	40	11.1	41	11.4

In terms of social power, direct strategies were preferred in high power scenarios, but conventional indirect strategies were more used in low power scenarios. In equal power scenarios, both direct and conventional indirect strategies were preferred over the nonconventional indirect strategies (see Table 47). Based on my knowledge of Saudi society, I can say that asking favors directly when the speaker has more power than the hearer is acceptable and cannot be considered impolite. This is because Saudi society is based on a hierarchical system in which the members are sensitive to power differences that assign some people to higher ranks and others to lower ranks (Ansaif, 2005; Salameh, 2001; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012). Thus, a superordinate can directly ask a favor when communicating with a subordinate as part of her authority without threatening the hearer's negative face. This can be seen in the higher frequency of direct strategies in high power scenarios. By contrast, when a subordinate asks a favor from a superordinate in Saudi society, it is expected from her to use indirect strategies out of respect to the higher social rank of the addressee. This is confirmed in the high frequency of using conventional indirect strategies in the scenarios in which the speaker has lower social

power than the hearer. This pattern is found across Arab societies in terms of different speech

acts, such as Jordanian Arabic requests (Al-Ali & Alawaneh, 2010), Tunisian Arabic apologies

(Jebahi, 2011), and Egyptian Arabic refusals (Nelson, Carson, Batal & Bakary, 2002). The same

pattern can also be found in speech acts in other languages and societies, such as Korean refusals

(Kwon, 2004), Czech requests (Chejnová, 2014), Mexican Spanish requests (Félix-Brasdefer,

2005), and Korean requests (Rue, Zhang & Shin, 2007).

Table 47

Core strategy use in relation to social power

Strategies		+P Scenarios (N=240)		-P Scenarios (N=240)		=P Scenarios (N=240)	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
Direct	Mood derivable	100	41.7	12	5.0	16	6.7
	Performative	1	0.4	1	0.4	3	1.3
	Hedged performative	6	2.5	22	9.2	32	13.3
	Want statement	27	11.3	60	25.0	44	18.3
Conventional indirect	Query preparatory	99	41.3	122	50.8	94	39.2
Nonconventional indirect	Strong hints	7	2.9	23	9.6	51	21.3

Modifications in the current study

The data show that every response (N=720) contained modifications (N=3697) to the

core strategy or the head favor. The most used modification device in the whole study was

religious marker (515 tokens). This high usage shows that Saudi society is religious. The high

reference to God (or Allah) can be seen as a way to emphasize solidarity through the Muslim

group identity of the interlocutors.

T-tests and an ANOVA F-test showed that the overall use of modifications significantly varied from +I to –I, +D to -D, and also among +P, -P, and =P (see Tables 10, 11, and 12). Chi-square tests were used to examine the significant different individual modifiers across all of those different dynamics of I, D, and P (see Tables 14, 15 and 16).

Degree of imposition had a significant effect on the overall use of modifications (see Table 10). One would expect the participants to use more modifications in +I than in –I scenarios in order to redress the threatening and imposing nature of favors (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Goldschmidt, 1988). However, the participants used an average of 7.51 modifications in high imposing scenarios, whereas they used an average of 10.38 in low imposing scenarios. This can be explained by referring to the kind of core strategies they used across these two different dynamics of imposition. The participants preferred conventional indirect strategies in high imposing scenarios, and direct strategies in low imposing situations. Thus, the lower numbers of modifications in high imposing scenarios can tell us that the participants might be thinking that the use of indirect core strategies is sufficient in terms of minimizing the imposition of favor asking. By contrast, the higher numbers of modifications in low imposing scenarios can tell us that the participants, who mostly used direct core strategies in those scenarios, might be considering the need to employ more modifications to reduce the threat of favor asking.

Degree of imposition had also a significant effect on the use of individual modifiers across all scenarios (see Table 14). The use of some modifications was significantly higher in high imposing scenarios than in low imposing ones, including religious markers, grounders, appreciation, apologies, intensifiers, promises of reward, affective appeals, sweeteners, consultative devices, and downtoners. Most of these modifications are supportive moves, which have the function of mitigating the favor being asked. This explains that the participants tended to use these modifications, mostly supportive moves, more in high imposing scenarios as strategies to mitigate the extra imposition found in those scenarios. In contrast, use of some modifiers was significantly higher in low imposing scenarios, including politeness markers, subjectivizers, and

time intensifiers. Politeness markers and subjectivizers are downgraders, which have the function of softening the imposition of the favor being asked. To explain this higher usage, we have to refer to the fact that the participants used more direct core strategies in these low imposing scenarios. Therefore, downgraders were used more in these scenarios in order to mitigate the direct favor being asked. In addition, there were modifications that were not significantly affected by the different degrees of imposition, including alerters (titles, endearment terms, attention getters), downgraders (understaters, appealers), upgraders (repetition of requests), and some supportive moves (imposition minimizers, disarmers, small talk, preparators).

Social distance significantly affected the overall use of modifiers in this study (see Table 11). One would hypothesize that the participants would use more modifiers with distant hearers (+D), and fewer modifiers with close hearers (-D). However, the respondents actually used an average of 10.81 modifiers in -D scenarios, and an average of 7.07 in +D scenarios. This higher use of modifications in -D than +D can be explained by the kind of core strategies used in these scenarios. We have seen that the respondents used more conventional indirect strategies in high distance scenarios, and more direct strategies in low distance scenarios. Therefore, the lower frequency of modifications in +D situations could be because the participants considered the conventional indirect core strategies to be enough in minimizing the threat to the hearers' negative face. On the other hand, the higher frequency of modifiers in -D situations could be because the participants needed to use more softening devices with the favors being asked, since they were mostly direct.

