

Invoking divine blessing

The pragmatics of the congratulation speech act in university graduation notebooks in Jordan

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This study explores the speech act of congratulation in university graduation notebooks, a new communicative context in Jordan. Using the concept of the *pragmeme* as a situated speech act, a total of 1064 congratulatory messages, found in 35 notebooks, were analyzed. The analysis demonstrated that the cultural concept of *baraka* ‘blessing’ plays a central role in the Arabic congratulation speech act. Embedded in its production are other speech acts such as compliments and advice, sociocultural beliefs and concepts such as fatalism and collectivism, and sociocultural practices such as *naqout* ‘money given as a gift’. Invoking these values and beliefs when performing congratulations was accomplished through ritualistic religious invocations, formulaic expressions, reference to collective identity, and acts of material support, showing how this Arabic speech act is situated in sociocultural beliefs and values.

Keywords: congratulations, speech acts, pragmemes, collectivism, fatalism, blessing

1. Introduction

Congratulations have been traditionally investigated in spoken language through the lens of speech act theory as expressives that channel the speaker’s psychological state (Searle 1976). The present study examines their use in written communication as situated speech acts, or *pragmemes*, whose performance is situated in social practices, embedded in the sociocultural context, and intrinsically connected with social facts (Mey 2001; Capone 2010, 2018; Wong 2010; Allan et al. 2016). The present study investigates how the congratulating speech act is performed in a local social practice that has recently appeared in Jordan, namely

what is referred to as ‘graduation notebooks’ (henceforth, GNs). This written form of congratulation, as this study demonstrates, offers the congratulators greater latitude in expressing their feelings and emotions toward the addressee, and helps reveal underlying cultural values and assumptions of the community when performing congratulations. This form of offering handwritten congratulatory messages to graduates has become a sociocultural practice that provides rich data on the connection between speech acts and culture. For the purpose of this study, the definition put forward by Verschueren is adopted, according to which congratulation is “an expression of the speaker’s being pleased about the hearer’s success in doing or obtaining something important” (Verschueren 1985, 47).

2. Research overview

Existing research has investigated different aspects of congratulations in a variety of contexts. Emery (2000) found that the use of congratulation formulas in Omani Arabic shows a ‘battle’ between traditional vernacular forms and ‘imported’ pan-Arabic usages, while Keshishian (2018) found that both collectivistic and individualistic congratulation strategies are used in Lebanese Arabic as a result of the society’s multilingual and cosmopolitan nature. In other contexts, congratulations reflected cultural ‘relatedness’ and display of positive politeness and manifested solidarity strategies of pride and expression of support (García 2009; Trujillo 2011). Other researchers found congratulations to function as solidarity-enhancing devices in political discourse (Kampf 2016). In birth congratulation cards, Willer (2001) found that these cards represent a means of conveying messages about gender roles and expectations. In foreign language learning, Celaya et al. (2019) found that less proficient learners used congratulations that involve a focus on themselves rather than on the interlocutor, whereas more proficient learners used categories which directly involve the interlocutor. In ancient texts, congratulations were found to be “an expression of politeness of respect” used by “individuals with an inferior social position to their interlocutor” (Unceta Gómez 2016, 286; see also Kochovska 2013).

From a cross-cultural perspective, Elwood (2004) compared English and Japanese congratulations and proposed the following taxonomy for strategies used to express congratulations: Illocutionary force indicating device; Expression of happiness; Request for information; Expressions of validation; Self-related comment; Exclamation/expression of surprise; and other types such as a prediction regarding the recipient’s future, an offer of good luck, an expression of pride, and a joke. Using this taxonomy, Nasri et al. (2013) found interesting differences between the speakers of American English, Armenian, and Persian: American

participants opted for illocutionary force indicating devices, requests for information and offers of good wishes, while Persian and Armenian speakers preferred the first and the last as the most frequent congratulation strategies. Elwood's taxonomy will be drawn upon in the present study, in combination with culture-specific strategies revealed by the Jordanian data.

These studies, however, paid little attention to the sociocultural situatedness of the speech act of congratulation and the norms and values embedded in its performance. The present study aims to fill this gap by focusing on and explicating the cultural meanings embedded in the speech act of congratulation in Jordanian Arab culture.

3. Arab culture

Arab culture is predominantly collectivist. Community members "feel they belong to larger in-groups or collectives" from which they derive much of their "material and emotional security", and hence "the collective self is emphasized" due to the "understanding of personal identity as knowing one's place within the group" (Darwish and Huber 2003, 48–49). Accordingly, they are motivated by the norms and duties imposed by the collective entity and hence they give priority to group goals (Triandis 1995). Any individual accomplishment is taken to be an accomplishment of the group, given the collectivistic emphasis on the interdependent self and collective self-esteem (Ting-Toomey 1999). Another characteristic is fatalism, the belief system that all events are ultimately controlled by divine will. It is one of the established religious beliefs considered sacrosanct in Arab culture, most apparent in the ritual phrase *inshallah* (Nydell 1996). Finally, Arab culture is characterized by ornate and effusive discourse, resulting in effusive self- and other-enhancement talk and a tendency to use somewhat charged or even hyperbolic expressions (Ting-Toomey 1999, 109). As shown below, the data gathered provide evidence for these cultural features (see Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.7).

4. Theoretical background

Congratulations are classified as speech acts whose "illocutionary point is to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content" (Searle 1976, 12). Congratulating, according to Searle (1969, 67), is governed by four rules: there is some event or act that is related to the hearer (propositional content rule); the event is in the hearer's interest and the speaker believes the event is in the hearer's interest

(preparatory rule); the speaker is pleased at the event (sincerity rule); and it counts as an expression of pleasure at the event. Congratulations belong to a class of ‘acknowledgements’ which express, perfunctorily if not genuinely, certain feelings toward the hearer and these feelings and their expression are appropriate to particular sorts of occasions (Bach and Harnish 1979). As an expressive act, its performance indicates that the speaker has observed that the recipient has either benefitted from or carried out a positively valued event (Norrick 1978). Congratulating allows the speaker to share in the experience and feelings of the recipient, showing the recipient that the speaker shares the pleasure for the good thing that has happened (Wierzbicka 1987).

This speech act conceptualization has been critiqued as “individual-oriented rather than societal-oriented” and as “thought of atomistically, as wholly emanating from the individual” (Mey 2001, 214). As a result, speech act theory is seen as too philosophical and artificially studied (Capone 2016). This creates a need to focus on units of pragmatic analysis such as the *pragmeme* (Mey 2001), defined as “a situated speech act in which the rules of language and of society synergize in determining meaning, intended as a socially recognized object, sensitive to social expectations about the situation in which the utterance to be interpreted is embedded” (Capone 2005, 1357). Wong (2010, 2932) views language as consisting of three “faces” (form, meaning, and culture) and points out that “pragmemes are best analyzed with respect to a cultural context”. The use of culturally embedded pragmemes is “intimately associated with culture-specific ways of thinking”, some of which “may be articulated in ways that reflect an insider perspective” and which “can only be satisfactorily explained with reference to culture” (Wong 2010, 2932).

