



The Use Of Apology And Its Sub-Strategies In The Linguistic Cultures Of British English And Pashto Language

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Abstract:

This research study explores the phenomenon of apology and its strategies in English and Pashto linguistic cultures. The participants were given role play situations wherein they had to show the apology strategies. The data of the apology strategies in both the linguistic cultures confirm the claim of Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989). The use of IFID and the 'expression of the responsibility strategies' appeared in varying degrees in both the British English and in the Pashto language but the use of other semantic and sub-formulaic strategies were just context dependent. The results of the apology strategies further show that they were realized in different forms in the British English and in the Pashto language but the British respondents had shown their preference conspicuously towards the lexical phrase, 'I am sorry'. The intensity of this lexical form was realized by the use of adverbs like dreadfully, awfully, extremely, really, so and terribly. Such intensified forms for the expression of an apology strategies happened as a convention in Anglo-Saxon influenced milieu for a conflict avoidance which was considered to be a redressal for the addressee's negative face. On the other hand, the Pashto respondents made the use of the non-intensified forms for the expression of apology but they used IFID intensified also in some of the strategies. They went for expression like Bakhana Gwarama (forgive me), Mazrat Koma (I regret/ I apologize), Khafa Nashai (never mind), Afsos Koma (I am sorry), Mata Der Afsos De (I am extremely sorry) and Mafi Gwarama (I seek forgiveness). Both linguistic cultures had the expression of apology but in varying form. The British respondents had the intensified nature of apology expression but the Pashto language respondents did not go for intensified forms of apology expression but needed redressal for addressee's negative face.

Keywords: apology, strategies, IFID, redressal, intensity, sub-formulaic

The Use of Apology Strategies

The apology and its sub-strategies were used in the role play situations of both the linguistic cultures of British English and Pashto language. The form and function of apologies both in British English and Pashto language are discussed in this research study.

Moreover, the explanatory variables and parameters of the apologies are also discussed. The data on apology strategies, also came along with the request data as the respondents of both languages were supposed to perform role plays of both requests as well as apologies. In apology, basically the face needs of the addressee are aimed which means to address the negative face of the addressee but on the other hand, it also has to address the positive face needs of the speaker. In apology, an intention is shown to offer a remedy for an offense for which a speaker has taken a responsibility. So it is quite natural that a good number of apologies are offered for an offense which has been committed.

Aijmer (1996) finds apology strategies to be somewhere amid thirteen but her own study does not support the notion of thirteen strategies. For this study, the taxonomy of Olshtain and Cohen (1981) has been used and their taxonomy deals with five main strategies. The strategies of apology are an explicit expression of apology, an explanation of the violation, an expression of the responsibility, an offer of repair and a promise of forbearance with some sub-strategies which are eleven in all.

Table 1: Apology Patterns Data in both British English and Pashto Language (1-12) Role Play Situations

Situation Strategy	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12	
	B E	PL	B E	P L	B E	PL	B E	P L	B E	P L	B E	P L	B E	P L	B E	P L	B E	P L	B E	P L	B E	P L	BE	P L
IFID	1	1	3	2	3	2	5	4	1	0	2	1	6	3	1	0	1	1	6	2	2	1	1	0
IFID	8	5	12	6	11	7	1	2	14	3	9	3	0	0	4	2	11	8	9	3	9	5	11	6
Intensified Taking Responsibility																								
Explicit self-blame	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0
Lack of intent	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	2	0	2	5	2
Expression of embarrassment	1	2	6	4	1	1	0	2	6	3	1	1	0	1	1	1	4	3	2	6	0	3	6	3
Admission of facts	13	7	1	1	4	2	13	7	5	2	14	7	7	3	9	6	14	6	0	9	9	6	1 5	9
Refusal to acknowledge guilt	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	4	2	0	0	3	2	0	3	1	2	1	1	1	0
Explanation	7	9	0	2	11	4	2	1	0	1	8	4	12	7	2	2	9	2	0	6	10	6	9	4
Offer of repair	8	5	11	6	3	2	0	3	13	6	14	6	7	3	1	1	13	6	0	2	2	3	1 4	7
Promise of forbearance	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	4	0	0
Distracting from offence	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	6	0	0

No of apologies	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
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Table 2: Comparison of Apology Strategies in the Role Play Situations in the British English and in the Pashto Language (Part-1, S 1-3)

Situation Strategy	1				2				3			
	BE	BE%	PL	PL%	BE	BE%	PL	PL%	BE	BE%	PL	PL%
IFID	1	7%	1	7%	3	20%	2	13%	3	20%	2	13%
IFID Intensified	8	53%	5	33%	12	80%	6	40%	11	73%	7	47%
Explicit self-blame	0	0%	2	13%	0	0%	1	7%	1	7%	2	13%
Lake of intent	2	13%	1	7%	2	13%	2	13%	2	13%	1	7%
Expression of embossment	1	7%	2	13%	6	40%	4	27%	1	7%	1	7%
Admission of facts	13	87%	7	47%	1	7%	1	7%	4	27%	2	13%
Refusal to acknowledge guilt	0	0%	2	13%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%
Explanation	7	47%	9	60%	0	0%	2	13%	11	73%	4	27%
Offer of repair	8	53%	5	33%	11	73%	6	40%	3	20%	2	13%
Promise of forbearance	0	0%	1	7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%
Distracting from offence	1	7%	1	7%	1	7%	0	0%	1	7%	2	13%
No of apologies												

Table 1 shows an overall comparative analysis of the apology strategies in the Pashto and the British English. In IFID and IFID intensified strategies, the respondents of the British English were more consistent than the respondents of the Pashto language. In

'explicit self-blame' a sub strategy of the responsibility taking, the respondents of the Pashto language were comparatively better than the British respondents. The 'lack of intent strategy' was used almost similarly by the respondents of both the languages. The respondents of the British English were more prominent in the expression of embarrassment strategy in A 2, A 5 and A 12. However, the respondents of the Pashto language used this strategy a bit higher in A 2, A 5, A 9, A 11 and A 12. The respondents of the British English were exclusively better in the strategy of the admission of facts. They used it in high terms in A 1, A 4, A 6, A 8, A 9, A 11 and A 12 respectively. The strategy of 'refusal to acknowledge the guilt' was almost the same in both the languages. Respondents of both the languages were comparatively better on the use of the 'explanation strategy'. The British respondents used it higher in A 3, A 7 and in A 10 but while the respondents of the Pashto language made a higher use of this strategy in A 1, A 7, A 10 and in A 11 respectively. The respondents of the British English were again better on the use of the offer of repair strategy and they used it more in A 2, A 5, A 6, A 9 and A 12. The strategy of 'promise of forbearance' and 'distraction from offence' was comparatively low in both the linguistic cultures.

Table 3: Comparison of Apology Strategies in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (Part-2, S 4 - 6)

Situation Strategy	4				5				6			
	BL	BL%	PL	PL%	BL	BL%	PL	PL%	BE	BE%	PL	PL%
IFID	5	33%	4	27%	1	7%	0	0%	2	13%	1	7%
IFID Intensified	1	7%	2	13%	14	93%	3	20%	9	60%	3	20%
Explicit self-blame	1	7%	2	13%	0	0%	1	7%	0	0%	0	0%
Lake of intent	0	0%	1	7%	2	13%	2	13%	0	0%	0	0%
Expression of embossment	0	0%	2	13%	6	40%	3	20%	1	7%	1	7%
Admission of facts	13	87%	7	47%	5	33%	2	13%	14	93%	7	47%
Refusal to acknowledge guilt	1	7%	2	13%	0	0%	1	7%	4	27%	2	13%
Explanation	2	13%	1	7%	0	0%	1	7%	8	53%	4	27%
Offer of repair	0	0%	3	20%	13	87%	6	40%	14	93%	6	40%
Promise of forbearance	0	0%	2	13%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Distracting from offence	0	0%	2	13%	1	7%	1	7%	0	0%	0	0%
No of apologies												

Table 4: Comparison of Apology Strategies in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (Part-3, S 7 - 9)

Situation Strategy	7				8				9			
	BE	BE%	PL	PL%	BE	BE%	PL	PL%	BE	BE%	PL	PL%

IFID	6	40%	3	20%	1	7%	0	0%	1	7%	1	7%
IFIDI	0	0%	0	0%	4	27%	2	13%	11	73%	8	53%
ESB	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%	3	20%	0	0%	3	20%
LOI	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	13%	0	0%	2	13%
EOE	0	0%	1	7%	1	7%	1	7%	4	27%	3	20%
AOF	7	47%	3	20%	9	60%	6	40%	14	93%	6	40%
RAG	0	0%	0	0%	3	20%	2	13%	0	0%	3	20%
EXPLN	12	80%	7	47%	2	13%	2	13%	9	60%	2	13%
OOR	7	47%	3	20%	1	7%	1	7%	13	87%	6	40%
POB	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DFO	0	0%	1	7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	13%

Table 05: Comparison of Apology Strategies in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (Part-4, S 10 -12)

Situation Strategy	10				11				12			
	BE	BE%	PL	PL%	BE	BE%	PL	PL%	BE	BE%	PL	PL%
IFID	6	40%	2	13%	2	13%	1	7%	1	7%	0	0%
IFIDI	9	60%	3	20%	9	60%	5	33%	11	73%	6	40%
ESB	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%	1	7%	0	0%
LOI	5	33%	2	13%	0	0%	2	13%	5	33%	2	13%
EOE	2	13%	6	40%	0	0%	3	20%	6	40%	3	20%
AOF	0	0%	9	60%	9	60%	6	40%	15	100%	9	60%
RAG	1	7%	2	13%	1	7%	1	7%	1	7%	0	0%

EXPLN	0	0%	6	40%	10	67%	6	40%	9	60%	4	27%
OOR	0	0%	2	13%	2	13%	3	20%	14	93%	7	47%
POB	0	0%	2	13%	3	20%	4	27%	0	0%	0	0%
DFO	0	0%	2	13%	5	33%	6	40%	0	0%	0	0%

Tables 1, 2, 3 and 04 show the percentage of the apology strategies in the role play situations in both the British English and in the Pashto language. The data given in the tables depict that the open and explicit expression of apology i.e., IFID and IFID intensified and the taking responsibility strategies were used in both the languages.

