

Mechanics of Linguistic Variability and Socio-cultural Mobility in the Palestinian Wedding Invitation Discourse: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the Palestinian wedding invitation discourse. It investigates the sociocultural values depicted in the discursive wedding discourse to explain the forces lying behind the young couples' preferences and inclinations in the last few decades. Theoretically, the study builds on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) implemented by Fairclough (1995; 2010), and van Dijk (1998). It has been found that the wedding discourse is traditionally dominated by some religious affiliations, and exclusively oriented by sociocultural practices, fundamentally featured as a patriarchal domination and social discrimination against woman, in particular, and young couples, in general. Evidenced in the most recent practices of the Palestinian wedding discourse community is a change in the social norms, manifesting itself in abandoning religion-oriented wedding texts and patriarch-dominated social systems. This sociolinguistic variation being in progress is developed under time passage and the impact of internal and external factors, including governance, i.e. the instructions and activities of the Palestinian Authority towards peace, and the unstable geo-political factors for decades, hot themes of modern life, such as the equality between both sexes, liberty, woman's rights and roles in the third millennium, and the modern emerging technologies.

Key WORDS: Language and Social Change, Sociolinguistic Variation, Palestinian Wedding Invitation Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, Homely Genres

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I. INTRODUCTION

Speech Act Theory (SAT) plays a major role in the emergence of the *functional* perspective on language use, teaching as well as learning in the 1970's. According to Schmitt (2013, pp.74-91), language users need to understand two types of meanings: Functional categories, such as requests, apologies, requests and complaints, and notional categories, such as frequency, quantity and location. Munby (1981) specifies an inventory of micro-functions for language use including request, polite request, direct and indirect command, for instance. Nowadays, a more complex organizational network which includes other concerns, such as tasks, topics, structures or even multimodal approaches, has been used.

Searle (1979) has already classified speech acts mainly into four types: Assertives, directives, commissives and expressives. *Assertive* acts refer to the acts that commit a speaker to believing the proposition conveyed, e.g. reciting a creed. *Directives* attribute to the speech acts that attempt to make the hearer take a particular action, e.g. advice, commands and requests. *Commissive* acts appeal to the speech acts that commit a speaker to do some future actions, e.g. oaths and promises. *Expressive* acts refer to the verbal utterances that express the speaker's emotions and opinions towards the proposition, e.g. excuses, thanks and congratulations. Finally, declarative acts involve the rites trying to change the social atmosphere in concord with the proposition of the declaration, e.g. marriage bonds or baptisms.

Wedding is very likely to be a social act which involves performance. Reading an account of speech in a ceremony is simply not a wedding. A wedding lacks what Austin (1975) termed as 'performative' utterances; that is, uttering exact words serves an action, in which these words bring about an alteration in status. Leeds-Hurwitz (2013, p.101) agrees that when a Christian says before the altar or registrar, "I do", he or she is simply not reporting on a wedding. He / she certainly indulges in or rather tickles it. The articulation of the phrase "I do" completes an endeavor shooting at turning as well as acknowledging publicly two people as a couple. In any oral tradition performance, Hymes (1981, p.86) argues that performance itself is "a mode of existence and realization that is partly constitutive of what the tradition is". Hymes' assertion suggests that only through performance humans can make the invisibles, such as identities and values, for instance, look visible. Finally, it maintains that any ritual is a performative act as soon as it *does* change something.

Rituals are *intricate* events including some elements distributed differently across diversified language systems, combining different events carried out at other locations on distinct days (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p.105). Among these, wedding rituals involve at least language, dance, music, clothing and objects, such as jewelry and gifts. The fundamental components of a wedding event vary considerably from one couple to another, and are probably established from the past experiences of others, such as parents and close friends. In addition to the wedding party, the components of wedding may include everything from the proposal and engagement to honeymoon.

Wedding invitations, amongst the other broad range of *homely genres*, are exclusively quite exciting to study. They are eminent and well-known to people all over the world. Besides, their message automatically demonstrates the first realization of co-built marital discourse of a soon-to-be-wed couple in the surroundings. It also indicates for the commencement of couple's marriage as one of their 'rites of passage' (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002). The content of wedding invitation mirrors itself in the concept of wedding; components often include names of couple, details of celebration such as time, date, and location, and "conventionalized phrasal patterns" in which the basic parts are illustrated. Utilizing this genre can, however, expand awareness in sociolinguistics and, in Al-Ali's words, "would add depth to what is known and may broaden the field of genre and discourse analysis research" (Al-Ali, 2006, p.711; Johns, 1997).

The printed forms of invitation, such as wedding invitation cards, have generic features that set them apart from other written texts. They are particular tools of a conventional formal text in which socio-cultural values play a significant role. Having the capacity to inform some potential receivers about something, they belong to a group of particular texts. Therefore, Miller (2015) recaptures homely genres as "homely discourses" enclosing ceremony announcement texts of life routines as weddings, obituaries and the like. A wedding invitation is universal, as it is common to everyone. Their content is also likely to be predictable, as their title expands 'wedding' to announcing the name of the bride and groom and the settings of the ceremony. Therefore, the wedding text sounds "conventionalized" (Johns, 1997, p.39).

Nowadays, a wedding ceremony is perceived as a text displaying social acts and identities. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002, p.87) quotes "Since ritual is a good form for conveying a message as if it were unquestionable, it is often used to communicate those very things which are most in doubt". She also remarks that communities exploit rituals as one way to send information to other members, and to designate occasions of significance, such as birth and wedding, in particular. In relevance, a ritual is defined as "an act or action intentionally conducted by a group of people employing one or more symbols in a repetitive, formal, precise, highly stylized fashion" (Myerhoff, 1992, p. 129). To develop a full understanding of the meanings depicted by these ritual symbols, Leeds Hurwitz (2002, p.88), however, argues that we should look at them in terms of "a hierarchy organized according to the size of the unit under analysis". In any ritual, a symbol can be associated with other symbols, and realized as part of a larger whole, i.e. a social code.

Central to Judaism, Christianity and Islam is the first happy marriage —though misfortune regarding the place of residency —in history between Adam and Eve. Among these Abrahamic doctrines, only Islam validates polygamy, i.e. the practice or condition of having more than one spouse, especially wife, at one time. The Noble Qur'an legitimates (under certain conditions related to the levels of kinship and rights of women) that a Muslim male can have up to four wives at the same time (Engineer, 2008; Jawad, 1998). Prophet Muhammad's teachings also urge directly the capable young male to wed. Therefore, scholars of Prophet Muhammad's sayings as well as the pioneer interpreters of the Qur'anic discourse have already accepted that marriage be *mandatory*. This suggests that the practice of marriage in Islam is realized as an optional, but essential, tradition.

Wedding ceremonies in the Arab world are intricate and idiosyncratic constructs that have a plethora of functions and meanings, both social and legal (Monger, 2004, p.13). They exhibit cultural similarities and differences. Where the customs and traditions are very much alike, the meanings of these habitual practices are also corresponding. Throughout the successive periods of time, the Arab world has been characterized by social inconstancy in the pre-Islamic period, religious anxiety in the post Islamic period and political uncertainty in late modern times. These factors would trigger some drastic challenges and changes in the Arabic culture, customs, traditions and wedding practices. For example, during the first uprising (also known as *Intifada*), the *silent* wedding ceremony was introduced in response to the cruel practices of the Israeli occupying authorities against the young Palestinians. This social act has already reflected a high degree of national solidarity among Palestinians at the national and international level (Hammamy, 1997, pp.194-210).