This approach views language from a societal perspective, with acts of interpretation being essentially embedded in culture (Allan et al. 2016). Capone (2016, xvii) argues that the “the speech act (of Searlian origin) is too philosophical as a unit”, “a sentence with a bit of context, often artificially studied”. We need not only to be exposed to the language, but also to the culture, as linguistic expressions “come as part and parcel of a certain culture” (Capone 2016, xvii). Speech act theory does not have the “potential for evoking a unit that is intrinsically made up of language, culture, and society” (Capone 2016, xviii). The *pragmeme* is “different from the speech act in that it consists of various utterances and its force is tied to convention”, whereas “the force of the speech act is computed on the basis of inferential powers”, and “unlike the speech act, a *pragmeme* is embedded in culture” (Capone 2016, xxiii). A speech act needs therefore to be embedded in a cultural context, that is, “the set of beliefs shared by the speakers of a particular community with regard to values, whether religious, social, political, culinary, etc.” (Capone 2018, 92).

5. Data and methodology

5.1 Data

Toward the end of their graduation semester, graduates start displaying their GNs, custom-tailored for senior students expected to graduate, on campus, or offering them in person, so that classmates, family members, friends, relatives, and professors, can write congratulatory messages in these notebooks (see Appendix). Thus, graduates will have GNs containing congratulatory messages, which they would keep as a permanent record of their academic work and social life during their period of study. After this, the third author started contacting graduates who had GNs which *already contained congratulatory messages*, in two major public universities in Jordan. The third author then requested the graduates to grant her access to their GNs. Out of ethical concerns, of course, the third author informed the graduates of the nature of research that was being conducted and asked them for the permission to read and use the messages in the GNs, which was granted after explaining to them the aim of reading the notebooks and that it was solely for research purposes. A total of 30 graduates agreed to grant access to their GNs for a week, after which the GNs were returned to them after the data had been extracted. The congratulators whose congratulatory messages were already in the GNs were all Jordanians whose native language is Arabic. Each GN obtained consisted of around 50 pages of congratulatory messages. Out of the 30 GNs obtained, a total of 1064 congratulation speech acts were drawn. Thus, the data collection process consisted merely of obtaining the GNs, obtaining consent from the graduates to read the congratulations already handwritten in the GNs, and then extracting the congratulation speech acts found in these GNs and any other speech acts embedded within them.

5.2 Methodology

The analysis of data depended on both previous similar studies on congratulations, especially Elwood (2004), and on the researchers' background knowledge. The opening, body, and closing of the congratulatory message were analyzed and this analysis was based on uncovering the cultural, social and religious meanings, assumptions and values underlying the congratulations. This was done by explicating the *meaning* of culture-specific words, terms, or expressions that were used, *why* a particular word, term, or expression was used, and *how* it contributed to the illocutionary force of the speech act. The analysis was grounded in the societal meanings of the utterances rather than the individual utterances in themselves.

6. Analysis

6.1 Opening

Most congratulators started their congratulatory messages by addressing the recipient by their first name, e.g. *fāṭimah* ‘Fatimah’, nickname, e.g. *asīl asūlih* ‘Aseel Aseelie’, or family name, e.g. *Rawāšdih*, depending on the social relationship between the two. Some congratulators showed emotiveness by addressing graduates in a more intimate manner to index the close relationship they have with the graduates. This is often realized by the use of terms of endearment so as to communicate a casual and friendly relationship:

- (1) a. *ḥabībti manār* ‘My loved one, Manar’
- b. *ibnati al-ṣazīzah ṣala qalbi balqīs* ‘To my daughter who is precious to my heart, Balqees’
- c. *qalbi ṣazīz* ‘To my heart, Aziz!’

These openings involve using the first name of the recipient preceded by emotive descriptions that center on ‘love’, as in (1a), and metaphorical use of the ‘heart’ as the locus of affection and the seat of emotions, as in (1b) and (1c). In (1b) the ‘heart’ is used as the center of emotions to which the graduate is psychologically and emotionally presented as close, which shows that the heart stands for the person (Maalej 2008). In (1c) the recipient is addressed as if he were the heart of the congratulator, and since the heart is a vital and precious body organ, the addresser metaphorically expresses the highest degree of emotionality toward the addressee. The two examples thus reflect the sociocultural practice of metaphorically establishing the heart as a repository for emotions and cultural values, and presenting the HEART FOR PERSON metonym, where the heart stands for the person (Maalej 2008). This is a case of “cultural embodiment” in which “physiological embodiment is departed from in significant ways” to construct “a culturally-situated form of embodiment” and in which a body part is “imaginatively exploited and hijacked by culture” (Maalej 2008, 396–397).

In other instances, congratulators showed closeness and rapport by addressing the graduates using a distinctive physical or intellectual attribute:

- (2) a. *Dāna il-ammūrah il-ḥabbābih* ‘(To) Dana, the cute and lovely’
- b. *ila ṣadiqi al-ṣazīz ṣāhib aḍ-ḍiḥkah al-jamīlah wa-r-rūḥ al-ḥilwah* ‘To my dear friend, the one with a beautiful smile and sweet spirit’

In (2a–b) above, positive traits (‘beautiful smile’, ‘sweet spirit’, ‘lovely’, ‘cute’) of the recipients are used in the opening. These laudatory epithets are embedded in the congratulation as a way of reinforcing it and showing why the recipient deserves to be congratulated. This practice of opening with praise can be seen as a vestige

of Arabic oratorical convention in which the use of praise formulae is considered a necessary introductory segment (Qutbuddin 2019). However, a number of congratulators employed a more formal way of saluting the graduate by using either gender-oriented address terms such as *ānisah* ‘Miss’, or job-oriented titles such as *muhandis* ‘engineer’:

- (3) a. *addaktūr tāmīr* ‘Dr. Thamer’
 b. *ila al-ānisah šahid* ‘To Miss Shahed’
 c. *muhandisna šabdallah* ‘Our engineer Abdullah’

Although these salutations are formal and are characterized by deference, and hence appeal to negative face, they do appeal to the recipients’ positive face by showing acceptance and approval of the graduates. This is marked by the use of first rather than last name in the three examples. In (3c), furthermore, the writer used the job-oriented title in a different way, namely, the plural possessive *muhandisna* ‘our engineer’. Such use of title is employed in the sociocultural context of Jordanian Arabic to signal collectivist affiliation and belonging and hence collective identity of the recipient whose graduation is therefore viewed as an accomplishment for the whole family or tribe to which the graduate belongs.

Some congratulators opened their congratulation speech act by the use of the Islamic formula known as *basmalah*, an acronym of *b-ismillah ar-raḥmān ar-raḥīm* ‘In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful’. This formulaic expression is an invocation uttered at the beginning of each chapter in the Quran, but is traditionally spoken or written before undertaking any task, physical or intellectual, so that the person performing the task will earn assistance from Allah. The formula is socioculturally understood as opening a space of mercy and compassion from the divine and putting the speaker/writer and the audience in the presence of the divine as the name of the divine has been appropriately invoked. Opening the speech act with this formula hence indexes the writer’s religious (Muslim) identity and shows his/her belief in the perceived utility of the formula as imparting value, derived from the divine and the sacred, to the upcoming text/discourse and the belief that any speech or task not opened with *basmalah* is socioculturally inappropriate. However, this formula is not expected to be used when performing a congratulation speech act orally, that is, a spoken congratulation is not precluded by uttering this formula. In the current data, the *basmalah* is placed separately at the top center of the page, followed by the salutation, whether formal or informal, as in this example:

- (4) *bismillah ar-raḥmān ar-raḥīm*
zamīlati wa šadiqati Aseel
 ‘In the name of God, the most Gracious, the most Merciful
 My colleague and friend Aseel ...’

