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Neither an immigrant nor a visitor: An interactional study of the adaptation to temporary residence by Arabic-speaking students in the American culture

Sabbagh, Entisar Al-Banna, Ph.D.

The University of Arizona, 1992

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NEITHER AN IMMIGRANT NOR A VISITOR:
AN INTERACTIONAL STUDY OF THE ADAPTATION TO TEMPORARY
RESIDENCE BY ARABIC-SPEAKING STUDENTS IN THE AMERICAN CULTURE

by

Entisar Al-Banna Sabbagh

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GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Entisar Al-Banna Sabbagh entitled
NEITHER AN IMMIGRANT NOR A VISITOR: AN INTERACTIONAL STUDY OF THE ADAPTATION TO TEMPORARY RESIDENCE BY ARABIC SPEAKING STUDENTS IN THE AMERICAN CULTURE.

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Professor Susan Philips
Nov. 17, 1992

Professor Richard Henderson
Nov. 17, 1992

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Susan Philips
Dissertation Director
Nov. 17, 1992
STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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SIGNED: Edite Al-Banna Mejalli
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To my Arabic consultants, thank you for sharing your time with me. Thank you for providing me with a way of understanding your experiences. To all those who facilitated my entry into their academic and social communities, I thank you for providing me with that opportunity.

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To my husband, Adib, I deeply appreciate your loving, unwavering support. To my sons, Hadil and Marwan, you have been, each in your own way, a source of courage. Thank you for being you.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Jibriel Al-Banna.

I fulfilled the promise.
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes adaptation of the Arabic population to temporary residence in the USA, based on conceptual themes from cultural anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics.

I begin my analysis by summarizing the cultural background of my target population. I focus on issues of Islamic culture and religion, gender segregation, diversity, and the Arabic language.

I next discuss the method by which I arrived at my research problem and population. My population is comprised of Arabic individuals studying in the USA, and their accompanying persons. I narrowed this population into a core group of key consultants, whose perspectives became representative voices. I interviewed my consultants on aspects of academic and social experiences in this country and the adaptative strategies they used to counteract its challenges.

I divide my core analysis into two phases of residence—initial and subsequent. The initial documents the incipient adaptative processes used by my consultants in both social and academic settings. It discusses implications of the co-presence of gender in and out of the classroom and the strategy of avoidance. It documents the dynamics of teacher-student interactions and the discourse of authority. Arabic
discourse includes communicative strategies of repetition and indirectness.

The subsequent phase discussion focuses on outcomes of adaptation. In this phase, I discuss the redefinition of identity and issues of stigma. I address the outcomes of redefinitions of self and social interaction. I focus on discourse and communicative styles, and address non-assimilative adaptive strategies achieved by boundary maintaining mechanisms. I address the role of the home countries in the adaptative strategies of the population.

Finally, this dissertation concludes with a recapitulation of macro and micro interaction and the cultural experience. I conclude that issues of culture clash/culture shock are linked to social interaction of the Arabic population.

The binding threads of this dissertation are the processes and outcomes of the two phases of residence. The theme is adaptation. Adaptive processes include intercultural discourse, subsuming issues of identity. These issues are embedded and embodied in the main findings I consider important, at the core of this dissertation.
CHAPTER I: CONCEPTUAL THEMES

"What does it mean for an individual enculturated in an Arabic-speaking and Islamic culture, who has acquired his/her communicative competence in that culture, to come to the United States of America and engage in social interactions and adapt to everyday life in both educational and other settings?"

This stated general rhetorical question prompted both the interest in and the research of issues for consideration in this dissertation. In addressing both the questions raised by the stated rhetorical question and the phenomena of adaptation of the Arabic population to temporary residence in the USA, I focus on selected aspects of these issues. To address these phenomena, I draw upon conceptual themes based in cultural anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics as the particular perspective.

In this introductory chapter, I intend to establish the general theoretical background. My aim is to introduce the encompassing framework of concepts and presuppositions and the arguments that constitute the general perspective and aspects of the particular perspective for the dissertation. I shall present conceptual themes that are deemed pertinent to
issues addressed. These conceptual themes cross-cut various aspects of the context of the entire dissertation implicitly or explicitly.

**General Theoretical Background**

The inter-relation between culture, society and language has been a salient part of conceptualization in anthropology. Different generations of anthropologists have addressed different aspects of those phenomena. More recently, the relation between culture and language has been focused on as a broader and more comprehensive phenomena of both communication and social interaction, in relation to culture and cultural contexts.

The general conceptual themes which formed the base of this dissertation are embedded in the perspectives of culture, language, and communication phenomena. Those themes became part of the presuppositions which informed and guided the definition of the research and the analysis of the ethnographic data. That theoretical framework that informs what shall be addressed in the core of the dissertation is based on the perspective that addresses social interaction based in face-to-face communication and situated interactions.

Aspects of the particular perspective which informs this dissertation and the concepts and the particular issues pertaining to ethnography of communication and interactional
sociolinguistics form the basis and inform the approach to issues raised in the ethnographic field work.

Conceptualization of Culture

The definition of culture I have followed comes from the perspectives of interpretive and symbolic anthropology and is based on Geertzian notions. In the Interpretation of Cultures (1973), Geertz, in the first part of his text, establishes the foundation for his theories on anthropology and the nature of anthropological description as well as the role of the ethnographer. Geertz expounds on the definition of culture and focuses on the symbolic aspect of culture based on Weberian notions. Geertz writes:

...Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. [1973:5]

Geertz views culture as a system of symbols. The meaning of the symbols is created and maintained in the course of social interaction. Geertz uses the metaphor of "thick description" to establish that cultural description in ethnography is properly about looking at:

the symbolic dimension of social action art, religion, ideology, science, law, morality, common sense." The object is not to turn from existential dilemmas of life, but to plunge into the midst of them. . . not to answer deepest questions, but to make available to us, answers that others. . . have given, and thus include them in the consultative record of what man has said. [1973:30]
I draw upon Geertz, particularly in the definition of culture as a system of symbols and the macro context. The symbolic actions and interactions, are also based on the phenomenology and anthropology of everyday life experiences and micro interactions. These themes inform my presuppositions as I consider the various aspects of the cultural themes of the Arabic speakers in America.

Culture is both symbolic and systemic. It is culture that provides the interpretive frames of meaning for the social actors, who are part of the social order, to comprehend social action and participate in social interaction. The main points of this general perspective are the culture, symbols, and patterns or cultural rules that inform human actions and interactions. The kernel on which I anchored my discussion is that culture is an all-encompassing system of knowledge.

Geertz (1973:14) also states that "culture is a context...". Based on a systemic view of this culture as a context, it is composed of texts. Geertz has referred to the interplay of "an ensemble of texts," which the researchers must study not in their individuality, but in relation to one another.

The notion of text is based on a literary conceptualization and extended to the study of cultures and cultural themes as part of cultural discourse. Foucault (1972) emphasizes the approach to study of cultural context
as discourse and discursive formation of a myriad of cultural themes. Said (1990) expounds on these conceptualizations and the relation of the text to the world.

As for the social actors, Geertz addresses these issues in what he calls "intersubjectivity": the nature of cultural selves, and how communicative competence shapes the interactions of such selves vis-a-vis others. This is also applicable to the ethnographer doing qualitative field work. Language and social interactions are key issues in that system, and communication and culture are intimately linked.

Next, I attend to conceptual themes about communication and interactional perspectives.

Social Interactions and Communication

Assuming the interactional perspective on human communication that is proposed in the title of the dissertation, here I note some general conceptual themes about social interactions in everyday life and human communication.

Social Interaction

Interaction of everyday life has become a subject for study from different approaches. Face-to-face interaction is related to other cultural constructions. The theoretical constructions that address the issues of social interaction in everyday life are based in several scholarly endeavors and
are the result of the confluence of many fields. Collectively and particularly, each of the approaches to the phenomena of social interaction proceeds from its own perspective and methodological procedures. Of particular interest here are the perspectives of the ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics, as they constitute the conceptual presuppositions for addressing the particulars of this dissertation.

Interactions in everyday life are specifically situated, but they are significantly related to the broader social order and social meaning (Goffman 1971). Therefore, situated interactions contain data which are indicative of social and cultural information.

The study of everyday interaction is an important course of inquiry in human interaction dynamics. Goffman, a sociologist concerned with everyday interaction, directed the focus to aspects of everyday social interaction as strategic interactions. Goffman (1961, 1963, 1971, 1974) points out that this approach is productive. In Goffman's views (1971), social order is maintained through everyday interaction. Interactions are also rituals in the secular sense. Goffman focuses on everyday interactions, in many of these arenas. Talk is an attribute of social activity, and communication is a shared behavior we learn socially.
Human Communication

Human communication and social interactions are complex, systematic phenomena. They are complex systems and complex phenomena. Human communications are multichanneled systems and multifunctional actions. While the complexity of human interaction is recognized, human social communication is conceptualized on the basis that human interactions are organized, structured, patterned and rule-governed actions.

One of the salient components in this perspective is "patterning" (Sapir 1921). Very importantly, communication is a culturally based and patterned action. These interactional patterns are socially learned and shared among members of the social groups, hence they are culturally significant patterns. Human communications, as culturally patterned, have been reported and elaborated in ethnographic descriptions by a number of anthropologists (Giglioli 1972; Basso 1972; Saville-Troike 1989; Hymes 1964, 1974; Gumperz 1982; among others).

Issues of Culture and Communication

Since social interaction and communication behavior are presumed to be socially based, or shared, the relation of communication to culture, when based on differing patterns or non-sharedness becomes, as in the case of cross-cultural communication, an important issue for the study of
interaction (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982). This theoretical framework informs the core of the dissertation.

A key feature of the approach to interactional knowledge in communicative competence, taken here, is that it has a cultural dimension of the enculturated social actor. Social interactions are culturally organized and informed, learned by the social actors, and shared with other cultural cohorts. This yields the assumption that cultural patterns of communicative styles are shared in intra-cultural contexts.

The other, corollary construction of the interactional sociolinguistics perspective is that cultural communicative patterns are not shared between cultural groups. These non-shared patterns are inherent in invisible aspects of communication. There are various scholars who have focused on different aspects of this problem and its many levels. Researchers illustrate both the patterned nature and the differing patterns between cultures and speech communities (Erickson and Shultz 1982; Gumperz 1982; Philips 1983; Kochman 1988; Tannen 1984, 1982; among other anthropologists).

The non-sharedness of the patterns and rules of interaction (Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1984) are explained by the lack of shared knowledge of conventions and implicit cultural rules. (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982). In inter-cultural interaction, inter-cultural differentiation may occur. There are three major aspects of social interaction
among members of different groups: **different cultural assumptions** about the situation, **different ways of structuring information**, and **different ways of speaking**. Hence, informed by all of these theoretical conceptualizations, I apply these views to the consideration of the observed Arabic population and in reference to the rhetorical question posed at the onset of this dissertation. These salient issues are taken into consideration in focusing on the anatomy of inter-group interaction of the Arabic speakers in the American context.

In this dissertation, I presuppose that sharedness of rules or patterns is absent by definition where there are two cultures—Arabic and American. I also presuppose the communicative competence of the Arabic speaking adult population. I apply these presuppositions to my Arabic population.

**The Notion of Discourse**

In the context of this dissertation, I utilize the term "discourse," in both the general and the particular sense. The definition of discourse is based on conceptualizations from anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics (Hymes 1974; Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1984; Schiffren 1987; Stubbs 1983). It refers to that sociocultural interaction and intermeshes linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge. This includes cultural knowledge, cultural assumptions, and world
view. Those are entailed in discourse strategies, manifested in both aspects of language and social interaction.

Foucault refers to knowledge of both culture and communication the sense of macro perspective which includes extralinguistic knowledge. In addition to these there the dimensions manifested in situated micro interactional contexts, e.g. "discourse strategies." Henceforth, my reference to "Arabic discourse" shall allude to knowledge pertaining to culture and cultural sensibilities as well as aspects of communicative style. These combine in discourse strategies that are part of situated interactional contexts.

The Communicative Message

The ethnography of communication conceptualizes the communicative message as multi-channeled. Based on this perspective, attention is shifted from the forms, and is directed toward the functions, of the communicative message (Saville-Troike 1989). The forms remain crucial aspects of the communicative message, as they are intertwined with the functions. Messages are multifunctional actions (Hymes 1974). Among their myriad communicative functions, they include phatic communication and metacommunications in face-to-face social interactions (Bateson 1972). (Hymes 1972 and Jakobsen 1960 provide the more inclusive functions of the messages for example the referential, the emotive, the poetics among others).
This focus on forms and functions of the communicative message attends to the process of unfolding interaction. Here, the salient conceptualization is that the local meaning of the communicative message is negotiated. The resulting meanings are shared by interactants engaged in unfolding social interactions. As part of these processes, this communication is also linked to presuppositions that the interactants are the encoders and decoders of communicative social messages whose signification and significance they share. This is then coupled with other conceptualizations and assumptions concerning the communicative competence of the speakers and hearers as social actors.

Cultural Individuals as Social Actors

A basic anthropological assumption is that a member of a society is a cultural actor. The crux of the general argument is that the enculturation processes produce the individual's social and cultural self.

The Geertzian conceptualization of the individual is influenced by Mead's definition of the individual as a social actor with various identities. The emergence of these identities is discursive construction. The multiplicity of persona is role based and situation based. The model of social action is internally and externally contingent include inner dramatic production, action and structure.
The social actor in his or her cultural context, is based on a dramaturgical metaphor: the individual is a social actor. This metaphor is explained on the bases of the conceptualization that culture is the source of the scripts, cultural frames and cultural themes by which the individual makes sense of the cultural experience. That was suggested above in the discussion of culture. This conceptualization of the development of the social actor is based on enculturation or socialization practices, that ultimately result in a manifestation of the cultural self among other members of the cultural group. Based on this notion, in my initial rhetorical question, I invoke the phenomenon of enculturation as the means to become the Arabic cultural self and to signify the social actor.

To link the consideration of culturally constituted social actors engaged in social interaction to assumptions from ethnography of communication, the focus is on the consideration of the social actor and communicative competence.

Communicative Competence

The notion of communicative competence is a key conceptualization in the ethnography of communication. This is the focus on the social actors who have knowledge of both language and social information as a part in their repertoire of knowledge. This enables them to be encoders and decoders
of communicative messages. This is integrated in the conceptualization of the communicative competence of the cultural individual (Hymes 1972; Gumperz 1984; Saville-Troike 1989). Communicative competence enables the individual to engage in social interactive processes, to both produce and decipher complex linguistic communicative messages and culturally meaningful and appropriate actions. These then are inherent components in discourse strategies utilized by the individuals (Gumperz 1982).

Based on a culturally acquired system of knowledge, salient attributes of a cultural self are based on this communicative competence of the individual social actor (Hymes 1972). The individual social actor is perceived to be inculcated with a range of linguistic and extralinguistic cultural knowledge that enable meaningful social intercourse. These constitute the communicative competence of the social actor.

Thus, communicative competence and its underlying repertoire of knowledge shapes meaning in language use and social interaction. It enables the construction of the self vis-a-vis others, determining this self's notions of social interactions and how production of appropriate actions. The Arabic social actors discussed here are presumed to have such competence and to deploy it in interaction.

Gumperz (1984), in "Communicative Competence Revisited," refers to ethnomethodologists as the first to look at
Conversation as social action, and discusses the issue of communication and culture:

Culture enters into this process in two ways. It is an integral component of what discourse analysts call schematic knowledge. Although we customarily think of schemata as ways of organizing factual information in terms of basic conceptual structures, conversational analysis shows that assumptions about norms, interpersonal relationships, and interactive or communicative goals are also involved. When seen in this perspective, schemata come to take on forms that bear great similarity to the ethnographer of communication's speech events, in that they reflect values and experience acquired through participation in culturally bounded networks of social relationships. The difference is that they do not predict action or determine judgement of what is appropriate. They must be seen as cognitive constructs that give rise to expectations about what is to look of in an encounter, which in turn enter into our interpretation of what transpires. [1984:287-288]

The Arabic Population

Here, I define my population and the distinctions in the settings. This definition is based on prior definition of the ideal population. In Chapter III, I establish how the ideal became the potential and then the actual population, based on the field work situation.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have devised two domains or analytical distinctions for my observations of the Arabic population within the American context. Based on issues of social actors and cultural selves of the Arab students, I observed this population as they dwelt in the American cultural context, by emphasizing two conceptualizations of two macro domains of interaction. The
first macro domain is an institutional setting (which subsumes the classrooms), and the second is the "outside" (which subsumes the private residential areas). The two domains are paradigmatic constructions which are salient foci for observation and analysis of social interaction and adaptation of the Arabic population. The two analytical distinctions are addressed in Chapters IV and V as they apply to each of the domains respectively, and then reconsidered in other pertinent chapters.

**Definition of the Observed Arab Population**

I focus here on an adult student population. These students have come to the USA to pursue various fields of study. The members of the population were enculturated in the Arabic language and Arabic/Islamic dominant culture, so their primary cultural identity is Arabic. My grouping them as "members of the Arabic population" is based on an assumption of a macro-speech community signified by the Arabic language and Islamic cultural issues. In the discussion of cultural background, Chapter II, I address issues of Arabic language and justify my assumption of an all-encompassing, macro Arabic speech community and culture.

The more encompassing definition of the ideal population includes other Arabic persons. Since I pursued the consideration of the student Arab population in their adaptation to the American context in both classroom and
community settings, especially in their everyday life in the community, my definition of the Arabic population was extended beyond the students themselves to include their accompanying family members. In sum, the most inclusive definition of the observed population includes both the Arabic students and those who accompany them in the duration of their sojourn within the USA.

**Student as Social Actors**

Grounded on what was established above, in the concepts of cultural selves, communicative competence and social/cultural identity, the consideration of Arabic students is focused particularly on the students as social actors in social interactions. The population is comprised of adults who have been enculturated in Arabic cultural context. The perspective, therefore, is focused on the cultural selves.

Saville-Troike (1978) indicates that, based on enculturation, the students' roles and their conduct are also conceptualized as culturally learned and constituted actions. The point here is that a student, as a social actor, is a cultural construct, and the role of student is part of that construct. This perception of the culturally-constituted situation applies to teachers as well, and, by extension, classroom interactions are part of cultural institutional discourse which are imbued with cultural assumptions, and the
actions and interactions are culturally informed and performed.

The consideration, as it applies to Arabic students who come to pursue their studies in the USA, is based on the presupposition that the students are not "learning machines" in a new cultural context. The consideration is based on an action model for human conduct and informed by general humanistic presuppositions, especially those reverberating in interpretive anthropology. To describe the humanistic assumption at its most general level, it is based on the notion that we are thinking, feeling, acting, and interacting human beings (Geertz 1975, 1983, based on Ryle's works). I link these anthropological definitions of human beings as social actors to issues of phenomenology, symbolic anthropology and the anthropology of experience in everyday life (Geertz 1986; Schutz 1970).

Hence, the implicit notion that informs the consideration is that these Arabic persons are not passive recipients of the new cultural experience. As active participants who engage in meaningful actions, given their cultural context, these Arabic persons are interpreters of social experiences in everyday life in America.

Gender as an Issue for Consideration

In the duration of the field work, another issue emerged. I came to an early conclusion that I should
reconsider the terms and perspectives of the definition of the population. In the initial phase of my field work, I had to re-frame my direction to include the factor of gender as an important point of focus in the discussion of the American experience and adaptation to the temporary residence. This is related to and rooted in cultural themes about gender in the Arabic context. In the cultural background chapter, Chapter II, I discuss the significance of gender to the Arabic population. Here, for the purposes at hand, I attend to conceptualization of gender.

The conceptual theme that informs my definition of gender is that gender, female/male, must be distinguished from sex. That is, what is biologically inherent in sex must be distinguished from the culture attributes inherent in gender. The former is the universal aspect, based on biological sex biological anchoring, or genetic sex (Archer and Lloyd 1989). The latter, gender, is a sociocultural category. Wilson (1989) discusses the notion of a middle ground between sex and gender. His perspective considers that the emphasis is on the constraints vs. determinants in matters of sex and gender. He advocates the notion of interface between biology and culture; hence the two, both complex phenomena, are not mutually exclusive aspects.

My own presuppositions in the consideration of gender are informed by these conceptualizations. The perspective I espouse in my consideration of gender is an anthropological
one, based on the notion that gender is defined as a cultural category. By extension, the associated attributes of gender are cultural constructs. It is implicit that gender, as a social category, is part of the categorization system of the given culture. Its meaning is to be understood as a study of cultural phenomena. I view gender as part of a cultural categorization system and as an emic category. Its meaning is part of the cultural system and the world view. The discussion of gender issues in the context of this document refers to the Arabic cultural context, since both the male and female genders, and their associated attributes and behaviors, are culturally specific and meaningful cultural categories. In Chapter II, where I address the cultural background, I address the gender attributes of gender as an Arabic cultural construct. The implications of these phenomena, in terms of appropriate phenomena of social interactions, are part of my consideration in the other chapters.

Arabic Population and Issues of Diversity

While I defined my population based on the Arabic language, there are significant points of diversity. It is important to add that while I have devised the definition of the Arabic population based on macro speech community, there are variations among Arabic students based on national origins. I shall address some aspects of the issues of
diversity in this chapter, and then in the context of chapter II I attend to the attributes and constituent issues of diversity in the Arabic speech community.

The Arabic speakers who come to study or accompany students come from diverse groups. Diversity, in the Arab World, exists on many levels in connection to the macro speech community of the Arabic World and in relation to Islam. The manifestation of diversity within the macro cultural context of the Arab Middle East is neither a novel or a recent situation. Very importantly, it is not static in its dynamism.

To explain, diversity here is a general designation which refers to differentiations that are based on various axes. These include class distinctions, urban/rural and ethnic groups distinctions and other aspects of social structures that cross-cut other human grouping phenomena. From one standpoint, the study and description of diversity in Arab-speaking society is part of the approach to the study of complex society.

In sum, the Arabic persons who do come to study in the USA are a heterogeneous Arabic population in the American context.

Before I discuss the significance of the American context to the issue of heterogeneity, I first introduce my general notion of the American cultural context. Following
that, I return to discuss the initial significance of that context to the Arabic population.

The American Cultural Context

Heretofore I have used the phrase "American cultural context," in reference to an all-encompassing sociocultural context. Below, I distinguish "American" context from "Anglo" cultural context. While each of these is based on an encompassing generalization, there are differential meanings which are glossed over. Anglo is a reference to a composite categorization of predominantly ethnically European background, while the "American" context assumes a "melting pot" of peoples with diverse culture and ethnic backgrounds engaged in the sociocultural dynamics within the American macro-cultural context.

Reference to an "American cultural context" is thus based on a gross generalization that glosses over myriad variations and "sub-cultures." As I use "American cultural context," the term incorporates the notion of a dominant culture or a predominant Anglo public culture. This abstraction is an roughly equivalent to my usage of the "Arabic cultural context," to be presented in Chapter II. In both of these instances this serves as a heuristic device.

Heterogeneity had implications and ramifications. The significance of the American context to the Arabic population, shall be considered on two levels: Arabic
speakers vis-a-vis other Arabic speakers and then vis-a-vis Americans. In this chapter, I propose the general implication of the American cultural context for the Arabic population present in Tucson, as a factor in the amalgamation and heterogeneity of the Arabic population.

The context being addressed here is that the field work itself took place in an urban location of Tucson, within an all-encompassing American setting. There are two relevant dimensions which are juxtaposed in the discussion. The significance of those two aspects shall be noted in terms of their meaning for the field work, from the angle of the Arabic population, both vis-a-vis themselves and visa-a-vis Anglos.

Often, some members of this population are coming in contact with other Arabic speakers for the first time. This particular demographic factor has many ramifications. There are axes of class, religion, ethnic groups and other sociocultural distinctions that are encountered in the American macro setting.

The macro context of the urban American sphere facilitated commingling of a heterogeneous Arabic-speaking population, not necessarily by creating networks, but by coming face-to-face with their own heterogeneity. (In the subsequent phase of residence the networks are based on religious affiliation.)
Other Significant Features of the American Context

Here, the discussion of the macro American cultural context focuses on the significance of that context to the Arabic students vis-a-vis Americans. The heterogeneity of communication between the Arabic students and Americans is based in differing world, ethos, cultural themes and assumptions as well as the non-shared patterns of communication that are manifested in micro face-to-face interactions introduced above. I shall discuss this in the context of the core chapters of the dissertation.

The other significance of American context for Arabic person in daily interaction is related to issues of cultural identity. Here, I shall introduce the conceptual themes that constitute the basis of my discussion of cultural identity.

Social Identity of the Social Actor

For purposes of this dissertation, I shall be focusing on issues of identity, based on concepts of social interaction. The consideration of social actors and concepts of cultural identity shall be pertinent to the crux of the discussion in this dissertation. I address issues of cultural identity as they are pertinent to the Arabic population. I draw a distinction between Islamic cultural identity and Islam as a religious identity. These distinctions are important, as these factors shall be explored in Chapters V,
VI and VII. (In Chapter II, I discuss Islam as a system of culture and religion.).

Related to other components of the cultural self, and salient to the notion of social actors, is the issue of cultural identity. Cultural identity, like communicative competence, is acquired in the enculturation processes. This identity, as an aspect of cultural self, is significant in symbolic and social interaction, and is particularly addressed through the presentation of self in everyday life. Goffman's (1963) ideas of the presentation of self in everyday life are ultimately of cultural relevance and steeped in cultural themes.

Cultural identity and language and interaction are linked in the works of Gumperz (1982) and Saville-Troike (1989). From an interactional sociolinguistics perspective, Gumperz noted the pertinence of issues of cultural identity as conveyed by language and communication in an urban setting. He expounded on the salience of these issues in the consideration of inter-cultural interactions. Based on these assumptions, I focus on issues of cultural identity and the implications for the Arabic persons in their interactions in the American cultural context. The notions of interactions, identity, and adaptation are relevant to the Arabic population based on two aspects. I shall utilize these conceptual themes in the pertinent chapters below. Here, I
introduce them for the purposes of the current chapter. I shall present them respectively.

On the one hand, recent perspectives on diversity are relevant to the consideration of attributes of differentiation and intergroup interaction dynamics. This is the interactional sociolinguistics perspective, which situates the issue of identity on interactional dynamics. According to Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), there is a need for redefinition of ethnicity. The new definition of ethnicity comes through interactive and reactive group formation.

On the other hand, in Barth's view, issues of cultural affiliation are based on issues of diversity and identity. The thrust of the description of diversity and cultural group dynamics comes in terms of both distinctive features of cultural attributes. Barth relates these aspects to approaches of adaptation. Barth (1969) introduces his conceptualization of intergroup ethnic dynamics and invokes an ecological metaphor of niches and boundary maintaining mechanism to address some of these dynamics. Barth's approach is to identify one configuration of groups and their modes of differentiation, and the intercultural dynamics that these manifest. He points out active inter-group dynamics in maintaining boundaries in relationships between the groups.

Next we shift attention from the consideration of the
Arabic population to consideration of their adaptation and the salient issues of adaptation in the current context.

**Adaptation to Temporary Residence Considered**

There are several approaches and levels through which to address the definition of adaptation. This dissertation is based on an interactive perspective as was stated in the title of the dissertation. The definition of adaptation is developed as follows. Adaptation is a conscious, intentional modification of actions and interactions. These are perceived to be the source for habituation for and by person and/or the group, enabling them in the management strategies of everyday life. Alternatively, adaptation is the change of actions and social interactions as an attempt to cope with or adjust to the current situational context. This definition of adaptation is not based in ecological or economic definitions (although many of the salient dynamics of adaptation for the Arabic population are inspired by those needs as well).

Adaptations are concerned with responses and outcomes to modifications that emerge in the new context, including modification of social actors, their identities, their communicative competence, and their social actions and interactions. Incipient adaptations are some of the dynamic processes that commence in the initial phase of culture contact.
Adaptation entails both assimilative actions and rejections of some aspects of cultural behavior. In the latter case, several cultural issues may motivate resistance and accommodation. Some such issues may be redefined as incessant icons of cultural identity and cultural meaning in social interactions.

The notion of adaptation to temporary residence involves some basic issues based on language and cultures in contact. Among the salient aspects, there are the assumptions that appropriate actions in social encounters are coupled with other notions. These are concerned with peoples' underlying sensibilities and world views which come into play in micro settings.

Time is an intrinsic notion in adaptation to temporary residence. It is inherent in the title of this dissertation—"Neither an immigrant nor a visitor." This is based on temporal duration. The notions of accommodative changes also include a temporal dimension as inherent in the phenomenon of adaptation. The dimension of time, as it applies to temporary residence and to the notion of adaptation, is considered in this dissertation. It is considered in the sense that time is an element in reference to the temporary residence. This notion is compared to the temporal duration of being an immigrant, or being a visitor. For the individual who is an immigrant, the temporal dimension is based on more permanent residence in the new cultural context. The factor of
permanence engenders certain processes that are necessary in the dynamics of those adaptations. In the case of the visitor, brief temporal duration also becomes a factor in interactions in the new cultural context. The duration of time and purpose of the temporary residence are factors in the adaptation and adaptive strategies of Arabic students, who may be in the USA from one to seven or ten years.

As the consideration of adaptation is pursued on the basis of a processual model, the notions implied in this pursuit take into account both an initial phase and a subsequent phase of residence and the ensuing adaptation.

I structured aspects of the discussion of the processes and the outcomes on these bases. The argument is based on the initial phase for the Arabic-speaking population, which is one key consideration in Chapters IV and V. Chapters VI and VII discuss the later, subsequent phase of the temporary residence.

Issues Concerning Adaptation and the Basic Argument

As stated in the title of the dissertation, I pursued adaptation of the Arabic population to the temporary residence from an interactional perspective. The crux of the discussion is focused on aspects of situated micro interactional processes of face-to-face interactions. However there are other considerations essential to the development of the basic arguments. But first I shall introduce the
operative definitions of macro and micro context which inform the discussion in the entire document.

Micro contexts are the face-to-face situated interactions and communicative events within communicative situations. The term macro context is used in two senses. The first is macro context as the domain of interaction, for example in the institutional and community settings—the two domains of interactions, introduced above. The second sense is the macro context as an all-encompassing cultural context, in reference to the Arabic and American contexts and the extralinguistic phenomena, like world view and sensibilities. This also includes the definition of others, which I address in reference to stereotypes and art/popular culture. These assumptions are also embedded in discussions of processes of interactions.

**Basic Argument**

The central argument is pursued based on conceptualizations of the phenomenon of adaptation. It is perceived as a processual model. This model is implied in the consideration of both the interactive processes and the ensuing responses which are manifested in outcomes of adaptation and adaptive strategies.

I advance the central argument based on several conceptual themes which inform the consideration implicitly or explicitly throughout the context of this document. My
consideration of the phenomenon of adaptation to temporary residence is based on the following presuppositions.

The first assumption is the general underlying perspective that informs the argument. Despite the Arabic population's heterogeneity in composition and diversity in their adaptive responses in the American context, members of the Arabic population do attempt to make sense of their lives in the American cultural context. This is a presupposition based in the anthropology of experience and the phenomenology of everyday life.

A general issue concerning the anthropology of experience and phenomenology points out that people make sense of their experiences in order to render the world meaningful. Issues from symbolic anthropology are related to symbolic interactions. The other key concept in the consideration of Arabic persons in the American context is based on phenomenology and is linked to symbolic anthropology (Wagner 1973; Geertz 1973, 1986). Culture renders order to the world, including the social world. Hence, people make sense of their experiences in a world of cultural meaning. The description of the phenomenon of adaptation in general is related to experiences of everyday life and the idea that people do make sense of those experiences, given their cultural background or prior text. The point that informs the work is that these Arabic students and accompanying families are not passive recipients of the
cultural experience, but are active participants and interpreters of experiences in everyday life.

As the second general assumption, while I espouse a processual and interactive perspective (often associated with the micro-interactional methodology), I propose that a salient part of this basic argument is lodged in a macro perspective, in the dynamics of the two macro-cultural contexts. Hence, in this broad perspective, the interactive processes are based on dialectics between the prior Arabic home culture and the current American culture. The former constitutes the cultural knowledge or prior text which informs the world view and ethos of the Arabic social actors. The latter constitutes the new cultural experiential context.

As the notion of intercultural or cross-cultural interactions includes aspects of ethos and cultural sensibilities, by extension, these are also concerned with how aspects of the macro context articulate with micro, face-to-face, interaction, and become part of the dynamics of culture and communication. My treatment of this problem involves a concept of the dialectical relation between the two cultures. The Arabic population's culture and communicative actions are created in enculturation and are incorporated in their system of presuppositions about the experiential world. This prior cultural context forms a backdrop, which becomes part of the dialectical interplay in relation to the new American cultural context. The prior
culture, though invisible, is a party to the cultural discourse of the current experience. It is in relation to the culture of the home countries that the new experiential context is experienced, translated, interpreted, evaluated, and judged. The Arabic/Islamic cultural context provides the essence of their sensibilities. It is implicit that their distant culture becomes party to the interplay within the dynamics of the current cultural experiences in an American setting. The chapter on cultural background focuses on cultural issues necessary to situate the observed population into the sociocultural and sociolinguistic setting from which they sprang.

The corollary component in this argument is about processes and dialectics within the macro encompassing American culture, as these are pertinent to the dynamics in micro interactional contexts. The intra-cultural issues—the current American context and the notion of the popular culture which will come into play (the hegemonic issues of the dominant culture)—are about the American context. Of special importance is the issue of American representation of cultural others, in particular the Arabic cultures and cultural persons. The macro context as addressed here would explicitly and implicitly inform the whole cultural text.

The final assumption is about outcomes. Since adaptations are concerned with outcomes, modifications that emerge in the new context, the manifested outcomes are also
based on the inter-cultural interpretation and manifested in a micro perspectives. That is to say, conceptualization of the adaptation outcomes for the Arabic population is also a product of prior Arabic culture and experiences. In the current situated contexts concerning social actors and identity and social actions and interactions are all part of dynamic processes that commence in the initial phase of contact.

Organization of The Dissertation

Chapter I has focused on the theoretical background themes and presuppositions that inform the central argument and directions of this dissertation. I introduced my ideal a priori definition of the Arabic population as Arabic students and their accompanying persons.

The aim of Chapter II is to provide a brief summary of the cultural background of the Arabic-speaking population. While locating the Arab world in the world geography and current historical moment, I attend to a brief discussion of critical approaches. I focus on attributes deemed salient for Arabic persons coming to live and adapt in the USA: Islam as a religion and as a cultural system. I discuss gender segregation as a salient cultural theme manifested in social interactions in cultural context. I attend to diversity based on several factors, which include religion and language. Finally, I relate the Arabic context and four phenomena of the Arabic language. All of these are interwoven to create
the ethos that the Arabic population brings with them to the American cultural context as their cultural themes, sensibilities and presuppositions.

In Chapter III, I address the method used to address the research problem in the context of an urban setting. I address the Arabic speakers in two macro domains: the institutional setting and the residential setting. In that chapter, I define the actual population and how I arrived at that population. I discuss field work as a process (fugue) by which I arrived at my definition of the concentric circles, including key consultants, and the discussion of the composite as a representative voice. Finally, I discuss scanning and zooming lenses as a metaphor for participant observation and the interviews.

Chapter IV commences with a consideration of the initial phase of residence in the American context. The chapter is devoted to classroom social interactions. I relate social interaction based on the co-presence of gender and how the relevance to Arabic sensibility translates to avoidance. The dynamics of teacher-student interaction and the unfamiliar discourse of authority are also pertinent to Chapter IV. Finally, I introduce the Arabic discourse style of repetition and its implication in the academic genre.

Chapter V is devoted to community living and the Arabic population, including the student and the non-student. I discuss the setting and significance of the private domain as
a cultural space. I also introduce the discourse style of indirectness as politeness in the interpersonal relation, and its implications for the Arabic speakers. In that chapter, I propose the initial encounter with the issues of identity as "being different". I also point out aspects of experience of Arabic population surmised from their metaphors about their social interaction in the community. I conclude the chapter with a summary of the initial phase.

Chapter VI commences the focus on the subsequent phase. The chapter addresses the significance of the subsequent phase and focuses on outcomes in redefinition of identity and the issues of stigma. I discuss the outcomes of Americanization, Selective Differentiation, and Islamization. I also address the issues of social interaction based on gender and authority as evolved in the subsequent phase is the American context.

Chapter VII addresses other issues of discourse pertaining to style of communication with the passage of time. I also address issues of prolonged inter-cultural interaction. Then, I focus on non-assimilative adaptive strategies of inter-cultural difference, achieved by boundary maintaining mechanisms, as manifested by compartementalization and maximum differentiation. I shall introduce the role of the home countries as relevant to adaptive strategies of the Arabic population in the USA. I
close the chapter with a discussion of the subsequent phase of residence.

Finally, in Chapter VIII, I recapitulate and draw my implications. The recapitulation subsumes issues of macro and micro interaction and the cultural experience. Issues of local miscommunication based on differing patterns of interactions are only one of the dimension at play. The other dimension is the macro context. I conclude that the issues of culture clash/culture shock are linked to social interaction, gender, authority and their implications.

CHAPTER II: CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE ARABIC POPULATION

In this chapter, I attend to a few salient aspects of world view and ethos in the home cultural context of the Arabic-speaking population. For Arabic populations in the USA, these cultural matters are incorporated in their presuppositions about their experiential world. By extension, these cultural attributes have important implications for the experience of Arabic students both inside and out of the classroom.

In Chapter I, I discussed the theoretical assumptions that guided my description of the culturally constituted self. I also presented an argument concerning the dialectics between the Arabic home culture and the Arabic student's new experience in America. The discussion in this chapter builds on these arguments. However, the focus here is to develop some of the points concerning cultural themes in more detail. This chapter will provide the background and demonstrate the salience of these themes to the Arabic population in the process of adaptation to the new American cultural context. The prior home culture, though imperceptible, is part of the cultural discourse of the current experience. It is in relation to the prior culture that the new experiential context was translated, interpreted, evaluated, judged, or experienced.
My study is neither a study of Arabic or Islamic civilizations, nor of Arabic linguistics, nor of the anthropology of the Arab Middle East; however, these fields have provided the basis of the research here. My study is based on an anthropological conceptualization of selected key aspects of these fields. I perceive these aspects to be major factors in, and constitutive of, the repertoire of the cultural knowledge of the observed student population.

Within various sections of this chapter, I engage in an implicit, and at times explicit, comparison between some of the cultural phenomena in the American context in order to recognize their implications concerning the American cultural experience of Arabic students.

My approach here is based on two perspectives which will be applied to each section of this chapter. The first perspective observes that the description and analytical distinctions are based on cultural phenomena, symbolic public actions, and their meanings in a cultural context. The second perspective considers the cultural phenomena based on a synchronic frame.

The two perspectives require clarification. First, my ethnographic descriptions of aspects in the public domain result from the synthesis of research material coupled with my own background observations, understandings, and analyses of these phenomena and cultural actions. Secondly, while I have addressed the issues from a synchronic perspective, it
is important to recognize that this perspective is not intended to imply immutability. Even though a diachronic perspective is not part of the current consideration, it is very important. In concurrence with Eickelman's postulate (1981), my explicit assumption is that synchronic study uncovers the interrelationships among the elements that coexist at one point in time. However, in order to understand the manifestation, development, and potential for future changes of these elements, the diachronic perspective should also be taken into account. Hence, the two perspectives are complementary rather than contradictory.

The chapter on cultural background is organized as follows. The first section locates the Arab-speaking countries both in world geography and in the current historical moment. The next section discusses critiques of approaches to studying the Arab Middle East. The third section considers Islam as a religion and as a source of ethos in the cultural system. The subsequent section focuses on gender sensibilities in the cultural context. Next is a section on sources of diversity in their cultural context, followed by a section on the Arabic language in its sociolinguistic context. Finally, the is concluding section brings the focus back to the population of Arabic speakers studying in the United States.
Geographical Location and Current Historical Situation

In the context of world geography, the Arabic speaking countries are part of the region known as the Middle East. Not all countries of the Middle East, however, are Arabic speaking nations. In, Turkey, Iran and Israel, for example, people speak Turkish, Persian, and Hebrew respectively. Parenthetically, the designation of the region as "Middle East", just as the designation of the "Far East", is comparative and in relation to the "West" and may be thought of as inherently "orientalist" (Said 1978). The Arabic speaking region has Iraq as the eastern boundary and extends into North Africa with Morocco as its western boundary. Arabic speakers refer to the eastern boundary as el mashrig, 'sunrise,' and western boundary as el maghrib, 'sunset'.

The following nations use Arabic as their official national language: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, The United Arab Emirates, The West Bank Gaza, The Western Sahara, Yemen Arab Republic, and Yemen People's Republic. These, collectively, are known as "The Arab World." (The University of Arizona students whom I have designated as "Arabic-speaking" come from most countries of the Arab world.) (See Appendix A).

Sociolinguistically, these "Arab World" countries form a macro speech community, as defined by Gumperz (1972). Moreover, it is important to note that the designation of the
Arab World is based on an official language and is also related to the Arabic cultural context. This context is the amalgamation of their past history, their recent historical experiences, and their stated aspirations. In addition, I must point out that not all inhabitants of the Arab world are Arabic speakers. However, the presence of a number of linguistically diverse groups is still in keeping with that conceptualization of a macro speech community designation. This is one of the attributes of the diversity and shall be part of the scope of my discussion in the diversity section below.

Geography and history oftentimes are intrinsically interrelated. The geographical location and the ecological features of the Arab region have been important in both past and present history. In sum, this part of the world is steeped in history and has been a major contributor to the world from its early development phases through subsequent civilizations and phases. Fischer and Ochsenwald (1990) and Hourani (1991), among others, concur with Berque's (1974) descriptive summary of the situation of the last few centuries. Berque (1978) states that everywhere in the Arabic speaking world, three phases have succeeded one another: the pre-colonial (almost entirely embraced by the Ottoman system); the colonial (divided between French and British influences); and emancipation (bifurcating in widely
differing directions under disparate regimes and political configurations).

Accordingly, the current sociopolitical panorama and historical colonial experience may be summarized as follows. The legacy of domination and its subsequent outcomes, coupled with the dynamics of the internal situations, have resulted in the manifestation of quantitatively variable but qualitatively equivalent states of underdevelopment. Though the states of development vary in their cultural configurations, they have complex ramifications in the macro sociopolitical system of each of these nations. These ramifications are manifested in their political and economic systems, sociocultural and technological systems, educational and health systems, and very importantly, in the whole range of human conditions.