In modern Palestine, wedding is a commemoration for an occasion of societal joy, very wealthy in traditions and customs. The wedding ceremony is often preceded by two to three evenings of entertainment and recreation accompanied by dancing to show that the wedding festival has already started. Dancing as well as singing goes on to midnight; both women and men usually dance individually; this visual isolation does not mean that they cannot hear the voices of each other. In these evenings, the groom's parents invite or hire some singing and musical bands to raise the spirits of the guests; they inspire some local young people to do some sort

of folkloric dance. Prior to the wedding celebration itself, the wedding guests are welcomed to a banquet known as 'wedding feast'. On the day of wedding, there is a ritual attendance to the wedding festival, which is carried out in a communal place. The couple moves to a wedding hall where they meet the guests who have arrived to celebrate their arrival; this festival may last for an hour or two. When the couple accomplishes this wedding event, they move out of the hall to their house. They are often attended by a large group of guests' cars, headed by a well decorated car for the couple. There, relatives and friends usually express their wishes of happiness to the couple by offering them some money (known locally as *inqu:t*). With that money, many couples prefer to have their honeymoon in a romantic foreign country.

1.2 Research Problem, Objectives, and Questions

The growing numbers of young people in the Arab World, the centrality of marriage to social life and the challenging social and economic realities surrounding the wedding tradition are among the factors that motivate the socio-cultural mobility taking place in the region. Altogether with other mechanics, such as levels of education, age, gender and roles, time is due to explore the changing marriage patterns and traditions and their impact on people's lives and societies as a whole. As implicated in this section, marriage has ordinarily been outside the realm of Arab government policies, but this tradition is changing soon. Therefore, more scholarly research is needed to develop a good understanding of the social and economic phenomena enclosing the marriage tradition. The findings of these studies may help develop some culturally sensitive programs and policies that address the needs of the Arab people who want to marry, who want to delay marriage, and even who want (if *any*) to remain single.

Despite its integrity and applicability, the discourse of wedding invitations has received less attention from researchers in pragmatics, discourse studies, critical discourse analysis (CDA), the emerging critical genre analysis (CGA) or other fields. Regionally, the gap becomes broader or rather more acute when it comes to the general Arabic and Islamic contexts. A clear exception is the Mirzaei and Eslami's (2013) investigation into the Persian culture as well as the Al-Ali's (2006) endeavor in the Jordanian cultural context. To state the problem of the study, the topic —as the preliminary overview of the literature has revealed, is still in its beginning, and there are (up to my best knowledge) published studies that have already examined the Palestinian invitation discourse depicted in the wedding cards so as to reconsider the mechanics that govern the couples' linguistic choice and selection at the rhetorical features and structures of the wedding genre, and more importantly to unearth the mechanics that help regulate the socio-cultural mobility realized in the new emerging, discursive patterns of this Arabic marriage tradition.

In its ultimate goal, the study investigates mechanics of social and language change in the Palestinian wedding invitation discourse (henceforth, PWID). Thus, the study examines the sequential constituents of the wedding genre and the rhetorical features of this homely discourse into the socio-cultural forces, values, and inclinations underlying the pattern including (but not exclusively) the religious, national and political affiliations, academic and socio-economic status, and masculinity and feminism forces regulating the new emerging patterns. By doing so, the present thesis makes a substantial attempt to solve this issue by rebuilding the moves through a genre analysis approach (cf. Foley, 1997; Swales, 1990 & Bhatia, 2010, 2004), and then investigating the socio-cultural forces through a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach (cf. Fairclough, 1995, 2010; Van Dijk, 2011, 1998, 1997; Wodak, 1999). To achieve its goal, the study aims at recognizing the socio-cultural practices, values and social norms reflected in the modern PWID, perceiving the linguistic and social change evidenced in PIWD among young couples over the last few decades, and explaining the forces and proclivities that maintain or reform the social discursive practices in the recent PWID. Consequently, the study addresses the following questions:

1. What are the typical socio-cultural values and affiliations reflected in the discourse patterns and sequential move organizations of the PWIC?
2. How are mechanics of socio-cultural mobility and linguistic variability evidenced in the PWID among young couples in the last decade?
3. What are the indispensable forces and proclivities that stimulate the emergence and maintenance of certain wedding patterns within the PWID?

1.3 Significance of the Study

The study is significantly eventful in its linguistic scope. It investigates the PWID as a social act from a *pragma-linguistic* as well as a *socio-pragmatic* view. Inviting as an illocutionary act is a "commissive act" (Searle, 1985, p.14) which entails a "commitment" to someone or a group of people to make a "course of action" (Mirzaei & Eslami, 2013, p.103). Invitations also function as directives as they actually attempt "to get the hearer or the reader to do something" (Searle, 1985, p.13). That thing refers to participating in a good social event. Unlike common everyday invitations which occur in a spoken discourse, formal invitations, such as wedding invitations, are usually printed out and characterized by some "traditional structures and linguistic

forms" in which socio-cultural traditions "play a major role" (Al-Ali, 2006). Therefore, the study is expected to reveal a lot about the discourse participants' typical and discursive practices and proclivities, regarding their ethical commitments, religious and national identities, personal self-concepts, and social values and ranks.

The findings of the study will hopefully contribute to linguistics and theory of language, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics in various domains. As the study is conceptually framed by Halliday's (2004) systemic functional linguistics (SFL), which builds on language function and structure, and Searle's (1985) Indirect SAT, which models on speech functions, it is expected that the study will implicitly evaluate their universal efficacy in the domains of Arabic culture and language. In the domain of theoretical linguistics, the study is expected to purify the meanings depicted in the PWID to reveal how the discourse community use their pragmatic competence to assign and implicate certain meanings and values in PWICs. In the field of applied linguistics, the study is supposed to implicate for language researchers in the domains of language and ideology, and language and culture. In the field of sociolinguistics, the study will implicate for educational policy-makers, textbook compilers and language learners in the aspects of language and community, change, politeness and gender.

II. LITERATURE PREVIEW

From a pragma-linguistic perspective, Al-Ali (2006, pp.691-417) explored masculine power and religious affiliations dictating Arabic wedding invitation discourse. Applying a critical discourse analysis and genre analysis approach, the analyst found that the socio-cultural determinants in question not only dictated the formation of generic component moves but also encouraged the linguistic selections and the social practices in the wedding invitation cards. In the opening move for example, Al-Ali found some quotes from the Noble Qur'an or conventional expressions from Prophet Mohammad's teachings in the form of prescribed and ritualistic prompts highlighting matrimony. In the move of identifying the couple for example, socio-cultural affiliations, such as patriarchal kinship and powers of masculinity were noticeable in the intensely honorable invitation message. The names of the couple were placed on the same line, though the groom's was inserted first and to the right-hand side of the invitation card. This linguistic manipulation gave high status to the favor of masculinity in Arabic language. Interestingly, the results of the study also revealed that the name of the bride was often deleted or rather substituted by honorific verbalization like [kari:mat-hu] meaning 'his honorable daughter' or [shaqi:qatu-hu] meaning 'his sister'. In both examples, the personal, deictic pronoun [-hu] meaning 'his' records both the bride's patronage and kinship. This meant that an Arab Jordanian might act as a guardian and keep himself a seat (for social guardianship) even after the female got married.