While the great majority of these written congratulations open with one of the devices above, there are a few cases where the congratulatory notes had no opening. In such cases, congratulators wrote their felicitations immediately with no introductory salutation. This can be attributed to different factors, such as the nature of relationship between the congratulator and the recipient and possible constraints of space and time at the moment of writing. Table (1) below summarizes the components of the opening in terms of their frequency.

Table 1. Components of the opening in terms of frequency

Component	Frequency
Names and nicknames	36.7%
Terms of endearment	24.3%
No opening	19.2%
Salutation	11.5%
<i>Basmalah</i>	8.3%
Total	100%

6.2 The body

The central typical expression in the performance of congratulation speech acts in Arabic is the formula *mabrūk* and its variant *mubāarak*, both equivalent to English 'congratulations!' which is the predominant illocutionary force indicating device (IFID) for performing congratulation in Arabic and occurs in the majority of the messages. The two are derived from the trilateral root *b-r-k* whose literal meaning is 'increase' or 'intensify'. The formula thus literally means 'May (the achievement) increase', which constitutes an invocation to God to bless and multiply what the addressee is being congratulated on. The difference in the morphology of the two expressions, however, is evaluative: *mabrūk*, being morphologically an erroneous, but nonetheless established, derivation from *b-r-k*, is associated with ordinary, uneducated parlance, whereas *mubāarak*, being the correct morphological derivation, tends to be preferred by educated or prescriptivist speakers/writers. Both variants appear in the data, reflecting these sociolinguistic preferences:

- (5) a. *mabrūk at-taxarruj* 'Congratulations on (your) graduation'
 b. *mubāarak at-taxarruj* 'Congratulations on (your) graduation'

In (5a), *mabrūk* is the main formula that is used to perform the speech act of congratulation. While this formula can be used alone in speech, which is the same as in (5a), accompanied by the appropriate paralinguistic gestures, a great num-

ber of congratulations in the data were performed with an intensifier, probably to compensate for the lack of supportive paralanguage in speech. Typically, this intensifier is the cardinal number *alf* 'one thousand' which modifies the formula *mabrūk*, though it is a non-count, abstract term. As it was not used to intensify the other formula, *mubāarak*, the use of *alf mabrūk* 'literally: one thousand congratulations!' shows that 'one thousand congratulations!' (comparable to English *mega congrats!*) has gained the status of an idiom in the performance of congratulation in Jordanian Arabic. The cardinal number itself is sometimes reduplicated to further reinforce the illocutionary force of the congratulatory message as in *alf alf mabrūk at-taxarruj* 'literally: A thousand, thousand congratulations on (your) graduation!' The congratulation formula in Arabic is thus based on the utterer's wish for the 'increase' and 'prosperity' of one's achievement, rather than the meaning of 'sharing joy' and 'being happy' encoded in the etymology of English 'congratulate' and 'felicitate'.

The notions of 'increase' and 'abundance' encoded in the Arabic congratulatory formula as used above can be understood in the light of Islamic religious beliefs that a good achievement, work, or possession is one that is 'blessed by Allah' so that it continues, grows, and prospers. This sociocultural notion of 'blessing' is referred to as *baraka*, which is understood as a "beneficent force, of divine origin, which causes superabundance in the physical sphere and prosperity and happiness in the psychic order" (Colin 1986, 1032). Thus, the central sociocultural component of the Arabic congratulation speech act is invoking the divine to bless the addressee's achievement by intensifying it and making it more productive than it normally would be, which makes this cultural notion of *baraka* inherent to the Arabic congratulation speech act. Embedded in this speech act are a variety of cultural concepts, beliefs, values, and practices that are summarized in Table (2) below in terms of their frequency and explicated in the subsequent sections.

6.2.1 *Expressing well wishes*

This component is defined here, following Wierzbicka (1987, 226), as future-oriented action in which the congratulator wishes the recipient good fortune and success in time to come. In several cases, the speech act of congratulation is followed by an expression of well wishes, which shows "the compatibility of the expressions of congratulations and of well wishes" (Kochovska 2013, 30). Well wishes are described as borderline cases between expressives and directives as "the speaker expresses emotions toward the state of affairs that is not yet realized and whose realization often involves some kind of action by the addressee" (Kochovska 2013, 31). Well wishes in the data are formulaically realized through the use of the prospectively oriented optative formula *suqbāl*, which is a distinctive

Table 2. Components of the body in terms of frequency

Component	Frequency
Illocutionary force indicating device (IFID)	43.9%
Expressing well wishes	40.1%
Complimenting	5.6%
Banter	3.3%
Evoking shared experiences	2.6%
Expressing validation	1.9%
Using expressions of encouragement	0.8%
Expression of happiness	0.7%
Using self-directed well wishes	0.6%
Attaching a 'gift'	0.5%
Total	100%

feature of the congratulating speech act in Arabic. The expression is a combination of the standard Arabic noun *ṣuqba* 'after' and the preposition *li* 'for [someone]'. It is uttered after the basic congratulatory formula *mabrūk* or *mubāarak* and is accompanied by mention of *another* achievement that the congratulator wishes the recipient to accomplish in the future after the current one. Accordingly, *ṣuqbāl* constitutes a positive politeness expression with the meaning of 'may this (achievement) be followed by (another achievement)', thus wishing the recipient further success and progress in his/her future plans, such as graduate studies, work, or marriage:

- (6) a. *ṣuqbāl il-ṣaru:s* 'May this (degree) be followed by a bride!'
- b. *ṣuqbāl il-ṣarīs* 'May this (degree) be followed by a groom!'
- c. *ṣuqbāl il-farḥah il-kubra* 'May this (degree) be followed by the biggest joy!'
- d. *ṣuqbāl il-dakto:rāh* 'May this (degree) be followed by a doctorate!'
- e. *ṣuqbal id-dirāsāt il-uṣlyā* 'May this (degree) be followed by graduate studies!'
- f. *ṣuqbāl il-waḍīfih* 'May this (degree) be followed by a job!'

The addition of the formula *ṣuqbāl* to the basic congratulatory message, besides boosting the illocutionary force of the speech act, indicates that the speech act extends beyond the present moment in which it is performed and, via this formula, is projected into the future, making the formula a type of future-oriented discourse that serves as a positive prediction of the graduate's future prospects. As Examples (6a–f) illustrate, these prospects may be universal, like getting a job

