

Iraqi Tribal Disputes: A Sociopragmatic Study

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Abstract:

This work investigates the general politeness strategies (henceforth GSP), as proposed by Leech (2014), used in the Iraqi tribal disputes, in particular, the southern region. It shows that these strategies help resolve serious cases, resulted from murder, armed assault or honour issues, among tribes. This paper is based on the information obtained from 15 interviews held with 15 tribal leaders and spokesmen from different tribes. These participants were later asked to choose clauses of maxims in a questionnaire devised by the researcher that judge the potential compatibility of the 10 maxims under the umbrella of the GSP. Further, their ticks helped decide the degree of effectiveness of each maxim in attenuating the face of the afflicted party. The results of this study show that all the 10 maxims are applied and widely used in the Iraqi tribal contexts; though the degree of effect is different. The findings also entail that the positive politeness strategies overwhelmed the negative ones which do not correspond with Leech's study subject as a result of traditional, cultural, and attitudinal differences between the Iraqi and European societies. This, in turn, ensures that the Iraqi tribal context is an object-oriented community rather than being speaker-oriented one.

النزاعات العشائرية العراقية: دراسة اجتماعية تداولية

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الملخص:-

تناول البحث الاستراتيجيات العامة للكياسة، التي وضعها العالم ليتش (٢٠١٤)، ومحاولة تطبيقها على النزاعات العشائرية الحاصلة في جنوبي العراق بشكل خاص. يوضح البحث أن هذه الاستراتيجيات تسهم في حل المشاكل المعقدة التي تنشأ بين العشائر مثل السرقات أو السطو المسلح أو القضايا المتعلقة بالشرف. وقد استند البحث إلى معلومات استقاها الباحث من خمس عشرة مقابلة أجريت مع خمسة عشر شيخاً ومتحدثاً من شيوخ عشائر الجنوب المختلفة. حيث طلب من هؤلاء المشاركين أن يقوموا باختيار فقرات معينة ضمن مجموعة من الخيارات في استبيان أعده الباحث والذي تمكن من خلاله اختبار مدى تطابق هذه الاستراتيجيات من عدمها في سياق حل النزاعات العشائرية العراقية. فضلاً عن ذلك، فإن الاختيارات التي قام بها المشاركون أسهمت في معرفة درجة تأثير كل من هذه الاستراتيجيات على حده في التخفيف من حدة الضرر الناتج على الطرف المتضرر. وتشير نتائج هذه الدراسة إلى أن جميع الاستراتيجيات العشرية يمكن تطبيقها بشكل واسع على السياق العشائري العراقي على الرغم من تباين درجات تأثيرها. كما تشير النتائج أيضاً إلى أن استعمال استراتيجيات الكياسة الإيجابية قد تغلبت على استعمال نظيراتها السلبية التي بدورها لا تتطابق مع موضوع دراسة العالم ليتش ويعود ذلك إلى اختلاف التقاليد والثقافات والسلوكيات الكامنة بين المجتمع الشرقي والغربي، والذي بدوره بين أن المجتمع العشائري العراقي يهتم بالأشياء والموضوعات أكثر من اهتمامه بالمتكلم .

1. Introduction

Iraqi tribal clashes and disputes are not new to the society. Tribal authority becomes stronger when a state is weak. In Iraq, when the ex-regime fell, this influence has increased following 2003. Tribal communities have their own regulations which are derived from their traditions, developed gradually into social standards and are effective in setting many in-group conflicts. This paper exploits the strategies that are commonly used in the tribal communities when resolving problems between the conflicting tribes.

In the present paper, the researcher will underpin the spoken utterances, under the umbrella of politeness strategies commonly used in the Iraqi tribal contexts. The strategies under discussion are these almost tackled by the perpetrator's tribe(s) to mitigate the negative face of the afflicted tribe(s).

Politeness in language is a promising research topic for linguists ever since the seminal work of Goffman (1963), Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987) among many. These pioneers inspired researchers in sociolinguistics, pragmatics, conversation analysis, etc. to study the complete relationship between politeness and language.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) pointed out that interlocutors share the basic face wants. Therefore, when people interact, they need to be aware of both faces and thus they have a choice between two types of politeness: Positive Politeness and Negative Politeness. "Positive politeness is a redressive action directed to the addressee's positive face. Negative politeness is a "redressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face" (Brown and Levinson's, 1987: 61).

The term 'sociopragmatics' was first coined by Leech (1983) as an aspect of communication which plays an important role for both the speaker and the hearer. This view is in harmony with Holtgrave (2002:46) who states " the essence of positive politeness is the

staking of a claim for some degree of familiarity with one's interlocutor. It is thus the language of intimacy". Kasper and Rose (2002) went further to look at sociopragmatics as the interface of sociology and pragmatics and refer to the social perceptions underlying participants' interpretation and performance of communicative action". In sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, politeness strategies are mainly functioned to minimize threats to the speaker by maximizing the value of the hearer. Positive politeness strategies, on the one hand, are intended to avoid giving offense to the hearer through various communicative acts like offers, invitations, promises, compliments, etc. Negative politeness strategies, on the other, are intended to avoid the imposition on the hearer, using distancing styles like apologies, permission to ask for something, hesitation, request, etc.

2.Aim of the Study

This study aims to examine the degree of compatibility of Leech's (2014) (GSP) in the Iraqi tribal context. Given that this area has not been examined in the Iraqi contexts so far, it generates the researcher's interest to compile these maxims, which will be detailed later, with the Iraqi tribal disputes. Moreover, the paper is intended to fill the gap in the area of sociopragmatics by offering researchers a room to bridge comparable areas in the very field when exploring Iraqi or another tribal context.