From a socio-pragmatic perspective, Al-Momani and Al-Refae (2010, pp. 61-62) also checked the structure of the Jordanian wedding genre to find out the components that people used to articulate the genre's communicative purposes. They also examined the impact of the socio-cultural features on the genre's structure through exploring the relationship between cultural representations and language, i.e. histories of families. The researchers collected a total of (150) wedding invitations from different Jordanian sources, including family relatives, friends, and local printing presses. They analyzed their data both quantitatively and qualitatively. They found that the components of the wedding discourse were significantly affected by the religious factors which determined not only the wedding act but also every aspect of life. The wedding components were largely influenced by the variable of gender in favour of men who involved much more than women in this social act. They were also affected by kinship factors including the extended and nuclear families. Finally, the scholars concluded that the impact of the socio-cultural aspects on the generic structure of the Jordanian wedding genre was very significantly big.

Within the Arabic context, Gomaa and Abdel-Malak (2010, pp.9-39) explored the Egyptian wedding genre. The researchers assumed that the wedding discourse could be featured as a genre. Therefore, they attempted to recognize the generic constituents of the Egyptian wedding discourse and detect how such working moves were employed efficiently by the wedding invitation issuers. From a socio-cognitive view, the researcher meant to examine if the wedding discourse communicated other purposes rather than inviting others for the wedding ceremony, and if the Egyptian couples belonging to different religious creeds had something in common when inviting others for their wedding ceremonies. Built on Swale's model of genre analysis, the researchers collected a corpus of (300) wedding invitation cards from many different resources as well as places covering all the Egyptian governorates. They found that the rhetorical and organizational components of the Egyptian wedding genre had reflected a considerable amount of information about the hidden socio-cultural norms and practices of the Muslim and Christian community. The wedding components and sequences articulated some information about the mutual relationship between members of Egyptian families on social occasions. They also communicated some affiliations related to religion through which the wedding discourse was not only shaped in specific moves but also coloured in lexical choices.

By the same token, Sawalmeh (2014, pp.448-462) investigated the structure of Muslim and Christian wedding invitation cards in Jordan. The researcher theorized that many aspects of the wedding discourse related

to the generic structure and internal contents might provide some information about the couples' sociocultural values, beliefs and religious identities. The wedding data were collected through a questionnaire, made up of (25) items drawn from both Muslim and Christian wedding cards. The researcher aimed to check if the structure of both types of wedding cards was systematic. He also aimed to examine if the wedding discourse was influenced by religious, economic and social factors. The researcher collected his data from (235) Jordanian couples. The analysis of the results had shown some significant differences between the Islamic and Christian wedding texts. The researcher concluded that the identification of the communicative purpose of the wedding invitation discourse among the Jordanian Muslim and Christian community was an important criterion for explaining the religious, social and cultural forces that governed the couples' selection of certain cultural norms.

Al-Zubaidi (2017, pp.129-130) investigated the textual as well as the visual components of the wedding invitation genre in Iraq. From a semantic as well as a syntactic point of view, the researcher aimed to articulate the social norms and assumptions depicted in those components. The researcher accepted the claim that wedding might be one of the most eventful and cheerful moments in our life. Thus, the text of the wedding invitation cards was the first exhibition of the young couple's constructed matrimonial discourse indicating the beginning of their marriage, as a right of passage. It could typically provide some information about the inviters, the ceremony itself, as well as some notes for the invitees attending the wedding ceremony. The researcher collected his data from a (400) Iraqi wedding invitation corpus, through which a representative sample of only (250) cards was selected and analyzed. Built on a multidisciplinary analytic framework, the scholar found that specific elements of religious thoughts and sociocultural practices were entrenched in the textual and visual components of the Iraqi wedding discourse. Negotiating the verbal and non-verbal representations revealed that the wedding text had been forced out by the assumptions and beliefs of the Iraqi wedding discourse community. Islamic identity and socio-cultural conventions had been loaded deeply in the structure as well as the components of the wedding text. He concluded that certain socio-cultural proclivities and tendencies, including namely patriarchal dominance, paternal authority, personal maturity, i.e. old age, and economic state, were allowed to proceed, organize and shape the structure of the wedding discourse.

Based on the findings of a doctoral thesis, which was submitted to University of Huddersfield in 2015 and had investigated the Jordanian wedding and death announcements from a pragmatic perspective, Sawalmeh (2018, pp.106-127) published the results of his study on the linguistic features as well as the rhetorical structure of the wedding genre. Built on Bhatia's (1993) model of analysis through which a sample of (200) wedding invitation cards was collected and analyzed, the researcher aimed at examining the generic structure and the textual features to give an overview of the main linguistic devices employed and to check the extent to which such devices achieved the social purposes assigned for them. The researcher found that the Jordanian wedding discourse was characterized by some features serving sociocultural values. The scholar concluded that the Jordanian wedding invitation cards were not only restricted to informing that two people were getting married soon, but they were also loaded with many judgemental ideas governed and regulated by religious, cultural, and economic factors. These factors could either motivate or constrain some social practices in the wedding invitation discourse.

III. METHODS AND MATERIALS

To construct a clear image of the PWID, a corpus of (500) wedding cards has been collected for the purpose of classification. Among these, a collection of (200) PWICs has been selected for further sub-classifications and analyses. As implicated in Section 1.8, data collection has been limited to specific areas of residency in historical Palestine. Therefore, the wedding corpus was collected from some young and old couples living in the districts of Hebron, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Data collection also took into account the participants' religious commitment as well as ethnic distribution. To check mechanics of socio-cultural mobility in progress as well as the linguistic variability in target within the PWID, the collection was sub-categorized into two groups: Group A and Group B. The former included (30%) of old couples who got married in the period extending from 1998 to 2008. The latter was made up of some fresh couples (70%) who got married in last decade, especially in 2018.

Data was collected within common circles of the researcher's family members, relatives, neighbors, acquaintances, friends, university students and colleagues. A considerable amount of data was also collected from wedding print shops, such as 'Babil', 'Jerashi' and 'Nawras'. The wedding data was scanned and sub-mitted electronically to the researcher. This procedure has been taken into account to meet some scientific and ethical burdens. The study minds only the textual representations depicted in the PWIC. Besides, the wedding cards, especially the old ones, are often kept—if any, with wedding photos and albums by some people as part of the family private properties for memorization or socialization. Only were the scanned electronic copies printed out on papers and raised for analysis after disguising or deleting personal details.

In Palestine, wedding invitations sound seasonal. Most of yearly weddings take place during the period extending from the mid of June to the mid of October. However, certain factors related to *religion*, e.g. fasting

in Ramadan, *education*, e.g. general secondary examination (also known as *Injaz*), *weather* condition, and local *economy*, e.g. olives picking, might play an important role in setting the date of the wedding tradition. As in most other countries, the Palestinian printing industry often supplies *models* of wedding invitation texts and *designs* from which couples can pick. Nowadays, there is, however, a growing tendency among young couples to show a clear interest and to play an important role in the process of preparing for and constructing their own wedding invitation cards especially the ritual text. Many people consider it prestigious to express publicly that they have already designed their own cards. To market themselves well to their potential customers, printers usually keep on track with the contemporary preferences and trends of the youth. Then, it is expected that in many cases the selection from the *prefabricated patterns* provided by the printing industry is determined by some innovative clients', i.e. previous couple's societal norms and socio-cultural values. In short, the interview research tool was designed to examine these factors and propensities.

A critical discourse approach to data analysis, building on both Fairclough (2003; 2013) and Van Dijk's (1998) models of analysis, is integrated as a major part of the analytical tools used to link the micro-analysis of the text with the various 'macro-relations' of power, dominance, equality, and ideology underlying and motivating the social practices of the PWID community. In regard, these frameworks of analysis are implemented to answer RQs 1-3.