after graduation (6f), pursuing a graduate degree (6d–e), or specific to the socio-cultural context in terms of importance or priority, like getting married after college. The notion of marriage as a prospective achievement after graduation is seen in (6a–c). Reference to this notion can be understood in light of Arab-Islamic normative cultural understandings of marriage. While wishing someone to ‘get a job’ after graduation may be universal, wishing someone to ‘get a bride’ (6a) or ‘get a groom’ (6b) after graduation reflects to a great extent how marriage is framed and constructed in Islamic discourse. Regardless of the influence of external cultural narratives and discourses, marriage in the traditional Arab context is so significant that it is metaphorically quantified as fulfilling ‘half of one’s faith’, which makes an “unmarried man or woman rather an oddity in Muslim society” (Hassan 2005, 246). Thus, wishing the recipients to get married after graduation may be viewed as communicating desire that the recipient would avoid this social ‘oddity’. These references to marriage can further be understood in terms of the significance of marriage in traditional Arab culture, in which it is considered as a paragon of manhood and procreation for men, and metaphorically depicted as *sitr wa ḡaṭā* “cover and protection” for women (El-Aswad 2014, 39). Well wishes of marriage, however, are conveyed via the gender-neutral expression *al-farḥah al-kubra* ‘the biggest joy’ in (6c) which conventionally refers to getting married in Jordanian Arabic, thus being subtle, less direct and less intrusive concerning the idea of marriage after graduation. In (6d) and (6e), the congratulators’ future-oriented *ṣuqbāl* refers to a different prospective accomplishment, namely, getting a graduate degree, which has become a common practice when congratulating someone who has just earned an undergraduate degree. This reflects the increasing sociocultural importance attached to *shahada* ‘university degree’ in Jordan and its centrality as part of social identity in Jordanian society today (Cantini 2016). This formula *ṣuqbāl* is an optional yet an important component of the congratulation speech act, especially when congratulating the addressee on only the first step in their endeavors. As Kochovska (2013, 31) points out, “some expressions of well wishes, when used in an appropriate context, are actually expressions of congratulations by their illocutionary point: by performing the expression of well wishing, the speaker actually congratulates the hearer”.

In addition to using the *ṣuqbāl* formula, some congratulators chose to express well wishes through the use of the ‘Allah Lexicon’, that is, expressions heavily used in Arabic discourse and involve reference to God (Morrow 2006). Among those found in the data are the common expression *inshallah* ‘God willing’ and the more formal formula *bi-idn illāh* ‘with the permission of God’, as in (7):

- (7) a. *inshallah minha l-ad-dakto:rāh* ‘God willing this (degree will lead you) to a doctorate’

- b. *kul it-tawfīg bi-idn illāh* ‘(I wish you) all success, *with the permission of God*’

From a sociocultural perspective, the presence and use of these expressions in everyday communication is motivated by the predominantly fatalist view of the Arab society, namely, that one’s plans and volition are ultimately controlled by and attached to divine will. Thus, the well wishes expressed in (7) above, namely, getting a doctorate and achieving more success, are presented as achievements that ultimately depend on divine will, rather than only on one’s own individual abilities. In addition to indexing one’s identity and beliefs, linking one’s well wishes for the recipient to divine will shows the congratulator to be socioculturally appropriate and as an ‘insider’. This reference to God thus becomes an act whereby congratulators “express their faith and obedience to God” and “express common attitudes” (Vanderveken 2001, 246) of the speech community.

6.2.2 Complimenting

As might be expected, the congratulatory messages contained compliments toward the recipient, defined here as explicitly attributing positive traits to the recipient. Given the context, all of these compliments praised the graduate only in terms of his/her personal attributes and qualities, thus making the congratulating speech act as a testimony of the graduate’s character and personality:

- (8) a. *ṣahidnāk aṭ-ṭālib almuʾaddab al-xalūq* ‘We have always known you as a polite and well-mannered student.’
 b. *inti min aḥsan banāt il-jāmsāh* ‘You have been one of the best female students in this university.’
 c. *inta min arwaṣ iṣ-ṣabāb illi ṭarrafit ṣalayhum* ‘You are one of the most wonderful young men I have ever known.’
 d. *inti binit muʾaddabih wa mujtahidih wa mutafawwiqah* ‘You have been a well-mannered, diligent and outstanding young woman.’

The illocutionary force of the congratulating speech acts in which these compliments were embedded is boosted by complimenting the graduate’s polite behavior (8a), kindness and great character (8b and 8c), and diligence, excellence and hard work (8d). This shows that there is a strong compatibility between expressions of congratulations and expressions of compliment, so that congratulating someone is essentially complimenting them for some accomplishment. This is consistent with compliments being expressions of positive evaluation or approval that attribute credit to the addressee.

When congratulating someone, one often needs to “compliment, laud, and sometimes acclaim” the recipient (Vanderveken 2001, 248). However, the way such complimenting is done varies across cultures since “compliments are culture-

specific” and “loaded with cultural values and associated with cultural norms” (Taavitsainen and Jucker 2008, 15). The compliments in (8) tend to be hyperbolic, which can be attributed to Arabic sociocultural norms of exaggerated praise, whose origin can be traced to Arabic panegyric tradition. Propensity for hyperbolic compliments can be seen in the positive evaluation conveyed by the use of hyperbolic adjectives which are an integral part of direct compliments (Farenkia 2012, 458). This is seen in the juxtaposition of the two adjectives *almuʔaddab* ‘polite’ and *al-xalūq* ‘well-mannered’ in (8a), and of the three adjectives *muʔaddabih wa mujtahidih wa mutafawwiqah* ‘polite, diligent, and outstanding’ in (8d). The use of the superlative *aḥsan* ‘best’ in (8b) and *arwaʕ* ‘most wonderful’ in (8c) further attests to the propensity for exaggeration in these congratulations, which is facilitated by the writing medium and the fact that the speech act will be a permanent record of the writer’s positive evaluation of the recipient.

While exaggerated praise would be face-threatening in face-to-face interaction, the medium of writing allows the writer to perform the congratulating speech act and add somewhat elaborate compliments that would be otherwise rather awkward in face-to-face compliments. This awkwardness stems mainly from compliments, and the expression of emotions they involve, being inherently face-threatening in face-to-face encounters. Furthermore, while a compliment is at the same time face-enhancing and face-threatening (Taavitsainen and Jucker 2008, 195), these written compliments are only face-enhancing since they only describe the recipient’s personal qualities as commendable, but do not describe any of their possessions as desirable, which in some cultures may put an obligation on the addressee to offer the desirable good to the complimenter (Taavitsainen and Jucker 2008).

6.2.3 Banter

Some congratulators exploited ‘mock impoliteness’ (Leech 1983), defined here as jocular/humorous insults or ‘banter’ used to display or create solidarity, and constitutes a form of “underpoliteness” that has the effect of “establishing or maintaining a bond of familiarity” (Leech 1983, 144). As explained by Haugh and Bousfield (2012, 1099), “banter appears to be impolite, but since what is said is regarded as untrue by participants, it is understood as really being a means of conveying politeness, and creating or affirming solidarity”. Therefore, in the present context, the function of such impoliteness is face-supportive and affiliative rather than face-threatening and disaffiliative (Haugh 2010), as in (9):

- (9) a. *wa-axīran biddik txalṣi w-txalṣīna wallah biddi azağrit*
 ‘Finally, you will finish college and leave us alone! I really want to ululate (in joy)!’

- b. *ilmuhim xliṣna minik w-min nakadik*
 ‘Finally we will get rid of you and your grumpiness!’
- c. *miš tinsīni baʿd it-taxarruj ba-mawtik*
 ‘Don’t you forget me after your graduation, or I’ll kill you!’