From a synchronic perspective, at present, the Arab countries are grappling with paradoxes resulting from a confluence of circumstances. The first is their proud historical past. They are a civilization that has left its mark on world history. The second circumstance is their presence in the current historical moment as part of the Third World cultural phenomena. These phenomena manifest themselves in aspects of Arab life. Finally, and very importantly, is the challenge of striving to define a national identity that encompasses both their historical heritage and notions of modernity. This task is complicated
by the difficulty of reaching an acceptable definition of modernity, that is to say a cultural rendering of a modern Arab world combined with the past in the context of the current world. To expound on the last point, a number of scholars would maintain that the germane issues in the contemporary Arab world are the definitions of national selves and definition of modernity. Furthermore the conceptualization of those two aspirations is further entangled in the consideration of the source of their inspiration.

Said (1973), in a discussion of Arabs today, states that the emergence of the Arab national identity is the crucial and decisive factor in their present and future development. More recently, Adonis (1990), a student of the Arabic language and culture, made an equivalent statement and, in elaborating on the issue of modernity, noted that there is a divergence in opinion on how to pursue the conceptualizations of modernity. He distinguishes between innovations that are culturally inspired and those that are imported but culturally compatible.

In conclusion, these issues do have relevance for the students who come to study in the United States. They influence the studies these individuals pursue engaged in, as many students see themselves as part of definition of the dynamics of modernity.
Critical Voices

A number of disciplines that deal with humans and their endeavors, including anthropology, have expressed a growing concern about how others are being studied. Several scholars who focus on the Islamic World have voiced their concerns with this very issue and make it the subject of their inquiry. I am including this topic in the cultural background chapter because a number of these points are pertinent to arguments which will follow later.

In recent years, a number of critics have questioned the current approaches for studying the Islamic World in general and the Arab World in particular. Edward Said, in his book Orientalism (1979), is an emphatic critic of much of this orientalist scholarship. He defines orientalists as those researchers, Western and national scholars alike, who engage in the study of that region. Both groups share a set of theoretical assumptions and a research paradigm.

Said scrutinizes a number of assumptions and descriptive accounts and identifies key issues on which to base his critique. The foremost of these issues is that scholarship is not innocent of or removed from the social milieu and the intellectual climate in which it is produced. He is in agreement with Foucault's (1972) conceptualization of knowledge as part of discursive processes within their cultural context. Said recognizes that this orientalist
scholarship deals with the Islamic world within the discourse of the European culture of the time.

Said has reviewed the scholarly works on Islam and the Islamic world and summarizes the ensuing descriptive accounts as follows. First, these adopt a generalizing approach in their portrayal of Islam and Muslims, and of Arabs in particular. In their dealings with that part of the world, they disregard the myriad of cultures and subcultures, glossing over differentiation and distinctions and lumping a widely diversified universe into a monolithic block. Second, there is an overwhelming focus on written religious texts as a source of cultural information without further questioning the relationship between the stated ideal and the actual ethnographic practice. The result is that scholars overlook the actual lives of the social actors in these cultural contexts.

Said concludes that, to a large extent, this entire genre of scholarly works produced Eurocentric accounts that are more reflective of Western ideas of what takes place, rather than the culturally-bound system of meaning of the concerned Islamic cultures. The scholarship imposes prior assumptions on the meaning of both the cultural differences and on the members of the sociocultural groups. One of Said's issue here indicates an anthropological concern, based on cultural phenomena in cultural context: the local meaning
of the cultural themes and phenomena as part of Arabic/Islamic cultural system.

Said adds that many of these descriptions are intended to emphasize the distinction between "them" and "us". Therefore, the "others" (orientals), are portrayed as irrefutably distinct from "us" (Europeans or Westerners), implying that the chasm of difference between the two is great and that the otherness of the "others" is unfathomable. He then concludes that these depictions in scholarly accounts have several functions. Some of these functions are political as they reinforce the hegemonic view of the colonizing power.

On the same topic of scholarship on Islam, the historian Hourani (1991), in his recent text Islam in European Thought, locates Islam in the history of European/Western thought. Hourani shares many of Said's conclusions about the generalizing approach to Islam and concurs that Europeans have shaped Islam in their own image of Islam and Muslims. However, he disagrees with some of Said's interpretations of the functions of the scholarly output.

Hourani and other scholars are critical of the conceptualization of Islam as an ideology rather than a religion. Hence, the ensuing studies are imbued with these notions. In the anthropology of Islam, the same concern has been voiced by El-Zein (1977). Hourani, El-Zein, and Martin (1985), among others, stress their objections concerning both
these conceptualizations and the portrayal of an undifferentiated Islamic universe.

Hourani reflects many of the critics' concerns and concludes that the anthropology of Islam is a necessary approach in the study of religious phenomena. As an example, Hourani cites Islam Observed (1968), in which Geertz studied Islamic religious practices in Indonesia and Morocco, noting that different cultural contexts exhibited different practices, thus exemplifying a differentiated Islam.

Lila Abu-Lughod (1989, 1990) represents other aspects of the anthropology of the Arab Middle East. She maintains that, in most instances, these anthropological accounts differ from those of the orientalists, in that Arab Middle Eastern anthropologists focus on emic phenomena in their cultural context.

In assessing these accounts, however, she critiques these approaches on two points. She first maintains that studies of the region have been approached as area studies. That carries the implication that those concerns are peripheral to the core of anthropological theories and observations. The second point is concerned with the foci and substantive issues of research. Abu-Lughod identifies areas on which the anthropology of the Middle East has focused. She describes this focus in terms of "theoretical metonyms." Abu-Lughod defines "theoretical metonyms" as:

gatekeeping concepts...concepts, that is, that seem to limit anthropological theorizing about the
place in question, and that define the quintessential and dominant questions of interest in the region. [1989:357]

Abu-Lughod indicates there are theoretical areas and foci which have dominated the anthropological research on the Middle East. The cultural zones that have received concentrated are discussed as three foci. The first is segmentary lineage, emphasizing a tribal aspect of society and noting that it is studied primarily by male scholars. The second is Islam. The third focus is that of Harem, or the universe of the female gender, which she notes has been mostly approached by female scholars.

In reference to these focal zones, Abu-Lughod's critical remarks do not question their salience. Her criticism is that these concentrations are limited to only a few aspects of these phenomena. Furthermore, singling out certain cultural aspects undermines the complexity of issues in a culturally constructed universe.

I will focus briefly on the Harem zone, since the Harem will be addressed as part of the gender section below. Abu-Lughod interprets the Western preoccupation with Harem as a subtext in the European conceptions concerning images of Islamic women, thus merging the popular imagination with scholarship. Much of the scholarly outcome, then, is simply a reflection of pre-held images of the secluded universe of the Harem. The reflection of some of these images and visual depiction of Muslim woman has been the subject of research
Colonial Harem, Malek Alloula (1986) analyzes images of Islamic women in the Western imagination based on the contents of the portrayal of the Harem. With these images as the basis of his critique, he concludes that they reflect an imagination and not of the reality of the secluded universe and the persons who occupy it.

The objections to this focus on Harem are as follows. First, the implicit intent of the overwhelming focus on the Harem is to accentuate the difference between the West and the Orient. Hence, this criticism is based on the same issue raised by Said in reference to the otherness of the "others". In this context, females are the "others". Second, despite the overwhelming focus on females in general, the universe of the females has not actually been addressed or studied as a phenomenon and part of cultural ethos. An exception might be Abu-Lughod's (1989) own recent work in which she delineates the meaning and the complexity of the female world and the interrelationship with the male world.

In conclusion, the critics' responses to approaches to studying Islam—the Islamic world in general and the Arab world in particular—may be summarized. There is a need for a paradigm shift in order to study both the history and the anthropology of Middle East and the Arab world and to grasp the inherent plurality of the Arab people and cultures. Said advocates a scholarship with differing assumptions based on a
humanist and an anthropological perspectives to enable scholars to situate people in their cultural contexts and to make the cultural distinctions comprehensible as a part of the repertoire of the human experience. Middle Eastern and Arab history should be studied as part of world history, in an interactive perspective, that is to say, as part of the interaction of world events and local cultural responses. For the anthropology of the Middle East, the first requirement is an approach that would facilitate the ethnographic analyses of phenomena that are part of local cultural systems and also part of human endeavors. The second requirement is an approach to Islam, which would probe and study cultural ethos as part of the local system of meaning. In addition, there must be a sensitivity to social actions and actors in their specific settings, with an awareness that social order and social interaction are all part of the entire universe of meaning.

A number of recent texts addressed several of the issues. They focus on both Islam as a religion and as part of world history (Hodgsen 1974; Eaton 1990). They also focus on the plurality of the Arab people (Hourani 1991; Sullivan and Ismael 1991).

Islam as Religion and Source of Cultural Ethos

The justification for the designation of the Islamic culture as characteristic of the Middle East is that the most
important source of ethos is Islam. My discussion of Islam as a culture and religion is to indicate an important aspect of the ethos and world view of the Arabic-speaking population who come to study in the USA. Eickelman (1981) and Bates and Rassam (1983) view Islam as that which distinguishes the area and imparts to its bewildering complexity and variation a measure of unity and cultural uniformity. Berque (1973) shares in this generalization, but he extends the term to groups who do not share the Islamic religious beliefs although they do share in the ethos of Islamic culture.

The Islamic religion, as with all religions, is a system of symbols. It is through these symbols that conceptualizations of Islam as religion and Islam as culture are intermeshed. Geertz states that

> the interrelationship of the sacred symbols with world view, ethos, faith, common sense, and social context which constitutes the total religious experience. [1968:97]

In this section, the consideration of Islam is grounded in an anthropological perspective that religion must be studied in a specific cultural context and a lived cultural tradition. The study of religion can be approached from different perspectives depending on the purposes of the inquiry. Here I am addressing selected beliefs and practices and am limiting my discussion to one level of analytical description within a synchronic time frame.
Islam is one of the major world religions and has played a major role in world history (Hogdson 1974; Hourani 1991). From an anthropological perspective, El Zein writes that: 

Islam, like the theology of all religions, is an expression concerning the nature of man, God, history, consciousness, and meaning. [1977:248]

Islam, in a linguistic definition, is the Arabic word for 'submission' to the will of God. A Muslim is the person who submits. In Islam, the sacred text is the Qur'an. Qur'an is derived from Arabic and it means reading and recital. These are important attributes which have ramifications for the Arabic language. (This fact is also pertinent to the section on Arabic language below.) A key point here is that the functional usage of this sacred text is not equivalent to those of the other sacred texts of major religions, the Bible for instance. There are similarities in the functional aspects of several concepts whose focus is intended to address human actions. The salient dissimilarity is in the perception of the sacred text itself. For example, although the Qur'an and Bible are both sacred texts, the two texts differ in their individual meaning, in the constellation of meaning, and in their system of beliefs. Muslim believers hold that the Qur'an is the actual Word of God. Therefore, there are no versions, nor can there be translations, of the Word of God. The importance of this strongly held belief that Arabic, in its sacred usage, is the language of God is immense and has ramifications for Muslims everywhere. It must be noted that not all Moslems are Arabic speakers, but
Despite this, all Muslims, anywhere in the world and regardless of their national language, must learn and study the Qur'an and pray in the Arabic language.

In Islam there is a core distinction between the learned Islam and the popular Islam. For the former, Islam the religion is entrusted to scholars of the Qur'an who engage the exegesis of the Qur'anic contents. These Muslim scholars or 'Ulamas also engage in the interpretation of the Traditions and the Hadith, or the speech of the Prophet Mohammed. These learned members distinguish themselves from the other practitioners on the basis of their knowledge and their authority to interpret and judge religious views and practices.

On the other hand, there is an Islam of the masses who hold popular notions of what is Islam. The diversity in practices is based on the diversity in popular interpretation of Islam, which differs from the interpretations of the 'Ulamas. Geertz (1968) notes, in his observation of the local practices of Islam of Indonesia compared to those of Morocco, that they are indeed diverse. This sort of diversity is the rule, not the exception. Hence, El-Zien (1977) concurs with Geertz and advocates the notion of "Islams" rather than "Islam."

To account for the diversity of these cultural practices, a number of scholars: Hodgeson (1974); Eickelman (1981); and Eaton (1990), have postulated that during the
spread of Islam to many cultural contexts, it became combined with local culture and traditional practices. The study of diverse patterns from a synchronic frame provide some descriptive details for the diversity in the folk and practices of Islam. Eickelman (1981) states that, in undertaking a synchronic study of the diversity, it is essential to attend both to the textual analyses of the venerable tradition and to how these are incorporated in the ethnographic and social context. However, to comprehend the development of diversity more fully, it is necessary to attend to the diachronic analyses.

In summary, there are two forms of differentiation of Islam addressed above. One sort is due to the fact that everywhere in the Islamic world there are intra-cultural differences between the learned beliefs and popular/folk practices. The second is due to the inter-cultural differentiation inherent in the practices of the popular Islamic cultures.

One approach to the study of distinction between the normative and the practiced Islam suggests that these distinctions are to be de-emphasized in order to understand the general system of meaning. For instance, El-Zein (1977) argues that one aspect of the anthropology of religion is to understand the function of religion. He continues that despite the variety in the manifestations of Islam, what it means in the lives of those who adhere to it and how it
renders the universe meaningful and rational are the important considerations. He states that to de-emphasize these distinctions does not imply that these phenomena do not coexist, but, rather more to the point, that they coexist in relation to each other. He then offers an alternative view that maintains that the Islam of the 'Ulama's, or the formal theology, and the Islam of folk theology are not mutually exclusive in relation to a system of logic but are complementary to each other. El Zein concludes that Islam is, thus, a fluid yet coherent system, in which the logic is embedded in both nature and culture. The practice might differ from one culture to another, but the logic embedded in these various manifestations is the same.

To relate Islam, the system of religious beliefs, to Islam, the cultural system, Geertz conceptualized how religion intermeshes with cultural assumptions. Geertz writes:

the synthesis of two dimensions of human experience: 'world view' and 'ethos.' In any culture, the collective notions, images, and concepts of the world view establish the essential reality of nature, self, and society. Ethos constitutes the evaluative aspect of existence; it expresses the desired character, tone, style, and quality of social and cultural life. [1973:94]

Hourani (1991) emphasize the notion of Islam as a system of thought in which Islam the religion and Islam the culture are combined in a system of symbols and beliefs constructed and manifested in the discourse of everyday social interaction. Above all, Islam as a cultural system and/or as
religion becomes part of the identification of self, including the emblematic representation of self and to impart meaning to the lives, and to express certain aspirations.

Also of importance are selective aspects of Islamic ethos and sensibility. Here I will focus on parts of ethos and public sensibility and the relevant symbolic acts and interactions in their sociocultural context. These aspects are of particular relevance to issues of the research for this dissertation.

From an anthropological perspective, the comparison of the Arab Middle East with the West (and America in particular), results in a key generalization about the conceptualization of the domain of religion and religious demeanor in the life of the individual. The relation between human and God in the West is predominately part of the private domain. The relation between human and God, or Allah (the Arabic designation of God) in the Arab world, and indeed in the Islamic world in general, is part of the public domain.

Accordingly, Arab religious piety is public and is signified by words, actions and emblems displayed in public. For this reason, the call of prayers and the prayers themselves are recited from loudspeakers of mosques five times a day commencing at dawn. For the same reason, it is a common to see that some males perform their mid-day prayers in city streets in the context of the Middle Eastern cities.
While it is important to realize that piety is part of the public sphere, it is also important to add that I am not suggesting that there exists a uniform piety or acceptance of the religious dogma among all individuals. For, as with any other system of beliefs, there are pronounced variations in beliefs, practices, and devotion.

This public piety is a key to a cultural sensibility that engenders particular situations in language usage and is manifested in the ritual of social interactions. The sociolinguistic contexts of Arabic the sacred language and Arabic the secular language are incorporated into and overlap with one another. The prime example of that is the ubiquitous use of the expression Inshallah, or God willing, as a response in many situational interactions. Inshallah is only one form, but it is polysemous and varies in its functional usage in situated interaction, and it is these contexts that define the intended meaning of Inshallah.

The sacred-secular juxtaposition in language becomes a matter of speech conventions and distinguishes the salient ethos of the culture. I will illustrate this point with an anecdote. I was on a flight from the Middle East to London en route to the United States. The pilot was an Arabic-speaking Jordanian. In his announcement to the passengers about the course of the flight, the arrival in London and the other routine information, he gave the message in both English and Arabic. His English message ended with the
expected time of arrival in London. On the other hand, the Arabic message had the same informational content, but it closed biithinallah, "God permitting."

These communicative conventions and habits are taken-for-granted interactional forms shared by the pious and the non-believers alike. The differences between the communicative conventions are at the core of language and cultural contexts and their implications in cross-cultural interaction as relevant to Arabic speakers vis-a-vis American English speakers.

Summary of Islam

In summary, Islam is neither moribund nor a relic of the past. When Islam is used, it is to convey a system of thought and as a living cultural tradition in the Middle East. I attempted above to describe Islam as a system of religious beliefs that is not monolithic. While the ideals of Islam constitute the ethos and the universe of meaning for a large aggregate of people, there is a wide diversity in the religious practices observed across the phenomenon spectrum of the Islamic cultures. To understand the phenomenon in its cultural contexts, it is important to distinguish what is being addressed and from what perspective. To the observed Arabic population, there was a difference between being culturally Moslem and religiously Moslem, in identification and in practices. The phenomenon of
secularization of aspects of religion, thus rendering them part of public domain, is a key in understanding cultural themes. This can and does create havoc in and misunderstanding and cross-cultural interaction.

**Gender in the Cultural Context**

One of the goals in anthropology is that the anthropologist suspend his or her cultural attitudes in order to comprehend the essential nature of human experience. The discussion of gender in this section is based on this conceptualization of the anthropological enterprise. In Chapter I, I presented the operative definition of gender that will inform this work. I stated that gender and related attributes are cultural constructs. Here, I attempt to depict gender issues as part of cultural phenomena in the context of Arabic World.

In the Arab world and the Islamic world in general, a generalizable description obtains. The world of social interaction is based on the premise of sexual segregation and associated universes. The description of the gender-segregated social universe from a synchronic perspective does not address either the speculation or the apologies concerning the genesis or the development of these customs and traditions, as those are not within the parameters of this research. The point here is that this societal
phenomenon is part of the Islamic ethos and its meaning is part of that cultural context.

From the outset, because the description of the meaning of the segregated universe can be charged with emotional energy, it is important to indicate that my depiction is not intended to justify, nor condone, nor condemn, nor place a value judgment on that social reality.

I attempt to relate a social reality from an objective stand in my consideration of the phenomenon of a sexually segregated universe. The discussion has two purposes: the first is to describe a salient cultural construct concerning social universes of interaction for which the goal is to indicate that these cultural constructs generate related parameters in social interaction. The crux here is that these outcomes are expressed in a host of manifestations including the appropriate interpersonal interaction, the presentation of cultural self, spatial arrangement, and demeanor in public and private domains, among others.

The second component of the argument is related to the first as part of the presuppositions and human social actions embedded in the explicit assumption that human communications are structured, patterned, and culturally-learned social actions and discourses as was advanced in Chapter I. Herein one asks about those phenomena which are meaningful in the Arabic-speaking context concerning issues of social interactions including gender related issues. The
subsequent question is what happens when these aspects are transferred to out-of-their cultural context. That is to say, what is their meaning for Arabic speakers, male and female, studying in the USA in the macro American context and the micro face-to-face context? I indicated in Chapter I that one of the early conclusions of this research was about gender and how it factored in how the American cultural context was experienced for the observed Arabic-speakers. Aspects of these issues are inherent in the nature of the data and are part of the pertinent discussion in the chapters below. (This has relevance in their implication for the Arabic population in the American context as is discussed in Chapters IV & V and other places.)

To focus on the issue of gender here, I delineate a few pertinent aspects of sex segregated society, keeping in mind the assumption that the perceived attributes of maleness and femaleness are culturally defined and they are both incorporated and recursive in cultural discourse. It is inherent in the definition of segregation that there are two universes of and for social interaction, that of the females and that of the males.

The universe of the females is called Harem, which has its roots in the Arabic word Haram, or that which is forbidden. Then that universe, by denotation and connotation of the definition, is part of the inner sanctum of the private domain. Unlike the marked universe of the females,
the universe of the males is not marked and has no label as such. In comparison to the female social universe, the social universe of the males is that of the public domain.

I am invoking the Geertzian approach to observation of culture and the public arena and applying it to the public demeanor of females in Islamic context. The key point here is that dimensions of private and public domains and their significance to gender issues are important cultural conceptualizations as they entail certain behaviors in public, especially for females. It is for this reason that, when the females are in the public domain, they are covered as if to extend the privacy of the private domain into the public arena. This covering of the females is publicly symbolizing and safeguarding the semiotics of cultural ethos. To clarify, I am lumping together much variation, both in the manner and the degrees of the cloaked public-selves of females, but they are equivalent in function. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on attributes of Arabic-Islamic female modesty and associated demeanor, especially in the public domain, even when the female is not veiled. This emphasized modesty extends the veiling notion, modesty--an invisible veil for the public face. Even when the Arabic females are not covered, the dynamics of modesty are ever present.

It is important to note that the segregated universes engender particular outcomes. Here, it is limited to two.
first outcome of sexual segregation is concretely defined and signified in spatial arrangement in the public and the private domain. This is also observed in the arrangement of space of parts of the homes. The second outcome is in aspects of presentation of self combined with concepts of modesty in behavior and social interaction that are intimately linked to females' conduct and are perceived as salient attributes of the female gender, ascribed characteristics, and public behavior. The significance of these issues to the Arabic population as they sojourn in the current American context constitutes part of the substance of this document in various chapters which include data collecting and shall be discussed in Chapter IV.

Next the focus is on the Harem. In section one, above, I indicated the over-concentration of the study of the Harem. Abu-Lughod notes that, in spite of the overwhelming focus on the Harem in scholarship, the universe of the females has not been considered as a phenomenon, nor is it understood in its emic meaning in the cultures concerned.

As for my own evaluation of the concentrated and persistent invocation of the words and images of the Harem, I ask a different question about issues of focus. To scrutinize and question the perspective which anchors attention on the segregation of women, another point is raised by asking the following: if and when women are segregated, from whom are they segregated? It stands to
reason, then, to propose that the segregation of women entails a *de facto* segregation of men as well. Segregation of one gender is relational to the other. In reality these issues are intricate parts of cultural complexity. Indeed, these elements would benefit from future in-depth investigation of the phenomena in question.

For purposes of clarification, I briefly consider the social universes of male and females from one level of analysis. By social universe I imply that sphere pertaining to both the physical space and the social organization and interaction that are relevant to each of the segregated universes. The two social universes are structured and organized. In some aspects they are parallel to each other, while in other aspects, they are distinctive by definition of the two domains. Each of the social universes is organized and structured on bases of age, status, kin membership, relations of authority and others. The secluded private universe of the Harem as a social universe is inhabited by mothers or mothers-in-law, wives, at times co-wives, daughters and daughters-in-law, children of both sexes, clients, servants, and visiting relations. Of course, in that social universe also dwell some of the males that fit in the web of social relationships.

In the public universe of males, the organization of that universe is obtained by structuring that sphere. The social interactions are based and maintained on many
premises, like hierarchies, symbolic and actual dominations, in rights and duties and, very importantly, the obligations that can be ascertained in the male intra-social sphere. Hildred Geertz (1979), in her work on a Moroccan household, describes the very complex world of kin and clients and distant relatives and local kin network who are part of the articulation of the segregated social world.

There is a social dialogue of the female universe vis-a-vis the male social universes. This social discourse does take place in spite of the segregated universes, or because of them. Relationships in the inter-social universes are also maintained on basis of rights and duties; especially potent is the sense of obligations. All provide for the sense of participation in the significant mesh of social relationships. For example, part of the attributes of maleness are acts of chivalry by men vis-a-vis women, especially toward mothers and dependent kin. These are salient culturally ascribed attributes of maleness, both professed and practiced, by which males are evaluated or judged on the basis of perceived actions among other attributes of honorable conduct.

To add to the analysis, to go beyond the surface description of sex segregated universes, and to attempt to glance at the meaning of these universes and the dynamics of the situation, the anthropological lens becomes more aware of situations of complementarity between the universes of males
and females. This notion of complementarity was implicit when Geertz made this observation in her account of meaning in a Moroccan family. The key point here is the notion of a separated but linked world of complex intra- and inter-social universes.

In conclusion, I have attempted to convey various social actions pertaining to the segregated universes. The consideration of the phenomena as part of the understanding of the universe of meaning of the Arab culture and Islamic culture requires a close look at both genders and how the private and the public universes are maintained. My description of complementarity is not intended to justify the institutionalized segregated universes. It is intended to suggest a focus that takes into consideration the dialectics that render them intermeshing universes which are segregated but related, or the converse, separated and isolated. These matters are far more complex than a cursory analysis can describe. Further studies are necessary with focused inquiries to address many of these issues. From my view, it might be valid to approach both genders in the Arab context as part of and in relation to a socio-political systems based on an immoderate authority and patriarchy (Sharabi 1990).

Attributes of Diversity in the Cultural Context

In Chapter I, I introduced the concept of diversity to propose the heterogeneity of the Arabic population who come
to study in the USA. In this section, the discussion of diversity is focused on different aspects and attributes of the phenomenon that are also pertinent to the cultural background of the Arabic speakers.

The manifestation of diversity within the macro cultural context of the Arab Middle East is neither a novel or a recent situation, and very importantly, it is not static in its dynamism. In the context of Arab World, diversity exists on many levels. It has already been alluded to in Chapter I and, as implied, in connection with the macro speech community of the Arabic world and in relation to Islam. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will refer to cultural and ethnic groups interchangeably.

The study of diversity in the Arabic-speaking world is part of the approach to the study of complex society. From this perspective, to discern diversity in the social landscape is to focus on differentiations based on social organization encompassed in an ecological setting. Hence this approach to the complexity of the human social-scape in the Middle East would engage in consideration that may include the following: Bedouin nomadic and pastoralist human groupings; aspects of agriculture and villages with further differentiation between the organization of tribal and non-tribal based villages; and urban centers and cities. Furthermore, the study can be based on differentiation of urban centers from perspectives that focus on either centers
of Islamic civilization, or the city in modern time and/or as part of the studies of cities of the Third World.

From an earlier standpoint, the description of diversity was based on cultural groups who dwell in the cultures of the Middle East. An earlier anthropological view introduced the notion of "human mosaic" to describe the observed diversity. Coon (1958) introduced "human mosaic" as a metaphoric description of diversity based on scanning of the human social landscape at a point in time, that is to say, from a synchronic frame. The key objection to Coon's approach is that it conveys a static state of being, since Coon does not describe the dynamics of the observed configurations. These configurations are intergroup dialectical relations within the synchronic frame. In addition, the present configurations are the result of dynamics that enable changes over time, hence, are of significance. They are not immutable or frozen human configurations and intergroup relations. Then, on this basis, "human mosaic" is not an apt metaphor to convey the two dynamics.

The more recent theoretical perspective on diversity in the Middle Eastern context does take into consideration intergroup dynamics. These theories, like those of Barth, deal with ethnicity as dynamic interaction. Barth (1969:7-38) introduces his conceptualization of these intergroup ethnic dynamics. He invokes an ecological metaphor of niches and boundary-maintaining mechanisms to address some of these
dynamics. His analytical perspective, however, is limited to description of small-scale cultural groups. With his ecological metaphor, Barth's approach is to identify the configuration of groups and their modes of differentiation, and the intercultural dynamics which results from this identification. He points out the fluid aspects and active inter-dependency of the groups while maintaining boundaries in relationships between the groups. He focuses attention on the dynamics of negotiated interactions. Thus, he emphasizes that those aspects are not static intergroup relations, but they are dynamic and use various strategies in interaction.

Along with Barth's views, a second, more recent, perspective on diversity is salient in the consideration of attributes of differentiation and the intergroup interaction dynamics. This is the interactional sociolinguistics perspective. It is pertinent for describing the diversity of the Arabic Middle East. The thrust of the description of diversity and cultural group dynamics comes in terms of both distinctive features of cultural attributes and of interaction.

This perspective is based on two issues. The first is that specific attributes, like language, that extend to include communication style, are premises for group membership. Hence, they constitute aspects of cultural identity. The second is how these attributes of ethnicity become markers of ethnicity and associated designation and
how they are significant in the intergroup interaction and other dynamics. This angle, which focuses on description of diversity in terms of ethnic distinctions and inter-group interaction, is applicable to the macro context of Middle Eastern cultures.

To focus on issues of diversity in the Arabic macro cultural context, cultural groups are identified and ethnicity is defined on the basis of ethnic morphological features, language, and religious attributes, single or combined. For purposes of this chapter, I exclude the first attribute, the morphological aspects. I attend to the other two aspects, language and religion, as parameters for cultural group identification and signification of ethnicity.

Language Affiliation

Here, the premise is that language is the most general and significant ethnic marker. That is to say, language is both a salient attribute of ethnicity in group membership and an important identifying feature for outsiders. From a sociolinguistic perspective, there are three generalizations pertaining to language and diversity in the macro Arabic-speech community. The first generalization is diversity in that speech community. Not all inhabitants of Arabic-speaking countries are Arabic speakers. There are Kurdish-speaking populations, Turkic-speaking groups, Syriac and Aramaic, and Berbers among many others. The second
generalization is that not all Arabic-speakers have the same spoken vernacular. Those aspects are part of the section on Arabic language phenomena below. The third generalization is that the diversity conveyed by language use can be defined on a regional and urban rural continuum and based on other social differentiations within the macro speech communities.

Religious Affiliation

In the section on Islam above, I introduced one of the constituent points of diversity in the manifestation of various Islams, or the distinction between the learned and the folk Islams. Here, I attend to religion and diversity. In the context of the Arabic-speaking universe, the other salient parameter of diversity is based on religious affiliation as attributes of ethnicity. In these regards, I point out the following two generalization for the distinctions based on religious affiliation. The first generalization is that not all Muslims adhere to the same Islamic religious affiliation. While the majority are Sunnis, or the Islamic orthodoxy, there are other Islamic religious affiliations. For instance, there is Shi'ism in many areas of the Arab Middle East and elsewhere; there are the Ibadis, who are mostly in Oman and Libya; the Druze, mostly in Syria; Wahabis in Saudi Arabia; and Ismailis, among others. The second generalization is that not all of Arabic-speaking populations are Moslems. There are various Christian sects,
e.g. Eastern Orthodox, mostly in Syria and Lebanon, Coptic Christians of Egypt, the Maronites of Lebanon, Catholics, and Armenian Orthodox among others.

Having presented the two attributes, I relate their significance in sociolinguistic consideration. I indicated that both language and religious affiliation are significant parameters for the description and identification of diversity, and these combined attributes are ethnic markers. In intra-group processes, language and religious affiliation establish the parameter for belonging. Then, the identity of individual members of the group is based on a combination of distinctive features. The manifestation of these is utilized in the inter-group interaction and dynamics. These are used for the purpose of distinguishing between the "we" or "us" vis-à-vis "you" or "them." This differentiation is maintained by both the signification of ethnic selves, and other metacommunicative aspects, in the processes of communication.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982:7) propose that a key point is that social identity is established and maintained through language. To apply this inference to the context of the Arab World, it does describe a salient process for social membership and of group identification.

It is important to add that, in the same cultural context which values differentiation, besides language the ethnic identity is also signified by visual vocabulary. These
visual emblems are observed on many levels and conveyed by various means. By visual emblems, I mean modes of presentation of self in aspects of dressing, head gear, and demeanor, among others. The emblematic cultural selves are signified by combinations of all attributes and distinctive features. Also, changes in these features can be construed as public symbolic action that signifies and marks the changing representation of the cultural self.

In the processes of inter-group interaction, the emblematic cultural selves play an additional role in aspects of symbolic interaction. They indicate the identification of the cultural groups and their manifested ethnic identity on one hand, and, on the other hand, they invoke and maintain differentiation as part of inter-group interaction.

A key point here is that cultural identity is not fixed in manifestation, but is a fluid mode of signification. The cultural identities are composed of several distinctive features which are utilized and negotiated in the situated interaction to best convey the relation in context of interaction. In sum, for the analysis of inter-group identification, even though its manifestation is fluid and context-dependent, ethnicity has coherent parameters, but the signification of it is adaptable to context as deemed to be relevant in situation interaction.

Besides the above attributes of language and religion in the macro-cultural Arabic cultural context, the cultural
diversity is signified on bases of other sources of differentiation. These aspects are inherent in the hierarchy of human organization that are based on class structures, relation of power and authority and other human configurations that cut across the spectrum of the social organization. Those also become part of negotiated cultural identities in situated group dynamics.

In conclusion, there is a need for much future anthropological research to address cultural and ethnic diversity in the Arab world. It is pursued as part of the anthropology of complex societies and to focus on ethnic phenomena addressing the significance and signification of identities in inter-group and intra-group dynamics. The phenomenon of diversity in the social landscape of the Arab world is neither new nor fixed in its configuration. An important aspect, diversity of cultural groups, is recognized, identified and amplified in that cultural context.

I propose that the synchronic frame yields descriptive observations that can be summarized by the metaphor "cultural kaleidoscopes" in place of "human mosaic." An important generalization here is that, by comparison to the general American cultural perspective, which invokes the cultural metaphor of a "melting pot" to deal with existing diversity among cultural or ethnic ethnicity, in the context of Arab Middle East, the inter-cultural groups' differentiation is
accentuated. The discussion of diversity and attributes includes some of parameters which have relevance to the Arabic-speaking population that comes to study in the USA.

Arabic Language in the Sociocultural Context

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the Arabic language defines the parameter of the encompassing macro-speech community. In the section on Islam, I introduced the role of the Arabic language in the Islamic world view and sensibilities. In this section, I address a few phenomena of the Arabic language in its cultural context. One of the premises for this discussion is that some aspects of these phenomena constitute an implicit part in the interaction of Arabic-speakers being educated in the USA.

In the ensuing discussion, I focus on four language phenomena for Arabic, grounded in assumptions of interactional sociolinguistics applied to Arabic and cultural discourse. These are addressed from one level of analysis. First, I describe a number of attributes and distinctive features of each. Then I describe how these phenomena may relate to each other and some of the ramifications of these relationships. I delineate the four distinctions respectively.
Classical Arabic

The first language phenomenon is in reference to Classical Arabic. The genesis of the Classical Arabic form is subject to debate among scholars of the Arabic language. These discussions are not within the realm of the current consideration. Classical Arabic, as a form, has sacred and secular functions. In its secular use, Classical Arabic remains a highly esteemed language of poetry (Berque 1974) and influence in modern day Arabic poetics as indicated by Adonis (1990). The Classical Arabic is the form of Arabic used in religion, constituting the sacred Qur'anic Arabic, or the Word of God. This salient, distinctive feature of Classical Arabic, as was mentioned in the section on Islam, is held sacred in liturgical use of the Arabic language anywhere the adherents of the Islamic faith may reside. It is the learned 'Ulamas who, as scholars of religion, engage in the exegesis of the sacred forms.

Another and very important distinctive feature of Classical Arabic is that it is written, as denoted in the meaning of Qur'an, which is 'to be read.' That is in comparison to a tradition of orality before the advent of Islam. Adonis (1990) places emphasis on the written part since it does introduce new factors of textuality. It introduces important differences between spoken and written discourse. Hence, this distinction becomes embedded and becomes the reason for the prestige of the written text.
Qur'anic Arabic is acquired as part of the religious teaching based on memorization and recitation. Secular usage is part of the studies of the Classical Arabic, which leads to a second phenomenon.

Modern Standard Arabic

The second language phenomenon is that of Modern Standard Arabic or MSA. Modern Standard Arabic is derived from Classical Arabic, but it is not a complete isomorphic form with Classical Arabic. MSA is used for secular discourse and, since it has its roots in Classical Arabic, the latter becomes its source of prestige. In turn, MSA is viewed as the essence of the language and its poetic discourse and the route of access to the richest portion of culture (Bateson 1967). The important distinctive feature is that MSA comprises the official language, and it is an emblem in the Arabic-speaking world. Hence, it is a tangible signification for the macro-speech community. The other key distinctive feature concerning usage of MSA is primarily of secular application. The Arabic-speaking child acquires MSA in school as part of his or her formal education and language learning experience.

This prestige language has uses in both written and spoken discourse. It is used in special contexts. It is the language of the news, the language of urban political discourse, and, of special importance, the language of modern
poetry. To interject here and add information concerning the role of the poet in the context of current Arabic culture, besides the aesthetics of poetry, the poet in the Arab World represents the voice of the dissident and social commentator. The reliance on MSA makes the message evocative to a multitude of audience.

Spoken Arabic

The third language phenomenon is concerning spoken Arabic Vernaculars or the variable koines (Bateson 1976:96). A distinctive feature is the wide variety of forms used throughout the speech community of the Arabic-speaking world. Some scholars have suggested sub-groupings of the spoken forms of Arabic based on similarities into e.g. groupings of Eastern, Levantine, North African or al-maghreb, among others. The origins and reasons for these variations are subject to scholarly debate and several speculative hypotheses. There is a parallel explanation for the folk Islam and the spread of the Arabic language.

Among other distinctive features, the vernacular is used only in the spoken discourse of every day life interaction throughout the Arabic-speaking world. The other salient distinctive feature is the mode of its acquisition. It is learned as the child's first language, acquired through the enculturation processes.
To describe usage of the vernacular, it is important to add that, from a sociolinguistic perspective, through the vernacular forms and functions, the poetics of every day life can be and are maintained and conveyed. The everyday language is brimming with allegorical parables expressed and articulated in the vernacular. Other forms of interactional functions are performed by spoken vernacular in everyday life as a part of phatic communication, the language identities, social markers, and speech events.

The Middle Language

The fourth language phenomenon and the last consideration is the emergence of what is called the middle language: *arabiya wusta*, or middle Arabic. Berque, 1974. This is a current and developing usage of language in which lexical items from the MSA are interspersed in the context of various vernaculars. This is a form that differs from code switching or gloss switching, which is also combining two language forms. It is a modification of the MSA into the spoken vernacular, which becomes a spoken norm. Besides the incorporated critical items, it is parallel to the vernacular Arabic in usage, only in the spoken form and in mode of acquisition. Therefore, the distinctive feature is its usage in spoken discourse only. As in the case of the vernacular, Middle Arabic is acquired by hearing the spoken form and not through formal instruction.
Having described some attributes and implied parts of the connections between the four language phenomena that pertain to Arabic, I elaborate further on some of the inter-relationships that engendered.

**Intertwining of the Forms of Arabic**

First I note the relation between the Classical Arabic and that of Modern Standard Arabic. The MSA as form is derived from the Classical Arabic but is used mostly for secular purposes. The intertwining of the two forms, because the former has sacred significance, has created an interesting polysemy in usage. The sacred-secular polysemic condition engendered many situations in which lexical items, whose genesis is sacred, have manifestations in secular usage. In the aforementioned section on Islam, I cited the juxtaposition of the two secular and sacred realms citing the uses of *inshallah* as an example.

Here, because of its salience and because of its familiarity in the American popular culture, I cite an additional example. I am referring to the label *Jihad*, generally defined as Holy War. *Jihad* is the root source for other lexemes like *Mujahid*, or he who undertakes the Holy War. *Jihad* is polysemic and from it derived many uses of secular meaning. A *Mujtahid*, which is based on the same root is used in the secular sphere to denote a dedicated person, or a committed student and others.
Jihad, in its secular usage, has various meanings ranging from to struggle, in the existential sense, to battle with, to strive to earn a living, to endure a hardship, among other variations which also would include personal names of either gender. The intended meaning of Jihad is context bound and is coded and interpreted by the interlocutors based on both their shared cultural knowledge and the communicative knowledge.

The meaning of Jihad, in secular political discourse comes close to overlapping with the invocation of national rallying, a sense equivalent to the American sense of national honor, fighting for democracy, preserving ideals, and other notions intended to rally people and spur their nationalism in order to act for or support the advocated position.

To sum up, the confusion about the meaning of Jihad in its cultural context often occurs when the sacred-secular distinctions are either not drawn or not made explicit, or, perhaps not understood. Jihad, out of its cultural context, has become a familiar and evocative catch phrase in the American popular media. This adds to the myriad of situational miscommunications. For example, Jihad can be a male or female name. One of the consultants in my field work reported that their daughter was taunted for her name and shunned as a religious fanatic—an ironic situation, as she was being raised by a culturally Muslim, not religiously
Muslim family. These issues of forms of identification are explored further in Chapter VI.

The second interrelation of forms occurs between Modern Standard Arabic and the Vernacular. This is described as a "diglossic" language situation. Ferguson (1972) describes diglossia in his description of language phenomena and social context. The diglossic Arabic language situation exists in reference to co-variation phenomena for two glosses, Modern Standard Arabic and the vernacular. As already indicated, the former is evaluated as High (H) prestige, in comparison to the latter which described as the Low (L) prestige form. Ferguson's designations are based on their attributes, usage in situational discourse, and significantly, on the perception of the Arabic speakers themselves.

Compared to the unifying MSA, the low prestige forms of spoken Arabic are variable throughout the Arabic-speaking countries. Besides their variability, they are not written. When they are written, this usually connotes parody. Perhaps the fact that the vernaculars are unwritten adds to their perceived low evaluation (or the converse) in the cultural context that emphasizes reading and recitation as part of world view.

In usage of the two glosses in the spoken discourse of every day life, at times there is gloss switching equivalent to code switching which Blom and Gumperz (1972) would characterize as metaphoric. This can also be viewed as part
of cuing phenomena described by Gumperz (1982) and part of repertoire of the communicative competence and the establishing of social identity of the interlocutors in the interpersonal discourse. (This gloss switching was evident and significant in the context of my field work in the USA and, based on my biculturalism, it was significant when these occurred during the interviews, as is indicated in Chapter III.)

Having described the diglossic language situation in spoken Arabic, where does the fourth phenomenon arabiya wusta, the middle Arabic, fit in the diglossic designation? By its classification as the middle language, it is part of a continuum in the phenomena that pertains to Arabic language. As noted, the middle Arabic is a spoken form.

To take into consideration the notion of the continuum and to further discuss the diglossic description, from one perspective, when a diglossic Arabic language is described, there is an explicit designation of high prestige and low prestige forms. These are relational and comparative terms in reference to Modern Standard Arabic, the prestige form. I would suggest that the conceptualization of a continuum does not negate the diglossic designation, since middle Arabic is not as prestigious as MSA. All forms are in comparison to the MSA. MSA is still the foremost prestigious gloss whose poetics are extolled by the Arabic speakers, lettered and unlettered alike.
Some sociolinguists challenge the idea that the prestige is reserved for the MSA. Ibrahim (1986) notes that he encountered forms of vernacular which are considered prestige forms by the interlocutors. This is still part of the continuum that suggests there are variations of the spoken Arabic considered more prestigious dialects of the vernacular compared to other vernacular forms, but not when compared to MSA. Hence, his observation still does not negate the diglossic situation.