This integrative approach is in full agreement with Fairclough's (2010, p.132) three-dimensional analytical framework displaying discourse simultaneously as a language *text* (whether written or spoken), a *discourse practice* (text production and interpretation), and a *socio-cultural practice* (see Figure 1 below). In this view, the three-dimensional discourse analysis is a method that covers text analysis, i.e. linguistic *description* of the text, processing analysis, i.e. *interpretation* of how the "productive and interpretative discursive processes" are linked to the text, and social analysis, i.e. *explanation* of how these discursive processes relate to the socio-cultural processes depicted in a specific generic text (cf. Mirzaei & Eslami, 2013, p.106).

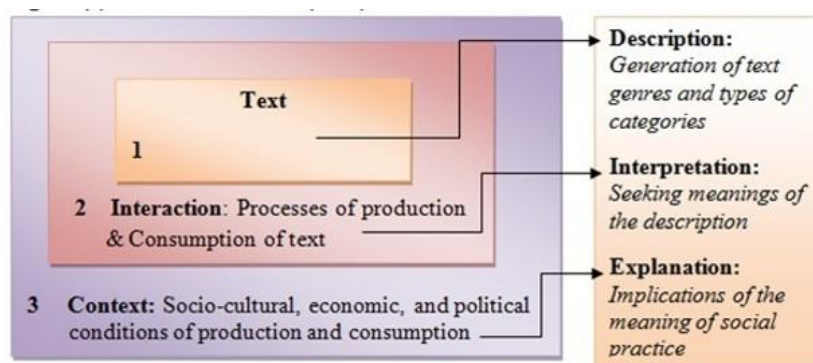


Figure (1) Fairclough's (2003) 3-D Analytical Framework

IV. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

To conclude how inviters to wedding ceremonies in Palestine achieve the overall purpose of their invitations as a socio-cultural activity, Bhatia's (2004; 1993) model of analysis of the genre's textual structure has been followed. By contextualizing the texts collected from the wedding cards issued in the period extending from 1990 to 2020, *eight* moves at the structural level have been identified. They include the following typical moves: *Opening, heading, identifying the inviters, requesting the presence of others, identifying the bride and the groom, situating the wedding, closing, and other optional elements*. It is important to note here that some of these moves are optional. That is to say, the moves and their steps do not essentially take place in the same sequence or order. The textual format as well as the PWIG's design varies considerably over time. This variation has resulted in either sustaining some moves as obligatory structural elements or recycling some moves as optional ones.

4.1 The Socio-cultural Values Depicted in the Traditional PWID

This section aims at recognizing the socio-cultural practices, values and social norms entrenched in the PWID. Systematically, it describes the textual features of the wedding discourse at the level of producing the PWIG in order to interpret the social values and the affiliations that have already governed the practices of the PWID issuers at the level of consuming the texts. In other words, the section addresses RQ(1): '*What are the typical socio-cultural values and affiliations reflected in the discourse patterns and sequential move organizations of the PWIC?*'

4.1.1 Domination of Religious Affiliations in the PWID

The traditional PWID *opens* with some quotes from both the holy Scripts of Islam and Christianity. One of the most frequent wedding quotes from the Qur'anic discourse is "And one of His Signs is this, that He has created wives for you from among yourselves that you may find peace of mind in them, and He has put love and tenderness between you. In that surely are Signs for a people who reflect" (Ar-rum 30:21). Another taken from the Biblical discourses reads "We know God's love for us and believe in them. God is love. He who is proven in love is proven in God, and God is proven in him" (Johan 4:16). Both quotes call for love and tenderness between couples, though the Qur'anic discourse also adds peacefulness of mind as a main purpose for creating woman.

In the traditional PWID, these religious themes and affiliations are often inserted in the opening move, centralized in the top of the wedding card, written in a big font and probably in a different color, and presented in a very well-decorated printing style (see Figure 2). This linguistic processing as well as textual manipulation suggests that the resource, i.e. the religion, from which the quotes stem, plays a major role in the life of the text issuers. It also suggests a dominant impact of the affiliations on the practices as well as the tendencies of the issuers regarding the proclivities to be taken in the moves to follow.



Figure (2) Dominance of Religion on the Traditional PWID

4.1.2 Affinity to Tribal and Sub-tribal Systems

In the *heading* move, there is a general tendency to announce the wedding ceremony on behalf of the couple's tribe and sub-tribe in the PWID of Muslim community, in particular (for full description and realization of the affiliation drawn, see Figure 3). On the textual level, the *heading* move is often carried out by three words: Wedding of X. The Semitic term 'aal', which appears in the Arabic text, is a simple collective noun phrase (NP) referring to the tribe or clan itself. The term is probably derived from the Qur'anic usage of 'ill-an' which denotes any 'biological or blood relationship' between people. The direct names of the couple's tribes (if different) are then added to this term, and altogether printed on a separate line (more frequently in a well-decorated writing style and in a different font) just below the Qur'anic quotation. This linguistic and textual manipulation and processing suggest that the discourse of the Palestinian Muslim community —when announcing their marriages— advocate to the Islamic motif calling for "O, mankind, We have created you from a male and a female; and We have made you into tribes and sub-tribes that you may recognize one another..." (Al-Hujurat 49:13).



Figure (3) Affinity to Tribal and Sub-tribal Systems

4.1.3 Power of Masculinity and Discrimination against Woman

In the moves of *identifying* both *the inviters and couples*, there is a general inclination to design one card that places the inviter from the groom's side on the right-hand side of the card and the inviter from the bride's side on the left-hand side. Based on the orientation of the reading system in Arabic which applies a reading journey from right to left, this textual manipulation does not only mirror a high degree of masculinity, but it also reflects

a cultural grading system that discriminates against the bride's male parent. There is also a general tendency to design one card that textually inserts the groom's first name to the right-hand but below his father's name and the bride's name or her initials to the left just below her father's full name. This linear, right-to-left textual manipulation does not only reflect a parental domination over the couple, but it also mirrors some social domination of the groom over the bride. Besides, the deletion of the bride's first name as well as the exclusive use of certain formulaic expressions that attach her verbally to her male parent or brothers mirrors a high degree of both social discrimination and personal bias against woman (see Figure 4).

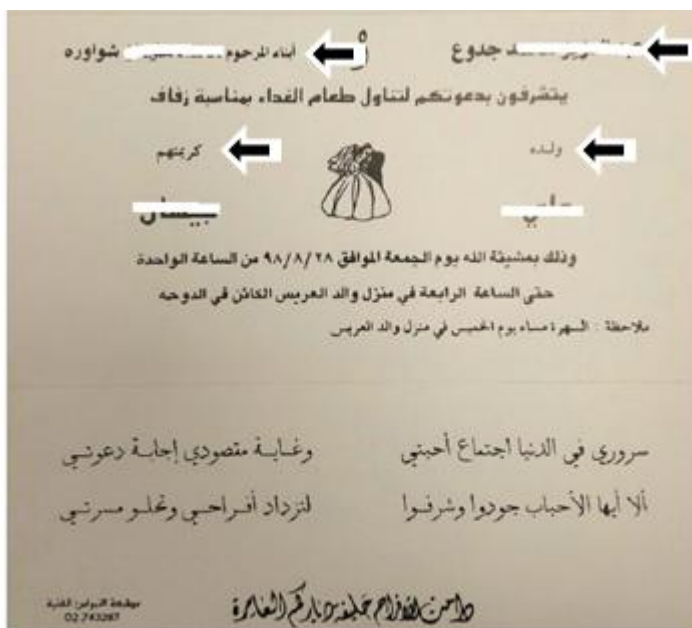


Figure (4) Power of Masculinity and Discrimination against Woman

One explanation for the socio-cultural discrimination against woman resides in the debatable misunderstanding of both guardianship and the heritage system in Islam. In one verse, the Noble Quran informs that men are more likely to be guardians (also known minor leaders in their homes) than women, as they are physically stronger to earn and spending money. The first generation of the scholars who interpreted the Qur'anic discourse, have already implicated that the verse is very likely to be directive. Thus, they have already advocated minor leadership to males. Building on this, they have also concluded that a Muslim woman is very unlikely to be a state president or a public leader.