These mock impoliteness remarks followed the performance of the central (genuine) speech act of congratulating. Their occurrence communicates a close relationship between the congratulators and their recipients, so this jocular impoliteness is used by way of displaying camaraderie toward the recipient. In (9a), the congratulator jocularly expresses relief that the recipient is finally graduating and leaving them alone, implying that the recipient was ‘a nuisance’. The use of the verb *azaḡrit* in *bididi azaḡrit* ‘I want to ululate!’ adds to the banter as *azaḡrit* is jocularly used in colloquial speech to express relief that a ‘bad’ situation has ended. This is in turn borrowed from the sociocultural practice of *zaghareed* which refers to the successive trilling ululation made by women at local weddings, and on other happy occasions, as an expression of celebration and joy, which is described by Jacobs (2008) as a widely recognized, culturally reproduced, affective display in Levantine communities that is both ‘emotional’ and ‘communicative’. Through this reference to ‘celebratory sounds’, the congratulation speech act is embedded in a local cultural practice, thus giving the speech act situatedness in the local culture’s wedding traditions. Referring to this practice hence serves as a membership marker whereby the congratulator shows him/herself to be a social insider and a member of the same community as the recipient.

The banter in (9b), ‘Finally we will get rid of you and your grumpiness!’ jocularly attributes a negative quality to the recipient, that of a grumpy character, again expressing ‘impolite’ relief that the ‘grumpy’ student in question will graduate and leave. Finally, (9c) contains the directive ‘do not forget me after graduation’, which is “a request for continuing friendliness” (Elwood 2004, 366) and expresses the wish that the congratulator and the recipient will see each other again. This directive contact formula is followed by the jocular speech act of threat ‘... or I will kill you!’ in case of noncompliance. This is a case of “mock impoliteness” that “remains on the surface, since it is understood that it is not intended to cause offence”, which “reflects and fosters social intimacy” (Culpeper 1996, 352). These instances of mock impoliteness constitute “a means for implying that the relationship is so close and well-established that it cannot be endangered even by seemingly rude utterances” (Kienpointer 1997, 262). Although such impoliteness can be used in speech in face- to-face interaction, the medium of writing here seems to eliminate or minimize “high risk” teasing and banter that may arise in conversational encounters. These humor practices serve face-supportive functions in the congratulatory message and reaffirm the social connection among the congratulators and recipients.

6.2.4 *Evoking shared experiences*

Evoking shared memories and experiences is defined here as the framing of college study as a shared experience between the congratulator and the recipient. Shared memories “play a central role in everyday communications. They are usually based on interpersonal and cultural knowledge of a shared past among group members” (Bietti 2010, 499). Thus, the GN and congratulations therein become a way of briefly telling a story or reminding the graduate of a particular event or moment during their study. The congratulation speech act in this way functions as a means of not only staying connected via the permanence of the medium of writing, but also as a symbolic connection through reminding of past shared experiences, feelings, activities, and events. These GNs thus serve as a record of past events and discourses in the lives of participants:

- (10) a. *kul dikrayāt l-faṣl l-awwal kānat maṣik lahala? mā bansa lamma in inṭaradi min l-muhāḍarah*
 ‘All memories of my first semester were with you – I will never forget when you were kicked out of class!’
- b. *kunti awwal waḥdih sāḥab-ha b-il-jāmsah w-miš raḥ ansa kul gaṣḍātna*
 ‘You were the first (female) I became friends with on campus and I will never forget the time we spent together!’
- c. *btiḍḍakkari lamma tṣrrafit salayki b-muḥāḍarit l-manijmint yā rayt tirjaḥ hāḍi il-ayyām*
 ‘Remember when I first met you in the management class? If only those days come back!’

This evocation of past memories and experiences constitutes supportive moves for the overall speech act of congratulating. This practice, which is based on past spoken interactions, serves to reinforce the congratulator and the recipient’s social relationship beyond college, as evoking such past encounters, experiences and memories help the congratulator and the recipient reorient to their personal rather than academic or professional self. These evocations further show how the congratulators and the recipients utilized the medium of this celebratory notebook to evoke and recycle certain memories in their college study, express feelings of nostalgia, and recall past important moments. Key words used in evoking these memories are the interrogative *btiḍḍakkari?* ‘remember?’, the commissive *miš raḥ ansa* ‘I’ll never forget’ and the noun *dikrayāt* ‘memories’. In (10a), the congratulator reminds the recipient of a common experience that the latter had, namely, when she was expelled from class, presumably for transgressive classroom behavior. Although being dismissed from class is a negative experience in the academic space, the congratulator recycled and reproduced it in a new way, transforming it into a nostalgic experience that has become a positive part of their personal rela-

tionship. As being expelled from the classroom for some transgression was part of the graduate's experience, evoking this memory reflects peer discourses on the perceptions these graduates, as a community, have of themselves, in terms of normative classroom behavior and challenging teacher authority as an expression of their student identity.

Example (10b) evokes shared memories regarding the formation of friendship between the congratulator and the graduate, followed by a statement nostalgically cherishing the time the two participants shared together. Finally, Example (10c) evokes a sense of nostalgia, specifically evoking a nostalgic experience that occurred in the collectively shared space of the campus. The sharing of the memory of the moment of meeting for the first time, put in the form of a question, is followed by the optative *yā rayt tirjaʿ hādi il-ayyām* 'If only those days come back!' This expression of wish serves to signal the discontinuity of the 'college journey' and the shift toward a new one. Taken together, these evocations constitute "reminders of shared knowledge of the past" (Bietti 2010, 499) embedded in the congratulation speech act. They constitute shared remembering and shared memories whose function is to "create a feeling of connection and maintain a consistent feeling of identity", which suggests that the local congratulation notebook has become a sociocultural praxis in which "a shared past is managed, communicated and negotiated" (Bietti 2010, 499). Embedded in the speech act thus is a process of remembering through which the participants construct their sense of community and identity as college students and hence their sense of togetherness and belonging.

6.2.5 *Expressing validation*

Validation refers to the use of expressions conveying that the deeds of the graduates are well-earned and merited. Just as "smiles can be used to validate or reinforce, or conversely nullify and void whatever speech act they are accompanying" (Mey 2017, 395), the written congratulation speech acts in the data were validated, with the main function of confirming that the graduates in question did deserve their degrees. In contrast with compliments which praised personal aspects of the graduate (cf. 5.2.2 above), these expressions of validation serve as an attestation of the recipients' academic strengths, abilities, and distinction, and the efforts they made to finish their degrees. Expressions of validation are used when "the speaker wants to show a higher degree of strength of the sincerity condition of the speech act of congratulating" (Kochovska 2013, 31). This validation embedded in the congratulation speech act positions the recipient as having made exceptional or extra efforts in their academic endeavors:

- (11) a. *zāda faxri fiki kaṭīran* ‘I am even much prouder of you (now).’
 b. *ana aṭīq anna laka markīzan marmūqan yantaḍīruk* ‘I’m sure you have a prestigious position waiting for you.’
 c. *wallah b-tistāhali* ‘You really deserve it.’
 d. *ibnati anti illati aftaxir biki ṣala najāḥaki al-bāhir wa-aṣtazz biki* ‘My daughter, I am proud of you for your distinguished success. You make me proud.’