The situation of the Arabic language in the social context can be described as diglossic or polyglossic on a continuum depending both on what is being addressed and from what perspective. It is a polyglossic situation when the focus of the inquiry is the subject of variation in the vernaculars, in relation to each other and as part of the continuum. On the other hand, the diglossic distinctive features do manifest themselves based on the Fergusonian description, when the relation based on the distinction between the high learned Arabic compared to, the low, only spoken, Arabic forms.

Furthermore, there are scholars who advocate the need to address the phenomenon and what the notion of Modern Standard Arabic entails. They are skeptical about consideration of MSA. Among those is Bezergan (1973) who would even argue about the utility of the designation and points out the need for much research to study phenomena of Arabic language.
Ibrahim (1989) had raised similar concerns about many issues concerning communication in Arabic and how they have been considered.

To conclude this language section, because of the sacredness of the Qur'an and Qur'anic Arabic, it has engendered certain situational juxtapositions of the language usage. Aside from its sacred significance, the Arabic language is a vehicle in every day social intercourse, and it is, like all languages, intended to do things with words. Arabic speakers value eloquence and verbal performance. For Arabic speakers, the language becomes a medium of expression which is to be equated with visual arts, and a mode of cultural expressions coupled with narrative gestures in the non verbal communicative aspects. When phenomena of Arabic language are considered from an interactional sociolinguistic perspective, it is of importance to indicate what is being addressed in forms and function. For example, as a sociolinguistic marker in social discourse, skillful poetics and eloquence are all perceived as prestigious.

As related to the discussion above a final note for argument is to return to the implications of these phenomena for the Arabic-speaking students and accompanying families who come to the American cultural context. If these phenomena of interaction exist in their first language, Arabic, they are bound to have an influence in learning or interaction in the context of American English. Some of
these issues are subject of consideration in the pertinent chapters below.

Recapitulation and Conclusion

In the chapter on cultural background, I endeavored to establish a number of cultural aspects and ethos of the Arabic-speaking students, the population of this study. The cultural issues were deemed necessary to situate the observed population into their sociocultural and sociolinguistic setting from which they sprung. That cultural context provides the essence of their sensibilities. It is implicit that their distant culture becomes party in the interplay within the dynamics of the current cultural experiences in American setting.

Thus, the cultural background chapter is assembled from selective and salient themes in Arabic culture. Accordingly, I sought to denote phenomena concerning Islam as a religion and a cultural system, with its variable manifestations. Then, I discussed an aspect of Islamic sensibility as it is manifested in the world of the segregated universe of the two genders within the context of that cultural system. I focused on attributes and aspects of cultural diversity. Finally, I focused on phenomena concerning the Arabic language in sociocultural and interactional contexts and the sacred and the secular language juxtaposition.
In the context of this chapter, I included several critiques which have been raised concerning problems of approaches for the study of the Arab and Islamic Orient. To underscore a particular critique that covers several issues, I reiterate that, while Islam constitutes the ethos and the universe of meaning for a large aggregate of people, there are problems of characterization of Islam and culture. Bates and Rassam note:

All too often today the term Islam is invoked to 'explain' a whole range of phenomena. These include political instability, oppression of women, economic underdevelopment, national xenophobia, and a host of psychological attitudes such as fatalism, rigid conservatism, and dependency. In fact, such a simplistic perspective takes us back to an earlier period in history, ... Few, if any, would invoke Christianity to explain all of the features of Western society; Islam likewise cannot be considered as determining all features of society in the Middle East. [1983:81]

In response, studies are needed from an anthropological approach concerning several phenomena of Arabic culture: religion, gender and interactional sociolinguistics. The studies of a massive and an undifferentiated Middle Eastern Arab World do not suffice, for they render the texture of cultural and human landscape into a blurred universe which would deface that world of its richly intertwining, and overlapping plurality.

The concluding remark here is concerned with the Arabic-speaking population. The observed Arabic-speaking persons in Tucson, including the students who matriculate at the
University of Arizona, have come from most of the countries noted in the section of geography. For purposes of this chapter, there are particular aspects that are noteworthy as they are part of the background and presupposition concerning the American experience. They were gleaned in the general ethnographic interviews. Based on the accounts of all of those interviewed concerning their perception of coming to study in the USA, the following generalizations emerge: the first is that the students who were sent here, whether sponsored by the concerned governments or different sponsorships, regarded themselves as the agents for change in the conditions of under-development. This preconception has corollary relevance to the second factor. It translated to an emphasis on science and technocracy as fields of pursuits. The spectrum of their studies is wide but salient in these two aspects since they are perceived to be tangible factors in change. The final issue here is that all the students interviewed, with one exception, reported that coming to the USA was perceived to be an advantageous and prestigious undertaking. Furthermore, and as reported by the students, this perception was shared by their families who accompanied them as well as their families who are their home countries.

The students who come here bring with them their cultural selves and seem to carry baggage of expectations of a better education, prestige, and renown for studying in the United States.
CHAPTER III: METHOD

This chapter discusses the methods used in my ethnographic field work. It addresses the particulars of the method as follows. In the first section, I consider the locality and duration of the field work. The next section focuses on theoretical issues. The subsequent section focuses on the observed population related to definition of the actual population and the process of selection. The following section is about the particulars of the setting, which subsumes the academic and the community scenes and settings detailed for the study. The next section focuses on data collecting procedures which subsumes the issues of participant observation, access to consultants, and the ethnographic interviews and the significance of that communicative event in the actual field work experience. The final section is the summary.

Location and Duration of the Field Work

All of the field work was conducted in Tucson, Arizona. The research for this work was conducted in a series of overlapping phases. The formal study commenced during the Spring 1987 academic semester; however, prior to that I had been informally observing various social interaction of Arabic vis-a-vis Americans. The formal observation and study concluded at the end of the Fall 1989 semester. There were
brief interruptions during the field work period due to intensive periods of exams or research, vacation absences, and a host of other demands on my consultants. There were other occasions culturally relevant to the Arabic-speaking population, which took variable amounts of time. Many consultants attended to their own culture-specific commitments. For example, a number of individuals observed Islamic religious events and rites such as Ramaddan, the month of fasting. I became interested in these occasions, as they punctuated the process of field work. After the initial phase of the study, rather than being disruptive of the field work, many of these instances were invaluable opportunities for participant observation as they provided added insights into issues of cultural identity. (The cultural identity of the Arabic persons is discussed in Chapter VI.)

Conceptual Themes and Presuppositions

The methodology of an investigative work is informed initially by the definition of the problem under investigation and the salient aspects of that problem. Hence, method is an outgrowth of the interaction of theoretical presuppositions, the defined problem, and the actual field work experience.

The general and particular theoretical frameworks of this chapter are based on the perspective and assumptions of the ethnography of communication, a branch of cultural
anthropology which addresses communicative events and their dimensions. This approach is detailed in the works of Hymes (1964, 1974a), and Gumperz and Hymes (1972). (Saville-Troike (1989) provides a overview of the ethnography of communication.)

The ethnographic interview is often an essential component of anthropological field work. Along with participant observation, it has been at the core of the anthropological inquiry. As a methodology, the ethnographic interview is based on the explicit assumption that the individuals of the speech community (known variously as consultants, informants, and interviewees), whom the anthropologist seeks to consult, are social actors and persons who produce voices and interpretations to elucidate their understanding of cultural phenomena and explicate the ethnographic situation being observed. These cultural consultants relate how situations, events, and experiences are perceived and rendered meaningful to them in their cultural framework.

Geertz (1973) indicated that the ethnographic interview is an intersubjective endeavor taking place between the ethnographer and the consultants. The outcome is the gleaned interpretation of the consultant, which the ethnographer then renders into her or his own form of interpretation.

The ethnographic interview, methodologically, remains a salient procedure in anthropological inquiry. There is,
however, perennial concern with understanding the dynamics of that very undertaking. This concern does not question the validity of the undertaking, rather, it explores the various aspects of the ethnographic interview and probes these communicative events in order to better serve the goals of the study. In addition, these concerns range widely. Additional considerations involve the format of interview questions in the field work situation, the dynamics of interactions in these contexts, and a host of other similar questions raised by the various researchers: Briggs (1984), Agar (1980), Spradley (1979, 1980), and Spradley and McCurdy (1972). There are also efforts to recognize the strategies the field worker employs to gain access to a target community and to be assigned a social role within the community. The implication of this role in the context of the communicative events raises a concern.

From the onset, I should state that I gathered all my data by the processes of observation, participant observation, and face-to-face interviews. I did not rely on any questionnaires handed to Arabic-speaking students and/or their companions. This more in-depth ethnographic approach facilitated the core concerns of this research. The interactive processes in these communicative events of myself vis-a-vis the members of the Arabic population, including follow up questions, aided in my interpretation of the accounts and voices of their American experience.
The ethnographic method is a **process** that includes both participant observation and the ethnographic interview (Spradley 1979, 1980). Understanding of this processual dimension redefines the approach and adapts it to the changing requirements of the field work and to new situations which inevitably ensue while the data collection is in progress. This processual model requires constant redefinition of field work strategy based on feedback and inferences. Thus the strategies for the field work procedures are recursively developed.

In describing what is meant by these processes, I invoke a musical metaphor for doing this field work. Field work is like a fugue or polyphonic progression, where the phases of data collecting overlap as new consultants are added and new scenes explored. These all add to the composition throughout the data-gathering period. This composition has intricacies of depth, color, and variety which constitute the texture and the dynamics of the complete work.

Exemplifying this polyphony, based on my field work experience, I discuss the processes with reference to the selection of the actual Arabic population and selecting consultants. The consultants, their settings, and phases of the field times are intertwined issues and are inseparable from the methods. In turn, they are defined by the topic of the study as stated above. The how and the what of the
research are interrelated and what is being sought provides the grounds for the tasks that are at the crux of the how. What is being sought provides the grounds for the tasks at the crux of the how.

In 1987-1989, the different phases of the polyphonic fugue began. I spent a good part of the first semester trying to assess the situation, locating the students, establishing contact and expanding my pool of potential consultants at the Center for English as a Second Language. I spent the summer with the families who stayed behind, focusing on many of the living arrangements.

By the Fall 1988 semester, I was familiar with many members of the core group but began adding to the general and core pools taking the opportunity to focus on the newcomers as well the established students. My observations combined the living and academic areas. At the end of the 1988 academic year, more newcomers were added to the pool of the particular population as I focused on the core population. Throughout the academic year I also focused on the living arrangements at Christopher City, for these international student meetings were only part of the winter and correlated to students activities. The key consultants had been identified by the fall of 1987. At each stage of addition to the population I commenced the general and specific observations and led to interviews.
Throughout the subsequent parts of this chapter, there is an extensive reliance on binary distinctions. However, I have drawn these distinctions to organize the structure of the expository discussion. They do not undermine my "polyphonic view" of ethnography. Many of these phenomena represent a continuum with various areas overlapping, therefore, they are not to be construed as mutually exclusive.

**The Observed Population**

The ideal population was suggested in Chapter I. Also, the two domains for the study were part of the introduction in Chapter I. The total population is 89. This number consists of the general population, those who were interviewed for general information. This population does include some Arabic-speaking instructors, friends, neighbors, among others. The particular Arabic group also included the American wives and visiting parents as well as the consultants themselves. The particular group then was narrowed down to a core, the ten key consultants.

The definition of the observed population overlaps with the discussion of the setting of the observation. In this section, I explain how the study population was derived and justify my decisions about whom to include or exclude from the study. I explain how I moved from the a priori definition
of the ideal population to the actual composition of the Arabic population observed.

The Arabic-speaking population I chose to observe is best viewed in the light of both the research questions of the dissertation and as an outcome of the actuality of the field work processes. In Chapter I, I introduced the research question: an inquiry into the adaptation of the Arabic population to temporary residence in an American cultural context. There I also introduced a general definition of the ideal population to be observed: adult, Arabic-speaking students and those who have accompanied them to the United States.

The process by which I arrived at the actual population was indicated by some aspects of the dynamics of the aforementioned fugue. The actual population is best illustrated metaphorically and in terms of concentric circles. I utilize the concentric metaphor to recapitulate the conceptualization of the population in this field work experience. There are three circles of consultants: the general group, the outer rim; the particular group, the middle ring; and finally, the key consultants at the core. In the general group, I included a number of Arabic persons as well as others, such as CESL instructors, staff and neighbors at CC. In the particular group included are the members of the Arabic population as well as those who accompany them, primarily female spouses. I have also
included in this circle American wives of Arabic students, as well as visiting parents, whenever that was feasible. Ten key consultants, of both genders, made up the core, or the nucleus. (See Appendix B)

Selection Process

My pursuit of an Arabic population in Tucson did not encompass all of the Arabic-speaking students residing in Tucson. For example, my ethnographic observations included neither those Arabic-speaking students who attend Pima Community College nor the entire Arabic-speaking student body (400-500 persons) attending the University of Arizona. The actual population does include a wide assortment of the Arabic countries. (Appendix A)

Choices concerning inclusion or exclusion of segments of the entire Arabic-speaking population at the U of A and Pima College were based on the scope of my questions as well as for pragmatic reasons. While a survey methodology using questionnaires might have permitted such a large study population, I chose to use a more in-depth ethnographic approach using participant observation and ethnography of speaking elements. Additional restrictions were imposed by issues of access and availability of the relevant individuals. There were several constraints operating against the participant observations and ethnographic interviews.
Some of these shall be woven into the context of this chapter.

My initial definition of the ideal population was "the Arabic-speaking students and their companions," as was ascertained in the a priori phase of formulation of the research problem. Based on early processes, this definition changed within the initial phase of the field work. I again focused the definition in the subsequent phases of the field work. It is not the definition of population that changes, but the contents and what is subsumed in that designation of the consultants. Conceptions of the study population changed during the course of the research. Referring back to the concentric circle metaphor, I eventually narrowed down the population to the particular included core consultants who participated in the extensive ethnographic interviews. In the final analysis, they represented the "Arabic community."

The Composite

Arriving at a composite representation of the Arabic social actors required a methodological decision. While the research covered a myriad of social actors and situated interactions, in the ethnographic account these are considered as composite accounts. The composite representation is not intended to reduce the diversity or the complexity of the population. The notion of the composite is formulated on the basis of representative voices of
individuals as they interpret, in their narratives, the issues addressed. (My observation and interpretation, combined with their interpretative accounts, constitute the data). The composite is a heuristic device for the consideration of the population, as is conveyed in the entire context of this dissertation.

Domains

The definition of the target population is linked to the definition of the domains of interaction. The details of these definitions and domains are explicated in the observational settings section of this chapter; however, some aspects of the setting are considered here in relation to the designation of the population. The two observational settings were "on the University of Arizona campus" and "off the campus."

Upon closer inquiry into the "on-campus realm," particulars of the population became more clearly defined in the initial reconnaissance. The Arabic-speaking students were at various educational levels ranging from entry level, for students seeking to develop English proficiency, to those in English or other refresher courses in pursuit of college degrees in diverse fields, and others who are striving toward advanced degrees (including Ph.D.s). The educational pursuits of participating students will be addressed only when they are relevant to a descriptive or analytic point. It
is sufficient here to indicate that the observed students were at various levels both in the program at Center for English as a Second Language (CESL) and in the regular classes of the University of Arizona.

The selection of the classes to be observed in the CESL program was based on the enrollment of Arabic-speaking students in those classes. As representative of the general population, instructors of CESL classes I observed were also included in my interview schedule. I re-interviewed several of these instructors as the work progressed and as I conducted more extensive participant observation in their classes. I also included other CESL persons in the interview schedule. These were instructors whose classes were not observed due to insufficient Arabic-speaking student enrollment.

These particular instructors were recommended by their colleagues as having long experience in teaching international students or as having a particular interest in the topic of cross-cultural interaction. I included them in the beginning phase of my field work for the additional insights they might provide. I also interviewed individuals whose roles involve them in the affairs of international students. These population segments were included to provide an adequately diverse data base for the analysis of Arabic-speaking persons' experiences. At this initial phase, the full focus of the participant observation was on the CESL
program both in outside the classroom. At this phase I had to reassess my a priori definition of the ideal Arabic population being studied.

**Gender**

Based on the initial observations, I reached an early conclusion that gender is a salient issue for the observations of Arabic-speaking students. At that point I began taking into consideration the gender factor as it pertained to the Arabic student and non-student experience of life in the United States, specifically their adaptations to it. Gender is clearly a significant influence in regard to both these issues.

Also at this initial phase, based on my CESL observations, I redefined the category of those individuals who had accompanied the students to the United States. This category became more extensive and contained two subcategories: the spouses of married male students and the chaperons of unmarried female students. In one case, the category of the spouses and chaperon was the same; the male was the accompanying spouse, while the wife was the recipient of a grant to pursue an advanced degree in the USA. He was the only accompanying male spouse. She was to have been accompanied by a female relative as her chaperon but got married before coming to the USA, so the sponsorship was transferred to her husband.
The predominant members of the subcategory of accompanying family were wives. In some instances, the accompanying wives became students themselves. However, the obstacles for such pursuits were many, grounded in financial constraints and the pragmatics of everyday life.

My study of the population did not include a close investigation of the children accompanying their student parents. However, when asked about their children, parents provided me with additional insights about their American experience and the process of adaptation to temporary residence, as will be discussed in Chapter VI.

I learned about the second subcategory of the accompanying individuals, the chaperons, in the initial phase of the ethnographic observation. The chaperons escort unmarried female students. The chaperons represented another aspect of interest to me, especially as relevant to daily lives of these non-student accompanying persons.

Two aspects of this escortship must be clarified at this point. First, not all Arabic-speaking countries have the mihram law which mandates that single females must be accompanied by an adult member of the family in a role of chaperon. (Female kin are deemed the most likely persons to qualify for that role, hence mothers or aunts may be chaperons). (The definition of Mihran is linked to the word haram which was mentioned in Chapter II). Not all Arab countries require the chaperon. These Mihran laws, enacted
in the late seventies and early eighties, are most prevalent in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. When these laws apply applicable to unmarried female students and such students are sponsored by their governments, the chaperons are also supported by the government. However, un-sponsored students were also obligated by the Mihram law.

Both subcategories of accompanying persons are of special importance for this study. On one angle of analysis, their presence has a significant role in how the students adapt to and experience their temporary stay in America. On another angle of analysis, I was interested in how the American experience affects those accompanying members themselves as well as what strategies of adaptation to temporary residence they espouse.

Secondary Phase

In the ensuing phase of my field work, I continued intensive participant observations of both male and female students in the CESL program. Concurrently, I extended my participant observations to include members of the broader population of Arabic-speaking students attending regular University of Arizona classes.

There were novel situations and constraints to this endeavor. Access to the various classrooms was more restricted and the concentration of Arabic-speaking students per class became diluted. Given these features, I
reconsidered my research strategies as well as other aspects of my focused field work. I decided to direct my attention toward ethnographic interviews of the Arabic-speaking university students and some of their instructors.

On and off the university campus, my circle of familiar students expanded. I met several of the accompanying persons, both wives and chaperons. I also met several wives of students through introductions by friends or during social activities.

In order to adequately represent life off campus and the dynamics of everyday American life experience, I extended my general population to include others in the interviews. I added neighbors, the personnel at Christopher City, and others who interacted with the Arabic-speaking population. A few of those individuals proved to be pivotal and were interviewed extensively.

**Key Consultants**

Thus far, the population has been described in terms of both how the consultants came to be included in both the circles' particular and core groups as well as the extended definition of the population, and how those distinctions developed in terms of the field work situation. The next step in the field work was to narrow the focus and center the inquiry on those individual consultants who were identified as key consultants.
In keeping with the concentric metaphor proposed above, the most extensive field work was conducted with these key consultants. The key consultants included persons of both genders who were at different phases of the educational experience. They became key consultants based on the combination of several factors, including the depth and range of their reflections and insights concerning their own and others' American experience, their accessibility for ethnographic interviews, and the rapport I developed with them. Having explored the various facets of the population, the various interpretations of the American experience, and the adaptations to temporary residence in the United States, I was convinced that these consultants would provide me with a representative and insightful interpretation of both the American experience of the Arabic persons and their adaptations to temporary residence.

**Observational Settings**

In both institutional and residential settings, it is methodologically important to identify the field work loci as either general or particular primary settings. This distinction is based on two factors. First, I recognize the importance of these localities in the lives of the consultants and the significance of these settings to the Arabic population and myself. Second, the significance and
setting of these localities affected my accessibility to them.

As indicated above, the field setting of my study was Tucson, Arizona. In this section, the setting shall be considered in terms of the actual locales of the field work and the processes by which these locales acquired significance for the field work. In the ensuing discussion, the two aspects of locale and process will be juxtaposed. The actual settings within Tucson are best viewed in terms of their function and significance to the American experience of the Arabic-speaking population.

The setting, first introduced in Chapter I, is organized into two macro spheres of interaction, on campus and off campus. The former refers to the University of Arizona campus and shall be referred to as the Campus. The latter refers to regions outside the campus, specifically the American community and residential quarters. The macro contexts, in turn, include several settings which were identified as sites of concentrations of the Arabic-speaking population on the basis of the initial phases of participant observation. They were conceptualized to incorporate the general and the specific and/or primary scenes and settings.

Methodologically, the procedures for data gathering in both macro domains are part of the complex of field work strategies in an urban setting. Theoretically, my consideration of settings was informed by concepts from
ethnography of communication (Hymes 1972; Saville-Troike 1989). The setting constitutes some of the significant parameters of the contexts of interaction. These settings are conceptualized in terms of the physical setting and the organization of the space of interaction. This takes into account all engaged participants and/or those who were co-present in the scenes of interaction. These considerations apply to both macro contexts.

Now I shall attend to the field work settings in more detail. The first consideration is of the macro sphere of the institutional (campus) setting. The second consideration is of the living quarters. Within each macro context, the loci of the general and the particular settings are indicated.

On Campus Institutional Setting

The campus setting subsumes two areas: the Center for English as a Second Language (CESL) and the regular University of Arizona program. The two programs are distinct but are complementary in form, function, and spatial setting. Within these macro settings are more specific settings: classrooms, hallways, offices, libraries, gathering places, cafeterias, and other spaces. Some of these spaces are common for all students on campus, while others specific to the building of the CESL program in particular. For each of the two programs, while I maintained the specific setting for the
observation to be the classrooms, I included several of the other areas of interactions for the general observations mentioned above.

The CESL Program

Technically, CESL is not part of the University of Arizona. While the CESL class schedule and program does overlap with that of the University. Students who attend CESL do not necessarily continue at the University of Arizona.

Several of the CESL students are only beginners in terms of acquiring English proficiency. Some of these have completed their university studies in their home countries.

The CESL program has seven levels, ranging from the beginners at entry levels up through the most advanced classes. I observed the CESL classes at several levels. To reiterate, selection of classes to be observed was contingent on the enrollment of Arabic speakers in that class.

The CESL program itself is housed in its own building. This containment provides a somewhat "defined locality." Within that general space, I was able to observe student interactions taking place in the hallways, library, conference and other rooms, though the major portion of my observations took place in CESL classrooms. The advantage of my observations in the CESL classroom was that students at
this Center are accustomed to the presence of observers in their classrooms as these classrooms are frequented by student teachers who are in the University's English as a Second Language program. Within the context of the classroom, it was easy to record my observations by note-taking and the activity seemed to intrude little on the dynamics of the classroom.

In the CESL program only, I observed a class that was especially designed for Arabic-speaking women. The class was open to other women, and a few other Muslim women did attend it. (Issues of gender were introduced in the cultural background in Chapter II.) This particular class was sponsored by funds from the students' particular governments. These sponsorships seemed to originate in the countries that have the Mihram law.

This class is taught by female instructors and most of the students are women who accompanied their student husbands to this country. Because of my gender, I had access to this particular observational situation. These female students were at different levels by virtue of their prior education in their home culture. A few of those students considered these classes an initial step to ultimately pursuing a college degree. However, the majority of the students in the class were there to learn English for the pragmatic functions of everyday life.
As I continued my field work at the CESL program, I commenced participant observation in regular University of Arizona classes. The choice of these classes, again, was based on the number of Arabic-speaking students enrolled.

The University setting, in comparison with CESL, offered a novel set of constraints for my field work. First, Arabic-speaking students are more widely dispersed in such classes. Second, access to many regular classes is far more limited. Third, and very importantly, the expansion of the range of settings under observation was accompanied by a focused lens of observation. I added ethnographic interviews as an important source of data, aimed at the gathering of demographic information and assessment of their educational experiences. These social interactions allowed me to establish contact with students and family members which led to observation opportunities outside the campus.

Given all of these factors, then, I had to redefine my field work strategies as they were applicable to the University setting. I had come to rely more on the ethnographic interview as a field work procedure. These initial phase interviews took place mostly on campus. At that phase, the population of the Arabic-speaking interviewees had expanded to include instructors, other students, and accompanying persons as well.
The settings for the participant observation branched out to include individuals outside the campus. The many references to process in my field work need not suggest that these were unidirectional processes or that the processes were mutually exclusive. It is important to emphasize the presence of progressions and overlapping processes—to invoke the fugue metaphor discussed above. Even after the consultants were identified, there was a continuation of both the general observation and those participant observations with the particular focus.

The Community and the Living Quarters

In this section, I address the macro sphere of life outside the academic setting. Most of my methodological procedures overlapped in the two macro domains. Both domains were related to setting and population, and both were relevant as sources of initial contact with consultants. In turn, issues of gender (my own, and that of the observed population as related to Arabic cultural sensibility implied in Chapter II) were salient in both domains.

In comparison with the academic institutional setting, the parameters of the off-campus macro domain are much more dispersed. Hence, in reference to methodology, this macro context and range of settings brought a new set of challenges that could constrain or facilitate my field work. Several of these shall be discussed in the section below on procedures.
The discussion of this macro domain is another angle of the discussion of the experiences of this Arabic population, both of the Arabic students, in non-student role, and those of the accompanying persons. Discussions of the American experiences of everyday life and adaptations to temporary residence of the accompanying persons are situated primarily in this off-campus context. It is salient to address here how the settings of this macro sphere impact them.

I focused my observations of community on what took place in the residential quarters of the Arabic-speaking population and the accompanying persons. Some aspects of the observation apply in other contexts. General observations took place in secondary public settings, such as the community hall, exchange rooms, play areas, and other loci at Christopher City. Each setting yielded different data and facilitated different sorts of observations.

The "community" to which the study population belongs is based on linguistic features. The Arabic speakers in question form a "speech community." Therefore, it is not surprising that while they are in temporary residence in the Tucson community, their residential arrangements are not contiguous neighborhoods, nor do they constitute ethnic areas or other clearly demarcated locales. The Arabic-speaking population under observation has various living configurations spread out among assorted residential locations.
The residential quarters were either dispersed or clustered in relation to the quarters of other Arabic speakers. Observations of the core settings included numerous residences and different household compositions. Except for the cluster of residential quarters at Christopher City, the residences are scattered throughout Tucson.

The scattered residential quarters centered in private residences were included in the field work observations. (These observations did not have public generalized spheres of interaction as defined above.) The scattered residences included various types of living arrangements: living quarters of unmarried female students (both accompanied and unaccompanied) and those of married students.

I observed that, in some instances, the residential quarters of a number of Arabic speakers were grouped into clusters. The settings were clustered as a result of the initial occupation of a residence, which was then followed by a pattern of referrals to other living quarters in the area, resulting in the establishment of the clustered residences. These arrangements drew other national or cultural compatriots of Arabic speakers. The formation of such groupings was usually based on the localities of these students in the mother country. For example, there are apartment buildings in Tucson which have a high concentration of Saudi students and accompanying persons. However, not all Saudis would choose these residential arrangements. This
type of aggregation fluctuates. I found that many students were attracted to the cluster pattern during the early phase of residence in the United States and drew on contacts to establish such an arrangement. However, later in their stay, they might seek a more dispersed arrangement.

Setting at Christopher City

Another observed clustered residential arrangement is international in nature. The primary locality of this type of residential clustering is at Christopher City (CC), a residence area in Tucson established by the University of Arizona to provide housing for married students, international students and others. It is not designated for international students only, although many international students do reside there. (It seems that many international married students inquire about living accommodation prior to coming to the USA. CC is the place recommended to them.) Based on their accounts, CC is attractive to many Arabic speakers for a number of reasons, including the co-presence of members of a shared culture. Furthermore, CC is a bounded community (literally surrounded by a fence) and is perceived as a safer location by those who have children.

Christopher City, as a community, is a defined institutional setting with interesting features for the particulars of this field work with the settings and the
public spaces organized in terms of their functions. The Tucson addresses and the uniform exteriors of the dwellings in CC mask Arabic cultural-specific interiors and spatial configurations. These characteristics of the CC setting are compelling from the perspective of the general observation. (Chapter V will focus on the significance of these issues.)

At CC, there are various settings and scenes for interactions, including the residential and the common areas that render Christopher City of special importance for the procedures of the field work.

Christopher City had many features conducive to my field work. The significance of that locality in this current macro context is to be compared with the significance of CESL in the Campus macro context. (Chapter V focuses on aspects of these. Among these salient features are the following: the Arabic-speaking families who were residing there were substantial in number. Their residence there was by virtue of their status as students. In addition, it was, for many consultants, their first encounter with American culture. There were students there at various academic stages and students who had lived there for varying lengths of time.

Marriage is a requirement for residence at Christopher City. Hence, this is an excellent location to observe students and their accompanying spouses. These students and spouses are included in what I have designated the core and the general loci in regard to the observed population. It is
necessary to add that general observations were not made at CC only; they also included other settings.

Within the CC context, I made general observations at several loci. Of particular importance was the community hall. As it was a common space, the community hall was predefined by its various functions. It was the site of meetings, community parties, and other gatherings. This setting was the context for the observation of a myriad of communicative events. Of particular interest to me were the organized meetings for the "International wives." These meetings afforded me an opportunity to observe and establish contact with Arabic-speaking wives. These events provided me with opportune settings for both the general and the focused participant observations. I became a familiar participant in these events and, after acquiring proper personal introductions through the organizers of these meetings, I became admitted to the residential quarters at Christopher City.

Additional Settings

In considering Christopher City, I alluded to two key issues related to setting and population: the source of my initial contact and the factor of gender (my own and that of the observed population). As I continue to consider additional settings for the Arabic population, these issues remain equally applicable.
Access is part of procedure in the context of below, but for the current consideration I shall focus on its relevance here. Accessibility of participant observation in residential quarters varied. On the one hand, access to married male students (at CC and elsewhere) was open provided that the wife was told about me and my work before any observations or interviews took place. A student husband I met on Campus would provide the initial introduction to his wife. On the other hand, accessibility to the residential quarters of the married female students was subject to approval of the husband. In many instances, the husband came to be included as a participant as well.

Visits to the residential quarters of the married females--accompanying wives--were cases of special interest since I met many of them, not through their student husbands, but through friends or at the common meetings in the general domain. Accessibility to their private residences seemed to depend on complex factors; some of these are discussed in a later chapter.

Access to the residential quarters of the unmarried female students depended on whether or not these women were chaperoned. For female students accompanied by chaperons, access to their living quarters came much later. Some of my key consultants belonged to this group of individuals. The mothers and aunts who were the chaperons became part of the inquiry.
Compared to other domains, the residential quarters of the unmarried, unaccompanied female students were the most accessible of all living contexts. The converse is also true. The residential quarters of the unmarried male students were not accessible to me in general. I attribute this difference to my gender. These residential quarters included dorms, apartments, and residences in which males lived alone or with a group of compatriots or a cultural cohort. Being a bicultural person, and based on my knowledge of the cultural etiquette, I refrained from even requesting to observe these private domains; that would have created an awkward situation. The exception to this general observation was the case of an Arabic-speaking unmarried male student who boarded in the home of an American family. I was introduced to him and his residential quarters in the context of the family.

Data Collecting Procedures

In this section, I consider the anthropological data collecting procedures used in this research. This includes discussions of general observations, participant observations, and the ethnographic interviews, as well as issues relating to access to consultants and the importance of proper introduction. Some of these topics are subsumed under others. I discuss the significance of the various procedures and the ease or difficulty of these in my field work.
Participant observation is a central method for much of anthropological field work. It includes deliberate and pragmatic procedures based on predefined criteria and components of the field work situation.

Here I consider dynamics and presuppositions, several of which were discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter in references to who the constituents of the Arabic-speaking population were and their particular loci in the Tucson. I see this process as a metaphor of scanning and zooming, scanning the major population and zooming in on the particular and the core populations.

For the field work portion of my dissertation research, the observation and participant observation were conceived to include both generally focused and particularly focused endeavors. Both the general and the particular participant observations are facets of the same methodology. At times they overlap; in other situations they are distinct. The beginning strategy in my field work was general observation. Later, I moved to participant observation as my focus increased. These processes repeated themselves in the unfolding field work situation.

Participant observation served several functions in the field work, ranging from the initial phase reconnaissance to a more centered focus in subsequent phases. As time went on, the particulars of the field work and the data gathering procedure were redefined.
The purpose of the opening phase of my general observation and the particular focused participant observation was to establish a base for cultural comparisons. These comparative bases included: 1. the comparison of the Arabic-speaking people to international students, or the intercultural differences and/or similarities concerning the initial phase of the American experience; 2. the comparison of the Arabic speakers at different levels of the American sojourn (from the time perspective); 3. the comparison of the Arabic-speaking people in the different macro contexts.

What I am saying is, for my purposes, I undertook to look with a wider lens and as well as a more inclusive lens in order to enable me to surmise the potentials and the probable, and lead to the actual.

The subsequent phases of the field work was more focused on the Arabic population, although the general and particular observations were incorporated in order to concentrate on the phenomena concerning the Arabic-speaking population and to address the specific purposes of the study. These concerns are intra-domain and inter-domain comparisons. For example, there were differences between CESL and University classrooms, differences between different levels of the CESL program, as well as differences in institutional settings and localities in the domain of the residential quarters outside of campus.
Since the participant observations were repeated in the various phases of the field work, I will limit my discussion here to the participant observations I conducted at the CESL as representative of the domain of the Campus, and then to participation observations at Christopher City as representative of those conducted in living quarters off Campus. The other participation observation loci shall be considered when it is indicated.

CESL Observations

My participant observation and the ethnographic field work commenced with the observation of the program at the Center of English as a Second Language. I obtained permission to do my observation after I was officially introduced to the director and discussed with him the scope of my research. I decided to do my observation at the Center for combined reasons. I chose the CESL program based on the definition of its functions and their relevance to the nature of data I might collect to address the question of this dissertation.

The Center's program is for International students and there are many Arabic-speaking students among the International students, although their numbers do fluctuate in relation to many circumstances. At the time of my field work, there were many Arabic-speaking students matriculated at the Center. These students are adults, most often at the
entry level in English proficiency. Many of them are in the United States for the first time and have not previously studied English. The program provides the first of many inter-cultural interactions. It is also, particularly for Arabic-speaking people, their introduction to the American academic experience.

The CESL program was important to the first phase of my observation in many ways. My participation there allowed me to scan the Arabic-speaking students in that setting and to establish a basis for later comparisons with Arabic-speaking students at later stages in their educational experience. Clearly, the CESL program was salient to my ethnographic field work in the initial phase. However, I also found it useful to continue some aspects of both the general and the particular focused observations of that program in subsequent phases of the field work even after the sphere of the observation had expanded to include the University's program and the residential realm.

I pursued my participant observations of CESL classroom interaction informed by theoretical concept from ethnography of communication and sociolinguistics. I looked at the classroom setting and interactions as a communicative event. Such an approach was advanced by Hymes (1974) and was elaborated in the work of Saville-Troike (1989) in which she discussed the notion of context. (I elaborate the notion of context in Chapter IV.)
Because it is the first encounter of cultures in contact, in this setting, all of the prior Arabic cultural assumptions and presuppositions were put to the test, both implicitly and explicitly. The range of prior cultural assumptions which were pertinent for my work were examined in the course of social interactions in the classroom. These assumptions concerned the following areas: the structure of social interactions, the organization of the interactants, the classroom's communicative events, the appropriate forms of participation in those events, the appropriate allocation of student and teacher roles in those events, and other cultural constructions for meaningful cultural behavior. These aspects were pertinent to the culturally informed communicative competence of the participants. When possible, I followed the same Arabic students (in particular some of the core population) whom I had observed in one classroom into another class.

In CESL classes the other dynamic of classroom interaction that I focused on was Arabic discourse. I attended to the spoken discourse and the presentation of self of individuals who were in the role of a student. In the subsequent phases of my field work, the focused participant observations included attending to the discourse—both spoken and written—of Arabic-speaking people in the context of the classroom interaction. The written assignments of the Arabic-speaking people were made available to my analysis.
These are the subject of the data on which the pertinent chapters below are based.

The dynamics of Arabic-speaking student interactions in the CESL classes were especially visible when the two genders were co-present. Their social interactions were compared on two levels. First, they were compared with those of other international students who were present in same classrooms. Second, they were compared with interactions within the gender-specific (female only) class that is part of the CESL program.

Since the gender-specific class is found only in the CESL program, that context and communicative event is further elaborated here. The female-only class, which was underway during my field work, furnished me with significant insights into the salience of the factor of gender. Because of my gender, I was permitted to participate in that class. The social interactions and personal dynamics were informal. The female students engaged in animated communication amongst themselves and with their instructors. That class was an interesting communicative event with interesting dynamics and structure of social transactions. The whole interaction is unique in that it vacillates between the structured, academic style of interaction and an informal style of interaction, as if it were a conversation among friends.

The significance of the participant observation, however, was inherent in the interaction dynamics and their
relevance to me as a student of interactional sociolinguistics. These observations provided interesting comparisons for other communicative events as they pertain to female gender issues, both in the classroom and in other social interactions. It is important to note that there were remarkable and observable differences in the female interactions within the context of the co-educational context as compared with those within the context of the gender-specific context. (These shall be part of the consideration in Chapter V.)

I also conducted general observations outside the classroom. Also within the context of CESL, the general participant observations included social events pertaining to international students. Examples of those are the discussion and the exhibitions of the home cultures, picnics, the celebration of cultural holidays, and the celebration of the end of the session. These communicative events afforded me an additional angle for my field work because among the CESL topics were discussions of the home countries which added insights about issues of the home culture.

The field work experience at the CESL program continued to be the nucleus for the comparisons I made within the institutional setting.
General University Setting

I turn now to a brief consideration of the context of the regular University of Arizona program. I sought to observe various classes attended by Arabic students at different academic levels ranging from undergraduate courses to graduate classes. These included courses in Middle Eastern studies, subjects such as history and culture, and a class concerning Arabic linguistics.

The University classes, in comparison with those of the CESL program, have different functions. They also have different forms of classroom social interactions. (These two situated contexts are not mutually exclusive as their differences are perceived on a continuum.) The University class--as a communicative event--is more formal in terms of setting, context, and social interaction. I recognize that this is a generalization that glosses over variation in contextual manifestation. All communicative events, including the lectures and other social interactions, were structured in accordance with the formality of this context. While I attended these University classes, I noted the relevance of gender issues and scrutinized the experience of the Arabic students in general. My interpretations were informed by what had transpired in the context of CESL.

Again, in comparison to my experiences observing classes in the CESL program, my access to the University classes was more limited. In conjunction with participant observation, I
came to rely on the interview more extensively to learn about the educational experiences as perceived by the participants themselves. I sought out as many students as was feasible given the constraints of their time and willingness.

**Participant Observation in the Community**

Shortly after the initial phase of my field work, I extended my ethnographic observations from the Campus to include the community domain focusing on two settings, the public places and the privates living quarters. As I stated in an earlier section, the community can be conceptualized as a macro-context with general (or public) settings and core (or private) settings.

In reference to Christopher City, I discussed above that it maintains semblance of community in which I initiated my participant observation. Initially, both the generally and the particularly focused participant observations were made at CC. For my general observations, the communal public spaces were more accessible for those participant observations. The particular observations were made within the context of residential quarters.

At CC there were several activities and settings which were amenable to general observation. The common areas for the use of all of the residents included the outdoors, the exchange rooms, and the meeting room. Some of these settings
were used for gender-specific activities. For example, the meeting room held a gathering of an international wives' group for daytime activities. This type of activities/meetings were established several years ago as part of the concern for the wives who had accompanied their student husbands to the United States.

**Personal Introductions as Issues of Access**

The residential quarters at CC, and elsewhere, were the most private domain for the core Arabic population and were, therefore, the most challenging in terms of their accessibility to me.

There were two salient factors in relation to the accessibility of the residential setting. First, as I mentioned above, accessibility depends upon the prior condition of proper personal introductions and an established contact. Second, accessibility depended both on my gender and the gender of the consultants. For example, my status as a married female was relevant to whether or not I was permitted access to private domains.

In the initial phase of my field work, one important function of my general participant observations was establishing familiarity with the Arabic population. I also intended that they establish familiarity with me. A key in establishing the requisite familiarity and subsequent access
to residential settings was whether or not I had obtained a proper personal introduction to the consultants.

Anthropologists doing field work seek to gain access to the communities in which they are studying. In addition, they wish to be assigned a social role within that community. The general participant observations provided me and the population of Arabic-speaking people with an initial familiarity with one another. However, in order for me to pursue in-depth data gathering, I had to establish contact with the Arabic-speaking individuals and gain passage to proceed with the task of carrying out the ethnographic interviews.

In this "community," and in the context of this particular field work, I had to rely on my own biculturalism as a source of cultural knowledge about the etiquette of the observed population. It was incumbent upon me to have the proper introduction as a necessary prelude to initiating the principal steps for future encounters. Abu-Lughod, doing field work among Bedouin tribes in the Egypt, reported that her father initially introduced her to the community (1986). (Some of the issues of concerning my experience and those of others about initial introduction are part of Chapter IV.)

My prior knowledge of the Arabic culture informed me not only that it is important to have proper introductions, but also that the source of these introductions is equally significant. Both aspects—the person who performs the
introduction and the form of the proper introduction--may become precursors to the future accessibility and/or inaccessibility of consultants. These modes of politeness and accessibility are especially relevant in the domain of the private life and residential quarters. Moreover, it is important to add here that, although these introductions are necessary preconditions to access, they do not, in themselves, guarantee future access. The continuation of the social interactions are contingent on a host of other factors.

Given the sharp distinction between the campus domain and the living quarters domain among this population, it became evident to me that, in terms of securing a proper introduction, the participants and the setting interact. That is to say that my gender, the person effecting the introduction, the manner of the introduction, as well as the context and circumstances of the introduction were all factors that would either facilitate or hinder the access.