Distance had a significant effect on the use of some individual modifiers across all situations (see Table 15). There were modifications that were significantly more frequent in high distance situations than in low distance situations, including grounders, appreciation, apologies, and preparators. All of these modifications are supportive moves, which are used to reduce the imposition of the favors being asked. Thus, the respondents tended to use them more in these scenarios, since the hearers were highly distant. There were also modifiers that were significantly

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more frequent in low distance scenarios: religious markers, politeness markers, endearment terms, titles, imposition minimizers, small talk, attention getters, intensifiers, affective appeals, sweeteners, repetitions of request, time intensifiers, appealers, downtoners, and subjectivizers. Although the respondents used direct core strategies in these scenarios, which turned out to be polite with close hearers in Saudi society, they significantly used these modifications to reinforce the close relationship with the hearer and express politeness. This becomes clear when we look at the kinds of modifications (e.g., religious markers, endearment terms, titles, small talks, affective appeals, and sweeteners) used in these scenarios that obviously express solidarity, connectedness, and affiliation with the hearer. Moreover, there were no significant effects of distance on some individual modifiers, including promises of reward, disarmers, consultative devices, and understaters.

Social power significantly affected the overall use of modifications across all scenarios (see Table 12). The respondents used more modifications in -P scenarios, with an average of 10.41modifers per response. +P scenarios came second in terms of modification use with an average of 9.39. The least usage of modifications were found in =P scenarios, with an average of 7.03 modifiers. The highest usage of modifiers in -P scenarios can be explained by the social sensitivity to social ranking. In these scenarios, the participants had lower status than the hearers, and they were performing an imposing act. Thus, the participants were found using all possible ways of respecting the higher rank of the hearers, and reducing the threatening nature of favor asking, including using more conventional indirect core strategies, and more modifications at the same time. In terms of +P scenarios, they had higher use of modifications than in the =P scenarios. The reason becomes clear when we look back at the kind of core strategies used in +P scenarios. It was previously discussed that it seems to be acceptable for people of higher social status to directly ask favors in Saudi society. However, we can see that the participants tended to soften that directness of core strategies by using more modifications to the core favor.

There were individual modifiers that significantly varied across +P, -P, and =P (see Table 16). There were modifiers that were significantly more frequent in +P scenarios. Some of these modifications can be seen as ways of softening the favor being asked, since it was mostly direct, including endearment terms, appreciation, imposition minimizers, small talk, disarmers, and preparators. Others could be understood as ways of exerting power over the hearer, including intensifiers, repetitions of request, and time intensifiers. This is because these modifiers are upgraders, which have the function of enhancing the force of favor asking. Furthermore, some modifiers were found to be significantly more frequent in -P scenarios. These were religious markers, politeness markers, titles, apologies, attention getters, affective appeals, sweeteners, and downtoners. We can see that the participants in those -P scenarios were attempting to mitigate the impact of favors being asked from higher rank hearers, since most of those modifications were supportive moves. In terms of =P scenarios, they had significantly more frequent modifications, including grounders, promises of reward, understaters, and subjectivizers. Grounders and promises of reward are supportive moves, whereas understaters and subjectivizers are downgraders. Since the participants used both direct and conventional indirect core strategies in =P scenarios, supportive moves could be used to increase compliance to the conventional indirect strategies, and downgraders could be used to soften the force of the direct strategies. In addition, there was a modifier that was significantly more frequent in both -P and =P, which was consultative devices. Since the speaker has no power over the hearer in these scenarios, this downgrader was significantly used to elicit the hearer's opinion as a way of reducing the imposition of the favor being asked, and making the hearer more engaged in the conversation. There was also a modifier that was significantly more frequent in both +P and =P, which was appealers. It is a downgrader that ensures the hearer's understanding. It could be significant in these scenarios because the participants mostly used direct core strategies. Thus, appealers significantly worked as a mitigation to the favor being asked.

Scenarios with Equal Power Speakers (=P)

There were four scenarios in which the respondents were required to ask favors from someone who is equal in terms of social power. These scenarios were 1, 2, 3, and 4. The most preferred core strategies were both direct (95 tokens) and conventional indirect strategies (94 tokens). However, there were some interesting patterns when looking at each scenario individually (see Table 48). The nonconventional indirect strategies, which comprised only strong hints, occurred in all =P scenarios. By looking at the general use of modifications in =P scenarios, we can notice that the participants mainly used supportive moves (227 tokens). This use of supportive moves was consistent across all scenarios.

Scenario 1 (+I, =P, -D) is about asking a very imposing favor (+I) from someone who is equal in power and less distant (=P, -D), which is a friend. The favor is high imposing, since it is asking for a large amount of money to borrow for the second time from the same friend. This scenario is paired with scenario 2 (-I, =P, -D). Scenario 2 is about asking a friend (=P, -D) a lower imposing favor than the one in scenario 1, since it is asking to take care of kids for a few hours. Both scenarios have the same levels of social power and distance. However, the degree of imposition was different, which had a significant effect on the respondents' choices of core strategies. When looking at Table 48, we can notice that the most common strategy in the higher imposing scenario in this pair (scenario 1) was a conventional indirect strategy, which is query preparatory. By contrast, the participants mostly used a direct core strategy in the lower imposing scenario (scenario 2), which is want statements. It can be seen that the participants perceived asking a friend for money for the second time more imposing than asking a friend to take care of kids. Thus, they mitigated that higher imposition by using a conventional indirect strategy. Another possible explanation for the significant effect of imposition in this pair is the fact that Saudi Arabic speakers tend to directly preform speech acts with friends and relatives to show solidarity (Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012). Thus, the participants would directly ask for money in scenario 1 as they directly asked for watching their kids in scenario 2, since the interlocutors are

friends. However, the participants chose to be indirect in scenario 1, since the favor being asked was perceived as too imposing and threatening.

In terms of the use of modifications in scenario 1 and 2, the participants mostly used supportive moves across both scenarios. In scenario 1, they mostly used religious markers (41 tokens), grounders (38 tokens), and apologies (35 tokens). They attempted to get the hearers' compliance by showing affiliation and solidarity through the use of religious markers. Moreover, it seems that the high imposing favor motivated the participants to give more explanations and apologies. In scenario 2, the respondents mainly employed religious markers (41 tokens), disarmers (28 tokens), and imposition minimizers (23 tokens). Although the participants used more direct core strategies in this scenario, they also tried to reduce the imposition of the plain speech act and avoid any refusal by using disarmers and imposition minimizers.