The use of both IFID and IFID intensified was made by the British respondents in almost all the role play situations. The Pashto respondents also made use of these strategies but less than the British respondents. Some of the situations wherein some kind of damage was done to the addressee belongings in the British English. The incidence of IFID intensified was noted 80% in apology role play situation 5 (damage to the car), 93% in apology of 9 (damaging the carpet), 73% in the apology role play situation 12 (smashing the laptop), and 60% in apology 6 (crashing the car).

The data of the tables show that IFID was not used by the British respondents in a role play situation 7 (cancelling holidays) and even the same strategy of IFID was hardly used in role play 4. The non use of IFID strategies in the role plays of apology 7 and apology 4 may be of less offense but in role play 7 the offense seemed to be a serious one because to cancel some one's holiday is really a serious one. The cancelling of holidays seemed to be on his/her company's behalf, therefore, it was not considered to redress the addressee's face. However, the Pashto respondents used IFID 27% in the role play 4 but ignored it in the 7 role plays of apology. As far as the taking responsibilities part of the apology strategy is concerned, the sub-strategy admission of fact was used in all the role play situations in both the languages except in role play 2 (ruining the trousers) and in the role play of apology 10 (stepping on some one's toes). In the role play 2, the physical act of the speaker (addressor) caused some damage to the hearer's clothing (spilling coffee or ruining the trousers) and in role play 10, the hearer was disturbed by stepping on his/her toes. In such situations, the admission of fact would have been useless until the hearer (addressee) saw the damage.

The Explicit Expression of Apology in the Role Play Situations

Normally, the apologies consist of some very specific expressions and these specific expressions are uttered with specific words. In English, the words such as excuse me, sorry, I am sorry, pardon etc are used while in Pashto Bkhana Gwarama (excuse me, pardon me), Khafa Nashai (never mind), Mafi Gwarama (forgive me) etc are used for the explicit expression of an apology. The explicit expression of apology can be extended and modified. These expressions of apology were used most commonly in both the languages but some of the main forms of these apology expressions are discussed in brief. Thus 'sorry' is the most important word in this regard.

Owen (1983) finds the 'I am sorry' to be a statement wherein the speaker or addressee is not held responsible for any offense or mistake. By the expressions of such explicit sorry, the issue of an offense can become the matter of the past.

Consider the following examples from English:

1. The girlfriend of mine and came, gossiped and we had a small bit of... I am sorry for that (A3, MM, UK, Reiter 2000)
2. It is very hard for me what and how to say things about it, I am really very sorry about this, it was all my fault, (A9, MM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

The Following examples of the Pashto language are also considered:

- کتاب مه تاسو له درکړی وو که ستاسو ورور له مي درکړی وو. تاسو چي وعده اوکړئ نو بپائئ نه پوره کړئ.
- ما خو وی چي دوی به وپسی سر پلېز تاسو خفه نه شی.
- تېک ده. خو آننده د پاره خپال کوه بل چه سره داسي مه کوه.
- معزرت غوارم مه خپل ورور ته ونېلي وو خو هغه د لاسه
- تېک شو

The transcriptions of the above role plays are as follow:

I had given you the book not to your brother, but you did not return it in time and you also broke your promise. The student said I thought, sir, that my brother would bring it to you, but I am sorry that he did not. Please sir, do not mind its late return. The teacher said ok, but do not do such mistake again).

Another example from Pashto language as it is:

I am sorry and I apologize for the late return of your book. (AI, MM, Pashto, Islamia University, Peshawar, KPK)

Another example from the Pashto is given below:

آو جی دېر وخت می تېر کو معزرت غوارم

Translation: Yes, I got late and I am sorry and apologize for it (A 2, MM, Pashto, Jehanzeb College, Swat, and KPK).

Further, elaborating the Owens's point (1983) that the "I am sorry for that" expression makes the addressor not to make any visible embarrassment but he shows his willingness to accept the responsibility for the offence. Such an explicit expression of an apology means that if demonstrative pronouns are used, then, the inconveniences are beyond the control of the speaker. Even sometimes, the explicit forms of apology can be used as an attention getter. The phrase "I am sorry" was used in place of 'excuse me' as a kind of alerting hearer's attention to get a satisfying reply of the request.

Consider the following from the British English:

Um, I am very sorry to disturb you but would you mind changing seats with me? (A 10, MF, UK, Reiter 2000)

In the sentences that were collected from British native speakers 'the phrase, I am sorry (that) and then the subject was added. Consider the examples from the British English:

I am aware of the fact that you have got booking for a holiday but I am sorry.....
(A7, FM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Again, another response

Um. I got to tell you this and I know that you have booked for your holiday (A7, FM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

As in the above sentences, the use of sorry was used only to preface the bad news which was beyond the control of the speaker and therefore, he had to abdicate the responsibility for that.

Though, the lexical phrase, 'I am afraid' in the following seems to have the same role and function but the intensity of the function is not real but rather ritual.

I am a bit afraid to ask you, would there be any possibility to postpone your holiday?
(A7, MF, UK, Reiter, 2000)

I am afraid to share with you the bad news; the news is that you have to cancel your holiday.

(A7, FF, UK, Reiter, 2000)

It should be noted that the phrase 'I am afraid' was used in the role play 7 but the main function of the phrase was to preface the dispreferred parts.

The point regarding the use of the phrase 'I am (intensifier) sorry is to be noted that the real number of intensifiers may be large but in British the use of intensifiers like so, really, terribly, awfully, dreadfully was noted. The British used English these intensifiers in preface to non intensified apologetic expressions.

As far as the explicit expression of apology is concerned, the realization of such an expression of apology could be seen from the data and such an expression was made possible by the use of the performative verb to apologize. Blum Kulka, House, Kasper (1989) and Aijmer (1996) state such a phrase is used in formal contexts. The phrase 'to apologize' was used in some role play situations in the British English where the offence was considered to be severe and even the seriousness of culturality was noted.

In the role play of apology 9 (damaging the carpet), in 11 (overdue payment) and in role play 12 (smashing the computer) the seriousness factor of culturality was noted. During these role play situations, the addressor (speaker) realized the potential damaging effect upon the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The feelings of such

damaging effect upon the relationship of the interlocutors were noted in the apology role play situation of 1 (book return) and 3 (time off).

Some parts from an exchange are given below to show the potential damaging effect upon the relationship of the addressor and the addressee.

B. B you made promise that you would give it to me today.

A. Ya, I did, I can still get it back to you

B. Oh, is it in the halls or you have it at home?

A. No, I have it with me at hand.

B. You have got it at the moment?

A. Ya, and I apologize for it. (A1, MM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

A part from another exchange wherein the following phrase for apologizing was noted:

B. Ya, you are actually late half an hour and my boss had wanted me to work for him. I have taken some phone calls and have them written, you were late by an hour and a half.

A. Course, I apologize for that and I did not really mean to get late that long. (A 2, MM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Another response for the role play:

A. ... I promised to give it back soon, but again, I apologize for it being late (A11, MF, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Even the expression of the apology was done with the help of some modal verbs, auxiliary emphatic do and some other adverbs. Some examples from the British English are as follows:

A. Oh, I am sorry and I really must apologize for not being able to pay the money any sooner but some of my relatives paid me back so (A11, FF, UK, Reiter, 2000)

B. Well, I did my best to remove the stain but a bit is still there. Now, what else can I do, whatever it costs, let me know, I do apologize for it. (A9, MM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Another role play where emphatic modal is used as it is clear from the following:

b. so, you broke it.

A. no, just a part of it was broken and I will refund you for it and I do apologize sincerely for it. (A12, FM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

As far as the Pashto language is concerned, even such apologetic expressions were noted and words like sorry were also noted in the Pashto language.