3.Literature Review

This section touches upon the model adopted in this paper. A subsection will address the recent studies related to the theme of the current paper where other studies which have used the same model will be conducted in a successive subsection as well.

The model counts for ten maxims to investigate how high value and low value could be alternatively expressed in different ways. Leech (2014) looked at politeness as that type of behaviour which

permits the participants to engage in a relatively harmonic social interaction. He used two terms to describe two illocutionary acts: 'assertive' to call representatives, and 'impositives' to call directives. In his model, Leech enclosed each maxim with a sub-maxim to indicate that these sub-maxims are less important than the main ones. For example, 'Tact' maxim influences our speech act more powerfully than 'Generosity' does. In the same vein, 'Approbation' is more powerful than 'Modesty'. But, all the maxims support the idea that negative politeness, when seeking avoidance of disagreement, is more important than positive politeness when seeking agreement. Leech proceeded to add that negative politeness can take different forms when mitigating an imposition: hedging, pessimism, indicating deference, apology, and impersonation.

Earlier, Lakoff (1973) suggested three politeness rules: 'Don't impose', 'Give options', and 'Make a feel of good-be friendly'. She based her proposals on Grice and began her modern study of politeness from a pragmatic interpretation. Later in (1990), she aligned her view of politeness to come up with three quite different rules: 'Distance', 'Deference', and 'Camaraderie', believing that these three latter alternatives have had different degrees of importance as their close relatedness to culture.

Brown and Levinson (1987) built their view of politeness on Grice foundation. They articulated their theory of politeness from a social conduct, particularly the concept of 'Face'. Their major focus was on Face-Threatening-Acts (henceforth FTAs), as well as the strategies that mitigate the risk of face threat. They included options of utterances locuted by the speaker (S) to increase the potentiality of the hearer's (H) positive face, and to decrease the potentiality of the H's negative face by extenuating the force of imposition.

Gu (1990) argued that the Gricean politeness theory needs to account for traditions and practices of politeness (PP), basing this view on the Chinese society. For Chinese, the PP is regarded as a “sanction belief that an individual’s behaviour ought to live up the expectations of respectfulness’s modesty, attitudinal warmth, and refinement” (Gu,1990:245). He further proposes four politeness maxims: Self-denigration, Address, Tact, and Generosity as well as the “Balance Principle by which the favours done by the addressers and are balanced by the favours of the addressees (as cited in Leech, 2014:35). Later in (1997), GU proposed “a three-tier process of goal-oriented linguistic activity: goal development analysis, talk exchange development analysis, and interpersonal management analysis” (as cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2008:95).

Stein, et al. (1995) delved into the ways in which people have dispute and different opinions during an argument associated with different outcomes. They further divided interlocutors into three categories: win-lose, standoff, and compromiser. Their major conclusion focused on compromiser without whom settlement between two conflicting parties would probably be to no avail.

Shehadeh (2017) investigated politeness strategies of provisional agreement document in Jordanian context. His study shows that several politeness strategies help resolve disputes between conflicting parties. The study also reflects that politeness is not meant only to strengthen communication between people; however, it underpins and catalogues the relationship between interlocutors when situations are doomed to be tragic, in particular murder or accidents.

4.Methodology

The study investigates the influence of the speeches of the perpetrator’s tribe spokesmen to mitigate the negative face of the afflicted party. This section is devoted to covering the research

design which frames the approach of this paper. It also includes the research questions which address a particular gap that is needed to be met. It further gives a detailed account of the participants involved in this study.

This paper is quantitative in nature in which structured interviews were held with the participants who were asked a number of questions designed by the researcher. Payne and Payne (2004:180) state “quantitative methods (normally using deductive logic) seek regularities in human lives, by separating the social world into empirical components called variables which can be represented numerically as frequencies or rate.

The researcher designed a questionnaire that consists of 10 statements with 5 options for each (Appendix 1). The participants were required to tick one single option, relying on their experience in negotiating and dealing with the study subject. Retroactively, these statements and options were translated into Arabic (Appendix2) since not all of the participants are able to understand English.

4.1 Research Questions

The researcher initiated a number of questions to the participants during the interviews so as to match their answers with the involved model of this study. This process aims to meet the research questions in terms of compatibility, testability, and applicability to the Iraqi social context. These questions are centered on:

1. Are Leech's (2014) maxims of politeness compatible with the Iraqi tribal context?
2. Are Leech's (2014) politeness strategies effective in solving the Iraqi tribal disputes and lowering the weight of the negative face of the afflicted tribes?

4.2 Participants

The participants in this study are 15 males, between 32 and 65 years. Three of them have never joined schools; six were graduated from secondary schools, and the rest were graduated from colleges. They are all Muslims descending from various southern Iraqi provinces (Basrah, Maysan, and Dhi-Qar). Fifteen tribes were involved in this study. Ten tribal leaders were interviewed and 5 spokesmen, who do not belong to these tribes, participated in the current research. The majority of the participants occupy different governmental, educational and free-lance careers. The basic reason for choosing these tribes is due to their representation of the biggest and most well-known tribes in the southern region of Iraq who share the same norms, traditions, and tribal laws. Hence, they speak for thousands of people in terms of representation before other tribes, defense when disputes take place, and protection from any potential actions against them.

4.3 Procedures

This work is based on analysing the politeness strategies commonly used by the aforementioned participants when mitigating the negative face on the part of the victim's tribe resulted from murder, that causes serious injuries and hurts, issues of honor, armed attack, robberies, etc.