In another verse, the holy Script of Islam recommends parents to duplicate the share of male son over that of the daughter (excluding the mother and grandmother). Relying on these exclusive interpretations and realizations of the meanings implicated, a general socio-cultural outlook dogmatizing woman with 'inferiority' has already conventionalized throughout history in the Arab and Islamic world. It also has a great impact on the social roles that women could play on the societal and familial level.

4.1.4 Meeting Norms of Polite Address, Good Manners of Table and Values of Generosity

In the moves that attempt to both *set a communicative purpose* for the invitation and *close the genre*, the data analyzed reflect a clear tendency to use some prefabricated expressions reflecting a high degree of politeness. The selection of certain expressions, such as 'We are honorable to invite', 'May your inhabited homes be always full of happiness!', and 'May we visit you in similar subsequent occasions!' disclose a high degree of language tactfulness (see Figure 5). The use of a plural form also meets norms of polite address in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is often regarded as a very prestigious variety in the Arabic speaking as well as the Islamic speaking countries. MSA originates from classic Arabic, the language of the holy Script of Islam that Arabs, whether Muslims or Christians, and non-Arab Muslims use officially in their religious ceremonies and probably as a 'lingua franca' between Muslims for communication.



Figure (5) Meeting Norms of Polite Address, Good Manners of Table and Values of Generosity

In the *notification* move, there is a less significant inclination to ask families not to bring young children to the wedding hall. Most parties take place in some wedding halls that are designed for carrying out wedding ceremonies. These halls are often provided with some specific furniture, such as love chairs for the bride

and the groom, tables for serving drinks and wedding cakes, and lighting and audio systems for taking photos and listening to songs and music. These decorations, pieces of furniture and electronic devices are rather expensive. So under the recommendations of tenants or hall owners, to avoid any potential turmoil from immature people, such as young guests, and to avoid paying any deposits or charges, couples prefer to notify parents not to accompany young children (see Figure 5).

4.2 Mechanics of Linguistic Variability and Socio-cultural Mobility in the Contemporary PWID

This section explores mechanics of socio-cultural mobility reflected in the temporary PWID. Therefore, it exploits some very recent wedding cards issued in the last few years to negotiate mechanics of linguistic variability allowing for some other socio-cultural values and affiliations to emerge and develop. Thus, the section addresses RQ(2): 'How are mechanics of socio-cultural mobility and linguistic variability evidenced in the recent PWID among young couples?'

4.2.1 Shifting Away from the Traditional Religious Discourse to More Modern Literary Works

In the most recent issues of the PWID, there is a general tendency either to avoid quoting from the holy Script of Islam or to use some couplets from modern poetic and national literary works. One couplet reads: 'Dearest guests, welcome! Only with you can Muhammad (the groom) renew our happiness. On his wedding day, let's celebrate together till the couple feel happy and embrace'. Another reads: 'From the best Gardens, I picked a lovely flower; that's you: So fashionable, knowledgeable, honorable and committed to your religion! Our wedding is soon. Everything is decorated with jasmine, so welcome dearest guests!'

A critical approach (built on Van Dijk's 1998 model of analysis) to the syntactic features of the couplets used in the opening move of the recent PWID and referred to above, reveals a propensity among young couples to use specific stretches of language metaphorically and expressively. Syntactically and functionally, these wedding clauses have a poetic, expressive, phatic and affective function. This linguistic processing suggests that these phrases are not intended to inform; they are meant to express feelings and socialize with, and direct others. At the semantic level, they assign some predicates, i.e. what is said about the subject, e.g. WELCOME, RENEW, CELEBRATE, BE HAPPY, PICK, BE SOON and BE DECORATED to argue for (the guests), (the groom and happiness), (the inviters and invitees), (every participant), (the bride), (wedding party) and (wedding elements), respectively.

At the schematic, i.e. discursal, level, the predicates and their arguments assign specific references and meanings related to the wedding elements, items and components. Among these are the bride and the groom themselves. In the first couplet referred to above, for instance, the wedding discourse does not only argue for the groom initially, but it also explicates his personal identity overtly. In the second, the opening discourse also attempts to implicate about the components of the bride's identity. It lists beauty, knowledge, high class and faith as main features (see item Figure 6). However, this textual manipulation as well as linguistic processing implicates that there is a gradual shift from the sacred text which always attempts to publicize the wedding social act to a more modern text that attempts not only to personalize the wedding tradition but also to mirror the interest, self-concept and above all the identity of the young couples. It is important to note here that identity is often labeled as religious and conservative vs. national and liberal in the Palestinian community. More surprisingly, the recent discourse of the Palestinian Christian community is still (to a great extent) oriented by biblical affiliations. One explanation of this divine textual orientation resides in the inseparable relationship between marriage as a theme and the wedding settings in Christianity. In other words, the wedding ritual can only go further if the marriage oaths are announced by couples in the



Figure (6) Shifting Away from the Traditional Religious Discourse to More Modern Literary Works

church, in front of some attendants, including the bishop, and altogether in a specific ceremonial protocol. To put it in a metaphorical, modern language is simply to say 'when couples go walking into the church aisle, their wedding attendants (including the discourse) keep tweeting the sacred.'

4.2.2 Announcing Wedding on Behalf of the Couple's Family

It has been argued in the previous section that the wedding is traditionally announced on behalf of the tribe or sub-tribe. Though this norm is also conventionalized in the modern PWID, there are a few discursive textual practices that announce the wedding ceremony on behalf of the couple's male parents (see Figure 7). A close look at the issuers of these texts reveal that these texts belong to a discourse community living in the eastern part of Jerusalem. This area has been under the capture of the Israeli Occupation since 1967. Therefore, it is an international, debatable issue between the Palestinian party and the Israeli government since 1993. This group of the wedding card issuers, however, originates from families living in Hebron. As they are detached from their own clans for ages now, they have already developed a familial system in which the family may extend only for two generations. Nevertheless, these people arrange their wedding parties in specific areas close to Jerusalem, such as *Abu Deis* and *Al-Azariya*, to enable relatives living in Hebron to attend their wedding parties. This discursive shift in the social norms is attributed to some geopolitical challenges.