Table 48

Core strategy use in =P scenarios

Core strategy	Scenario 1 (+I, -D)	Scenario 2 (-I, -D)	Scenario 3 (+I, +D)	Scenario 4 (-I, +D)
Mood derivable	4	1	7	4
Performative	0	3	0	0
Hedged performative	10	13	2	7
Obligation statement	0	0	0	0
Want statement	10	18	5	11
Suggestory formula	0	0	0	0
Query preparatory	33	10	19	32
Strong hints	3	15	27	6
Mild hints	0	0	0	0

Scenarios 3 and 4 required the respondents to ask a favor from someone who is equal in power(=P), a colleague. The hearers in these scenarios were assumed to be distant (+D). Scenario 3 was about asking a colleague teacher to help proctor an exam. This favor was considered to be higher, since it required interrupting the hearer who was very busy with another kind of work. In

contrast, scenario 4 required asking a lower imposing favor, which was asking a classmate for her laptop to use for an in-class presentation. The participants mostly remained indirect in using core strategies in both scenarios, although the interlocutors were equal in terms of power. They were even more indirect in scenario 3, since they mostly used nonconventional indirect strategies, which were strong hints. The use of strong hints in this scenario was the highest in the whole study. This large tendency could be because the participants perceived interrupting and asking a favor from a distant hearer who is extremely busy to be the most imposing and threatening act. Thus, it required hinting in order to save the hearer's negative face, and reduce the imposition (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In scenario 4, the participants were indirect by mainly using a conventional indirect strategy, which was query preparatory. Although the participants were assumed to ask a lower imposing favor from someone who is equal in power, they still chose to be indirect. This might be because it seemed imposing for the participants to ask favors from a distant hearer, who was a classmate. This scenario vividly shows the significant effect of social distance on the use of core strategies.

The respondents mainly used supportive moves as modifiers in scenario 3 and 4. Since scenario 3 seemed to have a very imposing favor to ask, the participants mainly employed grounders (55 tokens) to modify the core favor. They also used promises of reward (51 tokens), which were highly used in this scenario in comparison to the other scenarios in the study. This use of promises of reward in a very high imposing situation represents a feature of favor asking defined by Goldschmidt (1988), which was that of reciprocity. The third common modifier in this scenario was apologies (39 tokens), which showed the speaker's awareness and regret of interrupting the hearer. Thus, it served as mitigation to the imposition of favors. In scenario 4, the participants mainly used grounders (42 tokens), religious markers (23 tokens), and imposition minimizers (18 tokens). It is important to note that the smallest number of modifications was employed in this scenario. This might be because the participants found it enough to use indirect

core strategy in reducing the imposing nature of favor asking. The lower imposition of favors being asked in this scenario could be another reason behind the lower numbers of modifications.

Scenarios with Higher Power Speakers (+P)

The scenarios in which the participants were asked to perform favor asking when pretending to be people of high social ranks were question 5, 6, 9, and 10. The participants mostly used direct core strategies. Unlike =P scenarios, the nonconventional indirect strategies occurred only in one +P scenario. We can notice some core strategy use that is different from the general usage in some scenarios when we closely look at each one of them (see Table 49). Similarly, although we have seen that supportive moves in the overall results of +P scenarios were the most used modifications, there were exceptions in some scenarios.

Scenario 5 (+I, +P, +D) was asking the participants to pretend to be a university professor and ask a student to buy some coffee. There was a social power difference in which a professor of high social power was asking a favor from a student who had a lower social power. Thus, the social distance was high between them. The degree of imposition was also doubled by adding further imposition to the favor, which can be seen in the far location of the coffee shop. We have discussed that it is acceptable for someone with higher social power to directly perform a speech act in Saudi society. That explained the high use of direct core strategies in +P scenarios in general. However, the participants in this scenario chose not to ask favors directly although they have the right to, according to their social standards. They employed conventional indirect strategies instead, which only comprised query preparatory (30 tokens). Some people even chose to be more indirect and used strong hints as core favors (7 tokens). The key social factor in making this exception seems to be the higher degree of imposition. This can be confirmed by looking at scenario 6 (-I, +P, +D), which is identical to scenario 5 except for the level of imposition. The speaker is still a university professor (+P) who is asking a favor from a student. The distance is still high. However, the degree of imposition is lowered, since the professor is

asking a student who is about to go the library to return a book. We can see that the participants

chose to follow the social behavioral standards and directly ask favors in this scenario since they

have the higher social power. Unlike scenario 5, the degree of imposition was lower here, which

did not force the participants to flout the norms by indirectly asking favors. The most used core

strategy in this scenario was a direct strategy: mood derivable (30 tokens).

Table 49

Core strategy use in +P scenarios

Core strategy	Scenario 5 (+I, +D)	Scenario 6 (-I, +D)	Scenario 9 (+I, -D)	Scenario 10 (-I, -D)
Mood derivable	18	30	20	32
Performative	0	1	0	0
Hedged performative	3	0	3	0
Obligation statement	0	0	0	0
Want statement	2	7	10	8
Suggestory formula	0	0	0	0
Query preparatory	30	22	27	20
Strong hints	7	0	0	0
Mild hints	0	0	0	0

In terms of modification use in scenarios 5 and 6, the participants mostly used supportive

moves in both scenarios. This is consistent with the general results of modification use in +P

scenarios. In scenario 5, the most used modifications were religious markers (53 tokens),

imposition minimizers (37 tokens), and disarmers (28 tokens). By looking at the definitions of

these individual modifiers (Table 6 and 13), they can be viewed as attempts to get the hearer to

comply with the higher imposing favor (+I). In scenario 6, they mainly used appreciation (43

tokens) and disarmers (33 tokens). The third most used modifier in this scenario was a

downgrader: politeness marker (29 tokens). This can be seen as further effort, beside supportive

moves, to mitigate the force of the direct core strategy used in favor asking in this scenario.