Fifteen interviews held with tribal leaders, spokesmen, and mediators will be investigated and analysed in terms of degree of effectiveness of the politeness strategies used by them, and compatibility with the maxims proposed by Leech (2014). Time of interviews ranged from 100-130 minutes for each, depending on the participant's experience and eloquence.

To mathematically measure up the percentages of the clauses of the proposed maxims, the findings will be put in tables and figures to facilitate the process of discussion. Leech (2014) used 'odd

numbers' to refer to the positive politeness maxims and 'even numbers' go to the negative politeness ones. The reason is to show the difference between the S-O, and O- S orientation in a given speech act. Akin to this, the researcher split the ten maxims into two groups illustrated in two tables for the purpose of clarification and logical flow of discussion.

Zero is given to indicate that a clause of a maxim is 'not effective', 1 to 'somewhat effective, 2 to 'effective', 3 to 'very effective', and 4 to 'extremely effective'.

After the interviews, the participants will be asked to choose a number corresponding to the degree of effectiveness for each maxim. The numbers will be summed up and the total number will indicate the degree of that specific maxim. Finally, the total numbers will be transferred into percentages to show the effectiveness of each maxim.

4.4 Definition of the Maxims

This subsection is devoted to exploiting the ten maxims proposed by Leech (2014), supported with some examples, among many, extracted from the interviews held with the tribal leaders. For the clarification purpose, these examples were co-translated into English by the researcher and a specialist in the very field who holds an M.A in Translation and is presently working for BP Company/Business Support Dept (BSD). Then, they were transcribed, using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) <http://ipatypeit.org>.

(M1) give a high value to O's wants (Generosity Maxim)

(O) is used here to refer to Other. As a maxim of generosity, it focuses mainly on the speaker's behaviour where others should be put first instead of the self. Offers, invitations, and promises resemble the rubrics of this maxim in any given social context.

انتم أمرؤ بلي تريدونه وإحنا خدام. إحنا جايين للصالح وما يصير خاطرکم إلا طيب.

- /ʔintum ʔəmru bili tri:du:nə wiħnə xiddam, ʔiħnə dʒa:ji:n lilsilih ʔu maiʃi:r xa:tirkum ʔilə ʔeib/

- We do whatever you want, we are coming for reconciliation and do not be annoyed.

(M2) give a low value to S's wants (Tact Maxim)

The tact maxim is very prominent in softening the Hearer's (H) negative face and mitigating the S's impositions on others. It can be illustrated by indirect, tentative requests, giving H an opportunity to refuse.

كل إلي تكوله صح وإحنا بخدمتكم، انتو فصلوا وإحنا و الله وصى بالسستر وهاي الناس الخيرة جاية ترضيكم وترضي الله سبحانه وتعالى.

- /kilillitgu:lə ʃəħ wiħnə bxidmetkum, ʔintu feʃilʊ wiħnə wella weʃə bilsitiruhaiilna:s ilxeirə dʒaijə tirði:kum ʊ turdi ʔellə subħa:nə wə taʔa:lə/

- Whatever you say is correct and we are at your service. You decide, we implement and Allah commanded to preserve chastity. These good people are coming to satisfy you and Allah.

(M3) give a high value to O's qualities (Approbation Maxim)

Approbation maxim is preferably used to praise Os. It is a combination of two activities: to avoid disagreement from the H, and make them feel good by showing solidarity:

إحنا طمعانيين بكرم وكرم أهلكم وأجدادكم الطيبين أهل الحظ والبخت والي مايردون واحد يدك بابهم.

- /ʔiħnə ʔəmʃa:ni:n ibkerΛmkum ʔu kerΛm ʔhelkum wedʒda:dkum ilteibi:n ʔehel ilħe^ð wilbexetwilli ma: jerdu:n waħid idig ba:bħom/

- We are eager for your kindness and the kindness of your good grandparents who are well known for their wisdom and insight, and who never reject anybody asking for help.

(M4) give a low value to S's qualities (Modesty Maxim)

Contrary to the above, modesty maxim stresses on self-deprecation which is often seen polite since it elicits a denial from the H. In

other words, the Speaker (S) maximizes dispraise of self in an attempt to attenuate the negative face of O which is by the end the ultimate objective of the S.

ابنا باطل لعنة الله عليه واهله ماكدر و عليه يا خالي لانهم ناس فقرة و على كد حالهم
وماعدهم احد غير الله، واحنا واهلها بشار بكم وانتم بكيفكم.

- /ʔibinnə baʔil leʔnet ellə ʕeleeh wehlə ma: gidrəu ʕeleeh jaxali
liʔenhum na:s fuqrə u ʕelə ged ha:lhum u ma: ʕidhum ʔeħed geer
ʔellə, wihnə wehelhə ʔibʕa:ribkum wintum ibkeefkum/

- My dear, our damned son is mistaken and his family could not control him because they are unfortunate people and they have no one to assist them except Allah. We and his family are at your disposal and you decide on this matter.

(M5) give a high value to S's obligation to O (Obligation of S to O Maxim)

An apology is mainly used in polite speech events to promote the S's obligation to O. It is frequently used with intensifiers and downgraders to soften the force of the S's fault accompanied by "confession or admission of responsibility for the fault" (Leech, 2014:116).

والله يا عمي حتى ما نعرف شنو نكول. الي سواه هذا النذل ما يلبس عليه ثوب بس الله
سبحانه وتعالى ورسوله وأهل بيته الكرام وصوا بالعفو عند المقدرة وانتم ناس مؤمنين
وعشما بيكم جبير.