The examples in (11a–d) involve expressions of support, pride and approval of the graduate. Being embedded within a speech act of congratulating, these comments serve as a validation and confirmation of the recipient. This supportive function becomes even clearer in the case of written congratulations in which the writer has the time and space to be more elaborate in the performance of the speech act. In (11a), the writer emphasizes increased pride in the graduate, which is similarly stressed in (11d) in which, given the vocative *ibnati* ‘my daughter’, a father is congratulating his daughter and lauding her success, which is reinforced by the compliment *wa-aṣtazz biki* ‘and you make me proud’. Believing in the recipient’s abilities and competence is made clear in (11b) in which the writer predicts that the recipient will have a ‘prestigious position’. In (11c), the validation is done through the conversational oath formula *wallah*, literally ‘by Allah’. Apart from its judicial use in a court of law, this formula has become an extra-judicial conversational oath used routinely in Arabic daily interactions (Abdel-Jawad 2000, 218). One main function of this conversational use is to validate speech acts such as inviting, offering, apologizing, and, as in (11c), congratulating. This pragmatic use of a God-invoking formula to validate a speech act in Arabic reflects how oaths can function as “a cultural index of the community” as they “reflect the cultural patterns, values and themes that are dominant in this community” (2000, 217).

6.2.6 Using expressions of encouragement

This component refers to the use of future-oriented, supportive, and affiliative expressions within the congratulating speech act to motivate the addressee to achieve more accomplishments. These expressions of encouragement aim to give the graduates motivation and hope about their future. Accordingly, they serve as a form of advice-giving whose purpose is to add support and encouragement and convey a sense of optimism (DeCapua and Dunham 2007) for the graduates regarding their emotional states or potential new post-graduation experiences:

- (12) a. *xallīki dāyman mabsūṭah* ‘Be always happy!’
 b. *inbaṣṭi b-ilayyām il-jāyyih* ‘Be happy in the days to come!’
 c. *ṣiddi ḥaylik w-xallīna nṣūfik daktarah* ‘Work hard and let us see you a doctor!’

These examples illustrate a kind of supportive advice embedded in the congratulating speech act. The encouraging imperatives offered support for the graduates by expressing sympathy and encouragement. Although advice is intrinsically face threatening, the threat is neutralized and offset, first, by being embedded in the face-supportive speech act of congratulation, and, second, as a result of communicative setting of traditional written communication via GNs, in which no direct interaction is possible between the congratulator/advisor and the recipient, and the congratulator/advisor cannot register face threat. Furthermore, although the three examples all begin by imperative verbs, which are associated with directness and strong illocutionary force, the imperatives used here, following DeCapua and Dunham (2007, 326), “reflect weak illocutionary force” since the information following the imperative form, i.e. *be (always) happy* and *work hard*, “carries a “counseling” tone that mitigates the force of these imperatives”. The weakly communicated illocutionary force is further influenced by being part of a congratulatory message emphasizing the achievement of the recipient.

6.2.7 *Expression of happiness*

Expression of happiness in the data refers to the use of linguistic expressions that manifest pleasure at the good fortune of others. Such empathetic expressions of happiness develop an illocutionary force of congratulation (Unceta Gómez 2016) and reinforce the positive face of the graduates by emphasizing shared feelings of joy and happiness. These expressions thus fit appropriately into the overall speech act of congratulating within which they are used, which is inherently ‘expressive’ in speech act terms. These statements “express psychological conditions, and thus not beliefs or intentions” (Norricks 1978, 279):

- (13) a. *hādīhi al-laḥḏah aṣṣad laḥḏāt ḥayāti* ‘This is the happiest moment of my life.’
 b. *inni aṣṣur bi-dumuūṣ il-faraḥ wa-hiya tatasāqaṭ min ṣaynay faraḥan bi-munasabat taxarrujak* ‘I feel the tears of joy falling from my eyes out of happiness on the occasion of your graduation.’
 c. *ana saḥīd bi-taxarrujak* ‘I am happy for your graduation!’

The congratulators here show emotional involvement in the congratulation event. As such, these examples illustrate the type of speech acts in which the congratulators are referring to their “inner” rather than “external” world (Maíz-Arévalo 2017). In (13a), through describing the graduation as the happiest event in their life, the writer expresses happiness about the graduation of a friend in a hyperbolic way by resorting to “a rather strong formulation”, as congratulations, in contrast with assertions, “can be – and often are – exaggerated” since the speaker/writer feels that they have to use “an exaggerated formulation in order to seem

more credible” (Claridge 2010, 18). The expression of happiness in (13b) is similarly based on hyperbole. It involves even a stronger degree of exaggeration, which suggests that the writer put greater effort in writing it, making it a more conscious speech act “based on a greater degree of intentionality” (Claridge 2010, 101). This shows that “the more striking forms of creative hyperbole are more common in writing”, which “reflects the simple fact that there is more time to think of and to refine new instances of hyperbole or build constructionally more complex forms of exaggeration” (Claridge 2010, 101). This is supported by the fact that this congratulatory speech act was written in Standard Arabic rather than in the colloquial variety that was used in the majority of the congratulatory messages.

Example (13c) provides a normative case of congratulation whereby the congratulator performs a direct speech act to convey happiness about the referent’s graduation. In contrast with the hyperbole seen in (13a–b) where the writers exaggerated their feelings, the writer in this example conveys their happiness in a basic and less affective way. This way most probably conveys an ordinary relationship between the congratulator and the addressee, while in (13a–b) this relationship seems stronger and more affective. This is in line with the findings that “people who are emotionally involved often choose to express themselves in a more exaggerated manner in order to convey their affect” (Claridge 2010, 78). Thus, although the writer of this particular congratulation had all available space and time to construct a more elaborate and refined congratulatory message, it seems that the nature of the social relationship played a crucial role in the performance of congratulations. Thus, the speech act of congratulating seems to be hyperbolically heightened when the congratulator and the recipient have a strong and well-established relationship, leading to further ratification of the recipient’s positive face, which is made all possible through the unfettered availability of space and time when performing the congratulation speech act in writing.

6.2.8 Using self-directed well wishes

Some congratulatory messages contained what will be called ‘self-directed well wishes’. These are expressions whereby the congratulator wishes that he/she will graduate soon after the recipient, as illustrated by the following example:

(14) *ilʕuqbāl ʕindi atxarraj miṭlak* ‘May I follow and graduate like you.’

The use of such self-directed well wishes is part of showing identification with the recipient and sharing with him/her the celebration of graduation. While the expression *ʕuqbāl* is typically other-directed, that is, used to wish the recipient more and more achievements after graduation (see Examples (6a)–(f) above), it is used in (14) reflexively to wish one’s own self graduation from the university and thus joining the recipient in this accomplishment. This self-directed discourse

conveys the message that the writer so highly values the recipient's graduation that he/she views it as an accomplishment which he/she wishes for him/herself, which boosts the accomplishment of the recipient. This self-directed wish constitutes a request speech act embedded within the main congratulation speech act. However, while a request is a directive speech act in which the speaker asks the hearer to perform an action for the benefit of the speaker (Trosborg 1995), and hence is intrinsically face-threatening, this case of requesting is both literally and figuratively monological: it appears as if the writer is 'making a request to him/herself' to finish study and graduate. This 'figurative self-directed request' constitutes a culture-specific formulaic requesting expression in which no addressee or hearer is asked to perform the action in question, i.e. graduating. Here it is the 'self' that is addressed and is implicitly motivated to achieve the same accomplishment as the 'other'. Addressing the self in this culture-specific congratulation speech act signals a transition from social talk to self talk and continuity between social talk and self talk, showing how congratulations in this context can be both "other-directed and self-directed speech acts" (Geurts 2018, 284).