Scenario 9 (+I, +P, -D) describes a situation in which a mother, who is considered to have more social power, is asking a favor from her son, who has a lower social power. They are close communicative parties (-D). The imposition is increased (+I) in asking for a ride to a mall in a busy city from someone who is living in the opposite part of town, and whose time is occupied with work and kids. Scenario 10 (-I, +P, -D) is identical to scenario 9 except in the level of imposition, which is lowered (-I). In this scenario, the speaker is still a mother (+P) asking a favor from her son, which makes the distance low (-D). The imposition this time is lowered (-I) by asking the son, who is still living with his parents, to buy a dinner before he goes out to see his friends. In terms of the core strategies, the participants decided to follow the norm and exert social power by directly asking favors. The most used core strategy in both scenarios was mood derivable (see Table 49). We can see that the degree of imposition did not make any difference to the use of core strategies in terms of directness, as in scenario 6. It seems that the social power was the most affecting variable in this pair of scenarios, since the participants remained direct regardless of imposition. This directness might be explained by the prevailing belief among Saudis that a children have to obey their parents all the time.

We can notice some irregularities when looking at the kinds of modifications used in scenarios 9 and 10. The most common modifier in scenario 9 was not a supportive move, but an alerter, which was an endearment term (57 tokens). This high frequency of expressing love by a mother to her son using endearment terms can be seen as a way of softening the following plain favor. The second and third most used modifications in scenario 9 were supportive moves: religious markers (53 tokens) and affective appeals (48 tokens). They can also be seen serving the same purpose of endearment terms of showing affection and affiliation to get the hearer's compliance. In terms of modifications in scenario 10, there were interesting patterns. The most used modifier in this scenario was not a supportive move, but an upgrader, which was time intensifiers (51 tokens). This scenario has the highest use of time intensifiers in the entire study. Although the core strategy was direct, the participants chose to enhance the force of the favor

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being asked by using this upgrader and expressing time as in "now", and "before you leave". This might be because the favor being asked has low imposition level that needs not to be postponed. The second-most used modification in scenario 10 was an alerter, which was a title: "son". This high use of "son" could be either seen as a sign of affiliation and affection, or a reminder that the hearer should obey his mother. The third used modification was a supportive move: religious markers (50 tokens).

<div align="center">**Scenarios with Lower Power Speakers (-P)**</div>

The participants were asked to perform favor asking with low social power from people of higher social power in scenarios 7, 8, 11, and 12. They mainly used conventional indirect strategies across all scenarios (see Table 50). There was no situation in which they used direct strategies more than indirect ones. Unlike +P scenarios, the participants were consistent in terms of core strategies across all -P scenarios. The nonconventional indirect strategies occurred in two scenarios, which is more than their use in +P scenarios. In terms of modifications, the participants mostly used supportive moves (831 tokens). However, we can notice some inconsistency when looking at the scenarios individually.

Table 50

Core strategy use in -P scenarios

Core strategy	Scenario 7 (+I, +D)	Scenario 8 (-I, +D)	Scenario 11 (+I, -D)	Scenario 12 (-I, -D)
Mood derivable	4	1	3	4
Performative	0	1	0	0
Hedged performative	7	7	5	3
Obligation statement	0	0	0	0
Want statement	18	13	12	17
Suggestory formula	0	0	0	0
Query preparatory	31	38	26	27
Strong hints	0	0	14	9
Mild hints	0	0	0	0

Scenario 7 (+I, -P, +D) describes a situation in which a student (-P) is supposed to ask her professor, who has more social power, to write a makeup exam for her, since she missed it. The distance is high between them (+D). The imposition is increased in being the only student who missed the exam, and in having a professor who is intolerant of absence, and busy preparing for a conference. This scenario is paired with scenario 8. Scenario 8 (-I, -P, +D) is similar to scenario 7 in social variables except in the level of imposition. The speaker is still a student who is asking her professor a favor (-P, -D). The favor has lower degree of imposition (-I), which is asking for one-day extension in submitting a paper. The participants consistently used conventional indirect strategies for the core favor in both scenarios even though one of them had a lower imposing favor. The most used strategy in both scenarios was query preparatory. This indirectness can be explained by referring back to the fact that the Saudi society is sensitive to social rankings (Ansaif, 2005; Salameh, 2001; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012), which was found to be common across Arab societies. The hearer in this pair of scenarios is a university professor, who is usually located in a high position in the academic and social hierarchy across Arab countries (Al-Ali & Alawaneh, 2010). Thus, the higher social power of a university professor had a strong effect on the core strategy choice, since the participants remained indirect in both scenarios. The degree of imposition did not make any difference in this pair, as it did in the pair of 5 and 6 scenarios. The participants could be direct and ask a favor in scenario 8 since the imposition was low. However, they continued to be indirect because of the effect of the higher social power of the hearer.

In terms of modifications, there are some patterns of usage different from the general usage of modifications in -P scenarios, which is the prevailing use of supportive moves. In scenario 7, the participants mostly used supportive moves: religious markers (53 tokens), apologies (44 tokens), and grounders (42 tokens). This high use of supportive moves can be seen as both mitigating the imposition of favors being asked and enhancing the compliance with favors being asked from a speaker with a lower social rank. In scenario 8, there was inconsistency in the use of modification. The most employed strategy was not a supportive move, but an alerter: title.

The high use of "professor" clearly shows the participants' awareness of the social difference in terms of power. It shows their respect to the high social position that a university professor has in this situation. This display of respect can be seen as a way of getting the hearers' compliance. The second and third most used strategies in this scenario were supportive moves: appreciation (41 tokens) and religious markers (34 tokens).