- /wellə ja: ʕemmi ɬetə ma: nuʕruf ʕunun gu:l. ʔilli sewa:h haðəl
neðil bes ʔellə subha:nə wə teʕa:la: ʔu resu:lə wehel beetəl kira:m
weʕəu bilʕefu ʕind ilmeqdirə wintumna:s muʔmini:n ʔu ʕeʕemnə
bi:kum ʔʕibi:r/

- In fact, we do not know what to say; what this mean son has done is very shameful; but you know the Almighty Allah and his Prophet Mohammad and his progeny commanded to resort to forgiveness,

and you are devoted to religion. People and we expect the best things from your side.

(M6) give a low value to O's obligation to S (Obligation of O to S Maxim)

This maxim accounts for the positive responses from the H. Such responses are seen as a point of strength to empathize with the S and to show generosity as well.

فضلكم هذا ما ينكره بس ابن الحرام والعفو والسماح من أخلاق الإسلام وانتم ناس محبين وموالين لأهل البيت عليهم السلام وتمشون على نهجهم لا محال.

- /feḍulkum ha:ðə ma: jinkirə bes ʔibnil ʔera:m wilsema:h min ʔxlaq ilʔislam wintumna:s muḥibi:n ʔu mua:li:n lehlil beet ʔeleihum ilsela:m ʔu timʃu:n ʔelə nehidʒhom la: muḥa:l/

- No one may disregard your favour except the mean people, and forgiveness and tolerance are essential merits in Islam and you devoted followers to the progeny [of the Prophet] and you follow their track of course.

(M7) give a high value to O's opinion (Agreement Maxim)

This maxim runs as minimizing disagreement between self (S) and O; and maximizing the agreement between S and O. In other words, the S seeks agreement and avoids disagreement with the H.

كل كلامك صحيح وماكو ثنين يختلفون عليه وما يصير خاطرك وخاطر الجماعة الا طيب. سالفة نطلع منا وأنت ما راضي ولا يهونون الجماعة هاي مستحيل.

- /kilkela:mek seḥi:h ʔu ma:ku ʔiθneen jixtelfu:n ʔeleeh ʔu mai ʃi:r xa:trek ʔu xaṭir ildʒemaʃ ə ʔilləteiib. sa:lfə niṭleʃ mina: wintə ma: raḍi welai hu:nu:n ildʒema:ʃə hai: musteḥi:l/

- All that you have said is correct and it is something indisputable and we act as you like. Never think we may allow you to leave us unhappy.

(M8) give a low value to S's opinion (Opinion-Reticence Maxim)

When tackling this strategy, the S consults and defers the H's opinion by showing greater understanding of what they say. The S has no room to forcefully express themselves in a way that may offend the H which will imply the latter's negative face.

نعم نعم مثل ماتفضلات شيخنا والي تكوله سيف على ركابنه. إحنا جاييكم للستر ونريد نلم الموضوع وإحنا نرضيكم بلي تأمرون بي.

- /neʕem neʕem miθil ma:t feðelit ʃeexnə wilitgu:lə seef ʕelə riga:bnə. ʔihənə dʒa:ji:kumlilsitirwinri:d ʔinlim ilməuðu:ʕ wiħnə nurði:kumbilli tuʔmuru:n bi:/

- Yes, yes as you have just said and what you say will be implemented fully. We are coming here for purpose of chastity and we want to settle this issue. We will give you whatever you want.

(M9) give a high value to O's feelings (Sympathy Maxim)

Offering commiseration and expressing condolences have their positive impact to mitigate the S's fault and offense. These tactics, very frequently, bridge the gaps between the disputed parties and attend to the H's interests and wants.

الي راح ماراح بس منكم كفيك العباس راح من جيسنا واحنا خسرناه متلكم. نسال الله ان يصبركم ويصبر اهله ومثواه الجنة ان شاء الله.

- /ʔilli ra:h ma: ra:h besminkumkefi:lek il ʕebbas ra:h min ʔfi:snə wiħnə xisrnah miθilkum. nesʔel ʔellə ʔen jiseburkum wiʕebbur ʔehlə ʔu meθwa:h ildʒennə ʔin ʃa:ʔ ʔlla:h/

- The loss was not only from you; believe me, it was from us also. We ask Allah to grant you and his family patience and to make him rest in Paradise.

(M10) give a low value to S's feelings (Feeling- Reticence Maxim)

This maxim corresponds with giving the S a low value on their feelings. They should covertly show regret and sympathize with the

H's lost. In other words, “ it appears that in English one shouldn't admit that one is feeling too bad” (Brown and Levinson, 1978:240)

الكول كولكم خالي والي يجري علينا نستاهله والوادم إلي جاية اليوم على فراشكم جاين ووياهم حزنهم. لا الفلوس ولا الدنيا كلها تعوض إلي راح والي يجري على xxx يستاهله ويطبه ألف طوب.

- /ʔil gɔ:l gɔ:l kum xa:li willi jedzri ʕeleenə nista:hlə wilwa:dim ʔilli dʒa:jəl jɔ:m ʕelə fra:ʃkum ʔu weia:hum ɰizinhom. la: liflu:s welal dinjə kilhə tʕəuwud ʔilli ra:h willi jidzri ʕelə xxxxxjista:hlə wi ʔubə ʔelif ʔɔ:b/

- The orders are yours and it serves us right. The people are coming to you accompanied with their sorrow. Neither money nor the whole world may compensate what is lost and what befalls xxxxx is deserved by him.

5.Data Collection

The data collected were analysed using ‘content analysis’ based on Leech’s GSP (2014). Nartey (2013:122) states:

Content analysis is a key methodological apparatus that enables researchers to understand the process and character of social life and to arrive at a meaning, and it facilitates the understanding of the types, characters and organizational aspects of documents as social products in their own right as well as what they claim.