Consider the following from Pashto language:

۲: تاسو ته پته ده كنه دلته كېن مه آفس ورك دى. د دى وجه نه زه په خپله كلاسز تا تلم پو باندي راونډ لگوه او بل باندي راونډ لگوه. ماته بېه ډېره گرانه شى.

۱: **SORRY:** مېدم **I HOPE** تاسو ته به بېه داسى شكابت نه وي t

Translation:

You know that I have to take my classes with the office work. I have also to take rounds to check the classes and this, therefore, would be hard for me to take your classes.

Sorry madam, I hope that you won't have this complaint again. (A 2, MM, Pashto, Sheringal University, KPK)

Even in Pashto language there are also some explicit expressions of apology which can be realized by words like Bakhana Gwarama (I am sorry), Maafi Gwarama (excuse me), Mazrat Koma (I apologize), Khafa Nashai (never mind) and Afsos Koma (sorry).

These expressions are of utter explicit nature and they are also hearer and speaker oriented.

کومی مېډم نه وی راغلی خو تاسو بېه هم دومره لېټ شوی. تاسو ته مه ونلی هم وو.
بس نو دفتر کار داسی وی چی خلاصی تری نه وی. بس مه هم تری په څه جوړ ځان راخلاص کو چی تاسو خفه نه شی.
بس مېډم چی راغلی نو دېره مهربانی. مېډم دا چای واخلي.
راکئ راله.

۱: اله دا خو توی شو. مېډم **SORRY, SORRY!**

او هو. ټول سوټ دی راله خراب کو.

۱: **MADAM SORRY!** تاسو خو اونه سوزېږئ.

زه اونه سوزېږم خو خبره دا ده چی دکاتن سوټ دی بېه تری داغ نه ځی.

مېډم اوس به اوبه راوړم.

اېبه خبر پرېږده هېڅ خبره نه ده.

مېډم خفه نه شی زما دا لاس نه اوغورځېږو.

زه خبر دی خبردی.

Translation:

I am sorry for my late arrival.

Madam, we waited for your arrival and we all had decided that we would not take tea till you come, though we requested you to arrive in time.

Yeah, I knew, but was badly stuck in the office but somehow; I got time to attend this tea party.

Thank you very much for your arrival, now, please madam take some tea.

Ok, thank you.

Oh, madam, the tea spilled, sorry, and your new suit got damaged. Sorry, did the hot tea burn you?

No problem, its ok, but my new suit got stained and it's hard to destain it.

Please, let me clean it, madam.

Ok, no problem, it does not matter. Please madam, do not mind, it fell out of my hand. (A2, FF, Pashto Sheringal, KPK)

The Responsibility Taking and its Sub-Strategies

Brown & Levinson (1987) Goffman (1972) Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) state that the formula of taking responsibility for an offence directly relates to the speaker's cost and loss of face as a result of an apology speech act performance.

The addressor (Speaker) takes responsibility of an offence with the help of the sub-formulas, i.e., explicit self blame, lack of intent, expression of embarrassment, admission of facts and the refusal to accept the offence.

An Explicit Expression of Self-Blame

Self-Blame is an utter responsibility for an offence by the speaker or addressor. Such an act of self-blame has two aspects. It is used to redress the hearer's negative face or to threaten the positive face of the addressor. Such a positive face may be indirect, which may help to accentuate the speaker's positive face by an avoidance of disagreement and by an expression of sympathy with the addressor. The use of this strategy was made by the British respondents in A 3 (time-off), A 4 (forgetting the map), A 8 (typing letters) and in A 12 (smashing the computer). The strategy of self-blame is explained in the following examples from the British English:

Oh, it's all my fault; the map is already in my pocket. (A4, FM, UK, Reiter 2000).

The following examples explain the fact of self-blame:

I am really sorry for being late and I did not expect to take long. I apologize for it. I did not really intend to be late for such a long time. It's my utter fault and I am responsible for it. I am even ready to go to boss to say sorry for my act. (A3, FM, UK, Reiter, 2000).

Oh, it's all my fault; the map is already in my pocket all the time. (A4, FM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Another example from the British English in the following:

Oh, sorry! It was my entire mistake; I gave you some wrong letters to type. (A8, MF, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Some examples from the Pashto language wherein an explicit self-blame is made for an offence.

1. مېډم دا ستاسو کتاب دی. پرره دوه ورځې مه نه لېټ شو د دی د پاره زه ستاسو نه ډېره زباته شرمندې ېم. بس مېډم مجبوری وه. زه تاسو نه دی د پاره معافي غواړم

Translation:

Madam, please take your book as I did not return it in time due to some problems and I am sorry for it. And I apologize for this late return. (A 1, FF, Sheringal Dir Upper, Pashto language)

Another apology role play situation from the Pashto language is given in the following:

مېډم لکه لېټ شوم چی زه ستاسو نه معافی غواړم ځکه چی ماتاسو ته د بوی گهنټی وېلی وو خو هغه دوی گهنټی اولگېدی. نو په دي وجه زه تاسو نه معافي غواړم تاسو خفه نه شی.

Translation:

I am sorry for my late arrival. I asked just for one hour leave, but it took me two hours. Please do not mind it and I apologize for it. (A2, time off, Wari Campus, Dir Lower, Pashto language)

د دي دپاره معزرت غواړم. خبر دي زه به بې بوځم سروس به بې کم

I am really apologetic for spilling oil on the seat of your car, I will get your car serviced (A 5, MM, Pashto, University of Swat, KPK)

Lack of intent as an Expression

This very non linguistic sub-strategy of taking the responsibility was used in almost all of the situations in both the linguistic cultures. This strategy suggests that the speaker or addressor makes an explicit expression about an act or offence that it was non-intentional. Such an act mitigates the severity of an offence.

Examples from both the languages are given in the following:

Oh, sorry, the computer screen has got cracked. It happened when I was attending the telephone call but it was completely an accident and nothing else. (A12, MM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Another example from the British English as follows:

I am really very sorry for forgetting it, I just left it on the side. (A1, FM.UK, Reiter, 2000)

Some examples from the Pashto language are given below to show an expression of intent.

- که خفه کېږي نه نو هغه لېټرز غلط وو ما نور راوړي دي په نادرې کښې اووم دسره خپال می ورته هم نه وو. تاسو که خفه کېږئ نه دا نور به راله اونه کئ.

Oh, I am really very sorry as due to some great rush I gave you wrong letters to type. Please do not mind if you have to type the right letters. (A8, Typing Letters, MM, Islamia College University, Peshawar)

As in the following an excuse is made regarding the loan return:

- سر ستاسو پېسی لگي لېټ شوی خو مجبوری وی.
- اوس می هم د چانه راو غېستی او تاسو له می راوړی.
- ډېر وخت دی واغستو پري نو.
- بل چانه می راو غېستی .
- بل چه نه دي راو غېستی نو هغوی له به څه ورکي.
- هغوی له به سر بیا بل څه چل واوکو.
- د پونه او د بل نه دا ته څه کي.
- سر ستاسو پېسی مه تاسو له په وخت درنه کړی د هغی د پاره ستاسو نه معذرت غواړم

Translation:

Sir, I did not return your loan in time due to some problems. I got it from someone else to give it to you.

I am really sorry for not returning your loan in time.(A11, MM, Pashto, Sheringal University Dir upper, KPK).

As in the following Pashto excerpt a lack of intent is clearly expressed:

زه لېټ شوم خفه نه شی خو هلته د رجسټرار صېب ډېر زبات مېټنگز وو.

او د هغوی بهر ما انتظار کوو. ما وی کو **ANY TIME** مېټنگز ختم شو او رجسټرار صېب ما راو غوړي نو هغوی به خفه شی. او دلته ما تاسو تا کار پرېښودی وو نو ستاسو ما ډېر زبات ټایم و غستو. نو خفه نه شی.

Translation

I got late due to the hectic schedule of registrar, he had many meetings and I had to wait outside. As soon as the meetings of the registrar were over, I met him, but it took me long to meet him. I took your time and I am very sorry for it, please do not mind it. (A2, MM, Pashto, university of Swat, KPK)

The Expression of Embarrassment as a Strategy

So far the use of this strategy is concerned, it was used in both the languages, but British respondents used it more than the Pashto speakers. The examples of this strategy from British English are given in the following:

I am utterly apologetic, feel really very sorry and I am very embarrassed. (A5, FM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Oh, I am greatly afraid about what to say but let me clear this mess out all by myself, it's my responsibility now. (A 12, FF, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Consider the following examples of embarrassment in the Pashto language:

: بس چی څه اوښو هغه خو هسی هم شوی دی اوس خو ورسره څه نه کی

Translation

Whatever is done is done and nothing can be done now for it (A 12, Pashto, University of Swat, KPK)

Admission of Facts

The respondents of both English and Pashto language used this strategy. The addressor or speaker did not only refuse his/her involvement in an offence but also accepted the offence openly. (Blum-Kulka, House, Kasper, 1989). The phenomena of AOF have been observed in both the languages. Consider the following examples from both the languages:

Oh my god, it is with me here in my pocket. (A7, MM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

The sentence above was uttered as an admission of facts by the speaker. He did not only realize his mistake but he also openly accepted it.