Scenario 11 (+I, -P, -D) describes a situation in which the participant (-P) asks her mother a favor, which is taking care of her kids for 3 days. Both interlocutors are socially close to each other (-D). Asking someone who has a job to take care of children for 3 days increases the imposition of this favor. Scenario 12 (-I, -P, -D) is similar to it. It is only different from scenario 11 in terms of imposition. This scenario is about a girl who is asking her mother (-P, -D) to cook dinner for her guest. Since Saudi mothers traditionally cook meals for their families, including adults, everyday, this favor was considered to be low imposing. In terms of the most used core strategies in both scenarios, the participants consistently used conventional indirect strategies. This shows that the participants paid more attention to social power differences than the different degrees of imposition in both scenarios. They remained indirect in both scenarios, showing their awareness to the higher power of mothers, even though the imposition of favor in scenario 12 was lowered. They kept using the same strategy they used in scenarios 7 and 8, query preparatory. However, they used some core strategies differently in scenarios 11 and 12, since they used nonconventional indirect strategies (strong hints), which they did not use in scenarios 7 and 8. The use of hints in these scenarios 11 and 12 could be because the participants perceived asking their mothers a favor to be more imposing than asking their professors. A greater chance of losing the hearer's negative face was seen by the participants in this scenario (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Thus, the participants relied on strong hints to save the hearer's negative face by giving the mother more options and reduce the force of favors being asked.

By looking closely at the modifiers used in scenario 11 and 12, we can see that some of them are different from the general usage of modifications found in -P scenarios. The most used

modifier in -P scenarios in general is supportive moves. Scenario 11 conformed to this usage by having supportive moves as the most common modifications: religious markers (54 tokens). The second and third most common modifiers were alerters: titles (51 tokens) and endearment terms (50 tokens). The use of these alerters can be seen as ways of showing respect to the high social power that mothers have through the use of title "mother" or "mom", and of expressing love through the use of endearment terms. These alerters, beside the supportive move, serve to enhance the hearers' compliance. Scenario 12 showed some patterns different from the overall use in -P scenarios in terms of modifications. The participants mostly used alerters: endearment terms (53 tokens) and titles (51 tokens), and supportive moves: religious markers (51 tokens). This pattern of modifications usage, using more alerters than supportive moves, is the converse of the pattern found in scenario 11. However, it still serves the same purposes.

Favor Asking in Saudi Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic, and American English

When comparing favor asking in Saudi Arabic to favor asking in Kuwaiti Arabic, there are more similarities than differences. This might be attributed to the same language, Arabic, from which these varieties derived. Many studies on Arabic speech acts showed that some regional varieties of Arabic are similar to some extent, for example, in terms of compliment responses in Emirati Arabic (Al Falasi, 2007), Jordanian Arabic (Farghal & Al-Khatib, 2001), and Syrian Arabic (Nelson et al., 1996). It could also be due to the shared religion, Islam, which has caused those different varieties to have similar linguistic formulas, such as religious markers when performing requests in Yemeni Arabic (Al-Fattah & Ravindranath, 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010), Saudi Arabic (Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012), and Moroccan Arabic (Alaoui, 2011). It could also be due to the similarities between Kuwaiti and Saudi cultures. In contrast, there are more differences than similarities when comparing favor asking in Saudi Arabic to that in American English. This might also be explained by referring to the different languages and cultures from which these varieties emerged. A number of cross-cultural studies showed that

Arabic pragmatics is very different from that in English (Al-Ali & Alawaneh, 2010; Alaoui, 2011; Nelson et al., 1996; Nelson et al., 2002; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012).

When looking at favor asking in Saudi Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic, we can see that there is a difference in terms of the directness of core strategies. Alrefai (2012) showed that Kuwaiti male speakers mostly preferred conventional indirect strategies. In contrast, Saudi female speakers in the current study showed a preference for direct strategies slightly more than conventional indirect strategies. It is noteworthy that the two studies are different in terms of the gender of the participants. This study focused only on females, whereas Alrefai's focused only on males. Thus, the difference between SA and KA in terms of the directness of core strategies needs further investigation. We do not know if this difference is caused by a regional variation in terms of Arabic language, or by gendered interactional differences. A similarity between this study and Alrefai's was that social power had a significant effect on performing favor asking. In contrast, the two studies are different in terms of the effect of social distance. Social distance had a significant effect on favor asking in Saudi Arabic in terms of modification use, whereas it had no significant effect on favor asking in Kuwaiti Arabic. Although degree of imposition had a significant effect on performing favor asking in Saudi Arabic, it was not examined in Alrefai's study on favor asking in Kuwaiti Arabic. Another similarity between Saudi Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic favor asking is that the participants in both studies tended to use more direct strategies when they had more social power (+P), and more conventional indirect strategies when they had lower social power than hearers (-P). This shared linguistic behavior can be attributed to the shared politeness standards among Arabic varieties where it is acceptable from someone with higher social rank to directly perform a speech act, while it is expected from someone with lower rank to indirectly perform a speech act. This pattern has been found in Jordanian Arabic requests (Al-Ali and Alawaneh, 2010), Tunisian Arabic apologies (Jebahi, 2011), and Egyptian Arabic refusals (Nelson et al., 2002).

Saudi Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic are similar in terms of the most common modifications to the core favor. Saudi female speakers and Kuwaiti male speakers (Alrefai, 2012) frequently used religious markers (such as "May Allah give you strength") to reduce the imposition of favors being asked. This use of religious markers, either before or after the core favor, is a reference to the shared religion between interlocutors, which reinforces affiliation and group identity. Thus, the hearer's compliance is enhanced. Another similarity between these two varieties of Arabic is the high use of promises of reward, particularly in =P scenarios, which shows that both cultures are based on reciprocity, especially among people of equal power. Saudi female speakers and Kuwaiti male speakers share the same method of appreciating the hearer's compliance with a favor by promising to return the favor one day.