The data used in this study were collected from structured interviews held with the participants mentioned earlier. This type of interviews, on the one hand, allowed the researcher to define the areas of the research to be explored. On the other, it provided the participants with keys on what to talk about when responding to the questions organized by the researcher after getting their approval to do so. A mobile software (Voice Memos) was used to record and save the data derived from the interviewees in question. To ensure

the authenticity of these data, all the participants permitted the researcher to subjugate the records in this research project.

The interviews were conducted in separate sessions through private meetings with the tribal leaders. They were later assured that their responses to the questionnaire would be kept confidential and used for the sole purpose of the research. In addition, the participants were given the choice to either accept or decline to participate. Two of them declined to participate due to lack of time, while the rest were happy to cooperate.

3.2 Results and Discussions

This subsection shows the results that answer the research questions, along with detailed discussions of the obtained findings. To start with, the following table shows the distribution of Leech's maxims gained from the interviews held with the tribal leaders:

Table (1): The distribution of Leech's maxims

	Not effective	Somewhat effective	Effective	Very effective	Extremely effective
(M1) Give a high value to O's wants	0	0	0	6	9
(M2) Give a low value to S's wants	3	3	3	6	0
(M3) Give a high value to O's qualities	0	3	3	6	3
(M4) Give a low value to S's qualities	6	6	3	0	0
(M5) Give a high value to S's obligation to O	0	0	0	6	9
(M6) Give a low value to O's obligation to S	3	3	3	6	0
(M7) Give a high value to O's opinion	0	0	6	6	3
(M8) Give a low value to S's opinion	9	3	3	0	0
(M9) Give a high value to O's feelings	0	3	3	9	0
(M10) Give a low value to S's feelings	6	6	3	0	0

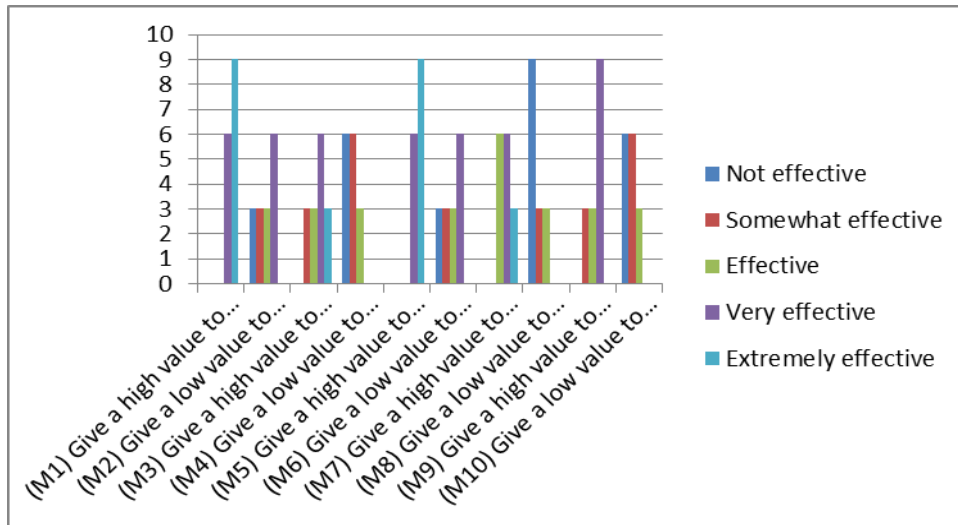


Figure (1): The distribution of Leech's maxims

Table 1 and figure 1 show the distribution of the 10 maxims proposed by Leech (2014) in the Iraqi tribal context. The results shown above were based on the tribal leader's responses to the questionnaire designed by the researcher. The above table and figure also show the degree of effectiveness of each maxim in attenuating the negative face of the afflicted party.

Clear is the use of these strategies in the study subject context, in that there was no maxim left unattended through the negotiation between the disputed tribes. This brings us closer to answer to the research question/1 "Are Leech's (2014) maxims of politeness compatible with the Iraqi tribal context?". Positively, the collected data showed that Leech's (2014) maxims were compatible with the Iraqi tribal context. It is worthy to mention that the participants varied in their responses to the degree of effectiveness of the proposed maxims. However, all of them asserted that they did take advantage of these maxims as strategies in their attempt to reconcile the conflicting tribes.

The following table and figure show the points that each maxim gained and the percentage of effectiveness of each one manifested in the Iraqi tribal contexts:

Table (2) The points and the percentages of the effectiveness of the

Maxims	Points for each maxim	Percentage of effectiveness
(M1) Give a high value to O's wants	54	90%
(M2) Give a low value to S's wants	27	45%
(M3) Give a high value to O's qualities	39	65%
(M4) Give a low value to S's qualities	12	20%
(M5) Give a high value to S's obligation to O	54	90%
(M6) Give a low value to O's obligation to S	27	45%
(M7) Give a high value to O's opinion	42	70%
(M8) Give a low value to S's opinion	09	15%
(M9) Give a high value to O's feelings	36	60%
(M10) Give a low value to S's feelings	12	20%