6.2.9 *Attaching a 'gift'*

A non-verbal component of the congratulation speech act in the data is the practice of attaching banknotes or coins to the page on which the congratulatory message is written. This is a manifestation of a sociocultural contextually constrained practice of gift-giving known in Jordan as *naqūṭ*, whereby a gift in the form of cash is given to a newlywed couple, which constitutes community members' ritual contribution to the wedding expenses. This tradition is deeply rooted in Arab society, but has been extended nowadays to include giving money as a gift on three other social occasions, namely, getting engaged, having a baby, and graduation, with the same sociocultural function of providing communal material support (see Figures (1)–(3) below).

As Figures (1)–(3) show, this non-verbal component is embedded in the congratulation speech act, with all three texts involving a compliment toward the receiver. However, the three examples differ in terms of the communicative meanings of the gift-giving. In (1) the gift-giving is real and genuine as a banknote of 50 is attached, the highest denomination in Jordan (about \$70), reflecting a genuine wish to give this sum of money as a *naqūṭ*. In addition to actually attaching the money to the note, the genuine intent of gift-giving is evidenced by the message 'you deserve this *naqūṭ*'. In (2) and (3), the money gift-giving is playful rather than genuine since the money attached is trivial, only \$1.40 in (2), and \$0.14 in (3), offered in coins. Therefore, this gift-giving has only a symbolic and humorous function as it playfully imitates the social frame of *naqūṭ* in the culture. Brown and Levinson (1987) listed gift-giving as a positive politeness strategy by which

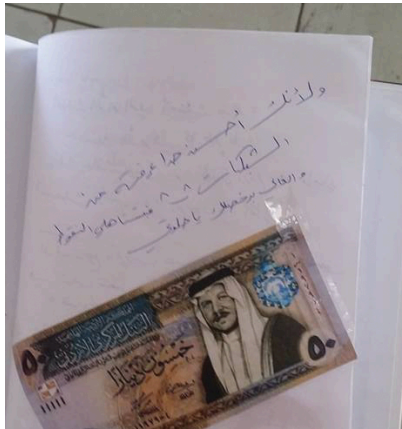


Figure 1



Figure 2

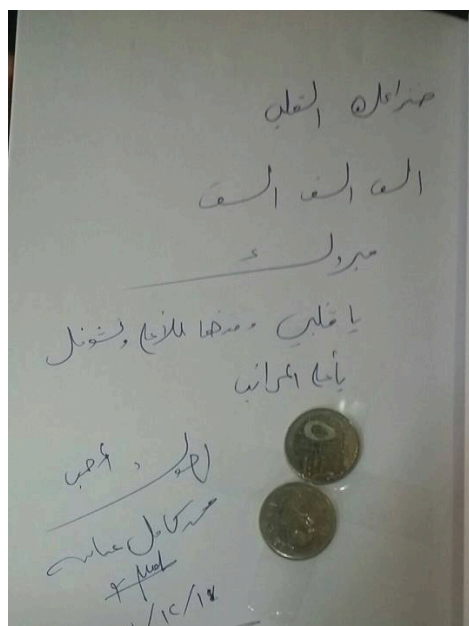


Figure 3

the giver shows closeness and rapport with the receiver. However, this particular practice of gift-giving, enacted semiotically in these congratulatory messages, is more of a “social ritual”, or “an expression of duty” (Paltridge 2012, 54) than a positive politeness strategy, since Jordanians have several gift-giving occasions throughout the year that cover the events listed above, which is a physical manifestation of the supportive function of congratulations. The examples illustrate how community norms regarding gift-giving *naqūṭ* are practiced by the congratulators/givers and embedded in the overall written congratulation speech act.

6.3 Closing formulae

As part of their supportive ritual orientation, the congratulatory texts were all ended by closing formulae that signal a transition to the concluding part of the message. These closing formulae are conventionally used to index participants’ social relationships, their identity and values, and cultural scripts:

- (15) a. *allah yijʿalha fāṭḥit xayr ʿalayki* ‘May God make it an auspicious beginning for you!’
- b. *asʿal allah an yanfaʿaka bi-hāḍa il-ʿilm wa yazīdaka minh* ‘I pray to God to benefit you with this knowledge and give you more and more of it!’

- c. *allah ywafgik b-ḥayātik* ‘May God give you success in your life (after graduation)!’
- d. *allah ytammimlik ṣala xayr* ‘May God conclude (your graduation) with good (things)!’

These closings immediately precede the congratulator’s name and date (and sometimes his/her signature). Being formulaic in nature, the closings involve religious invocations that foreground the relationship between the congratulator, the recipient, and the divine world. They are Islamic-ritual formulae that are predicated upon an appeal to God to make the event of graduation conducive to more success. The ritualistic concluding appeals, in which overt reference to God is made, further point to a religious identity display of the congratulators and their recipients. In (15a) the writer deployed the ritualistic formula *fāṭḥit xayr* ‘auspicious beginning’ (literally, ‘opening of good’) which is used as an invocation that the graduation is a propitious beginning to further accomplishments and it evokes in the recipient feelings of bliss and hopeful expectations.

In (15b), the writer used a Standard Arabic formula invoking God to make the knowledge the student had acquired *beneficial* for them and to *increase* their knowledge in their field of study. This formula reflects Islamic discourse on *al-ṣilm al-nāfiṣ* ‘beneficial knowledge’ as it is based on the ritual Islamic invocation ‘O Allah! Bring us *benefit* by what You taught us, and teach us that which brings us *benefit*, and *increase* our knowledge.’ This invocatory speech act is grounded in the Islamic doctrine that one should seek knowledge in order to both glorify God and put this knowledge to beneficial use.

The invocation *allah ywafgik b-ḥayātik* ‘May God give you success in your life’ in (15c) is based on the cultural concept of *tawfīq*, which reflects the religious belief that one’s knowledge and ability are not enough in themselves to be successful; one eventually needs *tawfīq*, that is, success that can only be attained through divine guidance (Quran XI, 88). This concept mirrors the fatalistic outlook of Muslims, which also underpins the invocation *allah ytammim(lik) ṣala xayr* in (15d), a formula invoking God that an accomplishment be not disrupted by any negative event. The formula presupposes that the event in question is not complete and becomes complete through the ‘final say’ of God.

The writer’s positive feelings toward the recipient were thus expressed in the closing part in formulae fixed by the conventions of the sociocultural context and framed by formulaic invocations that function as requests directed to God rather than a human agent or participant.

7. Conclusion

Congratulations in Jordanian Arabic have been shown to be intrinsically embedded in Arab-Islamic culture and situated in sociocultural practices. Culture-specific values and assumptions play a crucial role in shaping this speech act, which has been considered from a societal rather than a strictly individual/philosophical perspective since it is the society that plays a major role in how this speech act, and presumably other speech acts, is produced, interpreted and received. Sociocultural beliefs such as collectivism and fatalism, and cultural understanding of concepts like community, identity, education, and marriage, have been shown to underlie the congratulation speech act. Other speech acts, with their own cultural meanings, were embedded in the congratulatory messages which even involved material display of particular social practices like *naqout* ‘money-gift’ offered genuinely or symbolically.

A crucial aspect of these congratulations is the use of formulaic language, especially formulaic invocations based on Islamic ritualistic discourse. This use of formulaic invocations indicates that shared values and communal language shaped the discourse of this speech act. This heavy reliance on formulaic language can be seen as enacting the congratulator’s identity as a member of the community through exploiting normative ritualistic appeals to the divine. This is in line with the findings of other similar studies that have shown how sociocultural beliefs and concepts are embedded in the production of different speech acts in Arabic, such as refusals (Morkus 2014), disagreement (Harb 2020), and advice giving (Hosni 2020).