Similar examples are taken from the Pashto language:

: بس راغلم خو لگ لپټ شوم تاسو به خفه شوی ئی.

Oh; I came in but late and I am sorry for that. (A2, Pashto, MM, Islamia College University, Peshawar, KPK)

In the above sentence, the addressor made an open admission of his mistake and accepted even the responsibility for his late arrival..

: ۱: اله دا خو توی شو. مېډم **SORRY, SORRY!**

Translation:

Oh! the tea spilled, Madam, I am sorry, sorry for it (A2, FF, Pashto, Sheringal University, KPK)

Even the structure above from the Pashto language makes it clear that the addressee realized his mistake and accepted it openly and asked for a big sorry.

1.1.1. Refusal to Accept the Offence

'Refusal to accept the offence strategy' was used only when the speaker refused to take responsibility for the offence but rather put the responsibility on the hearer.

Consider the following examples from the British English:

Though the accident was slightly due to the bump in the front of the road, the fault was not mine. (A4, MF, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Another role play wherein this strategy of refusal was made in the British English:

It was you who put the map in my pocket but you had it all along, did you? (A 8, FM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

Similar strategy was also applied in Pashto language as given in the following:.

- ماشومانو نه اکثر څه نه څه مسئله جوړېږي اکثر د لوتو نه هم کېږي. انسان نه غواړي خو چې دا کار اونه شي خو بس اوشي.

Translation:

Sometimes the children and even the elders commit mistakes despite of their utmost care but it happens. (A9, MM, Pashto, University of Swat, KPK)

Another example from Pashto is given in the following:

- اله خفه نه شئ. بڼپه مو خور شوه
- دېره زپاته.
- بس خفه نه شئ. اصل کښی زه اخوه اورېدم خو دا ځای دومره تنگ دی کڼه

Translation:

Oh, I think I stepped on your foot and hurt you. I am sorry for it as this all happened due to narrow space. (A10, MM Pashto, university of Peshawar, KPK)

In the examples from Pashto language, the addressor was not ready to accept his fault but tried to justify it with explanation.

Hence, the apologies which were expressed through the role play situations in both the languages were not real. They were also not directed for the redressal of the addressee's negative face needs, but still the respondents of both the languages were not ready to take responsibility for their offences. They were responsible for the offences but did not take responsibility for them but rather gave reasons to justify their offences.

Apology Strategy of Explanation

There are explanations or reasons which are normally given directly or indirectly to justify an expression of apology. These explanations are culturally specific. There is no linguistic or conventional way of an explanation both in the British English and in the Pashto language. As the need for an explanation was felt by both the British English and Pashto respondents in the role play of apology 9 (damage in the carpet).

Even a properly worded explanation helps an apologizer to transfer the responsibility of an offence to the other person of the interaction. The strategy of explanation was not used in the role play situation 10. It was even found that this strategy was used highly by the British respondents, 80% in A 7 but the same strategy was only used 60% in A 2 by the Pashto respondents. In role play 7, the addressor had a bit of advantage over the hearer because the company wanted the addressee to stay for the completion of the project. The explanation of the addressor was, therefore, enough to transfer the responsibility of the offence to the company not to the speaker. Its incidence in British English was noticed 80%, but was just 47% in the Pashto language.

The following are some of the examples from both the languages:

Oh! It was one of those stupid accidents, I am really sorry for that. Just a drop of ink spilled when I was writing letters (A9, FM, UK, Reiter, 2000)

دا سپټ د بخوا نه تنگ وو نو حکه مي پينه تاسوسره ټچ شوه

Translation:

The place where I was standing near the seat was narrow. I, therefore, bumped into you and touched your foot. (A10, MM, Pashto, Islamia College University, Peshawar, KPK)

The Offer of Repair Strategy

This strategy was used only when there was some physical or actual damage done. This strategy was not used in the role play 4 of the British English and in role play 10 (stepping on the toe). Though a pain was felt in A 10 and it could have been argued but no offer of repair was made to the hearer. The Pashto speakers used this strategy in A 4 (20%) and A 10 (13%).

Consider the following example from the Pashto language:

نو خو چی لار شو پسي کار با مخکي با اوستو اوبه شي

Translation:

Let's go for it. It does not matter whether it is done after or before. (A4, MM, Pashto, Sheringal University, KPK)

The results of the data of both the languages show that the offer of repair strategy was used in the role play situations where the nature of damage or harm was a bit serious. The strategy was used in A2 (spilling tea), in A 5 (damaging the car), in A 6 (bumping the car) in A 9 (smearing the carpet) and in A 12 (smashing the computer). In all these situations, the offer of repair strategy was used as per the nature of the offence.

Consider the following examples:

Oh! I am really sorry for it and I will pay for its dry cleaning (A2, FM UK, Reiter, 2000)

Ops! Sorry, let me clean it now (A5, MM UK, Reiter, 2000)

My god! It got broken and needs a repair. Let me get you a replacement for it. (A 12, FF,UK, Reiter, 2000)

خفه نه شی سر غسل خانه دا ده نزدېده تاسو راځئ وېنم راځئ پلېز

Translation:

Oh, sorry sir for making your shirt dirty by spilling tea on it, Let me take it to wash away the stain. (A 5, MM, Pashto, University of Swat, KPK)

تاسو چېک پئ کی راشی. که ډېر لگېدلي وي زه به پئ بوخم ټپک به کم

Translation:

Please check your car, if there is any damage and you think it repairable, and then let me take it for repair. (A6, MM, Pashto, Sheringal University, KPK)

ودرېگه زه خپل رور ته وېم چی دا بېا ددی نه پس سروس کی کنه

Translation:

Please wait and let me ask my brother to clean it (Back seat) properly at the service station. (A5, MM, Pashto, Islamia College University, Peshawar, KPK)

The Apology strategy of Promise of Forbearance

The data show that the incidence of the strategy of Promise of forbearance was small in both the languages. The British respondents used this strategy 20% in A 11 and

the Pashto speakers used it 27% in A 11. The very purpose of this strategy in this situation was to save the speaker's face and also to redress the face of the boss because the speaker or addressor was supposed to take the loan again.

The phenomenon of the promise of forbearance is seen in the following examples:

Oh, sorry sir, this won't happen again (A11, FF UK, Reite, 2000)

سر ستاسو پېښی مه تاسو له په وخت درنه کړی د هغی د پاره ستاسو نه معذرت غواړم

Translation:

I did not return your money on time and I am really apologetic and feel sorry for it. (A 11, MM, Pashto, Jehanzeb College Swat, KPK)

• مېډم هغه پسي ما واپس کولې دا فنډ هغه نو ما خو راوړې دې . خو تاسو به خفه مو پئ او غصه مو پئ . چې په خپل وخت مي رانه اوړې . تاسو 10، ورزې پادې کړې وې . خو پېښې نه پورا کېږدې اوس پورا شوي نو مه راوړې.

Translation:

Madam, I brought your money back but was unable to give it in time, I am really sorry and I ask for your apology for not giving your money within ten days (A11, FF, Pashto, Sheringal University, KPK)

The Role of Situational Factors and Variables in Determining the Apology Strategies

The situational factors and variables had a role in determining the strategies of apology. Such situational, explanatory parameters and variables were used as per the social distance, social power and as per the severity of the situation.

These factors varied in all the 12 role play situations of apology, but the severity of an offence was not ignored. It was even attempted to measure the relative seriousness of the offence in both the linguistic cultures. Such a measure of the seriousness of offence in view of its all social factors was important for the independent evaluation of the over weighting of the FTA.

In simple words, the data of the strategies and their sub strategies show that the seriousness of the offences did have an importance in all the role play situations of both the linguistic cultures.

The data show that the British respondents were more apologetic than the Pashto respondents and even the nature of the severity of an offence made the respondents of both languages to apologize in the role play situations. The social status and social power of the interlocutors were also to play a role as per the seriousness of an offence in the role play situation.

The following discussion makes the results of the data clear:

- If the social power of the addressor (Speaker) is less than the addressee (Hearer) then, the addressor is bound to apologize more than the apology of a non-serious situation. Such an instance was noted in A 6 (car accident) in comparison to A 1 (book returning).
- Even if the addressor (Speaker) has more social power than the addressee (Hearer) and the committed offence is of a serious nature, so in such a situation, the addressor is supposed to offer an apology for the offence. Despite of his/her high social power, the instance of such an apology was noted in A 7 (cancelling holidays) where the speaker had more social power than the hearer.
- If the hearer and the speaker are of equal social status and the offence is a serious one, yet the speaker has to apologize despite of the close relationship between the speaker and hearer. Such an instance of apologizing was noted in A 5 (spilling oil on the seat) and in A 9 (smearing carpet). Thus, an apology is made due to the severity of an offence.