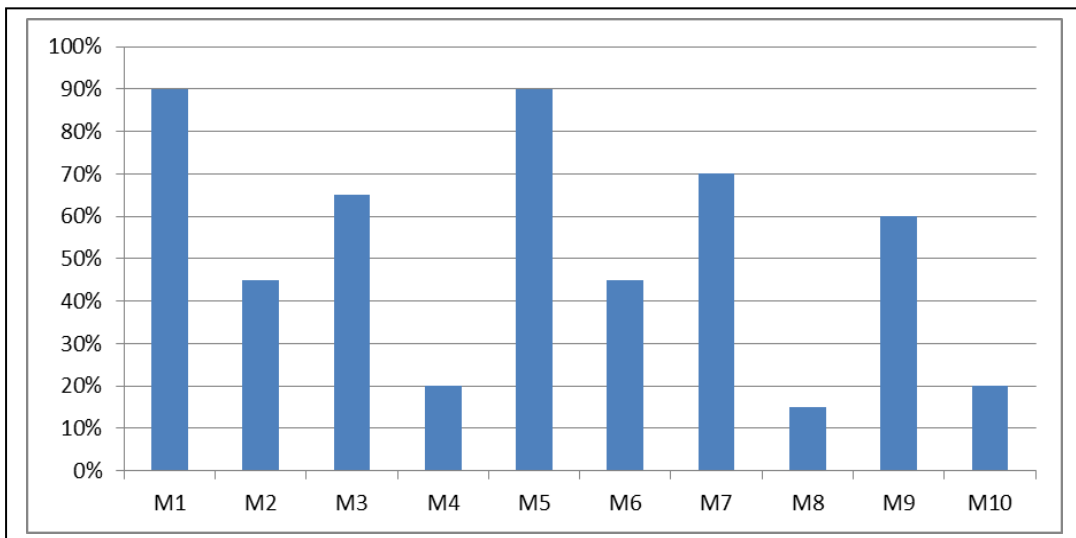


Figure (2) The points and the percentages of the effectiveness of the maxims

The results shown in table 2 and figure 2 pinpointed the variant points of the maxims which, in turn, led to the difference in the percentage of each. Clear enough is the high percentage of M1 and M5 compared to the low percentage of maxim 8, whereas the rest of

the maxims were also varied in their degree of effectiveness as well. This indicates that these maxims had different contributions to mitigating the negative face of the afflicted tribe. Therefore, the gap seen between the aforementioned maxims answered the research question/2 “*Are the politeness strategies, as proposed by Leech (2014), different in their effect in solving the Iraqi tribal disputes and lowering the weight of the negative face of the afflicted tribe?*”. By all means, each maxim or a pair of maxims had a positive contribution, though different, in lowering the weight of S’s fault and could put an end to the corresponding arguments or disputes between the conflicting parties.

To make things clearer, the researcher split the 10 maxims into two separate tables: table 3 includes the results of the positive politeness maxims, while table 4 contains the results of negative politeness maxims along the interviews held with the participants.

Table (3) The results of the positive politeness maxims

POSITIVE POLITENESS	Not effective	Somewhat effective	Effective	Very effective	Extremely effective	Percentage of effectiveness
(M1) Give a high value to O’s wants	0	0	0	6	9	90%
(M3) Give a high value to O’s qualities	0	3	3	6	3	65%
(M5) Give a high value to S’s obligation to O	0	0	0	6	9	90%
(M7) Give a high value to O’s opinion	0	0	6	6	3	70%
(M9) Give a high value to O’s	0	3	3	9	0	60%

Table 3 shows that M1 and M5 occupied the highest position in the genre of this piece of work as seen by the points they got (see table 2). The table also displays that both maxims are 90% effective in the Iraqi tribal context. Therefore, these maxims are strongly

influential strategies when trying to resolve the tribes' conflicts. M1 and M5 are under the umbrella of positive politeness. The findings result in a prominent understanding of the role of politeness strategy in softening the disputes that are arisen between tribes, particularly in cases of murder. Evidently, they were seen as decisive strategies in persuading the afflicted tribes during the negotiation between the two parties.

As a positive politeness strategy, Leech views M1 is used to maximize the value to O's wants. It is centered on the S's ability to be successful in prevailing the O to accept the former's desired actions. In the same vein, M5 works on maximizing the value of S's obligation to O. This maxim focuses on expressions of gratitude and apologetic forms since they act at giving high importance to S's fault and obligation to O (2014)

Table 3 shows that zero participants chose 'not effective' neither 'somewhat effective' nor was 'effective' to M1. On the contrary, six of them went to 'effective', and nine were with 'extremely effective'. Similarly, no participant considered M5 as being 'not effective', 'somewhat effective' or even 'effective' when running the dialogues with the counter tribe. However, six of them chose M5 as being 'very effective' and nine viewed it 'extremely effective'.

These findings indicate that M1 and M5 are highly prominent and strongly adoptive in the Iraqi tribal negotiations. To put it differently, the domains of Generosity and Obligation are very effective in lessening the negative face of the O. This is why the Iraqi tribal leaders almost tend to tackle them in persuading the afflicted tribes since the results are almost fruitful in the context of the present study.

M7, M3, and M9 were consecutively effective in the Iraqi tribal context, but to a lower extent compared to M1 and M5. The

difference between every two maxims is very slight; M7 obtained 42 points and scores 70%, M3 got 39 points with 65%, while M9 acquired 36 points to show only 60% (see table 2).