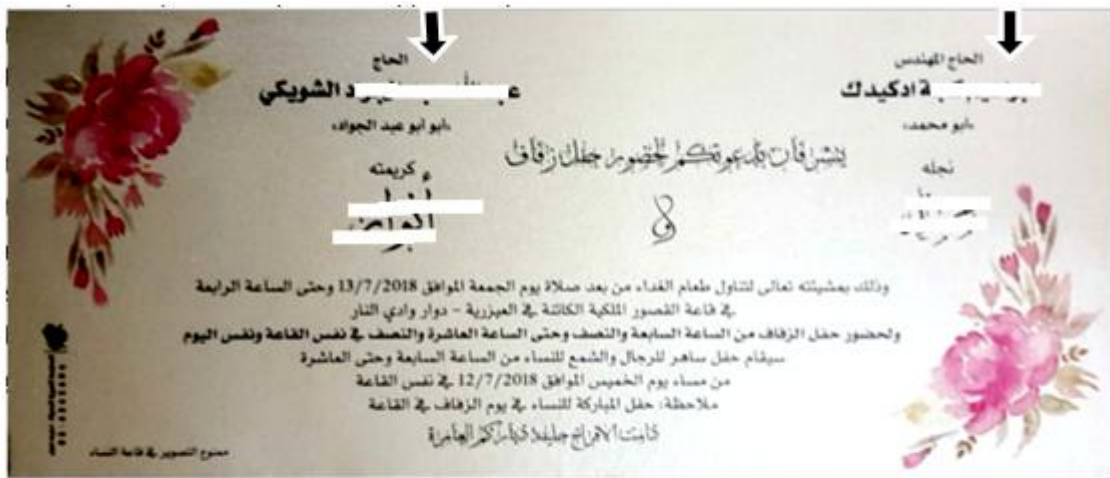


Figure (7) Announcing Wedding on Behalf of the Couple's Family

4.2.3 Acknowledgement of Woman in the Recent Discursive PWID

In a previous section, it has been found that there is a recent propensity to design two separate, but identical cards: One for the bride's guests and another for the groom's. There is also a tendency to design one unconventional card for both the couple's parents as inviters and their sons as couple-to-wed. Surprisingly, the latter announces both couple's mothers as inviters side by side as their own husbands. It also refers to these mothers or mothers-in-law as *aqeelah*, roughly glossed as 'lady' in modern English. In both designs of Muslim and Christian wedding discourses, male figures (including the groom-to-wed, his father and father-in-law) are each entitled as *as-sayed*, glossed as 'Mr.' or 'gentleman' in modern English. The bride is also identified by her first name which is normally depicted in a centralized figure having the shape of heart (see Figure 8). In both discursive designs, the linguistic manipulation of both sexes mirrors a good degree of equality, courtship and familial relationship. A close look at the professional background of the text issuers suggests that the change in the social norm of equality is attributed to the couple's higher levels of education.

4.2.4 Satisfaction of Woman's Urgent Needs in Modern PWID

In the notification move of the recent PWID, there is a general tendency to send the attendants some



Figure (8) Acknowledgement of Woman in the Recent Discursive PWID

urgent messages. Many of these notes redirect the guests 'to go directly to the wedding hall', 'to keep kids in the baby-care unit available at the wedding hall', 'to congratulate the couple in the wedding hall on the same wedding day', 'not to take photos in the wedding hall', and 'not to fetch any groceries to the wedding party', for instance (see Figure 9). Though telegraphic, this wedding notification has an exclusive directive language function. These textual final notes are also provided to meet the social needs of female attendants in regard to accompany their new-born babies, in particular, or to fetch items of congratulations, i.e. gifts, to the wedding hall. The former note sounds persuasive for some pure maternal reasons; the latter looks economical for the female guests, as they can attend the wedding to participate, celebrate and congratulate the couple-to-wed. Notifying the guests to go directly to the wedding hall also sounds convenient to every female relatives from the sides of the bride and the groom, such as mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, as this social act to be performed out in a public hall will enable them to keep their private homes and properties so clean and neat. In other words, this notification helps woman escape the large turmoil that often takes place in wedding parties attended by a large number of people. In short, this wedding social practice is clearly regulated by economic(al) factors, on the one hand. On the other, the wedding textual processing is oriented by the social and biological needs of the wedding female attendants. On the part of the wedding hall owners, this telegraphic, textual manipulation, as long as it pleases the social norms and needs of the female wedding discourse community, in particular, is inclusively marketing and exclusively doing business.

4.3 The Forces lying behind the Socio-cultural Mobility Evidenced in PWID

This section explores the socio-cultural mobility evidenced in the discursive practices of the recent PWIC. It aims at acknowledging the forces and proclivities that regulate the change in the discursive social norms of the discourse issuers. To unearth these forces, this section finally addresses RQ3: *What are the indispensable forces and proclivities that stimulate the emergence and maintenance of certain wedding patterns within the PWID?*

4.3.1 Geo-political Challenges and Governance

Complexities of the 'Palestinian Question' have imposed so many challenges on the various components of the modern Palestinian culture. If culture refers to the way of life a specific group of people lives, cooks, eats, drinks, dresses and speaks, gets married and dances, then attempts of acculturation in modern Palestine have already started with the Palestinian demographic factor that often generates, innovates and originates the cultural components. In Palestine, acculturation has gone further to 'borrow' or rather *pillage* other aspects of culture, including many traditional food dishes, specific dressing and architecture designs, and certain musical rhythms and melodies. Many Palestinian socio-cultural norms are either endangered or constrained by governance and geo-political factors. Both refer to the systematic policies and practices—including these days the oriented, social media, of the successive Israeli governments over the Palestinian people, homeland, socio-cultural values and social norms.

The impact of governance and geo-political factors on the socio-cultural mobility evidenced in the various issues of modern PWID is clearly pervasive. In one wedding card, the issuers notified that the main event of the wedding ceremony, in which attendants gather in a place to celebrate and perform Palestinian folkloric dance, has been canceled due to the Strike on which the Palestinian prisoners detained in the Israeli jails were going for a few months (see Figure 10). Indeed, this textual notification does not convert the wedding social act into a totally silent one, as it allows for the hash-tag of the (#palestine-prisoners-on-strike) among the attendants of one social event at a much broader level of discourse community having different personal interests, social backgrounds and levels of education.

In another wedding discourse, the strike which a Palestinian lawyer went on against what is termed as 'administrative arrest' for more than (60) days, has led to develop a very discursive wedding discourse. This discourse (hereby, I acknowledge) mixes the general features of death, wedding and re-birth 'homely' genres (see Figure 10). In this 'death-and-rebirth' wedding discourse, the image of the prisoner has been inserted to the right-hand of the card and hash-tagged to the public as (#X-the lawyer who defends our dignity all). The wedding text also opens with *'I had a homeland, but it is a prisoner now, and I had a brother, but he is a martyr now'*. It also ends with *'Kill me, sink me into water, and tear me into pieces, but you can't live in my homeland; neither can you fly into my sky'*. More surprisingly, the wedding discourse identifies only *women* as inviters to the wedding party.



Figure (10) Geo-political Challenges and Governance

It is important to note here that 'administrative arrest', i.e. detaining people under the claim of being activists for long periods and repetitive intervals of time without taking them to the court, has been at work among the Israeli massive punishment procedures since 1987. In both examples referred to above, governance has brought in a drastic change in the Palestinian wedding discourse and social norms entrenched and conventionalized lately. For more information about the effect of the geo-political challenges.

4.3.2 Modern Themes of Woman's Rights, Sex Equality and Liberty

In the previous sections, it has been found that specific social norms and proclivities have been established and normalized in the traditional PWID. Those social norms and practices tend to *discriminate against* the female in the favor of her counterpart, the male. Power of masculinity and fatherhood dominates the social norms and practices of the target discourse community. In that wedding discourse, females are often attached to their male relatives. By time passage and probably under the pressure of woman's liberty and human rights movements, a social change has started to emerge within the contemporary PWID. Among the socio-cultural mobility evidenced is the new trends of designing a wedding text that acknowledges the bride and the groom as *equal* couple, announces both couple's fathers and mothers as *equal* inviters, and above all refers to the couple's mothers and fathers as *equal* parents or rather as equal partners at least.