In the campus domain, it was essential that the formal introductions be made by persons of authority. Being key figures of authority, the Arabic students' teachers were often key individuals for these social acts. This was true of both the pertinent CESL and University instructors and classes. Personal introductions by some of the teachers of the CESL program provided the initial entry in this case. At this phase and in many other instances, the Arabic-speaking
students responded to me as a teacher in terms of forms of address and demeanor. I was addressed frequently by Arabic cultural forms of respect that were appropriate to persons of my age and gender, among other factors.

In later phases, the students themselves often became the liaison for introductions to other students. The study population came to encompass ever larger numbers, and these processes of familiarization and introduction were repeated again and again.

My increasing familiarity with many of the Arabic-speaking students on campus led me to new forms of introduction, in which the initial introduction was performed by other persons who were not figures of authority. This is especially true in the off campus domain. In many instances, I came to be introduced by the students to their accompanying persons. On several occasions, the married male students allowed me to meet their wives. In addition, I followed up on subsequent introductions by these wives to their female friends.

In the subsequent phases of the field work, I developed and expanded my acquaintance with the Arabic-speaking population. The forms of contact and introduction changed and extended to encompass friends and acquaintances as well as family members. In turn, many of the females became the conduit for other introductions in the macro context of residential quarters. By then, my generally and particularly
focused participant observations had expanded to various contexts and, in particular, to Christopher City.

In subsequent phases of continuous encounters, many of the dynamics of social interaction that characterized the interactions of the initial phase had changed. There was an increased familiarity between members of the population and myself. These changed dynamics were signified by changes, for example the terms of address, depending on the member and judged by the role of accompanying wives and of students, undergraduate or graduate.

Again the proper introduction by a key person and how I was introduced would either help or obstruct further contact. These points of salient cultural etiquette become especially crucial in avoiding instances of impropriety, which would constitute a notable breach of etiquette and bring with them ensuing consequences.

To sum up, formal introduction to the members of the Arabic-speaking members was an essential initial step for contact. The types of introduction could be a gate opener or closer in this field work. I experienced both situations.

The Ethnographic Interview as a Communicative Event

From a perspective of interactional sociolinguistics, the ethnographic interview is a communicative event with particular functions. Briggs (1984, 1986) also notes that is relevant to cultural context. This entails explicit
assumptions about its attributes: the event is structured; it has processes whose forms are often shaped by its functions; it is both purposeful and meaningful; and the event is bounded by beginning and ending.

Several of the considerations mentioned in earlier sections discussing participant observation and the personal introductions were inherently relevant to the ethnographic interview. The observations and personal introductions are aspects of social interaction and constitute parts of the communicative event. The identity of the interviewee and the context (the domains and settings) of the interview are interrelated, as they are integral parts of the same methodology. The social interactions occurring in my interviews for this field work, depending on the tasks of its focus, are also viewed as both generally and particularly focused. In turn, these considerations are important to the approach I used and to the degree of either facility or restraint I experienced in carrying out the ethnographic interview.

Recording Mechanisms--Access

I now focus on one general aspect pertinent to the interview as a communicative event and relevant components of the recording of information. In conducting their field work, anthropologists utilize various tools. Note-taking, audio-recording, video-recording, and other techniques are
useful means by which to conduct, gather, and record the data gleaned from the participant observations or to conduct the ethnographic interviews, general observations and other aspects of the field work experience. The significance of these strategies is that their utilization becomes part of the communicative event itself.

People choose their methods to fit an ideal field situation, but the actual fieldwork situation is far from ideal. It would have been ideal for me to audio and/or video-record my interviews, but I found out that the utility of the various manual or automatic recording devices was also dependent on the context of the communicative events. I discovered, in my field work with the Arabic population, that there were cultural reasons why my consultants were not comfortable with those methods of recording. Therefore, I worked with an imperfect solution and took notes whenever it was appropriate.

I found myself in the situation described as the "observer paradox," concerning the use of some of these devices (Stubbs 1983; Saville-Troike 1989). Because many Arabic individuals objected to being tape recorded or filmed, I found it difficult to account for the very phenomena I came to observe. Therefore, with the exception of a few interviews with key consultants, audio-recordings were not possible. However, I was able to record a few interviews
with Arabic-speaking professors concerning phenomena of the Arabic discourse style.

Related Topical Issues

Over the course of the ethnographic interviews, even my note-taking made some consultants uncomfortable. The situation in which I was most likely to be able to write down notes was when I was collecting general demographic information. (Appendix C) In these instances, I observed that the consultants switched their communicative style and demeanor. When they were speaking in Arabic, there was a metaphoric switching, (Blom and Gumperz 1972) from the vernacular to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). (MSA was introduced in Chapter II.) This observation is relevant to a discussion of situated interactions in both macro-domains.

The apparent discomfort of the Arabic consultants with recording devices seemed to be triggered by my topical switch in the context of the interview. The switch to more particular and personal topics about their American experiences among others, caused observed discomfort with the recording and/or note-writing. On occasions, the consultants' objections were phrased as an explicit request to postpone the note-taking until after the interview. In these instances, I attended to my note-writing immediately after the conclusion of the interview or participant observation event.
In the duration of the field work, the general interviews corresponded with what was being addressed in the different phases of the field work. These interviews were aimed at establishing a base for comparison with the core group as was mentioned in the section on participant observation. In these instances, the interviewees were not adverse to my recording their responses by note-taking.

General vs. Specific-focused Interviews

At this point, I discuss the significance of the general compared with the specific-focused interview. This distinction is intended to refer to topical categorization. (Appendix C)

As relevant to the interview and substance, the general interview refers to two sorts of data. The general interview included the demographic data asked of all Arabic population. It also involved questions of a more general nature, addressed to both the inner and outer circles of consultants. Those members of the population who are not part of the core groups, were a few Arabic individuals, for example, visiting parents of the Arabic students, and it included non-Arabic individuals with whom a general topic about the Arabic population was pursued.

Included in this circle of people were individuals who were, by the nature of their roles, involved with the Arabic-speaking population. These were individuals both on and off
campus. On-campus personnel included administrators at both the CESL and the University in general (international students' staff) and the instructors whose classes were being observed. Off-campus individuals were administrators at CC, persons involved in the international students' residential affairs, and friends and neighbors of the Arabic-speaking residents.

On the other hand, for the Arabic particular population, my interviews focused on both the general, demographic, and specific topic part of the interview. These individuals were not part of the core group but were members of the particular population. For example, this group included visiting Arabic parents as well as non-Arabic individuals with whom a general topic about the Arabic population was pursued.

When I focused my most intensive interviews in the pursuit of the topic-specific interviews, I narrowed them down to key consultants, the nucleus of the concentric model. The demographic questions were included in the more general interview. The other topical distinctions are those that delve in elicitation of cultural information and experiences.

The General Interview

The general interviews aimed at collecting pertinent demographic information to provide broad based background information. Many of my questions in this category were aimed at gleaning information about the educational
experience. The questions were about the educational degrees sought, sponsors, classes and subject matters being pursued, and prior experiences and knowledge of English or the American culture.

The particular topics were focused on their feelings, responses and interpretations, asking such questions as what were the easiest and most challenging subjects; which aspects of classroom dynamics that were the most rewarding and/or problematic; what about the classroom interaction was familiar or different in the context of the dynamics of daily life and their American experience. I concentrated on learning their perceptions of their American experience and how those experiences and perceptions influenced their lives as students and as cultural beings.

After the initial phase, the questions had the added dimension of examining the role of gender in all of the above topics.

The Specific Interview

As the Arabic-speaking population and the various settings were defined, the interviews took place, preceded by the proper introduction. The initial interviews were given primarily on the University campus. Once the target population was expanded to encompass a larger number of concerned individuals, the locations of subsequent interviews were expanded to include the residential quarters of
interviewees. These interviews were aimed specifically at gathering data through a distinction between the two domains of the campus and the community life.

In these interviews, the particular topics aimed at the structured communicative events which had as their goal the isolation of specific Arabic cultural patterns, as well as issues referring to the cultural definition of self, the patterned interactions that constituted the salient communicative competence, and the repertoire of knowledge of the individual cultural as formed by notions of cultural appropriateness.

In addition, the inquiry aimed at examining the cross-cultural interactions the consultants experienced during their stay in America. At the same time, there were questions which addressed the changing stages in the experiences and perceptions of the target Arabic-speaking population. These began with questions about the period preceding the consultant's arrival in the United States, and continued with questions about arrival, and then continued to examine the individual's experiences up to the present. There were also questions about other aspects of the American experience, including facets of life other than those pertaining to the student role.

Centering on the phase prior to the student's coming to the USA, the first questions were about the consultant's preparedness for and expectations about the upcoming stay.
Further questions focused on the following period which was the initial phase of being in the United States. Questions centered on the perceived aspects of "culture clash" if any; preparation they had for that encounter; the most challenging undertaking then and now. Other questions were about gender and the relevance of their prior Arabic cultural context and the current American context.

In addition, a host of other questions were aimed at the pragmatics of everyday life. I later addressed some issues in reference to their current life and adaptations to temporary residence.

As the scope of inquiry developed, new concerns came to light. For example, the discussion of cultural identity was clearly related to the American experience. I pursued questions about the perceived Americanization phenomena and process. These were recurrent themes in the accounts the consultants had of themselves and of other Arabic-speaking people. I was interested in learning what aspects of their lives the Arabic-speaking consultants perceived to be "Americanized" and what the manifestations and ramifications were of these Americanized aspects. (See Chapter VI.)

An explicit issue of cross-cultural social interaction was the interaction of Arabic-speaking people vis-a-vis American English speakers. Questions about this topic encompassed both the on and off campus domains of interaction. These questions attempted to gather information
about the context of the interaction; the gender of the interactants; the forms of relationships that emerge, whether the form is that of an acquaintance, friend, colleague, studying partner, neighbor and/or others; and a host of other relevant topics. Based on these questions and their responses, the other set of questions was aimed at deriving the contexts and occasions in which cross-cultural interactions take place. I was also interested in the students' perceptions about salient dimensions of cross-cultural communication and/or miscommunication between the concerned groups. Responses to these questions varied. The perceptions of the consultants concerning the American experience and the cross-cultural encounters are at the core of this research. These responses, coupled with my participant observations, constitute the most important data that inform the discussion in the pertinent chapters below.

Ethnographic Interview as the Communicative Event

The next relevant topic in my discussion of the ethnographic interviews concerns the communicative events relevant to the Arabic population. While I pursued the tasks established above, the unfolding interviews, the process and communicative acts within the interview became part of my analysis. There were two salient issues there: a general lack of familiarity among Arabic speakers with ethnographic interviews and discourse and interactional
styles of cultural sensibility. These are discussed respectively.

Concerning familiarity, compared to the American population, the Arabic speakers were generally unfamiliar with ethnographic interviews. These communicative events are not usually in the repertoire of knowledge and modes of interaction in Arabic-speaking culture. There were variations in the degree of unfamiliarity that Arabic-speakers had with interviews for ethnographic purposes.

The Arabic lack of familiarity with the ethnographic interview and the concomitant responses and actions did not appear to be gender-specific. The observations of Arabic-speakers' responses to these communicative events were contrasted with those of Arabic students' American wives who were also among the core population and were interviewees. These women were observably at ease during their interviews. The American wives, even though at times those who espoused an Arabic/Islamic religious identity in their self presentation and demeanor, illustrated a familiarity with that communicative event and the style of interaction. I was able to take notes in these interviews. In contrast, I was specifically instructed by some of the Arabic wives not to write or record my interviews at their residences because they were not familiar with this process.

The second aspect of this problem is related to social interaction and communicative style. When I conducted an
ethnographic interview in the home setting, the initial part of the communicative event, I observed that the Arabic speakers were emphasizing my role as guest. When I changed the frame, as I embarked on interview topics, there was a dramatic switch in the verbal as well as the nonverbal styles of interaction. The verbal style of interaction was characterized by code-switching from the vernacular to the MSA. At the perceived conclusion of the interview, there again was a notable switch of frame to mark the end of the interview. The return to the visiting frame bracketed the communicative acts of interviewing

In these communicative events, I also observed that my own style of interaction shifted in response to the consultant shifts described above. I found that, as I inquired about demographic topics, my direct approach was effective in gathering this information. However, this discourse style was less productive in eliciting other, more personal, data. In these instances, I discovered that, just as note-taking was frowned upon for topics other than the elicitation of demographic information, direct questioning also was unpalatable and yielded little data concerning personal accounts of the experience of living in the USA. For these topics, indirect speech acts and open-ended questions were more productive. For instance, open-ended questions, sometimes concerning the consultant's children, yielded much more data that did direct questions.
In my ethnographic field work, these insights concerning the contrasts between the direct and indirect approaches and the differences in cultural sensibilities concerning these approaches led me to reevaluate my own strategies within the communicative event. These aspects of social interactions (as they pertain to me) is be explored in Chapter IV. In Chapter VI, I address the direct and indirect strategies as they have implications for an Arabic population dwelling in the an American cultural context.

**Summation of the Chapter**

The ethnographer commences his or her field work undertaking equipped with theoretical models and a question to address. This chapter introduced the various methods I utilized and discussed how they were designed to address the questions at the crux of the inquiry. The questions focused on the phenomenon of adaptation to the temporary residence of the Arabic speakers in the American cultural context.

The method is not a static process. Rather, it is both a task oriented and a flexible process. Furthermore, the changes in the methodology were not uni-directional developments; they were repeated and superimposed processes. The investigative procedures underwent constant re-evaluation and were honed as the work progressed and new situations presented themselves.
The field work undertaking and procedures were part of comprehensive phases. These phases began with the initial reconnaissance phase. Subsequent phases were characterized by overlapping procedures as they adapted to the particulars of the situations and each of the contexts. There was a development process in how the population and the ultimate key constituents were defined and redefined as the sequence of steps and phases unfolded.

In the initial phase of the observations and as an early conclusion, I targeted the salience of gender to the classroom and other interactions of members of the Arabic population. This gender consideration then became a focal point in the investigation of the core population. My own gender and that of the consultants had to be taken into account.

Proper personal introductions were a necessary intermediate access to the private domain as well as the gender issue. The ethnographic interview was the other crucial means of data gathering, the task of which was to glean information concerning the Arabic-speakers' situations both prior to their coming to the United States and, later, when while living in the United States. The focus was on demographic information, the individuals' perceptions of the American experience as it pertains to their being students and their lives in the off campus context, and the gender issue as it factors in access for interviews.
The Arabic population came to be defined in a way that was relevant to my evolving methodological processes. I distinguished between a general and core population, among those Arabic-speaking students and the accompanying persons who were included in the participant observations and the interviews in different contexts and at different levels of the educational and living experience. The core population included the Arabic-speaking members of both genders deemed to be key consultants.

In addition to the references cited in the chapter above, I have consulted the following works: Agar 1980; Altorki and El-Solh, eds.; Rabinow 1977.
CHAPTER IV: ASPECTS OF THE INITIAL PHASE OF RESIDENCE:
ARABIC DISCOURSE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AMERICAN CLASSROOM

In the core section of the dissertation, Chapters IV and V, I focus on micro interaction processes: the dynamics of face-to-face situational interactions for the observed Arabic population as they study and dwell in the American context. These chapters discuss the initial phase of cultures in contact and incipient adaptive processes. Chapter IV is an ethnographic account of the social interaction of Arabic students in the classroom in the initial phase of their presence in the American academic setting. The account is based on the data gleaned from my observations, participant observations, and ethnographic interviews at the Center for English as Second Language, (CESL). I focus on the social interaction of Arabic students in this situated context, and Arabic cultural discourse and communicative style.

Before I delve into the pertinent issues of Chapter IV, I shall introduce a few of the issues concerning the initial phase of residence. These issues constitute the general framework for the presuppositions that inform both Chapters IV and V.

Chapter IV is structured to address specific issues abstracted as salient concerning the Arabic students in American classroom social interaction in the initial encounter. The chapter is organized as follows. First, the
theoretical section subsumes both the conceptual themes pertinent to a discussion of the initial phase of residence and the issues pertaining to classroom interaction. The following section focuses on the impact of gender in the horizontal classroom social interaction of Arabic students vis-a-vis other students and the strategy of avoidance. The next section discusses the vertical dimension of classroom interaction between students and teachers, focusing on the salience of authority. The final section focuses on the Arabic communication style of repetition and its impact on cross-cultural communication.

**Conceptual Themes**

**Presuppositions about the Initial Phase**

In Chapter I, I advanced my main argument about the adaptation of the Arabic-speaking population to temporary residence in the USA. There, I indicated the general approach to the argument as based on an interactive perspective and a model of processual phases. There I proposed that some aspects of this adaptation are rooted in the macro cultural dynamics, that is, dialectics of the prior Arabic cultural text plus the current American context. Such macro dynamics are combined with the micro dynamics of everyday social interaction. The macro context involves culture and dialectics and the micro culture deals with face-to-face interactions. In this core of the dissertation I
address both foci as pertinent to the initial phase of residence.

First, I review some operational definitions. Then I advance the argument about the initial phase and the discussion of the importance of this phase as an incipient process which results in adaptive outcomes. (The outcomes of these processes are discussed in Chapters VI.) I now focus on the definitions, theoretical assumptions, and conceptual themes that inform my discussion.

In this section, I return to themes foreshadowed in Chapter I in the ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics. One salient conceptual theme of this approach is the premise that face-to-face communications are social interactions. The emphasis is on the communicative messages, a focus that is more encompassing than the emphasis on denotations of the verbal messages found in linguistics. This emphasis on interaction and communication is based on the notion that interactional messages contain both linguistic and social information. Furthermore, language use in daily discourse is a social activity. The contextual meaning of these messages and the more encompassing extralinguistic knowledge are a construct of social order as conveyed in human interactions. Interactions in everyday life are specifically situated, but are significantly related to the broader social order and social meaning (Goffman 1967). Therefore, situated
interactions contain data which are indicative of social and cultural information.

The ethnography of communication conceptualizes the communicative message as multi-channeled in form. While attention is shifted from these forms and directed toward the functions of the communicative message, (Saville-Troike 1989), these forms remain crucial aspects of the communicative message as they are intertwined with the functions. Messages are multifunctional actions. Among their myriad communicative functions, they include metacommunications (Bateson 1972) in face-to-face social interactions and phatic communication.

This focus on the forms and functions of the communicative message attends to the process of unfolding interaction. Here the salient conceptualization of meanings is twofold: The local, contextual meaning of the communicative message is negotiated in the processes of the unfolding communicative event. The meaning is also shared by interactants engaged in the social interaction based on shared patterns and rules of sociolinguistics and cultural interactions. Hence, as part of these processes, the communication is also linked to presuppositions that the interactants are the encoders and decoders of communicative social messages, whose signification and significance they share. This is coupled with other assumptions concerning the communicative competence of the speakers and hearers as
social actors. The shared-ness is one level of cultural knowledge. The negotiated meaning is what transpires locally and is based on the cuing mechanisms which are shared culturally.

**Issues Pertaining to the Initial Phase**

I now turn the focus to the support argument of the initial phase. In Chapter III, I referred to the initial phase in two senses. In one sense, it is a reference to my initial phase of reconnaissance in the field work as I commenced my observations at the CESL program. The second is a reference to my participant observations and is focused on the Arabic population based on their initial phase of residence in the USA. Here, I refer to the second sense to the onset stage of the temporary residence of the observed Arabic population in the American cultural context.

I focus on the initial phase because of its crucial role in reference to the incipient adaptation processes, whose outcomes are discussed as part of the consideration of the subsequent phase below (Chapters VI and VII). These issues are addressed from the perspective of face-to-face interactions in two domains, the institutional setting and outside in the community, the public and the private domains.

Here, I focus on the initial phase for its crucial part in an element of cultures in contact, including language in contact. Weinreich (1953) addressed aspects of phenomena of
languages in contact, culture contact, and associated attributes of interference (or transfer) of the phenomenon, which shall be part of consideration in the chapters below.

Initial Phase: Discourse Gap and Sociocultural Limbo

The initial phase is a period of "discourse gap." I presuppose that the Arabic social actor has a communicative competence. The Arabic-speaking person has a repertoire of knowledge from the prior cultural texts. However, in the initial phase of residence, the person has not yet acquired a communicative competence in the new Anglo sociocultural context. It stands to reason, then, to propose that this phase constitutes a stage of discourse gap for him or her. This gap results in an acute awareness on the part of actors of the differences between the social groups of the "Arabs" vis-à-vis "Americans." In other words the distinction between "us," Arabic persons, vis-a-vis "them," American persons is most blatant in this phase. The second issue concerns the social interaction where the new cultural patterns (rules) are undefined, undifferentiated, and blurred, resulting in a discourse gap and sociocultural limbo for the Arabic persons.

In the initial phase, the Arabic persons become aware of the most evident cultural differences. These include cultural ethos, social interaction and discourse. The gap is its widest at this point as they are, in this phase, most unfamiliar with other cultural patterns.
Classroom Interactions: Conceptual Themes

Classroom interaction is a topic of inquiry for anthropologists. Classroom interactions are structured activities where specialized tasks are accomplished through special, communicative events. Scholarship focuses on many aspects of classroom interactions, including language usage and the implications of inter-cultural situations for the classroom dynamics.

Much of the literature in this area is concerned with cross-cultural interactions in the context of the Anglo classroom (Cazden et al. 1972). For anthropologists, the implicit presuppositions are that both children and adults are enculturated in one cultural system but must function in another cultural system when they are in a cross-cultural setting. For example, Philips (1983) focused on situational interaction in the cross-cultural setting of Warm Springs Indian children and an Anglo classroom. She observed the different patterns in the organization of interaction in the context of the communicative events.

These studies are primarily focused on young children as the social actors in classroom interactions. In comparison, my focus is on adult Arabic students in American cross-cultural settings. Significantly, in contrast to children, the adult Arabic students, as social actors, have had a good deal of prior cultural experience but are only at an initial
phase of their entry in an American cultural scene. I focus on cross-cultural situational interactions of adult Arabic students enculturated in an Arabic system and functioning in the Anglo context.

Based on conceptual themes from ethnography of communication, Saville-Troike (1978, 1989) indicates that students' roles and their conduct must be conceptualized as culturally learned and constituted actions. The student, as a social actor, is a cultural construct, and the role of "student" as part of that cultural context applies to teachers as well. Then, the implication is that the classroom interactions, as part of institutional discourse, are imbued with cultural assumptions, and the actions and interactions are culturally informed and performed.

From this perspective, since the Arabic students are adults and have been enculturated in an Arabic cultural context, their perception of their role and the role of the teachers are based on all-encompassing Arabic cultural themes, which are divergent from American ones.

Based on assumptions of the ethnography of communication, classroom interactions, are structured, patterned, and culturally relevant communicative events. In this perspective, the focus is on the communicative event as a unit of analysis. The communicative event is seen as a bounded activity which subsumes communicative acts (Saville-Troike 1989). (The concept of communicative acts is an
expansion of Searle's notion of speech acts and, by analogy, like minimal units of meaning like the phoneme.) The essential conceptual theme here is that these classroom interactions contain social information more encompassing than their linguistic and referential meanings.

To further develop this conceptualization of communicative events, I now focus on the definition of the context. In the ethnography of communication, the context of the communicative event is defined in terms of components, as advanced by Hymes (1974a) and developed by others. A pertinent conceptualization here is based on the work of Saville-Troike (1989:138-139). She provided a useful differentiation between "the extra-personal context of the event" and the "personal context of the event."

The extra-personal context refers to various aspects which comprise the scene defined by the components of genre (e.g. lecture) topic or referential focus, the purpose or the function of the interactional goals of the participants, and finally the setting, including location and physical aspects comprising the extra-personal aspect of the communicative event.

The personal context includes the interactants and refers to who is interacting with whom in whose presence. As this aspect of context is includes other, personal components, the context refers to the participants and subsumes issues about their age, sex, ethnicity, social
status, and other relevant categories pertinent to their relationship vis-a-vis one another.

I find Saville-Troike's definition of context, as constituted of the extra-personal and the personal context, useful to disambiguate the basic dimensions of the context of the communicative event. The personal context is especially important for understanding aspects of social interactions and the interactive strategies utilized by the Arabic students.

Milroy (1984) also discussed the definition of context. She found that actors invoke knowledge of a heterogeneous range of factors and use various perceptual strategies when they interpret utterances in context. Context and contextual meaning involve both situated interaction and the extra-linguistic knowledge. For Gumperz (1982), the notion of context is based on the presupposition that local interaction as situated occurrences are processes in which a sort of negotiated meaning arises out of the interactive process and the cultural and extralinguistic background.

CESL Classroom as Communicative Situation and Event

I now discuss the communicative event in reference to classroom interactions at the CESL program.

The present discussion sees CESL classrooms as special and specialized communicative events in both function and form. CESL programs teach adult students at the entry level
in both language and cultural learning. Thus, CESL is a
special communicative situation, manifesting specialized
communicative events. It is specialized to the given task of
instructing non-native speakers, NNS, of English.

At CESL, like most classroom settings, interactions are
structured, institutional communicative events, but at CESL,
teaching has a special bent. Even though it is designed for
adult education, especially at the introductory levels,
CESL's classroom interactions include mixed pedagogical
strategies, combining aspects of both elementary and adult
education.

To summarize, my work advanced on the basis of the
following points: I focused on adults students. I also
focused aspects on the dimension of horizontal interaction. I
also focus on the dynamics of the teacher vis-a-vis students.
I now turn to the discussion of classroom social interaction.

Classroom Social Interaction: The Horizontal Dynamics

In examining the dynamics of classroom social
interaction, the focus here is on the horizontal axis of
social discourse. That is to say, it addresses Arabic
students interaction vis-a-vis other students in general and
their cultural compatriots in particular. An integral factor
in these classroom dynamics is the co-presence of genders.
The co-presence of gender in the American classroom had
implications for Arabic social interaction in the class in
the initial phase of residence. In Chapter I, I introduced my early conclusions about the issues of gender. These are attended to below.

The Significance of the Co-presence of Genders

In the American institutional setting, the co-presence of genders is taken for granted. Although there were variations in their cultural background, for many Arabic students the co-presence of the genders in the communicative event and classroom interaction constituted a new experience, one that they saw as "unconventional." Even for those Arabic students more familiar with these situated encounters, the manifested dynamics in the American classroom were different from what was familiar to them in their Islamic Arabic countries.

All consultants indicated this response, albeit with varying degrees of intensity. The co-presence of the genders subsumes two implications. First, the co-presence of gender is viewed in a general sense. Second, it is of particular significance vis-à-vis Arabic compatriots.

As for the last and more significant factor, the Arabic consultants noted its salience repeatedly, especially in reference to the initial phase of their adaptation to the American context. Current situated interactions were compared to what was familiar: social interaction based on the segregation of the sexes. In Chapter II (cultural
background), I referred to this as a salient angle in their world view. The salience of prior culture patterns and cultural schemata was intact and was being challenged anew. For Arabic students in the initial phase of educational experience, their prior repertoire of knowledge, based on their Arabic experience, did not prepare them for the social dynamics of co-presence and differing classroom procedures.

The initial experience of the co-presence factor was significant to both female and male consultants, but their references to those encounters varied. The situated social interactions were initially construed by Arabic cultural ethos and constrained by cultural patterns. The consultants recounted their experiences and provided descriptive accounts of the outcomes as their responses to the factor of the co-presence of genders. Males and females provided different illustrations of aspects of the constraints based on the gender factor.

In the process of data gathering in the field work, I found that Arabic female consultants initially pointed out the factor of the co-presence of the males as a salient component in the dynamics of social interaction. They detailed these encounters in their narratives as well as in their responses to my follow-up inquiry.

Several female consultants portrayed the initial experience of the co-presence of both genders as an unfamiliar occurrence, but most female consultants conveyed a
sense of pristine awkwardness, based on being present in public with males. I have selected the vivid representative examples as representative voice of these recurrent accounts.

One key consultant provided her graphic account of this initial experience in the dynamics of social encounter and its meaning. She referred to the awkwardness she felt in these initial encounters when males were co-present in the classroom. She commenced by noting that males are an integral aspect of the personal context of the classroom as a communicative event. She depicted how much the co-presence of the males impacted on her being. She detailed her terror at their presence, saying she had experienced "chills and quivers." She related that she was vividly cognizant of the newness of the situation and acutely aware of the gender factor. She continued to report her sense of fear and intimidation in these initial classroom situated contexts. She referred to a dramatic illustration of the confounding situation when the instructor called upon her to respond in the classroom. She did not have the courage or the will to produce her thoughts in words, in spite of the fact that she comprehended the questions asked of her. She was dumfounded and too perplexed to participate in the classroom communicative events. She concluded that the issue for her was then the emergent gnarled cultural sensibility based on the factor of gender--the co-presence of males in general and the cultural cohorts in particular.
Since this consultant had opted to modify her representation of her public person, she did not appear in the American public spheres dressed in an Islamic garb which would cover her body, although in her home country she would never appear in public without donning covers and veils. (This change of representation of cultural self is one of the issues that shall be explored in other chapters below.) Hence, her Islamic cultural sensibilities were camouflaged by this new mode of self representation.

In her detailed accounts, she also elaborated on other factors in her American experience in this initial phase. She followed up her comments with another ethnographic issue. She had reported to a female instructor her predicament about the contextual significance of these situated interaction. The instructor recommended to her that she could either go to counseling services and or go to the Women's Center in the student union on Campus. Of the two recommendations, the former was unfamiliar and not acceptable, while the latter was more enticing. She pursued that interactional context. But this too turned out to be an alien and alienating encounter.

When she visited the Women's Center and attended a few of the group's encounters, she became aware that her situated cultural concerns were not part of the concerns being articulated by many of the females who frequented the lounge at the time. On the one hand, the women were mostly concerned
with relevant issues in the American context, issues like the culture-specific notion of feminism and/or their relationships with boyfriends. To the females present, the issue of sitting next to a male classmate in context of the classroom was neither a cause for a quandary nor was it one of their agendas. On the other hand, to this consultant, none of the issues that concerned the other women had relevance to her experiences. Furthermore in those very meetings, this consultant was treated as "different," thus accentuating the initial cultural identity issues of being a woman from Saudi Arabia. Those dynamics were being imparted as part of the interactive process. (In Chapter V, I discuss the significance of these matters.)

This example is a glimpse of situated interactions in the initial phase. This example may be viewed on both general and specific levels of interactions. One of the key points in this example is an issue of inter-cultural interaction whose outcome was a cross-cultural miscommunication. It commenced with the female student seeking direction from the female teacher as figure of authority. The teacher offered what seemed to be culturally relevant (American) strategy, especially by referring her to the women's center to find a support system. These assumed "helpful" sessions proved to be an example of culture clash in assumptions and issues in the experience of the Arabic female in the American context. Incidentally, this student has since returned to her home
country and the teacher has relocated her residence to another part of the USA.

Other Implications for the Arabic Female Student

These social interactions involving the co-presence of gender had additional ramifications for the Arabic female students in their classroom participation. This is in reference to curbed female participation in the unfolding communicative event of the situated classroom interaction, in particular in their gaining the floor. My observations confirmed the perceptions of a number of female students in this situated context. This interactional issue is at the heart of presentation of cultural self and the perceived appropriateness of forms of interaction. It is based on sensibility at the core of Arabic cultural ethos, transferred and manifest in the dynamics of classroom interaction in the American context.

Arabic female participation in classroom interaction was curtailed in two manners. On the one hand, they refrained from gaining the floor. On the other, they displayed minimized competence once they had the floor. Both are deliberate discourse strategies of Arabic females in these situational interactions. The female students did respond to teachers' questions, but even in these instances they seemed to want to minimize their display of knowledge in the presence of males.
There were two sources, for me, of clues concerning the Arabic females and the classroom participation. The first source was based on written competence which was not congruent with performance of the same female in the classroom. The second source was based in comparison with social interactions in a class where gender co-presence was not a factor. They shall be addressed respectively.

For the first source of ethnographic data, the initial clues that were indicative about the Arabic female students were observed differences in performance of the same female students. As I had access to a number of written classroom assignments, I observed that there were discrepancies between the written assignment and classroom participation, relevant to several of female students. They had greater competence in written English than their abbreviated classroom participation displayed.

Initially, I inferred that the female Arabic students' lack of classroom participation was related to the process of acquiring English language competence. Hence, my initial interpretation was based on a linguistic perspective. But once I had access to their written work and the discrepancy of language competence relative to display of language in the classroom participation, I had to reevaluate my initial inference. I made a follow-up inquiry about the challenge of studying in the USA and the study of the English language. However, those discussions, in addition to the written
assignments, revealed that it was the challenge of the co-presence of the male student that outweighed the challenge of English. Hence, the issue was more based on sociolinguistic and interaction phenomena relevant to the factor of co-presence of Arabic males and the females.

Saville-Troike (1989) discussed sex differences in the patterns of interaction and their relationship to participation in the communicative event. She also discussed role relationship and the marked behavior of females (Saville-Troike 1989). These are applicable here in the Arabic female students' not gaining the floor. I relate these conceptualizations to the observed outcomes for Arabic female students and how those outcomes affected them, given that the new context required the co-presence of genders.

The co-presence factor here is related to the core of the discussion, given the cultural background and the notion of segregation. That is also substantiated by the next contextualization clue.

The second clue was based on comparative observations of the all-female class versus classes with both genders. This comparative observation of classroom social interactions was significant, although I was not observing the same female students in the two situated contexts.

The all-female gender classroom was introduced as part of CESL in Chapter III. Observation of the interaction dynamics within that class are here compared with those
interactions observed in the context of other CESL classrooms. They provide key comparisons for other communicative events.

There are remarkable differences in the female interactions within the co-educational context and within the gender-specific context. These vary from the frequency of interaction, the style of interaction, how the floor is gained in the duration of the interaction, how turns-at-talk are gained or relinquished, and other relevant aspects of interaction. In the all-female classes interactions were animated. There was neither a refraining from gaining the floor nor balking at display of knowledge. On the other hand, in the mixed classroom, the females refrained from elaborate discussions and from gaining the floor.

The refraining from gaining the floor and the curtailed display of competence were actions based on the perception of the female consultants as congruent with the attributes of modesty of the Arabic female. These classroom interactions can be related to issues of avoidance that shall be part of the discussion in this chapter below. Here, this issue is based on the inter-gender dynamics, and the reference to avoidance. It is an avoidance of display of communicative competence as a strategy related to cultural themes. These dynamics were clear to the females, for some accounts have detailed descriptions of the meaning of the co-presence factor and its implications for classroom participation. The
female consultants reported these strategies were informed by full awareness and deliberateness in their social interaction.

Implications for the Arabic Male Students

As I indicated, the Arabic female consultants conveyed their sentiments about the co-presence of the Arabic males in the classroom dynamics. As I became cognizant of these dynamics, I continued the inquiry and questioned the male students about the co-presence of females. The male students' responses provided the other perspective of the ethnographic data.

As for the male consultants, they would initially only elaborate on the significance of the factor of the co-presence of the females in response to my questioning. They did relate that the co-presence of females in general and Arabic females in particular continued to engender a sense of initial awkwardness in the social dynamics. The majority of male consultants discussed the impact of the co-presence as a source of genuine embarrassment, which added to their sense of confusion about the appropriate conduct in these situations.

As with the Arabic female students, the Arab male students were highly conscious of co-presence of the female cultural cohorts. For the Arabic males, the factor of the co-presence of the females in the classroom interactions were
integrated in their realization of the social context. But the males' responses diverged from those of the females. They did not refrain from gaining the floor. In fact the opposite seems to be true for them; they vied for the floor. This was especially true for those members who had become more proficient in English language skills. They seemed to want to demonstrate their knowledge and abilities to the other students. There was a range of variation, but their responses and strategies to these dynamics seemed to veer more toward a demonstrative aspect in classroom interactions. They could and did at times become almost boastful. These were especially expressed in the demonstration of knowledge of the newly acquired English and culture.

Thus far, the discussion of classroom social interaction has focused on the impact of the co-presence of gender on the Arabic students in American classroom. I next attend to the observed interactional outcomes.

Manifestation of Avoidance Transactions

In this section, I describe the strategy of social interaction of Arabic speakers vis-a-vis one another as an outcome of the co-presence factor. Social interaction in the initial phase of presence in the American context is grounded in a strategy of avoidance. This strategy at first was generally applied in all situated interactions pertaining to inter-gender social transactions. But avoidance was
especially stringent where the consideration is relevant to inter-gender interaction with Arabic compatriots.

Avoidance is a meaningful, engaged interaction. To describe the avoidance as strategy of social interaction, it was observed as the total lack of acknowledgement in inter-gender face-to-face interaction.

It is not an irony to state that social interactions are achieved by avoidance. For, by the device of avoidance, the Arabic persons communicated their cultural knowledge and cultural appropriateness pertaining to inter-gender social transactions. Hence, avoidance is a strategy and metacommunicative device whose meaning is shared base on the cultural knowledge and ethos.

In the processes of the field work, once I became aware of the issues of the mutual inter-gender avoidance as related to Arabic students in classroom interactions, several of the observations at CESL suggested this strategy of social avoidance (as was indicated in Chapters I and III). The initial observation led me to make inferences about the avoidance strategies. These were confirmed by follow-up investigation. I started focusing my observation on what and how the manifestations of avoidance in inter-gender interactions were accomplished. Avoidance in social interaction was manifested in several forms in culturally meaningful interactions.
In social interaction of Arabic speakers, avoidance of social interaction outside the classroom was observed. It was observed in hallways and other public places on campus. Avoidance was manifested in spatial configuration. One notable strategy in the classroom is an avoidance in terms of physical space. It based on observation of the spatial arrangement in the context of American classroom at CESL.

In the Anglo classroom context, students are usually oblivious to issues of gender in spatial arrangements. The Arabic students in classroom settings, however, situated themselves in different parts of the classroom vis-a-vis each other based on the factor of gender whenever possible. The male students clustered themselves with other Arab males, while female students would seat themselves as far away as was feasible. Upon entry, there was an initial scanning of classroom for available space and the avoidance of proximity in inter-gender seating. Among the gleaned ethnographic observations, two examples will suffice. One Arabic female student entered a classroom where the only vacant seat was in the proximity of Arabic males. She went out of the classroom to bring a chair from the hallway and situated herself at the opposite end of the room.

Another Arabic female found herself in an equivalent situation. She went to get a chair, but none were available. As she returned to the classroom, it was clear that her options were constrained in that context. She had to occupy
the only available seat near a cluster of Arabic males. She seated herself, but created an avoidance posture by angling her body and her gaze away. This enabled her to avert any potential interaction with the Arabic males.

The physical space serves one aspect of the function of complex communicative strategy of avoidance in inter-gender interactions. Avoidance was manifested in refraining from visible social transactions. The other avoidance forms were concretely illustrated by avoidance of visible engaged social intercourse. As the composition of students attending the class at CESL varied, there were observed examples of this form of avoidances. Some of the examples occurred in classes where there was a need for clarification about a point concerning the English language. The students would group to consult each other (maybe during or after the class session). In my observation of Arabic students, it became clear these too were imbued with the dynamics of avoidance.

It was observed in some of these instances that when an Arabic female student needed a clarification about a point, she would seek other Arabic-speaking females first. But in some situations, there were no other Arabic females present, while there were Arabic male students in that class. In these situations, the Arabic female student would shun social discourse with the males and seek out non-Arab females in the class, even though the latter did not have the same verbal code. In one illustrative example, in the CESL class, an
Arabic student found herself in that situation. She did not attempt to consult the other Arabic-speaking males who were co-present in the classroom. She sought to consult another female, a Spanish-speaking student with whom she did not have a shared communicative code, either linguistic or extra-linguistic.

Arabic males engaged in parallel avoidance strategies when they found themselves in the equivalent situation. My observations included an Arabic male who, on repeated occasions, would ask a Japanese student questions concerning the English language. Both students were grappling with the same linguistic issues. He would not ask a female Arabic-speaking student who was co-present in the class. She was a female and the gender issues superseded shared linguistic code in this initial phase.

While my observation of the initial phase focused primarily on CESL, other consultants, students who did not enter at CESL, reported parallel concerns as they reflected on the initial phase of the American experience. They indicated the factor of the co-presence of genders and their responses to these factors as among the first salient issues in social discourse.

**Avoidance and Arabic Cultural Semantics and Semiotics**

As was indicated in the initial phase, inter-gender avoidance, in particular, among Arabic colleagues, is the
salient and mutual interaction strategy. These patterns cross-cut many interactional contexts. The discussion of this issue is based on the following presuppositions. Given the ethos of Arabic culture, inter-gender avoidance is a social transaction. Events of avoidance are complex interactions which involve both communicative and metacommunicative strategies. Inter-gender interaction with a cultural cohort is a transactional perspective of the significance of avoidance in the American cultural context, whose meaning stems from signification in the home countries. Avoidance is a cultural semiotic whose manifestation is interactive.

When the strategy is seen in an interactional sociolinguistic perspective, there is a shared sociocultural meaning of the avoidance strategy. It is based on the politeness and public face of both genders. For the males, the public respect offered to females's public face is a transaction with the female's modesty as a sign of public respect to the males. Both aspects of the transaction are grounded in cultural ethos and sensibility.

Another salient point in the discussion of these issues as relevant to the personal context is in reference to the co-presence of other interlocutors. In Goffman's perspective, this is in reference to social information given and given off to others. For the Arabic males, to avoid engaged social interaction with a female is information given to that female about mutual public respect. As for the others present,
especially male cultural cohorts, this avoidance also conveys an Arabic identity of propriety and respect.

The cultural meaning, as related to concepts of the public face and respect interaction, were transferred to avoidance. By avoidance, as well as by other forms of politeness, as with terms of address to me, respect was established. (Discussion of what becomes of avoidance in the subsequent phase is contingent on the changes in the outcome of identity factors, as shall be discussed in Chapter VI.) In the classroom interactions, co-presence was a factor, and these dynamics were vividly described by both males and females who conveyed the world view and ethos and cultural semantics concerned with appropriate gender behavior. The corollary meaning, based on my interpretation of avoidance strategy, is that this visible form functions for the invisible or covert segregation.

The salience of pronounced avoidance among Arabic-speaking individuals, was unfamiliar to me despite my biculturalism and knowledge of cultural politeness forms. This was especially true in several instances of comparable experiences involving myself as researcher vis-a-vis a few Arabic-speaking male students at the CESL program. Thinking that I had established the proper personal introduction and access, for I had had several interviews with the consultants in question, in the context of the institutional setting, I encountered the same individuals in public places, while they
were in the company of other male students. In these situational contexts, my Arabic consultants did not acknowledge my presence. There was not even a hint that would suggest any mutual familiarity. In sum, there was an act of total avoidance. These types of encounters became especially baffling to me, when I again met with the concerned individuals for interview purposes. In those instances, they exhibited no evidence of any avoidance behavior. When those alternating states of interactions took place repeated times I included follow-up questions in my inquiry concerning the hallway encounters.