Considering speech acts as merely emanating from the individual does very little justice to the role of society and its worldview and values in producing and giving meaning to speech acts: “analyzing language without giving culture any consideration is to take a rather myopic view of what language is about” (Wong 2010, 2933). Analyzing congratulating in the fatalistic Arab culture requires understanding that the congratulation formula *mabrūk* or *mubāarak* is in effect an invocation to God to bless the hearer’s achievement, which communicates that the act of congratulating is essentially ‘performed’ and ‘ratified’ by the divine. A philosophically oriented theory of speech acts would fall short of accounting for such cultural meanings necessary for amplification that would enrich the interpretation of speech acts (Capone 2005).

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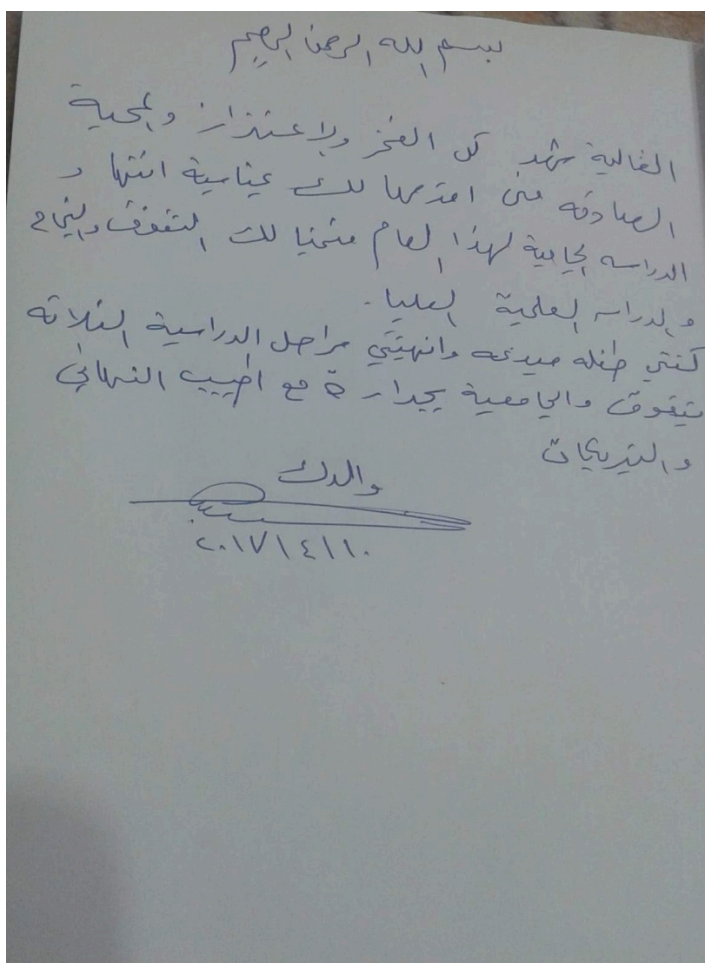
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
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Appendix. Sample congratulations from the data



شوشو يا ميمونة
 سأتق الله الأضواء والصفحة الروح واليقين
 وإن شاء الله سابقاً أنت كرايمل ما عشناه معاً
 أنا وأنتي ومعصيت سابقتي صديقاتنا الله هذه
 الكلمات وأنت منها لذيها شئت معك وترافقتي
 مع مرور الأيام وأما الفخر سيكون عذوتي
 اللود الذي سيصافقك دائماً كلما استغيتي
 لنا أما أنت ستكون في حاله خوف يا
 أم حومه بعد كل محاضرة وأنت  وصفا
 أجمل ما رأيت من مدينتك كدمتكن كانت تصون
 على نفسها عند حزبي وتصنعين أجمل والأف
 العيونك العفوية للأهل وأخبار وأخبار
 يا باسمه محبي وأنت اليقنة بطريقه
 ملغته وجذابه وعلجه أميانياً ولكن بشكل
 كبير  وأما عنادك ليس له مثل
 لنا أطول الكلام الذي لنا يستهني كوكبت
 على كلد فانت قسم خيار قلهي
 توفني أفرح حتى أهلك اعني الف عير ورايا شوشو

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

اللهم اجعلها تبكي فرحاً منا علو بنسبه اللهم ارزقها

شعور فرحة التخرج وهي في أحسن حال... اللهم آمين

شهادة حياتي وأخيراً رح نشوفك ~~بشوقنا العجيب~~

بروب التخرج ألف صبر ووك يارب منها للاهل وان

مشاك الله الشوفك بأعلى مراتب يارب...

التمنى لك حياة مليئة بالسعادة والفرح وان يتحقق كل

شيء تتمنى يا أعلى شهادة بالدنيا يا أم العمازات الكلوبين

وب يسعدك ويهنئك رب يوطئكي ما يرضيك...

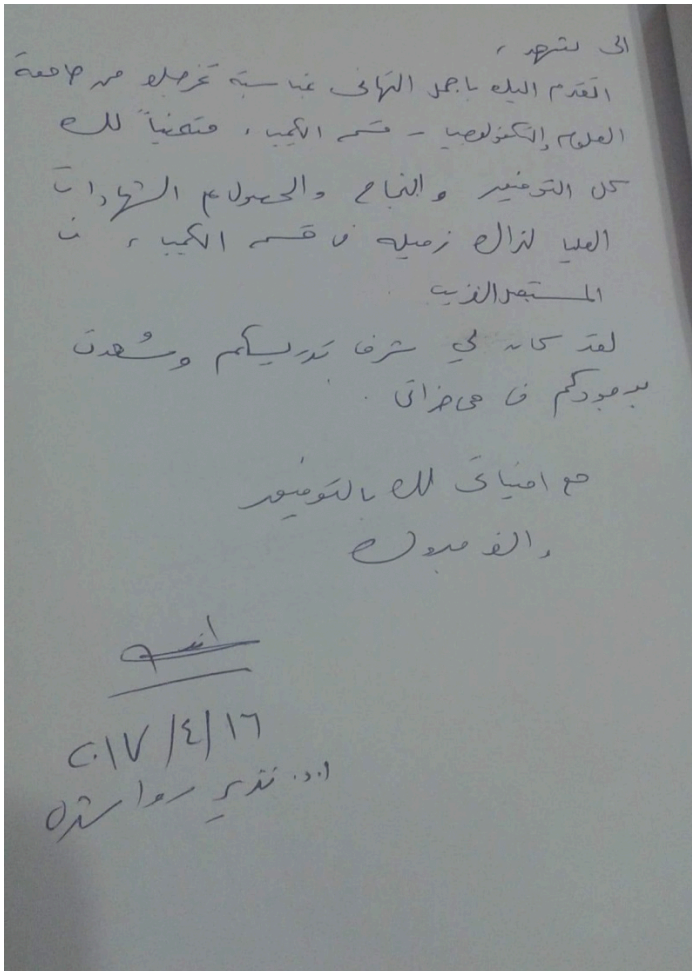
شهادة أرسلت خريجتاً بالعالم

أختك هلا، للمحورين

20-4-2017

8:00 Am

Hala



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