Liberty often thrives on the cultures that are characterized by a high degree of individuality. However, it has been found that the traditional PWID is often oriented by some religious themes calling for marriage as a biological, social need. Although these wedding religious affiliations highlight peacefulness of mind, tenderness, love and mercy among couples at the syntactic and semantic level of the wedding religious discourse, these meanings are partly neglected at the social level of the Muslim wedding discourse community. Shifting away from a religion-oriented wedding discourse —for a pure ethical



Figure (11) Modern Family and Woman's New Roles

reason stressing the importance of keeping the wedding discourse free of any quotes from the holy Script of Islam— has paved the way to some personal texts to advance and open the PWIG. Unlike the religious discourse which looks frozen in its mode and informative and persuasive in its function, the new emerging wedding discourses look very intimate and casual in their mode and very expressive and affective in their function. This informality as well as intimacy has given the discourse community some space, i.e. a margin of *privacy* or *freedom*, to express their own feelings, self-concepts, identities and needs. In other words, the wedding space occupied has *individualized* the wedding act. The communicative nature of the wedding discourse has also enabled the issuers to pass their outlooks to their audience *openly* and *freely* (see Figure 11).

4.3.3 Modern Family and Woman's New Roles

In the traditional PWID, there are some textual practices attempting to address specific familial and maternal issues from a more modern, civilized perspective. Couple's private homes are no longer enough to hold the large number of people attending wedding parties. Therefore, there has been a general tendency among the discourse community at the societal level to arrange their wedding rituals in public halls. This propensity is probably facilitated by the nature of the wedding as a social act that requires a proper place for a public gathering of a large number of people at the same time. As this shift in the wedding settings of place has accompanied by some spontaneous turmoil caused mainly by young attendants, families are notified to leave their kids at home. Thus, attendance and participation have constrained largely. The invitees have either to stay with their kids at home or to attend only for a short time. Because of these very limited options, women are very likely to be reluctant to participate in the wedding parties due to some pure maternal, familial and professional constraints.

More recently, there is less significant notification in regard to the attendance of young 'mid-night' comers, on the one hand. On the other, invitees are encouraged to go directly or instantly to the wedding hall in a significant number of the corpus collected. As the function of the language used is very directive, it is very probable that many invitees either do not attend the ceremony in the wedding hall or go to the couple's houses first. In a quite limited number of the PWID analyzed, there is a typical notification screams of the availability of 'a nursery unit of baby-care in the wedding hall' (see Figure 12). Regardless of their positive or negative connotations, those wedding textual notes can only address the social needs of a Palestinian modern, functional family having a well-educated woman with some untraditional social (and probably professional) *roles to play* or to do properly inside and outside her own house.



Figure (12) Modern Family and Woman's New Roles

4.4.4 Post-modernity and New Emerging Technologies

In modern times, English is used as an international language for communication, science, research, media and technology. With the emergence of the United States of America as a Superpower post World War II as well as with the collapse of many dictatorships and Berlin's wall, specific socio-cultural values, affiliations, motifs and trends, such as individualism, freedom, liberty, absolute equality between both sexes, and woman's rights, for instance, have been raised, researched, discussed, evaluated and probably taught all over the world mostly in English. As a result, English is linked with these new themes; thus, it is deeply perceived as the clear-

cut timeline from which modernity stems and feeds. With new emerging modern technologies and the various programs of social media, many of these values and norms have been entrenched and conventionalized globally.

In relevance, there is a less significant trend among the discourse community of the PWID to write both names of the couple or their initials in English. This propensity has nothing to do with textual functionality, as the names have already provided in Arabic. However, this emblematic code switching is associated with the socio-economic class, as it is only frequent among the practices of the very well-educated couples, such as doctors and engineers (see Example 16 in Appendix 4). However, there is a more significant switch away from the Indian numeric system used in the Arab World to the Arabic numbers in writing the date of the wedding. Though originated in the Middle East and used first by Arabs, most people in the Arabic speaking countries always acknowledge them as an English, numerical style.

Finally, the recent PWID is characterized by the general features of modern technology, the same medium that produces them. Among these are lucidity, brevity and agility. The design of the wedding card is straightforward, colorful and painless to read. The wedding discourse is short, direct and compressed, as it is multi-modal, i.e. textual and visual. The wedding structure is telegraphic, as it is also intended to be wiki as the fast pace of modern life. These properties, whether textual or technological, often echo modern life's general requirements of good and polite speech. To be collaborative with your listener, always be direct, clear, brief and relevant enough.

V. CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

Though gradual, *language change* in the PWID is realized in the writing style used. The data collected from the PWICs issued in the last two decades have already shown a significant shift from a fully gender-oriented and parallelized textual writing style to a more linear, but less gender-based style. In writing and speaking, parallelism highlights endorsement, i.e. saying the same idea twice. It is important to note here that verbal duplication, triplication, pluralization and specialization are among the linguistic processes through which collective cultures, in general and high culture languages, such as Arabic, in particular, maintain for polite norm speech. In turn, linearity discourages the repetition of one idea twice. It is part of the writing styles of individualistic cultures or low-culture languages, such as German, in which individualism and equality between both sexes are highly encouraged. In relevance, there is a constantly recent switch from a wedding text reflecting a high degree of inequality between both sexes to a more linear text that treats the couple's needs individually and equally.

Though limited to some moves, there is also a *linguistic variation* in the components of the wedding tradition at the macro and micro level of the PWID. At the external level of the PWIG, the wedding text typically fits into eight moves, though some are optional; others do not appear at the same order. The 'opening' move, for instance, sounds obligatory in the old wedding issues, but less optional in the recent wedding discourse. At the internal level of the generic structure, there is a significant switch from religious to more poetic textual components. In the 'heading' move, there are some discursive textual practices in which the wedding invitation is announced either on the honor of the couple's tribe or on the honor of their parents. In the move of 'identifying the names of the bride and the groom', there is a fluctuation between two types of texts. The former encodes the bride's name verbally and attaches her socially to her parent and potential groom. The latter (and most recent) attaches her directly to her own father. In short, the components of the PWIC have shown some linguistic variation registered basically in the PWIG's opening, heading, and the couple's identification moves.

In the traditional PWID, certain *affiliations* and *values* related to religion and Arabic culture are established and conventionalized in the various structural and textual components of the wedding discourse. Among these are specific religious, Islamic and Christian themes and motifs related to the creation of woman for the purpose of marriage, tranquility, happiness, tenderness and love among partners. As these affiliations are textually as well as linguistically manipulated and processed initially at the discourse level, each turns to be a dominant factor regulating the other social affiliations and socio-cultural values and norms to emerge and establish at other levels of the traditional wedding discourse. Because of their domination and high frequency, the PWID and social practices are unlikely to be free of the *sacred*.

In addition to religion, the traditional PWID is associated with affinity to a tribe-and sub-tribe-based code system. This social code is oriented by an ontological, i.e. existential, Islamic theme highlighting 'ethnic variation, accommodation, socialization and reproduction' as fundamental reasons for creating, categorizing and sub-categorizing people in different tribes and sub-tribes. More importantly, the PWID is also affiliated with power of masculinity. Throughout the wedding text, there is a clear domination of patriarchal proclivities and social practices over the matriarchal ones. The wedding textual and social processing of this public tendency echoes a high degree of a parental, socio-cultural value oriented by the social factors of age, social class, and gender, respectively. To let this social value entrench, the wedding text launches the wedding only under the auspice of the clan, the wedding invitation only on behalf of the couple's male parents, and finally the wedding

ceremony on the honor of the young groom and bride. The realization of the textual manipulation and linguistic processing of these socio-cultural values (probably resulted from a misunderstanding of the teachings of Islam in regard to parenthood and guardianship) echoes some discrimination against women, in general, and women, in target including the bride, her mother as well as her mother-in-law.