The results of the data appear to be in contrast to Fraser (1981) and Holmes (1990). They stated that the less social distance was proportional to the decreased apology strategy. The social distance and the lesser social power appeared to contribute more towards the performance of apologies. Such performance was noticed in A 4 (forgetting a map) and in A 8 (typing letters). Apart from the social distance and social power, the severity of an offence also forces the use of apologies among the interlocutors, despite of their equal social status and intimate friendship. Such apologies were noticed in A 9 where the interlocutors were intimately related.

The data show that the strategies of apologies were noticed in the role plays of both languages and thus, the close and intimate nature of social intimacy became secondary. Thus, it appears that the linguistic behaviour of the speakers of both the languages does not conform to the Brown & Levinson's model of politeness. As per the model of Brown & Levinson (1987), apologies are sensitive to increase in social distance and to the severity of an offence, but in the present study, it was shown that the apologies occurred due to the severity of an offence and social power. The comparative analysis of the apologies strategies of both the Pashto and British English is given in the following figures:

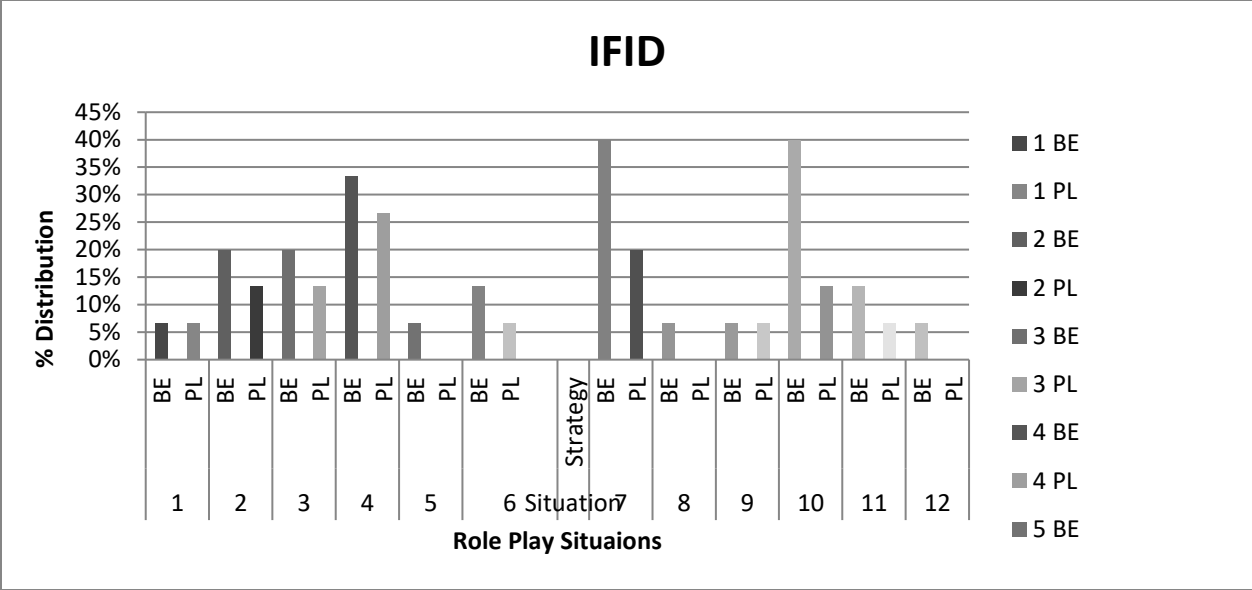


Figure 1: Comparison of Apology Strategy IFID in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

In the figure 01 above, it is depicted that the British respondents used IFID 7% in the role play of apology 1, 20% each in A 2 and A 3, 33% in A 4, 75% in A 5, 13% in A 6, 40% in A 7, 7% each in A 8 and A 9, 40% again in A 10 and just 7% in A 12. On the other hand, the Pashto respondents used this strategy 7% each in A 1, A 6, A 8, A 9, A 11 and A 12, 13% in A 3, 27% in A 4, ignored it in A 5 altogether and just 13% again in A 10. The use of this strategy by the Pashto respondents was comparatively lower than the British respondents. The British respondents made use of the strategy in almost all the role play situations, but the Pashto speakers ignored it in A 5 and in A 8.

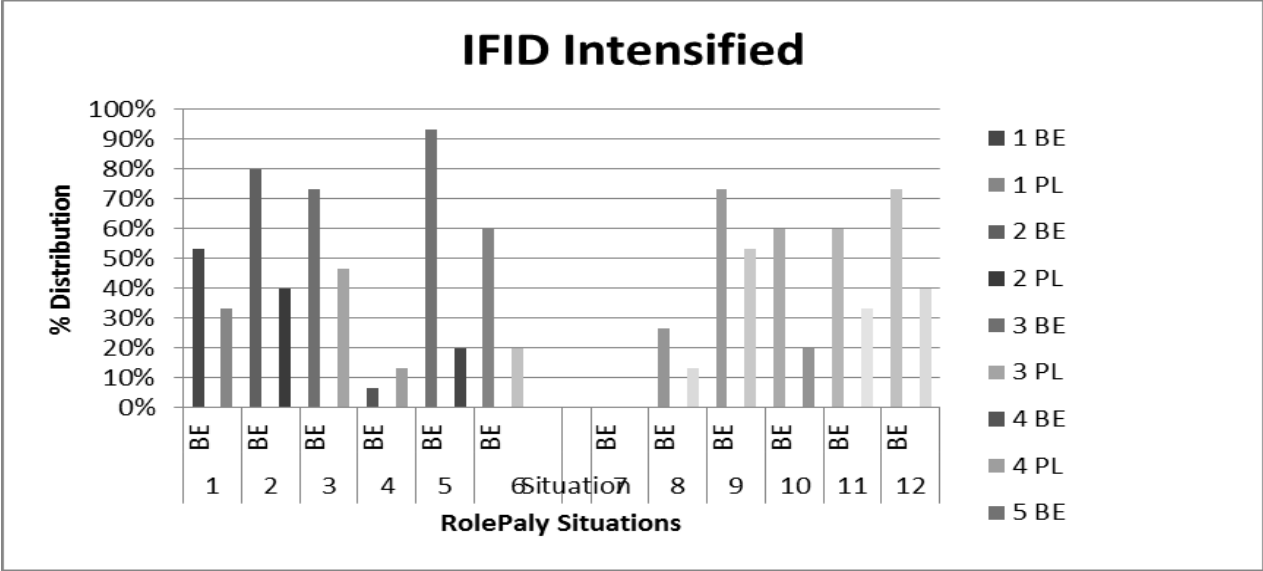


Figure 2: Comparison of Apology Strategy IFID Intensified in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

Figure 02 above shows that in British English the strategy of IFID intensified was used 53%, in A1, 80% in A 2, 73% in A 3, 71% in A 4, 20% in A5, 60% in A 6, was ignored in A 7, 27% in A 8, 73% in A 9, 70% in again in A 11 and 73% in A 12. While on the other hand, respondents of the Pashto language used this strategy 33% in A 1, 40% in A 2, 47% in A 3, 13% in A 4, 20% in A 5 and A 6, ignored it in A 7, 13% again in A 8, 53% in A 9, 20% in A 10, 33% in A 11 and 40% in A 12. The British English respondents made a higher use of this strategy.

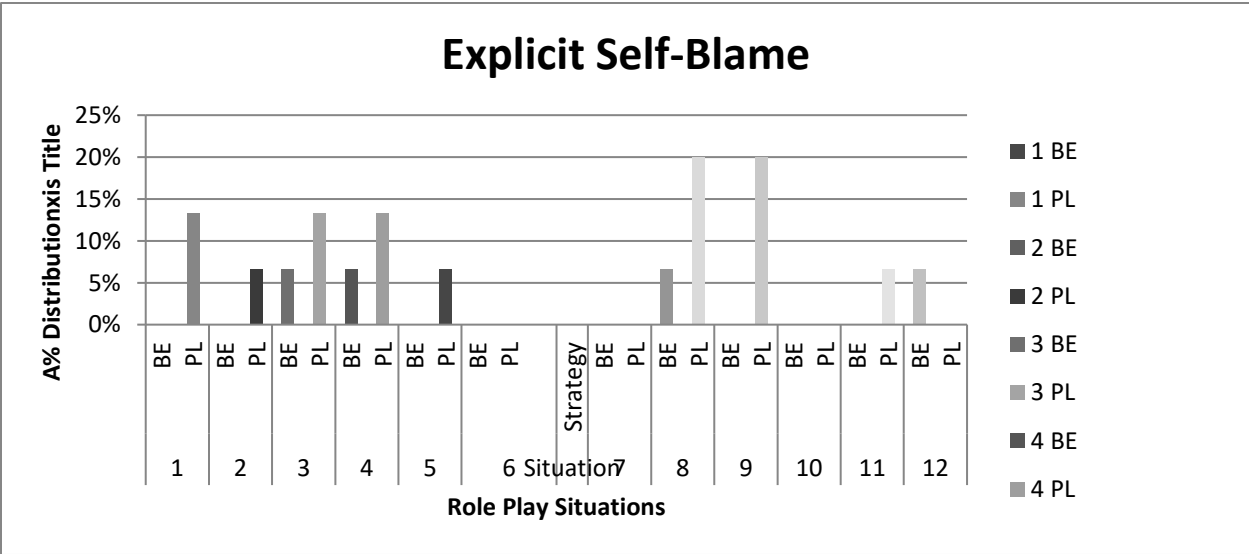


Figure 3: Comparison of Apology Strategy Explicit Self-Blame in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

The results of 'self-blame strategy' have been shown in figure 03 above. It depicts that the British respondents used this strategy 7% each in A 3, A 4, A 8, and A 12 but ignored it in A 1, A 2, A 5, A 6, A 7, A 9, A 10 and A 11. On other hand, the Pashto respondents used this strategy 13% each in A 1, A 3 and A 4, 7% each in A 2 and A 5, ignored it altogether in A 6, and A 7 but used it 20% each in A 8 and A 9. The Pashto speakers were more consistent than the British respondents in the use of this strategy.