The Arabic consultants explained to me that I was not being avoided, but being respected, to preserve my public modesty. These situational interactions are context-bound forms of politeness grounded in the perception of the appropriate behavior. This is related to gender in the public sphere of interaction. This form of male-female interaction is especially meaningful when the personal context includes the co-presence of other Arabic-speaking individuals. The hallways are public places where co-presence of gender, as part of the context of the social interaction, is an important factor which inform the appropriateness of the conduct. On my part, I have learned avoidance is to be construed as form of public protectiveness of my public face. Hence, this particular form of politeness signified that they invoked the Arabic component of my identity.
Classroom Social Interaction: The Vertical Dynamics

This section focuses on the dynamics of social interactions based on the "vertical dimension," of interaction of instructors vis-a-vis students and the cross-cultural implication. The discussion focuses on the dynamics of authority in classroom social interactions and its relevance to Arabic students in this initial phase.

In this section, the significance of the personal context has another meaning. The key point here revolves around the phenomenon of authority in classroom social interaction. These issues are addressed on the premise that, while it is also based on Arabic cultural sensibilities, gender is subsumed in the issue of authority. That is to say that, based on the Arabic sensibilities, the position of the instructor as a figure of authority supersedes the issue of gender.

I focus on these issues based on ethnographic accounts of Arabic students at the initial phase and the perceived challenges for them in the initial phase of classroom social interaction as related to notion of authority in the American classroom. Those were coupled with my observation of classroom social interaction with a particular focus on Arabic students, combined with interviews with the particular Arabic population as well as interviews of a number of their teachers who part of the general population.
Authority in the Cultural Context

Informed by conceptualization in the ethnography of communication, I assume that teachers' and students' roles and role relationships are cultural constructs resulting in patterns which inform the dynamics in classroom interaction (Saville-Troike 1978).

The dynamics of classroom social interaction are also related to the concept of extra-personal cultural context or cultural ethos and the themes of authority. In the classroom social interaction, the issue of authority is salient and inherent in the dynamics of teacher-student face-to-face social interaction. Teacher-student authority asymmetry is a presupposition with applicability in both the Arabic and American cultures.

The vertical interaction is based on principles of authority and status differentiation in the academic setting in the American context. The notion of authority, however, is considered in a generalized description, based on comparative perspectives of authority in the American and Arabic contexts. As for the manifestation of authority in everyday life in the Arabic culture, authority and its symbols are formal forms when compared to the forms of authority in the American context, which appear to be more diffused. For example, instructors in the Arab world present themselves as authority figures by means of dress, demeanor, and social interactions vis-a-vis their students. My discussion of these
assumptions is related to cultural discourse and discursive formation, based on Foucault (1972) and Geertz (1973), that cultural texts are manifested in cultural themes. Hence they are based on a system and recursive processes that manifest in cultural context and in various themes.

Since the symbols of authority have differing manifestations in the cultural context, there are implications for the Arabic students at their initial encounter and experience in the USA.

To the Arabic students, part of their confusion was based on encountering the informal demeanor and actions of their teachers in the new cultural context. Their references and repertoire of experiences, from their Arabic culture, were very different from what they actually experienced. There were implicit and explicit comparisons between the two cultures in this initial phase.

I address the Arabic students and their notion of the cultural patterns of authority in the American context, as these are challenging in the initial phase of cultural interaction context. Both Arabic and American contexts are relevant to issues of authority in classroom social interactions constituting the expected and experienced dimension for the Arabic student.

I shall first discuss the Arabic students' cultural familiarity with authority, since their encounters with the dynamics of authority within the American context is
experienced with the explicit comparison to what was part of the their communicative competence and prior repertoire of knowledge in the home country. Then, I shall address the American cultural context. This discussion of the notion of authority as related to both macro cultural contexts is based on generalization of cultural themes and ethos.

Arabic Cultural Context

In the context of the macro Arabic culture, the issue of authority is a recurrent theme in both ideal and practical matters and cross-cuts both secular and sacred discourse issues. The authority issues are subtexts embedded in cultural ethos: the authority of tradition, the authority of parents, the authority of religion and religious figures, among other manifestations. These issues are recurrent themes in the Arabic culture. To the Arabic population, there were associated manifestations of authority and authoritative actions conveyed by the demeanor of authoritative figures. Some critics, like Sharabi (1988), focus on the notion of authority, authoritarian conduct and authoritarianism as part of the political climate which become justified by other cultural themes, all are based on unbridled authority in the patriarchal system.

In the Arabic culture context, the dimension of authority can be viewed as an important organizing principle in cultural discourse and social intercourse. To link these
views to classroom interactions and authority of teachers, it is also salient that teachers are figures of authority. The principle of authority outweighs issues of gender. Females, as well as males, who occupy positions of authority as teacher, convey authority by demeanor and symbolic interaction, hence issues of gender are subsumed. This is congruent with the emphatic authority principle encompassed by the general cultural ethos and perception of dynamics of authority in social interactions.

The Arabic consultants in the American context refer to the interactive processes in their cultural background and experiences. Based on the social meaning of authority in that cultural context, it is incumbent in interaction with teachers to show modes of deference. One aspect of respect, among other interactional strategies, is accomplished by terms of address to teachers. For example, an Arabic student would never address his or her instructor on a first-name basis. These interactional strategies convey mutual comprehension by the interactants, who share in the meaning of situated interaction, the symbols, and their interpretations of the social dynamics.

American Cultural Context

In the context of Anglo culture in general, the cultural semiotic of authority takes on a more informal form, as compared to Arabic form. As relevant to the current
consideration, the issue of the manifested authority, in the context of CESL classrooms in particular, it is evident that teachers' authority combined with informality is a key interactional strategy in classroom social encounters. At the CESL program in particular, and perhaps because CESL is a special communicative situation as was discussed above, the organization of the communicative events is deliberately more relaxed and seemingly more informal than other University classrooms. The friendly, informal approach was based on an educational philosophy. From the teachers' perspective, this informality is a deliberate pedagogical strategy which was perceived to enhance the teaching and the learning environment, the conceptualization that these interaction strategies would create a friendlier setting for the international students to facilitate their learning in these transitional phases.

Given both the Arabic context and the American context then, what are the implications for the Arabic student who are in the initial phase of residence in the USA and the discourse gap, the significance for interactions and the perception of these interactions? For the Arabic student in the initial phase of the American experience, based on their prior experiences and perceptions of authority, the contextualization cues are not shared and the interpretation of social interaction were not clear. These were key factors in classroom interaction and the social dynamics.
### Outcome of Initial Perception

Irvine (1979) discusses four concepts of formality relevant to cross-cultural issues. One is positional identity and associated formality attributes. In the initial phase in particular, in many instances of situated interactions, authority became confusing to the Arabic population. Therefore, the organization of the interaction in the American context is perceived as "masked authority." For the Arabic persons the perception of authority is obscured. The Arabic students often make reference to these notion and to a perceived general "lack of authority" in American classroom, at CESL in particular. For Arabic students, the manifestation of informality was based on several grounds, ranging from the relaxed and friendly atmosphere of the classrooms, to the way lectures and instructional materials were covered, in addition to other social interactions. The Arabic students conveyed their perception of informality in the classroom as baffling, and the Arabic population was stymied about rules of conduct.

### Implication in Cross-cultural Interactions

In the initial phase, where the only point of reference is the concept of authority in the home culture, there was a transfer of this appropriate conduct. There were several illustrations of the transfer, which I had followed up on in
interviews with the concerned Arabic students. I have selected the following as a representative example of culturally meaningful conduct of Arabic students transferred to the American context.

The first example relates to the late arrival of students and the attempt to gain access to the classroom once the class had commenced. The late-arriving Arabic student was aware that the teacher was already engaged in the classroom interaction. Instead of entering the classroom and proceeding to his seat with the least disturbance in order not to cause a discontinuity of classroom interaction, the Arabic student would engage in what seemed to be a contradictory strategy. The student knocked on the door, even when the classroom door was open. The student would not enter the class unless he or she secured permission for entry from the instructor—the authority figure. I inquired about this occurrence from the concerned students and the instructors. Each party had a different interpretation of instances and of the meaning of the ensued interactional responses.

From the perspective of the instructors, it becomes clear that this strategy is adding to the disruption of the communicative event. The student did perceive the awkwardness of the situation and teacher's annoyance, but his interpretation based on his cultural knowledge had a different significance. For the Arabic students, these interactional cues reaffirmed the need for authorization from
the teacher to gain entry to the classroom. Then, the student interpreted the evident and perceived annoyance of the instructor as an additional and deserved reprimand from the authority figure. The Arabic student did not comprehend the new contextual cultural meaning of his particular actions. The constellation of his actions, in addition to late arrival, added to rather than ameliorated the disruption of the classroom interaction.

This is an example of expectation based on cultural lens which informs the perception of appropriate action based on the familiar authority principle of the classroom interaction. The mutually differing interpretation of the actions is based on Gumperz' notion the lack of shared-ness is based on differing cultural patterns. Hence, there is extensive misinterpretation of contextualization cues.

Thus far, the discussion of social interaction has been developed with reference to the premise of authority as part of inter-cultural dynamics between American teachers and Arabic students. Here, I elaborate on the meaning of dynamics of the social dimension of authority.

From the interviews with instructors, it became clear to me that, for the most part, the American instructors are oblivious to the salience of the authority dimension in the pedagogical experience and expectations of the Arabic student. The Anglo instructors, in their interpretation of perceived differences in social interaction, usually turned
to the factor of gender. For the teachers there was an implicit comparison between the two cultures. For the most part, their concept of Arabic culture was based on stereotypes. There is an explicit or implicit reference concerning gender issues in the Arabic culture, gender-segregation, and a host of associated attributes and actions. All of these become the paradigm for interpretation of several of the issues pertaining to classroom social interactions. In some instances, the female instructors based their explanation of the conduct of the Arabic male on cultural differences, primarily grounded in gender. This is particularly evident in reference to situational miscommunication arising in the context of the classroom social interaction involving the female instructors and the male Arabic students.

Because of the non-shared perception of dimension of authority and classroom interaction, the American teachers often precluded the issues of the dimension of authority and the salience of this cultural pattern as relevant to the Arabic students. Hence, they did not include this dimension in their explanatory models of social interaction. Their discussion of these matters glossed over the complexity of these dynamics and remained focused primarily on gender.
Perception "Americans Have No Rules"

Based on the disparity between the expected and the experienced interaction based on the dimension of authority, one of the general and initial outcome was conveyed by the perception that "Americans have no rules," or "There are no rules in America". This is based on the combined account of many consultants and was a repeated theme about their encounters in classroom social interaction and the comprehensive institutional setting. There is the recurrent perception in reference to social interaction based on "لا يعترض القانون في أمريكا," that is, "There are no rules in America," among others, concerning human social relations and initially perceived based on the dynamics of authority.

When I inquired as to the intended meaning of the generalization "Americans have no rules," it became evident that these perceptions were primarily related to issues of social encounters and sociocultural conduct. This notion means that the cultural rules of human conduct are blurred. I came to construe these comments as reflexive on the challenge of perceiving the implicit and taken-for-granted rules of interaction. The principle and perception are operational both in and out of the classroom in regard to human social interactions. Aside from the institutional context, the notion generalized to other contextual social interactions.

I maintain there is a mutual mis-communication, cross-cultural misinterpretation, and stereotyping based on the
non-shared perception of the events and their significance to the Arabic population.

The considerations here are based on ethnographic accounts of Arabic students at the initial phase and the challenges of the notion of authority in the American classroom. Those were coupled with their discussion of the challenge of the issues of horizontal dimension and issues of co-presence of gender as part of the initial challenging experiences in social discourse. The following section consider another aspects of the cultural discourse for Arabic speakers and based on style of interaction.

**Repetition as Arabic Discourse Style in the American Context**

In this section, I focus on other aspects of Arabic discourse used by Arabic speakers in the context of the American classroom. This is in reference to the repetition style observed in discourse of the Arabic-speaking students. It is a salient interactional style and strategy manifested as part of social interactions and discourse in general. Its significance in the initial phase is that it is transferred to the academic and other interactional experiences of the Arabic speakers.

I attended to both the spoken and the written discourse of the Arabic students, even though the focus of my inquiry was not on how Arabic speakers learn English. (Yet there are implications about these phenomena.) The issues of discourse
and style are pertinent to my inquiry of how the Arabic speakers adapt to the American cultural context.

That pursuit yielded much information about the recursive repetition in the discourse of Arabic students. In observation of the Arabic student and examining their written assignments, it was evident that repetition is not gender related, for it is manifested in the spoken and written assignments of both males and female students. My argument here is that this is attributed to the salience of an Arabic discourse style as manifested in their English. Many illustrative materials emerged in the written work I examined. (While I had access to examine the classroom assignments, I did not have the permission to keep these assignments.) But I observed that the Arabic students use repetition as a communicative style, to make discourse points and to develop arguments. I shall return to discuss illustration of these issues and discourse style below. Before I discuss that discourse style, however, I attend to the conceptualization of repetition style and its cultural significance.

Form and Function

My consideration of repetition is that, as a form, its style and strategy are perceived as an embedded and integral aspects in the interrelation of culture and language and communication strategies. Repetition is a communicative
strategy whose significance is inherent in the extralinguistic knowledge and Arabic cultural discourse.

In order to consider repetition in Arabic as a communicative strategy and discuss its function and significance in situated interaction, I first refer to an inclusive consideration of the function of communicative style based on the notion that messages are multifunctional strategies.

From an interactional sociolinguistic approach, I follow Schiffrin's (1987) assessment and summary in which she indicated that the functions of the communicative messages are as follows: (a) a referential function about the information about the world; (b) a social function to establish, maintain, and adjust relationships with others; and (c) an expressive function to display various selves and their attendant feelings and orientation and status. Schiffrin's discussion is applicable to functions in English. While all of the functions are applicable to communicative messages in Arabic, the last is especially salient for the discussion of repetition in Arabic.

The study of repetition as a discourse style in English is also gaining momentum. (Earlier works focused on repetition as strategy from a strictly linguistic viewpoint (Persson 1974) and, significantly, focused on repetition in written English and how it is achieved). More recently, however, there has been a shift to a more inclusive focus,
which takes into consideration the repetition in spoken English and is based on interactional sociolinguistics. Tannen's (1987) article treats the repetitive phenomenon in English with a focus on interactions. She described it as part of language and emotion and as interaction strategies. In her article, she discusses repetition in terms of form and function.

Tannen grounds her discussion of repetition in the poetics of spoken discourse and sociolinguistics. She notes that, when repetition is the form, one of its functions is the engagement of the hearer as addressing the phenomenon in spoken discourse. Tannen's views are important for their implications in consideration of repetition in Arabic, even though Arabic repetition in both spoken and written language is based on salient, indigenous, Arabic cultural patterns. In my aforementioned observation about repetition as a style for Arabic speakers, they were acquiring the English code in the current American context, but their communicative patterns in using English have their roots in the Arabic speaking cultures.

Repetition: Discourse in Arabic Language and Culture

The following detailed discussion is intended to establish the prior context for the Arabic-speaking students. The point is ultimately relevant to Arabic-speaking people in their sojourn in the American context.
Repetition is a salient, communicative strategy in Arabic discourse. The genesis of this strategy is attributed to the Orality of the language and is related to the language, performance, poetry, and recitation of the Qur'aan, hence part of the written form as well. The discussion of repetition in literature is relevant and salient to Arabic poetry, as indicated by Berque (1978), Adonis (1989), and Said (1990).

In the Arabic cultural context, repetition as a discourse strategy is a recurrent style in various interactional contexts. In Arabic discourse, the manifestation of repetition is observed in intertextuality and in dialogic processes. Repetitions are utilized in everyday interactions as well as in poetic recitation. It is manifested in the use of the spoken forms of the vernacular and in the literary forms. Repetitions are expressed in diglossic and polyglossic communicative contexts. Repetitions are manifest in songs, both those which are based on popular themes and those which are based on poetry. Repetition are cited as teaching approach. Repetitions are conveyed in formulaic expressions including repetitions in opening and closing sequences. (That would explain some of the length of these sequences in the Arabic culture as culturally relevant, as was referred to by Saville-Troike (1989).
Repetition, as an attribute of discourse illustrates this observation concerning the salience of this strategy in the Arabic culture. It is common to hear expressions like kararra tekraaren "he repeated repeatedly." repeated to make a point in discourse.

The significance of repetition, and for an emic consideration of the meaning of repetition in Arabic cultural context, a key aspect in this matter is that the notion of repetition does not equal redundancy in the Arabic cultural context. The explanation is that the source of the phenomenon is to be found in original orality of the Arabic language, which is linked to verbal performance and influencing the emotional engagement of the audience.

Thus, the consideration of repetition and cultural meaning is related to the functions of the communicative message. That is to say, repetition as Arabic discourse strategy is a form whose functions and the meaning are bound to that cultural context. From an interactional sociolinguistic perspective, repetition in Arabic performs various communicative acts. The form is repetition, and the functions are several as related to discourse and emotions. Because of the repeated message, the contents become devoid from prepositional information, but become charged with emotional messages. The vocabulary of emotion in language is repetition and functions as phatic communication in the elicitation and the responses of the interactants. Repetition
is a strategy to engage the interlocutors and charge their social interactions with sentiment. In spoken discourse, repetition is accompanied by prosodic cues, as part of the expressive aspect, which are intended to engage the listener (Gumperz 1982). In conversation, when this strategy is utilized, it is a signalling or cuing device for the emotional engagement of the interlocutors.

In sum, repetition as a communicative code and semantic process is inherent in the Arabic cultural ethos. In Arabic discourse strategies, repetition is related to expression of sentiments in Arabic language and is a means of engagement in social interaction.

**Arabic Repetition Outside the Cultural Context**

In the context of my field work in Tucson, one of my consultants about Arabic language was a professor who specializes in Arabic literature and cross-cultural translation of language and cultural phenomena. In my interviews with him, I addressed the phenomenon of repetition in Arabic, since I had observed these in the discourse of Arabic students matriculating at CESL and the University. He referred to the salience of this phenomenon in spoken as well as written Arabic. He emphasized that attention must be paid to the prevalence of repetition in old as well as current literary works. He pointed out the literary work and their implications in cross-cultural translation. He cited a case
in point about repetition in the literary work of Nagib Mahfouz, whose work has been translated into English. The original Arabic text of Mahfouz's *Midag Alley* was replete with repetitions as an Arabic device.

When I consulted the English translation of the text, the translator's note indicated that he had deleted much repetition that was part of Mahfouz original book in Arabic in the preparation of the text for English readers. While this may have been necessary to address the conventions pertaining to a different readership, the translator neglected to elaborate on the significance of repetition as a culturally meaningful device and not mere superfluous redundancy (LeGassick 1981).

The above illustration generalizes about aspects of meaningful culture-specific form which may become compromised in meaning and even become a source of miscommunication outside its cultural context. This is an example of the manifestation of repetition in literary forms and the problems of cross-cultural translation. The miscommunication is implied. These issues also allude to the significance of repetition to the Arabic students and their discourse in intercultural contexts.

I indicated, in the onset of this section, that my consideration was based on ethnographic observation of Arabic students. In my participant observation at CESL (and even in the University classroom), there was the recurrence of
repetition in the spoken and written English of the Arabic students. This varied usage was manifested in the style of some Arabic students. This observed variation seemed to be generally related to those students who had early educational experience that was inculcated by Western Europeans and/or an American educational overview. But for the majority of Arabic students, repetition was part of their Arabic cultural discourse, and they utilized repetition as a device in both written and spoken English discourse.

Repetition appears at all levels of discourse organization, and in many socially-significant communicative contexts. For instance, local repetition can be seen in a greeting to a guest: "You are welcome, you are welcome, you are welcome." Such a greeting shows sincere pleasure to receive the guest. Similar three-part repetitions occur at departures, in the making of offers, and at the refusal of offers.

Examples of repetition in the spoken discourse were gleaned from the accounts of various students. In the descriptive narratives of one key consultant, she repeated several times both the actual events, the responses, and the effects of the story. In another example, the male consultant who explained to me the significance of avoidance in public of social interaction of Arabic male vis-a-vis females, repeated multiple times the cultural sensibilities and respect and the themes of modesty. Many consultants, in
their descriptions of what is baffling to them about dimension of authority in the classroom, repeated those perceptions and their perception that "There are no rules in America."

Finally, repetition can appear over quite long periods of time, over several meetings between a pair of interlocutors. Repetition of a topic or story discussed in an earlier meeting does not require repair. Thus, Arabic speakers do not use phrases like, "Stop me if I've already told you this," although such formulas may eventually be learned after a long stay in America.

Johnstone (1981, 1983) discussed these issues based on her observation and analysis of the use of repetition among Arabic speakers. She indicated the significance of parallel construction as a rhetorical device utilized by Arabic speakers, both in spoken and written forms. In these regards, my observations were concurrent with hers.

The additional substantive ethnographic data I incorporated in my interpretation came from one of the key consultants. She was in the process of completing a masters degree in English as a Second Language (ESL), focusing on Arabic students learning English. According to her data, these strategies were prevalent among Arabic speakers, and their prevalence was observed in the initial phase of their academic experience as well as in the later phase (a point to be considered in Chapter VII).
My consideration of repetition is based on the argument that Arabic students did transfer this strategy into English. As I have referred to the processes of transfer in several places, I here consider the notion of transfer. The transfer process is based on dynamics of cultures in contact, where there are transfers from one culture into another. Weinreich, (1959) introduced the early notions about languages and culture and the influence of the first language into the context of the second language. In these regards, he introduced the notion of interference. This notion was reconsidered for its connotation in terms of competence and other sociolinguistic phenomena. Transfer is used to indicate some of the dynamics in language production and inter-reference (Dechert and Raupach 1989; Fischer 1986) in reference to these intercultural complexities. Transfer is viewed as a more felicitous description of the process and descriptive of the dynamics of what is taking place in inter-cultural processes of interaction. It connotes a more comprehensive view of the sociolinguistics of interactions.

In reference to the transfer of rhetorical style and communicative strategies of Arabic discourse into English, in the initial phase, my interpretation is also informed on the basis of my native point of view. What is at play is the prestige factor of the MSA gloss. This prestige is attributed to what is transferred to English. I would maintain that the transfer of repetition is a generalization whose base is in
MSA and a part of the perceived prestige of the written Arabic form. The high form or gloss is equated with the learning of English as the form of the educated person. This is an argument that is coupled with the Arabic students' perception of prestige associated with English. In the written parts of their English discourse, they drew parallels to the poetics of MSA as prestige form. (In the cultural background chapter, I indicated the prestige factor as a metaphoric cuing device.)

**Implications in Cross-cultural Interaction**

Next, I turn my attention to the other angle of the argument, also based on the dynamics of micro interaction based on repetition style as a cuing device. This is based on Gumperz' (1982) views and the context where the salient cultural aspect of its signification is not shared. The issue here is, specifically, the meaning of repetition in the cultural context when transferred to English discourse.

Both English and Arabic use repetition, but differ in the where and when. Compared with repetition in English, Arabic cultural strategies and their meanings overlap in some functions. However, in general, the two do not share the frequency, intensity, and cultural meaning of the repetition style. The implication for the Arabic speakers is its specific relevance to the academic genre and their discourse
in English. (In their style of argumentation: the structure and the development of discourse.)

Arabic repetition takes place in many manifestations and is multifunctional in communication. Communication is complex, but it is even more complex in cross-cultural interaction in issues of cultural norms of signification in social interaction in intercultural settings.

The core of the discussion is related to Gumperz' views that many aspects of these are based on the shared communicative cues and contextualization cues which are significant in cultural context. The issue is relating how these culturally meaningful transactions transfer to cross-cultural interaction, that is to Arabic vis-a-vis Americans who do not share in these patterns.

I refocus on repetition in Arabic discourse. On the part of the Arabic student, there is a transfer from his or her culture. I have argued that there are transfers from prestige repetition in MSA to English. The focus, then, is on their manifestation in the situated contexts in America. That is extended to discuss their implication to Arabic speakers's discourse, specifically the academic context and to the Anglo teachers as these issues combined and viewed form an interactive perspective.

To considered the relevance to the Arabic speakers, as I observed above, repetitions were evident in both written and spoken forms, in their classroom interaction. That style,
in spoken discourse, was especially pertinent where applicable in the broader contexts of everyday life, as I proposed above in relation to the function.

As I focused on repetition from an interactive perspective and an issue deemed relevant in cross-cultural interaction, I address the implication of this Arabic discourse for Anglo teachers. On the part of the American instructor, the transfer of repetition had a different significance. Based on the repetition gleaned from the written discourse of Arabic speakers, this communicative style is cited as a problem in the acquisition of the English code and as concrete evidence for the teachers' perception. The instructors, for affirmation of their perception, referred to Kaplan's (1966) classification of cultural influence in discussion of style of persuasion: English is straight, while Arabic is parallel (Chinese is circular and Spanish is zig-zag) (Kaplan 1966, 1986).

In language learning, "parallel construction" is mentioned in writing about the Arabic language. The salience of the repetition style in the prior Arabic student's discourse was not factored into the explanatory paradigm. The issues hinge on repetition, as less valuable or even stigmatized in the style of academic English.

In the present consideration, my aim is not to dispute the salience and presence of repetition in Arabic or its transfer into English discourse. Anthropologically, however,
I am attempting to provide an interpretation of the meaning of this strategy, based on the inter-relation between language and culture phenomena. That is the crux of this consideration. An interpretive perspective would focus on the emic significance of the phenomena and veer away from the implication of the negative classification of repetition.

The other component relevant to this discussion is that these Arabic students were in the initial phase, in the American academic context. For the Arabic-speaking student, there was a general lack of familiarity with English for Particular Purposes (EPP). Unlike the Arabic diglossic situation, English styles and appropriate communicative contexts present hidden or masked dimensions. Several of the Arabic students indicated they were grappling with English styles, for they did not ascertain genres and styles of English. There were blurred distinctions between styles in English and, in particular, between the casual genre and academic English. Hence, for the Arabic speakers, the process of acquiring a verbal code included an admixture of genres and styles.

In sum, I have based my consideration on the essential argument that the dynamics of the prior culture and the current context in the communicative situation of the American classroom are intertwined. The repetition style and the phenomena pertains to the discourse strategy and language
use in English, but utilizes discourse that is grounded in Arabic culture.

To conclude Chapter IV, the issues considered in this chapter were pertinent to the initial phase of residence and the social interactions in the context of the classroom. The factors of gender, authority, and style of discourse were introduced as were their cultural significance in classroom social interactions. These were developed on the premise of interactional processes and dynamics of prior Arabic cultural knowledge and its transfer to situated interaction in the American context as pertinent to classroom social discourse.

In addition to the references cited in the text above, the following references were also consulted as background for this chapter: Agar 1980, 1991; Argyle 1978; Austin 1962; Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Blount 1974, 1975; Brooks 1986; Bunte and Kendall 1981; Ervin-Tripp 1964; Goffman 1972; Goodwin 1981; Grosjean 1982; Gumperz and Hymes, eds. 1964; Irvine 1982; Parker and Educational Service Staff, AFME 1986; Sanches 1975, Sankoff 1980; Searle 1972; Tannen 1984; Thompson-Panos and Thomas-Ruzic 1983; Verschueren 1984; Wolfgang 1979.
CHAPTER V: ASPECTS OF THE INITIAL PHASE OF RESIDENCE:  
ARABIC DISCOURSE IN THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

This chapter continues the discussion of the initial phase of residence of the Arabic population. It addresses the experiences of the Arabic-speaking population in the residential setting and other domains of everyday life, primarily in reference to aspects of social interaction. These experiences and processes are an integral part of the incipient adaptation and adaptive strategies.

The focus is on the macro context of the community and the micro context of the private domain, as parts of the all-encompassing American cultural context. In Chapter V, the focus is community-based, and subsumes the public and the private residential domains. As the discussion in Chapter V hinges on the public and private dimensions of contextual interactions, the public context includes spheres of interaction with the American culture. In the second context of private residence within the macro American culture, there is an implication of choice observed as a manifestation of the Arabic culture.

While in Chapter IV the settings were organized by the institutional structure of CESL and its classrooms, in this chapter, the settings are more elastic. However, these
communicative situations are still bounded by parameters of situated interactions in a community setting.

Chapter V is organized as follows. The first section subsumes the more inclusive definitions of the Arabic population and their settings and domains to consider the residential quarters as a cultural microcosm. The following section is concerned with Arabic discourse, the issue of indirectness as a politeness style and its implication in cross-cultural interaction. In the next section, I discuss the American experience as part of inter-cultural discourse and the initial impact of these issues on Arabic cultural identity. In the subsequent section, I focus on how daily life and the American experience are conveyed by Arabic metaphor, structured by gender and initial phase adaptation. I conclude with a review of the entire initial phase.

**Arabic Population and American Settings**

In Chapter IV, my focus was directed to that part of the observed population comprised primarily of the Arabic students. In the current context, the observed Arabic population is addressed in a more inclusive perspective. The lens is focused on the students as social actors in non-student roles, actions and interactions, engaging dynamics of everyday living. The focus of the lens is also expanded to include their accompanying persons.
As noted above, the family members I focused on were adult accompanying persons. For the observed Arabic population, the accompanying persons were comprised of either spouses or chaperons. As discussed in Chapter III, the majority of the accompanying persons were the female spouses of the married Arab students. The chaperons were adult females who accompanied some of the unmarried female students. They may be members of either the nuclear family or the extended family of the students whom they accompany. Having indicated the relevant components of the Arabic population, I now turn to the community localities and private domains of this population.

Macro Community and the Micro Residential Domains

In Chapter III, I pointed out that the Arabic population was scattered in their residential patterns throughout Tucson's urban community. There was no residential clustering except in Christopher City (CC) and a few apartment buildings where several people from the same country lived. My consultants, female and male, married and unmarried resided in a variety of settings.

The situated observations in CC are somewhat parallel to those conducted in the CESL program, as they afforded me both general and focused observations. As the CC residential community is designed for married students, my observation in that context was focused on Arabic couples.
The focus on CC was significant for several reasons. CC is bounded within physical space offering considerable observational advantage. In addition, it is really an "institutional" context, since it is part of the University of Arizona housing system. This quasi institutional setting, encompasses both a public situation, including many organized activities, and a private context. Both CC and the scattered quarters were salient for the ethnographic considerations. CC was the context which afforded me the best opportunity to observe Arabic persons interacting vis-a-vis Anglos (including other international persons).

Observation in the residential quarters at CC also yielded many of the most important clues about Arabic social actors and their social interaction, as shall be discussed below.

The residential setting is especially important as it provides a choice to reflect Arabic culture in the American cultural context, a site that forms the "home," a cultural bastion for the Arabic speakers. As one key consultant reported, it is their "oasis." (The geographical-ecological metaphor is apt, for this person was from Oman.)

As I indicated in Chapter III, for many reasons, the residential domain was the bastion of Arabic culture. Accessibility to the private residential domain could be restricted by residents. Access to this private and personal domain was especially challenging in the initial phase of the
field work. Access to that setting had to be mediated within Arabic notions of politeness which especially included proper personal introductions at the home of initial contact. In addition to these factors of culturally-appropriate politeness and sensibilities, the gender issue concerned both the consultants and myself. My observation of the private residential domain included the homes of married students and unmarried females, accompanied and unaccompanied. But I had no access to the private home domain of the unmarried male Arabic students. Arabic cultural sensibility simply precluded that access, even in the American cultural context. I asked the male consultants about their living context and the issues pertaining to aspects of everyday life. My information on their residential domains is based entirely on their accounts.

The Address American, the Internal Setting Arabic

For most members of the observed Arabic population, the residential settings were their "Arabic cultural" places within the all-encompassing American macro-cultural context. In the initial period of residence, the Arabic cultural phenomena were particularly evident. In the subsequent phase, Chapters VI and VII, the significance of this shall be related to issues of emerging identity.

The address was American, but the internal setting was Arabic. The private residences of the population were not
only a site for "personal" expression, but, very importantly, for \textit{cultural} expression. This generalization is especially pertinent in the case of CC. There, the exterior is part of an institutional setting, with architectural uniformity of the dwellings throughout the large village. In addition, public spaces where organized activities are carried out are "American" in concept and design. But, in vivid and striking contrast, the residential interiors were transformed in the service of Arabic cultural poetics. The interiors conveyed a visual vocabulary, the sounds and the texture and the aromas of an Arabic cultural place.

The Arabic cultural clues and dimensions manifested in aspects and significant patterns and sensibilities were revealed in the visible aspects of the Arabic culture. There are variations on the cultural theme, but they are clear and concrete aspects of Arabic culture and cultural dynamics.

The manifestation of the pertinent Arabic cultural sensibilities is elaborated in relation to the following cultural metacommunicative issues: the concept and organization of time, the structure of space, and the implied relevance to social interaction in micro face-to-face contexts. These are the dimensions I have utilized to substantiate my finding that the Arabic residential quarters are a microcosm of cultural themes. These issues shall be discussed respectively, following the conceptual presuppositions.
Time, Space, and Cultural Sensibility

Anthropologists have observed that diverse cultures organize time and structure space differently, in distinctive and culturally meaningful ways. They define the timing of the commencement of communicative events, for example, in culturally relevant ways (Hall 1959; Phillips 1983, 1985). As for space, Hall has made an important observation about the cultural significance of interpersonal space or "proxemics." For the purpose of this work I have focused on space in two senses.

The first sense of place, which was conveyed above in relation to the more public space, is based on Rodman (1992). In the initial phase, the sense of place is in reference to multilocality and its reflexive relationships with places. In her discussion of these issues, Rodman indicates that while the concept of voice has received considerable attention in anthropology, the concept of place requires concomitant rethinking multilocality and multivocality and the complex social construction of spatial meaning. She implies the culturally relevant issue I am suggesting. I need to focus not on a geography here, but on a microcosm of the private domain.

The Arab students are like anthropologists, travelers or anyone whose place has been transformed by dislocation from his or her familiar place or from the possibility of local
identity. The student is keenly aware of contrasts between the known and the unfamiliar. That leads to redefinition of the new place and social interaction as relevant to my other considerations of space.

In the second sense, my reference to space is a reference to the interior spatial arrangement as a meaningful cultural construct relevant to social interaction and Arabic social discourse. The structure of physical space provides clues about cultural sensibility and assumptions about interpersonal dynamics.

Since the residential domain in the American context is where Arabic cultural sensibilities can be expressed, I discuss here a few of the pertinent cultural manifestations. A key conceptualization is that the residential domain is where salient cultural phenomena are manifested in both the visible and the invisible aspects of the many dynamics of the setting.

"Arabic Time"

The observation that residential quarters are more bound to prior Arabic home culture is especially exemplified in a cultural perception of time. In other situated interactions, even in the initial phase, there was a general compliance with an American concept of time, but at home "Arabic time" determined interpersonal dynamics. For instance, for both the students and accompanying persons, especially in the case of
latter, it did not constitute a breach of etiquette to arrive one hour or even longer after the designated time of a social event. This was not considered tardiness. Conversely, arriving on time or shortly after the designated time was an atypical event and a cause for awkwardness in social interactions.

One concrete example of these notions of time was highlighted by my own biculturalism. While doing field work in the two settings, I had to learn to observe different organizations of time in the residential domain versus the public domain. Several embarrassing encounters were engendered when I arrived at the agreed-upon time. The concerned consultants clearly were not expecting me then. They were not ready for the social interactions as they had anticipated a late arrival. After several of these occasions, and as I was pressured by my own demanding schedule to adhere to an interview schedule, I had to appeal to the American aspects of my biculturalism. After I made my appointment, in jest, I would observe that, in America, I go by "American time," thereby trying to warn subjects that I would, in fact, arrive at the designated hour. This issue added to the conceptualization of my Americanization among Arabic students. (The significance of these views of Americanization are a part of the discussion in Chapter VI.)
Spatial Arrangements

The significance of spatial arrangements, as discussed here, is that the residential domain, while created within the American setting, can become a microcosm of Arabic culture where spatial arrangements may contrast sharply with American spatial organization. Interior space became an important signifier of Arabic cultural sensibility. These were meaningful issues for the Arabic population, especially as related to the salient inter-gender interactions.

I view the cultural space of the residential interiors as emblems that not only reflect the patterns of spatial organization themselves but also cultural conceptions of social interaction. These emblematic cues are indicated both in the visible spatial arrangements and concrete observed actions. They are oriented to both visible and invisible cultural assumptions about social discourse. Hence, these are metacommunication devices about the social actors and cultural sensibility, especially concerning inter-gender interaction as relevant to the segregation of sexes.

The spatial arrangements of the residential quarters provided those Arabic individuals who adhere to the separation of the genders with the option to do so. Since the spatial construction including immovable doors, walls, and room arrangements within the American home, is based on Anglo social relations and general American cultural assumptions, the Arabic Islamic spatial organizations had to be attained
by either improvisations or the reinterpretations of Arabic cultural themes. Hence, what became culturally meaningful was also contrastive with the current macro cultural settings.

Spatial arrangement of the home domain was defined based on the principle of a private space for family interaction and a common area for social interaction. That space was then physically divided and behaviorally segregated. In the interiors, where the common living space was part of the design, visual barriers were erected, using curtains and other devices to demarcate the space. These barriers delineated the living space as relevant to issue of gender, and, in particular, in regard to co-presence of males and females. The manifestation of inter-gender avoidance, based on cultural categories in the home domain, was in terms of physical space and other inter-gender interactions.

The residential interiors exhibited variations in the interpretation of the spatial arrangement in regard to Arabic cultural themes. But in spite of variation, all were steeped in Arabic cultural sensibilities, which contrasted starkly in the context of the American culture. This stark contrast, especially at CC, with its uniform institutionalized, "American" exteriors and Arabic interiors, was at the core of the semiotics of the two domains and two cultures.

In sum, the focus on time and space was related to Arabic cultural construction in two ways. Residential quarters were expressive of the Arabic cultural sensibility
about time and space. Then, especially in the case of the space as related to cultural dynamics and sensibility, they implied the social interactions within the home domain. These social interactions were grounded in cultural sensibilities expressed by Arabic people vis-a-vis one another and extended to other social actors, including myself in the role of the ethnographer. These aspects of visible and invisible cultural themes have implicit and explicit interactional meanings, to which I now turn.

Home Domain as a Cultural Oasis

The private residence, as a cultural domain shapes social interactions based on cultural sensibilities and inter-gender interactions. Communicative social interactions in the residential space have multiple functions. To utilize "thick description" (Geertz 1973), I discuss the home of the Arabic student as their cultural domain.

In the residential quarters, visible aspects of the culture, as manifested in the organization of space, were especially based on cultural presupposition of what was appropriate. Residential quarters were arranged to create segregation by sex and the corollary avoidance of interaction with non-family members of the opposite sex.

While there were variations in these arrangements, I saw some especially vivid examples of improvised spatial organization related to sex segregation in the residences of
several married male students and their accompanying wives. It was evident that, in the initial phase of residence in the USA, these Arabic consultants tried to adhere to the familiar prior culture in their social interactions at their private residence in the USA. This adherence was expressed in strategies of avoidance, based on cultural sensibility related to co-presence of the genders. This avoidance in the home domain, in terms of physical space and other inter-gender interactions, is comparable to avoidance, discussed in Chapter IV. These are based primarily on the co-presence of females and males who should not have an engaged social interaction, as they are out of the category of inclusion.

I now illustrate the factor of the co-presence of gender. On several occasions, several Arab women were co-present in an all-female context, engaged in communicative events and situated interactions. When the absent husband returned home, these interactional dynamics changed. First, his proximity would be announced to forewarn the present females. Then, there was a flurry of activities in anticipation of the presence of the male. Several females veiled themselves, while others chose to leave the common space, to retire to their private quarters, or even leave the entire premises. All of these changed dynamics were based on the principle of inter-gender avoidance.

In some households that adhered to strict religious interpretations, these cultural rules were equally applicable
to me. I was asked to go to another part of the home until the husband was no longer in sight. In some other instances, however, while the cultural rules were clear for the other females, they were not extended to me. The extended exemptions were clearly signified by explicit requests that I might share space in the co-presence of the sexes in this context. They gave me permission to stay. I remained in the same living space, even after the husband, whom I had not met before, returned home. These instances of co-presence of genders afforded me significant opportunities for observation. For instance, I found that a woman does not claim the floor once the husband arrives, just as the women do not claim the floor in the classroom in the co-presence of genders. Women curtailed their verbal participation once the husband was co-present. The animated discussions of the females prior to the arrival of the spouse was replaced by attentive communicative silence. Tannen and Saville-Troike (1985) suggest that silence can be studied based on an ethnography of communication focused on as a communicative strategy. The responses of the females to my follow-up inquiries on these observations were always couched in terms of respect for the male's presence. In pursuing such questions with the males, their interpretation of the female silence in the context of the co-presence of the two sexes is based on the notion of the public modesty of Arabic females. Whereas there were various explicit spatial arrangements
relevant to inter-gender interaction issues, there were also instances of masked or veiled segregation, not manifested in actual, physical barriers. Even where the segregation of the sexes was not manifested in the visible sense, the cultural sensibilities and the invisible cultural constructs were manifested in interaction and achieved by politeness forms. For some of the unmarried females consultants, the home spatial arrangements were not defined in terms of segregation, but were manifested through terms of restricted social interaction that barred interaction with male colleagues. In the case of some married couples, who did not adhere to the spatial segregation, the politeness forms and forms of address were sociolinguistic devices that insured the appropriate inter-gender dynamics.

In summary, the private residence became an Arabic cultural oasis in the American cultural context. Members of the Arabic population attempted to convert their residences to culturally meaningful spaces, rendering salient both visible and invisible aspects of culture. (The significance of aspects of these issues are discussed in conjunction with the subsequent phase of residence.)

**Arabic Discourse and Politeness**

In Chapter IV, I discussed aspects of Arabic discourse, introducing repetition as a prominent phenomenon in academic interactions. As was suggested in that chapter, repetition is
a relevant interactional style, used by Arabic speakers in everyday life. It is a recurrent device in the context of social interaction, and serves as an emotional and contextualization cue in situated intercultural interactions in the American community. In this chapter, however, I focus on other discourse issues, in particular indirectness as a salient politeness strategy in Arabic social intercourse. The Arabic consultants made clear that these matters were important to them in their initial phase of their sojourn in the USA. Indirectness, manifested in face-to-face everyday interactions and linked to politeness and public face in the Arabic culture, was transferred to interactions in the current context.

Indirectness forms, although variable, are pervasive in the diverse Arabic communication styles. Indirectness is based in cultural themes of politeness and is not a gender-specific discourse style, for it is utilized by both males and females in face-to-face contexts. It is especially significant to issues of public face and interpersonal relationships.