Table 3 shows that no participant voted for 'not effective' and 'somewhat effective' to M7. Six of them chose 'effective', and the other six believed that M7 is very effective, while the rest went to 'extremely effective'. The above table also demonstrates that M3 had lesser scores than M7. Zero participants viewed M3 as being 'not effective'. Six of them went to see the current maxim as 'somewhat effective'. Three participants thought that M3 was 'very effective', and none of them chose 'extremely effective'. As far as M9 is concerned, Table 3 illustrates that it is the least one among the five positive politeness strategies. It is made clear that none of the study subjects saw M9 as being 'not effective'. Further, three of them chose 'somewhat effective'; other three went to find the same maxim as 'effective', nine participants indicated that M9 is 'very effective', while none chose 'extremely effective'. In spite of their effect, Agreement maxim, Approbation maxim, and Sympathy maxim are proved to be less influential in dealing with the previously mentioned tribal issues compared to Generosity and Obligation of S to O maxims. Table 4 presents the results of the negative politeness strategies that resemble the participants' responses to the questionnaire devised

Table (4) The results of the positive politeness maxims

NEGATIVE POLITENESS	Not effective	Somewhat effective	Effective	Very effective	Extremely effective	Percentage of effectiveness
(M2) Give a low value to S's wants	3	3	3	6	0	45%
(M4) Give a low value to S's qualities	6	6	3	0	0	20%
(M6) Give a low value to O's obligation to S	3	3	3	6	0	45%
(M8) Give a low value to S's opinion	9	3	3	0	0	15%
(M10) Give a low value to S's feelings	6	6	3	0	0	20%

Table 4 displays that the highest negative politeness maxims in the Iraqi tribal context are M2 and M6 as revealed by the points they got (see table 2) and the percentages of their effectiveness (45%). Both of them recorded equal results, in that three participants believed that these two maxims were 'not effective' in lowering the weight of the opponent's negative face. The same number went to choose 'somewhat effective' and 'effective' for M2 and M6. The last six participants responded to both maxims as being 'very effective'. Based on the percentages shown in table 4, it can be stated that the Tact maxim and Obligation of O to S maxim take up the highest two negative strategies implemented in the current study genre.

Table 4 also shows that M4 and M10 are proved to be lesser in their effect than the ones mentioned above. This gives the impression that the latter pair of maxims is less helpful than the former in fulfilling the O's wants as indicated by the points they obtained (see table 2) and the percentages of their effectiveness (20 %). Six tribal leaders and spokesmen voted for M4 and M10 'not effective' and 'somewhat effective' while only three of them believed that these maxims were 'effective'. Thus, Modesty maxim and Feeling-Reticence maxim are less frequently attempted due to their moderate influence in mitigating the O's negative face.

The remaining one is the M8. Table 4 shows that this maxim is not believed to be able to fulfill the S's ultimate objectives in convincing their counterpart. Six participants viewed it to be 'not effective'. Other six found it 'somewhat effective, and only three chose 'effective' in the Iraqi tribal context (see table 2). The percentage it got was (15%). This signifies that Opinion-Reticence maxim is the least negative strategy tackled in the current study due to its low outcome in realizing the S' wants.

To summarize what has already been discussed above, table 5 is dedicated to presenting the total number of the utterances took place in the present study, the total number of the 10 maxims in each interview, and the total number of each maxim used in the 15 interviews:

Table (5): Summary of the ten maxims and the interviews

	Inter 1	Inter 2	Inter 3	Inter 4	Inter 5	Inter 6	Inter 7	Inter 8	Inter 9	Inter 10	Inter 11	Inter 12	Inter 13	Inter 14	Inter 15	Total
M1	9	5	5	8	7	8	5	9	11	7	6	6	9	8	7	110
M2	3	3	4	3	5	3	6	5	7	4	5	5	5	6	5	69
M3	6	7	7	3	5	7	6	5	5	8	5	3	6	7	5	85
M4	1	3	4	4	2	1	6	3	2	4	3	4	5	6	3	51
M5	8	8	13	10	6	7	4	6	11	3	5	6	5	10	8	110
M6	4	4	3	4	3	6	5	6	5	4	4	5	4	5	7	69
M7	8	9	9	5	5	8	7	9	4	3	2	3	6	8	7	93
M8	1	1	2	1	4	2	3	4	1	3	4	3	4	3	2	38
M9	4	4	5	6	5	5	8	7	6	5	6	4	4	4	5	78
M10	2	2	1	3	3	3	2	4	7	5	4	3	4	4	4	51
Total	46	46	53	47	45	50	52	58	59	46	44	42	52	61	53	754

Based on the digits shown in table 5, it is significant to separately calculate the numbers of positive and negative politeness maxims separately. Table 6 displays the total number of each positive politeness maxim used in the fifteen interviews, and the total number of the five politeness maxims tackled there.

Table (6): Positive politeness maxims

Positive Politeness	Inter 1	Inter 2	Inter 3	Inter 4	Inter 5	Inter 6	Inter 7	Inter 8	Inter 9	Inter 10	Inter 11	Inter 12	Inter 13	Inter 14	Inter 15	Total
M1	9	5	5	8	7	8	5	9	11	7	6	6	9	8	7	110
M3	6	7	7	3	5	7	6	5	5	8	5	3	6	7	5	85
M5	8	8	13	10	6	7	4	6	11	3	5	6	5	10	8	110
M7	8	9	9	5	5	8	7	9	4	3	2	3	6	8	7	93
M9	4	4	5	6	5	5	8	7	6	5	6	4	4	4	5	78
Total	35	33	39	32	28	35	30	36	37	26	24	22	30	37	32	476

Table 7 demonstrates the total number of each negative politeness maxim used in the interviews, and the total number of the five negative politeness maxims exploited there as well.