When comparing Saudi Arabic to American English in terms of core strategies used for favor asking, we can see a large difference between the two languages and cultures. Saudi female speakers were mostly direct in favor asking, except in the situations when the imposition was higher, and when they had lower social power than the hearers. In contrast, American English speakers were always indirect in favor asking. However, they tended to be direct when speaking with an intimate, as in husband-wife scenarios (Goldschmidt, 1988; 1989; 1996). This difference could be explained by referring to the different interpretation of negative face in the two cultures. Brown & Levinson (1987) argued that being polite, by respecting the hearer's negative face, requires a person to be indirect. However, this claim has been found to be more Western than universal. The interpretation of negative face in American English, for example, is based on respecting personal autonomy, which requires being indirect. In contrast, the interpretation of negative face in some cultures, including Saudi Arabic, is not based on personal autonomy, but group identity. Thus, performing a direct speech act is not impolite, but it reinforces affiliation and solidarity among group members (Blum-Kulka et al., 1985; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2002; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012; Wierzbicka, 1991). It is noteworthy that the Saudi Arabic and American English studies are different in terms of data collection methods. This study used a

DCT in collecting data, whereas Goldschmidt's studies mostly relied on natural observations. As a result, the differences between SA and AE in terms of favor asking need further research. We do not know if those differences are completely caused by different languages and cultures, or by different methods of data collection.

Saudi Arabic and American English favor asking share similarities and differences in terms of modifications to core favor. Speakers of both varieties showed a tendency to use promises of reward or imply reciprocity when asking favors from equal hearers (Goldschmidt, 1988; 1989; 1996). This tendency across Saudi Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic, and American English of using promises of reward confirms Goldschmidt's identification of reciprocity as a distinctive feature of the speech act of favor asking. Moreover, American English favor asking showed that elaboration increases when the degree of imposition gets higher. However, when comparing the sample responses in the current study with those shown in Goldschmidt's studies, we can see that Saudi Arabic speakers are always elaborate regardless of the degree of imposition. There was no single response in the current study that appeared without any modifications, although Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) considered the use of modifications to be optional. It can also be seen that the kinds and numbers of modifiers used in favor asking in American English was restricted, mostly attention getters, small talk, grounders, appreciation, and promises of rewards. In contrast, Saudi Arabic speakers used a considerable variety of modifications. The elaboration and richness in favor asking in Saudi Arabic is found to be a feature of Arabic discourse in general when compared to English, which is characterized by simplicity (Feghali, 1997; Shouby, 1951). Samovar and Porter (1991) explained that "Where a North American can adequately express an idea in ten words, the Arabic speaker will typically use one hundred words" (p.157). This elaboration and richness of the Arabic language is stereotypically perceived by some speakers of other languages, including American English as "violent, boasting, or insincere" (Zahran, 1995, p.248).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Implications of the Study

The first question that this study attempted to answer is about how favor asking is performed in Saudi Arabic. The data showed that Saudi female speakers preferred direct and conventional indirect core strategies over nonconventional indirect strategies. The most used direct strategy was want statements. Conventional indirect strategies consisted only of query preparatory, whereas nonconventional indirect strategies comprised only strong hints. The participants showed a preference for using modifications in every response, even though their use is considered to be optional (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The most used category of modifications was supportive moves, of which religious markers were the most common in the study.

The second question asked whether degree of imposition, social distance, and social power would affect the performance of favor asking in Saudi Arabic. It was found that degree of imposition and social power had significant effects on core strategies, whereas degree of imposition, social distance, and social power had significant effects on modifications. The participants tended to be more indirect and used fewer modifiers in +I scenarios, while they tended to be more direct and used more modifiers in -I scenarios. In terms of social distance, the respondents chose to be more indirect and used fewer modifications in +D scenarios, whereas they chose to be more direct and used more modifications in -D scenarios. Saudi Arabic female speakers preferred direct core strategies in +P scenarios, and conventional indirect strategies in -P scenarios. Social power did not significantly affect the use of core strategies in only =P scenarios,

as both direct and conventional indirect strategies were similarly preferred. Modifications were significantly the highest in -P scenarios, lower in +P scenarios, and the lowest in =P scenarios.

The directness of favor asking in +P scenarios could be interpreted as impolite by speakers of other languages. However, this language behavior is actually accepted in Saudi Arabic from a person who has a higher social rank. This sensitivity to power differences makes it acceptable for more powerful speakers to ask directly as part of their authority. However, this directness was seen to be softened by the higher use of modifications, particularly when the imposition was high, compared to =P scenarios.

Favor asking in -P scenarios was identified as more conventional indirect. It turned out that it is expected from someone with a lower social power to indirectly ask a favor in Saudi Arabic. It was interpreted as respecting the social rank of the hearer and reducing the imposition of favor, even though it was sometimes lowered. That was similar to other speech acts in different languages. This indirectness was also mirrored by the extensive use of modifications by -P speakers compared to +P and =P speakers.

Favor asking in =P scenarios was alternatively direct and conventional indirect. Saudi Arabic female speakers indirectly asked favors in =P scenarios when the imposition was higher, and the hearer was distant. They tended to be more direct when asking a favor from a friend, particularly when the imposition was low. Unlike other cultures, being direct with relatives and friends was found to indicate solidarity, not impoliteness in Saudi Arabic. This tendency to be direct was reflected in the least use of modifications in these scenarios, compared to +P and -P scenarios.

The third question asked if favor asking in Saudi Arabic is different from that in Kuwaiti Arabic and American English. Although Saudi Arabic favor asking seemed to be more direct than that of Kuwaiti Arabic, both varieties share similar politeness norms in terms of social power. Speakers of Saudi Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic tended to be more direct in +P scenarios, and more indirect in -P scenarios. Both varieties of Arabic showed high usage of modifications of religious

markers and promises of reward. That reflected the impact of the shared religion and similar regional culture, which seemed to be based on reciprocity. When comparing Saudi Arabic favor asking to that of American English, it was found that Saudi Arabic speakers were mostly direct whereas American English speakers were always indirect. The use of modifications was different across the two varieties. American English favor asking was not always accompanied by modifications to the core favor, whereas modifications seemed to be obligatory in Saudi Arabic favor asking. They are also different in terms of the number and type of modifications. Saudi Arabic speakers used a variety of modifications, while American English speakers used a more limited group of modifications. However, both varieties highly used promise of reward in =P scenarios, which implies that reciprocity is a core feature of favor asking.