For purposes of this dissertation, I limited my focus to indirectness in communicative acts as manifested in both responses to inquiries, and acts of indirect refusal and acceptance. These are integrated in questions and answers with their special pertinence to dynamics of interaction which are face-to-face personal encounters. These are issues
at the core of social discourse and public face and cultural appropriateness.

Indirectness as a politeness style is most relevant in contexts considered as personal face-to-face interaction and/or personal topics, as I indicated in Chapter II. Indirectness, while evident in impersonal transactions, is less salient in these social interactions.

This interactional style has implications in the present cultural context in the initial phase of residence. It was especially relevant to interactions in the American context. The manifestation of indirectness as a strategy of politeness was one of the significant issues recounted by the Arabic consultants. They related these matters of cultural sensibility in the initial phase and the implication for social interactions as well as in the comparisons of cultural selves.

In the initial phase of residence, while the distinction between "us" and "them" was most vivid, the consultants made much of issues of politeness in transactions in everyday life. Based on the recurrence of these accounts, also informed by my own biculturalism, I inferred that this indirectness was grounded in politeness strategies.

To pursue a discussion of the Arabic discourse style of indirectness, I first review the anthropological conceptual themes that inform the discussion of politeness.
Presuppositions and the General Argument

Communicative strategies are, as I have pointed out before, structured in culturally meaningful ways. That face-to-face interactions are culturally structured and linked to other cultural structures is salient in anthropological conceptualization. The communicative competence of the Arabic individual includes the strategy of indirectness. In fact, Arabic indirectness is a salient cultural politeness form. It has mutual meaning in transactions of Arabs vis-a-vis each other. However, in communicative events where Arabs interact with Americans, knowledge of these cultural strategies is not shared and mutual meaning is absent.

Braun (1988) suggests that in politeness phenomena are important studies in interactions. She indicates that:

In spite of their enormous social relevance, linguistic politeness phenomena are often neglected in foreign language instruction. But that is exactly where it is not sufficient to label a form, e.g. a form of address, as a form of politeness and leave it at that. Determining the position of a variant within a system is not very informative for a learner of a foreign language....More attention should therefore be devoted to rules aiming at adequacy. What a learner needs to know is which variants exist and how they can be classified. This is an essential part of communicative competence with important practical consequences. [1988:63]

Brown and Levinson (1987), while noting that some aspects of politeness are apparently universal, point out the relevant politeness forms as meaningful cultural constructs. Politeness patterns are linked to culture-specific communicative preferences.
Forms of Indirectness and Cross-cultural Interactions

For Arabic speakers, one of the most important strategies of indirectness is to use the formulaic form "Inshallah"—"God willing," introduced in Chapter II. This usage is rampant in the Arabic discourse. This is a polysemic expression that has many interactional functions. The meaning is context bound. Beyond its literal meaning of "God Willing," the connotation is disambiguated by the actions that follow in the context of the communication.

"Inshallah" is especially common as a response form. Here, I exemplify it as it was used as a response to me during my field work. There, the usage was transferred from Arabic culture to interactions in the current context, with implication in the initial phase of residence. Because of my biculturalism, I recognized several of the indirect forms and functions. But, in some instances, the cues of indirect interaction were not clear to me and further contextualization cues were necessary.

My request for an interview after establishing contact sometimes prompted a refusal. But the refusal was masked and indirect, confusing me in spite of my biculturalism. Two of the more vivid instances in my field notes occurred in the institutional and community setting. They were equivalent in their functional meaning as examples of indirect refusal to engage in an ethnographic interview. After my repeated
attendance in the gender-restricted Arabic female CESL class. I approached several of the women with requests to interview them. "Inshallah" was the given response. Because of this indirect response, I was not certain I had been granted permission. Subsequently, the repetition of "Inshallah", coupled with avoidance of future commitments, were contextualization cues which conveyed to me an indirect refusal to be interviewed. For the concerned Arabic women, their familiarity with me had engendered a social context which would have made direct refusal discourteous.

The other instances of indirect refusal occurred were part of the interaction at Christopher City, where my observations included the public aspects of life. At CC, I regularly attended meetings of International wives and engaged in many of their social interactions. My presence had become familiar, and I engaged in social encounters with several of the Arabic women there. However, I again encountered indirect responses to my requests for interviews. The indirectness was again achieved by the form of interaction included in the politeness formula "Inshallah." Again, this form, combined with other contextualization cues conveyed the masked refusal.

The usage of "Inshallah," as such, had implications for the Arabic speaker in the American sociocultural context. "Inshallah," as a form of indirectness, was easily
misinterpreted as equivocation and evasion, especially when it was the response to a direct and explicit request.

Several students indicated that, particularly when invited to private homes, they were unsure of how to respond to direct offers of food and drink. For example, when asked, "Do you want a drink?," the answer was always, "No, thank you." One student gave the striking example of his experience at a Thanksgiving dinner. His indirectness obliged him always to refuse direct offers of food. As a result, he was not properly fed.

Another example of Arabic indirectness as a response had implications for my field work. As I pursued my inquiry about what was perceived to be the challenges for them in their experience of everyday life in USA, I initially phrased my question as "what are the important problems for being in USA?" The responses were mostly couched in terms relaying that all is "normal" or tabi'i or "regular," 'itiadi. However, subsequent inquiry unravelled several of the challenges of life in the USA, including issues of identity and social discourse. I deduced that the above questions were unproductive based on two aspects. One is related to the directness of the question of "what is the problem". The other is related to the notion of "problem" itself. For, in this context, problems may conjure a notion of personal failure instead of challenges in the new experiential context. This may be termed the problem with "problem."
Arabic-speakers vis-a-vis Anglos

As indicated above, the significance of directness is most relevant to personal face-to-face interaction and less salient with regard to impersonal encounters. The appropriateness of indirectness is context bound, especially if the context is institutional or official. There, indirectness is less of an issue, since the meaning of directness is contextualized accordingly, and assumed to be part of the necessity for efficiency in these contexts.

As I pointed out in Chapter III, in the interviews, I switched frames to discuss personal issues, initially not coupled with a switch to a culturally appropriate style of interaction congruent with the personal contents of the questions. The more subjective topics of inquiry were no longer compatible with the consultants' cultural sensibility about those contents. It was especially observed that directness was inappropriate in the home setting, for the perception of the meaning of that personal context.

At times, I tested this inference and continued in a direct style of questioning, even as I delved into the more personal areas of the ethnographic interview. For the Arabic consultants, that was a breach of politeness. This was conveyed to me in a variety of forms, including explicit comments about my directness, which they attributed to aspects of my biculturalism.
Directness in the *interpersonal*, as opposed to the official or impersonal, contexts was considered impolite, an unacceptable breach in sociability and decorum. For the Arabic consultants in the initial phase, the directness strategy was especially incongruent with cultural assumptions about interpersonal relationships. Several consultants supplied reflections on their experiences in these communicative events.

One of the consultants recalled his first American Thanksgiving dinner. (Narratives about Thanksgiving dinners punctuated several of the Arabic speakers' reflections of their American cultural experience, since Thanksgiving was a novel cultural ritual in their repertoire of cultural experiences.) This consultant from Kuwait gave a narrative account about two issues specifically: the contents and the form of the questions asked about his home culture. He remarked on how unprepared he was for such inquiries. His then-limited English made him feel powerless to convey sufficient cultural meaning and knowledge in response to some of the questions asked of him. His most poignant comment, however, was about the style of questioning, in particular the directness of the probing and provocation. He maintained that these questions included many inquiries about his cultural background. He added that his host family had based all of their information on popular notions as conveyed in media images steeped in negative stereotypes. He also found
their directness of style of questioning to be an affront to his cultural sensibility. Despite the hospitality extended to him, he did not feel like a welcomed guest because, as he repeated several times, the directness of questioning made him feel as if he were being interrogated or cross-examined. As he reflected on his total experience of that encounter, he concluded by saying, "I felt as if I were in a zoo."

**Arabic Persons in the American Cultural Context**

As the Arabic consultants reflected on the initial phase of culture contact in their temporary residence, two overlapping and interconnected issues emerged. The first issue concerns cultural identity. The other issue pertains to social belonging. In this section, I shall address issues of cultural identity, followed by a section on other experiences of daily life.

**Issues of Cultural Identity: the Initial Phase**

It became evident to me that some of the most pronounced matters that the Arabic population was grappling with in the initial phase of residence were related to issues of Arabic cultural identity. Their perceptions of these issues informed their redefinitions of cultural identities in the subsequent phase. These redefinitions of cultural self will be explored in Chapter VI. In the initial phase, however, it is the incipient phase of adaptation that is also based on issues of
identity and the experience in the new cultural context. Before addressing the contents of the issues of identity, I introduce the presuppositions that inform the discussion.

I assume that Arabic cultural identity of the adult population was well-formed and established prior to students' coming to the USA. The primary identity was inculcated with Arabic and culturally Islamic attributes. However, identity is an interactive and reactive phenomena, as pointed out by Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982b). Ethnic identities in the American urban settings were reconstituted in the new interactive and reactive processes. Thus, the issues of cultural identity are imbedded inseparably in everyday interaction in the new context.

Initial Impressions: "On Being Different"

In their initial experiences, Arabic consultants felt that they were "different." The label, "being different" was used by key consultants, who conveyed the meaning of "being different" and the constellation of notions about these matters by numerous messages. The sense given to "differences" reflected the Arabic person's feeling of being viewed mostly as exotic objects initially, a sense which gained added meaning with increased interaction and prolonged residence, as shall be discussed in Chapter VI.

These interpretations were reiterated in many interviews. In interpreting their experiences in the initial
phase, several consultants referred to the numerous social encounters where the message of "being different" was conveyed by the interactive processes. A key point here is that the issue was not gender based. Also the issue of identity was not only student related. It was articulated differently and with differing poignancy by students and their accompanying persons. The students were the first to point out this concern about "being different," but their accompanying persons discussed those issues as well, in many forms, and factored them into their accounts the their American experience.

Students encountered this issue in the initial phase of their residency, in interactions both on and off campus, in contexts ranging from the instrumental to friendly exchanges.

Recall that, in Chapter IV, I introduced a key female consultant who experienced a special challenge in the co-presence of genders and was sent to the female student lounge at the University to assuage her concerns. In her narrative about her encounters there, she emphasized issues of Arabic cultural identity. As this consultant sought a resolution of her dilemma, she encountered a barrage of negative images of her cultural identity and culture ethos. These interactions added to her sense of confusion about her current experiences, compounding rather than mitigating her predicament.
Reflecting on her experiences, she indicated how she had celebrated the opportunity that was afforded to her by being selected to study in the United States of America. She looked forward to meaningful social discourse as she prepared to pursue a Ph.D. degree in English Literature. Once she arrived in the USA, and based on her initial social encounters at CESL and the American cultural context, she noted that suddenly she was signified as very different, an exotic object. She was different from Anglos and as well as from other international students.

Her realization of "being different" was grounded in various interactions in both contexts at the University and community settings. She felt that this perception of her as very different from other students was grounded in the fact of her being a Saudi woman. It is important to note that, in the American context, this female student had modified her representation of self in public. She did not present herself in an Islamic form of dress. The fact that she was a Saudi was discovered by her interlocutors in social encounters. The subsequent interactional dynamics changed based on this information.

To her, "being different" emerged and was conveyed by the reactions and responses when she participated in activities. This became a relentless form of signification in most interactions. Hence, as she perceived it, "I could not normally engage in meaningful forms of social interaction. I
found myself always explaining, defending, interpreting, and responding to cultural issues. My efforts to engage in meaningful social interaction were thwarted." She questioned the implications and meanings of cultural difference, the attention ascribed to the attributes of difference. She was perplexed by the attention given to her "being different" in the initial phase. She concluded that these social interactions had jarred her cultural identity as well as sapped her energies.

As for the males, several of the male consultants elaborated on the issues of cultural identity in the initial phase and the sense of dislocated identity lay at the crux of their accounts. One key consultant indicated, in an especially elaborate account, how strange he frequently felt in interactions which conveyed to him "being different," that he was an object of curiosity. What bewildered him was the extent to which these notions were interjected in social interactions, and how awkward an ambience was thus created. He summarized that these notions were based mostly on negative stereotypes and the stigmatization of his cultural background. He felt that some of his Arabic compatriots had commenced by acting in accordance with these stereotypes. With the passage of time, they in fact became caricatures of themselves.

Some of the Arabic males, however, responded in this initial phase by the total denial of Arabic identity,
expressed by assuming a different cultural background and social identities. That was attained by adopting either other national identities (e.g. Greek or Italian), or attempting to assume an American persona and pursue total Americanization. (These issues shall be discussed in the subsequent phase in Chapter VI.) Other Arabic cultural compatriots interpreted such actions as unproductive, adding negative messages to their burdens, which marred their cultural identity.

Other accounts of issues of cultural identity were gleaned from the narratives of accompanying wives and chaperons. As several of the females extended their cultural sensibilities to the American cultural context, they chose to represent themselves as Islamic persons, manifested in demeanor and dress, as well as other semiotics of Arabic culture. When, early in the course of my inquiry about the adaptation to the American scene, I asked about these phenomena, their responses suggested that I had struck a sensitive chord. Initially, I attributed these responses as related to my own social identity. Thus, I refrained from further inquiry about these matters. But subsequently, and with additional contextualization cues, there emerged a different inference. I came to realize that they responded this way, not because I am not Muslim myself, but because these responses were outcomes of their own sensitivity. They had developed this sensitivity because of other awkward
social encounters, which were the source of yet more uncomfortable moments.

Once some of these issues were clarified, my subsequent inquiry did not entail uneasy reactions. I then inquired about issues of cultural identity and the representation of an Islamic self. The consultants supplied details and elaborated comfortably.

The experiences of some of these women had been dramatic and traumatic, which yielded an out-pouring of these narratives elaborating on issues of representation of self. Those experiences were attributed to aspects of presentation of their religious and cultural selves. The consultants explained that "the Islamic dress code preserves the modesty of the Arabic woman and her public face." They conveyed that gender attributes are related to the core of their cultural identity and sensibility, but, in the context of the American society, these cultural identifications have had negative ramifications.

Several consultants explained that, in their initial social encounters, they had been subjected to social interactions which rendered them objects of curiosity, objects of ridicule, or even as freaks. As one consultant voiced her initial impression. "It was burlesque." She was referring to the way her cultural sensibility was mocked. Hence, based on collective interpretation, the immediate responses and outcomes of these experiences caused special
sensitivity about the issue for the concerned consultants. For them, to avoid these topics became one salient response strategy.

The significance of these issues is that, in "being different," the consultants' prior social identity was redefined as an exotic self. This stigma was the commencement of the American experience: the "freak show," as stated by one of the consultants. These issues would have implications for the subsequent phase.

Thus far, I have elaborated on the issues of cultural identity as related to experiential reality. Next, I discuss other aspects of experiential reality, especially relevant to social intercourse.

Experiences of Everyday Life: Initial Phase

In this section, I address the consultants' reflections and my impressions concerning Arabic social actors, social interactions, and the meaning of the daily endeavors. These are reflections related to their perception in particular of their own place in the social universe, but also about social relations in the American macro cultural context. Their accounts were implicitly and explicitly compared. They saw themselves as social actors by comparing themselves and their situated social interactions at home and in the USA. Estrangement was especially pertinent for the accompanying
persons (females) and unmarried males at this initial phase. These issues shall be addressed respectively.

In their reflections, the Arabic-speaking people used metaphors to convey their perception of the American experience and their place in the universe of social interaction. The use of metaphors is a salient and pervasive style in everyday interaction of Arabic speakers. Before I consider their metaphors in which they convey their experience, I introduce how I rely on their metaphoric descriptions.

Metaphors as a Tool

I have relied on the Arabic usage of metaphor as another anthropological tool with which to decipher the cultural experience and to understand their world of experiences.

Geertz, in The Anthropology of Experience, the chapter titled "Making Experiences, Authoring Selves," indicates and recommends that attention be paid to ways people represent themselves and their experiences. Geertz states:

It is at least one of the jobs of the ethnographer ...to pay much attention, particularly to the means....We can but listen to what, in words, in images, in actions, they say about their lives....it is with expressions, representations, objectifications, discourses, performances, whatever that we traffic: a carnival, a mural, a curing rite, a revitalization movement, a clay figurine, an account of stay in the woods. [1986:373]
In reference to the anthropology of experience, Bruner (1986b), discusses metaphors as relevant to interactions in everyday life. Lakoff and Johnson (1982) provide illustrations of the use of metaphor in American daily life to render the social and phenomenological world meaningful. Basso (1976), in Meaning in Anthropology, found that metaphoric 'wise words' among the Western Apaches were similes used as comments on everyday life. They describe experiences, perceptions, social actions, persons, and other aspects of everyday life. Now I return to my consideration of the American experience and Arabic population.

Implications for the Accompanying Persons

Many of the discussed observations were based at CC. There, as I first focused on the married students and their families, several of my inferences were made based on what I noted as distinctly related to female consultants, who were accompanying wives. It became evident that this situation applied to other accompanying persons as well.

Both spouses and chaperons reflected on their initial experiences. In my observation, the accompanying female members of the population initially discussed the sentiments about key issues and the description of the American experience. Their remarks reflected the potent changes in their lives, on the one hand vis-a-vis the persons they
accompany, and, on the other hand, vis-a-vis the community in which they find themselves.

As compared with the persons they have come to accompany, their social and interactional world seemed to have become transposed and inverted. In the cases of both the wives and chaperons, they accompanied students who became engrossed in the practical demands of the academic life at this initial phase. The accompanying persons lived these academic institutional schedules and routines vicariously, and this, along with their own experiences, led to further feelings of alienation.

"Becoming an Island"

The American experience in the community setting for many Arabic women was one of disengagement. The prevalent perception of their initial phase of the American experience was one of isolation, of suddenly "becoming an island." These experiences of isolation were based on combined reasons. Some of these dimensions were imbedded in the aforementioned issues of cultural identity and the interactive processes, but were compounded with other dynamics.

While the perception of "being an island" was common among members of the population, the converse comparative reference was also invoked. They harked back at the notions of their "being part of a web" in their home countries. As they referred to their prior lives, the tasks of daily life
were shared based on the compact social relations in the web of ties and interdependence. The description of their social relations in the American context was perceived as an island as compared to those being part of a "web" in their prior the experience. (These perceptions take on different meaning in other phases of the sojourn in the USA as indicated in the context of other chapters).

It was apparent that, while CC was a physical and spatial community, it did not represent a social community for many Arabic women who dwelt there. These perceptions were shared by many of the consultants and were attributed to variety of reasons related to daily micro social interactions. Some of these issues were cultural, while others were based on the necessities of life and the engendered demands on them.

A key description of their current experiential reality was conveyed by a notion of paradox about their present living situation. Inherent in the paradox was a newly-engendered quandary. On the one hand, the American macro cultural context was less constraining to them in many respects, but, in micro contexts, they became more constrained, for they had become totally dependent on their student spouses.

Herein lies the paradox. The issue of dependency on the spouse was a new dynamic for them, for it entailed the transfer of dependency to one person instead of a network of
persons. Added to that was the lack of availability of this person, the student, due to academic demands. For these female consultants, not being a "part of a web" took on added meaning in their descriptions. Aside from the indicated social belonging, the women also referred to their interdependence in the pragmatics of everyday life. Hence, their perception of the paradox was described in forms of being and becoming so dependent in a country which prides itself on independence.

Several of the wives had advanced education and skills prior to coming to the USA. But, constraints in the current context barred them from a meaningful pursuit of these skills. These constraints were either imposed by laws of employment in the US or the fact that their skills and credentials were non-transferrable. In these situations, these unutilized skills engendered added sources of frustration. Examples included a wife who was a pharmacist, and credentialed teachers who became "baby sitters" or kitchen help.

Accompanying chaperons also suffered isolation. Instances observed were not within CC. There was a phenomenon of detachment in the social intercourse, for reasons comparable to those mentioned above. Here, these women who came to accompany the female students became totally dependent on them. These women, as guardians of cultural mores, were figures of authority. But, in their American
experience, they were totally dependent on the students they accompanied. Because of changes in language, interactions, and mobility, the issues of their authority became clouded. It is evident, however, that their authority was clear in interactions in the residential quarters, where there was a convergence of appropriate cultural conduct based on their prior culture. Here is another instance where the home was the microcosm of the prior cultural domain.

When I started to address these themes, I addressed the inquiry to both male and female consultants. Initially, I gathered that the perception of isolation was a non-student, female-gender related issue. But, as I further pursued the questions about life and the initial experience, it became apparent to me that, in the initial phase of USA residence, a segment of the unmarried student male population also shared in these sentiments of this isolation.

"America is an Ocean."

The unmarried males expressed sentiments in different forms. "America is an ocean," a metaphor of the meaning of the American experience, was first conveyed by an unmarried Arabic male student. But as I gathered ethnographic accounts, this metaphor turned out to reflect a more general perception of the experience, one shared by accompanying persons. For many of the unmarried students, in spite of the demanding rigor of their academic engagement, there seemed to be a
disengagement in social discourse. The metaphor was recurrent, articulated by many members of the population to describe the individual's feeling of personal and social place reflecting on the issues of one's niche and the notions of belonging and the dynamics of social interactions.

"America is an ocean," describes the experience itself. But in this context it was also a comparison to the description of the prior "web" of social relations. When I investigated the meaning of "America is an ocean," the rendered description was not concerned with the vastness of the country: the significance was instead a perception of the cultural self engaged in the dynamics of the current context. At times, there was an added adage: "America is an ocean, and I cannot swim." This was supplied by one of the key male consultants, and was a recurrent perception. The consultants explained aspects of this connotative and metaphoric message. It was not a reference to swimming; it indicated the inability to "navigate" the social life, and, above all, the lack of mooring in the current sociocultural discourse.

"America is an ocean," was intended to describe, in particular, the perception of cultural patterns of social interaction. This is made clear by the corollary notions in the course of describing their living experiences. The significance of these perceptions of the initial phase has implications to the subsequent phase. The hindered ability to navigate is related to the subsumed issues of experiences.
The Blurred Lens

I present the final matter relevant to the discussion of the American experience of Arabic population, as this was a general and collective perception of aspects of dynamics of social interaction in the initial phase. It was applicable both in and out of the institutional contexts. It was conveyed by a paradox, related to the blurred lens on social discourse in the initial phase. In the perception that "there are no rules in America"/ "America is rule governed," the paradox was based in their experiences and perceptions of what was familiar and unfamiliar.

In reference to the issues of social interactions with "no rules," some of the consultants' clear concerns were based on one specific topic: the inversion of the experiences of an Arabic universe of social interaction based on gender segregation. One issue of curiosity and concern for many of the Arabic consultants conveyed curiosity about a common American practice: boyfriend-girlfriend social interactions. This was conveyed by both females and males. It was an object of curiosity to both unmarried and married students. It was part of their questions directed to me about that particular form of social discourse. The implications and rituals of those interactions were precluded from their prior repertoire of social interactions. Several of the American wives of Arabic students also related to me that they were asked to
explain the boyfriend-girlfriend social interactions to their spouses and other Arabic persons.

In sum, the pragmatics of everyday life, all of the issues of social interaction combined with identity and the various experience and compounded with conception of cultural rules and no rules, the outcome of isolation was the initial experience for many Arabic persons as they had embarked on their sojourn in the USA.

Focused and Blurred Lenses--Outcomes of the Initial Phase

This discussion summarizes Chapters IV and V, on the initial experiences of the Arabic speakers in the American context. The initial phase was ushered in with a sense of communicative gap or discourse limbo on the part of the Arabic persons. This initial encounter involves twin experiences. The first is the most focused lens on the distinctions between the Arabic persons and the American persons, and the second is the blurred lens on the social rules in the American sociocultural context. The significance and meaning of these issues became evident in this initial phase, based on lived daily life experiences in social interactions in the institutional setting and the community domain.

In both settings, social transactions led to processes of adaptation. Thus, for the Arabic population this initial phase has the character of an incipient adaptive process. I
started with the general argument that students are not learning machines but Arabic persons who came with their cultural tools to tackle everyday life in America. As cultural beings, they attempted to make sense of their experiences and render the new sociocultural universe manageable, given their Arabic cultures. In the Anglo context, these cultural assumptions engendered dilemmas, based on depths of the differences in cultures that were unascertainable. The new environment was vastly alien to them, hence the cultural clash. The outcomes in the initial phase is the salient strategy discourse, which was the invisible part of cultural dynamics that were carried to the current context. The consultants transferred communicative strategies from Arabic into their current context.

The other component inherent in this discussion is that Arabic students were in the initial phase (discourse gap) in the academic context. For the Arabic-speaking student, there was a general lack of familiarity with English for Particular Purposes (EPP). Unlike the Arabic diglossic situation, English styles and appropriate communicative contexts present hidden or masked dimensions. Several of the Arabic students indicated they were grappling with English styles, for they did not ascertain genres and styles of English. There were blurred distinctions between styles in English and, in particular, the language spoken outside and academic English. Hence, for the Arabic speakers, initially it commenced with
the process of acquiring a verbal code which is English but had an admixture of genres and styles.

Based on studies of classroom interactions, the inter-gender issue was a major intercultural dilemma. Inter-gender dynamics were based on avoidance. These interactional issues based on the decontextualized meaning of gender. The other dynamics were manifested in the perception of authority. Authority and principles of authority as a discursive in both cultural contexts and was baffling to the Arabic students.

Repetition and use of English are part of the discourse in the Anglo classroom and in the interaction in the community. The issues of directness and indirectness were vital. The indirectness in consultant's reaction to my use of words applied even to me as the insider-outsider researcher.

A vital point in the consideration of Arabic discourse is that interactive processes may lead to mutual miscommunication. The notion that mutual miscommunication is engendered by differing communicative strategies is the conceptual theme. For example, in the discussion of indirectness in Arabic discourse, there was the implication that the converse is true for Anglos. Anglos might interpret indirectness as evasive, while Arabic speakers saw directness as impolite and inconsiderate and an unwarranted assertiveness in interpersonal dynamics.

Thus cross-cultural misunderstandings emerge as part of interactions of everyday life, causing mutual
miscommunication when strategy and styles which were not shared cross-culturally.

Another key issue in this initial phase of residences revolved around cultural identity. The outcome for most Arabic persons was new cultural selves--or the introduction of the perception of an exotic self. As one consultant indicated, "All of a sudden, I am a curiosity." These perceptions, in the initial phase, were based on the perceived differences conveyed to Arabic persons. Arabic speakers became aware of these of the differences.

The key consultants indicated that this attention to their cultural identity as an oddity or, at times, a freak, caused them to embark on their questioning their own cultural selves. In sum, in the initial phase, Arabic cultural identity was shaken or dislocated.

To some consultants, the interactions within the current context had a profound impact and outcome on the emergent social self. Often, there was a dramatic redefinition of self in the new context, as shall be elaborated in the subsequent phase.

While the focus of the discussion has been on the Arabic population and the American context, I also tried to weave into the discussion issues of my own biculturalism as pertinent to the dynamics of communicative events. There were two points. First, was the shared-ness in aspects of the communicative code. The second was based on not-sharedness in
some of the cultural code that is implied and as important factor of recognition. (On my part, in subsequent encounters, it became clear that, when topics and styles were approached in the correct cultural mode, the key consultants were eager to answer.)

For a summary of the Arabic perception of their total American experience in the initial phase, I invoke their metaphor, "America is an ocean." It was a recurrent metaphor articulated by many members of the population to describe the individuals' perception of selves as social actors and their American sociocultural experience and to reflect the feeling of personal and social place in the initial phase.

Their reflections on the challenges of everyday life included practical issues: several students ate only sardines for months, as this was related to food taboos in Islam which preclude pork, ham, and not knowing about other food, those students felt more confident not to violate the taboos by eating only sardines. The other difficult aspect of the daily life was related of going to the bank, the menace of credit cards, among other novel pragmatics life. But the most important issues were the visible and invisible aspects of differing cultural patterns, especially social interactions in the institutional setting and the community setting. Then the metaphor reflected their general perception of the total experience.
I propose that the private residential domain became an Arabic cultural microcosm. There the visible and invisible aspects of the Arabic culture were manifested in the setting and social interaction. The residential quarters became an "oasis" in the midst of the bustle of urban Tucson. Based on the notion that, in the new cultural context, the private domain can become a microcosm of the culture of the home country, I note: they lived in American homes, but with Arabic spatial and social organization. The feeling of familiar surroundings that were their "oases" gave them strength to go swimming in the "ocean" of bewildering aspects of the American culture.

In addition to the references cited above, the following sources were also consulted: Basso and Selby, eds. 1976; Blount 1974, 1975; Bourhis 1979; Brown and Fraser 1979; Brown and Levinson 1978; Bruner 1984; 1986a; Clifford and Marcus, eds. 1986; Fischer 1986; Goody 1978; Gumperz 1975; Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982b; Hill 1980, 1988; Levy 1984; Lewis 1977; Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds. 1990; Scollon and Scollon 1983; Shweder and Bourne 1986.
CHAPTER VI: ASPECTS OF THE SUBSEQUENT PHASE OF RESIDENCE: EFFECTS ON ARABIC CULTURAL IDENTITY

Chapters IV and V detailed various aspects of the initial phase. In Chapters VI and VII, I will focus on the subsequent phase of residence of the Arabic population. This chapter focuses both on how the concerned Arabic population came to interpret their experiences, and on Arabic discourse as they adapted to the American context. The considered issues are related to the two macro domains—the academic and community settings.

In this chapter, I initially introduce the conceptual theme and argument concerning the subsequent phase. Secondly, I address the social and cultural identity based on the subsequent phase, redefinition of self and the three salient outcomes: Americanization, selective differentiation, and Islamization. The final section reconsiders Arabic discourse after a prolonged duration of residence in the USA.

Consideration of the Subsequent Phase

Here I introduce some of the salient issues and restate major arguments that inform the discussion. These issues are pertinent to the discussion of issues in both Chapters VI and VII.
In this introduction to the subsequent phase, I propose a perspective based on two dimensions: that of time comparison of the subsequent and initial phases, and that of adaptive responses and outcomes of the Arabic population.

The notion of a subsequent phase is, of course, based on a time dimension. I define the concept as an extended duration of residence which follows the initial phase, without reference to specific number of years of duration of the residence in the USA. The ethnographic data cover students and families in their first year, as well as those who have been in the USA for several years. The maximum residence was ten years commencing with CESL, and moving into the Ph.D.s.

The other aspect of the discussion of time and the subsequent phase of residence compares this with the initial phase of residence. In this later phase of residence, the initial discourse gap, or limbo state, developed in the initial phase of residence, was less glaring. Arabic individuals do become familiar with angles of the new culture, and acquire new communicative competencies in the current cultural context. However, some issues continue to be challenging and unfamiliar.

Now I turn to ideas of response and adaptation. Adaptation is based on the emergent responsive outcomes that commenced with processes in the initial phase. In the subsequent phase, the important issues of response outcomes
and adaptation strategies, including the cultural identity of the Arabic social actors, their patterns of interactions, and their evaluation of the American experience.

In Chapter I, I introduced the operative definition of adaptation which has informed the arguments of the entire dissertation. To reiterate the definition here, adaptation is a conscious or intentional modification of behavior that is perceived to be advantageous to the person and/or the group in enabling them in coping and adjusting to the management strategies of everyday life. This concept is rooted in an interactional perspective encompassing issues of social identity and the presentation of the self in social interactions. Adaptation includes both processes and responsive outcomes. Both are grounded in cultural dialectics, and include macro cultural processes and micro interactional processes of everyday life. These processes and responses involve the prior cultures of home countries intermixed with the dynamics of their present cultural text, the American context. In their responses, the Arabic individuals adapted to the current American context, but the consideration of their responses rested on the conceptualization of the interplay of both the Arabic and American cultures. Hence, the adaptive outcomes were a result of cultural dialectics between Arabic and Anglo cultures.

Human beings as cultural actors interpret and seek to find meaning in their experiences. The Arabic individuals,
students, and accompanying families were not passive recipients of knowledge and educational experiences, for they are not learning machines. They did consider the immersion and total experience of being in the USA. They interpreted the existential and experiential realities and evaluated them through their cultural lenses. The pursuit of adaptation as response and outcome is viewed as a deliberate change manifested in redefinition of salient issues pertaining to the social actors, interaction, and cultural discourse.

Now I note some of the conceptual themes and argument for Chapters VI and VII. Whereas in Chapters IV and V, I focused primarily on the initial processes of the adaptation phenomena, the focal point of consideration in Chapters VI and VII is on the responses and the outcomes of these dynamic processes. The responses and outcomes are delineated based on the dual facets of interactive processes and the prolonged time dimension in interactions.

I propose that the perception of cultural differences became less glaring in the subsequent phase. However, there were cultural patterns that remained enigmatic and challenging to the Arabic population. These persistent challenges illustrate the subtlety of non-shared patterns of interaction for actors (Gumperz 1982). The patterns include a myriad of extralinguistic cultural information as well as the invisible, yet culturally significant, interactional dimensions of discourse. While interactions are locally
meaningful as they unfold in situated transactions, they included many components embedded in the multi-dimensions of the interactions, that are backgrounds for action and remain to constitute the non-shared aspects in intercultural interaction where culturally differentiated patterns continue in play and generate misunderstandings.

These issues shall be the subject of reconsideration as they pertain to the subsequent phase. The issues of actions and interactions and cultural discourse, which were introduced in Chapters IV and V, are juxtaposed in Chapters VI and VII. The discussion of these issues is based on my observations and the Arabic population's reflections and assessments of their cultural experiences.

Arabic Cultural Identity In the American Context

As the Arabic individuals engaged in the construction of reality and reflected on their personal experiences, they conveyed that their daily interaction and the total immersion in the current context had reconfirmed their initial perception of the notion of "being different" or "being exotic in the American midst."

The Arabic social identity of "being different" persisted in the subsequent phase of residence in the USA. Furthermore, with the passage of time and immersion in American cultural ambience, "being different" took on the additional interpretive meaning of "being curiously
different," as articulated by one of the key consultants. The awareness of "being curiously different" was a shared perception, as reflected from accounts of many diverse members. In their narratives they recounted the instances in which this message was conveyed to them in daily interactions.

Over length of residence the Arabic population's perception included issues of self and place in the social universe. All members of the population, to different degrees, in various periods, took an inventory of the self. They embarked on an evaluation of their experiences, including their cultural selves as they dwelled in the American cultural context. For the observed Arabic population, the issues of redefinition of cultural selves and identities were not gender specific. But the various responses and outcomes were different for males and females, in particular where these pertained to the public selves as shall be explored below.

I perceive cultural identity as an interactive and dynamic process. Gumperz (1982) discussed issues of the construction of social identity in modern urban settings. He identified interactive and reactive processes in the context of a complex heterogenous urban setting. For the Arabic-speaking people, the interactive component is based on their "being curiously different," in daily interpersonal interactions in the current context. The reactive component
addresses their responses and outcomes and the origins of some of these in their prior cultural discourse.

When the consultants expressed their most pressing concerns, related to their American experiences, they emphasized foremost that in American culture there is a general lack of appreciation of Arabic culture. The more perturbing aspect, however, was that this lack of appreciation was coupled with a more pernicious component: the pervasively negative portrayals of Arab peoples and their cultures in the popular media including both printed media and motion pictures. The popular media were viewed as crucial in perpetuating and disseminating these negative stereotypes, and reinforcing general negative sentiments and stereotyped images of the Arab people and their cultures. These images reinforced the multifunctional message of "being curiously different." Arabic consultants concluded that "being curiously different" meant in fact that their Islamic/Arabic cultural identity was a stigmatized one.

Some theories about stigmatization, the outcome of stigmatized identities, and the outcome response are based on Goffman's *Stigma* (1963); and Blom and Eidheim (1969). These are based on how the persons deal with the images of themselves vis-a-vis others on daily basis.

For the Arabic speakers, the issue of "being curiously different" was forwarded as a salient component of their
American experiences. Accordingly they devised their adaptive strategies as responses to this perception.

Over time, having been treated as "being curiously different," the Arabic consultants reassessed the value judgments attached to cultural differences. Their redefinition of selves was a general response, influenced by the salience of the notion of stigma. Arabic persons were surprised by their discovery of their "being curiously different." The meanings and the implications of such categorization and labeling were contrary to their expectations. The key consultants reflected on a stigmatized identity which had a constellation of meanings: alien, weird, exotic, among others. As these were conveyed in the macro context they were translated and experienced as an onslaught of labeling that was part of the micro social interactions where they functioned to reinforce the stigmatization.

A key consultant maintained that his surprise about this state did not hinge on his discovery of cultural differences. He had expected differences. While he was still in his home country he had assumed he would encounter differences in cultures and cultural experiences. He found out, however, that he was not prepared to deal with the encountered notions of cultural differences, and concluded by indicating that with the experience of the extensive stigmatization, he was becoming a caricature of his cultural self.
Responses to Stereotypes

These perceptions of the observed Arabic population have been shared by several American scholars, and are of special concern to those whose ethnic background is Arab-American, as with Terry (1985), Shaheen (1984), Ghareeb (1977), and Said (1981). They have documented the "image of the Arabic other" in portrayals in motion pictures, news coverage, and other mass media. Related images in scholarly works that portray Arabic culture are also of concern. (the "Orientalist" genre is discussed above in Chapter II.)

The Arabic consultants, were concerned with how these stereotypes are translated to surface in the daily face-to-face interactions of Anglos vis-a-vis Arabic persons. In reference to situated interactions, the consultants reflected on a myriad of instances where the Anglos' chronic misunderstanding and, at times, blatant cultural rancor about Arabic cultural issues and sensibilities were manifested.

There were varied responses to the concepts of "being curiously different." For many consultants, the awareness of differences changed their responses from the initial phase to the subsequent, with diverse outcomes. For some members, the passage of time served to reintroduce or heighten their awareness of their Arabic cultural identity and related issues in social discourse.
Responses in Cultural and Social Identity

I focus on three variations of interpretation of the American experience reflected in issues of identity. These variations are manifested in the following strategies with differing interactional outcomes: 1. Obliterating the difference, as in Americanization; 2. Allocating cultural differences, or selective differentiation based in the spheres on interaction; and 3. Emphasizing the cultural differences. These issues shall be considered respectively in the following sections.

First Response: Americanization

The first type of response addresses cultural identity by a strategy of obliterating cultural differences, or adopting total assimilation. I refer to this phenomenon as Americanization.

To pursue the discussion, I first assess the implications of the Americanization phenomenon in terms of cultural identity when adopted by a number of Arabic speakers. Second, I review and reconsider the phenomenon of Americanization from an analytical perspective.

In the course of the ethnographic interviews, Americanization, as an outcome, and the processes of Americanization were conveyed as salient concerns of the Arabic population. In many of the interviews, those were recurrent themes in their reflections on both the current
American context and their own cultural selves. I followed up on these cues to decipher the intended meaning of Americanization, that is, the strategy of obliterating cultural differences.

Americanization, for my consultants, meant that an Arabic person was perceived to adopt total acculturation or assimilation in the current American context. The Americanization of the Arabic individuals is described, in Arabic, as the phenomenon of al-ta'amruk. Al-muta'amrik is the one who has become Americanized.

Al-ta'amruk is a deliberate change in identity and actions of the Arabic social actor. Changes in the presentation of self, especially in demeanor, are characterized by several attributes, which are especially evident when Muhammad insists on calling himself 'Mo,' 'Tony,' or even 'Johnny,' among other aliases, to signify Americanized identity. Americanization is also conveyed in the social interaction of the "Americanized" members with other Arabic individuals.

As an example of this phenomenon, one mother commented on her son's Americanization. She explained that he does not acknowledge adults with respect, even on the telephone. Perhaps the notion of respect and the perceived excessive individuality are some of the core issues of children vis-a-vis adults. Consultants also noted suspension of the
respectful form of address, for example calling one's father "my old man," and calling people by their first names.

Consultants viewed the Al-muta'amrik, as an individual engaged in an extreme response to the American context, one especially likely in the initial phase of residence in the USA.

There are implication of this changed identity. Accounts of "Americanization" included self-reflexive remarks as well as remarks in reference to Arabic-speaking compatriots. The metacommunicative messages are especially telling in statements of the married students with children. Although the focus of my study does not include the children, asking the adults about their children provided some of the clues about the meaning of Americanization to Arabic parents.

The parents were concerned foremost, that through the processes of socialization in school and the general cultural ambience for enculturation of their children, there would be an obliteration of Arabic cultural identity. In addition, for many parents, that was coupled with concern about the devaluation of the Arabic cultural traditions in the American context. The Arabic parents were distressed by many aspects of their children's "Americanization."

In the course of the interviews, one key consultant, a mother, articulated her preoccupation with the Americanization of her son Abdullah. This "Americanization of Abdullah" captured many of the sentiments conveyed by other
parents. Abdullah's mother said that the Americanization of her son was reflected in his social conduct. She insisted that he was beginning to lack warmth, public respect and deference to figures of authority, especially in interactions with his parents. The "Americanization of Abdullah" became my guiding label to the meaning of Americanization as a form of compromised cultural identity.

In addition to concerns about the cultural identity of their offspring, consultants expressed concern about adult members of the Arabic population who adopted this strategy of obliterating their identity. This was often expressed as a concern that one of "us" is attempting to become one of "them." Again, Americanization of the Arabic individual was felt to include devalued forms of demeanor in the context of social actions. These included a lack of involvement in social encounters or failure to engage in culturally meaningful interaction. This also manifested itself in a perceived lack of respect for authority in the social dimension.

Many of those interactional attributes are "distancing" social transactions. The combination of these interactional strategies was viewed as especially unbecoming by the other Arabic individuals, who formed a chorus of critical voices. In this sense, the Americanized individuals were seen as emerging caricatures of themselves.
For many Arabic consultants, Americanization was perceived as a response to the initial phase of the residence and seemed to be most common among unmarried Arabic male students. Several of the male consultants referred to themselves and other unmarried male students as having attempted to adopt this form of identification.

In addition to the unmarried males, a few married students engaged in this deliberate pursuit of total acculturation in America. In those situations both partners adopted this strategy. All of those consultants reported this as part of a phase of their early attempts of perceived adaptive responses to American life.

In my interviews, several unmarried males, reflecting on the problem of "being curiously different," reported that they and other males were drawn to this form of self-representation because they saw it as a viable adaptive response to the social world. To some individuals, Americanization was an outcome of cultural identity in crisis that commenced in the process of a jarring cultural journey from the Arab world to the new cultural context.

One of the key consultants, reflecting on that phase of his experiences, maintained that he adopted Americanization as a strategy in the initial phase. He perceived Americanization as a necessary stage in the early, liminal phase of his presence in the American context. He viewed himself as becoming a "burlesque" cultural person. This was
coupled with his description of blurred cultural concepts, all leading to a state of heightened alienation. His colleagues reported similar sentiments.