Table (7): Negative politeness maxims

Negative Politeness	Inter 1	Inter 2	Inter 3	Inter 4	Inter 5	Inter 6	Inter 7	Inter 8	Inter 9	Inter 10	Inter 11	Inter 12	Inter 13	Inter 14	Inter 15	Total
M2	3	3	4	3	5	3	6	5	7	4	5	5	5	6	5	69
M4	1	3	4	4	2	1	6	3	2	4	3	4	5	6	3	51
M6	4	4	3	4	3	6	5	6	5	4	4	5	4	5	7	69
M8	1	1	2	1	4	2	3	4	1	3	4	3	4	3	2	38
M10	2	2	1	3	3	3	2	4	7	5	4	3	4	4	4	51
Total	11	13	14	15	17	15	22	22	22	20	20	20	22	24	21	278

The results discussed above signal that the positive politeness strategies overwhelmed the negative ones. This is due to the tribal leaders and spokesmen who tend to employ them to pacify the conflicting tribes. In other words, the former strategies are more effective and influential in meeting the O's wants than the latter. In the same vein, Leech (2014) states that the O-oriented maxims illustrate positive politeness, while the S-oriented maxims resemble negative politeness. Therefore, from a sociological point of view, the Iraqi tribal context is an O-oriented community which is inclined to meet the needs of O to overcome any existing troubles.

It is worthy to mention that the obtained findings might not have similar significance if they are explored in a different culture or different region. Therefore, a similar study is highly recommended to be manifested somewhere else to find out if these results are homogeneous or heterogenous in the domain of the tribes' disputes.

Leech (2014:98) stresses that the degree of the effectiveness of the maxims is varied across culture, affirming that *"Neg-politeness maxims are more powerful than the pos-politeness maxims, and that the maxims higher up the list are more powerful than those lower down. But this is likely to be culturally variable."*

As far as the findings of this work are concerned, it is noted that they are proved not to be tuned with what Leech stated above. It was found out that the positive politeness maxims were more

powerful than the negative ones in the Iraqi context. This divergence is seen to be due to the differences in traditions, cultures, and attitudes between the two societies.

6. Conclusion

This paper exploited the use of GSP proposed by Leech (2014). This model is adopted to find if the aforementioned maxims were compatible with the Iraqi tribal context or not. Also, the validity and the degree of effectiveness of the proposed 10 maxims in lowering the O's negative face were tested.

The findings of the present study proved that the 10 maxims were all applicable and wholly manifested in the genre of the study (see table 6-7). However, they had different importance and influence in fulfilling the S' ultimate objectives as well as the O's wants. This type of harmony answered the aforementioned first research question, whereas the difference of importance was seen to answer the second research question.

The findings of the current study signaled that the positive politeness strategies predominated the negative ones since the former had a greater influence on resolving tribal disputes than the latter. However, the very findings might be of different facet if they were implicated in another region or culture.

It is worth mentioning that this research paper was limited to investigate the southern Iraqi tribes. The number of participants, as well, was relatively small, since then the findings might become greater if they were applied to other regions. Consequently, researchers are highly requested to conduct similar studies somewhere else to validate or de-validate the findings of this paper and to give a deeper understanding of the suggested issue.

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Websites

<http://ipatypeit.org>.

Appendices

Appendix/1

	Not effective	Somewhat effective	Effective	Very effective	Extremely effective
(M1) Give a high value to O's wants					
(M2) Give a low value to S's wants					
(M3) Give a high value to O's qualities					
(M4) Give a low value to S's qualities					
(M5) Give a high value to S's obligation to O					
(M6) Give a low value to O's obligation to S					
(M7) Give a high value to O's opinion					
(M8) Give a low value to S's opinion					
(M9) Give a high value to O's feelings					
(M10) Give a low value to S's feelings					

Appendix/2

١. إعطاء قيمة عالية لرغبات المستمع	عديمة التأثير	مؤثرة إلى حد ما	مؤثرة	مؤثرة جدا	مؤثرة إلى حد كبير
٢. إعطاء قيمة متدنية لرغبات المتكلم	عديمة التأثير	مؤثرة إلى حد ما	مؤثر	مؤثرة جدا	مؤثرة إلى حد كبير
٣. إعطاء قيمة عالية لخصال المستمع	عديمة التأثير	مؤثرة إلى حد م	مؤثرة	مؤثرة جد	مؤثرة إلى حد كبير
٤. إعطاء قيمة متدنية لخصال المتكلم	عديمة التأثير	مؤثرة إلى حد ما	مؤثرة	مؤثرة جدا	مؤثرة إلى حد كبير
٥. إعطاء قيمة عالية لالتزامات المتكلم إلى المستمع	عديمة التأثير	مؤثرة إلى حد ما	مؤثرة	مؤثرة جدا	مؤثرة إلى حد كبير

٦. إعطاء قيمة متدنية لالتزامات المستمع إلى المتكلم			
<u>مؤثرة إلى حد كبير</u>	<u>مؤثرة جدا</u>	<u>مؤثرة</u>	<u>مؤثرة إلى حد ما</u>
٧. إعطاء قيمة عالية لرأي المستمع			
<u>مؤثرة إلى حد كبير</u>	<u>مؤثرة جدا</u>	<u>مؤثرة</u>	<u>مؤثرة إلى حد ما</u>
٨. إعطاء قيمة متدنية لرأي المتكلم			
<u>مؤثرة إلى حد كبير</u>	<u>مؤثرة جدا</u>	<u>مؤثرة</u>	<u>مؤثرة إلى حد ما</u>
٩. إعطاء قيمة عالية لمشاعر المستمع			
<u>مؤثرة إلى حد كبير</u>	<u>مؤثرة جدا</u>	<u>مؤثرة</u>	<u>مؤثرة إلى حد ما</u>
١٠. إعطاء قيمة متدنية لمشاعر المتكلم			
<u>مؤثرة إلى حد كبير</u>	<u>مؤثرة جدا</u>	<u>مؤثرة</u>	<u>مؤثرة إلى حد ما</u>