From a pedagogical perspective, English and Arabic teachers should pay special attention to second language learners in speaking classes. These students come from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds where they perform favor asking differently. This study would help many second language teachers to know the differences and similarities between favor asking in Saudi Arabic and American English. It is hoped that teachers could point out the different patterns of favor asking to students from these two different language backgrounds in terms of directness and appropriateness, in relation to social variables such as degree of imposition, social distance, and social power. This would avoid the miscommunication that occurs between speakers from different backgrounds, since some students transfer their native language linguistic behaviors to the second language they are learning. This could be applied to both Saudi learners of English and American learners of Arabic.

Limitations and Recommendations of the Study

This study had limitations that could suggest topics for future studies. The data were collected using only one method, a DCT. Using a DCT enabled the researcher to collect a large number of responses in a short period of time, and to be consistent by controlling the social variables. However, one might want to enhance the ability to generalize the findings over the

examined population in a study by using another source of data beside the DCT, including follow-up interviews, natural observation. Using an implicit association test (IAT) is also another option. The responses collected using a DCT could be used to construct judgment questions for the IAT test. The participants, for example, would judge different ways of favor asking as acceptable or unacceptable, and present the reasons behind such judgments. It is argued that the participants would react more automatically and quickly to the stimuli in these judgment questions, since they are already associated with certain attitudes in their mind. Thus, more implicit and natural ways of performing favor asking would be tapped.

This study focused only on Saudi Arabic female speakers. It could be replicated with both females and males in order to see if favor asking in Saudi Arabic is different in female-female interactions from that in male-male interactions. One might also examine favor asking in cross-gender interactions. Moreover, further studies should recruit a larger number of respondents in order to be more confident in making generalizations about Saudi Arabic favor asking. Furthermore, this study focused only on degree of imposition, social distance, and social power. This suggests focusing on other possible factors, such as age, education, and occupation.

The study had the goals of examining favor asking in general, and that of Saudi Arabic in particular. However, favor asking still remains the least studied among speech acts, since it has been studied only in American English, Kuwaiti Arabic, Korean, and Saudi Arabic. This suggests further research to strengthen our understanding of favor asking across different languages and cultures. Moreover, research on Arabic speech acts in general, and on Saudi Arabic speech acts specifically, is still evolving. To widen the scope of research on speech acts in Arabic, one might examine other speech acts performed by speakers of other Arabic varieties. Further research should focus on other speech acts in Saudi Arabic as well.

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Appendix A

Appendix B

Email

To the dean of the English department,

My name is Abeer Alqahtani. I am a current master's student in the Linguistics program in Oklahoma State University in the US. I would like to ask you for your permission for collecting data for my master's thesis project. I would like from your students to participate in my study by answering a questionnaire. I would like first to ask four teachers to allow me to enter their classes and distribute the questionnaire.

My area of interest is pragmatics. My project is about the speech act of favor asking in Saudi Arabic. This project would be an attempt to describe this speech act for the first time in the literature. The questionnaire would have situations in which the participants would be asked to write how would they ask a favor. They would be asked to anonymously answer the questionnaire. The only personal information that I need would be age. This study would not be harmful to the participants in any way. The data would not be counted against them.

The department would receive a report of the results of the study. Another copy would be sent to the participating teacher who would allow me to walk in their classes so the students would be informed about the results. This study is approved by the Oklahoma State University institutional review board. The approval is attached to this email.

Regards,
Abeer Alqahtani

Appendix C

The script

My name is Abeer Alqahtani. I am a master's student in the linguistics program in Oklahoma State University in the US. I am here today to collect data for my thesis project. My project is about how Saudi people communicate in their daily conversations. I would like you to answer a questionnaire that consists of 12 situations. Each situation is described for you and your job is to write what would you say in that situation. The answers should be written in Saudi Arabic not Modern Standard Arabic.

I am not asking you to write your names. I just need you to write your age. You should know that by answering this questionnaire, it means that you are allowing me to use this information in my project. You would not be known for your answers. You would not be harmed in any way because of your participation. I would not use it against you. Your professor would not give you any extra grade for answering this questionnaire. I would send a copy of the report of the results to your professor so she could read it for you. Thank you for your participation. I really appreciate it.

Appendix D

DCT in Arabic

استبيان

عزيزتي الطالبة،

أشكرك لمشاركتك في هذا الإستبيان. الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو إلقاء الضوء على أساليب التواصل بين السعوديين في محادثاتهم اليومية. هذه الدراسة مهمة حيث انها تساهم في ايضاح الصورة بشكل أفضل عن دولتنا، المملكة العربية السعودية. الرجاء قراءة المواقف التالية و الإجابة على كل موقف بما ستقولينه كما لو أن ذلك الموقف حصل لك بالفعل. الرجاء الإجابة باللهجة العامية لأن هذه الدراسة ليست مهتمة بدراسة العربية الفصحى. إجاباتك الصادقة ستساهم في إيضاح الصورة أكثر عن المجتمع السعودي. خالص تقديري لمشاركتك و وقتك.

١ تحتاجين خمسة الاف ريال. تبغين تتسلفين من صديقتك مع العلم انك تسلفتي منها من قبل. تضطرين انك تطلبين منها لأنك تعرفين انها الشخص الوحيد اللي تقدر تعطيك هالمبلغ. وش بتقولين لها عشان تطلبين منها ؟

٢ ناويه تحضرين زواج. ماعندك شغاله و ممنوع تاخذين اطفالك معاك.اهلك ساكنين بعيد عنك. تفكرين تتركين اطفالك عند وحده من صديقاتك تنتبه لهم لين تخلصين من الزواج. كيف بتطلبين منها؟ وش بتقولين لها؟

٣ انتي معلمه و بتعطين طالباتك اختبار نهائي. تحتاجين احد يراقب معك بس تلاقين باقي المعلمات عندهم مراقبه. مافيه الا زميلة لك ماعندها مراقبة بس عندها تصحيح كثير. تفكرين تطلبين منها تساعدك بالمراقبة خلال الاختبار لانها الوحيدة اللي تقدر. شلون بتطلبين منها ؟