The subsequent outcome for him was the reassertion of his Arabic identity. This enabled him to become even more certain of his Islamic cultural identity. This particular individual went from an Americanized social identity to an Arabic cultural identity in which he adopted the strategy of selective differentiation, the other form of identification that is a part of the discussion below.

As did this key consultant, many Arabic speakers eventually abandoned Americanization. After a period of this total assimilation, they reinterpreted their identities in relation to other primary cultural forms. They also modified aspects of their social interactions to manifest this emerging identification.

There were, however, a few Arabic individuals for whom Americanization was a persistent identification. They continued to espouse total assimilation, even in the subsequent phase. These individuals received harsh and critical evaluations of their Americanization from Arabic compatriots. These evaluations form two angles and differing dimensions. On the one hand, the censure came from Arabic cultural colleagues and comrades co-present in the American context. On the other hand, censure also came from cultural
members in the home countries. (The latter will be discussed in Chapter VII.)

To their cultural cohorts, Americanized individuals' actions were seen as unwelcome behavior. This prolonged and incessant Americanization of cultural identity was perceived as a total denial of Arabic cultural identity, provoking an unforgiving response from other Arabic compatriots. The responses were conveyed by mocking and ridicule spurning this form of identification.

The stigmatization of the al-muta'amrik was conveyed by words, deeds and actions of Arabic speakers vis-a-vis one another. Arabic cultural cohorts approaching those individuals expressed disappointment and shame. The Americanized Arabic individuals were considered "lost" in the sense of wandering, straying, and lacking in purpose.

Arabic speakers related the notion of "being lost" in another perception of their American experience and encounters, in "America is an ocean," (introduced in Chapter V). These Arabic individuals, in their prolonged response, are "lost," as they have succumbed to extreme pressures of life in the American context.

This form of evaluation by the Arabic cultural cohort was summarized for me by one of the consultants in reference to another Arabic person who continued to identify himself as a totally Americanized individual. In her discussion of this phenomenon, my consultant made her point in recounting a
parable about a bird as a metaphor of the Arabic individuals. This bird thought of himself as "ugly" because others did not accept him as he was. As this bird internalized these impressions of himself and accepted those characterizations, he too started to think of himself as unacceptable. Wanting to be accepted, he emulated the conduct of the "attractive" birds. (Americans). Despite that, he remained unaccepted by the "attractive" birds. He is viewed as pathetic, for by changing himself he now was accepted neither by the other group nor by his own flock. The dilemmas of his existence were compounded as he continued to be "lost."

This is Americanization discussed in a critical voice articulated by many consultants. This particular consultant, as a representative voice, felt contempt for this form of behavior, as she did not feel "lost" herself. She had adopted a strategy opposite to that of her colleague. She had chosen to accentuate her cultural identity as an adaptive strategy. This shall be considered in the pertinent section below.

Americanization Phenomenon Reconsidered

As I continued in the field work and engaged in a closer scrutiny of the perception of Americanization as applied in different communicative contexts, I found that Arabic-speaking individuals gave more than one meaning to their assessment of Americanization. To Arabic consultants, the meaning of Americanization was variable and even paradoxical.
This was, in one sense, a form of criticism concerning actions and identification by other cultural cohorts. A second notion of Americanization was, however, a more neutral evaluation. Sometimes there was even a positive perception of Americanization and the Americanized individuals. Thus, the alta'amurak phenomenon can be interpreted either as a set of shortcomings or assets. The meaning of "Americanization" depends on the context of the communicative event and social interaction.

The second, more positive, concept of Americanization was based on Americanization as modernity and efficiency. For the Arabic speakers, their perception of "efficiency" is especially relevant to the public domain and associated social interactions. Their references were primarily to the institutional setting, for example the University and banks. The idea of "efficient" social interaction combines references to aspects of punctuality, efficient public services, bureaucracy, queuing and a host of other customs. Arabic speakers compared their experiences here to ones in the equivalent settings in their own, developing nations, which they saw as having inherited extremely cumbersome bureaucracies, remnants from the hegemony of colonial regimes that once dominated their countries.

In reference to this concept of Americanization as linked to notions of modernity, the Arabic consultants' ideas about Americanization as "modernity" do not necessarily
compromise their cultural identity or contradict their identification with their Arabic cultural background. But "modernity" for them is a new measure adopted to constitute new responses to a contemporary world.

The same consultant who was concerned about the "Americanization of Abdullah," also captured the other, contrastive, perception of the Americanization. She described her notion of Americanization as she reflected on the American experience of her whole family. She revealed her sentiment about the American experience by the metaphor of "the double-edged sword." She explained that one side of the sword is a cutting edge of efficiency and modernity in a technological system sense. The other edge of the sword is a sharp edge which can cause the amputation of a part of the body. The "body" was her metaphor for Arabic-speaking persons collectively. Accordingly when an Arabic member becomes totally Americanized, or disassociated from Arabic cultural identification, the person is cut off from that symbolic "body." This particular aspect had obvious implications in social interactions.

To summarize, Americanization was seen by consultants as a response to the initial phase which might result in other outcomes in the subsequent phase. Total Americanization was seen as unwelcome behavior. Individuals who re-emerged from this phase might adopt either of the strategies for self
identification that are mentioned in the section of responses and outcomes noted below.

When Americanization is viewed critically, it is seen as part of a system of interpersonal interactions grounded in the notion of "no rules in America." Hence, the Arabic individual who adopted this identification was part of this interpersonal social disarray.

The other sense of Americanization is associated in the perception of America as "rule governed." In this meaning, the perception of "rules" is related to notions of efficiency, orderly conduct in the public sphere, and the availability of services in society. Thus, in some American cultural contexts, rules of conduct were seen as more defined. Many of these parameters constituted graspable dimensions in the experience of consultants.

Second Response: Selective Differentiation

The second observed response in the redefinition of cultural identity was based on a deliberate differentiation between the two cultures. This recognizes the salience of both cultures. An integral aspect of selective differentiation was manifested in accommodative changes. The goal of accommodation was to establish distinction between the two domains the public and the private as settings of interaction. To each domain was relegated pertinent aspects of symbolized identity, the presentation of cultural self,
and actions and social interactions which were perceived to be adaptive in the present American cultural setting.

Selective differentiation was observed among many Arabic individuals of both genders. Among those adopting it were both chaperoned and unchaperoned unmarried females, as well as both unmarried and married male students. For several individuals, especially the unmarried males, this selective accommodation emerged in a subsequent phase of their residence, that was preceded by an initial phase of total assimilation or Americanization. Other members adopt the strategy of selective differentiation from the initial phase of culture contact. (These issues shall receive further consideration in Chapter VII.)

Selective differentiation emerged on the basis of the increasing familiarity with some aspects of American patterns, and the re-interpretation of selective Arabic cultural patterns. The combined angles were translated into changed interactional outcomes for Arabic speakers vis-a-vis Anglos and vis-a-vis cultural compatriots.

A key aspect of this strategy was a deliberate modification of Arabic cultural patterns. These were manifested in modifying public cultural patterns, while emphasizing Arabic patterns in the private domain. In accordance with this form of identification, one strategies was to de-emphasize Islamic identity in the public sphere and
relegate attributes of the Islamic cultural, (and even the religious self) to the residential setting.

Despite this distinction, none of the individuals espousing this strategy would deny their Arabic/Islamic identity. Based on their accounts and their evaluation of their cultural selves in the Anglo context, the majority of the population referred to their primary cultural identity as Arabic and Islamic. For some, even a well-established religious identity was certain. They referred to these as cultural identifications which were firmly established prior to coming to the USA. In the American cultural context, they saw themselves as engaging in new interpretations of their Islamic cultural patterns. They regarded those interpretations as a necessary undertaking in accommodating themselves to the current situation of social interaction. These issues are especially relevant for comparison with the strategy of those individuals who adopted the total American assimilation.

Deliberate differentiation is selective, partial, and accommodative action. I do not want to leave the impression of chameleon-like actions and social interactions in the Arabic population. This strategy is context-bound and selective in its emphasis, grounded in either emphasis or de-emphasis of cultural traits and social interactions according to the situated contexts.
Accommodative actions in the public universe of social encounters are of particular relevance in inter-gender interaction. According to my observation, which was corroborated by the consultants' accounts, the manifested changes in interactional outcomes occurred foremost where they were applicable to Arabic social interactions with Anglos and other International persons. These changes were then extended and manifested in changes in interaction vis-a-vis Arabic cultural cohorts, in particular the context of the public setting of the University.

**Inter-gender Social Interaction.**

This form of identification led to a reconsideration of the co-presence of genders and a reinterpretation of social interactions based on avoidance strategy. In Chapter IV, I introduced the salience of gender as a relevant factor with interactional outcomes, especially as related to the initial phase of public domain within the USA. Here I show that by adopting selective differentiation, Arabic-speaking persons manifested interactional patterns which contrasted with those of the initial phase.

In the initial phase, the strategy of interaction was based on inter-gender avoidance, conceptualized as relevant to Arabic cultural patterns and related to cultural sensibility grounded in the segregation of the sexes. Avoidance as an interactional strategy was viewed as a
response to the present cultural context where inter-gender interactions are not based on assumptions of segregation. Hence, for the Arabic persons, the avoidance strategy was considered as enabling them to adapt to the factors of co-presence of gender in the American context.

Although the meaning of inter-gender avoidance is culture specific, for the Arabic persons it was a strategy with general application at the initial phase of residence. In its general application it was utilized in most inter-gender interactions on the horizontal dimension, or devoid of authority. It included interaction of Arabic speakers vis-a-vis Anglos and other International students. What is salient here is the meaning of this avoidance in relation to other Arabic persons those who are avoided and those who witness the inter-gender avoidance.

For those individuals of the Arabic population who redefined their cultural identity on the basis of selective differentiation, there was an outcome which extended to reinterpretation of Arabic interactional patterns as relevant to the co-presence of gender. That was especially pertinent in the academic setting and other arenas of the public sphere.

In Chapter IV, I introduced the inter-gender avoidance strategy as a response to the initial phase in America. The Arabic students first suspended the avoidance strategy in interactions with international students and Americans, then
to their Arabic cohorts. Reconsideration of the avoidance strategy, as an outcome of this form of identification, was most general in its initial application in the subsequent phase. The patterns of avoidance were suspended in their inter-gender encounters. These issues were important to several consultants, and the reinterpretation of the salient cultural patterns still engendered moments of awkwardness in their engaged social encounters.

The final stage of reinterpretation led to these cultural patterns reconsideration or suspension of these cultural patterns in Arabic inter-gender interactions. In the initial phase of inter-gender avoidance, in cases of Arabic students vis-a-vis each other, the meaning of avoidance was shared based on shared Arabic sensibilities. As was noted in Chapter IV, although the interactional strategy was that of avoidance, it constituted a form of engaged interaction. It was a communicative and culturally meaningful social interaction for the Arabic population, given their cultural sensibilities.

By comparison, in the subsequent phase, for those Arabic persons who adopted suspended or modified strategies of inter-gender avoidance, the patterns of avoidance were altered in classroom interaction in particular, and in the public setting in general. There seemed to be a change from overt avoidance to covert or masked forms in Arabic inter-gender interactions. Aspects of cultural sensibilities
relevant to the public face and modesty of the Arabic females remained salient factors, as conveyed by the accounts of many Arabic male consultants. While strategies of inter-gender interaction were modified, respect to public face was still maintained despite the abandonment of total interactional avoidance between the sexes. Public respect here was accentuated by various sociolinguistic devices including kinship terms in address.

The other dimension of this notion of respect was based on clear and selective avoidance of topics that might be construed as too personal or violating the rules of appropriateness and respect relegated to these social encounters. In sum, the combined aspects of demeanor and interactional devices provided inter-gender boundaries that were clearly demarcated and defined by the politeness forms and rituals of respect. Here too the social meaning of the masked forms of avoidance is shared among the Arabic population.

As I stated above, this deliberate cultural differentiation, was relevant in the public domain, but restricted in application in the private domain. Their prior cultural patterns remained the guiding rules and patterns for social interaction, especially pertaining to issues of gender and cultural sensibility and in particular as applicable to other cultural colleagues.
Cultural constraints in the application of these reinterpret ed patterns in the private domain were illustrated by one of the key female consultants, an unmarried chaperoned graduate student. She noted that the chaperoning mother was clearly aware that the consultant was part of a team comprised of males and females at the University of Arizona. The team of students were engaged in exhibiting their Saudi Arabian culture, to an International audience. She noted that, while the project was in progress, a male colleague tried to contact her in reference to these activities. He telephoned her at home. His attempt to communicate with her at home constituted a breach of the home cultural rule of segregation and avoidance in inter-gender interaction. The chaperoning mother was affronted at this inter-gender interaction, in spite of her awareness and knowledge of those social interactions in the context of the University setting. Both my consultant and her chaperoning mother emphasized the deliberateness of the differentiation between the two spheres of interaction. In particular, the emphasis was on the maintenance of non-accommodative Arabic cultural patterns in the private domain.

I pursued this topic and questioned them about the outcome had the caller been an Anglo male. They responded that it still would have been a breach in cultural politeness, but would not have had the equivalent repercussions since a limited allowance was made for
individuals with non-shared cultural patterns and sensibilities. It still would have been an unbecoming conduct, and females were dissuaded from such social interactions.

Circumstances of co-presence of male spouses was also interesting. When especially close ties had developed between the females, spouses of married females would be included in the private domain social encounters, especially at Islamic holiday celebrations. I witnessed this on a few occasions.

Selective Differentiation Reconsidered

There are two components of selective differentiation. The first salient component is a general one, which was based on the immediate experiential reality of the Arabic population. The pragmatic and interactional pursuits of everyday life presented a challenge for their cultural identification. For the members who were enculturated and reared in a religious background, the American context presented a more profound cultural dissonance. In this context, selective accommodation as a deliberate act was viewed as a necessary strategy and not as "confusion" of cultural issues.

The second component saw differentiation as another response to "being curiously different" and the stigmatization of Arabic identity in the American context. To many Arabic consultants, their strategy of selective
accommodation, based on clear delineation of the universes of interaction, resolved some of these challenging dilemmas.

In the subsequent phase, the Arabic cultural patterns were reconsidered. In some respects, these reconsideration were based on the Arabic population's emerging familiarity with aspects of Anglo cultural sensibilities, especially with regard to the co-presence of genders in communicative events. While duration of residence in the USA was a factor, it is important to add that the reconsideration of Arabic patterns was not based solely on the extended duration of residence only, but was related to what form emerged redefinition of identity took.

To summarize, selective differentiation is a strategy whose manifestations were based on duration of residence and reinterpretation of cultural identity. The observed modification of cultural patterns was contingent on this particular form of redefined cultural identity. This reinterpretation of cultural patterns was overt in interactions in the public academic setting and viewed as accommodating the current context.

Third Response: Emphasis of Cultural Distinctions

I here consider the final response to issues of cultural identity in the Arabic-speaking population. As compared with the section above, which revolved around the recognition of cultural distinction, this adaptation to temporary residence
was manifested by both recognition and emphasis of the distinctions between the two cultures.

This strategy of distinction is defined as accentuation of the Arabic cultural self. In fact it is a form of identification based on "Islamization," an emphatic religious Islamic identification expressed by changed mode of self-presentation adopted within the American context. The outcome is manifested in the presentation of self and the interactions in both the public and private domains.

For me, one unexpected outcome of the field work was finding that my consultants' 'Islamization" of self had emerged during their USA residence. The emphatic cultural identity came as a response to the American culture, where the Islamization of the cultural self functioned to reinforce cultural identity.

The Islamization of self as an identification was first indicated to me by several of the unmarried male student consultants. With the unfolding field work, I learned that many married students had also come to adopt this form of identification. In these instances, both spouses shared this identification. It seems to me that fewer of the unmarried female students engaged in this strategy, although it was impossible to quantify this perception since the issues involved are subtle and gradient.

For several individuals this form of identification contrasted with their initial cultural identification. Their
initial identification was based primarily on a general secular Islamic cultural identification, grounded in the cultures of their home countries. However, with the passage of time, in the Anglo cultural context, these earlier forms of identification were reinterpreted and became an ardent and emphatically religious form of identification. To the concerned consultants, the Islamization of the cultural self reinforced cultural identity. Islamization was accomplished by both the introduction and the reinterpretation of aspects of Islamic culture within a special perspective. Some individuals actually learned all of the Islamic rituals while in the USA. Moreover, this form of identification is multifunctional, expressed in both communicative and social interaction. In Chapter VII, I focus on other functional aspects of this form.

The response of Islamization is important in terms of cultural social identity. To the majority of the consultants who adopted this form, it had salient relevance to them as a response to their stigmatization as "being curiously different" and the implications of this characterization. Based on the assessment of several consultants, this form has functioned both to counterbalance those negative characterizations and to introduce a consonance and moral order to their lives. By accentuating their Islamic selves, the individuals were also emphasizing their differences vis-à-vis Americans.
Islamization as Manifested in Representation of Self

Since adopting the religious Islamic identity emphasized differentiation, it was accomplished and manifested in an accentuated semiotics of Arabic Islamic culture. The change to an Islamic religious self was expressed in both manners and demeanor. The assertion of the changed identity was also based on the reinterpretation of cultural patterns. In contrast to the selection identification, presented in the section above, the reinterpretation of Arabic cultural patterns in Islamization was based on an introduction of strict, traditional Islamic religious patterns. Those were expressed by emblems and ritual interactions, constituting a new signifier for the redefined selves and distinguishing this emergent social identity. The manifestations were concrete, multifaceted phenomena manifested in the social interaction and related to both the public and private identifications of the self. Those were relevant to both genders.

Even though both genders adopted Islamization of self, the change was more overt for females and less visible for males. This is in congruence with the Arabic cultural ethos. In Chapter II, I noted that, in the context of Arabic culture, piety is expressed publicly. In the current context I introduce their implication of this phenomenon for the
Islamization form of identification and the ensuing public conduct in the American context.

One aspect of Islamization is in the representation of selves. As emblems of the religious persona, the Arabic females donned Islamic dress for the first time in their lives. The overt and pronounced changes for females in the public sphere is in keeping with cultural ethos and the moral order. On the other hand, for the Arabic males, as a signification of their newly emergent religious identity, some began to wear beards. The males' changed self presentation in public was not as marked but was conveyed by conduct and ritual interaction. For example, there was a newly acquired observance of Friday prayers. Attendance at mosques became routine, and other actions of piety were observed systematically.

Based on Islamization as a form of identification, an interactional strategy based on inter-gender segregation was manifested in avoidance of social interaction, both in public and private spheres. To many of those persons, the strict observance of inter-gender segregation was a novel experience. For them it constituted an inversion of their previous patterns of social conduct, as many of them had come from a secular Islamic cultural background. I have witnessed some aspects of this inversion in the consultants, by comparing their interaction in the initial and subsequent phases.
While Islamization is based on a reinterpretation of Arabic cultural patterns, this particular reinterpretation is an antithesis of that which occurs in selective differentiation. In the selective differentiation, the reinterpretation of the cultural patterns yielded a more accommodative pattern in the American public sphere. By comparison, in this context the cultural self and cultural patterns were based on the adoption of Arabic patterns and rules, and, at times, with strict reinterpretation of Islamic canons.

Accordingly, most persons reinterpreted aspects of their cultures by adopting strict segregation of genders. This was evident both in the private and the public domains. One manifestation of the ardent identification of the religious self in the public sphere was noted in the generalized campus sphere as well as in the classroom.

While some aspects of gender avoidance in Islamization contrast with the initial-phase patterns, the redefinition of the Islamic identity, in the home or private interactional sphere, as manifested in the segregation of space for inter-gender interaction in that private domain was rather similar. (As was elaborated in parts of Chapter V). However, in Islamization this was a novel change in the private domain of those members, based on an inversion of spatial organization congruent with the current sociocultural assumptions of the emergent Islamic individuals.
The redefinition of the Islamic identity was manifested in many instances of emergent changes. One student couple provided me with a poignant example. This illustrative case is striking because those individuals were among the consultants who had adopted an especially austere interpretation of Islamization. When I met them initially, they had been in the USA for a few years. They were nonreligious in both their definition of self and social interactions. Once they adopted the Islamic religious identity, their patterns of behavior changed to accommodate these new manifestations. Upon reinterpretation of cultural identity, they adhered to a strict interpretation of the Islamic canons. All of their surroundings reflected this new identity. The female had donned Islamic covering clothes in her public appearance. The male grew a beard. There was an introduction of the segregation of space based on gender in their home and maintenance of strict avoidance of inter-gender social interaction in public.

Furthermore, they adopted strict interpretation of the Islamic dogma. To signify and convey their conviction by symbolic gestures, they removed all American modern furniture that had adorned their apartment. They did that to emphasize the humbleness and the simplicity of their current existence. They maintained that they wanted to return to a basic Islamic conceptualization of modesty and piety and sitting on the floor as a gesture visually and symbolically signifying this
ethos. But for this couple in particular, these gestures had additional meaning as they wanted to purge themselves from what they saw as indulgence in excess in their secular identification and to renounce their affluence. (They both came from very wealthy backgrounds in the home countries.) This instance vividly illustrated an emblematic manifestation of the change and signified the contrast of "before and after" of Islamization.

To summarize, Islamization is a strategy in which cultural identity is obtained by emphasized differentiation. With the passage of time, there was an emergent Islamic religious identification, feelings and actions, manifested in outcomes whose salience stemmed from deepening emphasis on distinctions between Arabic and Anglo cultures. Emphatic differentiation is a strategy whose manifestations were based on both duration of residence and reinterpretation of cultural identity.

This form of identification is expressed in both the reinterpretation and introduction of the selective culture of the home countries. The reinterpretation is moored in Arabic cultural symbols conveyed by symbolic interaction and strict interpretation of Arabic tradition.

Discussion of Issues of Cultural Identity

I have so far identified three different identification responses to the issue of cultural identity: Americanization,
selective cultural accommodation, and emphatic Arabic cultural distinctions, especially Islamization. These distinct strategies were viewed as responses to two salient issues in their sojourn in the USA. They first responded to their immediate experiential reality, where the pragmatic and the interactional pursuits of everyday life presented a challenge for their cultural identification. For some members who were enculturated and reared in a religious background, the American context presented a more profound challenge. To them, the notion of cultural dissonance is clear. In the second component, the particular issue was a response to "being curiously different" and the stigmatization of Arabic identity in the American context. To many Arabic consultants, their chosen strategies and the manifestation in the universes of interaction grappled with and/or resolved some of the challenging aspects and dilemmas and provided consonance.

Having discussed the issues of identity and the pertinent responses that emerged in the subsequent phase of residence for the Arabic population, I now shift the focus from identity to aspects of social interaction and the Arabic experience. (other parts of Arabic discourse in the subsequent phase shall be part of the discussion in Chapter VII.)
Social Interaction in the Subsequent Phase

In this section, I focus on issues of Arabic discourse in the subsequent phase of residence. These issues were initially discussed in Chapter IV. Here, I reconsider issues of classroom interaction, as related to principles of authority the vertical dimension in classroom interaction as related to horizontal dimension, and the co-presence of genders as this relates to Arabic female discourse and classroom interaction.

To focus on classroom social interactions based on authority principles, I here return to a reconsideration of the authority aspect in context of classroom interaction. In Chapter IV, I observed that American principles of authority were baffling to the Arabic population. Since this issue was important in the initial phase of the American experience, I pursued the issues of authority in classroom interaction with the Arabic population in the subsequent phase.

The Arabic population's notions of authority and the perceived informality in classroom interaction were reformulated for many members in the subsequent phase. With some limitations, the notion of "being a student" was redefined to be more congruent with the Anglo cultural context and more accommodative to the current experiential reality.

American "informality", (really masked authority) in classroom interaction, became more familiar to the Arabic
population after prolonged contact and a broader familiarity with the more encompassing American cultural system. Their emergent familiarity with this approach enabled them to reinterpret authority principles in classroom interaction. This led, in most instances, to a modification of perception and an accommodative interpretation of the current educational context.

Based on the notion of an acquired familiarity in the later phases, as the principle of diffused authority was reinterpreted, the reinterpretation of the phenomenon of informality engendered a new significance. Informality became lauded as an effective pedagogical tool.

This reinterpretation of the notion of authority as an aspect of American cultural sensibility, was linked neither to issues of gender nor to issues of the redefined and emergent Arabic social identity introduced above. In their narrative accounts, a wide range of students of both genders referred directly or indirectly to the reinterpreted notion of authority in the context of the American classroom interaction.

These emergent perceptions have particular relevance for those members engaged in the pursuit of an educational career. One of the key consultants had a masters degree in education and had teaching experience in both Arabic and American cultural systems. She expounded on the principles of authority conveyed in the classroom interaction and their
effects on teaching and learning phenomena. She favored the approach of diffused authority, manifested in informality, as an effective strategy that encouraged dialogue and enhanced the exploration of ideas.

However, despite the emerging familiarity in the subsequent phase, where the students' perception of principles of authority in classroom interaction was reformulated, principles of authority as part of other patterns of social interaction remained confounding to the Arabic population. In this instance the confusion was also based on student interactions vis-a-vis teachers.

The notion of informality towards teachers outside the context of classroom interaction remained baffling. For example, several Arabic students observed that, in their social encounters with teachers, the friendliness conveyed by the teachers' remarks were a source of confusion in the dynamic of the interpersonal social universe. To the Arabic students, teachers remained figures of authority outside the classroom and the academic contexts. The informality in interaction between teachers and students in the general setting might imply attributes of friendship. That mode was, to one key consultant, based on a presumptive notion that would blur the authority dimension and create even more confounding issues in social interaction in this sphere of interaction.
The expression of masked authority, in the context of the classroom, became more familiar with the passage of time. The masked authority continued to be source of confusion in face-to-face interaction, especially outside the classroom challenges. This reinforced the Arabic individuals' perception of an absence of rules in interpersonal encounters. The "lack of rules in America" was cited repeatedly in reference to this context even with the passage of time. (The interactional sociolinguistic issues shall be addressed in Chapter VII).

**Classroom Interaction and Gender Issues Reconsidered**

Here I discuss the horizontal classroom interactions, and how the co-presence of men and women affected interaction over time. Several of the issues of interaction based on the co-presence of gender, which were introduced in Chapter IV, have been reconsidered in the context of the current chapter as part of the discussion in the aforementioned issues of cultural identity, especially as they were related to selective differentiation and Islamization. Aspects of co-presence of gender in classroom interactions were embedded in the above consideration of identity as was noted in the various considerations and the reinterpretations of Arabic cultural identity. I noted, there, the evolved patterns which pertained to the subsequent phase: inter-gender interaction,
changed avoidance and/or newly-introduced avoidance contingent on the redefined cultural selves.

In Chapter IV, I introduced another point that in the initial phase the co-presence of the genders was a salient factor for the Arabic female students in their classroom interaction, specifically in their claiming the floor. In the present discussion this dimension of classroom interaction is reconsidered in relation to the passage of time in relation to outcomes in the subsequent phase.

In the subsequent phase, while the perception of the co-presence of gender was modified in relation to issues of identity, the issue of gaining the floor in classroom interaction remained a major challenge for most Arabic female-students. (I introduce this issue above in Chapter IV). The co-presence of male cultural colleagues was continually cited as the reason for female students to refrain. It was a salient and vexing concern. One of the consultants illustrated that, in the graduate classes which included several Arab males, she was aware both of their presence and her own changed behavior. She would monitor and curb her classroom participation based on her awareness of their presence. The explication of that strategy remained grounded in notions of Arabic cultural sensibility and the notion of female modesty despite the passage of time in the American cultural context.
Chapter VI has addressed issues of Arabic identity in the American context and discourse outcome in the subsequent phase. Arabic responses in the subsequent phase were manifested in the redefinition of cultural identities, an adaptive strategy occurring in the local context. The members of the population, to different degrees, took an inventory of the self. Most salient was their experience of "being curiously different," in the Anglo American context.

In relation to Arabic discourse, perceptions of discourse in the initial phase were compared to those in the subsequent phase. An important issue discussed in this chapter was the persistence of Arabic patterns in communication and interaction as they continued to be transferred in aspects of their discourse. In Chapter VII, I shall reconsider other aspects of discourse.
CHAPTER VII: ASPECTS OF THE SUBSEQUENT PHASE OF RESIDENCE: EFFECTS ON DISCOURSE

Like Chapter VI, Chapter VII focuses on issues based on the concerned Arabic population's prolonged residence and experience in the USA. While several of the issues overlap with the material in Chapter VI, the reconsidered issues here are based on the subsequent phase of residence that were not considered in Chapter VI. In this chapter, I discuss discourse issues and micro interactions relevant to the Arabic population in the subsequent phase and communication relevant to inter-cultural dynamics, as well as a number of issues and outcomes of their adaptation to American cultural context.

Chapter VII is organized as follows. The first section reconsiders Arabic discourse and includes style of repetition and indirectness. It also deals with issues of cross-cultural interactions, the American experience over time, and the views of the Arabic consultants. The second part reconsiders another function of the redefinition of identity, introduced in Chapter VI, considers adaptive strategies and salient responses based on function of boundary maintaining mechanism. The third reviews the influence of the home countries on the adaptation strategies. In the final section I discuss issues pertinent to the whole subsequent phase as discussed in both Chapters VI and VII.
Arabic Discourse: Language and Interactional Strategies

In this section, I address several issues of communicative strategies and social interactions. These were introduced in Chapters IV and V, but were not discussed in Chapter VI. First, I address general observations concerning language usage in both English and Arabic codes and their relevance to aspects of communication and communicative strategies. Then, I discuss issues of repetition and indirectness. Finally, I focus on observation and the Arabic interpretation of cross-cultural interaction.

In their perception of the language's usage, the Arabic population perceived the English language as a prestige code and their acquired communicative competence in English as a prestigious undertaking. For most consultants, this perception arose in the home culture prior to coming to the USA and continued to evolve with the passage of time, in the process of acquiring language and communicative skills in English. This perception is indicated in numerous references to attributes of being educated individuals. They conveyed those perceptions in their self-reflexive comparisons of their own communicative competence in the initial and subsequent phases of being in the USA.

Here, I would argue that, based on the prestige perception, the population equates the English code with Modern Standard Arabic—the educated prestige H gloss in
Arabic, introduced in Chapter II. For the Arabic speakers, both MSA and English are learned and acquired through schooling and formal education. Additional evidence of this comparison came in the interview process.

In Chapter III, I pointed out that, in the early phase of my interviews, based on the perceived formality of this communicative event, the Arabic-speaking interviewees would switch from the vernacular to MSA. I interpret this cuing as a metaphoric code or gloss switching, based on the conceptual themes of Gumperz & Blom (1972). That particular pattern of gloss-switching was frequently supplanted by another metaphoric code switching--that from the Arabic vernacular to English to accomplish the equivalent communicative intents emerging as part of the unfolding communicative events.

Another general observation about language and the argument is also based on linguistic considerations. In Arabic, a diglossic situation is manifested where the formal and informal glosses, in form and functions, are demarcated in spite of the continuum described in Chapter II. In English, unlike the Arabic diglossic situation, these are not as clearly demarcated for the Arabic speakers. I deduced that the differentiation in English styles is unclear to the Arabic speakers, even after the passage of time.

As a result of the confluence of many of the factors stated above, there emerged particular impressions and perceptions of the interactional situation. At times, the
explications were related to communicative competence and strategies of the Arabic speakers especially applicable in the context of the academic setting. At both the CESL program's advanced classes as well as at the University classes, their instructors cited issues of communicative competence and notion of "false fluency" in English, based on several aspects of the suggested communicative attributes.

With the passage of time, there were variations in the range of the learned English code. From the perspective of Arabic students themselves, the issues of "false fluency" in English, when attributed to aspects of their communication, remained baffling, and obscure. Despite the observed variation, they acquired a substantial English verbal code, but many aspects of style and communicative codes remained unclear, especially in the academic discourse community, where the required genres of English were not a clearly defined academic style. These communicative issues were a vexing and persistent challenge for many Arabic students.

As the Arabic population adjusted and adapted to aspects of the American experience, they acquired learning aspects of written English first. Reading then facilitated acquisition of the verbal code. They acquired spoken verbal code but not the communicative code, they acquired the reading but not the argumentation skills--students who had been in the USA for five to seven years were still baffled by the phenomena. These issues are related to the complexity of communication
and the aspects of the non-shared patterns expounded by Gumperz (1982).

What remained a challenge in learning the English written code is rooted in the argumentation and discourse patterns of the Arabic language. The last issue of the acquired competence pertains to the sociolinguistic and social discourse patterns/rules and cultural interaction. As for these matters, although aspects of these were acquired, many other parts remained the most challenging in the subsequent phase of residence. Even when they had a measure of mastery of the verbal code, they still did not distinguish genre slang intermixed with academic genre in discourse.

Their verbal code became English in particular in their public interactions, but the communicative code was manifested in many forms of salient cultural communicative patterns. This was evident in aspects of non-verbal communications, such as prosodic features, contextualization cues as well as in reference to styles of interaction, like repetition and indirectness which I consider below.

While Arabic speakers used English lexical items and syntax, these were expressed in Arabic communicative code. Gumperz (1982) observed similar phenomena in the studies of the cuing strategies of the Indian population residing in England for a long period and speaking English as their verbal code. In spite of the passage of time, their
communicative message continued to be conveyed by Indian patterns and prosodic features of intonation.

The immersion of the Arabic population in the Anglo culture over a long period, caused some patterns to be shared with Anglos albeit ones limited to the surface meaning and pragmatics of the situated contexts. The newly emerged shared-ness seldom touched the deeper issues of cultural interactional styles and cultural sensibilities. Here, I attend to these very issues of non-shared cultural patterns of communication which persist as overt and covert challenges in discourse.

Repetition

Whereas in Chapter IV, I observed that, in the initial phase of residence, the Arabic speakers utilized repetition as a communicative device which was transferred from Arabic discourse to the English discourse context. Here, I address this form of cultural discourse in the subsequent phase of residence. The main point of interest is the persistence of the transfer of repetition from MSA to English.

Repetition continued into the subsequent phase, as evidenced in both the spoken and the written forms of English discourse. That salient cultural communicative strategy resisted change despite the passage of time and the acquisition of English as a verbal code. I indicated in Chapter IV that this form of discourse is based on the
poetics of the Arabic language, especially in MSA where the salient patterns and styles of argumentation are based on repetition. Consultants who had been studying in USA for a long period would resort to this strategy in both verbal and written (argumentative) communication.

For many Arabic consultants, this Arabic style of repetition functioned in contextualization clues and persuasive strategy. This prevalence was shown even among students who were aware of the difference in the argumentation style of English as compared to Arabic. But based on their accounts, English forms of argumentation were vexing to them in written discourse, and the Arabic rhetoric remained their most readily relied upon style in their written English discourse.

The Arabic speakers relied on the Arabic style especially when the topic was perceived to be important and or emotionally charged. Repetition, combined with prosodic features that convey sentiments, continued to be utilized, now combined with the English verbal code.

I observed the Arabic population, the salience of this device was recurrent in their interactions. Again, this was especially interesting where observed even among those Arabic speakers who have conveyed their awareness of the differing styles and emphasis between English and Arabic. One key consultants had been in the USA for seven years when I met him. He utilized the English verbal code very effectively.
Still, his communicative code utilized the Arabic style of repetition when he discussed an important issue. This was clearly evident in an interview, when he told me about his experiences in the early phase of the residence in the USA. He told me how his American roommate (whom he had chosen in order to learn about the American culture) wanted to change his living arrangements upon learning that his roommate, my consultant, was from the Arab world. As my consultant illustrated the significance of this occurrence to his initial recognition of "being curiously different", he told and retold me, both the incidence and its significance to him. By the end of the interview, he had repeated the account several times.

In interviews with other consultants, messages were repeated about the particulars of the descriptions and their feelings about them. Abdullah's mother (introduced in Chapter VI) or Um Abdullah, to conform to the Arabic form of address, repeated her message of concern about her son's Americanization several times in the context of the same interview.

This observation has been conveyed by the comments of Johnstone (1983), in reference to an instance of repetition. She made this particular observation in reference to repetitions which were utilized by an Arabic-speaking person who had called Johnstone to discuss her article on repetition.
in Arabic rhetoric. In her observation, the irony was that
the caller repeated himself, neatly illustrating the
objective of his call, which was to discuss the phenomenon of
repetition in Arabic as transferred into English discourse.

From my native point of view, the intended message of
repetition can be construed as the caller's metamessage about
the topic. He was conveying his strong feelings about the
issues. Hence, by the process of repetition, he was conveying
his enthusiasm about the topic and about her observations.

Repetition is a salient cultural category, which is
resistant to change. I deduce that, although there was a
modification in the use of this verbal code with passage of
the time, it was only a surface modification. The more deeply
embedded cultural approach remained unmodified.

Indirectness

In Chapter V, I proposed and argued that indirectness is
a prevalent Arabic politeness form linked to an ethos of the
public face in the dynamics of the interpersonal social
interaction. Indirectness is utilized in spoken discourse of
everyday life and is salient in the interpersonal
interaction. Indirectness of communication is manifested in
several forms and especially in the communicative strategies
of "responses" (to questions, requests, and commands.)

In the current section I discuss what becomes of these
Arabic strategies over the prolonged period of residence in
USA. Issues of indirectness and directness are reconsidered here in terms of Arabic individuals vis-a-vis Americans on the one hand and how they applied vis-a-vis cultural cohorts on the other.

Indirectness, like repetition, was persistent in the discourse of Arabic individuals. Moreover, most consultants did indicate that, in their prolonged residence, they were aware of both the salience of this cultural strategy and its potential implication when manifested in the American context and situated in cross-cultural interaction.

In Chapter V, I introduced the polysemic expression Inshallah as one of the forms which function to attain indirectness. Here, I address this form as relevant to the subsequent phase of living in the USA. In the context of this field work, the salience of this formulaic expression was noted even for those who had been in the USA for a long duration. Even when the verbal code became English, this expression remained resolutely Arabic. For those who did utilize English in interpersonal communication, the consent forms in interactional contexts were conveyed by the expression "OK, Inshallah." This, of course, is a paradoxical response. The first part is an acquiescence based on notions of certainty (an American notion), while the latter is conditional, based on the uncertainty principle of Arabic discourse.
Many Arabic consultants indicated that they suspended their own cultural expectation in situated interactions where directness was an integral part of the interactional approach. Despite this awareness, the direct approach continued to be a source of miscommunication in contexts of cross-cultural interaction, particularly where it occurred in the interpersonal interactions. This situated miscommunication held true in two ways: when it was applied in interpersonal contexts involving interrelation dynamics with Americans, and when Arabic individuals found themselves in encounters that called for direct responses. Where a direct response was required, Arabic indirectness was their most readily utilized strategy. In these instances, they found themselves in a quandary. They recognized the need for a direct response, but actually responded with their cultural indirectness.

After prolonged residence in the USA, the consultants reconsidered directness and indirectness in personal interactions vis-a-vis cultural compatriots. Whereas the Arabic individuals recognized and contextualized the meaning of directness as an integral part of the American cultural social interactions, this contextual understanding was not readily extended to Arabic cultural colleagues. If and when a direct approach was utilized in social interaction intra Arabic colleagues, it was judged harshly. It was viewed as being particularly blatant, for it compromised Arabic
cultural appropriateness. The critical evaluation of those members who engaged in this form of directness added to the array of characteristics attributed to *alta'mruk* (Americanization), as one signifier of the total assimilation.

By comparison to the *alta'mruk* form of identification (discussed above in Chapter VI), those individuals who engaged in accommodative identification and in selective differentiation of the two cultures seemed to cultivate an attentive awareness of what was culturally appropriate in what domain. In their private world of the Arabic culture they shunned direct strategies in interpersonal interactions and social discourse. On the other hand, in their interactions in the American domain, they found it challenging to forsake Arabic cultural appropriateness. Often, they did so with deliberateness and much effort, as was indicated by one key consultant.

In sum, Arabic indirectness as a communicative category is at the core of cultural ethos as shown by its persistence. Its significance is also conveyed in that it is one of the cultural attributes that was translated into personal manifestation and evaluation. I have argued that its persistence is based on a salient cultural discourse pattern related to notions of interpersonal interaction and politeness rooted in cultural sensibility and resistant to reinterpretation.
Intercultural Interaction Issues Based on Prolonged Residence

The Arabic consultants found that increased interaction with Anglos did not enhance cross-cultural communications. This was a ubiquitous perception. Several consultants were forthright in their interpretations and discussion of their intercultural social interaction vis-a-vis Anglos. They maintained that, in spite of their adoption of a strategy of selective differentiation and their culture adjustment pertinent to the American public setting, these modifications did not enhance some pertinent aspects of social interaction in cross-cultural situations. This was especially disconcerting for them since they had adopted compartmentalization, which they saw as identification that would enable an equilibrium based on their selective combined cultures. These challenges often led them to reevaluate both the question of prolonged interaction and selective differentiation strategy.

In fact, after a prolonged residence, the Arabic consultants conveyed a perception of a paradoxical situation. That "increased interaction did not increase understanding", particularly of cross-cultural issues. One key consultant related the paradox as being "more free to talk" but becoming "more restricted to express." The "more free to talk" was based on the consideration of the acquired linguistic competence in the English code and the perception of the
freedom of speech, a salient American ethos. He explained that "more restricted to express" was based on the recognition and persistence of the barrage of stereotypes in the macro cultural dynamics.

A male student, who had spent several years studying in the USA noted, "In the land of freedom of speech the longer I stayed, the less free to speak I became." The reverberation of these perceptions resulted in his becoming more silent in spite of a cultural context where freedom of speech is part of national ethos. The silence was about issues concerning his cultural self and the meaning of cultural issues. This silence was his situated communicative response. This communicative strategy was perceived as prudent communication since communicative acts did not facilitate cultural meaning or correct cultural images.

A key consultant, who was pursuing a Ph.D. in education, summarized her evaluation of her eight-year immersion in the American context, by drawing clear distinctions between her interactional experiences in the situated contexts. She had adopted selective cultural differentiation. She first reflected on the educational experience in general. She continued to be appreciative of the educational opportunities afforded to her by being in the USA. However, she distinguished the pedagogical experiences from other social encounters in her responses to my inquiry about more encompassing cultural experiences and related issues. She was
dismayed about many of the social interactions she had encountered. She pointed out that her cultural background and cultural identity were marred by popular notions based on negative stereotypes.

In her observations, prolonged residence in the USA opened several avenues of interaction. Most frequently, those encounters did not enhance either the social interaction or a cross-cultural dialogue about substantive issues. With a sense of irony, she maintained that, despite the fact that she had mastered the verbal code, she grew more selective in any discussion of cultural issues. She concluded that she had come to interpret many inquiries about her cultural background as questions that were meant to seek information or challenge the preconceived views. They were really only questions to confirm certain notions about the Arabic culture and Arabic individuals.