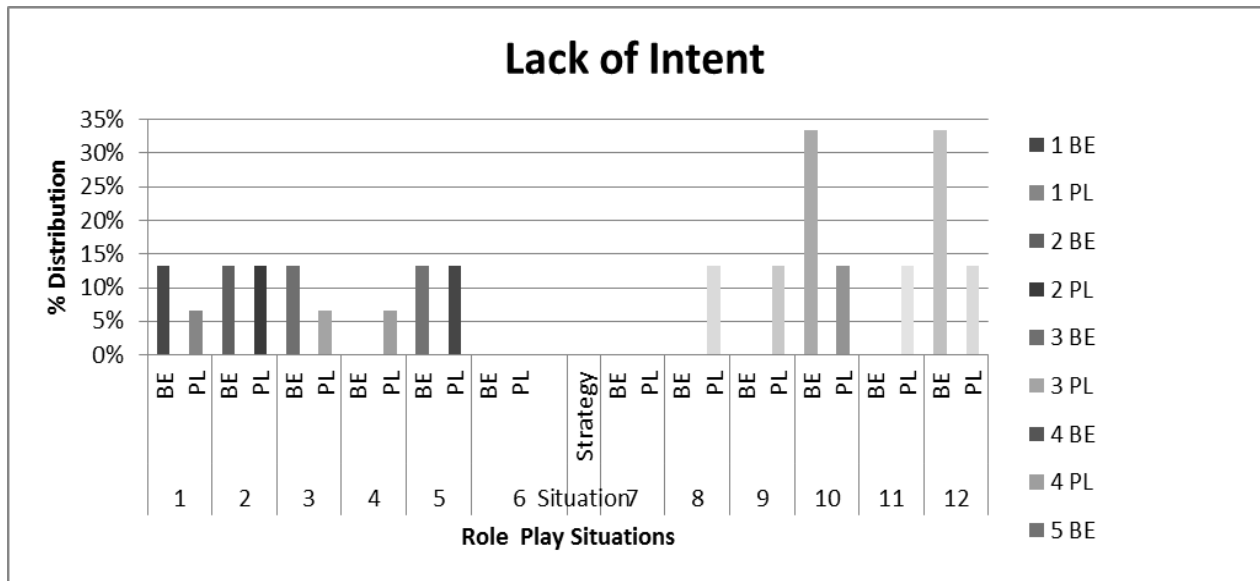


Figure 4: Comparison of Apology Strategy Lack of Intent in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

In figure 04, the comparative analysis of the 'lack of intent strategy' is given. The British respondents used this strategy 13% each in A 1, A 2, A 3 and A 5, 33% each in A 10 and A 12 but they ignored it altogether in A 4, A 5, A 6, A 7, A 9 and A 11. The use of the same strategy by the Pashto respondents was 13% each in A 2, A 5, A 8, A 9, A 10, A 11 and A 12 but they ignored it in A 4, A 6 and A 7. The Pashto respondents were comparatively better than the British respondents in the use of this strategy.

Anyhow, the British respondents used this strategy more than Pashto speakers in A 10 and A 12.

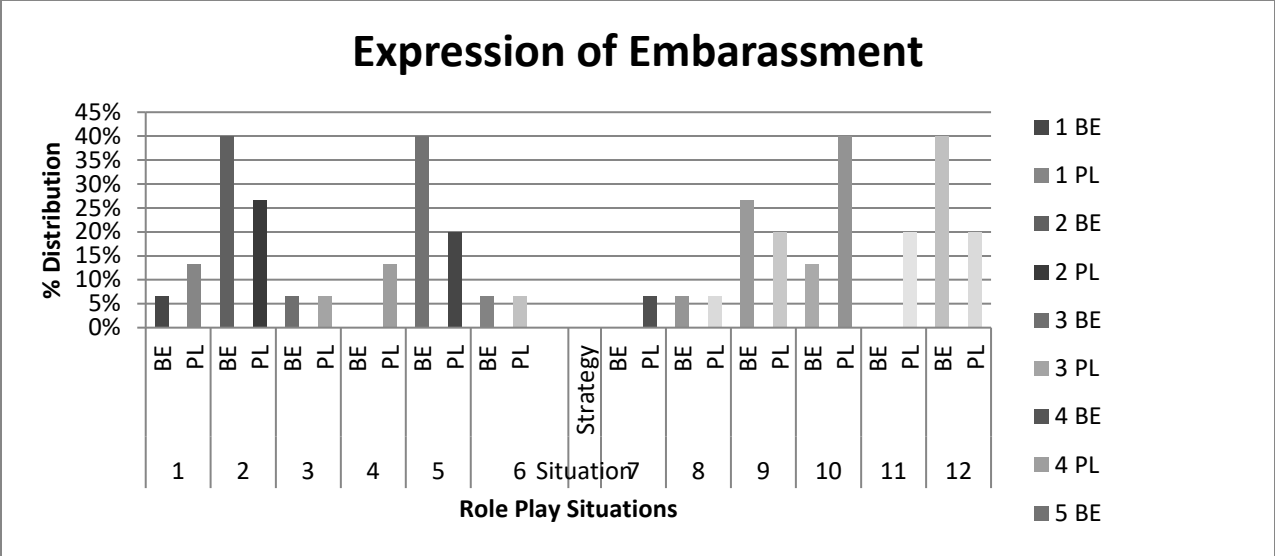


Figure 05: Comparison of Apology Strategy Expression of Embarrassment in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

Figure 05 above, depicts the use of expression of ‘embarrassment strategy’ in both the British English and the Pashto language. The use of this strategy by the British respondents was 7% each in A 1, A 3, A 6 and A 8. While in A 5, A 2 and A 11, its use was just its percentage was just 40 but in A 5, A 2 and in A 12, it was 27% and in A 9 but they ignored it in A 4, A 6 and A 7 and A 11. The Pashto respondents made use of this strategy up to 13% each in A 1 and in A 4, 27% in A 2, 7% each in A 3 and A 6, and in A 8, 20% each in A 5, A 9, A 11 and A 12, 40% in A 10 but they ignored it in A 7 altogether. The British respondents made a higher percentage of this strategy in A 2, A 5 and in A 12 but the higher percentage by Pashto respondents were recorded in A 10 and A 2.

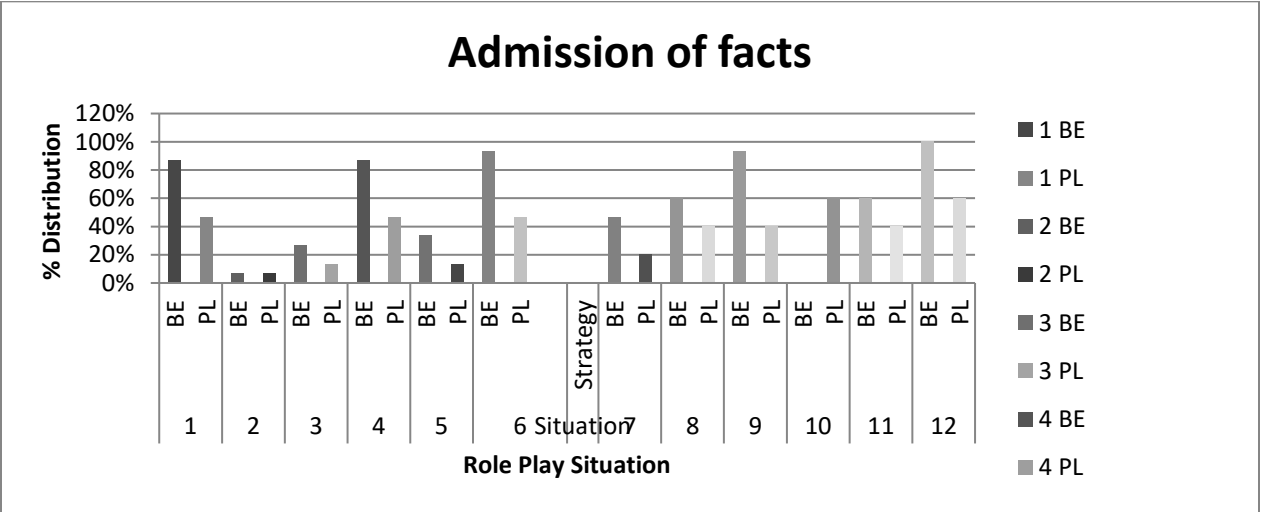


Figure 06: Comparison of Apology Strategy Admission of Facts in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

The strategy of ‘admission of facts’ is depicted in figure 06 above. The British respondents used this strategy 87% each in A 1 and A 4, 7% in A 2, 27% in A 3, 33% in A 5, 93% each in A 6 and A 9, 47% in A 7, 60% each in A 8 and A 11, 100% only in A 12 but ignored it altogether in A 10. On the other hand, the Pashto speakers used this strategy in all the role play situations. They used it 47% each in A1, A 4 and A 6, just 7% in A 2, 13% each in A 3 and in A 5, 20% in A 7, 40% each in A 8, A 9 and A 11, 60% each in A 10 and A 12. The respondents of the Pashto language were consistent but they used this strategy more in A 10 and A 12. The use of this strategy was higher by the British respondents than the Pashto respondents.