Finally, the traditional PWID is linked with certain socio-cultural values of Arabic generosity, and norms of polite address. Norms of precise and polite speech are met at the technical and personal level. Technically, careful phrases and clauses are used to open and close the discourse. On the sociolinguistic level, specific phrases and clauses characterized by a high degree of linguistic tactfulness are picked by the wedding discourse community and used. Moreover, some social, potential misconducts are predicted and hedged by some linguistic practices that attempt fundamentally to keep the positive face for woman. Good manners of table and values of Arabic generosity are also negotiated and established well through verbal proper notification.

Approaching the contemporary PWID from a critical, multi-disciplinary analytical perspective, analyses have already revealed that *socio-cultural mobility* is evidenced. Thus, mechanics of linguistic variability must be significantly at work. Unlike the traditional PWID which shows a significant domination of religious affiliations on the wedding linguistic practices and social norms of the Palestinian Muslim as well as the Christian discourse community, the recent PWID, however, mirrors some affiliations related to proclivities of personal identity —only among the Muslim community. This socio-cultural mobility has been mirrored into some linguistic practices shifting away from the *sacred* to more *secular* discourses. De-contextualizing the linguistic components of these personal discourses at the syntactic, semantic and schematic level, has resulted in realizing an attempt from the Palestinian Muslim young couples to mirror their own personal identity as well as the potential components of that identity. Unlike the discourse of their counterparts, the Muslims, the Christian wedding textual manipulation has stressed a religious identity.

Besides, the discursive textual practices of some Muslim wedding discourse community have resulted in realizing a social change in the PWID's conventionalized norm of announcing the wedding on behalf of the very extended family or tribe to the textual practice of announcing the wedding on behalf of only the couple's nuclear family. To realize and explain this discursiveness in wedding social norms, other textual proclivities and practices have been contextualized. Analysis has resulted in identifying a strong linkage between the demographic as well as the ethnic factors and the geopolitical constraints. Therefore, it has been concluded that this socio-cultural mobility is regulated by governance, i.e. the political conflict between relevant parties over Jerusalem.

In modern PWID, socio-linguistic mobility is also evidenced in the selection and use of certain linguistic and textual processes reflecting less domination over woman and more equality between both sexes at the social level. On the textual level, some discursive practices have given a social role for woman from both sides of the couple as an inviter. Other social practices split the wedding discourse to conceive discrimination against woman, in general, and the bride, in particular. Unlike the traditional discourse, which is oriented by power of masculinity, the recent one is probably illuminated by modern social themes, such as equality between sexes and liberation of woman.

In modern PWID, sociolinguistic mobility is also evidenced by some discursive textual practices attempting to notify the urgent needs of the females attending the wedding ceremony. At the psychological level, one PWID's notification dismisses the participating mother's negative feeling of leaving her own young children alone at home, and secures a positive maternal feeling of a nearby baby-care in the wedding hall itself. Another attempts to save woman's time and probably money through doing social requirements of all the events of the wedding act in one physical environment and at the same time. A third inclines to save the effort and time of couples' mothers to be paid and lost in cleaning their own houses post the wedding ceremony. Though inclusively oriented by economic factors, this social change does not echo the need of a traditional housewife, but that of a profession female worker.

De-contextualizing the *linguistic variability* registered in the latest PWID to check out the forces and proclivities that govern and regulate the socio-cultural mobility evidenced, it has been found that the social change in move is enforced out by specific factors including governance and geo-political challenges, modernity, and new emerging technologies. In the Palestinian particular context, governance and the geo-political situation, resulted from the historical and existential dispute between the Palestinian population as an occupied party and the Israelis as an occupying authority, has brought some drastic challenges to the Palestinian socio-cultural values and norms entrenched, established and rooted in historical Palestine over a long period of time.

Besides, modernity also has brought some new challenges related to democracy, equality between both sexes and relevant ethnic groups, and rights of woman, for instance. These emerging themes and motifs — mostly related to woman's rights and exchange of social roles in modern functional family, have reflected themselves in the recent PWID, and already endangered the traditional socio-cultural values and norms at work. Moreover, the linkage between English as an exclusive code of modernity and new technologies flavoring

English as an IT code, has also brought a less significant challenge to Arabic, the social code of the Palestinian socio-cultural values. Modern technologies, in particular, have already enhanced a socio-cultural norm of a design and style of writing characterized, in general, by simplicity, brevity and agility among Palestinian couples.

Finally, there is some evidence for sociolinguistic variability, mobility and variation. Socio-linguistic variability can be explained in Labov's (2011) principles of 'non-conformity' and 'constructive non-conformity'. Over the last few decades, Palestinian young couples have started —because of time passage, modernity and technology— to appreciate new social wedding norms that disagree with the traditional, conventionalized social ones. In full concord with Fairclough's (2010) claim of 'language and power', these social proclivities have also reflected themselves as dynamic and powerful linguistic practices attempting to cause some change in the social norm due to some external and internal needs and challenges. To a great extent, the socio-linguistic variation and change echoed in the wedding tradition is oriented by Marshall's (2004) variants of age, sex, social class, education, and kinship of the Palestinian wedding discourse community.

To implicate for research, there is a general void in opening the homely wedding genre with some quotes from the Noble Quran among the Muslim discourse community in the most recent PWID,. Instead, there is a significant propensity among couples to open the wedding discourse with some rhymed and blank verse having the syntactic features of a couplet. These couplets are unlikely to be informative or performative, as they can mostly sustain an expressive, poetic, and directive language function. In an attempt to analyze critically the textual components of a few examples, it has been found that these poetic lines are intended to reflect some young couple's interests, self-concepts and identities. Consequently, scholars from the various aspects of sociolinguistic domains can approach these lines critically. They should de-contextualize these wedding textual line to describe the meaning produced at the syntactic level, to interpret the meanings assigned at the semantic level, and finally to explain the meanings implicated at the, schematic level. One promising textual affiliation to examine is language and identity. Therefore, researchers can exploit the wedding textual components of these lines to through some light on the identity as well its components emerging within the young Palestinians.

Another area to investigate in depth is the impact of governance and geo-political challenges on social change. In this study, it has been found that some aspects of the social norm are constrained largely by both factors of governance and geo-politics. In response to meet or rather conceit both, certain discursive textual practices are innovated either to maintain the bare minimum of the social norm or to allow for other urgent social norms to proceed altogether at the communal level. In this study, the researcher has also identified as well as acknowledged a new emerging homely sub-genre 'cocktailing' death, birth and wedding textual features together. Researchers of GE, in particular, CDA, in general, and Information System (IT), in alliance, should examine the Palestinian very discursive wedding discourse, such as the 'panoramic' one acknowledged in this study or the 'Martyr Wedding Genre' acknowledged by Al-Ali (2006b), so as to develop a full understanding of their generic patterns, to unearth the socio-cultural values hidden there, to realize the socio-cultural mobility evidenced in their unique issues, and finally to highlight the impact of modern technology on producing, consuming, and construing the forces lying behind them.

Finally, a third area to examine is the impact of marketing and business doing on social change. In the latest PWID, some textual practices and notifications have been identified as communal trials to meet or reform the social norm regulating the attendance of a particular group of people to the wedding ceremony. The group in target is very likely to be female attendants or women coming from a modern family. Therefore, researchers should investigate the discursive wedding practices — often manifesting themselves as final telegraphic notes at the end of the wedding card, which attempt to please the Palestinian social norm and those which are intended only to please third party agents, such as owners of wedding halls. Solid research can go further to check the *bleeding* edge of the wedding social norm which maintains wedding as a public act to be performed in a public place in which the bare minimum of the social norm, such as meeting the needs of the modern families and professional female workers, is constrained.

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