All of these concerns led to the consultants' perception of the macro and micro communicative climate and contexts in which they found themselves referring to the aforementioned paradox of being freer to talk but more restricted to express with the passage of time. The Arabic population indicated that, in social interactions, there emerged a deliberate preclusion of discussion of Arabic cultural issues, save for the requirements of politeness. What she precluded was any in-depth discussion. Her adoption of this strategy of topical
preclusion was based on the consultant's experiences of frustration and miscommunication.

I conclude with one generalization. For many Arabic-speaking individuals, their length of stay in the USA seemed to accentuate the cultural differences, rather than create cross-cultural rapprochement. Some aspects of these phenomena have been attributed to the macro cultural context, while other aspects of the interaction phenomenon are part of micro processes. In the daily social interactions of Arabic-speaking persons, the source of miscommunication, I have discussed here is based on micro processes resulting in miscommunication.

"Increased interaction did not increase understanding," for the Arabic speakers in the American context, may be discussed from the perspective of miscommunication. Milroy (1984) discusses miscommunication and designates the phenomenon into two interactional categories: Misunderstandings involve simple disparity between the speaker's and the hearer's semantic analysis of a given utterance; misunderstandings although very common, are not perceived as interrupting communicative efficiency, and all objects of repair. Communicative breakdown occurs when one or more participants perceive that something has gone wrong. This is a post hoc procedure. There are disparities in the inference drawn by conversational participants from
utterances in context. The problem of non-shared patterns of communication surfaces.

Both sources of interactional miscommunications were important to the Arabic population. Over time, the repetition and lack of resolution apparently have a compounding effect, resulting in what Bateson (1972) described as "complementary schismogensis." According to this notion, the schism is part of the interaction processes to which the interactants contribute. It is an outcome that develops over a period of interaction. The Arabic emphasis on emergent avoidance of topical discussion and silence as prudent communicative strategies can be explained on the basis of this idea.

In the view of Gumperz (1982), increased interaction does not, in itself, increase communication. This is similar in function to ideas advanced by Bateson. Both are based on micro-interactions. Gumperz (ed. 1982) and Gumperz and Tannen (1979) found the locus of miscommunication to be pragmatic, lying in the disparity between the inferences which conversational participants draw from given utterances. These are related to cultural assumptions, which are of special interest as conveyed by Arabic speakers and also in general communicative situations in local micro settings. (The notion of the non-shared hidden patterns of intercultural communication was also discussed by Schultz and Erickson (1982); Philips (1983); Kochman (1981).)
Alongside the parameters of micro interactional dynamics are macro interactional dynamics that are poignant cultural and extralinguistic issue of negative stereotypes and prejudice in the macro cultural dynamics. These are the collective loci for inter-cultural miscommunication where the Arabic population placed their emphasis and evaluation in the summary of their experiences and interactional contexts. Here, the issues of experiencing prejudice impacted in the whole macro sphere. The passage of time did not enhance cross-cultural discourse.

In Chapters IV and V, I introduced the Arabic population's perception that "there are no rules in America" and later that "America is rule governed." This perception of paradoxical duality persisted in the subsequent phase of residence. These dual perceptions became emblematic of and factored in how they described the American experience over the duration of residence.

These perceptions were being communicated about different phenomena in their perceptions of "no rules"/"rules." In sociocultural interaction, the Arabic consultants were referring to distinctive categories of social interaction.

When I broached the notion of "no rules" as was introduced by the Arabic consultants, I pursued the discussion of this perception with an eye to discovering the intended meaning. I had introduced aspects of social
interactions and issues constituting rule and patterned behaviors in the American public social interaction, such as the pragmatics of encounters in institutional settings, including classroom schedules, service encounters, and the myriad of other regulated situated interactions. In reference to these encounters, the Arabic consultants conveyed their perception of rules. These situated interactions were emphatically perceived as rule-governed and patterned encounters.

Furthermore, the perceptions of these social interactions were linked to a perception of efficiency, hence constituting an aspect of the generalized and admired part of Americanization, discussed in Chapter VI. "The Americans are organized people" was reiterated (another instance of repetition) with metacommunicative language that convey appreciation and admiration.

The perception of "no rules," however, is at the crux of other interactions, where the sociolinguistics and the interactional patterns were less clear, in spite of emerging familiarity with many aspects of the American context. For most consultants who conveyed this assessment, a number of the most vexing problems are lodged in some aspects of interpersonal social interaction.

As an example, the Arabic population's perception of the American context in the subsequent phase the rule/no rule dichotomy is exemplified in phenomena of authority. Even with
increased familiarity with manifestations of authority in the academic setting (discussed in Chapter VI), the dual perception remained. Other aspects of authority interactions also remained baffling, but the vivid illustration was in the context of academic setting.

While interaction based on the co-presence of the two genders in the classroom and academic settings became familiar, concepts about social inter-gender interaction as manifested in dating, as a kind of social encounter prevalent in the American context, remained baffling. Especially for unmarried students, males and females, the dating system was not part of their prior cultural repertoire.

"No rules in America" was, thus, a prevalent notion. The analysis of this reflexive paradoxical comment shows that it should be interpreted as "I do not know the social interaction rules--I am lost," or even "I do not know the appropriate rule, therefore, I do not perceive one."

What remained especially challenging for the Arabic population were two matters: written communicative code, especially in academic genres, and the particular cultural aspects of social interaction based on "sociolinguistic rules." All of these factors combined to form a perception of "no rules in America" as a chronic facet in their experiences and social interactions.

Having discussed the issues of experiences, identity, and interaction in the subsequent phase, we next turn the
focus to the reconsideration of the adaptation and the core emergent outcome in adaptive strategies.

Adaptive Strategies and Boundary Markers

Adaptive strategies on the part of Arabic population included deliberate modifications of actions to facilitate their coping with interactions. These adaptive strategies were based primarily in the dynamics of social interaction and the processes of every day life in the current context. Various aspects of cultural dissonance have been reviewed, against the assumption that the Arabic population was, in fact, seeking consonance.

I view adaptive strategies as a continuum. The Arabic individuals manifested variations in outcomes and adaptive strategies in their temporary residence in the USA. There was, however, no wholesale acculturation on the part of the Arabic speakers in the current American context, in spite of the fact that, in some cases, the process of Americanization was part of adaptation. Only a limited number persisted in that form of identification, as indicated in the Chapter VI. The most prevalent adaptive strategies were steeped in the notion of no total assimilative behaviors. While I emphasize that the salient adaptive strategies are based primarily in non-assimilation, these invariably changed from the initial phase to the subsequent phase, suggesting a continuum of strategies.
First I focus on the two extreme ends of the continuum. At one end, there were a few Arabic speakers who could not adapt themselves to the current American context, for they found the cultural differences totally incomprehensible. These few individuals did return to their home countries immediately after the initial inter-cultural encounters. My field observations included two such individuals, (One from Yemen and another from Qatar) and I heard reports about others. The polar opposite side of the continuum was the response of total assimilation, or Americanization, of some Arabic individuals. Those few individuals became disconnected from their compatriots as they continued their residence. The remaining alternatives on the continuum are considered here.

Adaptation and Social Interaction

In Chapter VI, I discussed forms of identification as a form of reinterpretation of the cultural identity. Here, other functions of these forms are reconsidered, based on the interaction of the Arabic population vis-a-vis Americans.

In Chapter VI, the focus was on the reinterpreted cultural identity as a response to an affronted identity in the American cultural context. Since the issues of forms of identification are multifunctional phenomenon, we must now refocus our lens more closely on these issues. Whereas in Chapter VI, I discussed form and function vis-a-vis the self,
here I discuss form and function in the macro context, vis-a-vis others.

In the subsequent phase of residence, the adaptive strategies of the Arabic population emerged and refocused on boundary-maintaining mechanisms. These are focused primarily on distinction and obtaining distinction between "us" and "them."

Boundary-maintaining mechanisms were achieved by discourse strategies expressed both in presentation of the cultural self and in social discourse (Barth 1969). Barth maintains that people hold and accentuate their identity through signals and public behavior, hence ethnic identity, as categories, can be ascertained in their public aspects.

In order to discuss boundary-maintaining mechanisms utilized by Arabic speakers vis-a-vis Anglos, I reconsidered the two forms of cultural identification which were introduced in Chapter VI. Here, the consideration of both strategies developed on the explicit assumption that these differing forms are parallel in some aspects of their multifunctions as pertinent to boundary-maintaining strategies.

The following two strategies are selective differentiation functioning as boundary-maintaining by the deliberate acts compartmentalizing universes of social action, and the Islamization of cultural identity functioned
as a boundary-maintaining mechanism to accentuate cultural distinctions. They are considered respectively.

Selective Differentiation

In Chapter VI, I introduced the concept of selective differentiation. It was there viewed as a form of accommodative identification. Any such strategy is multifunctional, however, and the argument here is that selective assimilative actions are deliberate acts of differentiation, functioning as boundary-maintaining mechanisms. That form was based on compartmentalization of the cultural contexts of the Arabic and American cultures. It is utilized to a wide extent by Arabic persons vis-a-vis Americans. The notion of compartmentalization is embedded in the recognition of the salience of the two cultures. This strategy addresses the centrality of Arabic cultural issues for the well being of the social actor as he or she exists in another cultural context. That is coupled with recognition of the option of non-assimilation and retaining cultural ties.

Compartmentalization takes into consideration the options available to the individual actors. Of all possible settings, the private domain is the optimal one for cultural choices, as it involves more control within the all-encompassing American culture. Therefore, selective cultural accommodation in self and deeds was achieved by the relegation of cultural patterns of the American culture to
the public domain and the Arabic cultural patterns to the private residential domain, where the insistence on social interaction was based on Arabic culture.

There were three groups representing different facets of this strategy. In the adoption of strategy of selective differentiation there seemed to be a convergence of the three.

In the first case, some consultants had commenced the initial phase of their American sojourn with a form of selective differentiation. For these consultants, their strategy of selective differentiation became more clearly focused in the subsequent phase.

In the second group, there were Arabic persons who, in their initial phase, did not take a firm cultural position. Based on their interactional experiences, their forms of cultural differentiation became more focused and concentrated with the passage of time, hence the interactional boundaries were redefined.

The third case concerns the number of the Arabic-speaking people who arrived at this accommodative strategy after a phase of total Americanization. Since this group included several individuals who provided vivid ethnographic accounts of the emergent differentiation, these issues shall receive further elaboration.

For those Arabic students who changed from assimilation to cultural differentiation, several consultants indicated
that they had adopted Americanization in the initial phase. Changes then occurred, which resulted in a subsequent compartmentalization of the two cultures. The consultants indicated that they reinterpreted their strategies based on day-to-day interactions and experiences, and that these changes were for the purpose of maintaining boundaries. Various consultants described the emergence of this compartmentalization as subsequent to Americanization. Among them were both married and unmarried students. Such a transformation was especially noted in unmarried male students.

This emergence functioned as a defined boundary and boundary-maintaining mechanism in the subsequent phase. The unmarried males reported that, in the initial phase, their Americanization freed them from cultural constraints. Later, however, this form changed in meaning from freedom from cultural constraints to being and becoming burdened and/or disconnected. Then, they discovered a need for a place in the social universe and searched for the rhythm provided by cultural schemata for life and engaged living. A key consultant described it as "being suspended in the air." Similar sentiments recurred widely among others.

Another key consultant described his reassessment of his journey from Americanization of self to compartmentalization of Arabic and American cultures. He summed up his reflections by indicating situational understanding and a sense of irony:
"As I continued to be here, I became more culturally Arabic while I was in America." (he emphasized "culturally" for he did not adopt Islamization or religious identification.)

Another of the key male consultants assessed his Americanization through an evocative narrative. He maintained that Americanization did not change some of the basic issues of identity, such as "being curiously different" and the problems of situational interactions, especially social interactions of Anglos vis-a-vis Arabic persons. Furthermore, he noted that in his protracted American experience and his Americanization, he had not become a part of a web of social involvement. In his metaphoric description, he concluded by saying he was in a perpetual state of "suspended animation," especially in reference to social interaction.

He illustrated his description through pictures and diagrams of what it meant to be in the USA. The issue of connected-ness and lack thereof were clear. His description of himself and his initial Americanization was evaluated as moving from blurred concepts to focused alienation. His explication refers to continued treatment as "being curiously different" coupled with challenges of the un-graspable cultural rules (the un-focused arena at all times: the two dynamics at play, the managing of some of the explicit rules while continuing to be baffled by the other rules.)
Cultural Differentiation Outcome and Manifestation

For some members of the Arabic population, compartmentalization became more defined with time. There was a deliberate modification of actions related to social interaction in general and based on the differentiation of the universes of interaction. For those members in the private domain of the residential quarters, social interactions with Anglos were restricted and coupled with an insistence on Arabic politeness rituals. These were observed in relation to inter-gender social discourse of both cultural compatriots and Anglos as well.

For unmarried Arabic females in general, and especially for chaperoned females, this differentiation between the two cultures, public and the private domains, was distinct and deliberate. The appropriate rituals of politeness, dress code, and inter-gender and inter-generational rituals of politeness were expected of Anglos as well.

This observation held true for others for whom this strategy became more defined in the subsequent phase. That was observed in the case of several married couples who had switched from Americanization and utilized this section of differentiation in the subsequent phase.

I had no access to the unmarried male domain, but based on their reports, they also restricted themselves to appropriate social interactions especially as to inter-gender issues.
Compartmentalization

This option of non assimilation addresses two interrelated issues of the centrality of the cultural issues and the well-being of the social actor functioning in another cultural context.

As was noted above in this chapter, to most of the Arabic population, increased and prolonged interactions did not yield profound cross-cultural appreciation of cultural issues and dynamics but resulted in the creation of compartments in their experience. The interpretation was an act of consonance which I deem necessary for the balance of the self in the daily life. With their perception of dissonance in the American experience, was their search for an anchor in the "American ocean."

Emphasized Differentiation: Islamization

As indicated in Chapter VI, for many Arabic individuals Islamization, a form of emphatic religious identification, emerged during the subsequent phase of their American residence. This form of conversion by cultural inversion was a multifunctional adaptive strategy for the Arabic social actors. It countered stigmatization of Arabic identity. The consideration in this chapter is focused on boundary-maintaining functions of Islamization as a "form."
As a boundary-maintaining mechanism, Islamization is a strategy founded on accentuated emblematic cultural expressions from the semiotics of Arabic culture vis-a-vis Anglos within the context of Anglo-American macro culture. This strategy functions foremost on the basis of contrastive attributes of the Arabic individuals vis-a-vis Anglos. As gleaned from the accounts of the consultants, it does focus on the Arabic distinction and the contrastive aspects of their culture.

For some members, Islamization occurred after a phase of only Arabic cultural identification, while for the others, (and in the most dramatic cases,) this strategy came after an initial assimilation, or Americanization. In the initial phase the first group maintained a secular Arabic cultural identity, while the second group had submerged any form of Arabic identification by adopting a total assimilation. In Islamization, the two converged. It is important to remember that, as noted above, Islamization as a cultural identity differs from Islamization as a religious identity.

The emergent Islamization strategy vividly contrasts with both initial strategies. After the initial phase of residence, many reversed their actions and adopted an Islamic religious identity in forms and deeds, limited to strict interpretation of the religious rules and patterns. This strategy was especially contrastive to these members for whom this form of identification had materialized as a succeeding
phase to Americanization. Males and females, married and unmarried, recounted their changes. Several of the male consultants conveyed that they emerged from the Americanized form of identification in the initial phase to a form of identification that focused on the "Islamization" of the cultural self. The aim of belonging to a community intertwined with the emphasis on cultural differentiation and boundary-maintaining mechanisms were intricately woven in their explanations.

The Moral Order as a Responses to the Current Context

For many Arabic persons extreme differentiation was also conveyed on the basis of moral differences. Being different is accentuated by emphasis on the Islamic religious self, and this is one of the explanations for the emphasized distinction between "us" and "them."

For the Arabic individuals who adopted this strategy, it is viewed as one of the salient responses to their perception and experiences of "America as an ocean." This was the other explanation combined with the moral order. For some Arabic persons it was their personal response to experiences of isolation conveyed by the metaphor of "being an island." The isolation increased with the passage of time. Several unmarried male consultants started with the idea of Americanization as a response to isolation, only to find themselves becoming more isolated, as was explained by one of
the consultants. (This is equivalent to some of the explanations that transpired in the context of compartmentalization, but as a response that adopted a different form). By adopting boundary maintaining strategies and the Islamization of self, that sense was replaced by a significant social web, a metaphor used by several consultants. By belonging to the religious group they were sustained by the belonging and the moral order.

The emergent Islamization of self and the boundary function of this mechanism had a physical and concrete manifestation in the Islamic religious moral community in Tucson. The religious centers that serve the needs of these individuals, both males and females, are a key manifestation. For example, in Christopher City evening meetings were established for prayers and religious instructions for Arabic females. A female prayer-leader conducted the gathering and the prayers, and provided a learned interpretation of Islamic religious beliefs and the dogma. For many of the attendants, these occasions were their first formal religious instructions, for they had grown up in secular households. On the other hand, the religious Islamic males routinely attended the prayers at the Mosques. They participated in regular day's prayers with a strict observance of prayers on Fridays.

The meetings and gathering places served as centers in addressing the religious needs and affiliation. The religious
centers also provided a sense of belonging to a moral community of believers. Based on the accounts of several of the consultants, it seems that there are other social needs and functions addressed or introduced here. There were instructions given about social interaction and advice about aspects of the daily life and well-being of the believers.

A key consultant, a married female who had adopted Islamization after an initial secular identification, provided a summary. She maintained that, in her experiences, length of residence did not increase social dialogue or enhance cross-cultural understanding. Based on these assessments, she reflected on her and her husband's various experiences and concluded, "They (Americans) do not understand us (Arabs), and we do not understand them." She was emphatic about the mutuality of this occurrence. This consultant and her spouse had adopted the strategy of emphasized differentiation. They maintained that, in adopting Islamization, they had found their mooring and meaningful existence within the current context.

The individuals who adopted Islamization viewed these manifestations as a reinterpretation of traditional views and rituals of social intercourse, whose meaning stemmed from cultural traditions which could guide them to tackling modern reality. Hence, in the view of the beholders, this strategy of adopting these forms of Arabic traditions was not a return to an earlier state of being. In sum, with this form of
Islamization came a sense of belonging to a community which gained its strength from moral order and piety. Thus the sense of belonging reduced cultural dissonance in seeking equilibrium over time.

These accentuated boundary-maintaining strategies translate into social interaction in daily encounters in the Anglo cultural context. For the Arabic population, one of the outcomes was to minimize interaction and curtail social intercourse with Anglos. In their reflection on the phenomenon of their emphasized cultural distinction, a number of the consultants discussed how this was deliberate in their social interaction vis-a-vis Anglos. They indicated that the pursuit of interaction and cultural discourse vis-a-vis the Americans became limited to minimal social encounters.

There was a deliberate avoidance even of phatic communication. Their discourse strategies began to preclude any attempts to engage in cross-cultural dialogues or explanation of Arabic cultural issues. This was deliberate, with an explicit focus on the distinction between "us" and "them," and strengthened the boundary-maintaining mechanisms in daily social intercourse.

The Role of the Home Countries and Cultures

In dialogues with most consultants, it became apparent to me that the impact of their home countries was an important factor in their own consideration of their
experiences. The dynamics of the current context were coupled with pulling and pushing factors of the home countries. Their adaptive responses and outcomes involved the dynamics of the home countries both as the prior text and as subsequent text, despite their situation in the American cultural context.

These unseen cultural influences range from covert to overt influences on the students and their families. In addition to material from my population of consultants, I also had the opportunity to interview some visiting parents and relatives, who confirmed students' perceptions.

The home countries' impact on issues of identification and strategies of adaptations in two categories. First, adoption of selective differentiation won the most approval from the families and sponsoring agents in the home countries. The compartmentalization of cultures and the deliberate acts of selective accommodation were viewed as a necessary strategy. It was perceived not as a confusion of cultural issues, but as a deliberate decision based on particular awareness on the part of the Arabic-speaking persons. The approval was conveyed in many forms of encouragement via correspondence, telephone calls, and periodic visits. Furthermore, the implicit approval was conveyed through explicit disapproval of the other forms of identification. The consultants interpreted the approval of this form as being based on the fact that consultants maintained links with the home culture. That analysis is
coupled with a perception of the impact of this strategy in the phase of cultural reentry after temporary residence in the USA: this strategy is perceived as easing the return to the home contexts.

Second, the cultural compatriots in the home countries presented an ardent opposition to both ends of the contrastive adaptation strategies, both Americanization, and Islamization. In the home countries, various persons exerted pressure against the Americanization of students in the USA. The home culture and families did not encourage the forms of re-identification and the cultural self either to total Americanization or the total Islamization cum religious identification.

Persistent Americanization was denounced by families, friends, and sponsors in the home countries. This was a key aspect concerning the dynamics of cultural identification which were also embedded in the dynamics of culture in home countries. The disapproval was persistent and conveyed covertly or expressed in cultural "pulling," by persuasion and examples and other means or by pronounced and unambiguous statements of its consequences, which include decrees from the home countries to dissuade students from Americanization.

This was confirmed by reports of several Arabic consultants who had emerged from this phase of identification. They related aspects of their home culture as the invisible pulling factors applied to them as they
habituated themselves to current context. The pull was reported in terms of attitudes conveyed in letters and calls from home. For several individuals these were salient enticements from the home countries, from people whose concern was with maintaining their forms of Arabic cultural identity. A manifestation of preoccupation with this situation was conveyed by laws of some of the Arabic countries. In Chapter III, I pointed out that some of the Gulf Arab countries have the *mihram* laws that require female students to be accompanied by chaperons. The chaperon also functions to counteract the emergence of Americanization as form of identification. These countries frequently have other laws for the unmarried males as well. These laws function to dissuade them from total assimilation. These laws would discourage, or, in some cases forbid, the marriage of their unmarried males to non-national females in general and to American females in particular.

The analysis of issues of Americanization includes all of the abstractions about attributes and conduct as part of Americanization discussed in Chapter VI. It seems, however, that the disapproval is ultimately tied to their returning to their home countries and the factors of their reentry in the social discourse within the Arabic culture.

As for Islamization as a form of identification and adaptive strategy, just as I was surprised to learn about the Islamization mentioned in Chapter VI, I was equally surprised
to learn about the extent of the home country's disapproval of this emergent identification. This form of identification had become especially worrisome to those families with secular cultural identification. They seemed to perceive it as one that would alienate their American-educated offspring from themselves.

In the final analysis of this phenomenon, the form of reentry in the home culture is the core of the matter of this disapproval. From discussion, I gleaned aspects of the signification of the Islamization of self and demeanor. The distance, and the fact of some members being cloaked in religious garb, was reported by the consultants as the reason for opposition by the sponsoring government. This form is construed as a form of dissidence and a challenge to the existing political moral order, particularly in countries like Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq among others.

The Subsequent Phase: Analysis and Evaluation

This discussion of the subsequent phase reviews components considered in both Chapters VI and VII. These chapters focused on interpretive conclusions, and the adaptation strategies of the Arabic population. The discussion of the subsequent phase was informed by the notion that these adaptation strategies are outcomes of dynamic processes, based on dynamics of transaction over a prolonged period of interaction. Particular responses and outcomes
evolved over time. They included redefinitions and strategies for social interactions.

Of special interest are actual daily experiences in the dynamics of face-to-face micro interactions, but the impact of the macro American culture was also considered as part of the dynamics. Another issue relevant to the emergent responses is that experiences were comprehended and interpreted based on the dialectics of two macro cultures, Arabic and Anglo.

A key issue for the consideration of the subsequent phase was that, in spite of emerging changes and on deliberate actions based on familiarity with many aspects of the American cultural phenomena, many challenges remained. These are issues of Arabic cultural patterns and perceptions which are both conflicting and resistant and unchanging.

In the initial phase, obscurity and confusion were inherent in the novelty of the situation and in many non-shared cultural issues. In the subsequent phase, however, there remained several blurred categories based especially on what had been experienced in social interactions, which necessitated a reassessment of the view "Us vis-a-vis Them." Several Arabic persons started out with a hazy boundary between the "us" and the "them." Initially, for some members their marginality was liberating. To others it was painful and isolating. Yet, with the passage of time, even those
persons who found the this situation liberating became weary of experiencing a form of dislocation.

One of the germane issues concerns cultural dissonance as was initiated and as had been engendered with passage of time. This phenomenon was based on many of the factors introduced and discussed in the context above. Subsequently most Arabic persons did reconsider and attempt to reconcile several of the cultural issues, in particular issues of identity and interactional challenges.

The American Experience Reconsidered

In the subsequent phase, as part of a reassessment of the current American context and of notions of Arabic cultural selves, the Arabic consultants focused on their whole experience. My lens focused on these issues. The Arabic persons evaluated and presented their situations based on both the anatomy of micro interactions and as part of the encompassing macro Anglo context. There was a change in their self and social interactions over time. Both conscious and unconscious approaches to adaptive changes resulted in deliberate actions which continued to the subsequent phase of residence, while seeking to accomplish their assigned tasks and to find meaning in their daily experiences. Reconsideration of "us" vis-a-vis "them" was linked to adaptive change in their outlook and to action in some areas.

In the subsequent phase of residence, the consultants
discussed other key implications. In spite of emerging changes based on the familiarity with Anglo culture, some American cultural phenomena were resistant to change and remained in conflict with Arabic cultural sensibilities. Also, other salient cultural patterns continued to be vexing. Again, these are based in the two realms: issues of identity and issues of social interaction.

The Emergent Arabic Selves: Forms and Functions in Adaptive Strategy

The analysis of adaptation as deliberate acts of changes includes both changes to accommodate to the current context, and, on the other hand, changes to differentiate within the current context. There were also other acts which were resistant to change, in particular, subtle sociolinguistic patterns and cultural sensibilities.

Adaptation phenomena in the Arabic population were manifested in various outcomes. The strategies all included cultural differentiation and boundary-maintaining mechanisms. For many Arabic speakers the cultural differences had emerged and/or became focused and sharpened as part of the passage of time and in living in the American cultural context.

Non-assimilation strategies arose in three forms: Americanization, selective differentiation and Islamization. Americanization is based on total assimilation. However, it occurs mainly in the initial phase and was viewed as a
response to bewilderment. For a few Arabic persons, however, the pursuit of Americanization continued to be their adaptive strategy. The redefinition of cultural self was based on a deliberate form of selective differentiation. This also implied a change in interactional outcomes. For those who initially adhered to strict cultural patterns—for example, inter-gender segregation and avoidance—there was a redefinition of the cultural rules, and the social interaction and segregation were redefined.

The other form of redefined cultural identity was based on emphasis of cultural differentiation by Islamization. The especially astounding examples were illustrated in the case of those persons who initially were fluid in their adherence to Arabic cultural rules; then, with their redefinition of cultural Arabic identity, the form of conversion to Islamization became the adopted outcome.

The two forms of adaptive responses, compartmentalization and Islamization, both have parallel functions of maintaining the boundaries. While the two adaptive vehicles are different in their expression and definition of cultural belonging, they are equivalent in several of their functions. One important function is belonging to a community, and, as was expressed emphatically, belonging to a moral community. The emphasis on the moral order and other functions creates consonance of the cultural issues.
In the case of compartmentalization, that order stems from not compromising some of the salient cultural issues as they retain their expression in their private domain. For these individuals this was perceived as strategy that prevented "being lost," one that provided of a measure of equilibrium.

In the case of Islamization that order is in the form of the newly found moral order which became a guide to functions in their daily lives. For these individuals the moral order and the emphasis on this sense of belonging is the only assurance for mooring and prevention against "being lost."

In sum, consultants explained both strategies as counteracting the sense of "being lost" in "America as an ocean." For a number of those individuals the passage of time and the describing gained familiarity within the American sociocultural context did not ameliorate those perceptions. Some individuals did adopt Islamization of self after a phase of Americanization, while for others compartmentalization was the preferred strategy.

The majority of the Arabic persons in their sojourn did not assimilate. Those who did were frowned upon and ostracized by their own cultural colleagues and by their cultural compatriots in the home countries as was indicated in Chapter VII. Other issues of interactive phenomena, implicitly and explicitly combined with stigmatized identity.
As the consideration of adaptive strategies has been conceptualized as an outcome based on interactive processes over time, the key point that summarized aspects of many of their experiences was their perception that increased interaction had not increased inter-cultural understanding of the Arabic persons vis-a-vis Anglos. Mutual misconception and misinterpretation remained rampant. Those perceptions illustrate Bateson's notion of complementary schismogenesis. I indicated in Chapters VI and VII that the issue of complementary schismogenesis was described by both those who adopted Islamization of self and those who had adopted compartmentalization.

With the passage of time the members of the population, with different degrees in various periods, took an inventory of the self. Their perception of their own cultural selves was a salient issue to them as they embarked on reconsideration of selves and place in the social universe as well as the dynamics of social interactions.
VIII. RECAPITULATION AND IMPLICATIONS

As stated in Chapter I, this dissertation has focused upon the following initial inquiry:

"What does it mean for an individual enculturated in an Arabic-speaking and Islamic culture, who has acquired his/her communicative competence in that culture, to come to the United States of America and engage in social interactions and adapt to everyday life in both educational and other settings?"

The pursuit of adaptation to temporary residence in the USA has been a study of the anthropology of experience, based in social interactions of everyday life. The anthropology of experience is based in a cross-cultural setting and the ensuing responses. These were informed by the initial and subsequent phases of residence. The Arabic students were not merely passive recipients of cultural experience, they were active interpreters of their own everyday lives.

The threads that hold this dissertation together are the processes and outcomes of the initial and subsequent phases. The theme is adaptation. Adaptive processes and outcomes were viewed in terms of intercultural discourse and identity and how they translate into social interaction. All of these issues are embedded and embodied in the main findings that I consider important, that are the core of this dissertation.
As I have included a conclusory section in both the initial and subsequent phase discussions (Chapters V and VII), this chapter recapitulates findings of the core of the dissertation. The chapter is organized as follows. The section on recapitulation draws implications from four findings derived from the analysis in this dissertation. The next section addresses other implications of these findings to Arabic students and the initial phase of cultures in contact.

Recapitulation

In this section, I discuss the issues of macro and micro interaction and the cultural experience on several levels. My conclusions are based on the initial and subsequent phases of residence. They are related to micro interaction and the issues of local differing patterns. These differing patterns often result in miscommunication.

Diversity

As I defined in Chapter I and restated in Chapter II, the Arabic students came from diverse Arabic countries, but one macro Arabic speech community. The implications of this diversity are the diversities in resultant forms of identification, as I have shown above in Chapters VI and VII. Diversity manifested itself, in the subsequent phase of residence, in the three forms of identification:
Americanization, Selective Differentiation, and Islamization.

Micro Setting and Culture Shock

Starting with my early conclusions about the salience of gender as a cultural issue, and continuing this discussion into the subsequent phase, I have attempted to show how, because of the American context, communicative situations, and personal contexts in communicative events, the co-presence of gender had ramifications in the social interactions of the Arabic speakers. These patterns were divergent from their cultural repertoire of experience.

The Arabic speaker dealt with the dynamics of co-presence of gender both inside the classroom and outside, in the community and at home, as the private cultural microcosm. The implications and outcomes of the American context on the Arabic population also refer to gender. Here, I am referring to the experiences of interaction in every day life. For example, in classroom interaction, aside from the dynamics of avoidance, I showed that the classroom participation of female Arabic students was curtailed in the initial phase and continued to be a factor in the subsequent phase. In the issues of redefinition of cultural identity, especially in forms of religious identification, the Arabic females and males did change their emblematic self-
representation, to convey the semiotics of a religious identity.

Outside the academic setting, the dynamics of everyday life in America had outcomes for the Arabic students and accompanying wives. The experiences of dislocation and preclusion of interdependence participation, as compared to belonging to a cultural web in the home culture, was initially reported primarily by the unmarried Arabic males and the accompanied Arabic females. They relayed this perception through the metaphor of "America as an ocean" and the perceptions of self as isolated "Islands" or sinking in that ocean.

Social interactions are based on differing ethos and cultural sensibilities. The greatest challenge to the Arabic students was the co-presence of gender in unfamiliar communicative contexts. We have seen, in the discussion above, how the students modified their social interactions, over time. They modified and reinterpreted their cultural patterns to facilitate their adaptation to the American culture and the co-presence of gender.

In the initial phase, the population adopted avoidance as their main strategy in social interactions vis-a-vis cultural cohorts. In the subsequent phase, these individuals reinterpreted their patterns and suspended aspects of the avoidance strategy. However, those who adopted Islamization,
introduced emphatic avoidance into their social interactions in the subsequent phase.

Another issue of social interaction and cultural discourse, which superseded gender issues, is based on the problem of "masked authority" in the context of classroom interactions. Although the students eventually became familiar with the informal classroom setting, they remained puzzled by continued informality outside the classroom. Through this informality, the concept of "masked authority" persisted. In the students' experience, the positional identity of the instructors was blurred because, in the Arab World, the positional identity of instructors, in demeanor, interactions, presentation of self, are more formal. The expected, familiar context was very different from what was actually encountered--the confusing masked authority.

Discourse and styles of interaction created yet another challenge to the Arabic students sojourning in the American culture. The two prominent discourse styles utilized by the population were repetition as a form of argumentation, in the academic setting, and indirectness in questions and responses, in interpersonal interactions. These discourse styles were non-shared patterns which created confusion and miscommunication that persisted into the subsequent phase. On this point, I share Gumperz' view about non-shared patterns in inter-cultural discourse (Gumperz 1982; Gumperz and Tannen 1979).
A combination of these social interactions in the micro setting, with issues of cultural identity, constitute a shock for Arabic speakers in their initial interactions in the American context. Anthropologists have variously labeled the initial inter-cultural experiences as shocking, as a Culture Shock (Oberg 1960; Bock 1970). This notion has since been incorporated in the repertoire of assumptions concerning cultures and cross-cultural situational interactions pertaining to the initial phase of contact. I have implied in many places what constituted culture clash for Arabic students vis-a-vis Americans.

The various sources of culture shock were implied by the differing patterns of social interaction of Arabic speakers. Examples included inter-gender interaction extended from the classroom to the community, particularly the concept of dating. The masked authority discussed above in this section created another shocking cultural clash. Another aspect of this shock arose when the students first encountered the notion of "us" and "them." The emphasis placed on their difference, and the stereotypes of their cultural background were shocking to them and resulted in a culture clash.

For the Arabic population, prolonged residence did not assuage or ameliorate many of these early perceptions. These perceptions often continued to create barriers to cross-cultural transactions.
Macro Setting

The issues of social interaction are related to the macro sociolinguistic context. There are dynamics that contribute to miscommunication and, very importantly, develop into barriers in communication. Many Arabic students found themselves, for the first time, in a numerical minority. The significance of this is not only the numerical implications. Perhaps the more important and salient issue is their otherness, based on stigmatization, riddled with misunderstanding. The popular negative stereotypes created issues of stigmatization for the students. The redefinition of identity occurred as a response to this stigma. The three diverse responses, again, were Americanization, Selective Differentiation, and Islamization.

Stigmatization of identity, to Arabic speakers, factored in inter-cultural social interactions. Therefore, dynamics of the macro context--the negative stereotyping of the Arabic population--translated into face-to-face micro interactions--being treated as "curiously different." This conclusion diverges from Gumperz's notion that the non-shared styles of interaction and contextualization cues of the micro context are the only primary sources of miscommunication (Gumperz 1982). This conclusion does agree with Singh et al. (1988). The outcomes of redefinition of the cultural self also translate into outcomes in face-to-face interactions. For example, individuals adopting Islamization refrained from
engaging in social interactions, save for the pragmatics of everyday life.

Adaptive Strategies: Non-assimilation

Prolonged interaction in the American cultural context did not result in increased inter-cultural understanding between Arabic students and Americans. In seeking consonance, the Arabic population chose boundary maintaining mechanisms as their strategy for dealing with cultural dissonance. Especially in the subsequent phase of residence, the Arabic population adopted adaptive strategies based on differentiation and non-assimilation. For example, those who had initially adopted Americanization reinterpreted their adaptive strategy and adopted, instead, either compartmentalization of the two cultures or the extreme differentiation of Islamization. These two forms are boundary maintaining mechanisms.

The extreme differentiation of Islamization, manifested in the subsequent phase, created a network and a sense of belonging to a moral order. Adrift in "America as an ocean," these individuals found their mooring in a new religious identity and moral community.

Other members of the population adopted compartmentalization of the two cultures--Arabic and American--to create distinct spheres of interactions. These compartments were very clear, taking into consideration the
salience of both Arabic and American cultural ethos. These individuals appeared to be the most comfortable with their chosen adaptive process. The pushing and pulling factors of the home countries seemed to favor compartmentalization.

Other Implications

My inquiry into the adaptation of the Arabic students to the American cultural context, led me to certain other implications. These were related to their cultural adaptation. I found that there were many issues which the students felt they could have been better prepared to deal with prior to their arrival. These issues are at the heart of some cultural assumptions and the pragmatics of everyday life.

This lack of preparedness could be addressed by the creation of an institute for American studies somewhere in the Arab World. This institute could function as a clearing-house of ideas and issues about the American cultural context. This would function as a cushioning agent to better prepare the students for their arrival in America and lessen the blow of culture clash.

Wherever the Arabic students obtain their initial familiarization to the American culture, that institute must put a greater emphasis on the extralinguistic culture themes of the American cultural context. They must be prepared, not only for academic encounters, but also, very importantly, for
the pragmatics of every day life and living in America. Based on the Arabic population data these are very important components of the educational experience in the culture of classroom and differing discourse strategies. Again a comparative approach may illuminate some of the invisible dimensions in the inter-culture context of social interaction.

The American and Arabic cultures diverge on many levels. For the Arabic students, institutes teaching English as a second language are their first contact with the American cultural context. These institutes emphasize the learning of English as a second language. Based on anthropological assumptions about language in cultural context, I feel there is a need to greater emphasize and differentiate the varied cultures of the international individuals who come to America to study. For example, a student coming from a Spanish-speaking background faces different challenges of cultural and social discourse than does a student coming from the Arab World. There should be emphasis on the first language, first culture and first communicative repertoire.

The other implication of this work is in its relevance to the phenomenon of adaptation to temporary residence. I started with the assumption that adaptation to temporary residence, as based on duration and experience, engenders certain dynamics. I have attributed many aspects of the discussion based on the initial and subsequent phases,
keeping in mind that the concerned individuals are returning to their home countries. Future studies are needed to elaborate on the dynamics of adaptation to temporary residence, the dynamics that are different from those of immigration—the more permanent residence—and the dynamics that are based on brief stay—as in the case of the tourist. Perhaps the study of these comparisons would reveal a continuum, or other phenomena in cultures in contact based on differing durations of residence and interactional experiences.

As a final note, future studies of these phenomena should include following the evolution of the discussed population after their return to their home cultures, determining the more permanent influences of their experiences in the American culture and adaptation to temporary American residence.

Although my work was done in Tucson, Arizona, I feel the issues I have covered in this dissertation, concerning the adaptation of Arabic students to the American cultural context, also apply to students matriculating elsewhere.
APPENDIX A

Arabic-speaking INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS
Registered for the Semesters from Spring 1987 to Fall 1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>AVERAGE NO.* **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
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<td>Oman</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudia Arabia</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emerites</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen Arab Republic</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen Peoples' Republic</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Number varied from 400 to 500
**Does not include accompanying persons as they are not part of the University record.
There were 89 individuals in the total population.

**General Population:**
Includes some Arabic students, instructors at CESL, teachers, administrators and, in the community, includes neighbors and personnel at CC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lybia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 30

**Particular Population:**
Includes Arabic students of both genders, accompanying families, American wives, and visiting parents, when possible. The particular population includes the ten Key consultants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
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<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 59

**Key Consultants:**
Male and female students and accompanying persons at either the initial or subsequent phase. The Key consultants came from the following countries: Iraq (1); Jordan (1); Kuwait (1); Lybia (1); Oman (1); Palestine (1); Saudi Arabia (2); Syria (1); UAE (1).

Total: 10
APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule and Sample Questions

There are three categories of questions:

I. General background and demographic questions:
   A: Demographic data collected from students and accompanying persons.

   SAMPLE QUESTIONS:
   1. How long have you been in the USA and why did you choose this University at which to study?
   2. How much education, particularly English education, did you have prior to coming?
   3. What are you studying and who is sponsoring that study (e.g. government, parents, self, others)?

   B: Questions collected from others, e.g. teachers administrators, personnel in CC among others. These were intended to collect general background information and comparative data.

   SAMPLE QUESTIONS:
   1. What areas of study do Arabic students usually pursue? Is gender an issue in their choice?
   2. How are Arabic students dissimilar or similar to other International students, particularly as to the challenges of academic discourse? Is gender a factor?
3. Did the Arabic students seek your advice? If so, concerning what (e.g. academic issues, pragmatics of everyday life, etc.)? Is gender a factor?

II. These were relevant to the initial phase and were evaluative experiential questions about the American context. They were more personal in nature, and subsumed the two domains. These questions were directed only to the particular Arabic population.

A: The academic setting.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS:

1. What were your prior expectations of and experiences with American culture and the English Language? How does your actual experience compare with these expectations?

2. How does the personal context of the American cultural classroom setting compare with the contexts with which you are familiar (e.g. teacher-student interaction, the co-presence of gender, etc.)?

3. In your academic pursuits, what aspects of discourse have been the most challenging, and why?
APPENDIX C (CONT.)

B: The residential setting.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS:

1. What were your expectations of everyday life in America? How did your actual experiences compare to those expectations?

2. In your initial American experiences, what was it like to be an Arabic person in America? What aspects of this experience were the most challenging to you, and why?

3. How did Americans respond to your presence and how were these responses conveyed to you? In what contexts were you dealing with these individuals?

III. These were relevant to the subsequent phase and were evaluative and experiential questions about the American context and experiences after a period of time. They include:

A: The continued challenges of the academic domain.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS:

1. What do you still find challenging about the American academic setting? What courses were the most difficult to master?

2. Are you more comfortable with the American
APPENDIX C (CONT.)

classroom setting, now that you have spent more time in it? What aspects of it are still challenging to you?

3. What aspects of academic discourse continue to pose a challenge to you? How were these significant in interactions with teachers or other students?

B: The community and how they define their experiences.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS:

1. In the community, did prolonged cross-cultural interaction lessen the stigma of being an Arabic person in the American context?

2. What aspects of everyday life in America remain challenging? How did you ultimately adapt to the challenges of everyday life?

3. What would you tell a colleague, friend, or sibling to better prepare that individual for life as an Arabic student in America? (This question was also asked of teachers and International student administrators.)

Follow-up questions were related to the responses of the consultants.
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