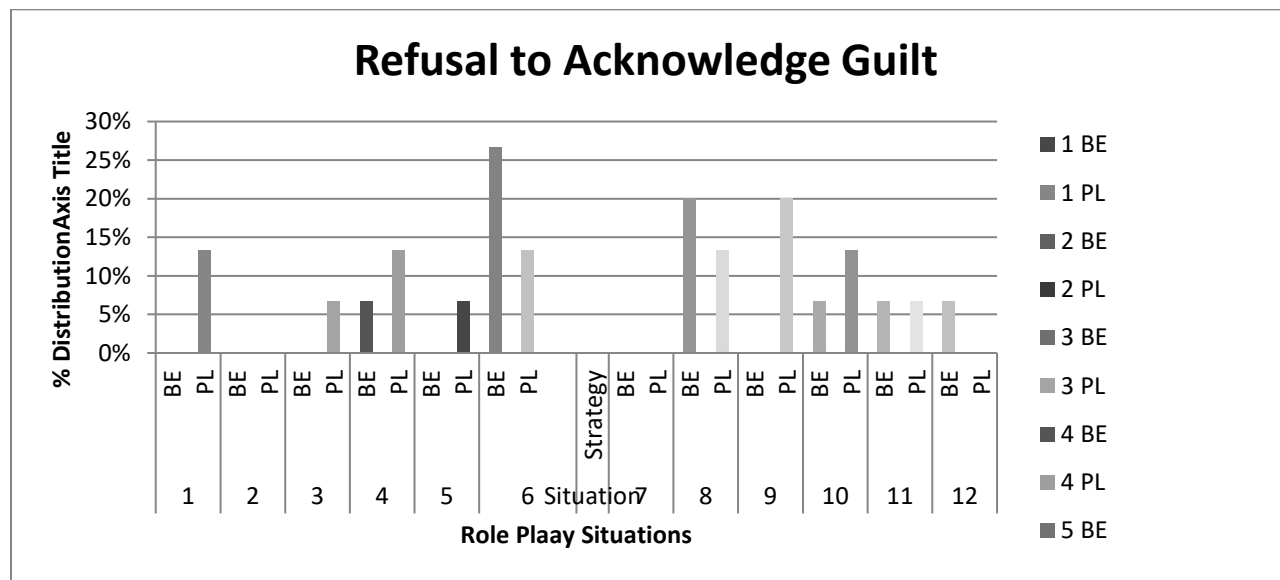


Figure 07: Comparison of Apology Strategy Refusal to Acknowledge Guilt in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

The strategy of refusal to acknowledge guilt is depicted in figure 07 . It shows that the British respondents ignored this strategy altogether in A 1, A 2, A 3, A 5, A 7 and in A 9 but used it up to 7% each in A 4, A 10, A 11 and A 12, 27% in A 6, and 20% only in A 8. The Pashto speakers used this strategy 13% each in A 1, A 4, A 6, A 8, and A 10, 7% each in A 3, A 5 and A 11, 20% in A 9, but they ignored it altogether in A2, A 7 and A 12. The maximum use of this strategy by the British respondents was made in A 6 (27%) but 20% in A 9 by the Pashto speakers.

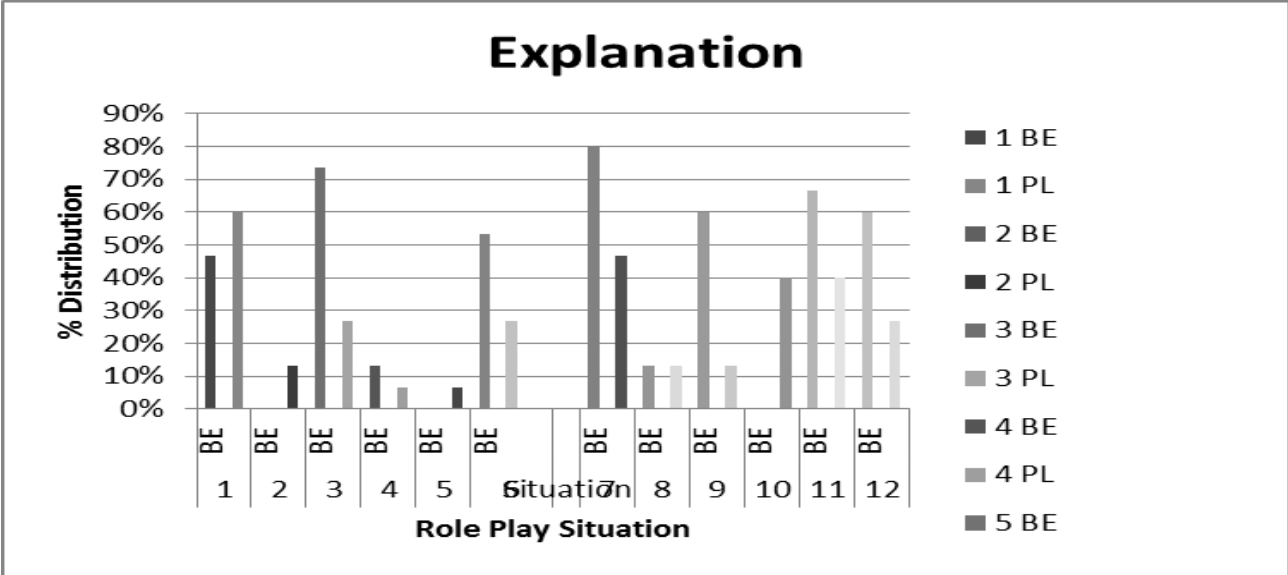


Figure 08: Comparison of Apology Strategy of Explanation in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

Figure 08 depicts the 'strategy of explanation' in both the British English and Pashto language. The British respondents used this strategy 47% in A1, 73% in A 3, 13% in A 4, 53% in A6, 80% in A 7, 13% again in A 8, 60% each in A 9 and A 12, 67% in A 11 but ignored it in A 2, A 5 and A 10. While the Pashto speakers used this strategy 60 % in A 1, 13% each in A 2, A 8, A 9, 27% each in A 3, and A6, just 7% each in A 4, and in A 5, 47% in A 7, 40% in A 10, and in A 11 but just 27% again in A 12. The Pashto respondents used this strategy in all the role play situations but the British respondents used it more than the Pashto respondents in A3 (73%), A 6 (53%), A 7 (80%) and in A 11 (67%).

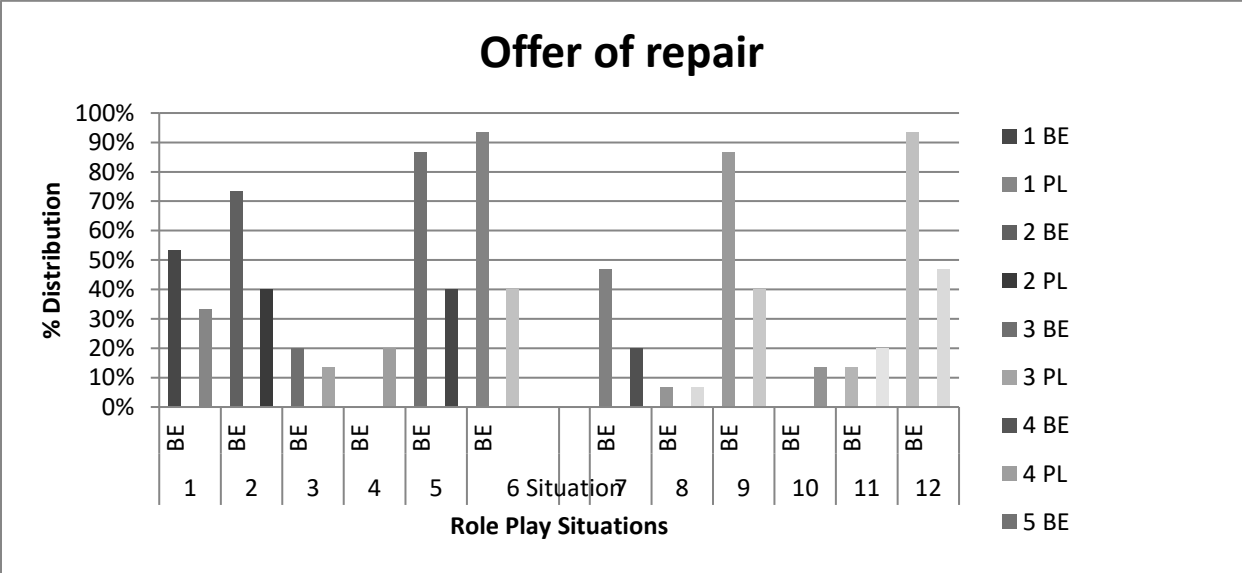


Figure 09: Comparison of Apology Strategy of Offer of Repair in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