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٤ عندك عرض باوربوينت بالجامعه. نسيتي لابتوبك بالبيت. الباوربوينت مايفتح الا على لابتوب ابل. تعرفين زميلة معك بالمحاضرة معها لابتوب ابل. تبين تطلبين تستخدمين لابتوبها شوي عشان تعرضين عرضك. كيف بتطلبينه منها؟

٥ انتي استاذة بالجامعة. مشتهيه تشربين قهوه بس محل القهوة بعيد عن مبناك. كانت فيه طالبة جايه عندك تسألك عن شي و فكرتي تعطينها فلوس و تقولين لها تجيب لك. كيف بتقولين لها تشتري لك القهوه؟

٦ انتي استاذة بالجامعة. تحكين مع طالبة لك تقول انها بتروح للمكتبة. تتذكرين ان عندك كتاب مستعيرته انتي من المكتبة و تحتاجين ترجعينه. تفكرين تعطينه للطالبة ترجعه معها. وش بتقولين لها؟

٧ انتي طالبة جامعية و فاتك امتحان. كنتي الوحيدة الغايبه. تعرفين ان الدكتورة ماتقبل أي اعذار. بس تبغين تطلبين منها تكتب لك اختبار بديل لأن معدلك منخفض و محتاجه لدرجة هالإمتحان. تتذكرين بعد ان الدكتورة عندها مؤتمر بتشارك فيه في نهاية نفس الأسبوع. شلون بتطلبين منها تكتب لك امتحان بديل في ظل هذه الظروف؟

٨ المفروض انك تسلمين بحث لأستاذتك اليوم بس ماتقدرين. الاستاذة تنقص درجتين عن كل يوم تأخير. تفكرين تقولين للأستاذة انك حابه تتأخرين بتسليم الورقة لبكره بس بدون خصم درجتين. شلون بتطلبين منها؟

٩ أنتي ام لولد متزوج و عنده ثلاث اطفال. هالولد عايش بعيد عنكم بنفس المدينة. تتذكرين كيف يعلق بزحمة الشوارع اذا يبغى يجيبك. بس تبغين تطلبين منه يجي يوديك للسوق لأنك محتاجه اغراض ضروري هالأسبوع. كيف بتقولين له؟

١٠ عندك ولد كل ليلة يطلع يشوف اصحابه في شقة يملكونها مجموعة هالشباب. تشوفينه طالع بيروح لهم عشان يشوفون مباراة كوره مهمة. تبغين تطلبين منه يجيب لكم عشا قبل مايروح. كيف بتطلبين منه؟

١١ عندك مؤتمر بتحضرينه في دبي. تحتاجين احد تتركين عنده أطفالك ينتبه لهم لمدة ثلاث أيام لأنك ماتقدرين تاخذينهم معك. تفكرين تطلبين من أمك مع العلم انها موظفه بعد. وش بتقولين لها؟

١٢ ماتعرفين تطبخين. بتجيك وحده من صاحباتك الليلة تزورك. صديقتك هاذي ماتحب أكل المطاعم. تفكرين تطلبين من امك تطبخ لكم عشا. كيف بتطلبين من أمك؟

العمر: ....

Appendix E

Translation of the DCT in English

Dear student,

Thank you for participating in this study. The purpose of this study is to shed light on how Saudi people communicate in their daily conversations. This study is important, since it would help provide a better understanding of our country, Saudi Arabia. Read the following situations and answer with what you would say if each situation really happened to you. Please answer in your dialect of Saudi Arabic because this study is not investigating modern Arabic. Your sincere answers would help to provide a more accurate picture of Saudi community. Your time and help is appreciated.

1. You want to ask a friend of yours to lend you 5000 riyals. Although this would be the second time you asked your friend for money, you would ask him/her for help anyway. How would you ask your friend?

2. You are planning to attend a wedding. You don't have a nanny and you cannot take your kids with you because it is not allowed. You need to ask a friend of yours to take care of your kids while you are gone for the whole night. What would you say to that friend?

3. You are a teacher. You are going to give your students a final exam. You need to ask someone to help you proctor during the exam. You only find a colleague teacher, but she is stuck with a pile of papers to correct. You would ask her anyway because the rest of the teachers are proctoring other exams. How would you ask her?

4. You have a presentation in class. You forgot your laptop and your Power Point file is accessible only by a Mac laptop. You know a colleague in class who has a Mac laptop. You are thinking of asking her if you could use it to present in class. What would you say to her?

5. You are a university professor. You need a coffee but the coffee shop on campus is very far from your office. You are talking to a student of yours and you are thinking of asking her to go to that coffee shop. How would you give her the money and ask her to go buy you coffee?

6. You are a university professor. You are talking to a student of yours who is saying she is going to the library. You remember that you need to return a book. You think of giving her that book to return to the library. How would you ask her to do so?

7. You are a student and you missed an exam. You are the only one who missed it. You know that your professor does not accept any excuses. You need to ask her to write a makeup exam for you because your total grade is too low. You know also that she is busy because she is going to a conference at the end of the same week. What would you say to her?

8. You are supposed to submit a paper to your professor today. You cannot meet this deadline. Your professor is going to deduct two points for each day you postpone the submission. You are thinking of asking her if you could submit it tomorrow without deducting points. How would you ask her?

9. You are a mother of a married son who has three kids. He lives on the other side of the city. You know he is busy most times. You remember that he would be caught in traffic before he would reach you. However, you need to ask him to give you a ride to the mall because there is shopping that needs to be done this week. How would you ask him?

10. You have a son who is used to seeing his friends every night. They rent an apartment where they hang out together. You see him going to them to see a soccer game. You need to ask him to buy dinner before he goes to his friends. What would you say to him?

11. You have a conference that you need to attend in Dubai. You need someone to take care of your children while you are gone for three days. You are thinking of asking your mother, who also has a job, to take care of your children. What would you say to her?

12. You don't know how to cook. You are going to have a friend over for the night. This friend does not eat out. You are thinking of asking your mother to cook something for both of you. How would you ask her?

Age:

VITA

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