The offer of ‘repair strategy’ is depicted in figure 9 above. The respondents of British English used this strategy 53% in A 1, 73% in A 2, 20% in A 3, 87% in A 5, 93% in A 6, 47% in A 7, 7% in A 8, 87% in A 9, 13% in A 11 and 93% in A 12, but they ignored it in A 4 and A 10. On the other hand, the Pashto respondents used this strategy up to 33% in A 1, 40% in A 2, 13% in A 3, 20% in A 4, 40% each in A 5 and A 6, 20% in A 7, 7% in A 8, 40% again in A 9, 13% in A 10.

The British respondents used this strategy more than the Pashto respondents.

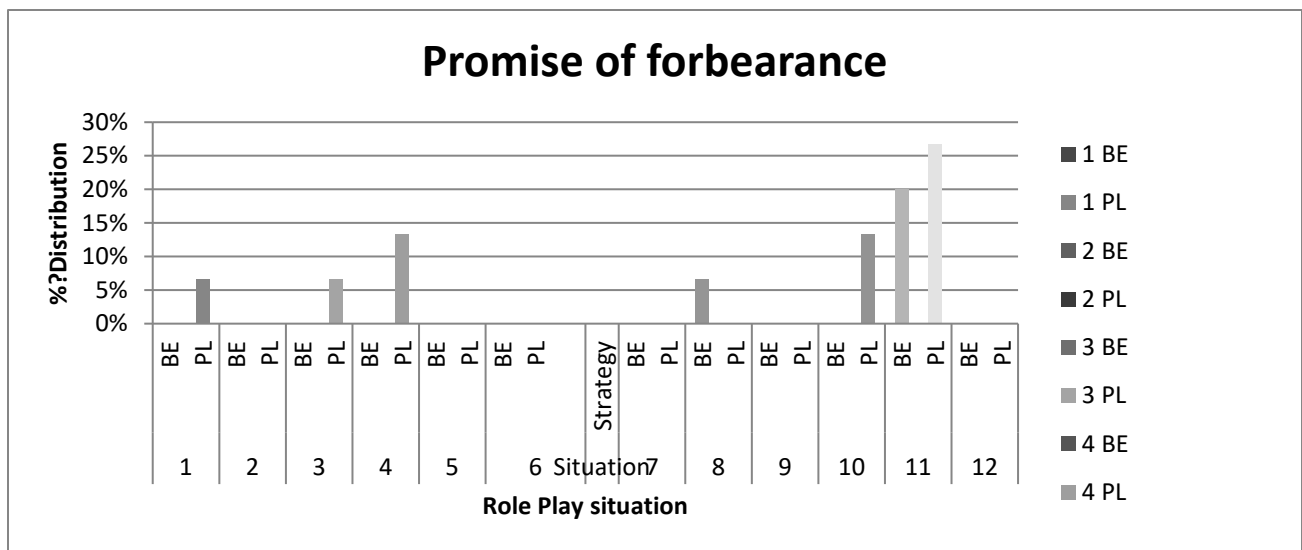


Figure 10: Comparison of Apology Strategy of Promise of Forbearance in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

The comparison of the ‘promise of forbearance’ strategy is depicted in figure 10 above. The British respondents ignored this strategy altogether but except in A 8 (7% only) and in A 11 (20% only). On the other hand, the Pashto respondents used this strategy 7% each in A 1 and A 3, 13% in A 10, 27% in A 11, but ignored it in A 2, A 5, A 6, A 7, A 9 and A 12. The frequency of this strategy was lower in both the linguistic cultures.

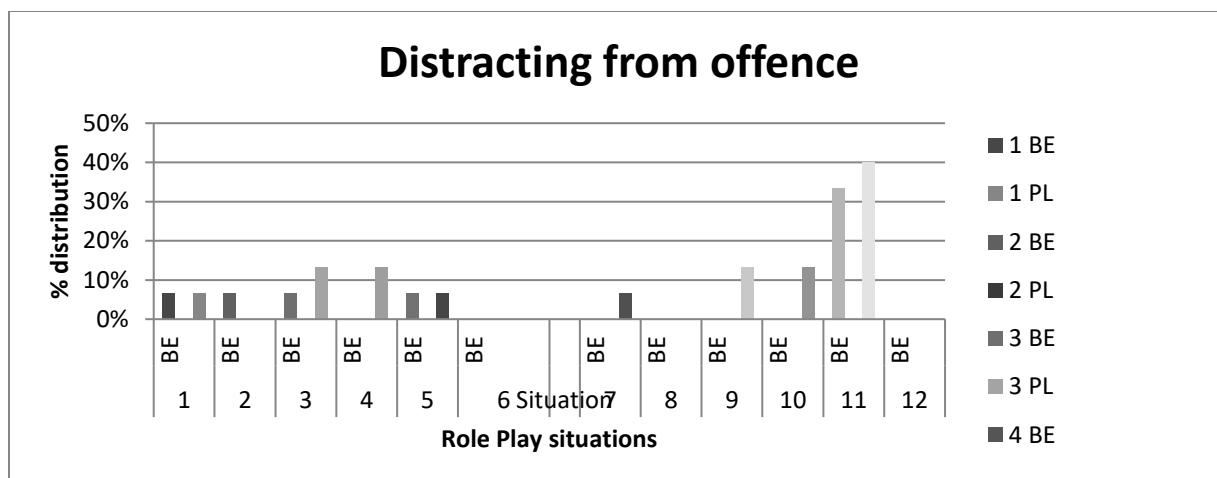


Figure 11: Comparison of Apology Strategy of Distracting from Offence in the Role Play Situations in British English and Pashto Language (1 -12)

In figure 11 above, the strategy of ‘distracting from offence’ is depicted comparatively in both the British English and in the Pashto language. The British English used this strategy 7% each in A 1, A 2, A 3 and A 4, 33% in A 11 but ignored it in A 4, A 6, A 7, A 8, A 9, A10 and A 12. While the Pashto respondents made the use of this strategy up to 7% each in A 1, A 5 and A 7, 13% each in A 3, A 4, A 9 and A 10, 40% in A 11, but ignored it completely in A 2, A 6, A 8 and A 12. Again the frequency of this strategy was low in both the British English and the Pashto language. The maximum use of this strategy was made by the Pashto respondents in A 11(40%).

Conclusion

The data of the apology strategies in both the linguistic cultures confirm the claim of Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989). The use of IFID and the ‘expression of the responsibility strategies’ appeared in varying degrees in both the British English and in the Pashto language but the use of other semantic and sub-formulaic strategies were just context dependent.

The results of the apology strategies further show that they were realized in different forms in the British English and in the Pashto language but the British respondents had shown their preference conspicuously towards the lexical phrase, ‘I am sorry’. The intensity of this lexical form was realized by the use of adverbs like dreadfully, awfully, extremely, really, so and terribly. Such intensified forms for the expression of an apology strategies happened as a convention in Anglo-Saxon influenced milieu for a conflict avoidance which was considered to be a redrassal for the addressee’s negative face. On the other hand, the Pashto respondents made the use of the non-intensified forms for the expression of apology but they used IFID intensified also in some of the strategies. They went for expression like Bakhana Gwarama (forgive me), Mazrat Koma (I regret/ I apologize), Khafa Nashai (never mind), Afsos Koma (I am sorry), Mata Der Afsos De (I am

extremely sorry) and Mafi Gwarama (I seek forgiveness). These forms of apology appeared both in the formal as well as in informal context when the offence was going to be a serious one. The results further show that the British respondents used intensified nature of apology expressions. The Pashto respondents did not use such intensified forms of apology expression which means that a need for the redressal addressee's negative face was found

Moreover, the data analysis further shows that the respondents of both the languages found the admission of facts to be a preferred way of responsibility strategy and the sub formulaic strategies helped a lot for the expression of this responsibility strategy. Even the acceptance of involvement was made for an offence, but it was not an overt acceptance, but was rather a way of abstaining from the responsibility of an offence.

Furthermore, the results show that the severity, seriousness and the nature of the offences influenced the strategies in the role play situations of both the linguistic cultures.

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